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# THAI SENTENCE PARTICLES AND OTHER TOPICS

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## INTRODUCTION

Years ago, when I was in graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley, Professor Mary Haas suggested to me that there were two aspects of the Thai language that were crying out for research. One was the pronominal system, and the other the sentence-final particle system. Somewhere in my inner being I must have registered this suggestion as a challenge, for, not long afterwards, I decided to tackle the Thai pronominal system as a part of my doctoral dissertation. And before long (less than two years later) my dissertation was completed, and in 1968 my work was published.

Following the successful completion of my work on the pronominal system, I decided to take up Professor Haas's second challenge: the Thai sentence-final particle system. In my innocence, I thought the system would fall into place at least as easily as the pronouns had; after all, my earlier endeavour would surely make this new project easier. But after one month of research, generously funded by the University of Washington during the summer of 1967, I had achieved nothing – less than nothing it seemed, for I was now much more confused than I had been when I started. At any rate, I soon abandoned the project in despair and I spent a considerable stretch of time licking my wounds and trying to recover from my disillusioning experience. Eventually I tried again, but with not much better results.

As it turned out, this first exposure to the exasperating intricacies of the particle system proved to be only the beginning of a long-lasting love-hate relationship that continued for many years. I persevered (with occasional breaks for recovery time) in wooing my recalcitrant beloved, and, in hopes of eventually winning her hand, I decided to proceed by first pursuing just one aspect of her charms. That is, I narrowed my investigations down to one particle, the form *sî* (which I later was able to identify as an expectable-response marker). This I did partly because this form had already proved to be one of the most challenging ones, and partly because it had so many variables and therefore (I thought) might shed the most light on the system as a whole.

It had also become clear to me by this time that *sî* (and another similar form, the response-desired particle *nâ*) showed interesting variations in tone and length, each of which signalled a distinct and recognisable shade of meaning. But I saw that all the variants were nevertheless still alternants of one and the same particle. The problem was to come up with meanings for each of the variants and for the particle as a whole – meanings that really fit the vague but unyielding realities of actual usage. This was no easy task, for I soon found that one hypothesis after another had to be formed and

discarded in constant and almost endless succession. However, after several years I began to feel I had the picture reasonably clear, and in 1977 I was finally able to pull together an article entitled 'Forms and meanings of the Thai particle *si*' which was published in 1979 in *South-East Asian linguistic studies*, volume 4. Also, by 1979, I had finished writing a similar article entitled 'Forms and meanings of the Thai particle *na*'. (Note that at the time I identified these particles as *si* and *na*, with no tone mark. I later concluded that these forms should be identified as *sî* and *ná*.) Both of these articles are presented as a part of the present collection.

It was only after reducing chaos to order in my work on *si* and *na* that I was really able to work productively on sorting out and clarifying the phenomena in the particle system as a whole. The task still remained discouragingly, sometimes infuriatingly, difficult, but I began to find that I was now making more progress in a week than I had previously made in months. In any event, by 1982 I had produced a first draft of a general work on sentence-final particles. This has since been revised, and it is published here for the first time.

The other works presented in this volume reflect my ongoing interest in Thai phonology – an interest which, in fact, appears in my work on particles, for in dealing with particles, I was necessarily concerned with phonological phenomena such as tone, pitch, vowel length, stress and other features: identifying features and patterns, and ferreting out their semantic correlates. Indeed, my article on the so-called sixth tone in Thai grew out of my work on particles, for I had there been obliged to make decisions about tones in the context of forms that did not fit neatly into the tonal system as usually perceived and analysed. And, as I processed the multiplicity of data, I found I now had access to a considerable amount of information that was relevant to the sixth-tone hypothesis. It remained only to clarify and write up my perceptions and conclusions.

The stimulus to do this came when I received an invitation to contribute to a Festschrift for Professor William Gedney – an opportunity I was loathe to pass up, since Professor Gedney had previously read my work on particles and had expressed warm appreciation for it. He had also raised a question as to my handling of the sixth tone, thus I wrote my article on this subject and have submitted it for inclusion in the Festschrift. The editors of that volume have kindly allowed me to publish the same article in the present collection; it is entitled 'The problem of the sixth tone in Thai'.

In my final article, 'Thai nasalised vowels', I deal with an interesting phonological oddity that I first bumped into in the pages of Professor Mary Haas's *Spoken Thai* (1945), as I was beginning my lifelong involvement with the fascinations of the Thai language. So, once more, I must acknowledge my debt to this pioneering scholar.

Other debts include a long-term one to the University of Washington, Seattle, where I have carried out the bulk of my research. On three occasions the university provided a month's summer salary for me to carry out research on Thai particles. It also awarded me a year's leave in Thailand, 1981-1982, a large part of which was devoted to this same endeavour. In addition it provided funds for the hiring of a considerable number of native-speaker assistants (we used to call them informants) through the years.

And what could I have done without the help of these many Thai friends and colleagues? Without them, my work would have been altogether impossible. So although I have already acknowledged, in each of my works on particles, all those who helped me in the given work, I cannot resist here too mentioning the names of those few who gave the most liberally of their time – those who granted me not just a few interviews, but who week after week after week offered me their willing, thoughtful and able assistance: Ms Nisa Udomphol (now Ms Sakdechayont), who not only helped me in

oft-repeated interviews, but also at my suggestion wrote two fine papers on *sî* and *ná*, thereby enabling me to reduce some of the chaos in my thinking to order; Ms Pimpun Suwanamalik (now Ms Fitzpatrick); Dr Navavan Bandhmedha; Ms Arada Kirinand; Mr Suriya Smutkupt; Dr Malinee Dilokwanich; Mr Bali Puttaraksa; Dr Kanlayanee Sitasuwan; Mr Aphichay Boontharawara; and Mr Sompong Witayasakpan. These and many others played a vital part in my ongoing research.

And now, before I bow out and leave the reader to his own devices with this volume, let me make a few comments about the contents, their ordering, and their manner of presentation.

As will be seen, most of the volume focuses on Thai sentence-final particles, and here pride of place is given to my most recent and most general work, a monograph entitled ‘Thai sentence-final particles: forms, meanings and formal-semantic variations’. This work gives a general picture of the particle system, and this picture includes a general inventory of particle forms, along with summary descriptions of basic variants and of the contexts in which each form is used, with examples of a range of typical occurrences for each. It also includes a description of the kinds of intonational variation to which the different forms are subject, the patterns these variations reflect, and the shades of meaning that they convey.

No doubt some of the information I present here is of interest primarily to the linguist, but it seems to me that there is a good bit of material that would be of general interest to anyone who wants to understand or speak Thai well. The inventory, in particular, should be helpful to the many non-native speakers or would-be speakers who have often looked in vain for help from dictionaries or grammars of the language (for explanations of the function and meaning of forms like *sî*, *la?*, *ròk*, *ní*, *nâ?*), or who have discovered the futility of asking native speakers for enlightenment. Indeed, I hope that this work will serve as a basic reference work on sentence particles.

Note, however, that one important aspect of the phenomenon of particle usage is not accounted for here. That is the possibilities of and limitations upon the co-occurrence of particle forms. Presumably co-occurrence is conditioned in large part by (and therefore largely explainable in terms of) the relevant semantic features of the various particles – some such features being mutually exclusive and some not. But I fear I must leave this puzzle box for someone else to open. I hope, though, that the present work will serve to make this further undertaking a bit easier for the one who eventually tackles it.

The next two articles provide a much more narrowly focused view of the particle system, since, in each case, the treatment is limited to just one particle – the first focusing on *sî* and the second on *ná*. We can say, therefore, that where my monograph presents a macrocosmic view of the particle system, these two articles present a microcosmic one. The latter seek to show in some detail the range of types of contexts in which the two particles are used, and they also examine the variants of each particle and try to account for what these variants convey, all illustrated by copious examples. They present a picture of how some of the processes at work in the particle system affect these particular forms. In fact, it is precisely from details such as these, and many more like them, that it has been possible to pull together the more general picture presented in my monograph. Much of the information described in such detail in my more narrowly focused articles has been condensed (particularly in the inventory) into only a few summary statements in my more general or macrocosmic work. And it is the patterns inferred from such details that are presented in the general description of intonational phenomena observable in the particle system as a whole.

It will be obvious, therefore, that my research had to begin with particulars and then proceed to the more general picture, for no generalisations were possible until the particulars were known. But, by

the same token, as the general picture became clear, my perception of the particulars was necessarily modified. This means, of course, that some of the perceptions and conclusions presented in the earlier, more narrowly focused works have had to be modified or at least clarified in the later one. Nevertheless – or perhaps for this very reason – it seems best to present the earlier works here pretty much as originally written. Thus the readers, if they care to do so, can perhaps trace the development of my understanding and ideas from one work to another: starting with my description of *sĭ*, proceeding on to my treatment of *ná*, and then to my more general work. If they find a discrepancy or two, they can assume that the later work embodies my more developed ideas and opinions. I also thought it best to let certain repetitious material stand in the three works, rather than cull it out and transfer it to introductory or appended summaries; in this way each article stands on its own in the context within which it was written.

As for the contents of the remaining two articles in this collection, little more need be said. Neither stands as part of any larger whole, so they can simply be read as independent articles in their own right.

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

JOSEPH R. COOKE

## 0. SUMMARY OF ARTICLE

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

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

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

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### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 PURPOSE OF MONOGRAPH

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

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

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

#### 1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.3 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SENTENCE PARTICLES

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

#### 1.3.1 SENTENCE POSITION AND FUNCTION

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

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- (1) S1 /mây ciŋ lỏk lỏ khá nũa./  
           1 2  
           ‘You mean this isn't true?’  
                                   1 2
- S2 /kỏ mây ciŋ nũa sũa./  
           3 4 5  
           ‘Well of course not.’  
                   3 4,5
- (2) /<sup>h</sup>aacaan nũa lỏ khráp khamooy naalikkaa./  
           1 2 3  
           ‘You mean it was the **professor** who stole the watch?’  
                                   1 2 3
- (3) /dẻk khon nán sũa dũa raanwan./  
           1 2 3 4 5  
           ‘That child is the one who got the prize.’  
                   2,3 1 4 5
- (4) /khun sũa máy khráp wũa mỏo taay lẻw./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
           ‘Did you know that the doctor died?’  
                   1 2 3 4 5,6
- (5) /hũa pay nũa nũa, mũaawaan./  
           1 2 3 4  
           ‘Where'd you disappear to, yesterday?’  
                   3 1 2 4
- (6) /dichán yindii kũa, thũa ca mũa chũa./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
           ‘I'd be delighted to come and help you.’  
                   1 2 3 4,5 6

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

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

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



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

### 1.3.2 SEMANTIC AND CONTEXTUAL FUNCTION OF SPs

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

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

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

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

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

### 1.3.3 FORM VARIATION OF SPs

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

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

#### 1.4 PROPOSED HANDLING OF PHENOMENA

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

#### 2.0 INVENTORY OF FORMS AND PRIMARY VARIANTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

          1      3          2

S2 /chán ca pay súu khǒŋ câ, dɛɛŋ./

          4  5  6  7  8      9

          'I'm going shopping, Red.'

          4  5,6  7,8      9

[Young man nicknamed Red is speaking with his fiancée, nicknamed Toy.]

(8) S1 /mêɛ cãa./

          1

          'Mom?'

S2 /cãa./

          'Yes, dear?'

S1 /maa ʔaan níthaan hây nõu faŋ nõy si cá./

          2  3      4  5  6  7  8

          'Please come and read (to) me a story.'

          8  2          3  5,7  6      4

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

**dòok** correction of misapprehension. Written-language equivalent of *lòk*, and also of the more 'correct' spoken form *ròk*.

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

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

1 2 4 3

S2 /wâaŋ hâ. thammay lǎ./

5 6  
 'Yes I am. Why? (Some particular reason?)'

5 6

[Two women are speaking politely but informally to each other.]

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

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

3 2 1

S2 /mây dây pay nǎy há?. yùu bâan tháj wan./

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 'I didn't go anywhere. I was home all day.'

5,4 6 7 8 9 10 11

[Two men are speaking politely but informally together.]

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

(11) /khàp rew caŋ hé./  
 1 2 3  
 'He's really driving fast!'

3 1 2

'That bloke's really travelling!' [Speaker reacts to a passing vehicle.]

(12) /mây yákka chây mǎa khón chán hé./

1 2 3 4 5 6

'It wasn't my dog after all!'

3 1 5,6 4 2

'The darned thing wasn't my dog at all.'

[Speaker has been giving a somewhat humorous account of his efforts to catch his dog, and here he expresses his reaction to the discovery that the dog wasn't his after all.]

(13) /ʔâaw! mây thǎy pii hé. thammay thǎy klàp maa rew./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Hey! It's not even a year yet. How come the guy is back so soon?'

1 2 3 4 5 7,8 6 9

[Speaker refers to an acquaintance who was to have been studying abroad for several years.]

**kramaj** 'I guess'. Written or formal-language equivalent of *laman*.

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

(14) S1 /khun khá. khǒothōot. hōṅnám yùu thīnǎy khá./

1 2 3 4 5  
 'Excuse me. Where's the bathroom?' (lit. 'you')  
 2 5 4 3 1

S2 /yùu thīnōon khâ./

6 7  
 'It's over there.'  
 6 7

[Woman speaks to stranger in the lobby of a hotel.]

(15) S1 /mêe khãa./

1  
 'Mother?'  
 1

S2 /khãa./

'Yes, dear?'

S1 /nũu ʔòok pay lēn khāṅnōok dāay máy khá./

2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Could I go play outside?'  
 7 2,3,4 5 6

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

(16) S1 /sawàtdii kháp. ʔaacaaan sabaay dii lǎ kháp./

1 2 3 4  
 'Hello. How are you?' (lit. 'are you well?')  
 1 2 3,4

S2 /sabaay dii kháp, khòopkhun./

5 6 7  
 'I'm fine, thank you.' [Student talking to professor.]  
 5,6 7 2

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

(17) S1 /yêe léew. námman môt./

1 2 3 4  
 'What a wretched business! We're out of gas.'  
 1,2 4 3

S2 /ca tham yaŋay lâ./

5 6 7

'What are we going to do?'

7 5 6

[Second speaker switches focus from the problem (being out of gas) to the directly related question of what to do.]

(18) S1 /phrûŋnii thəə ca pay năy./

1 2 3 4 5

'Where are you going to go tomorrow?'

5 2 3 4 1

S2 /mây dâŋ pay năy lək. léəw thəə lâ./

6 7 8 9 10 11

'I'm not going anywhere. And how about you?'

6,7 8 9 10 11

[Second speaker shifts the focus from the question of his own plans to those of the first speaker.]

(19) /măa man dù?. yàa pay yûŋ ka man lâ./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'(That) dog is vicious. So don't go fooling around with it.'

1,2 3 4 5 6 7 8

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

(20) /mêə mây dâŋ dâa lûuk ná. phôə taŋhàak lâ thîi dâa./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'The mother didn't scold her child. On the contrary, it was the father who did it.'

1 2,3 4 5 7 6 8 9

[Focus shifts from the incorrect to the correct understanding as to what happened.]

(Note that in contrastive-positive usage such as this, there is always a preceding negation, then a positive correction marked by the form /taŋhàak/, with the particle *lâ* immediately following the /taŋhàak/.)

(21) /sùn câwkhǒŋ lâ, wîŋ mǎan cék tûn fay./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'As for the owner, he ran around like a Chinese excited over a fire.'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[Speaker has been describing servant's reaction to the escape of a pig from its pen, and he now shifts to the reactions of the pig's owner.]

- (22) /yaŋí nîi lá kháw thŭŋ dâi kròt./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘So **that’s** why he got so angry!’ (like-this he reached got angry)  
 1 2 3 4 5

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

- (23) /klàp bâan la?./  
 1 2  
 ‘Well, I’m going home now.’  
 1 2

[Speaker rises to his feet and moves toward the door.]

(Note that use of /lá?/ here would be more relaxed or intimate, or (if raised to extra-high pitch) it could be good-naturedly assertive.)

- (24) /wâay! mâi kin lá?./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘Eek! I’m not going to eat that.’  
 1 2 3

[Female speaker had been about to eat a pastry, but she changes her mind when she sees the flies crawling on it.]

(By way of contrast, the mid-tone form /la?/ (without the /wâay/) might be used when a speaker is about to violate a diet and then changes his or her mind.)

- (25) /phoo la?. mâi yàak faŋ ʔiik lá?./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘Enough! I don’t want to hear any more.’  
 1 2 3 4 5

[Speaker has had enough of addressee’s complaints.]

- (26) /mêe háy kròt léew la?./  
 1 2 3 4  
 ‘I’m over being mad now.’  
 1 2 3 4

[Mother speaking to child. This utterance comprises an example of a previous event now being newly reported to the child, with the implication that the child can now resume his normal relationship with the mother.]

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

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

- (28) /khon thii mii sên thawnán là? thii ca samàk dâay./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'Only people with connections need apply.' 'It's only those who have  
 5 1 4 8 5 2 3  
 connections that can apply.'  
 4 6 7,9 8

[Speaker and addressee are conversing about a job opening.]

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

- (30) S1 /mêe pen yañay bân./  
 1 2 3  
 'How's your mother?'  
 3 2 1

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

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



- (32) /luuksǎaw khǒŋ kháw sǎay sǎay thǎŋnán là?./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘Every single one of her daughters is a beauty.’  
 5 2,3 1 4  
 (i.e. That’s what you’d expect with such a mother.)

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

- (33) S1 /kɛɛ ʔaayúʔ thǎwràŋ./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘How old is she?’  
 3 2 1
- S2 /mây rúu. rawraaw hǎasìp pii laman./  
 4 5 6 7 8  
 ‘I don’t know. Maybe about fifty (years).’  
 4 5 6 7 8

- (34) /pay thǎam kháw sí. kháw khǒŋ chǎay dǎay mán./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 ‘Why don’t you go ask him? Surely he’ll be able to help you.’  
 1 2 3 5 4 7 6  
 (Note that the high tone with /mán/ may imply either impatience or encouragement.)

**lǎw** shift of focus. Written or formal equivalent of *lǎ*.

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

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

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

- (36) /thammay thǎŋ kròt kháw nâ lǎə. kô phró? .../  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘You want to know why I’m mad at him? Well it’s because ...’  
 1,2 3 4 5 6
- (37) /wanníi mây chây wanphút lək lǎ./  
 1 2 3 4  
 ‘You mean today isn’t Wednesday?’ [Speaker expresses surprise.]  
 1 3 2 4

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

- (38) S1 /klàp bân léew lǎ./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘Going home now?’ (Return home now?)  
 1 2 3
- S2 /yaŋ mây klàp lək. ?òk pay sùut ?aakàat nâ?./  
 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 ‘Oh no, not yet. Just going out for a breath of fresh air.’  
 (Not yet return exit go breathe air.)  
 5 4 6 7 8 9 10
- (39) S1 /dèk khon nán chalàat ná./  
 1 2 3 4  
 ‘That child’s clever, isn’t he?’  
 2,3 1 4
- S2 /kô chalàat lək. tèe man khǐikiat ciŋciŋ./  
 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 ‘Well yes, but he really is lazy.’  
 5 6 7 8 10 9
- (40) /nǐi hǎn ka nóŋ lək. phǐi thǎŋ yoom tham hây./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 ‘I’m doing this just for you.’ ‘It’s only for you that I’m willing to do this.’  
 (this-here for-sake-of younger-sibling I even willing do for)  
 1 2,3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 [Speaker qualifies his expression of willingness because he doesn’t want addressee to think this is something he could ordinarily be expected to do.]

- (41) /phǒm khâwcaj phit lǒk, thǎŋ dâj kǎet rǔaŋ yǔŋ yàaŋnǐ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'I misunderstood, and that's what caused so much trouble.'  
 1 3 2  
 (reach arose complicated matter like-this)  
 4 5,6 8 7 9  
 (i.e. please don't assume my action was intentional)

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

*maŋ* free variant of *lamaŋ*.

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

- (43) /pay kin khâaw kan máy./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Shall we go eat (together)?'  
 1 2,3 4
- (44) /ŋaan sanùk máy, mǎawaan./  
 1 2 3  
 'Was the party fun yesterday?'  
 1 2 3
- (45) /nân mùak khǒŋ khun chây máy./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'That's your hat, isn't it?'  
 1 3,4 2 5

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

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

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

- (47) /chim duu nâ./  
           1 2  
 'Go ahead and taste it.' (taste see)  
   1 2  
 [Speaker gently, unemphatically, urges addressee to try a new dish he seems reluctant to sample.]
- (48) /yàa maa kuan nâ. chán mây sabaay./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Don't come pestering me. I don't feel good.'  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 [Adult reacts with brief impatience to child's interruption.]
- (49) /chûay yìp hây nòy nâ./  
           1 2 3 4  
 'Please reach it for me.'  
           1,4 2 3  
 [Older sibling has ignored speaker's previous request for help, so child resorts to persuasion.]
- (50) /phûuyĩŋ khon nán sǎy ná./  
           1 2 3 4  
 'That girl is pretty, isn't she?'  
           2,3 1 4
- (51) /dɛɛŋ nâa, pay nòy nâa. sanùk cĩcĩn náa./  
           1 2 3 4 5  
 'Please, Red, do go. It'll really be fun.'  
           3 1 2 5 4  
 [Teenager begs friend to go to party.]
- (52) /thammay kháw cháa ná./  
           1 2 3  
 'Why's he so late?'  
           1 2 3  
 'Why was it that he was so late?' 'I wonder why he's so late.'  
 [Speaker asks informal question; or he asks for a repeat of an explanation that he didn't hear or understand previously; or he asks a self-directed question.]

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

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

- S2 /pay yîam phômêe nâ khâ./  
 4 5 6  
 'I just went to see my parents.'  
 4 5 6  
 (i.e. That's the simple explanation for my absence; there wasn't anything unusual or out of the way about my activities.)
- (54) S1 /thammay mây kin lâ./  
 1 2 3  
 'Why aren't you eating?'  
 1 2 3
- S2 /kô mây hǐw nâ?./  
 4 5 6  
 'I'm just not hungry, (that's all) (connective particle).'  
 5 6 4
- (55) /rawaŋ, man ca kàt nâ?/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Careful, it'll bite.'  
 1 2 3 4  
 [Speaker warns addressee about approaching too close to a dog.]  
 (Note that this is an incidental or passing warning. The implication is either that the danger is not critical, not serious, or that the addressee, having been warned, can handle the situation without difficulty.)
- (56) /mây rúcàk sàpráy lǎ. kô nâam ?àt lom nâ?./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'You're not familiar with Sprite? It's just a carbonated drink (connective).'  
 1 2 3 6,7 5 4
- (57) S1 /khǎay thǎwrày./  
 1 2  
 'How much does it sell for?'  
 2 1
- S2 /kô sǐp bàat nâ sǐ./  
 3 4  
 'Ten baht.'  
 3 4  
 (i.e. See, the price tag is right in plain sight.)  
 (Note that the /nâ/ here implies that the answer to the question presents no great problem, and the /sǐ/ implies that the answer is obvious, expectable under the circumstances.)
- (58) /thammay kháw ca mây yùu. kô chán hǎn kháw tɔɔn ?ðək càak hôŋnâam nâ?./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 'Why wouldn't he be around? I saw him while I was coming out of the restroom!  
 1 3 4 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 (The /nâ?/ implies that the person in question can't have gone far, that it shouldn't be any great problem to find him.)

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

- (59) /khanũn nâ chán kin dđay. tề thũ chán kin mây dđay kô khũũ thũrian./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 'Jackfruit I can eat. But what I can't eat is durian.'  
 1 2 4 3 5 6 7 10,9 8 11 12  
 [Addressee has just asked speaker if he can eat jackfruit; or addressee has just mentioned his own dislike of jackfruit.]
- (60) /ʔdèk khon nán nâ lǎə sòp tòk./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'You mean **that child** failed the exam?'  
 2,3 1 4,5  
 'That child was the one who failed?' (i.e. Who'd have thought it!)
- (61) /pay phũut ka kháw rá yaŋ. ʔây khon khǎa hək nâ?./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 'Have you gone to talk to him yet? – I mean the guy with the broken leg.'  
 1 2 3 4 5,6 7,8 10 9
- (62) S1 /khun khoŋ rúu dii wâa kháw pen khon chũa./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'You must have known very well that he was a rascal.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8,9
- S2 /ʔây rúu nâ rúu lòk, tề chán tǔŋkaan ŋən ciŋciŋ./  
 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17  
 'Yes I did (so far as that's concerned) (as for knowing, I knew), but I really  
 10,11 12 13 14 17  
 needed the money.'  
 15 16  
 [The first speaker is disturbed because of the second speaker's dealings with a loan shark.]
- (63) /kin ʔaray nâ?./  
 1 2  
 'What's that you're eating?'  
 2 1  
 [Speaker sees addressee eating something he doesn't recognise.]

- (64) /mii khray cháy máy nâ?./  
 1 2 3  
 'Is anyone using it?'  
 1 2 3  
 (i.e. that thing there, or the thing we've just been talking about)
- (65) /kháw tɛŋŋaan léew khâ nâ?./  
 1 2 3  
 'He's married now.'  
 1 2 3  
 [Speaker volunteers information about someone passing by, or someone who has just been mentioned.]
- (66) /ca kàət khân ?iik nâ?./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'You know, that's going to happen again.'  
 1 2,3 4  
 [Speaker contributes to a discussion about the flooding of the ground-floor office next door.]  
 (The /nâ?/ here implies an event not right 'here' but 'there', or 'that' one previously mentioned.)

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

- (67) /nêkthay sên ní nê sǔay./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'This necktie here is pretty.'  
 2,3 1 4  
 [Speaker is shopping with friend and calls the latter's attention to a tie he thinks his friend will like.]
- (68) /mǎo nê khuan ca pen phûu nam. chán nâ pay mây thùuk./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 'You (doctor) ought to be the leader. I don't know the way (go not right).'  
 1 2,3 4 5,6 7 8 9 10  
 [Speaker directs attention to the doctor as the appropriate one to lead the way at this point.]
- (69) /kháw lạp tǎŋ yîisip chûamooŋ nê./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'He slept for **twenty** hours.'  
 1 2 3,4 5  
 (Note that when *nê* occurs after a quantified noun phrase like this, it implies that the quantity, number, size, length of time etc. is particularly great and therefore worthy of attention.)

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

(71) /duu sĩ. kháw kamlaj phanan kan nê./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Look. They're gambling.'  
 1 2,5 3 4

[Speaker knows addressee has a special interest in the gambling, perhaps because the latter wants to watch and learn; or because he wants to join in; or because he is a policeman and wants to put a stop to it.]

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

(72) /mĕĕ, sabaay caŋ ní./  
 1 2 3  
 'Say, this is really nice, huh?' 'Boy, ain't we got it good!'  
 1 3 2

[Speaker and addressee are just settling into a luxurious hotel room; or speaker comes upon addressee basking in a luxury he himself is not free to share.]

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

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

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



- S2 /mêe hây raw ní./  
 5 6 7  
 'Mother gave it just to us (not to you).'  
 5 6 7  
 [Older sibling asks about a special treat he sees his younger siblings enjoying.]
- (75) /wanníi mêe tham khanǒm la?. pay kin kan dii kwàa ní./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'Mom made some goodies today. Let's go have some, okay? (go eat together is better).'  
 2 3 4 1 5 6  
 7 8,9  
 [Speaker is delighted at the prospect of eating the goodies with the addressee.]  
 (Note that invitations with *ní* or *nǎ* must be cast in the form of a statement:  
 'It would be better to ...' Thus the /dii kwàa/ cannot be omitted here.)

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

- (76) S1 /thammay thǎŋ pít pratuu lâ./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'How-come you closed the door?'  
 1,2 3 4
- S2 /kô ?aacaan hây pít nǐi khá./  
 5 6 7 8  
 'Well you asked me to.'  
 5 6 7 8  
 [Student reacts to professor's question, by pointing out the compelling factor that justifies his action.]
- (77) S1 /yaŋ mây phróom ?iik lǎ./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Aren't you ready yet?'  
 2 3 1,4
- S2 /phróom léew ní?. phróom tâŋ naan léew dūay./  
 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 'Yes I am! What's more, I've been ready a long time.'  
 5,6 11 10 7 8,9

- (78) S1 /pay wâay náam kan máy./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Want to go swimming (together)?'  
 1 2,3 4
- S2 /mây dâay lok. mây mii chút ?àap náam nî?./  
 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 'No, I can't. I don't have a bathing-suit.'  
 6,5 7 8 10,11 9
- (79) /khwaamkhít mây leew nî há./  
 1 2 3  
 'Hey, that's not a bad idea!'  
 2 3 1  
 [Speaker is struck by an idea that someone has just mentioned.]
- (80) /'ôohoo, tề̄ tua sũay nî?./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Oho, you look nice!' 'Wow, that's a pretty dress!' (dress self pretty)  
 1 2 3 4  
 [Speaker is pulled up short by addressee's striking appearance.]
- (81) /'é, nân nékthay chán nî?./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Hey! That's my tie (you're wearing).'  
 1 2 4 3

**nî?** (2) variant of **nîa?**, q.v.

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

- (82) /dèk farà̄n nîa? yũ̄j cāj lə̄y./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'As for these Western children, they're really a pain in the neck.'  
 2 1 4,5  
 'These Western kids, now – they're really a menace.'

- (83) /khun rúucàk phôo khón̄ kháw ná plàaw. ʔây dèk khon níi n̄aʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 ‘Do you know his father (or not)? I mean (the father of) this child here.’  
 1 2 4,5 3 10,11 8,9  
 [Speaker asks about a child that is right nearby.]
- (84) S1 /mây s̄acay l̄ə./  
 1 2  
 ‘Aren’t you sorry?’  
 1 2
- S2 /ʔây s̄acay n̄aʔ k̄o s̄acay l̄òk, t̄èe man t̄òŋ ʔòt thon./  
 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 ‘Well yes, I’m sorry, but it’s something one has to put up with.’  
 6 7 8 9 10,11  
 (Now that you’ve raised this issue of being sorry, well yes I am, but ...)  
 3,4 5
- (85) /kin ʔaray n̄aʔ.  
 1 2  
 ‘What’s this you’re eating?’  
 2 1
- (86) /mii khray khàtkhôn̄ máy khá n̄aʔ./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘Are there any objections to this?’ ‘With respect to this suggestion before us,  
 is there anyone who objects?’  
 1 2 3
- (87) /khwaamkh̄ít mây leew khrap̄ n̄aʔ./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘This isn’t a bad idea!’  
 2 3 1  
 (Here the /n̄aʔ/ refers to ‘this’ suggestion that has just been made.)
- (88) /mii r̄ótmee chon kan ʔiik léew n̄aʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘There’s been another bus collision.’  
 6 1 5 2 3,4  
 [Addressee has just mentioned a previous bus collision, and the speaker  
 volunteers that ‘this’ same thing has happened again.]

**n̄i** variant of *n̄aʔ*, q.v.

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

- (89) /<sup>1</sup>ee, man hăay pay năy nốo./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Oh, I wonder where the thing disappeared to.'  
 1 5 2 3 4

**nốo** 'I wonder'; written-language equivalent of *nốo*.

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

- (90) S1 /ca pay yaηay lâ./  
 1 2 3  
 'And how are we going to go?'  
 3 1 2
- S2 /kô pay rôt sǐi đeeη nân ηay./  
 4 5 6 7 8  
 'We'll go in the red car there (see it?).'  
 4 6,7 5 8  
 Or '...' 'We'll go in the red car there (don't you remember?)'
- (91) S1 /hây pay láaη phlɛε khray./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Whose sores do you want me to go dress (wash)?'  
 5 4 1 2 3
- S2 /khon khây tiaη sǎam nân ηay./  
 6 7 8 9 10  
 'You know, the patient in bed three.'  
 10 6,7 8 9
- (92) S1 /khray chaná?, rúu máy./  
 1 2 3  
 'Who won, do you know?'  
 1 2 3
- S2 /faη sǐ, kháw kamlaj tàtsin ηay./  
 4 5 6 7  
 'Listen. He's just deciding.' (i.e. Can't you see that's what is about to happen?)  
 4 5 6 7
- (93) /thammay khóp ka kháw lâ. năy bòok wâa klìat kháw ηay./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'How-come you're running around with him? Didn't you tell me you hated him?'  
 1 2 3 4 6,7 8 9  
 '... Here you were telling me you hated him. (Remember?)'  
 5

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

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

**rǎu** clue-derived yes/no question. Written-language equivalent of *lǎ*.

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

(94) /pǎət pratuu sĭ./

1 2  
'Open the door.'

1 2  
[It is opening time at a store, and boss is telling employee to do his job; or speaker is standing at a door with his hands full, so he has the addressee open the door for him; or parent is impatiently telling child, for the second time, what to do (in this context usually raised).]

(Note that the speaker might use /sĭ/ instead of /sĭi/ if, for example, he needed the door opened so he could put something away, or in order to check on whether the light had been turned out.)

(95) /khâw maa sĭi./

1 2  
'Do come in.'

2 1  
(i.e. You don't need to stay standing out there in the rain.)

(96) S1 /khun ca maa ciŋciŋ lǎ./

1 2 3 4  
'Are you really going to come?'

1 4 2 3

S2 /maa sĭi./

5  
'Sure I am.'

5

(97) S1 /chán wâa wannĭi fǎn thâa ca mây tǒk./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
'I don't think it's likely to rain today.'

1 7 2 5,6 4,8 3

- S2 /tòk sî. nân ñay mêek dam./  
 9 10 11 12  
 'Sure it is. See the black cloud over there.'  
 9 12 11 10
- (98) /dèk khon nán sî chalàat./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'That's the child that's clever.' 'That child is the one that's smart.'  
 2,3 1 4
- (99) /lûuk khoŋ mây sabaay sî./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Your child must be sick, hm?' 'I gather your baby's not well.'  
 1 2 3,4  
 [Addressee has previously expressed concern about child's health, so when she tells speaker she is not coming to the party, the latter infers what the problem must be.]
- (100) /nîi khun sîi ca tềŋŋaan léew sî./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Here I see Mr Sri is getting married.'  
 1 2 3 4 5,6  
 [Speaker notices in the newspaper that Mr Sri is getting married, and realises he is going to have to get busy and buy a wedding present; or he hadn't realised that Sri's plans had developed to this point, and now he must adjust his thinking.]
- thəʔ* desirable response; signals that the speaker is calling for, urging a response that he considers good, desirable. Occurs with action-inducement utterances (commands, suggestions, requests, invitations), including 'let's ...' expressions; also occurs occasionally in statements that carry a covert message urging some action. Variants: /thəʔ/ neutral form, or may signal definiteness; /thəʔ/ slightly more relaxed form; /thəʔ/ friendly and good-humoured, or mildly and offhandedly assertive. Non-pause form: /thə/. Reduced forms: /həʔ/, /həʔ/, /háʔ/. Cf. *thəət*, written-language equivalent of *thəʔ*.
- (101) /mây tōŋ rəə ná. rîip pay tham ñaan thəʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'No need to wait. You'd better hurry off to work.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6,7
- (102) /lâək phûut bâabâa boəboə yaŋŋí sía thii thəʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Do quit talking such crazy nonsense (aspect-particle this one time).'  
 1 2 5 3,4 6 7
- (103) /pay kin kan thəʔ/  
 1 2 3  
 'Let's go eat (together).'  
 1 2 3

- (104) /chûay ʔaw nĩ pay hây kháw nõy thəʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Please take this to him.'  
 1,7 2,4 3 5 6
- (105) /dichán thǎam ʔiik nít nʉŋ thəʔ./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Let me just ask something else.' (I ask more a little)  
 1 2 3 5 4

*thəʔ* desirable response. Written-language equivalent of *thəʔ*.

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

- (106) S1 /pay nǎy wá./  
 1 2  
 'Where are you going?'  
 2 1
- S2 /mây dây pay nǎy lõk wâ./  
 3 4 5 6  
 'I'm not going anywhere.'  
 3,4 5 6
- (107A) /rêŋ nõy wâ./  
 1 2  
 'Hurry up!'  
 1,2
- (107B) /... wá./  
 'Do hurry.' 'Hurry up, will you?'
- (107C) /... wáa./  
 'Come on, please hurry.'
- (108) /thamay man thǎŋ son yaŋí wàa./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'I wonder why he's so **naughty**.'  
 1,3 2 5 4  
 [Speaker complains in bafflement over the behaviour of a child.]





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

### 3.1 THE STRUCTURAL-PHONEMIC APPROACH

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

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

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

### 3.2 THE PROSODIC OR INTONATIONAL APPROACH TO SP VARIATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.3 THE APPROACH OF PATCHARIN PEYASANTIWONG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.4 THE APPROACH TO SP VARIATION HERE PROPOSED

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.0 UNDERLYING FORMS OF SENTENCE PARTICLES

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

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

##### 4.1 THE PHONEMIC VALIDITY OF FULLY SPECIFIED UNDERLYING FORMS

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

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

#### 4.1.1 TONAL CONTRAST

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

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

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

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

#### 4.1.2 VOWEL-LENGTH CONTRAST

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

## 4.1.3 PRESENCE VERSUS ABSENCE OF TERMINAL GLOTTAL STOP

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

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

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

## 4.2 THE PROBLEM OF DETERMINING UNDERLYING FORMS

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



## 4.2.1 PROPOSED APPROACH TOWARD DETERMINING UNDERLYING FORMS

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

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

## 4.2.1.1 DIFFERENTIATING SPOKEN AND WRITTEN-LANGUAGE FORMS

Among SPs there exist contrasting paired sets of spoken versus written forms where the spoken-language member of the pair is more or less equivalent in function or meaning to its written-language counterpart. Thus, among the forms listed in the inventory (section 2.0 above), there appear the following such paired sets (the first of each pair being the spoken form and the second the written): *lā* and *lāw*; *lāʔ* and *lēʔ*, *laman* (or *man*) and *kraman*, *lǎ* (from *rǎ*) and *rǎu*, *lòk* (from *ròk*) and *dòk*, *máy* and *mǎy*; *nóo* and *nǎo*, *thəʔ* and *thəət*.

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

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

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

## 4.2.1.2 DIFFERENTIATING PRIMARY VARIATION FROM OTHER PROCESSES

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

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

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

## 4.2.1.3 DIFFERENTIATING NEUTRAL AND DEVELOPED MEANINGS

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

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

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

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

#### 4.2.2 PROBLEMS IN APPLYING THE APPROACH HERE PROPOSED

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 5.0 PATTERNS OF PRIMARY VARIATION

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

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

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

## 5.1 PATTERNS OF PRIMARY VARIATION AMONG THREE SUBGROUPS OF SPs

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

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

The general picture of shared and contrasting characteristics in the SARP system, as it concerns the more common colloquial forms, is summarised in Figure A. Here I set forth all the SARP forms that are listed in the inventory above, including the underlying forms, the basic meanings, and the primary variants of each. Also, in connection with the primary variants, I identify the contexts (a, b, c etc.) in which each variant is used, with a key being provided to describe and illustrate each of the relevant contexts. Under the form *câ*, then, we can note that the underlying form is *câ*, and the basic meaning or function of the particle is to signal affection or intimacy. We can note, also, that this form has three primary variants: a short falling-tone form (i.e. /*câ*/), a short high-tone form (/cá/), and a long rising-tone form (/câa/). The first variant, /*câ*/, occurs in context 'a', which is explained and exemplified in the key as referring to occurrence in statements, and also in context 'b' (action-inducement utterances). The second variant, /*cá*/, occurs in contexts 'c' (questions), 'd' (calling attention) and 'e' (response to call). And the third variant, /*câa*/, occurs in contexts 'd<sub>1</sub>' (endearing

calling attention) and 'e<sub>1</sub>' (endearing response). Similar information is provided for each of the other SARP forms. Note, however, that the information is considerably condensed. More detailed information is provided in the inventory above (2.0).

		PRIMARY VARIANTS AND THEIR CONTEXTS					
UNDERLYING FORM	BASIC MEANING	SHORT FALLING TONE (CV)	SHORT HIGH TONE (CV)	LONG RISING TONE (CVV)	LONG MID TONE (CVV)	LONG LOW TONE (CVV)	LONG HIGH TONE (CVV)
<i>câ</i>	affectionate and intimate	a, b	c, d, e	d <sub>1</sub> , e <sub>1</sub>	--	--	--
<i>khâ</i>	formal and polite, female speaking	a, b	c, d, e	d <sub>1</sub> , e <sub>1</sub>	--	--	--
<i>hâ</i>	informal and friendly, female speaking	a, b	c, d, e	--	--	--	--
<i>yâ</i>	non-restraint by or to females	a, b	c	--	--	--	--
<i>wâ</i>	male non-restraint	a, b <sub>1</sub>	b <sub>2</sub> , c	c <sub>1</sub> , f	f	c <sub>1</sub> , f	c <sub>1</sub>
<i>wóoy, wáoy</i>	male non-restraint	--	--	--	--	--	a, b, c, d, e, f
<i>kháp</i>	formal and polite, male speaking	--	a, b, c, d, e	--	--	--	--
<i>há?</i>	informal and friendly, male speaking	--	a, b, c, d, e	--	--	--	--

FIGURE A: A COMPARISON OF SARP PRIMARY VARIANTS

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

- a. Occurs in statements:  
/kháw klàp bãan léew .../  
1 2 3 4  
'He's gone home.'  
1 4 2 3
- b. Occurs in action-inducement utterances:  
/rêŋ nõy .../  
1 2  
'Hurry up (a little)!'  
1 2
- b<sub>1</sub> commanding, demanding, telling  
b<sub>2</sub> urging, persuading
- c. Occurs in questions:  
/kháw pay năy .../  
1 2 3  
'Where's he going?'  
3 1 2
- c<sub>1</sub> Occurs in self-addressed questions:  
/ŋee, man hăay pay năy .../  
1 2 3 4 5  
'Hey, I wonder where it disappeared to.'  
1 2 3 4 5

- d. Occurs in calling attention:  
/dɛɛŋ .../ or /mêe .../  
1 2  
'Red?' 'Mom?' ['Red' is a nickname]  
1 2
- e. Occurs in answering a call: /.../  
'Yes?'
- e<sub>1</sub> endearing
- f. Occurs in exclamations of dismay:  
/taay la waa./  
1  
'Oh darn!' (lit. 'die')
- d<sub>1</sub> endearing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (114) S1 /*ciŋ lǎ khá.*/  
           1  
           'Is that true?'  
           1
- S2 /*ciŋ si khá.*/  
           'Yes, certainly.'
- (115) /*yàa yŋ ka man lâ cá.*/  
           1 2 3 4  
           'Don't have anything to do with him.'  
           1                           2 3 4
- (116) S1 /*thammay cháa.*/  
           1 2  
           'Why are you late?'  
           1 2
- S2 /*mây cháa lòk khâ. dichán maa taam nát nî khá.*/  
           3 4                           5 6 7 8  
           'I'm not late. I came on-time.'  
           3 4 5 6 7,8

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

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



5.1.2 VARIATION PATTERNS AMONG CHECKED LEVEL-TONE PARTICLES

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

		PRIMARY VARIANTS AND THEIR MEANINGS			
UNDERLYING FORMS	BASIC MEANINGS	LOW TONE	MID TONE	HIGH TONE	RAISED HIGH TONE
<i>làʔ</i>	sole alternative (colloquial)	a <sub>1</sub>	b	d	e
<i>lèʔ</i>	sole alternative (written or slightly formal)	a <sub>1</sub>	--	d	e
<i>lòk</i>	negative correction	a <sub>1</sub>	b	d	e
<i>thàʔ</i>	desirable response	a <sub>1</sub>	b	d	e
<i>laʔ</i>	critical point reached	--	a <sub>2</sub>	c	d, e

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

KEY TO BASIC MEANINGS:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a <sub>1</sub> neutral or slightly formal; sometimes slightly definite  | b. rapid-speech form, and slightly less formal |
| a <sub>2</sub> neutral; reporting; terminating something in progress (here rather definite; see sample sentence 5, below) | c. more intimate; more immediate               |
|   | d. lightly assertive                           |
|   | e. intensified light assertiveness             |

SAMPLE SENTENCES:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. /khon nán làʔ./ or /... lèʔ/<br>1   2<br>‘That person!’ ‘That’s the one!’<br>2   1 | 4. /klàp bân laʔ./<br>1   2<br>‘I’m going home now.’<br>1   2 |
| 2. /mây chây lòk./<br>1   2<br>‘No, that’s not it.’ ‘No, you’re mistaken.’<br>1,2     | 5. /phoo laʔ./<br>1<br>‘That’s enough!’<br>1                  |
| 3. /rêŋ nây thàʔ./<br>1   2<br>‘Hurry up!’<br>1,2                                     |   |

Note that the first four examples of the above key illustrate, respectively, occurrences of /làʔ/ or /lèʔ/, of /lòk/, of /thàʔ/ and of /laʔ/; in each sample sentence, the particle in question can vary in tone as specified by the symbols (a, b etc.) on the chart. Example 5, however, applies only to context a<sub>2</sub> on the chart.

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

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

### 5.1.3 VARIATION PATTERNS INVOLVING *ná*, *sî* AND *wá*

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

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

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

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

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN FIGURE C

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

## 5.2 GENERAL PHONEMIC-SEMANTIC CORRELATIONS AMONG SPS AND PRIMARY VARIANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

SP GROUPING	SHORT VOWEL FORMS					LONG VOWEL FORMS				
	MID	LOW	FALLING	HIGH	RISING	MID	LOW	FALLING	HIGH	RISING
	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE	TONE
<i>câ</i> group	1				<i>kháp</i>					
	2				<i>há?</i>					
	3			<i>câ</i>	<i>/cá/</i>					<i>/cǎa/</i>
	4			<i>khâ</i>	<i>/khá/</i>					<i>/khǎa/</i>
	5			<i>hâ</i>	<i>/há/</i>					
	6			<i>yâ</i>	<i>/yá/</i>					
<i>ná</i> group	7			<i>wâ</i>	<i>/wá/</i>	<i>/waa/</i>	<i>/wàa/</i>		<i>/wáa/</i>	<i>/wǎa/</i>
	8			<i>nâ</i>	<i>/ná/</i>	<i>/naa/</i>	<i>/nàa/</i>	<i>/nâa/</i>	<i>/nǎa/</i>	
	9	<i>/si/</i>		<i>sî</i>	<i>/sí/</i>	<i>/sii/</i>		<i>/sîi/</i>		
<i>thə?</i> group	10	<i>/la?/</i>	<i>lâ?</i>		<i>/lá?/</i>					
	11		<i>lê?</i>		<i>/lé?/</i>					
	12	<i>/lɔk/</i>	<i>lòk</i>		<i>/lók/</i>					
	13	<i>la?</i>			<i>/lá?/</i>					
	14	<i>/thə?/</i>	<i>thə?</i>		<i>/thó?/</i>					
Misc. group	15				<i>/lá/</i>	<i>lǎ</i>			<i>/láə/</i>	<i>/lǎə/</i>
	16	<i>maŋ</i>			<i>/máŋ/</i>					
		<i>laməŋ</i>			<i>/lamáŋ/</i>					
	17								<i>nóɔ</i>	
	18				<i>máy</i>					
	19				<i>hé</i>					
	20				<i>nó</i>					
					<i>ní</i>					
	21	<i>ŋay</i>								
	22			<i>lâ</i>						
	23			<i>nî? (1)</i>						
	24			<i>nî? (2)</i>				<i>/nîi/</i>		
			<i>nîa?</i>							
25			<i>nâ? (1)</i>							
26			<i>nâ? (2)</i>							
27			<i>nê</i>							

FIGURE D: A COMPARISON OF THE PRIMARY FORMS AND VARIANTS

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

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

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

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

### 5.3 PRIMARY VARIATION AND SPs IN NON-PAUSE POSITION

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

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

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

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

## 6.0 THE PHENOMENON OF REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION

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

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

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

### 6.1 MORPHOPHONEMIC SIMPLIFICATION OF SPS

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

#### 6.1.1 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES AFFECTING SPS IN NON-PAUSE POSITION

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

- (1) All level tone forms ending in glottal stop change to mid tone;
- (2) All forms ending in a glottal stop lose the terminal glottal.

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

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

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

### 6.1.2 TONAL COALESCENCE

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

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

(117) S1 /kháw pay nãy la ná./

1 2 3  
‘Where’s he going?’  
3 1 2

S2 /kláp bãan nã sĩ./

4 5  
‘He’s going home, of course.’  
4 5

(118) /kháw nĩ nã khã, tua yũŋ./

1 2 3 4  
‘This guy here is a pain in the neck.’ (him here body bothersome)  
1 2 3 4

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

(119)

/kháw phũut thĩnĩ./

1 2 3  
‘He said it here.’  
1 2 3



- (120)       $\begin{array}{c} \backslash \quad - \quad \backslash \quad \backslash \\ /m\grave{a}y \text{ ci}\grave{n} \text{ kh}\grave{a}./ \text{ Or: } /m\grave{a}y \text{ ci}\grave{n} \text{ l\grave{o}k \text{ kh}\grave{a}./ \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad 2 \\ \text{'That's not true.'} \\ \quad \quad \quad 1 \quad 2 \end{array}$

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

## 6.2 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION OF FORMS IN CASUAL SPEECH

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

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

### 6.2.1 LISTING OF FORMS AND REDUCTIONS

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

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

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) [c\grave{a}/c\acute{a} > y\grave{a}/y\acute{a}] ?? | (5) khr\acute{a}p > kh\acute{a}p [> h\acute{a}ʔ] |
| (2) [d\grave{o}k > r\grave{o}k] ??                     | (6) l\grave{a} > \grave{a}                       |
| (3) [kram\grave{a}j > lam\grave{a}j] ??                | (7) laʔ > aʔ                                     |
| (4) [kh\grave{a}/kh\acute{a} > h\grave{a}/h\acute{a}]  | (8) l\grave{a}ʔ/laʔ > \grave{a}ʔ/aʔ              |

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (9) laməŋ/lamáŋ > məŋ/máŋ > mŋ/mǎŋ | (16) ŋay > ŋɛ/(ŋa)                             |
| (10) [lâw > lâ]                    | (17) rǎ/rǎ/rǎə > lǎ/lǎ/lǎə > ǎ/(ǎ)/(ǎə)        |
| (11) [lê? > là?]                   | (18) rək/rək/rók > lək/lək/lók > ək/ək > à?/a? |
| (12) [léew > lá?]                  | (19) [rǎw > rǎə]                               |
| (13) máy > mé/má                   | (20) thə?/thə?/thá? > hà?/hə?/há?              |
| (14) [mǎy > máy]                   | (21) [thəət > thə?]                            |
| (15) nâ? > â?                      |  |

### 6.2.2 ANALYSIS OF CASUAL-SPEECH REDUCTION PROCESSES

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

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

#### 6.2.2.1 REDUCTION RESULTING IN LOSS OF INITIAL SYLLABLE:: laməŋ/lamáŋ > məŋ/máŋ

#### 6.2.2.2 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION AFFECTING SYLLABLE INITIALS

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

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

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

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

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

(5) Loss of initial /l/ or /n/: /lâ/ > /â/, /laʔ/ > /aʔ/, /làʔ/ > /àʔ/, /lǎʔ/ > /ǎʔ/ (ǎʔ), /lòk/ > /òk/, /lòk/ > /àʔ/, /nâʔ/ > /âʔ/ etc. Note that such reduction ordinarily occurs only when the particle in question occurs in prepause position. Note, further, that all colloquial particles with initial /l/ are subject to this optional change, but loss of /n/ occurs only with *nâʔ* (1) or *nâʔ* (2). Also, loss of initials ordinarily does not take place following stops or /m/ or /n/ in the preceding syllable, or when the SP is used in an emphatic or intensified manner.

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

### 6.2.2.3 REDUCTION OR SIMPLIFICATION AFFECTING SYLLABLE FINALS

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

(1) Simplification of final stop to glottal: /lòk/ > /àʔ/ (in prepause position); [/kháp/ > /háʔ/]; [/thəʔ/ > /thəʔ/] etc.

(2) Centralisation of vowels: /ɔ/ > /a/ (e.g. /lòk/ > /àʔ/); /u/ > /ə/ (e.g. [/rǔu/ > /rə/]); /ɛ/ > /a/ (e.g. [/lɛʔ/ > /làʔ/]). See also the simplification of diphthongs, below.

(3) Simplification of diphthongs: /ay/ > /ɛ/ (e.g. /máʔ/ > /mɛʔ/); /ɛw/ > /a/ (e.g. /léw/ > /láʔ/); /aw/ > /a/ (e.g. /lâw/ > /làʔ/). Note, here, both the reduction of diphthongs to a simple vowel, and the tendency toward vowel centralisation.

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

## 7.0 OTHER INTONATIONAL PROCESSES

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

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

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

## 7.1 GENERAL SENTENCE-INTONATION PATTERNS

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

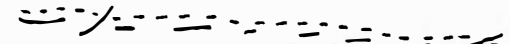
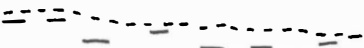
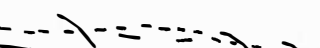


Other patterns (which I shall largely ignore in my discussion) include the following: extra-low and extra-high voice register; gradual lowering, gradual raising, and overall levelling of the pitch norm of a sentence from beginning to end of the utterance; sustained terminal contour (used in certain types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

### 7.1.1 VOICE REGISTER PATTERNS

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

#### 7.1.1.1 NORMAL VOICE REGISTER

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

- (121)   
 /khruu sǐi ka khruu can khon klàp pay léew./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'Teacher Sii and Teacher Chan must have gone home already.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7,8 9
- (122)   
 /taa ka pùu khray kèe kwàa kan./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Who is older: your maternal or paternal grandfather?'  
 4 5,6,7 1 2 3 1,3
- (123)   
 /yàa khâw pay nay bâan phîi./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Don't go into elder sibling's house.'  
 1 3 2,4 6 5
- (124)   
 /ʔaacaan yùu rú plàaw./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Is the professor in (or not)?'  
 1 2 3 4
- (125)   
 /luŋ ca khây bâan sǒŋ sǎam lǎŋ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Uncle is going to sell two or three houses.'  
 1 2 3 5 6 4,7

#### 7.1.1.2 HIGH VOICE REGISTER

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

#### 7.1.2 TERMINAL CONTOUR PATTERNS

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

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

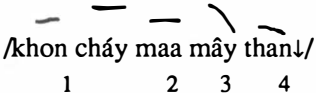
### 7.1.2.1 LOWERED TERMINAL CONTOUR

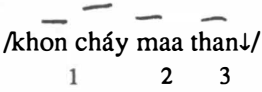
This is a type of intonation in which the last prepause syllable of an utterance drops to a somewhat lower pitch norm than that of preceding syllables. It also tends to trail away in volume, and, in the case of mid and falling tone and sometimes also high, the pitch of the syllable itself drops terminally.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

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

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

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

(126A)        
                  /khon chấ́y maa mấ́y than↓/  
                  1            2    3    4  
                  ‘The servant didn’t come in time.’  
                  1            3    2    4

(126B)        
                  /khon chấ́y maa than↓/  
                  1            2    3  
                  ‘The servant came in time.’  
                  1            2    3

- (127A) /kháw mây khuan ca dâa pùu↓/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'He ought not to swear at Grandfather.'  
 1 3,4 2 5 6
- (127B) /kháw mây khuan ca dâa phûan pùu↓/  
 1  
 'He oughtn't to swear at GF's friend.'  
 1
- (128) /nóŋ ʔàat ca maa cháa kwàa náa↓/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Younger sibling may come later than Uncle.'  
 1 2,3 4 5 6 7
- (129) /kháw ʔaw pay pôn lúuk↓/  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'She took it and fed it to her child.'  
 1 2,3 4 5
- (130) /mii sàa khăay sǒŋ sǎam phǔun↓/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'There are two or three mats for sale.'  
 1 4 5 2,6 3

### 7.1.2.2 RAISED TERMINAL CONTOUR



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

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

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

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

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

- (131)   
 /tʰkʰóŋ taaʔ/, (/ʔ...pùuʔ/, /ʔ...nóŋʔ/, /ʔ...phîiʔ/, /ʔ...lǎanʔ/)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘(You mean) it’s maternal grandfather’s? (...paternal grandfather’s?,  
 2 1 3  
 ...younger sibling’s?, ...elder sibling’s?, ...nephew’s?)’  
 4 5 6
- (132)   
 /ʔʔaw pay kinʔ/, (/ʔ...sàʔ/, /ʔ...thíŋʔ/, /ʔ...hâyʔ/, /ʔ...khǎayʔ/)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 ‘You took and ate it? (...put it in?, ...threw it away?, ...gave it to them?,  
 1,2 3 4 5 6  
 ...sold it?)’  
 7

### 7.1.3 SPECIAL-FOCUS EMPHATIC RAISING

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

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



- (133) /!phô sî sũuŋ. mēē nâ mây sũuŋ ləəy./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'It's **father** that's tall. Mother's not at all tall.'  
 1 2 3 4 6 5
- (134) /khuan tham yaŋ!ŋí, mây chây yaŋŋán./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'You should do it **this** way, not that way.'  
 1 2 4 3 5,6 8 7
- (135) /!mǝ. !mǝakhǝnní !nǎaw ca taay./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Wow! It was terribly **cold** last night.'  
 1 4,5 3 2
- (136) /!thammay mây !bòok/  
 1 2 3  
 'Why didn't you **tell** me?'  
 1 2 3
- (137) /bòok ?aacaan tham!máy./  
 1 2 3  
 '**Why** did you tell the professor?'  
 3 1 2

## 7.2 INTONATIONAL PATTERNS AND THE SP SYSTEM

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

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

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

## 7.2.1 SPS AND VOICE REGISTER

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

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

- (138A) /mii khray maa hǎa lǎ↓/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Someone came to see you, did they?'  
 1,2 3 4  
 [Speaker responds calmly to addressee's comment about talking to a friend.]
- (138B) /↑ ... lǎ↑/  
 'You mean someone came to see me?'  
 [Speaker reacts in astonishment to information addressee has just passed on.]
- (139A) /mây mii khray lǎk↓/  
 1 2 3  
 'No, there wasn't anyone.'  
 2 1 3  
 [Speaker corrects addressee's misunderstanding in 138, above, and goes on to explain he'd just been talking to his friend on the phone, not in person.]
- (139B) /↑...↓/  
 'Oh no, there wasn't anyone!'  
 (Where did you ever get that idea?)
- (140A) /chûay yìp dinsǎo hây nòy sí./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Please hand me the pencil.'  
 1,5 2,4 3  
 [Speaker finds he needs a pencil and makes unemphatic request of addressee who happens to have a pencil handy.]
- (140B) /↑yìp hây nòy !sí↑/  
 'Come on, hand me the pencil!'  
 [Speaker is annoyed at having to make his request for the second time.]  
 (The second up-pointing arrow signals raised terminal contour – see section 7.2.2.3.)

## 7.2.2 SPS AND TERMINAL CONTOURS

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

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

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

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

### 7.2.2.1 EXAMPLES OF LOWERED AND RAISED CONTOUR WITH SPs

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

(141A) S1 /ŋaan khoŋ sanùk ná./

1 2 3

'The party should be fun, don't you think?'

1 2 3

S2 /mây sanùk lòk↓/

4 5

'No, (I'm afraid not).'

4,5

[Second speaker responds in fairly ordinary, matter-of-fact fashion.]

(142A) /phoo la?↓/

1

'I've had enough.' 'This is plenty.' 'That's enough.'

1

[Speaker makes a definite refusal as host offers to refill his glass; or mistress somewhat peremptorily stops servant from scrubbing the table further, either for fear of damaging the finish, or because she is tired of waiting.]

(142B) /phoo la?↑/

'This is plenty.' (See? My glass is still full.)

'That's good enough.' (You don't need to scrub the table any more.)

(143A) /dòok máay sŭay ná↓/

1 2

Those flowers are pretty, aren't they?'

1 2

[Speaker comments unemphatically as he notices some flowers nearby.]

- (143B) /dòokmáay sǔay ná↑/  
[Here the speaker responds more enthusiastically to the flowers; or he may be expressing a stronger wish that the addressee share his enjoyment.]
- (144A) /pay dûaykan sî↓/  
1 2  
Come on, do let's go together.'  
1 2  
(There's no need to hang back.)  
[Speaker unassertively begs addressee who has previously conveyed or expressed reluctance, unwillingness.]
- (144B) /pay dûaykan sî↑/  
'Come on, let's go.'  
(Why on earth do you hesitate?)  
[Speaker increases the pressure when addressee does not respond to a previous invitation, here with displaying good-natured assertiveness or a bit of impatience.]
- (145A) /klàp bâan lǎ↓/  
1 2  
'So you're going home, huh?'  
1 2  
[It is quitting time at work, and speaker sees addressee getting ready to leave.]
- (145B) /klàp bâan lǎ↑/  
'You mean you're going home?'  
(I thought you were planning to work late tonight.)

#### 7.2.2.2 SPS AND LOWERED TERMINAL CONTOUR

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

##### 7.2.2.2.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SP LOWERED CONTOUR

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

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

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

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

(146A)       $\overline{\text{duu naa}\downarrow}$   
                   1  
                   ‘You’d better watch.’  
                                   1

(146B)       $\overline{\text{duu naa}\downarrow}$   
                   1 2  
                   ‘He looked at the rice field.’  
                           1           2

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

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

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

#### 7.2.2.2.2 THE SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SP LOWERED CONTOUR

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

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

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

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

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

(147) /ciŋ khrà:p↓/

1  
'That's true.'

1  
[Speaker rather passively responds to previous comment by addressee.]

(148) /hǎay pay nǎy wàa↓/

1 2 3  
'Where the heck did it disappear to?'

3 1 2  
[Speaker addresses himself, realising with bafflement and a touch of self-deprecating humour that he is not likely to find what he is looking for.]

(Note how the non-restraint implied by *wâ* loses some of its assertiveness as the speech is directed inward.)

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

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



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

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

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

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

#### 7.2.2.3.2 THE SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SP RAISED CONTOUR

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

(1) Increased emotional concern, involvement, investment in the response or reaction of the addressee: /cá/, /cǎa/, /há/, /háʔ/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /khráp/, /laʔ/, /mánʃ/, /mány/, /ná/, /náa/, /nâa/, /nê/, /nîʔ/ (2), /nîaʔ/, /ŋay/, /sǐ/.

(2) Heightened and positive personal expressiveness, conveying (a) enthusiasm and good spirits: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/, /hâ/, /há/, /háʔ/, /khâ/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /wâ/, /wá/, /wóoy/, /ní/; (b) light, good-humoured assertiveness: /wâ/, /wá/, /wóoy/, /yâ/, /yá/, /hé/, /laʔ/ (from *laʔ*), /láʔ/ (from *lâʔ*), /léʔ/, /lók/, /tháʔ/; or (c) archness, cuteness, femininity: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/, /hâ/, /há/, /khâ/, /khá/, /khǎa/, /ní/.

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

(4) Surprise: /lǎ/, /lǎə/, /lǎʔ/, /lǎəʔ/, /nîʔ/ (1).

(5) Informality: /laʔ/, /lək/, /thəʔ/.

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



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

### 7.2.2.3.3 A PROBLEMATICAL CASE OF SP RAISED CONTOUR

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

Occurrence of /sǐ/ with AIUs:

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

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

Occurrence with statements:

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

(152B) S1 /mây phoo lǎ./  
           1    2  
           ‘Don't you have enough?’  
           1                    2

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

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

(153) S1 /mây phoo lǎ./  
           ‘Don't you have enough (money)?’

S2 /phəə sɪ↓/  
 'Sure I do.'

[Here the second speaker expresses assurance, but without the more expressive jovial touch conveyed by /sɪ/.]

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

#### 7.2.2.4 THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF SP TONES AND CONTOURS

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

TONES OF PRIMARY VARIANTS		PRIMARY VARIANTS OCCURRING WITH LOWERED CONTOUR	PRIMARY VARIANTS OCCURRING WITH RAISED CONTOUR
Low tone	2	làʔ lèʔ lək thəʔ	
Mid tone	1	waa	waa
	2	laʔ (<laʔ)	laʔ (<laʔ) laʔ (<làʔ) lək thəʔ
	3	ɲay naa waa	maŋ ɲay naa waa si (?) sii (?)
High tone	1	cá há háʔ khá khráp wá wáa wóoy (?) yá	cá há háʔ khá khráp wá wáa wóoy yá
	2	láʔ (<laʔ) láʔ (<làʔ) léʔ (?) lók (?) thəʔ (?)	láʔ (<laʔ) láʔ (<làʔ) léʔ lók thəʔ
	3	hé ló lóə máy ná náa ní sí	hé ló lóə máŋ máy ná náa ní sí
Falling tone	1	câ hâ khâ wâ yâ	câ hâ khâ wâ yâ
	3	lâ nâ nâa nâʔ (1) nâʔ (2) nê nîaʔ nîʔ (1) nîʔ (2) sî sîi	lâ nâa nê nîʔ (1) nîʔ (2) sî sîi
Rising tone	1	căă khăă	căă khăă
	2	lăă lăă	lăă lăă

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

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

#### 7.2.2.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TONE AND CONTOUR

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 7.2.3 SPECIAL PARTICLE LENGTHENING

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

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

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

- (154A) /yàa maa kuan nâ./  
           1    2    3  
 'Please don't bother me.' (don't come bother)  
   1    2    3  
 (Here the utterance is mildly impatient, and there is also a sense of momentary request or persuasion.)
- (154B) /...nâa./  
 'Please don't bother me.'  
 (Here the speaker is urging, applying pressure, with no necessary sense of impatience implied.)
- (154C) /...nâ./  
 'Please don't bother me.'  
 (Here an element of impatience remains, but the impatience is softened, and a stronger element of urging, persuading, has been introduced.)

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

- (155) /ʔaw pay thà:ʔ./  
           1    2  
 'Go ahead and **take** it.'  
   1,2  
 (Softer and more gentle than /thàʔ/)
- (156) /pay nǎy khrá:pʔ/  
           1    2  
 'Where are you going?'  
   2            1  
 (The terminal-contour raising here conveys warmth or concern, while the lengthening expresses non-abruptness; however, the semantic value of the raising tends to overpower that of the lengthening.)

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

All long-vowel SP forms or variants are subject to special lengthening of the kind described here. The following short vowel forms may also occur lengthened, either long or half long: /câ/, /cá/, /hâ/, /há/, /khâ/, /khá/, /lâ/ (usually also raised), /léʔ/, /níʔ/ (usually also raised), /lòk/, /lòk/, /lók/, /thàʔ/, /thà:ʔ/, /tháʔ/. Other short vowel forms (including those that have long-vowel primary-variant counterparts) may occur half long, but they ordinarily are not lengthened beyond that point. In this respect they perhaps resemble other (non-SP) forms in the language.

## 7.2.4 SPS AND THE PHENOMENON OF STRESS

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

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

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

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

Hostile stress:

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

Stress with raised terminal contour:

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

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

## 7.2.4.1 NEGATIVE OR HOSTILE EMPHATIC STRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 7.2.4.2 STRESS AND RAISED CONTOUR

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

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

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

### 7.2.5 SPS AND TERMINAL /h/

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

- (158)            /pay dūaykan máy<sup>h</sup>./  
                   1        2  
                   ‘Shall we go together?’ ‘Do you want to go along?’ (‘How about it? Do say yes.’)  
                           1        2
- (159)            chán hěn dūay khâ<sup>h</sup>./  
                   1        2        3  
                   ‘I agree.’ (Implies friendly acquiescence.)  
                   1    2,3

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

## 8.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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

### 8.1 SUMMARY OF SP FORM-VARIATION PHENOMENA

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 8.2 THE VALIDITY OF THE PRESENT APPROACH

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

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

### 8.2.1 ARBITRARINESS WITH RESPECT TO UNDERLYING FORMS

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

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

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

### 8.2.2 PATTERNING IN THE PRIMARY VARIATION SYSTEM

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

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

### 8.2.3 OVERLAP BETWEEN PRIMARY VARIATION AND OTHER PROCESSES.

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

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

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

### 8.3 A PERSPECTIVE ON SP VARIATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## APPENDIX I.

## KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION AND ABBREVIATIONS

## Slashes and italics

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

## Consonants

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

## Vowel combinations

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

## Tones

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

## Intonation symbols

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Abbreviations

AIU action-inducement utterance

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

SP sentence particle

## APPENDIX II

## ABBREVIATED GLOSSARY OF SP FORMS

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

<i>câ</i> (SARP)	intimate and affectionate, used by or to women and children. Variants: /câ/, /cá/, /cǎa/.
<i>dòk</i>	correction of misapprehension (written lang.; cf. <i>lòk</i> ).
<i>hâ</i> (SARP)	informal and friendly, female speaking. Variants: /hâ/, /há/.
<i>há?</i> (SARP)	informal and friendly, male speaking.
<i>hé</i>	light, assertive or cavalier response.
<i>kramaŋ</i>	tentative statement or guess (written lang.; cf. <i>lamaŋ</i> , <i>maŋ</i> ).
<i>khráp</i> (SARP)	polite and somewhat formal, male speaking.
<i>lâ</i>	shift of focus to new but related concern.
<i>la?</i>	critical point now or already reached. Variants: /la?/, /lá?/.
<i>là?</i>	sole alternative. Variants: /là?/, /la?/, /lá?/.
<i>lamaŋ, maŋ</i>	tentative statement or guess. Variants: /lamaŋ/, <i>maŋ</i> /, /lamáy/, /máy/.
<i>lâw</i>	shift of focus to new but related concern (written lang.; cf. <i>lâ</i> ).
<i>lè?</i>	sole alternative (slightly formal or definite; cf. <i>là?</i> ). Variants: /lè?/, /lé?/.
<i>lǎ</i>	clue-derived yes/no question. Variants: /lǎ/, /lǎ/, /lǎə/.
<i>lòk</i>	correction of misapprehension. Variants: /lòk/, /lòk/, /lók/.
<i>maŋ</i>	tentative statement or guess (free variant of <i>lamaŋ</i> ). Variants: /maŋ/, /máy/.
<i>máy</i>	simple yes/no question.
<i>mǎy</i>	simple yes/no question (written lang.; cf. <i>máy</i> ).
<i>ná</i>	response desired. Variants: /ná/, /náa/, /naa/, /nàa/, /nâ/, /nâa/.
<i>nâ?</i> (1)	matter of minor or passing importance.
<i>nâ?</i> (2)	non-proximate topic
<i>nê</i>	particular relevance to addressee.
<i>nóní</i>	involvement in shared experience.
<i>ní?</i> (1)	matter of striking or critical relevance.
<i>nîa?</i> , <i>nî?</i> (2)	proximate topic. Variants: /nîa?/, /nî?/, /nîi/.
<i>nóo</i>	self-directed 'I wonder' question.
<i>nǎo</i>	self-directed 'I wonder' question (written lang.; cf. <i>nóo</i> ).
<i>ŋay</i>	known or rememberable referent.
<i>rǎ</i>	clue-derived yes/no question ('correct' speech; cf. <i>lǎ</i> ).
<i>ròk</i>	correction of misapprehension ('correct' speech; cf. <i>lòk</i> ).
<i>rǔ</i>	clue-derived yes/no question (written lang.; cf. <i>lǎ</i> ).
<i>sí</i>	expectable response. Variants: /sí/, /sǐi/, /si/, /sii/, /sí/.
<i>thà?</i>	desirable response. Variants: /thà?/, /thà?/, /thà?/.
<i>thàət</i>	desirable response (written lang.; cf. <i>thà?</i> ).
<i>wâ</i> , <i>wóoy</i> , <i>wáey</i> (SARP)	unrestrained and familiar or coarse, especially male speaking to male. Variants: /wâ/, /wá/, /wáa/, /waa/, /wàa/, /wǎa/, /wóoy/, /wáey/.

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

## APPENDIX III

## INVENTORY OF VARIANTS WITH IDENTIFICATION OF UNDERLYING SOURCES

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

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

/â/	red. fr. <i>lâ</i> , or <i>nâ?</i> (2)	/há/	<i>há?</i> .
/aʔ/	red. fr. <i>la?</i> , <i>là?</i> (p.v. /laʔ/), or <i>lòk</i> (p.v. /lòk/).	/hé/	<i>hé</i> .
/à/	red. fr. <i>là?</i> , or <i>lòk</i> . See also <i>nâ?</i> (2). <sup>18</sup>	/həʔ/	simp. fr. <i>thə?</i> (p.v. /thəʔ/).
/âʔ/	red. fr. <i>nâ?</i> (2).	/həʔ/	simp. fr. <i>thə?</i> .
/ǎ/	red. fr. <i>lǎ</i> (p.v. /lǎ/).	/hóʔ/	simp. fr. <i>thə?</i> (p.v. /thóʔ/).
/ǎʔ/	red. fr. <i>lǎ</i> .	/kraməŋ/	<i>kraməŋ</i> .
/ǎə/	red. fr. <i>lǎ</i> (p.v. /lǎə/).	/khâ/	<i>khâ</i> .
/òk/	red. fr. <i>lòk</i> (p.v. /lòk/).	/khá/	<i>khâ</i> .
/òk/	red. fr. <i>lòk</i> .	/kháa/	<i>khâ</i> .
/câ/	<i>câ</i> .	/kháp/	red. fr. <i>kháp</i> .
/cá/	<i>câ</i> .	/khráp/	<i>khráp</i> .
/cǎa/	<i>câ</i> .	/lâ/	<i>lâ</i> .
/dòok/	<i>dòok</i> (written lang.).	/laʔ/	<i>la?</i> , or <i>là?</i> .
/hâ/	<i>hâ</i> .	/làʔ/	<i>là?</i> .
/há/	<i>hâ</i> .	/láʔ/	<i>la?</i> , or <i>là?</i> .
		/laməŋ/	<i>laməŋ</i> .
		/lamáy/	<i>laməŋ</i> .



/lâw/	<i>lâw</i> (written lang.).	/nîaʔ/	<i>nîaʔ</i> .
/lɛʔ/	<i>lɛʔ</i> .	/nóɔ/	<i>nóɔ</i> .
/lèʔ/	<i>lèʔ</i> .	/nǒɔ/	<i>nǒɔ</i> (written lang.)
/léʔ/	<i>léʔ</i> .	/ɲay/	<i>ɲay</i> .
/lá/	<i>lǎ</i> .	/ɲɛ/	simp. fr. <i>ɲay</i> .
/lǎ/	<i>lǎ</i> .	/rǎ/	<i>rǎ</i> .
/lǎə/	<i>lǎ</i> .	/rǎʔ/	<i>rǎʔ</i> .
/lɔk/	<i>lòk</i> .	/rǎə/	<i>rǎ</i> .
/lòk/	<i>lòk</i> .	/rɔk/	<i>ròk</i> .
/lók/	<i>lòk</i> .	/ròk/	<i>ròk</i> .
/má/	simp. fr. <i>máy</i> .	/rók/	<i>ròk</i> .
/maŋ/	<i>maŋ</i> .	/rǔə/	<i>rǔə</i> (written lang.).
/mán/	<i>maŋ</i> .	/sɪ/	<i>sí</i> .
/máɲ/	<i>máy</i> .	/sî/	<i>sî</i> .
/mǎɲ/	<i>mǎɲ</i> (written lang.).	/sí/	<i>sí</i> .
/mé/	simp. fr. <i>máy</i> .	/sii/	<i>sí</i> .
/mɲ/	red. fr. <i>maŋ</i> .	/sîi/	<i>sí</i> .
/mǎj/	red. fr. <i>maŋ</i> (p.v. /mán/).	/thəʔ/	<i>thəʔ</i> .
/ná/	<i>ná</i> , or red. fr. <i>nâʔ</i> (1) or <i>nâʔ</i> (2).	/thəʔ/	<i>thəʔ</i> .
/ná/	<i>ná</i> .	/thəʔ/	<i>thəʔ</i> .
/náʔ/	<i>nâʔ</i> (1) or (2).	/thəət/	<i>thəət</i> (written lang.).
/naa/	<i>ná</i> .	/wâ/	<i>wâ</i> .
/nàa/	<i>ná</i> .	/wá/	<i>wâ</i> .
/nâa/	<i>ná</i> .	/waa/	<i>wâ</i> .
/náa/	<i>ná</i> .	/wàa/	<i>wâ</i> .
/nê/	<i>nê</i> .	/wáa/	<i>wâ</i> .
/nə/	<i>ná</i> .	/wǎa/	<i>wâ</i> .
/ní/	red. fr. <i>nîʔ</i> (1) or (2).	/wəəy/	<i>wəəy</i> .
/ní/	<i>ní</i> .	/wóoy/	<i>wóoy</i> .
/níʔ/	<i>nîʔ</i> (1) or (2).	/yâ/	<i>yâ</i> .
/nîi/	<i>nîi</i> , <i>nîʔ</i> (1) or (2).	/yá/	<i>yâ</i> .

## NOTES

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

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

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

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

/mây hěn dũayl lỏk la lỏ khá nỉ nả?./  
 1 2 3  
 'You mean you don't agree with this, huh?'  
 1 2,3

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

/mây hěn dũayl lỏk nỉ nả sĩ nả khá nỉ nả?./  
 1 2 3  
 'I take it you disagree with this, hm?'  
 1 2,3

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

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

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

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

A section of that work (pp.72-89) deals with sentence particles; here the author briefly accounts for the forms, meanings and variants of a number of SPs, her treatment being basically arranged in terms of the functions of the various forms. In this section, then, she first describes what she terms /kham bòk maala/ (which I have translated as 'mood indicators'): /ná/, /sí/, /lâ/, /thàʔ/, /kramaŋ/, /ròk/, /nê/, /nîi/, /nǎʔ/, /lèʔ/. Here, too, she goes into some detail in describing particle variants, particularly /ná/ and /sí/, and the contexts in which each occurs. And she also deals briefly with a number of two-particle sequences involving particles in this group. Next she describes forms identified as /kham bòk kaanthām/ (that is, 'question indicators'): /rǔu/ and /mǎy/. Also included here are a number of question phrases such as /chây mǎy/ and /rǔu plàaw/. She concludes with a brief description of a third group of particles called /kham bòk sathāanaphāp/ ('social status indicators'): /cā/, /khā/, /yā/ etc.

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

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

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

9. A third form, *kh-ráp*, is much like *háʔ* and *laʔ* in that the high tone remains constant in a whole range of contexts, not only with questions and statements, but also in a very wide variety of situations. However, there is a special low-pitch variant [khràap] which is used in contexts of passive acquiescence. This usage is so obviously unusual that one can hardly avoid the assumption that *kh-ráp* really does have an underlying high tone, but that in very special circumstances it may be lowered in pitch, thus producing a low-tone intonational variant. In any event, the variational behaviour of *kh-ráp* contrasts strikingly with that of *thəʔ*, *lòk* and *làʔ*. (For a discussion of the pitch lowering of *kh-ráp* and other forms, see sections 7.2.2.2 and 7.2.2.5.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## FORMS AND MEANINGS OF THE THAI PARTICLE *si*

JOSEPH R. COOKE

### 0. SUMMARY OF ARTICLE

The Thai form *si* is a discourse particle having various pronunciations and used in a wide variety of ways. The variant pronunciations include /si/, /sii/, /sî/, /sîi/, /sí/, and (for some speakers) /síi/; and the varying usages include action-inducement utterances (commands, suggestions, invitations, requests), responses to questions and to question-raising statements, inferential comments, and statements noting new information. All these forms and usages have one meaning in common – that of signalling a logical, necessary, or expectable response. And then the variations in form signal further distinctions as follows: /si/ or /sii/ for non-involvement, /sî/ for definiteness, /sîi/ for persuasion, /sí/ for personal need or wish, and /síi/ for personal wish plus persuasion. Under certain circumstances these variants may be neutralised to /si/; and the forms /sîi/ and /sîi/ may be raised to signal intensification of meaning. The above phenomena are exemplified in this paper through the presentation of a wide range of data; and the data are then accounted for by means of relevant explanations and generalisations.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 *si* AND THE CLASS OF DISCOURSE PARTICLES

The form *si*, with its various pronunciations and meanings, comprises one of a class of forms in Thai sometimes designated as sentence-final particles but perhaps more appropriately identified as discourse particles. These particles usually but not always occur at the ends of sentences, and they generally signal various types of commands, questions, responses, statements, etc. They also constitute links of various kinds with the linguistic and non-linguistic context of the discourse or linguistic interchange within which they occur.

#### 1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Some of these particles prove extraordinarily resistant to definition, analysis, or explanation. For one thing, some occur with a variety of pronunciations the precise significance of which is extremely difficult to determine. And certain particles are used in such a variety of ways that one is hard put to it

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to discover what function they could possibly have. Then again the line between what is acceptable or grammatical and what is not sometimes seems so tortuous and arbitrary that one wonders how a native speaker ever learns to use the forms correctly or to understand the usage of other speakers.

This paper constitutes an attempt to make sense out of the bewildering ins and outs of the forms and meanings of just one of these particles – the form *si*. I have selected this particular form for consideration because it has been, for me, the most bewildering and complex of the lot. Also, I am hopeful that light shed in this area may lead to a more insightful exploration of a wider range of phenomena relating to the whole class of discourse particles.

In preparing this paper, I have, of course, had access to a body of published material (see bibliography); but most of the information contained herein has been obtained from several years of intermittent bedeviling of a number of very patient and helpful native speakers. The following have all assisted me by spending considerable amounts of time sharing their knowledge and understanding with me: Dr Prapin Manomaivibool, Ms Nisa Udomphol (now Ms Sakdechayont), Ms Peansiri Ekniyom, Mr Chare Vathanaprida, Ms Subhaphorn Vathanaprida, Ms Pimpun Suwanamalik (now Ms Fitzpatrick), Ms Niphapharn Chutrakul, Dr Navavan Bandhamedha, and Ms Arada Kiranand. I have also leaned very heavily upon an unpublished paper prepared for me by Ms Udomphol, entitled 'Semantic Functions of the Thai Particle /Si/'. A number of examples cited below have been taken from her work.

In general, the data and explanations which follow are presented in terms of the usage of my most recent informant, Ms Kiranand. Other speakers will certainly differ from Ms Kiranand in their use of *si*, and some of these differences have been recorded in my notes; but many other differences assuredly have not, for some of my data were gathered at a time when my perceptions and understanding were more limited than now. Also, unfortunately, I no longer have access to my original sources of information, so I cannot check my data in the light of more recent insights. In any case, my presentation is structured around Ms Kiranand's speech patterns. Significant variations from those patterns will be pointed out where relevant.

### 1.3 FORMS AND MEANINGS OF *si* AND THE TREATMENT OF THEM HERE PROPOSED

Now to an examination of the particle *si*. And in order to lay a foundation for our discussion, I must explain that *si* occurs with the following forms: /si/, /sî/, /sĩ/, /sii/, /sîi/, and for some speakers, /sîi/.<sup>1</sup> All of these forms seem to possess some element of meaning which they hold in common; yet each can, for the most part, be differentiated from the others by some distinct and consistent meaning that it possesses. I shall attempt in this paper to identify the basic meaning common to all forms, and to isolate the meanings that distinguish each variant from the others. As I do this, it will soon become evident that the bulk of the paper is concerned with semantic problems; and my approach in dealing with these is first to present data, then to formulate hypotheses, and then in certain cases to show how these hypotheses apply. The paper then concludes with a summary of my conclusions and a couple of suggestions concerning possible future research.

### 2. THE BASIC MEANING OF *si* AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE VARIANT /sî/

Let us first take up the the matter of the basic meaning that is characteristic (as I suggest) of *si* in all its varied forms and occurrences. And, in order to bring the wealth of data down to manageable proportions, let me present a number of examples of just one of the variant forms, namely /sî/. I



choose this particular form because it happens to occur in a rather wide range of situations; and, once such occurrences are explained, we will find we have a convenient basis for going on to account for the other variants.

## 2.1 EXAMPLES OF TYPES OF OCCURRENCE OF /sî/

The following examples are arranged according to varied categories of occurrence or usage: commands, suggestions, invitations, requests, responses to questions and to question-raising statements, inferential statements, and utterances noting new information. These categories should not, however, be taken too seriously, for they merely provide a convenient means for setting forth the data. When a given example fits into one category or another is not a matter of crucial importance. The point is that /sî/ occurs in each of the varied contexts, and we must find some account of its meaning that is consonant with this wide variety of occurrences.

Square brackets, below, mark information as to possible situations in which the utterance in question might occur.

### 2.1.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES

These comprise various kinds of utterances in which the speaker is prompting the addressee to some particular action. They include commands (see examples 1 and 2 below), suggestions (3-7), invitations (8, 9), and requests (10-12).

- (1)            /pàət pratuu sî/  
                   1        2  
                   ‘Open the door.’  
                   1        2  
                   [It's time for the store to open, and it is the addressee's responsibility to perform this duty. Or: a third party's hands are full, and he can't open the door himself, but the addressee is there handy to help him. Or: the addressee appears to be uncomfortable sitting in a stuffy, closed room.]
- (2)            /yàa khàp rew !sî/  
                   1        2        3  
                   ‘Don't drive so fast.’  
                   1        2        3  
                   [The speaker thinks the addressee is driving too fast.]  
                   (The exclamation symbol here, and in example 18 below, indicates an emphatic raising of the pitch of /sî/.)
- (3)            /faŋ sî, phró? dii/  
                   1                    2  
                   ‘Listen! (That's) beautiful.’  
                   1                    2  
                   [The speaker hears some beautiful music and calls it to the attention of the addressee.]

- (4) /khĩan hây dii sî, léew ca dâay raanwan/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Write nicely now, and (you)'ll get a reward.'  
 1 2,3 4 5 6 7  
 [A mother wants her child to write to his grandfather, and she offers him a reward if he writes a nice, neat letter.]
- (5) /sũu sũa tua nán sî, sũay dii/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 '(Why don't you) buy that shirt? It's nice and pretty.'  
 1 3,4 2 6 5
- (6) /kháw hây kô ?aw sî/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'He's giving (it to you), so take (it).'
- 1 2 3 4  
 [The speaker is encouraging the addressee to accept the offer being extended to him.]
- (7) /kô yàa nâŋ sî/  
 1 2 3  
 'Well then don't sit (there).'
- 1 2 3  
 [The addressee has just indicated verbally that he is reluctant to seat himself. Perhaps he is afraid the chair won't take his weight, or he has noticed something spilled on it.]
- (8) khâw maa sî/  
 1 2  
 '(Do) come in.'
- 2 1  
 [The speaker is welcoming someone at the door.]
- (9) /kin khâaw kòon sî, léew khôy pay/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Eat first, then (you can) go.' (gradually)  
 1,2 3 4 6 5  
 [The addressee is about to leave; but it is almost time to eat, so the speaker urges him to stay for the meal.]
- (10) /yìp dinsõo hây nõy sî/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Hand me the pencil, (would you?)' (grasp pencil for (me) a little)  
 1 2 3 4  
 [The pencil is within easy reach of the addressee, and the speaker cannot conveniently reach it for himself.]

- (11) /khǎo nâŋ dūay khon sī/  
           1 2 3 4  
 'May I join you? (request sit with (you) (one) person)  
                                   1 2 3 4  
 [Speaker asks permission to join and sit down with a group of his friends.]
- (12) /tham hây thii sī/  
           1 2 3  
 'Would you do it for me?' (do for (me) (one) time)  
                                   1 2 3  
 [The speaker asks the addressee to do some small task for him.]

### 2.1.2 ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

These include answers to yes-or-no questions (13-15 below) and to content questions asking who? what? when? where? etc. (16, 17). In the following examples, S1 and S2 differentiate two speakers in a given utterance-and-response interchange.

- (13) S1 /khun khít wâa kháw ca maa máy/  
           1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'Do you think that he'll come?'  
           1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- S2 /maa sī/  
       8  
 'Sure he will.' (come)  
           8  
 (The form /má/ signals a question that calls for a yes-or-no answer.)  
 [The second speaker has perhaps just talked to the third party on the phone and so knows he is coming. Or: the third party had promised to come, and the second speaker knows his promises are reliable.]
- (14) S1 /khun khít wâa fǎn ca mây tòk lǎə/  
           1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'You think it won't rain?' (you think that rain will not fall?)  
                                   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
- S2 /kô mây tòk nâ sī/<sup>2</sup>  
           9 10  
 'Of course it won't.'  
           9,10  
 (The form /lǎə/ signals a yes-or-no question where the speaker has received some clue as to the addressee's expected response; the sequence /kô ... nâ/, here and below, conveys the idea that the speaker is stating something that he feels should be obvious to the addressee.)
- (15) S1 khun ca mây klàp bâan lǎə/  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Aren't you going to go home?'  
           3 1 2 4 5 6

- S2 /klàp sî. thammay ca mây klàp/  
 7 8 9 10 11  
 'Sure I am. Why wouldn't (I)?' (return)  
 7 8 9 10 11
- (16) S1 /thəə ca pay hǎa kh-ray/  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Who are you going to go see?'  
 5 1 2 3 4
- S2 /kô ?aacaan nâ sî/  
 6  
 'The teacher, of course.'  
 6  
 [The two speakers have been puzzling over an assignment, and the second speaker has just previously indicated that he is going to inquire about it.]
- (17) S1 /ʔaw kii bàat/  
 1 2 3  
 'How much do you want? (want how many baht)  
 1 2 3
- S2 /kô sîp bàat nâ sî/  
 4 5  
 'Well ten baht.'  
 4 5  
 [The second speaker feels the answer is obvious. Perhaps the price is marked in plain view, or perhaps he has just quoted the price shortly before.]

### 2.1.3 RESPONSES TO QUESTION-RAISING STATEMENTS

These are responses somewhat like answers to questions, but here the addressee has not actually asked a question. Rather, he has made a statement that raises or calls to mind a question of fact or understanding that the speaker feels requires comment. So he responds with some appropriate confirmation, correction, or explanation. Note that in certain types of such responses the particle /sî/ does not occur at the end of the sentence but after a noun phrase or subordinate clause which functions as the focus of the predication (see 20-22).

- (18) S1 /chán wâa wanní fǎn thâa ca mây tòk/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'I don't think it'll rain today.'  
 (I think today rain apparently will not fall.)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
- S2 /tòk !sî/  
 7  
 'Sure it will.'

- (19) S1 /duu sî, kháw kamləŋ láəŋ chaam/  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Look, he's washing the dishes.'  
 1 2 3 4 5
- S2 /tèŋŋaan kan léew kô tōŋ chúay kan tham ŋaan sî/  
 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14  
 'Well, they're married, and so they've got to help each other do the work.'  
 6,7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
- (20) khon nán sî sǔay/  
 1 2 3  
 'That's the one that's pretty.' (person that is pretty)  
 1 2 3  
 [The addressee has just expressed his opinion that some other person than the one here referred to is pretty, so the speaker here refocuses the addressee's attention on the one to whom he feels the description more fully applies.]
- (21) /fǒn yàəŋ ní sî tham hây náam thūam dāy ŋāyŋāy/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'This is the kind of rain that can easily cause floods.'  
 (rain kind this cause water to overflow can easily)  
 1 2 3 4,5 6 7 8 9  
 [The addressee has just remarked about how serious the rain storm is. Or: he has just made light of the storm's importance.]
- (22) pen dèk sî dii/  
 1 2 3  
 'Being a child is wonderful.' 'It's when you're a child that you're really well off.'  
 1 2 3  
 [The addressee has just indicated what a wretched life children lead. Or: he has just been talking about what fun he had as a child.]

#### 2.1.4 INFERENCE STATEMENTS

These are utterances in which the speaker draws some kind of inference from something he hears or observes.

- (23) /khun khít wāa chán tòk loŋ sî/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'You must think I agree.'  
 1 2,3 4 5,6  
 [The speaker has just learned from the addressee that the latter, without consultation, has gone ahead with plans for a party to be held at the speaker's house.]

- (24) /khâŋnôk thanõn tɔn nî rôt tìt ?iik sî/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'I gather there's another traffic jam outside now.'  
 (outside streets now cars jammed again)  
 1 2 3,4 5 6 7  
 [The addressee has just come in at 5:00 p.m., complaining about the difficult time he has had getting through town in his car.]
- (25) /fõn tòk léew sî/  
 1 2 3  
 'So it's raining now.' (rain falls now)  
 1 2 3  
 [The speaker doesn't have first-hand knowledge of the weather outside, but he sees the addressee come in, soaked from head to foot.]

## 2.1.5 STATEMENTS NOTING NEW INFORMATION

These are statements made in response to some new development or fact that has just come to the attention of the speaker, or that is being brought to the attention of the addressee for the first time. Statements of this kind always have the form /léew/ 'now' as a part of the predication.

- (26) /fõn tòk léew sî/  
 1 2 3  
 'Hey, it's raining!' (We'd better get our umbrellas) Or: 'Aw shucks, it's raining!'  
 1,2,3  
 (We can't go on our outing after all.)  
 [Note that this utterance, as it stands, is ambiguous. The presence or absence of disappointment will have to be determined by the speaker's tone of voice, or by his general deportment. Furthermore, only a knowledge of the situation will make clear whether the statement is a response to a new development, as here, or whether the speaker is making an inference, as in 25, above.]
- (27) /phleej rəəm léew sî/  
 1 2 3  
 'There, the music is getting started.' (song begins now)  
 1 2 3  
 [The speaker and the addressee are at a concert and have been waiting for the music to begin, so the speaker conveys the sense that they should now stop talking and listen.]
- (28) khun bunmii ca tɛŋŋaan léew sî/  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Well, I see Mr Boonmii is getting married.' (Mr Boonmii will marry now)  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 [The speaker sees an article in the paper and discovers for the first time that Boonmii is getting married. This means he will now have to get busy and buy a wedding present.]

- (29) /khun bunmii ca tɛ̀ŋŋaan léew n̄i s̄i/  
 'But Mr Boonmii is getting married now.'  
 (The form *n̄i* signals new information contrary to the expectations or understanding of the addressee.)  
 [The addressee has just proposed the name of Boonmii as an officer in a singles group.]

## 2.2 ACCOUNTING FOR THE GENERAL MEANING OF /s̄i/ (AND *si*)

The above examples should suffice to reveal something of the range of occurrences of the form /s̄i/. But what does the particle mean? Can there in fact be a single meaning that covers such a diversity of uses? This is the problem to which I shall now address myself.

### 2.2.1 THE MEANING OF /s̄i/ (OR *si*) AS PRESENTED IN THE LITERATURE

The most commonly proposed explanations for the meaning of *si* involve the idea of emphasis. So McFarland 1954:863; Thai-Thai Dictionary 1976:911; Manitcharoen 1964:1356; Haas 1964:539; Bhamoraput 1972:24. Two of these sources, McFarland and the Thai-Thai Dictionary, indicate further that /s̄i/ is used to express the imperative; and Bhamoraput, in a similar vein, states that *si* indicates an exhortation. Then Brown (1969:3.35) provides the more explicit information that /s̄i/ is used when 'speaker urges hearer to do something that should obviously be done'. So here again something of the idea of the imperative is conveyed.

Noss (1964:210), for his part, gives us a definition that includes both the idea (approximately) of the imperative and of emphasis. He suggests that *si* conveys the idea that 'this is the correct behaviour or belief (change yourself if necessary)'. Then he goes on to explain that *si* 'is used most commonly to urge action on the part of someone who is not acting, or to change the course of action of someone who is .... A second use ... is in emphatic statements, where it either expresses or urges agreement.'

Actually, none of the above explanations quite suffices to fit all the contexts in which *si* occurs.<sup>3</sup> The idea of emphasis seems plausible enough in some contexts, but it doesn't seem to be too relevant in the case of invitations or requests (examples 8-12 above), or in the case of inferential statements (23-25), or of statements noting new information (26-29). Similarly, the idea of the imperative appears relevant in some cases; for *si* certainly can be used with commands. In fact if we were to broaden the term 'imperative' to cover all the inducement-to-action utterances above (examples 1-12), we could considerably widen the applicability of this definition. However, there are other ways of giving commands that make no use of *si* (e.g. utterances occurring with the particles /ná/ and /thəʔ/ and occasionally utterances with no particle at all); and there are any number of other things that can be said in order to get people to do things. And then, when all is said and done, we are still left with occurrences of *si* that convey neither the idea of the imperative nor the idea of emphasis.

Noss, I believe, comes close to the mark when he proposes the idea of 'correct behaviour or belief'. In fact, one might have difficulty demonstrating conclusively that this explanation falls short. However, I do think it is possible to improve on Noss's proposal; so, rather than argue the point, I should like to suggest a definition that I feel comes a little closer to accounting for the meaning and usage of this particle.

## 2.2.2 THE MEANING OF /*si*/ (OR *si*) AS HERE PROPOSED

I suggest, then, that the particle *si* conveys the idea that something – i.e. the thing being commanded, requested, suggested, stated, affirmed, inferred, pointed out – is a response that in the speaker's opinion naturally, logically, expectably, assuredly follows from the situation in question. In other words, *si* signals the fact that a given response is obvious, expectable, or certain under the circumstances.

## 2.2.3 HOW THE NOTION OF 'EXPECTABILITY' APPLIES IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS

This idea of expectable response will serve, I believe, to explain the various types of usage to which *si* is subject. But, what constitutes an expectable response? And how does this idea of expectable response apply to the different kinds of utterances exemplified above?

In order to answer these questions, it is helpful to divide the various types of utterances where *si* occurs into two groups. The first group consists of those utterances which call for some appropriate or reasonable response on the part of the addressee (see the action-inducement utterances, as in examples 1-12). The second group consists of those which signal an expectable or assured response on the part of the speaker (as in examples 13-29).

### 2.2.3.1 'EXPECTABILITY' IN ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES

The first group of utterances, then, signal that something is to be done by the addressee; and the something, whatever it is, must be something that is expectable within the verbal or situational context within which the given *si* utterance occurs. Now this expectability will in some cases be self-evident, both to the speaker and to the addressee, in the light of the situation as it stands. For example, it may be understood that it is time for the addressee to open the store; so then the situation naturally calls for the addressee to open it (see item 1 above). Or the speaker may be extending the addressee an invitation to come into his house (example 8), or to be seated; and the natural, expectable response is for the addressee to accept. In cases such as these, the situation plus the stimulus utterance in themselves provide all the grounds necessary for expecting the given response. The response is expectable without any further comment or explanation.

In other cases, the expectability of the action in question is not self-evident unless the speaker provides some explanation or points to some consideration that reinforces the expectability of the response in a given instance. For example, a speaker might see a shirt that he thinks the addressee should buy, but he cannot simply out of the blue urge the latter to buy it, using the word *si*. However, if the speaker explains that the shirt is pretty, then that explanation provides reason enough for the speaker to feel the addressee's response is expectable, and so he can appropriately use *si* in calling forth that response (example 5).

In short, a speaker may tack *si* on to an action-inducement utterance when there is something about the situation that in and of itself naturally calls for the action in question. But if the occasion doesn't speak for itself, the speaker will verbally supply information or suggest some consideration that explains why he feels the response in question is called for.



## 2.2.3.1.1 'EXPECTABILITY' THAT IS SELF-EXPLANATORY

Situations that speak for themselves, or those in which the expectability of the called for response is self-explanatory, include those in which anyone might be expected to act in the way indicated. For example, an employee may be expected to fulfil responsibilities assigned to him (like opening the store door every morning, or sweeping every evening). A child may be expected to eat when food is set before him. A person may be expected to listen to the music at a concert, or to open a door for a friend whose hands are full, or to enter a house when he is welcomed at the door by his host, or to take steps to get warm when he is cold. All of these are things a person might be urged, told, asked, invited to do, using the particle *si*, with no further explanation. The explanation may be provided if the speaker wishes, but it need not be.

Some types of utterance in which the situation normally can be considered as self-explanatory are worthy of note here:

(1) Corrective commands. These (as opposed to preventive commands, to be discussed below) are commands directed toward the addressee to get him to do something he is not doing but in the speaker's opinion should do, or to stop doing something that is contrary to the speaker's wishes or expectations. For example, a mother tells her child who is toying with his food to get busy and eat; or a passenger tells a driver not to drive so fast (item 2). Note that in situations of this sort, the addressee is not necessarily expected to already know without being told (though he *may* know) what action is called for or why. The command itself informs him that his present behaviour is undesirable, and that he should therefore either stop what he is doing, or start acting in a different way. In other words, the command itself reveals what the expectable response is; and the speaker, in using *si* is expressing his opinion of what is expectable.

(2) Requests or invitations arising out of some present and immediate need or wish. For example, the speaker needs a pencil that is out of convenient reach, so he asks the addressee to pass it to him (item 10); or someone wants to join a group of friends, so he asks their permission to do so (11); or the addressee is standing at the door, and the host invites him in (8); or the host invites his guest to be seated. Here again, the expressed wish or invitation of the speaker provides all the information necessary for the addressee to know and understand that a given response is to be expected. So, in using *si* in such circumstances, the speaker is signalling the fact that the called-for response is the normal, expectable thing.

(3) Utterances urging response to some noteworthy sensual stimulus. For example, a speaker urges the addressee to look at a pretty girl, or to listen to an odd sound, or to feel the texture of a luxurious piece of cloth. In situations of this sort, the addressee knows what is expectable as soon as the speaker has expressed himself. Why it is expectable he will learn as soon as he has done what he is being urged to do. In any case, the speaker need make no explanation (unless he wishes) to justify the action he is calling for. The situation speaks for itself.

## 2.2.3.1.2 'EXPECTABILITY' THAT REQUIRES EXPLANATION OR JUSTIFICATION

In contrast to the above situations, there are other cases where the expectability of a given response is not self-evident from the command or suggestion as it stands. In such cases the speaker must provide some explanation or suggest some consideration that clarifies why the given action is called for in this particular instance.

Explanations and clarifications of this sort are many and varied. They may comprise offers of reward (example 4), or comments about some desirable consequence of the action in question. Or they may take the form of threats or of warnings about undesirable consequences.

They may also point to some new fact or event in the immediate environment (such as the time of day, the weather, or the ringing of the doorbell) that may not have been noticed by the addressee, but that gives rise to a call for the action in question. Then again they may point back to old information as an inducement to the action. For example, the addressee has been offered a gift (so he should accept it; see item 6 above); or he has just indicated that he wants to go to the party (so he should go); or he has just noticed how rickety a chair is (so he shouldn't sit on it; item 7).

Commands and suggestions of this latter type (i.e. those referring back to old information) differ from the others in that the reason for the called-for action, being old information to the addressee, need not be explicitly stated as a part of the action-inducement utterance. But that reason will usually be acknowledged or signalled as a part of the command by means of the addition of the preverbal particle /kô .../ 'then, well then ...'. (Compare examples 6 and 7.) The mandatory presence of /kô/ is here taken, then, to mark such utterances as falling into the category of commands or suggestions of the type whose expectability is not self-evident but must be explained or justified in some way.

Among the most common of the situations calling for explanations or clarifications of the kind mentioned above are those in which the addressee seems to be unaware of or heedless of some crucial fact or consideration that the speaker feels should govern his actions. For example, the addressee doesn't seem to realise how good the prices are at a particular store; or he evidently didn't hear the doorbell; or he is unaware of the time; or he is not sufficiently heedful of the significance of the fact that a gift is being offered to him. He therefore needs these considerations brought to his attention if he is to be urged (using the particle *sí*) to shop at that store, to answer that doorbell, to hurry and get dressed for that scheduled event, or to accept that gift offered to him. Once these considerations are pointed out in some way, the action in question then becomes the obvious, expectable thing to do, at least in the speaker's eyes.

A particular subgroup of situations of the above sort consists of those situations which give rise to *preventive* suggestions or commands. These are situations in which the addressee seems to be about to do something uncalled for, evidently unaware of some crucial consideration that would otherwise prevent him from acting as intended. For example, a child is about to touch the stove, unaware that he might get burned; or a friend is about to shop at a particular store without realising how dishonest the establishment is; or a guest seems to feel obligated to sit in a rickety chair ignoring or suppressing his own doubts about its serviceability. So the speaker, using the particle *sí*, urges the addressee not to perform the given action, and at the same time provides the explanation or points to the consideration that makes the addressee's response expectable.

Preventive negative commands of this kind thus contrast with corrective negatives (in which the speaker tells the addressee not to do something he is already doing) in that the former require some justification for the prohibition (if not an explicit reason, then at least the form /kô .../ 'well then ...') whereas the latter do not. They also contrast with preventive commands using the particle /ná/, where the speaker is simply expressing his wishes or demands, and therefore needs append no explanation or justification.

## 2.2.3.2 'EXPECTABILITY' IN SPEAKER-RESPONSE UTTERANCES

Up to this point, we have been dealing with the matter of expectable response as it relates to action-inducement utterances, or utterances that call for an expectable or obvious response on the part of the addressee. Let us now look at responses on the part of the speaker. Here we find two new aspects to the problem of obviousness or expectability. First is the fact that the expectability need not always be clear (or made clear) to the addressee, for it is the speaker's own response that is being judged expectable, not that of the addressee. Thus in example 13 above, the addressee has no idea whether the third party is coming or not. But the speaker knows; and when the speaker answers /*maa sî*/ 'Sure he's coming', he conveys the idea that he has what he considers sufficient reason for his response; but he need not explain the reasons for his assurance to the addressee. He *can* explain the basis for his assurance if he wishes, but even if he does not, he can still signal his assurance by the use of /*sî*/; and the addressee will know that the response is based on what the speaker feels to be good grounds.

The second aspect to the problem of expectability or obviousness is the fact that in many instances, including the above example, the speaker is basically conveying the idea that he is sure, or has reason to believe, that something is the case. In other words, /*sî*/ here carries the idea, not strictly of expectability or even obviousness, but of assurance, certainty, and behind that of the presence of a reason for that assurance or certainty.

Let us now look at the various types of speaker-response occurrences of /*sî*/.

## 2.2.3.2.1 ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

As we have seen (examples 13-17), /*sî*/ may occur with answers to questions. But the characteristics of usage will vary depending upon whether those questions are yes-no questions (i.e. questions which call for a yes or no answer) or content questions (i.e. questions asking who, what, when, how many, why, etc.).

The chief difference between yes-no questions and content questions, with respect to the use of /*sî*/, is the fact that the particle never occurs in answers to content questions unless the information in the answer is something that is known or ought to be known to the addressee; and then /*sî*/ always occurs as a part of the expression /*kô ... nâ sî*/ 'well ...'. (See examples 16-17.) But in the case of yes-no questions, /*sî*/ may occur not only in contexts of this sort, but also in situations where the facts of the matter are known only to the speaker; so /*sî*/ may occur either with or without /*kô ... nâ*/, depending on the context. (See examples 13-15.) I must confess that I do not know why the difference between yes-no questions and content questions should give rise to this difference in the use of /*sî*/; but I suspect that the problem has something to do with some unique semantic characteristic inherent in content questions that so far has eluded me.

There is also a particular limitation upon the use of /*sî*/ in answers to yes-no questions of the type where the questioner has some expectations about the response. This includes yes-no questions signalled by /*lǎə*/ or /*chây máy*/; for example

/*kháw rúu lǎə*/  
 1 2 3  
 'He knows, huh?'  
 1 2 3

- or /kháw mây rúu lǎə/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Doesn't he know?'  
 3 1 2 4
- or /kháw rúu chây máy/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'He knows, doesn't he?'  
 1 2 3 4

In negative answers to questions of this sort, the speaker will ordinarily use /sǐ/ only if he at the same time signals in some way the reason for his response. This he may do by actually stating the reason, or (if he feels the reason ought to have been already clear to the addressee) by means of the expression /kô ... nâ sǐ/ 'well ...'. If on the other hand the speaker makes no reference to the reason for his response, he will ordinarily use the particle /ròk/ (signalling a contradictory or occasionally a confirming negative response), but never /sǐ/.

#### 2.2.3.2.2 RESPONSES TO QUESTION-RAISING STATEMENTS

As mentioned earlier, these are responses not to questions asked by the addressee, but to statements which for the speaker raise a question of fact or perception; and these statements then evoke some kind of confirming, contradictory, or explanatory response from the speaker.

The possibilities of and restrictions upon the occurrence of /sǐ/ in such responses may be illustrated by the following examples of possible and impossible responses to item 30 below. Items a, c, d, e, g, h, represent possible responses to the sentence; but items b and f, marked by an asterisk, are unacceptable:

- (30) /phǒm khít wâa ʔaacaaŋ ca sǔu rótyon/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'I think that the professor will buy a car.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- a. /sǔu sǐ/  
 1  
 'He certainly will.' (buy)  
 1
- b. \*/mây sǔu sǐ/  
 1 2  
 'No he won't.' (not buy)  
 1 2
- c. /mây sǔu sǐ, kháw mây mii ɲən phoo/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 'No he won't, he doesn't have enough money!'  
 1,2 3 4 5 7 6

- d. /khuan tōŋpen mōotəsay sî/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'It'll surely have to be a motor cycle.'  
 1 2 3 4
- e. /phîi 'aacaan sî ca sūu/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'It's the professor's brother that's going to buy (one).'  
 2 1 3 4
- f. \*/'aacaan sî ca sūu/  
 1 2 3  
 'It's the professor that's going to buy (one).'  
 1 2 3
- g. /khon yàaŋ 'aacaan sî tōŋ sūu nēe/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'A person like him has got to buy (one) for sure.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6
- h. /thāa mii thúra' māak yàaŋ nán kō tōŋ mii rōt sàan tua sî/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 'If (you) have a lot of business like that, (then you) have to have (your) own car.'  
 1 2 4 3 5 6 7 8 9 11,12 10

The first thing to be noted from the above examples is the fact that in responses to question-raising statements, as in answers to questions, the reason for the expectable response need not be clear to the addressee; and in most instances the speaker will not make it clear. In other words, when the speaker uses /sî/ in such responses, the addressee knows that the former has good reason for his response, but he need not know, and perhaps will not even be told what those reasons are. So, here again (as with answers to questions), the particle /sî/ may convey assurance, certainty on the part of the speaker, based on private reasons which seem to him to be adequate.

Also to be noted is the fact that responses to question-raising statements include some responses that address themselves to the truth or falsehood of the addressee's utterance (see 18, and 30 a,c), and others that are concerned with the question of who, what, why etc. (see 20, 21, 22, 30d, e, g, h). Clearly the former are rather like answers to yes-no questions in this respect, and the latter are comparable to answers to content questions. The who-what type of response here, however, does not (as in the case of answers to questions) require the occurrence of /kō ... na sî/ 'well ...'. In fact either type of response can occur with /sî/ by itself; and either can occur with /kō ... na sî/ in situations where the speaker feels the addressee should or could have known the facts of the matter.

Still another matter to be noted is this: that responses of the type under consideration may be contradictory, confirmatory, or simply explanatory. Contradictory responses (for example 18, 20, 30c, d, e, and potentially h) are those in which the speaker feels called upon to contradict or correct something the addressee has said or implied. Such occurrences may occur freely with /sî/, except that negative responses of the yes-no type, whether contradictory or not, must ordinarily be accompanied by some kind of explanation or signal pointing to the reason for the negative response. If such reference to the reason is missing, then the speaker will usually use /rōk/ (contradictory or confirming negative) rather than /sî/. Thus example 30c is permissible, but not 30b. Example 30b would, however, be an acceptable response if it were marked by the particle /rōk/ rather than /sî/.

Confirmatory responses (e.g. 30a, g, h, and potentially 21, 22) are those which agree in essence with what the addressee has just said. Positive confirmatory responses of the yes-no type of response can occur freely, no elaboration or explanation being necessary. However, a confirmatory who-what type of response can only occur if the speaker somehow enlarges upon what the addressee has just said. This enlargement can take the form of a generalisation (21, 22, 30g), or it can provide an explanation of some sort (19, 30h). But confirmatory responses of the type exemplified in 30f cannot occur, presumably because they involve an inappropriate topicalisation of the discourse subject.

Explanatory responses explain why or how some fact or state of affairs alluded to by the addressee is or should be as noted. Such responses are usually marked by the occurrence of the preverb particle /kô/ (see 19, 30h).

One last thing to be noted is the fact that in some responses the particle /sî/ occurs in the middle of the sentence (see 20, 21, 22, 30e, g). All such cases turn out to be what I call topic-focus sentences, that is who-what sentences in which the subject or topic of the sentence forms the focus of the sentence predication. So they all convey the idea that it's the subject of the sentence about which something can properly be affirmed; i.e. it's *that person* that's pretty (20); it's *this kind of rain* that causes floods (21), it's *being a child* that's pleasant (22), etc. We can therefore make the general statement that /sî/ always immediately follows the focal or central predication of the sentence. In most types of sentences, the particle therefore appears at the end of the sentence, but not so in the case of subject-centred predications of the type exemplified above. Strictly speaking, then, /sî/ is not a sentence-final particle at all, but a predication marker of some sort.<sup>4</sup>

#### 2.2.3.2.3 INFERENCE STATEMENTS

These comprise utterances in which the speaker responds to certain facts or clues that have come to his attention, by drawing some inference or stating some conclusion that he arrives at on the basis of those clues. For example, the addressee starts elaborating his plans for a party at the speaker's house, and this provides the latter with the clue that leads to the conclusion that the addressee must be expecting the speaker to participate – a conclusion that had not previously been stated explicitly; so the speaker makes the appropriate inference (see 23). Or again, the addressee's problems with 5:00 p.m. traffic lead the speaker to infer that there must be a typical rush-hour traffic jam (see 24). Or still again, the speaker sees the addressee coming in with a dripping umbrella and raincoat, and infers that it must be raining outside (see 25).

Note, however, that these utterances must be inferences, not first-hand observations of fact. If the addressee in the first example above has specifically stated his expectations, or if the speaker is actually observing the traffic jam, he will not use the particle /sî/ (unless he is noting the information for the first time, and then he may respond as in the statements noting new information to be discussed below). Also, for some speakers, the inference or conclusion to be drawn must be a fairly clear one. If it is somewhat doubtful or tenuous, such speakers would ordinarily use the mid-tone form /si/ (see later discussion).

#### 2.2.3.2.4 STATEMENTS NOTING NEW INFORMATION

As stated above, these comprise responses to some new development or fact that has just come to the attention of the speaker, or that is being brought to the attention of the addressee for the first time.

And such statements always have the form /léw/ 'now, already' as a part of the predication. The idea of reasonable, necessary, or expectable response is a little more obscure in utterances of this type, but it is, I believe, nevertheless present. The implication of /sî/ here, is that the new fact brought to light must now – reasonably, expectably, necessarily – be noted, adjusted to, reckoned with, responded to. So, behind the utterance there is, as it were, a veiled command or suggestion to the speaker or addressee or both to see, hear, take note, consider, adjust, respond, or whatever. This is the expectable, necessary, appropriate thing to do.

### 3. FORMS AND MEANINGS OF OTHER VARIANTS OF *si*

So far we have been considering only the phonetic form /sî/ and the variety of contexts in which it occurs and the basic meaning which it has in all those contexts. Now we are in a position to consider other phonological forms of this same particle: /si/ or /sii/, /sîi/, /sí/, and /síi/. These forms, along with /sî/ are all variants of the particle *si*; and each of these variants retains the basic meaning of the particle, but each also has a further semantic value that distinguishes it from all the rest.

#### 3.1 SPECIAL PHONETIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VARIANTS

The phonetic values of the above-mentioned variants, as it turns out, differ in a number of ways from the values of other comparable non-particle forms in the language. For one thing, the vowels of the various forms of *si* are often pronounced lower and more lax than other non-particle forms ending in /-i/ or /-ii/. Also, the short vowel forms /si/, /sî/, and /sí/ never under any circumstances are pronounced with a terminal glottal stop, whereas other comparable forms in the language usually are when they occur in terminal or stressed position. Then the falling-tone forms /sî/ and /sîi/ (unless particularly stressed or emphasised) drop from the mid-tone level or even lower, whereas other falling-tone forms usually drop from the high-tone level or even higher. The form /sî/, in particular, when unstressed, can drop from the mid level to a little below mid, or to low, or to any point between; or it can drop from lower mid or even low. Incidentally, other discourse particles (though not all of them) share many of the unusual characteristics described above.

All these peculiarities of *si*, added to the elusiveness of semantic distinctions and the variability of vowel-length under conditions of stress variation (a common enough phenomenon in the language), give rise to considerable difficulty in differentiating the variants of the particle or in determining which variant is present in a given utterance. In this regard, the distinction between /sî/, /si/, and a hypothetical /sî/ has presented the most difficulty. As it happens, not all speakers distinguish consistently between /sî/ and /si/ (unless the former occurs particularly stressed or emphasised); and, so far as I can tell, /sî/ and /sî/ never clearly contrast; so the latter could probably be considered a freely varying allomorph of /sî/.

#### 3.2 EXAMPLES OF USAGE OF CONTRASTING FORMS

We are left, then, with the forms /sî/, /si/ or /sii/,<sup>5</sup> /sîi/, /sí/, and /síi/ as variants which are distinguished from each other both in form and meaning. The semantic similarities and differences between them may be illustrated by showing what happens to the sentence

/pəət pratuu/  
 1     2  
 'Open the door.'  
 1     2

when it is accompanied by each of the variants:

- (31) /pəət pratuu sî/  
 'Open the door.'  
 [It's time for the addressee to open the store door.]
- (32) / ... si/ or / ... sii/  
 'Hey, how about opening the door!'  
 [The addressee should be opening the door, but he is hanging back or  
 woolgathering.]
- (33) / ... sîi/  
 'Come on, do open it!'  
 [The addressee is refusing to open the door; or he has ignored one or more  
 previous requests.]
- (34) / ... sí/  
 'Open the door, would you!'  
 [The speaker wants to be able to look inside the room or closet, or he wants to put  
 something away, and he needs the addressee to open the door for him.]
- (35) / ... sîi/  
 'Ple-ease open the door!'  
 [The speaker is a child who desperately wants to get into the bathroom, and his  
 older brother is teasing him or refusing to let him in. Some speakers would  
 simply use /sîi/ here, with raised pitch to indicate emphasis, insistence, urgency.]

### 3.3 CONTRASTING MEANINGS OF VARIANTS

Concerning the similarities between the above sentences, it is sufficient for the present to say that each conveys the idea that the opening of the door is the obvious, reasonable, expectable thing for the addressee to do under the circumstances. In other words, *si* in all its phonologically variant forms, as exemplified above, still retains this meaning of obvious or expectable response. But what semantic differences are signalled by these variations in form? This is the question to which I shall now address myself.

#### 3.3.1 CONTRASTING MEANINGS AS HANDLED IN THE LITERATURE

Unfortunately, most sources in the literature provide rather little help at this point. Thus several authorities simply list two or three phonological variants without specifying what the differences in pronunciation mean – which conveys the impression, perhaps unintentionally, that the different forms vary freely with no particular significance to be assigned to each variant. See McFarland (1954), Thai-Thai Dictionary (1976), Manitcharoen (1964), Haas (1964), Noss (1964), Bhamoraput (1972).



Henderson (1949), on the other hand, attempts to explain the phonological forms of all the sentence-final particles by describing various prosodic features of length and pitch, and listing possible combinations of these features, and then assigning general meanings to each combination. For example, she suggests (p.207) that a short falling-pitch combination conveys 'assertion, or assent, or command', while a short high pitch conveys 'interrogation, invitation', and so forth. But as it turns out, almost all her generalisations have exceptions, and besides they are too general to provide much help for understanding the variations in form and meaning of particular particles.

Chuenkongchoo (1956) carries the matter a little further, giving examples of utterances where each variant of each particle occurs, and going into a little more detail than Henderson about general meanings of the various prosodic combinations. But again his generalisations provide only limited help for understanding the varying forms and meanings of particular particles. One comment of his, however (1956:70), does seem to be at least partially applicable to the forms /sii/ and /sí/: "Length," he says, "is often used to add 'intensity' or extra weight to utterances in which in other contexts a short particle might be used. Situations involving 'insistence' or 'exasperation' frequently call for complexes in which length is a feature."

Rudaravanija (1965), like Henderson and Chuenkongchoo, proposes generalised meanings for different phonological characteristics of final particles. But she carries the matter further by suggesting meanings for varying pitches of a few individual particles. For example (p.95), she informs us that *na* with rising terminal contour has a 'mild emphatic' meaning; and with falling contour it is 'strong emphatic'. However, her semantic generalisations about final particles focus upon the feature of pitch or final contour, and not upon other features such as length or terminal glottal closure. And, unfortunately for our purposes, she omits *si* from her discussion; so we are left without the benefit of her judgement in this particular case.

The clearest and most specific help, in my opinion, comes to us from Brown (1969:3.20) in his definitions of /sí/ and /sî/. According to him, /sí/ is 'a particle used to request an action when the result of the action, not the action itself, is the point of the request'; and /sî/ is 'a particle used to request or urge an action when the action itself is the point of the request'. And that's about all the really helpful information I have been able to find in the literature.

### 3.3.2 EXAMPLES AND SUGGESTED MEANINGS OF EACH VARIANT

Let me now turn to some further examples of each of the variant forms, and then some definitions and explanations. As before, the following examples, for the most part, reflect the speech of Ms Kiranand. No doubt many speakers will differ from her at one point or another. For example, one speaker, Ms Bandhmedha, with whom I have worked extensively, makes no distinction as below between /sî/ and /si/ or /sii/; and other speakers make use of the form /sí/, while Ms Kiranand does not. However, I believe Ms Kiranand's usage is not particularly idiosyncratic, and it will serve as a convenient basis for presenting the data.

#### 3.3.2.1 THE FORM /si/ OR /sii/<sup>6</sup>

- (36) /khǎn hây dii sii, léew ca dâay raajwan/  
           1    2 3       4   5 6     7  
           'Write nicely now, and (you)'ll get a reward.'  
           1       2,3       4       5 6     7

(cf. example 4, above.)

[The mother holds out a reward to her child as an inducement for writing a nice letter, and then she withdraws it as the child reaches for it, thus conveying the idea that the reward will not be his until the letter is written to her satisfaction.]

- (37) /kháw hây kô ?aw sii/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'He's giving it to you, so take it.'

1 2 3 4

(cf. example 6.)

[The speaker is baffled, and perhaps a little annoyed that the addressee is hesitating. Or: the addressee has asked the speaker what to do, and the latter doesn't want to be bothered with the problem.]

- (38) /khâw maa sii/

1 2  
 'Come in.'

2 1  
 (cf. example 8.)

[The speaker is not really too eager to have the addressee come in. Or: the speaker knows that the addressee has come to see someone else, so the speaker is not involved in the business or pleasure for which the addressee has come.]

- (39) S1 /khun ca mây klâp bâan lǎə/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Aren't you going to go home?'

3 1 2 4 5

- S2 /klâp sii/  
 'Sure I am.'

(cf. example 15.)

[The second speaker feels the first shouldn't have had to ask. Or: the second speaker doesn't want to be bothered with the problem.]

- (40) khun khít wâa chán tòk loŋ sii/  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'You seem to think I agree.'

1 2,3 4 5,6

(cf. example 23.)

[The speaker gathers from the addressee's manner or behaviour that the latter expects him to agree to having a party at his house. The inference drawn by the speaker here is more doubtful or tentative than that in the comparable example for /sî/, item 20. Thus inferential statements with /sii/ have the general flavour of English utterances accompanied by phrases such as 'I guess', 'I suppose', 'it seems as if'. They also have a slight hint of questioning about them, though not to the point of requiring any response from the addressee.]

The meaning conveyed by /si/ or /sii/, as in the above examples, is that of uninvolvedness, indifference, emotional neutrality. And this uninvolvedness may be simple and straightforward, or it may be an assumed indifference that both masks and expresses anything from mild to strong

coldness, withdrawal, rejection, hostility. The simple kind of uninvolvedness is exemplified in one of the possible situations where example 38 might occur. Here the speaker is in fact not involved (and is not expected to be) in the invitation extended to the guest. It is also exemplified in utterances such as 40, where the speaker is making a tentative inference on the basis of clues he thinks he has picked up. In other words, he is not jumping to a definite conclusion – as he would be if he were using the form /sî/. Thus /sii/ renders the inference much more indefinite and non-committal.

The other examples above illustrate the use of /sii/ to express the more emotionally-loaded kind of non-involvement. Thus, in example 36, the mother is in effect withdrawing emotionally from her child, and she expresses this fact both by the use of /sii/, and by her withdrawal of the promised reward from the child's outreached hand. And in the other examples the speaker is expressing a non-involvement that both conceals and reveals his impatience and hostility: why *doesn't* the addressee open the door as expected (example 32), or take the gift that's being offered (example 37)? Or why does the speaker have to be bothered with the question (example 39)? But note that the impatience or hostility is that of emotional coldness, withdrawal, or uninvolvedness, not that of emotional heat or aggression. The latter would be expressed by /sî/, with falling tone, and raised above normal pitch.

If we consider the situations in which it is possible to use the form /si/ or /sii/, and thus convey non-involvement or emotional neutrality, we find that most of the situations that allow /sî/ also allow these mid-tone forms. In other words, in most situations exemplified and discussed above (see examples 1-29), there can be a formal and semantic contrast between /sî/ on the one hand, and /si/ or /sii/ on the other. Exceptions are as follows: negative commands (as in 2) and also topic-focus statements (see 20, 21, 22, 30e, g) only occur with /sî/, never with /sii/. Also I have not been able to elicit a /sii/ counterpart for example 18. On the other hand, statements noting new information (see 26-29) may occur with either /sî/ or /sii/, with no difference in meaning between the two. Similarly, all utterances accompanied by /kô ... na sî/ (see 14, 16, 17) may occur with /kô ... nâ si/, again with no differentiation in meaning between the two. I cannot adequately account for the exceptions listed above.

### 3.3.2.2 THE FORM /sîi/

- (41) /yà khàp rew sîi/  
 1 2 3  
 'Ple-ase don't drive so fast.' 'Do slow down, for goodness sake!'  
 1 2 3  
 (cf. item 2.)

- (42) /yìp dingsǎo hây nõy sîi/  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Aw, come on, please reach (me) the pencil.'  
 4 1,3 2  
 (cf. item 10.)  
 [The speaker has asked for the pencil before, but the addressee was too lazy to get up, or he is teasing the speaker.]

- (43) S1 /kháw ca maa ciŋ ciŋ lǎə/  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Will he really come?'  
 2 1 4 3 5

- S2 /maasîi/  
'Su-ure he will.' 'Why certainly he will.'
- (44) S1 /chán wâa wannîi fõn thâa ca mây tòk/  
1 2 3 4 5 6 4 8  
'I think it probably won't rain today.'  
1 2 5,6 7 4 3
- S2 /tòk sîi/  
'Aw come on now, sure it will.'  
[The second speaker has previously given his reasons for thinking it will rain,  
but the first speaker evidently still won't see reason.]

The meaning conveyed by /sîi/ is the idea of persuasion, exerting pressure. Usually this form will occur in situations where the addressee has been unnecessarily slow in complying with the speaker's expectations, either in action or belief. It would therefore be very natural to use /sîi/ in an interchange such as the following:

- (45) S1 /yìp dingsõo hây nõy sí/  
1 2 3 4  
'Hand me the pencil would you.' (reach pencil for (me) a little)  
1 2 3 4
- S2 (ignores the request)
- S1 /yìp !sî/  
'Hand it to me!'  
(The exclamation point here indicates raised pitch.)
- S2 /chán khîikiat yìp/  
1 2  
'I am (too lazy) to bother.'  
1 2
- S1 /yìp hây nõy sîi/  
'Come on now, do hand it to me!'

The form /sîi/ occurs only in action-inducement utterances (positive or negative), and in responses to questions or statements. It does not usually, however, occur with topic focus statements (see 20-22, 30e, g), or in /kô ... na .../ utterances (see 14, 16, 17).

### 3.3.2.3 THE FORM /sí/

- (46) /yìp dingsõo hây nõy sí/  
1 2  
'Reach me the pencil, would you.'  
1 2  
[The speaker needs the pencil and avails himself of the addressee's help to meet his needs.]

- (47) /faŋ sí/  
<sub>1</sub>  
 'Listen!' 'Listen, would you.'  
<sub>1</sub>  
 [The speaker can't quite hear someone who is talking, and he wants the addressee to listen and see if he can catch what's being said. Or: the speaker can't identify some sound and he wants the addressee to help him out.]
- (48) /ʔâa pàak sí/  
<sub>1 2</sub>  
 'Open your mouth.'  
<sub>1 2</sub>  
 [A dentist is speaking to his patient. Or: a mother wants to see what her child has in his mouth. Or: a Thai language teacher wants to test the vocabulary command of a non-native pupil.]

The form /sí/, as in the above examples, conveys the idea that the action called for from the addressee is needed or desired by the speaker for some purpose of his own. This need or desire may be a matter of personal comfort, curiosity, or even whim; or it may involve something the speaker needs to have done so that he can in turn do something else that he (or the addressee, or someone else) wishes to have done. This form is used only with action-inducement utterances, and then only in the positive. That is, it never occurs with /yàa .../ 'do not ...'.

#### 3.3.2.4 THE FORM /sí/

- (49) /yìp hây nòy sí/  
<sub>1 2 3</sub>  
 'Reach (it) for (me), ple-e-ease!'  
<sub>1 2 3</sub>  
 [A child is getting very impatient and insistent to an older sibling who is ignoring him or teasing him by not reaching for something the child needs and can't reach for himself.]

The form /sí/ conveys both the idea of the speaker's need or wish, and also the idea of persuasion, pressure, insistence, and sometimes even urgency. Like /sí/ it is used only in positive action-inducement utterances. Furthermore, it is chiefly used by children, and to a lesser extent by women. I should point out, however, that not all speakers accept this form. In fact it is the one variant that does not occur in Ms Kiranand's speech. Possibly all occurrences of /sí/ should be interpreted as occurrences of /sii/ which have been raised extra high. (For discussion of the phenomenon of raising, see section 4, below.)

This brings us to the end of our discussion of what may be considered the basic variants of *si*. There now remain two further types of form and/or meaning variation that require our consideration: the phenomena of raising and of neutralisation.

## 4. THE PHENOMENON OF RAISING

Raising may be defined here as the process in which the pitch of a falling-tone particle (in this case /sî/ or /sîi/) is elevated above the normal level in order to convey emphasis or increased emotional intensity. Thus the particle /sî/ in the utterance /pəət pratuu sî/ 'Open the door.' might undergo raising if the speaker were particularly annoyed, or if he had to repeat the suggestion or command a second time. Such raising would then be indicated in the transcription by means of an exclamation symbol immediately preceding the raised form: /pəət pratuu !sî/. (See also examples 2, 18, 45, above.)

Raising, as described above, should be distinguished from two other types of raising that occur in the language. In one of these a syllable of any tone is changed from its normal pitch to an extra high and slightly rising pitch, thus expressing a particular kind of emphasis (see Haas 1964:xii-xiii). In the other type the pitch of the whole sentence is raised above the normal level (see Haas 1964:xiii). By way of contrast, the type of raising that here concerns us has its effect exclusively upon falling-tone particles or particle variants. Such particles, when raised, are pitched above their normal range, but they still retain their falling contour.

Now, as has been noted above (3.1), the normal, unraised pitch of /sî/ and /sîi/ (and also, incidentally, of other falling-tone particles) is lower than that of falling-tone non-particle forms in the language. Thus, when unraised, these particle forms will start off from a point at or below the normal mid-tone level, and then drop on down from there. So they can drop from mid to lower mid or to low, or from lower mid to low, or even from low to a little lower still. But, when raised, these forms fall from a starting point above the mid-tone level. And the raising, furthermore, is variable. That is, the pitch may be raised just a little, or it can be raised a great deal; but the higher the raising, the greater the degree of emphasis or intensity conveyed. There is, however, a clear dividing line between raised and unraised forms. Thus if the pitch falls from the mid-tone level or lower, the form is unraised; but if it falls from a starting point above the mid-tone level, then it is raised; and such raising therefore conveys the concomitant semantic value accordingly.

Any use of /sî/ or /sîi/ which is clearly assertive, contradictory, rebuking, etc. will be raised. Thus the particle /sî/ in examples 2 and 18, above, is of necessity raised. This is so in the former case because the sentence in question is a flat, negative command; and, like all negative /sî/ commands, it necessarily implies rebuke for some undesirable action. Then in the latter example (18), the sentence is a flat contradiction. So both are examples of the kind of assertiveness that calls for raising above the normal pitch of the particle variant /sî/.

Of the various types of occurrence of /sî/ exemplified in 2.1 above, raising may occur with action-inducement utterances (cf. examples 1-12), and with responses to questions (cf. 13-17), and to question-raising statements (cf. 18-22). But raising cannot occur with inferential statements (see 23-25) or with statements noting new information (26-29).

Incidentally, in the case of topic-focus utterances (see examples 20-22), /sî/ can be raised only if the sentence in question constitutes a contradictory or assertive statement insisting that 'subject A' (not 'subject B') is the one of whom some predication may properly be made. In view of this requirement, examples 21 and 22 cannot, as they now stand, be raised in any of the given illustrative contexts; but contexts could be framed such that raising might indeed occur. Thus, for example, the speaker in utterance 21 might have been arguing with the addressee about what kind of rain causes floods; and if he is annoyed with the other's obtuseness concerning the obvious danger of *this* kind of

rain (as opposed to some other kind the addressee insists on stressing), he then can use a raised /!sî/ to make his point.

An interesting demonstration of the importance of the distinction between raised and unraised forms appears in the speech of one of my language assistants. Ordinarily this speaker makes no distinction between /sî/ (straightforward meaning) and /sii/ (expressing non-involvement), and she perceives all occurrences of these in her own speech as having mid tone. In other words, most of the examples listed in items 1-29 and 36-40 are so perceived. And this is true regardless of the fact that in her own speech these occurrences may be variously pronounced with mid pitch, or low, or mid falling to lower-mid or to low, or lower-mid falling to low. But if she pronounces the particle in raised fashion, that is with a pitch starting above the mid level and then dropping on down, she immediately identifies it as having falling tone. And such forms then convey emphasis or intensified emotion – with the expectable corollary that none of the non-involvement utterances (see 36-40) can occur with falling tone. In other words, her mid-tone /si/ (often pronounced with falling pitch) corresponds to other speakers' falling-tone /sî/ and to their /si/ or /sii/; and her falling tone /sî/ corresponds to their raised falling tone /!sî/. Furthermore, her /si/ is perceived as having mid tone even when it drops, provided it doesn't drop from a point higher than mid tone. If it does drop from a higher point (i.e. the point which divides raised from non-raised forms for other speakers), it will be perceived as having falling tone. Strangest of all is the fact that other falling-tone particles, such as /khâ/ (female deference) and /nâ/ (old information), are perceived as having falling tone despite the fact they may be pronounced in ways exactly parallel to her non-raised pronunciation of /sî/, or /si/. My guess is that these perceptions are a product of the Thai writing system complicated by some kind of interference from intonational phenomena. In any case, these special perceptions are not a reflection of any inability on her part to hear the phonetic facts, for she recognises these when they are pointed out to her. It seems to be tied in with intuitive perceptions of some kind.

##### 5. THE PHENOMENON OF NEUTRALISATION

The second phenomenon (besides raising) that requires consideration is that of neutralisation. This term refers to a process in which the potential variability of *si*, both with respect to form and meaning, is neutralised or blocked, leaving /si/ as the only permissible alternative. Such neutralisation takes place whenever *si* is immediately followed in the sentence by another particle – usually one of the status-intimacy particles such as /cá/, /khá/, etc. And for most speakers oddly enough, it is always the question form of these status-intimacy particles that occurs, never the statement form.<sup>8</sup>

To explain further, if the different sentences cited in examples 31-35 were to be altered by the addition of /khá/, only the form /si/ would be permissible in each case. Furthermore, all semantic differentiation would be lost, so that the resulting sentences would convey a rather neutral sense of what is expectable. Then the added /khá/ would further convey the sense of politeness or deference.

As already mentioned, when *si* is followed by another particle, thus producing neutralisation, the following particle will usually be one of the status-intimacy forms such as /cá/, /khá/, etc.; but the particle *na* can also occur:

- (50)            /nîi khon ʔiik lăay wan si ná kwàa ca sèt/  
                   1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9  
                   ‘But it’ll surely be several more days before it’s finished, won’t it?’  
                   1            2            4            3    5            7,8            9            6

## 6. POSSIBILITIES AND RESTRICTIONS WITH RESPECT TO USAGE

And now, before closing my discussion of *si*, I should say a few words about usage, for there are certain possibilities and restrictions in this area that require comment. In general, these may be summed up by the following two statements:

(1) If a speaker wishes to express deference or formality, he is restricted to using the variant /*si*/, almost always followed by the deferential particle /*khá*/ (woman speaking) or /*kháp*/ (man speaking).

(2) There are several kinds of usage of *si* that could be termed assertive, including those that express demandingness, hostility, opposition, rebuke, correction, and the like. Such usage is ideally restricted to speech with intimates or inferiors; and the stronger the assertive element the tighter the restriction.

From the first statement, above, we may draw the inference that all variants of *si* except /*si*/ suggest a certain amount of informality or familiarity. And this is not surprising, for formal or deferential situations are ones in which we would expect Thai culture to prescribe a certain amount of distance or non-involvement. And informal or familiar situations are ones in which we would expect a speaker to feel free to express things like definiteness, need or desire, persuasion, and the like – things that are conveyed by the use of the formally developed forms of the particle.

The second statement above presents a problem in that most variants of *si* can be either more or less assertive, depending on the situation. Situations or usages implying little or no assertiveness include invitations, suggestions, simple requests, straightforward responses to questions and question-raising statements, most instances of statements noting new information, and probably all inferential statements. In such situations the form in question may be used rather freely in speaking to almost anyone with whom particular deference is not required. Such usage need presuppose no very close intimacy in use to equals; and it may occasionally occur in speech to intimates slightly superior to the speaker, provided the relationship is a free and easy one.

On the other hand, certain other usages do imply a certain amount of assertiveness. These include the following:

(1) All occurrences of /!*sî*/ and /!*sîi*/ (i.e. raised /*sî*/ and /*sîi*/), and also /*sîi*/. It is my impression that, of these forms, /!*sî*/ tends to be more assertive than the others; for the element of persuasion in the other forms softens the element of flat rebuke, contradiction, or hostility that tends to be present in comparable utterances where /!*sî*/ occurs.

(2) Any occurrence of /*sii*/ which expresses the hostile type of non-involvement. (See examples 36-39 and subsequent discussion under 3.3.2.1.)

(3) Any occurrence of /*sî*/ in which the speaker makes socially excessive demands upon the addressee. Now all uses of /*sî*/ express some demand that is made of the addressee; for the form by definition involves some wish or need that the speaker calls for the addressee to meet. The crucial question here is whether the demand is excessive or not; and this in turn depends upon the speaker's relative superiority-inferiority and/or intimacy with respect to the addressee, and also upon the nature of the request made. Thus, for example, a superior can use /*sî*/ in asking an inferior to run an errand for him – even one involving considerable effort and inconvenience – without necessarily coming across as overly demanding. But in speaking to an intimate equal, a speaker must make rather lesser demands if he does not want to provoke a negative reaction. Thus he can ask the addressee to reach something on a shelf too high for him (the speaker), or to close a window close by the addressee, or to perform some simple service that the latter can perform more readily than the speaker can. And



when the speaker uses /sǐ/ in such circumstances, his request will come across as a natural thing between intimates – even in certain cases where the addressee may be the superior. On the other hand, if the request involves real inconvenience to the addressee or calls for a service that the speaker could just as easily perform for himself, then the use of /sǐ/ will probably be taken as overly demanding and assertive, even in speech to intimate equals. And, of course, the likelihood of being so taken will be even stronger if the relationship is not an intimate one.

Given the status-formality restrictions upon the use of variants of *si*, we can readily see that polite words like /chǎn/ 'please', or /karunaa/ 'be gracious (enough to)', will not be expected to co-occur with assertively used forms of *si*, and seldom with any of the developed forms of the particle. They may, however, occur with /si khá/ or /si khráp/.

## 7. CONCLUSION

I have now carried my treatment of *si* just about as far as I wish to carry it in this paper. In conclusion, however, let me present a summary of the facts that I have set forth above; and then I shall suggest a couple of matters that will eventually demand consideration if we are to achieve a reasonably complete understanding of phenomena relating to *si* and other particles.

### 7.1 SUMMARY OF PHENOMENA PRESENTED ABOVE

The data and conclusions set forth above may be summarised in terms of the following generalisations:

(1) There is a particle *si* which, in all its variations of form and meaning, conveys the basic idea of a given response being the logical, necessary, expectable, or appropriate one under the circumstances. This form, with its basic meaning as stated, may occur in action-inducement utterances (commands, suggestions, requests, invitations), in responses to questions and to question-raising statements, and in statements that make an inference or call attention to something.

(2) Modifications of length and pitch give rise to the following variant forms with their concomitant semantic values or implications, these values or implications being added then to the basic semantic value of *si* as stated above:

/si/ the speaker is not personally or emotionally involved in the response in question, but he is not particularly trying to call attention to that fact. This is also the neutralised form which occurs whenever *si* is immediately followed in the utterance by another particle.

/sǐ/ the speaker is definitely, though unemphatically, involved in the response, there being no ambiguity, doubt, diffidence, in his utterance.

/sǐ/ the speaker wants or needs the addressee to do something.

/sii/ the speaker is not personally or emotionally involved in the given response, and he is making a point of conveying this non-involvement, either as a simple matter of fact or as an expression of withdrawal or hostility.

/sǐi/ the speaker is persuading the addressee to act or to accept the speaker's response.

/sǐi/ the speaker urgently wants or needs the addressee to do something and is applying pressure, persuasion.

(3) The forms /sî/ and /sîi/ can be 'raised' (i.e. raised in pitch so that the falling tone begins above the mid-tone pitch level) to express greater emphasis, definiteness, intensity.

(4) The form *si* is subject to neutralisation when followed immediately by another particle. That is, all potential variants are short-circuited so that only the form /si/ may occur.

The above information can be summarised formulaically as follows:

(1) Differentiation Rule:

$$si <exp> \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{ll} /si/ <exp. + non-in. > & (+ length <int.>) \\ /sî/ <exp. + def.> & (+ length <per.>) (+ raising <emp.>) \\ /sî/ <exp. + s.w.> & (+ length <per.>) \end{array} \right]$$

(2) Neutralisation Rule:

$$si \rightarrow /si/ \quad / \quad - \text{Particle}$$

In the above formulae, pointed brackets < > indicate semantic values (exp. for expectable response, non-in. for non-involvement, int. for intentionality, def. for definite, per. for persuasion, emp. for emphasis, s.w. for speaker's wish); parentheses ( ) indicate optional elements; and square brackets surrounding vertical listings indicate that either one or other of the vertically listed alternatives will occur.

## 7.2 FURTHER AND WIDER CONSIDERATIONS

The above summaries, both as presented in prose and formulaically, imply certain analytical and even theoretical conclusions which I have made no attempt to justify, apart from such justification as may be involved in accommodating my analysis to the facts as I perceive them. Nor do I intend to present such justification here, for to do so would involve a consideration of matters that go far beyond the scope of this paper. But, as I mentioned, I do wish to call attention to a couple of matters related to *si* which involve much more general phenomena in the language. These will eventually have to be considered in depth before anyone can claim to have accounted reasonably adequately for the behaviour of *si*, and before my analysis above can be justified.

Note for example, the following facts, some of which have already been referred to above:

(1) There are certain phonological characteristics which *si* shares with some of the other discourse particles, but not with other forms in the language. These include the lower-than-normal pitch of falling-tone forms and their potential for raising under conditions of emphasis, the absence of terminal glottal stop in short-vowel forms, and the tendency toward a more than normal fuzziness in certain phonemic distinctions.

(2) The variants of *si* as described throughout this paper seem to signal semantic distinctions that in some respects appear much more like intonational distinctions than anything else. That is, we can vary pitch and vowel length (within certain limits) and still come up with alternate forms that mean more or less the same thing. Obviously one cannot do this with other forms in the language (such as /thii/ 'occasion', or /mí-/ 'not'). But one *can* do this (again within certain limits) with some of the other particles.

(3) In comparing *si* with other discourse particles, particularly in the light of the phenomena just mentioned above, we find that one of them (the particle *na*, speaker's question, wish, or demand) is very like *si* in many ways. A number of others (the status-intimacy particles /khá/-/khâ/, /cá/-/câ/,

etc.) form a group that are somewhat like *si* in terms of formal variability and other phonetic characteristics, but less so than *na*. And others are hardly like *si* at all.

If phenomena such as the above are to be explained, it would be desirable to do a careful study of all the discourse particles, both individually and as a class – individually to pinpoint and explain variations in form and meaning for each particle, and as a class to see what parallels may exist between the various particles, and to find out what general statements may be made about the class as a whole or about subgroupings within the class.<sup>9</sup>

Then it would be helpful, further, to examine general phenomena relating to tone, vowel length, stress, and intonation, to see if some new perceptions and correlations can be brought to bear to explain the special characteristics of *si* and other particles.

These two tasks – a general study of particles and a consideration of tone, stress, intonations, etc. – I intend to pursue as I am able. Meantime I here offer my current findings on the forms and meanings of *si*. I hope they will serve both as useful information in their own right and as a starting point for further studies on it and other particles.

## NOTES

1. Throughout this paper, the representation *si* is used whenever I wish to refer to the particle in general, irrespective of the particular phonological value it may have in a particular instance. Forms cited between slashes are phenemic representations transcribed in accordance with the system of phonemicisation used by Marvin Brown (1967, et al). This system is in turn an adaptation of that developed by Mary Haas (1964, et al). For a comprehensive and very helpful summary of the various transcription systems currently in use, see Palmer 1974:xvii-xxi.

The values of the transcription symbols used in this paper may be summarised briefly as follows:

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

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

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

2. At the time this article was first published, I was not yet able to properly identify the tones of the sequence /nâ sî/. Sometimes it seemed to me that a speaker was pronouncing the sequence as /na sî/, sometimes as /nâ sî/, and occasionally as /nâ sî/. Since that time, I have concluded that the sequence /nâ sî/ properly reflects the underlying phonemic value of the forms in question. For an explanation of the processes involved, see my discussion of the phenomenon of tonal coalescence (1989:52).

3. It is only fair to note, however, that Brown, in his definition, is only seeking to account for a particular usage of /sî/, not for the whole range of occurrences. His definition does adequately account for the facts he is dealing with.

4. The same is probably true of most, perhaps all so-called sentence-final particles. See for example, the particles /nâ/ (particles marking old information) and /lǎə/ (confirmation particle marking a yes-no question) in the following:

/ʰaacaan nâ lǎə kròt/

1                      2

‘You mean the professor (of all people) got angry?’

1

2

5. Ms Kiranand informs me that there is no difference in meaning between /si/ and /sii/. However, I am fairly sure that when a speaker really wants to convey unambiguously the meaning implied by the use of either variant, he will choose /sii/, partly because it is easier for the hearer to identify, and partly because /si/ might be taken as a semantically non-differentiated or neutralised form. The phenomenon of neutralisation will be discussed below.

6. See note 5.

7. High tone forms might appear to undergo raising, but actually when /sí/ or /síi/ are raised, the whole utterance must be raised. For example in the utterance /láaŋ sí/ ‘Wash it, would you?’, the /sí/ cannot be raised significantly higher than /láaŋ/.

8. Noss, however, (1964:210), indicates that the statement form /câ/, /khâ/, etc. is possible. I have been unsuccessful in eliciting such an occurrence; but one of my assistants has informed me that some speakers of an older generation might use statement forms of these particles following /si/. I am unable to account for the fact that it is the question form of these particles that usually occurs; for *si* in none of its occurrences really signals a question.

9. As a matter of fact, Henderson (1949), Chuenkongchoo (1956), and others, have already attempted to make statements about particles in general; but in my opinion these statements have proved comparatively unrevealing because they are based on insufficient data concerning individual particles. For example, Chuenkongchoo makes statements about what certain prosodic combinations (such as short vowel with high tone, or long vowel with falling tone) mean when they occur in particles. He also gives examples of such combinations for each particle. But he never tells the reader what each variant of a given particle means; and, as it turns out, a number of his generalisations do not work in particular cases.

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## FORMS AND MEANINGS OF THE THAI PARTICLE *na*

JOSEPH R. COOKE

### 0. SUMMARY OF ARTICLE

The form *na* belongs to the class of sentential postposition particles. It has five primary variants, /ná/, /nâ/, /náa/, /nâa/ and /naa/, each of which signals the message that some response is desired or expected by the speaker, and each of which also signals some distinctive meaning of its own. These five primary variants can also be subjected to secondary modifications involving changes in volume, pitch, extra vowel length and terminal /h/, thus expressing things such as semantic intensification, hostility and personal concern. This paper describes and exemplifies in some detail the meaning and usage of each of the primary variants, and also briefly discusses the nature and effect of the secondary modifications.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 FOCUS OF STUDY

This article<sup>1</sup> provides a fairly detailed study of the varied forms and meanings of a single Thai particle *na*,<sup>2</sup> a form which signals a speaker's desire for or expectation of a response from the addressee. This paper is also, in effect, a continuation of the similar one dealing with the particle *si* (signalling an expectable response). And both papers were, in turn, originally conceived as parts of a still larger whole – as precursors to a more general investigation of the whole sentence-final particle system, with each paper providing a part of the necessary database of detailed information on the different particles within that system.

This larger investigation of the particle system has since been completed (see the monograph above), but the present paper, along with the previous one on *si*, provides a more detailed picture of the relevant phenomena than was possible in the wider study. I therefore present this paper as a fuller and more narrowly focused view of the behaviour and usage of this one particle. And I also present it as a sort of microcosm of the kinds of patterns and processes to be encountered in the larger particle system.

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## 1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A large part of my data and conclusions has been derived from direct questioning and discussion with native speakers of Thai.<sup>3</sup> I have also gleaned examples of usage from novels and short stories, but this usage has in turn been checked against that of native speakers whom I have questioned. In addition I have consulted such few scholarly works<sup>4</sup> as were available at the time I conducted my research, but these have figured only minimally in the present work – partly because this paper is primarily data oriented, and partly also because I have already discussed the relevant literature elsewhere (1979).

## 1.3 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF *na*

The form *na* belongs to the class of sentential postposition particles, and it is one of a pair of such forms (the other being *si*) that belong in a class by themselves, for these two forms are subject to more, and more clearly defined, variation in form and meaning than any other postposition particle except the speaker-addressee-relationship particle *wa*.

The variations of *na*, upon which this paper is large focused, may be viewed in terms of primary variants on the one hand, and secondary modifications on the other. The primary variants are /ná/, /nâ/, /náa/, /nâa/ and /naa/<sup>5</sup> and all of these convey the message that the speaker wants or expects some response from the addressee, whether by way of action (or non-action), agreement, acquiescence, confirmation of information. Each particular variant conveys some additional shade of meaning that distinguishes it from any of the others. The secondary modifications are elements of volume, pitch, vowel length and terminal /h/ that can occur with the primary variants to further modify or add to their meanings, expressing things such as impatience, urgency, deepened concern.

## 1.4 PROPOSED TREATMENT OF SUBJECT MATTER

My approach in handling the phenomena at hand will be first to discuss, in turn, each of the primary variants, to provide examples of occurrences in various types of usage, and to account for the meaning each shares with other variants and for that which distinguishes them. Then I shall discuss the secondary modifications, and I shall conclude with a general summary that attempts to pull the phenomena together in a reasonably comprehensive and coherent manner.

## 2. THE PRIMARY VARIANT /ná/

Of all the primary variants mentioned above, /ná/ is undoubtedly the most common; it also occurs in the widest variety of kinds or contexts of usage. It will be helpful, therefore, to take this variant first.

### 2.1 USAGE OF /ná/ IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS

This may be illustrated by examples 1-37 below. These examples are arranged according to four fairly well defined types of usage: action-inducement utterances (examples 1-15); statements eliciting agreement or acquiescence (16-25); questions (26-30); and vocatives (31-37).



In all types of usage, the occurrence of /ná/ signals the general meaning (shared with other variants of *na*) that the speaker wants and calls for a given response from the addressee. In addition, most occurrences convey the sense of a mild question in which the speaker asks for a given response by way of action, acknowledgment, agreement or acquiescence. Such occurrences also imply that the speaker does, in fact, expect the response in question and often simply assumes that that response will be forthcoming. The general effect of the /ná/ in most of its occurrences is very similar to that of English expressions such as, 'okay?', 'huh?', 'won't you?', 'would you (please)?', 'isn't it?', 'did you get that?', 'are you with me?'

There are, however, cases where the /ná/ conveys hostility, irritation or rebuke. In such usage the addressee is or has been showing some resistance to or neglect of the speaker's wishes, and the latter expresses himself or herself accordingly. Often, too, the speaker conveys his or her displeasure by raising the volume and perhaps also the pitch of the utterance.<sup>6</sup>

In the examples cited below, and throughout this paper, each vocabulary item in a given Thai sentence is identified by a subscript number, and the sentence is accompanied by a translation that includes glosses to match each numbered item. However, particles (whose meanings are often vague and difficult to handle) are neither numbered nor glossed. Also, in cases where the English translation leaves no satisfactory place for providing particular numbered glosses, a literal translation of the given sentence, or a relevant part thereof is provided within parentheses, and this literal translation is accompanied by the appropriate numbered glosses. Square brackets mark information as to possible situations in which the given utterance might occur. Where more than one such situation is specified, the different possibilities are identified as a, b, c etc.

As for the English renderings of the Thai examples cited here and throughout the paper, it will be noted that I have often provided colloquial speech translations. This reflects the fact that the Thai utterances themselves have or may have a colloquial flavour. Furthermore, in a number of cases I have found it necessary to render a given sentence in American colloquial speech, since this is the only colloquial I can handle with sensitivity. This means, unfortunately, that some of my renderings may lack clarity or stylistic acceptability for readers who are not at home with American colloquial speech. If so, I can only apologise in advance for any resulting obscurities and infelicities.

### 2.1.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES WITH /ná/

These are utterances of various kinds in which the speaker is prompting the addressee to perform, or not perform, some particular action. They include commands (examples 1a, 1b, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a), instructions or warnings (1c, 2b, 3b, 3c, 4b, 5b, 5c, 6, 7), requests (8-12) and invitations (13-15).

#### 2.1.1.1 EXAMPLES OF ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES

(1) /pə̀ət pratuu ná./

1 2

'Open the door!' 'Hey, open the door!' '(Now) open the door. Got it?'

1 2

[a. A child has deliberately locked the door against his mother, and the latter is expressing her impatience. b. A parent is demanding for the second or third time that the child do as he is told. c. Speaker is giving one of a series of instructions for setting up a trap.]

- (2) /yàa d~~u~~ ná./  
 1 2  
 'Don't be (so) stubborn!' 'Don't act up now, okay?'  
 1 2  
 [a. Parent rebukes a child for refusing to do as she is told. b. Parent is leaving daughter with a babysitter and gives the child a good-natured warning to behave herself.]
- (3) /pay rewrew ná./  
 1 2  
 (go quickly) 'Hurry up and get going?' 'Be as quick as you can, okay?'  
 1 2  
 'Hurry back now.'  
 [a. Parent is rebuking child for dawdling. b. Mother is sending child off on an errand and urges him to hurry. c. A friend is off to buy something that both he and the speaker need.]
- (4) /yàa càp ná d~~ı~~aw tòk t~~è~~ek./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (don't grasp, in a minute (it will) fall break) 'Don't touch that, you'll break it.'  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 [a. Adult angrily warns child for the umpteenth time not to touch a fragile vase. b. Adult gives child a first-time, good-natured warning.]
- (5) /sày s~~u~~a tua d~~è~~erj ná./  
 1 2 3  
 'Put (that) red shirt on (right now)!' 'Wear the red shirt, okay?'  
 1 3 2 1 3 2  
 [a. Child is refusing to do as he is told. b. Child has raised the question as to what shirt to wear, and Mother tells him what she wants. c. Wife tells husband what she wants him to wear for the special occasion she is planning.]
- (6) /loŋ p~~ı~~ay n~~ı~~a ná./  
 1 2 3  
 'Get off at the next stop, okay?'  
 1 3 2  
 [Bus driver or fellow passenger instructs someone where to get off the bus.]
- (7) /d~~ə~~n troŋ pay tha~~ŋ~~ ní ná. phoo th~~ı~~ŋ s~~ı~~i y~~è~~ek ná, lé~~ɛ~~w líaw sáay ná.../  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
 (walk straight going this way, when reach intersection, then turn left.)  
 1 2 3 5 4 6 7 8,9 10 11 12  
 'Walk straight ahead this way, okay? And when you reach the intersection, turn left. Got it?...'  
 [Speaker gives directions to addressee.]  
 (Note, here, that the /ná/ is added at the end of each one of a series of sentences or clauses. Note too, however, that the members of such a series need not all be action-inducement utterances.)

- (8) /khǒo nâŋ dūay khon ná./  
 1 2 3 4  
 (request sit with (you) (one) person) 'May I join you?' 'May I have a seat?'  
 1 2 3 4  
 [Speaker checks before seating himself with a friend or acquaintance.]
- (9) /khǒo námsôm nòy ná./  
 1 2 3  
 (request orange-juice just-this-little-thing)  
 1 2 3  
 'May I?' 'Is it okay if I help myself to some orange juice?' 'May I have some orange juice?'  
 [a. Speaker checks before helping himself. b. Speaker asks his neighbour to fill his glass for him.]  
 (Note that if the speaker were making the request of someone standing there for the express purpose of serving, he would use the particle /sí/ or perhaps /thǎ?/.)
- (10) /khǒo khanǒm ná, ná, ná, ná./  
 1 2  
 (request pastry) 'Can I have a cookie, huh? Please? Huh? Huh?'  
 1 2  
 [Child begs mother, who is either refusing or not listening.]
- (11) /chūay pàət línchák hây thii ná./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (help open drawer for (me) (just this one) time)  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Would you mind opening the drawer for me, please?'
- (12) /yìp dinsǒo hây phǒm ná./  
 1 2 3 4  
 (grasp pencil for me)  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Hand me the pencil, would you?'  
 [Friend or employee is close to the pencil, and speaker asks him/her to pass it.]
- (13) /chǎen nâŋ ná./  
 1 2  
 (invite sit) 'Please, won't you have a seat.'  
 1 2  
 [Hostess is called out of the room just as guest arrives, and she wants the latter to make himself comfortable while he is waiting.]
- (14) /chǎen maa thǎaw kan ʔiik ná./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (invite come visit together again)  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Do come again, won't you?' 'You all come again, huh?'

(15) /chæn taam sabaay ná./

1 2 3

(invite follow comfortable) 'Please make yourself at home.'

1 2 3

[Host or hostess leaving guest to his own devices.]

### 2.1.1.2 DISCUSSION OF ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES

With the above examples at hand, we are now in a position to take a closer look at the various types of usage of action-inducement utterances (hereafter referred to as AIU's) with /ná/. I shall therefore discuss these in turn, taking them up in more or less the order they have been exemplified above.

Command usage (see examples 1-5) involves issuing a direct order or flat demand to the addressee that the latter act in accordance with the speaker's desire or wish. It also implies that the addressee is or has been acting, or is about to act, contrary to the speaker's wishes, either as previously expressed, or as those wishes should have been known and understood. It therefore always comes across as aggressive, impatient, hostile, demanding, and this hostility is very often, though not always, expressed by a raising of the pitch and volume of the utterance in question. In effect the speaker is saying, 'You do this (or else...)!', 'Get busy and do as I tell you!', 'I told you to do this. Now do it!', 'Don't you do that! You hear?'

Note, further, that any AIU with /ná/ that does not clearly come across as instruction (including good-natured warnings), or as a request or an invitation, will be understood in this hostile, demanding sense. It will not be taken as a good-natured and friendly suggestion. For example, an utterance such as item (1) above ('Open the door!'), will almost invariably convey hostility and impatience, for the sentence as it stands lacks any such words as /nòy/ '(just this) little (thing)' or /chæn/ 'please' to mark it as a request or invitation. Furthermore, very few contexts come readily to mind that might mark it as instructional. (Context (1c) is one such instructional context, though I must confess that I took a very long time fishing for it before I found it.) But when such a sentence does occur in a clearly instructional context there need be no implication of impatience or hostile demand.

Instructional utterances (see relevant contexts in examples 1-7) presuppose that the addressee is in the position of being directed or admonished in some manner, whether as a pupil by a teacher, a child by a parent, an employee by an employer, or as a person temporarily open to receive directions from another (as when one asks for directions or voluntarily undertakes an errand for a friend). They are of two general types: first, simple instructions telling the addressee what to do (examples 5b, 5c, 6), or how to proceed in a sequence of actions (examples 1c, 7); and second, admonitions. These latter may involve prompting the addressee to do in a desirable manner (quickly, well, carefully etc.) some action that he or she is already committed to do (example 3b, 3c), or they may involve admonishing or warning the addressee not to do something he or she is about to do, or perhaps has done in similar circumstances in the past (examples 2b, 4b).

Ordinarily, instructional usage comes across as friendly and concerned (otherwise it would cease to be instruction and instead become hostile command). And frequently, also, it conveys the sense that the speaker is checking with the addressee to make sure that the latter hears or understands the instructions and will act accordingly. The general effect approximates that of English expressions such as 'okay?', 'are you with me?', 'got that?', '(you'll do it) won't you, huh?'

Note also, in passing, that instructions with /ná/, and commands too, may be either positive or negative. When they are negative, however, they are always preventive rather than corrective. That is, the speaker is seeking to prevent the addressee from doing something he has not yet done, not to correct or rebuke him for doing what he is already doing. Thus example 4 above ('Don't touch that!') would be impossible if the child had already picked up the vase; rather, in such a case, the speaker would use the particle /sí/, or else he would issue a positive command such as *plòy ná* 'Let go of it!'

Requests (examples 3-12), as the term implies, involve asking the addressee for something: for help, food, a desired object; for permission; or perhaps for acquiescence in something the speaker wants to do. Ordinarily such utterances will be signalled by words such as the following: /chûay/ 'to help' (i.e. 'please help me by ...'); /khǒɔ/ 'to request' (i.e. 'I request (something)', 'I request permission to...'); /nǝy/ 'a little', 'just this little request'; /thii/ '(one) time', '(just this) once'; or even (in relaxed, superior-to-inferior or intimate-to-intimate situations) just the word /hây/ 'for (me)'.

Usually requests with /ná/ convey relaxed friendliness, with the expectation that the request will be granted. But they may also be raised in pitch and volume to express impatience, and occasionally a speaker, usually a child, will express insistence by repeating the /ná/ over and over again if his request is not granted (example 10).

Invitations involve the offer of some kindness to the addressee, usually in a host-to-guest situation. It should be noted, however, that /ná/ only occurs with what I call deferred-hospitality invitations. These are invitations in which the speaker is inviting someone to enjoy some act of hospitality at a later time (example 14) or ones in which the speaker wishes to extend hospitality, but for the moment cannot fulfill his/her office as a host/hostess or friend (examples 13, 15). An instance of the latter type of invitation might occur if the phone were to ring just as a hostess was opening the door to a guest, and so she invites him in, leaving him to his own resources as she goes to answer the phone. Or perhaps a hostess might invite a guest to be seated while she leaves to fix some drinks. In invitations, then, of the kinds described above, the particle /ná/ could be used, but it would not ordinarily be used if the host or hostess were simply inviting a guest to come in, or be seated, or have a drink, under more normal circumstances.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1.1.3 COMPARISON OF /ná/ WITH OTHER AIU PARTICLES

In order to clarify the meaning and function of /ná/ in AIU situations it may be helpful to compare its usage with that of a couple of other particles which likewise function in AIU contexts: the particle /thǝʔ/, which signals the speaker's call for desirable response; and the particle /sí/, which signals expectable response. The form /ná/, then, calls for some action that the speaker wants or wishes the addressee to perform. The form /thǝʔ/ calls for an action that the speaker feels is good, desirable, the thing to do. And the form /sí/ calls for an action that anyone might urge or expect the addressee to do under the circumstances. Any one of the forms might convey its distinctive message in the form of commands, promptings, requests or invitations.

Thus any of the three forms might be used, for example, in urging someone to 'open the door'. The form /ná/ (as we have seen in example (1) above) might occur in the following situations: a. Father is making the demand of a child who has deliberately closed the door against him; b. Child has ignored or failed to respond to an earlier request or command (which, incidentally, might have been issued using the particle /sí/); c. Speaker gives one of a series of instructions for setting up a trap with a door.

SEMANTIC SUMMARY		/ná/	/thàʔ/	/sî/
	Basic Meaning		Response desired by speaker: 'I want you to...'	Desirable response called for: 'I urge you to do the desirable thing.'
General flavour		From mild and friendly to hostile and demanding	Non-aggressive and usually friendly	Expects proper response; may be bossy or critical
TYPES OF USAGE	COMMANDS Strong	Very aggressive and demanding: 'I demand that you do as I wish/say!'	(None)	Aggressive and bossy: 'Why don't you do as you ought!' 'Why don't you do as you're told!'
	Mild	Instructing or admonishing; friendly and concerned	Urging: '(It's desirable/ time to do it, so) go ahead and...' 'I think you should...'	Suggesting, urging; especially for some good reason beneficial to addressee
	Positive vs. Negative	Freely occurs, both positive and negative	Almost always positive. Negative only with verbs expressing negative emotions: 'Don't worry', 'Don't feel hurt' etc.	Freely occurs positive. Negatives are corrective or must point to good reason for negative preventive command.
	Corrective vs. Preventive	Negatives must be preventive*; positives may be corrective.	Only corrective: 'I think you should...' 'I urge you to desist from...'	Often corrective; preventive only if compelling reason is given.
	'Let's...'	'Let's..., okay?'	'Let's...' 'I think we should...now' 'Why don't we...'	'Let's...' (since it's time to do it; since it's the thing to do)
	Requests	'Would you (please) give me the help/ permission I need.' 'May I?' 'It's okay if I..., isn't it?'	'I think it would be good if you give me the help/permission I need' 'I urge you (please) to...'	'I assume (under the circumstances) you will give me the help/ permission I need.'
	Invitations	Only deferred-hospitality invitations*: '(I can't take care of you now, so) please...' '(Sometime) please...'	'I encourage you to...' 'Please go ahead and ...'	'I invite you to meet your obvious present need.' (No need to hold back.)
	Non-AIU	Signals desire for response and occurs with statements, questions, vocatives	(None)	Signals <i>speaker's</i> expectable or assured response to statements, questions, noteworthy phenomena; or signals inferential utterance

\* Note that this limitation upon the occurrence of /ná/ in this context applies only to the variant /ná/, not to any of the other primary variants.

FIGURE A: A COMPARISON OF AIU PARTICLES /ná/, /thàʔ/ AND /sî/

By way of contrast, the form /thàʔ/ might occur as follows: a. Employer notices it is time to open the store to the public and politely tells employee to open the door; b. Speaker notices that someone is suffering from heat and instructs addressee to let some air in to relieve that person; c. Addressee has shown indications that he is afraid the speaker won't like having the door open, and the latter urges him to go ahead; d. Parent instructs child to open the door of a cage in order to release a wild bird the child has imprisoned. Note that in each of the above situations the speaker perceives something that in his judgement is desirable, or needs to be done, and then calls for an action response.

Finally, /sî/ might be used in the following situations: a. It is the employee's regular, assigned duty to open the store at a given time, and the employer sees that time has come but the employee hasn't acted yet; b. Speaker, whose hands are full, approaches closed door and addressee is right there (speaker may either be calling attention to his need, or he may be rebuking addressee for not noticing and responding); c. Addressee has just complained about how hot the room is.

Obviously it would be possible to multiply examples of the sort given above, and if we did so we would certainly find an almost infinite variety of situations calling for a choice between the three particles I am comparing.<sup>8</sup> We would certainly find, also, that there were many cases where the choice seemed arbitrary. Unfortunately, I cannot hope to shed light on all problems of this sort, but in Figure A I have attempted to summarise some of the pertinent facts and distinctions with respect to the occurrence of these particles. I have, furthermore, attempted to make the figure self-explanatory, so without further comment I shall move on from my discussion of AIU's with /ná/ to a consideration of /ná/ in statements.

### 2.1.2 STATEMENTS WITH /ná/

These are utterances in which the speaker states a fact, expresses an opinion, tells about his expectations, provides an explanation, or whatever, and then (by his use of /ná/) conveys his expectation or request for agreement or acquiescence. The net result is a question much like English questions ending with 'huh?', 'isn't it?', 'right?', 'don't you think so?', 'okay?', 'are you with me?', 'did you get what I'm saying?' and so forth. Such utterances are usually relaxed and friendly, with the speaker fully expecting (though not demanding) the response he seeks. But they may sometimes express impatience, often signalled by raised volume (example 19); or the /ná/ may be repeated to express insistence (example 17).

Note that statements with /ná/ often accompany some other utterance which comprises either a direct or indirect AIU. Thus, for example, sentences 18A and 18B contain the same identical /ná/ statement: /dǎaw tòk tɛ̀ɛk/ 'in a moment it will fall and break', but note that in 18A this is accompanied by a clear AIU, /yàa.../ 'don't...'; and in 18B it is accompanied by a 'why' question that really constitutes an oblique AIU asking the addressee to do something.

(16) /pə̀ət pratuu ná./

1 2

'I'm opening the door, okay?' 'Mind if I open the door?'

1 2

[The room is hot, and the speaker checks with the addressee as he opens the door.

Cf. example 1, above.]

- (17) /nũu ca pay lên ná mề, ná, ná, ná./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'I'm going to go play, okay? Mom? Huh? Okay?'  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 [Child speaking to mother who is either not listening or shows signs of objecting.]
- (18A) /dĩaw tøk tèek ná. yàa càp ləəy./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 (in a minute fall break, don't grasp)  
 1 2 3 4,6 5  
 'Watch out, it'll break. Don't touch it.' 'Don't touch that; you'll drop it and break it.'
- (18B) /dĩaw tøk tèek ná. thammay mây pay lên khǒŋlên ?uun./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 'Whoa, next thing you're going to break that. Why don't you go play with some  
 1 2 3 4  
 other toy.'  
 6 5
- (19) /chán mây chǒp ná. yàa hây chán càp dđay ?iik ná.  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 (I not like, don't let me be able to catch again)  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 7 9  
 'You know, I didn't like that, (you hear?). Don't let me catch you doing it again.'  
 [Boss rebuking employee.]
- (20) /?aakàat dii ná. wannii pay thđaw kan pen ɲay./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 (weather good how would it be to go for pleasure together today)  
 1 2 8 7 4 5 6 3  
 'It's great weather, isn't it? What do you say we go off on a jaunt today?'
- (21) /pratuu ná./  
 1  
 'Door here!' 'Watch it, we're coming to a door.'  
 1  
 [Speaker is leading a blind man and warns him of approaching obstacle.]
- (22) /mề, phũuyĩŋ khon nán sũay ná./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Oo, that girl is pretty, isn't she?'  
 1 3,4 2 5
- (23) /thəə ca pay nề ná./  
 1 2 3 4  
 (you will go surely) 'You're going for sure, aren't you?'  
 1 2 3 4  
 [Host is counting on friend's help at party, and wants to make sure the latter will be there.]



- (24) /nǐi dèk phũuchaay ná. léew nân sũa khǒŋ kháw ná. duu mũa kamləŋ rǒŋ phleəŋ ná./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

'This is a boy, see? And that's his shirt. It looks like (he)'s singing, doesn't it?'

1 2,3 4 5 7,8 6 9 10 11,12,13

[Adult is explaining a picture of a boy to a child.]

- (25) /ʔəə ná, ləum pay./

1 2 3

'Oh, sure-enough! I'd forgotten about that.' 'Oh, that's right, isn't it! I forgot.'

1 3 2

[a. Speaker has just been reminded of an engagement. b. Mathematician has just been reminded of a forgotten minus sign.]

### 2.1.3 QUESTIONS WITH /ná/

These may be either yes/no questions (see examples 29, 30 below) or content questions (those that ask 'who?', 'what?', 'why?' etc. – see 26-28). Note, moreover, that these utterances already constitute questions before the particle /ná/ is added. In this respect they differ from the questions described and exemplified in section 2.1.2 above, for the latter are statements to begin with and only become questions with the addition of /ná/. In any event, when /ná/ is added to utterances that are already questions, it signals a question that is one of at least four main types.

The first type is the informal question, much like English questions ending in 'huh?' (see examples 26a, 27, 28a, 29a, 30). The second type is what we might call a 'please repeat' question. Here the addressee has just said something (either in the form of a statement or an answer to a previous question) that the speaker did not hear, is uncertain he heard or understood correctly, or is surprised or puzzled by, so he asks for a repetition. In such usage, then, /ná/ conveys much the same kind of thing as English does in questions with high intonation and terminal rise in pitch: 'What was it you wanted?', 'Who did you say you went with?', 'When was it you got home?' etc. (see examples 26b, 26c, 28b). Questions of this sort are usually also uttered in Thai with raised pitch.

A third type of question is the self-directed question, where something requiring an answer confronts the speaker, but that answer is not immediately available. In such usage the /ná/ question will ordinarily be a mild and momentary passing question, much like English questions introduced by the expression, 'Hm, I wonder (who/what/whether/etc.)...' (see examples 26d, 27, 28c, 29b).

The fourth type of question might be described as a bafflement-complaint question. This always involves an element of puzzlement or bafflement as the speaker comes up against a situation, an attitude, a behaviour that bothers him or that he does not understand. And it also involves an element of complaint, as the speaker asks why or how such a thing can be. Hence such questions are always how or why questions (rather than who, when, where etc.), and they are questions (whether directed to the addressee, to himself, or to no one in particular) to which the speaker does not really expect an answer. Rather, he is expressing his sense that some situation should not be as it is, and is reacting in complaint and puzzlement (see example 28d).

- (26) /pay nǎy ná./

1 2

'Where're you going, huh?' 'Where'd you say you were going?'

2

1

'I wonder where he went.'

[a. Speaker asks a relaxed, informal question as addressee starts to leave. b. Speaker didn't quite hear what addressee said and asks for a repetition. c. Speaker can't quite believe his ears when addressee says a friend is going to Peking. d. Speaker notices someone leave the room and idly wonders to himself where the latter went.]

(27) /sǎŋʔaray ná./

1 2

'What's (that) noise?' 'I wonder what that noise is.'

2 1

(28) /thammay kháw mây tòp ná./

1 2 3 4

'Why doesn't he answer?'

1 3 2 4

'Do you happen to know why he doesn't answer?' 'Why did you say it was he didn't answer?' 'Hm, I wonder why he doesn't answer.' 'Why in the world doesn't he answer, anyway?'

[a. Speaker asks simple, friendly question. b. Speaker asks for repetition of information given by addressee. c. Speaker wonders, in passing, about the lack of response from the person in question. d. Speaker is baffled or annoyed by the lack of response and voices his complaint.]

(29) /nân khày kày rá khày pèt ná./

1 2 3 4 5

'Are those chicken eggs or duck eggs, huh?'

1 3 2 5 4

'Are those chicken eggs or duck eggs, I wonder?'

[a. Speaker asks informal question of addressee. b. Speaker momentarily tries to recall what he has previously learned about the difference between duck eggs and chicken eggs.]

(30) /thəə ca khít thǔŋ chán bǎŋ máy ná./

1 2 3 4 5 6

(you will think about me some?)

1 2 3 4 5 6

'Are you going to miss me, huh?' [Speaker is about to go abroad.]

#### 2.1.4 VOCATIVES WITH /ná/

The particle /ná/ can also occur following or, occasionally, bracketed by names, nouns and pronouns that are used as vocatives; the resulting vocative /ná/ phrase will ordinarily accompany a main clause or sentence that carries the burden of the speaker's message. This main clause may be an AIU (but not a command) (examples 31-34), a statement eliciting agreement or acquiescence (35, 36), or a bafflement-complaint question (but usually not any other kind of question) (example 37). Very often both the vocative phrase and the accompanying main clause will end in /ná/, and the implications of the /ná/ will be identical in both occurrences; that is, both will convey the message 'won't you please?', 'don't you agree?', 'huh?' or whatever. Then the vocative /ná/ phrase as a whole is used to

call the addressee's attention, to render the speaker's message more intimate and personal, or to highlight the speaker's baffled complaint.

In most cases, the vocative /ná/ phrase may either precede or follow the main clause it accompanies, but if the vocative phrase precedes, the effect of the vocative will be a little more forceful. Also, there will be an intensification of meaning if the vocative name, noun or pronoun brackets the /ná/ – that is, where the name, noun or pronoun is repeated both before and after the particle (see example 37).

- (31) /yàa d̥u ná, t̥ɔy ná./  
           1   2   3  
           'Now don't be difficult, okay, Toy?'  
                   1       2       3  
           [Parent is leaving child nicknamed Toy with babysitter.]
- (32) /p̥ay rewrew ná, thəə ná./  
           1       2       3  
           (go quickly you) 'Hurry back now, okay?'  
                   1   2   3  
           [Parent or friend is sending addressee off on errand.]
- (33) /nóŋ ná, s̥ày s̥uɑ tua d̥ɛŋ ná./  
           1       2   3   4   5  
           'Sis, I want you to wear the red blouse, okay?'  
                   1                   2 4 5   3  
           [Older sister is instructing younger sister what to wear to a party.]
- (34) /d̥ɛŋ ná, ch̥uay yìp d̥insɔ̌ h̥y n̄y ná./  
           1       2   3   4   5   6  
           (red help grasp pencil for (me) this-small-request)  
                   1   2   3   4   5       6  
           'Say Red, would you hand me the pencil, please.'
- (35) /ph̥uayĩŋ khon nán s̥uay ná, l̥ék ná./  
           1       2   3   4       5  
           'That girl is pretty, huh. Don't you think so, Lek?'  
                   2,3   1       4
- (36) /m̄ɛ ná, chán ca s̥ày s̥uɑ tua ní ná./  
           1       2   3 4   5   6 7  
           'Hey, Mom, I'm going to wear this shirt, okay?'  
                   1   2   3       4   6,7 5
- (37) /t̥ɔy ná t̥ɔy, thammay mây bòk lâ./  
           1       1       2       3 4 5  
           'Oh, Toy, why didn't you tell me!'  
                   1   2,5 3       4  
           [Speaker shakes his head in annoyance and bafflement over Toy's failure. He might be speaking directly to Toy; or he might be speaking in Toy's absence, as if to Toy, employing what might be termed a displaced vocative usage.]

3. OTHER PRIMARY VARIANTS OF *na*

The remaining primary variants, /nâ/, /náa/, /nâa/ and /naa/, share with /ná/ the basic meaning or idea that the speaker wants some response from the addressee. In addition to this meaning, each variant conveys an additional meaning that distinguishes it from all the others. I now discuss each of these other variants in turn.

## 3.1 THE VARIANT /nâ/

This variant, like /ná/, may occur with AIU's, statements and vocatives, but, unlike /ná/, it never occurs affixed to questions of any kind.<sup>9</sup> In all contexts it conveys the sense of momentary persuasion or urging. That is, the speaker is persuading or urging the addressee to act (or not to act) in a given way, or to heed, acknowledge, acquiesce to, respond to some statement, action, or need of the speaker, but the persuasion or urging is not sustained, pursued or pressed. It is fleeting, momentary. In many contexts, too, /nâ/ may convey a passing and moderate but restrained impatience. That is, the speaker is distressed or impatient about something, and reacts with brief and comparatively mild displeasure or annoyance, urging the relevant response from the addressee. But again, the urging is momentary rather than sustained; there is no begging or pressing for the response in question.

We can say, then, that /nâ/ is differentiated from /ná/ by the element of telling or urging, which the latter lacks. Thus in the context of commands, /nâ/ urges rather than demands; in the context of requests, it tells rather than asks the addressee what to do; and in the context of statements, it urges acquiescence, confirmation or whatever, rather than requesting or urging it.

## 3.1.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES WITH /nâ/

This variant may occur with a variety of AIU's, including commands, requests and even invitations. However, instructional usage, in the strict sense, does not occur, since utterances that might otherwise be instructions become mild commands as soon as /nâ/ is added. Unlike the case of /ná/, negative AIU's with /nâ/ may be either preventive or corrective.

(38) /chim duu nâ./

1 2  
(taste see) 'Go ahead and taste it.'

1 2  
[Speaker gently, unemphatically urges addressee to try a new dish he seems reluctant to sample.]

(39) /pəət pratuu nâ. yàa dâu læy./

1 2 3 4 5  
'Okay now, open the door! Don't be (so) difficult!'

1 2 3,5 4  
(The combination /yàa ... læy/ makes for a milder command than /yàa/ by itself.)

- (40) /ŋiap ŋiap nâ. phûu yà̄i kháw ca khuy kan./  
           1                  2 3 4 5 6 7  
 (be quiet, grownups they will chat together)  
           1          2,3 4 5 6 7  
 ‘Do be quiet, now. (We) grownups want to talk.’
- (41) /yàa klê̄ɛŋ nâ. khon kamlaŋ pùat hǔa./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 (don't pester, person is having aching head)  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘Do quit pestering me. I have a headache.’
- (42) /yìp dɪnsǎ̄o hây chán nòy nâ.  
           1 2 3 4 5  
 (grasp pencil for me a little)  
           1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘All right now, hand me the pencil.’ ‘Come on, give me that pencil, will you?’
- (43) /chə̄əŋ nâŋ nâ./  
           1 2  
 ‘Come now, please sit down.’  
                   1 2

### 3.1.2 STATEMENTS WITH /nâ/

These are of two kinds: statements that form the basis of some kind of inducement to action or non-action; and those that contradict something the addressee has said. In either case, the speaker is responding with restrained impatience to some contrary action, attitude, belief or opinion of the addressee, and is partly urging, partly expecting, the desired response. Note, also, that statements with /nâ/, unlike those with /ná/, remain statements after the particle is added; they do not change to become questions.

- (44) /yen léew nâ. raw tɔ̄ŋ pay ciŋciŋ./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘It's evening already. We really have to go.’  
           1 2 3 6 4 5  
 [a. Host has been delaying the speaker and his wife beyond the time when they must leave. b. Speaker and addressee have gone to a party together, and the latter is lingering beyond departure time.]
- (45) lûuk kamlaŋ mây sabaay nâ. pay plò̄ɔp man nòy ná./  
           1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 ‘Look dear, he doesn't feel good. Why don't you go comfort him, huh?’ (this little thing)  
           1 2,3 4 5 6 7 8  
 [Father has been complaining about the child's whining, and Mother points out the problem, urging Father to comfort her.]

- (46) /khon kamlaŋ pùat hũa nâ. yàa maa klêɛŋ læy./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'Look, I've got a headache. Please don't come pestering me.'  
 1 2 3,4 5,8 6 7  
 (Cf. example 41 above.)
- (47) /kháw khoŋ ca maa nâ. thəə m̄y t̄oŋ wítòk./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'Look now, she's sure to come. No need to worry.' (you)  
 1 2,3 4 6 7 8 5
- (48) /ʔəə nâ. yàa phũut m̄ak pay./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (all right, don't speak too much)  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'All right, all right! Say no more.'  
 [Addressee has been nagging speaker about something, and the speaker finally acquiesces.]
- (49) /m̄y h̄n s̄ay læy. ʔiik khon s̄ay kwàa nâ./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'I don't think she's pretty at all! The other one is pretti-er.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
- (50) /khoŋ m̄y t̄ok nâ. h̄n máy. phráʔaathít ʔòok maa léew./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 'Aw, it surely won't rain. See? The sun's coming out now.'  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 7 9  
 [Addressee has just expressed his opinion that it's going to rain.]

## 3.1.3 VOCATIVES WITH /nâ/

In all cases where vocatives occur with /nâ/ they are accompanied by AIU's, never by statements. And the action or non-action in question is urged upon the addressee over against some opposing behaviour that the speaker feels negative about. Also, again, the speaker is holding back his irritation by resorting to urging or persuasion, with the expectation that the response he desires will be forthcoming. Ordinarily, vocatives will precede the AIU that they accompany; their function is to call the addressee's attention to the action or non-action being called for. The /nâ/, then, in each case, has the same flavour as the /nâ/ of the accompanying AIU.

- (51) /lũuk nâ, pay rewrew nâ./  
 1 2 3  
 (child, go quickly) 'Here now, do hurry up.' 'Come dear, I want you to hurry.'  
 1 2 3  
 [a. Child is dawdling about getting off to school, and Mother is becoming impatient.  
 b. Child has not responded to Mother's first request, and Mother is impatient at having to repeat it a second time.]

- (52) /pěw nâ, yàa maa kuan nâ./  
           1      2      3      4  
 (Paew, don't come bother) 'Please Paew, don't bother me!'  
           1      2      3      4  
 [Paew is bothering friend at a time when the latter is particularly busy, or perhaps doesn't feel good.]
- (53) /thəə nâ, sà̀y rəəŋtháaw kòon nâ.  
           1      2      3      4  
 (you, put on shoes first) 'Say there, do put your shoes on first.'  
           1      2      3      4  
 'Come on now, you just put your shoes on before you go out.'  
 [a. Younger sister knows she is expected to put her shoes on before going out, but she tries to sneak off without doing so, thus earning her older sister's admonishment.  
 b. Older sister is telling younger sister for the second time.]
- (54) ?ûan nâ, yìp kradàat hây nõy nâ./  
           1      2      3      4      5  
 (Fat, grasp paper for me a little)  
           1      2      3      4      5  
 'Come on now Fats, reach me down that piece of paper.'  
 [Fats has been ignoring his friend's earlier request.]

### 3.2 THE VARIANT /náa/

This variant may occur with AIU's, statements, questions and vocatives. And it conveys a sense of fairly strong desire for the given response, and of pressing for that response in a seeking, pleading manner. It is like the mild, unaggressive /ná/ in that it asks rather than demands the desired response, but it differs from /ná/ in that it pleads or begs. It differs from /nâ/ in that it asks or begs rather than telling or urging, and it differs from both /ná/ and /nâ/ in that the call for the desired response involves sustained pressure or continuing seeking. Often, too, the utterance in which it occurs will be raised in pitch to express intensified concern, desire or pleading.

#### 3.3.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES WITH /náa/

These always involve a plea, asking or begging some action or non-action. They therefore will never convey a sense or command, nor will they include simple instructions, but they will include admonitions, requests and invitations.

- (55) /ŋîap ŋîap náa./  
           1  
 'Oh, please be quiet, won't you?'  
           1  
 [a. Speaker is afraid that the addressee will attract their father's attention and their father will be angry about what they are doing. b. Mother is very tired and has a headache, so she begs for quiet.]

(56) /yàa càp náa./

1 2

'Ple-ease don't touch that!' 'Oh – oh, don't touch that, ple-ease.'

1 2

[a. Mother is afraid child will drop and break a precious vase. b. Mother is afraid child will scald himself handling the tea kettle.]

(57) /yàa kláp bâan dâk náa./

1 2 3 4

'Don't be late getting home now, will you, huh?'

1 4 2 3

'I don't want you to stay out too late, okay?'

[Concerned father admonishes tennage daughter as she leaves for an evening out.]

(58) /khǎo khanǎm nòy náa, náa./

1 2 3

(request cookie just this small request) 'Could I ple-ease have a cookie, ple-ease?'

1 2 3

[Mother is not paying attention to child's request, or else she is acting reluctant to grant it.]

(Note that, here, there would probably not be more than the one extra repetition of the particle, whereas with /ná/, in a similar situation, there might be almost any number.)

(59) /chəən khâw maa náa./

1 2 3

'Aw, please do come in, won't you?'

1 2 3

## 3.2.2 STATEMENTS WITH /náa/

When a speaker adds /náa/ to a statement, he is usually begging or pleading for acquiescence or agreement. Often, also, he is making the statement as a basis for some plea for action or non-action. In both types of use the /náa/ utterance has the force of a question.

(60) /nǔu ca pay lēn náa./

1 2 3 4

'I'm going to go play, okay, huh?'

1 2 3 4

'Are you listening, Mom, I'm going to go play now, okay?'

[Mother seems not to have heard her daughter's previous request, or she seems reluctant to acquiesce.]

(61) /dǎaw ʔaw maa hây náa. khəoy dǎaw diaw./

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I'll bring it to you in a jiffy, oka-ay? Wait just a moment.'

2,3 4 1 5 7 6

[Parent tries to calm down and reassure child waiting for a treat he has been promised.]



- (62) /thəə ca pay nêe náa. sǎnyaa náa./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘You’re going to go for sure now, are you, huh? Promise, huh?’  
 1 2 3 4 5
- (63) /fǒn ca tǒk náa. yàa pay læy./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘Aw, come on, it’s going to rain. Please don’t go.’  
 2 1,3 4,6 5  
 ‘Please don’t go. Can’t you see it’s going to rain?’
- (64) /lǔm lúk náa. khǒykhǒy dǎən./  
 1 2 3 4  
 (deep hole, gradually walk)  
 2 1 3 4  
 ‘Whoa now, we’re coming to a pothole. Better watch your step.’  
 [a. Speaker is leading a blind man or someone with a big load who can’t see where he is going. b. Speaker wants addressee to watch where he is going.]
- (65) /phūuyǐn khon nán sǎy náa. cìip sǐ./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘Come on, don’t you think that girl’s a beauty? Why don’t you go make an approach?’  
 2,3 1 4 5  
 ‘Can’t you see how pretty she is? You ought to go spin her a line.’

### 3.2.3 QUESTIONS WITH /náa/

These include self-directed ‘I wonder’ questions and bafflement-complaint questions, but not informal questions or ‘please repeat’ questions. In other words, /náa/ never occurs with questions where the speaker is straightforwardly asking the addressee for an answer. They differ from comparable /ná/ questions in that questions with /náa/ signal greater desire and also more protracted or continuing concern. In the case of the self-directed ‘I wonder’ question with /ná/, the question pops into the speaker’s mind and is quite readily dismissed again or forgotten. But a /náa/ question lingers as the speaker puzzles and pursues the answer in his mind (or as he searches through the file drawer or whatever). In the case of bafflement-complaint questions with /náa/, the speaker is signalling a non-aggressive, seeking, almost wistful complaint: ‘Why, oh why did such a thing happen?’, ‘How could it be that such a thing should be so?’

- (66) /kháw pay nǎy náa./  
 1 2 3  
 ‘Where in the world is he going, I wonder?’ ‘I’d sure like to know where he went.’  
 3 1 2
- (67) /nân tua mia rú tua phūu náa./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ‘Hmm. I wonder whether that’s a male or a female.’  
 1 5,6 4 2,3  
 ‘Which might that one be, I wonder. Male or female?’  
 [Speaker is looking at an animal or bird whose sex he can’t identify.]

- (68) /yàak rúu ciŋ wâa thəə pay léew n̄i ca khít th̄ŋ chán máy náa./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 'I'd sure like to know whether you'll think of me after you've gone.'  
 3 1 2 4 8 9 10 11 5 7 6

### 3.2.4 VOCATIVES WITH /náa/

These, like vocatives with /ná/, may occur accompanied by AIU's, statements or questions. However, again, such utterances signal a stronger element of wishing or pleading for the desired response than do comparable expressions with /ná/.

- (69) /pay rewrew náa, ʔéet náa./  
 1 2 3  
 (go quickly, Aet) 'Do hurry, Aet, won't you please, huh?'  
 1 2 3
- (70) /ph̄uuȳŋ khon nán s̄ŋay náa, khun náa./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 'That girl's pretty, isn't she? Don't you think so, huh?'  
 2,3 1 4 5  
 [Speaker wants addressee to make an approach.]
- (71) /l̄uuk náa l̄uuk, thammay mây bòok lâ./  
 1 1 2 3 4 5  
 'Oh, you! Why didn't you tell me, huh? Why?'  
 1 2,5 3 4  
 (/l̄uuk/ means 'offspring') [Parent speaking to child.]

## 3.3 THE VARIANT /n̄aa/

This variant, like /n̄a/, occurs with AIU's, statements and vocatives, but not with questions. It conveys the idea of persuasion or applying continuing pressure. With respect to this element of persuasion it resembles both /n̄a/ and /náa/, but it differs from /ná/ in that the persuasion is a continuing thing rather than a momentary reaction, so that it conveys a message something like, 'Aw, come on please, *do* (respond in the desired way)'. And it differs from /náa/ in that it lacks much of the begging, pleading, asking element. It is not so much pleading or asking for a response as urging, pressuring, persuading. In other words, it is saying 'Aw, come on, do respond.', not 'Aw, please respond, won't you, huh?'. Thus it is more positive, more assertive than /náa/. On the other hand, it lacks the aggressive, hostile note of commands with /ná/.

### 3.3.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES WITH /n̄aa/

These include persuasion utterances of various kinds, including pressure-applying requests and invitations, but not (in the strict sense, at any rate) instructions or admonitions.

- (72) /phûut kan diidii nâa. yàa mohõo./  
           1   2   3           4   5  
 'Aw, come on, talk nicely to each other. Don't get mad!'  
                           1   3           2           4   5
- (73) /khâw maa kòon nâa. ca rîp pay nãy./  
           1   2   3           4   5   6   7  
 (enter first, will hurry go where)  
           1,2   3   4   5   6   7  
 'Aw, do come in! Where are you off to in such a hurry?'
- (74) /yàa pay læy nâa. klay ?òk./  
           1   2   3           4   5  
 (... very far) 'Aw, come on, don't go! It's a long, long way!'  
                           5   4                           1,3   2
- (75) /khõõ bàat diaw thâwnán nâa, mêe./  
           1   2   3           4           5  
 (request single baht only-that, mother) 'Ah, Mom, just let me have one baht!'  
           1   3   2           4           5
- (76) /chûay ?àthfbaay ?ìik thii nâa./  
           1           2   3   4  
 (help explain again (one) time) 'Come on, please explain it one more time!'  
           1   2   3           4

### 3.3.2 STATEMENTS WITH /nâa/

As in the case of /nâ/, these include both statements forming the basis of some plea to action or non-action and statements contradicting the addressee and calling for agreement. Again, as in the case of /nâ/ (but unlike the case of /ná/ or /nâa/), the addition of the particle to the statement does not change the latter into a question. It remains a statement.

- (77) /yen léew nâa. chán tøj pay cingij./  
           1   2           3   4   5   6  
 'Aw, please now, it's evening already. I really must go.'  
   1   2   3   6   4   5  
 [Host has been trying to keep speaker from leaving.]
- (78) /phõm ca càt kaan ?eej nâa. khun mây tøj hùan./  
           1   2   3   4   5           6   7   8   9  
 'There now, I'll take care of things myself. You don't have to worry.'  
                           1,2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
- (79) /chán ?eej ròk nâa. yàa klua læy./  
           1   2           3   4   5  
 (I myself...) 'Hold on, it's just me! Don't be afraid!'  
           1   2                           3,5   4

- (80) /phǒm wâa sǎŋ nók rǒŋ nâa./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (I think noise bird calling) 'Aw, come on, that's got to be a bird.'  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 [Addressee has just argued that the sound they are hearing is a frog.]

## 3.3.3 VOCATIVES WITH /nâa/

- (81) /phôo nâa, yàa phêŋ mohǒo nâa./  
 1 2 3 4  
 (... just yet ...) 'Aw, Dad, don't flare up so quick!'  
 3 1 2 4
- (82) /kháw khoŋ mây sabaay nâa, thəə nâa./  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 (... you) 'Aw, come on. Surely it's because he's unwell.'  
 5 2 1 3 4

## 3.4 THE VARIANT /naa/

Like /ná/ and /nâa/, this variant is used in all four of the types of contexts repeatedly exemplified above: AIU's, statements, questions and vocatives. Unfortunately, however, it turns out to be a little difficult to isolate any single meaning that applies to all contexts.

In AIU's and most statements with /naa/, the particle conveys the sense that the speaker wants the addressee to pay attention to some kind of situation and respond accordingly. Thus he may be warning, admonishing or requesting the addressee to act in a certain way, in view of certain needs or certain potential good or bad consequences. Or he may be making a statement that points up a fact or problem that in turn requires the addressee's attention and calls for him to respond in a certain way – whether to perform some action or to acquiesce or whatever. But in each case, there exists a need or problem, and also the call for the addressee's attention to and response to that problem. The speaker is, in effect, saying: 'pay attention, won't you, and respond accordingly.'

Then there are other /naa/ utterances where the speaker is not exactly (or not at all) calling for a response from the addressee. These comprise bafflement utterances (which may include both statements and questions) and 'I wonder' questions. Here the speaker is faced with a problem or question to which there is no answer, or to which he cannot at the moment find an answer, and so he complains to the addressee or to himself or to no one in particular, or he asks the 'I wonder' question. But his question or complaint lacks the seeking concern of similar questions with /nâa/. He may indeed look for the answer to his 'I wonder' question, but if he cannot find it, he will give up and dismiss the question from his mind. In either case, whether with bafflement utterances or 'I wonder' questions, he shrugs his shoulders, so to speak, and goes on.

A consideration of these seemingly disparate uses of /naa/ leaves one hard put to pinpoint anything that these might have in common. But I feel a case can be made for postulating something like speaker non-involvement as the crucial element. Thus when a speaker calls the addressee's attention to a response that needs to be made, or warns about possible consequences, he is, in effect, withdrawing from the option of personal persuasion or begging or even demanding, and instead he is

leaving the addressee to respond to the situation. He is saying, 'This is the problem; this the response I want; now it's up to you to act accordingly'. Similarly, when a speaker makes a bafflement utterance with /*naa*/, or asks an 'I wonder' question, he is expressing his concern, but his emotions do not come across as deeply involved.

3.4.1 ACTION-INDUCEMENT UTTERANCES WITH /*naa*/

These very often comprise warnings and admonitions, hence they often urge some action or non-action on the basis of some undesirable consequence that may follow if the addressee does not respond as indicated (example 83). They thus often constitute threats. But they may also urge a response in view of desirable consequences to the addressee (example 86) or in view of consequences primarily relevant to the speaker himself (example 85). In any case, the speaker is saying, in effect, 'Here is the response you'd better make, in view of this situation or possible consequence'.

AIU's with /*naa*/ may also include requests, and here the speaker is making a point of attracting the addressee's attention, either because the addressee did not hear an earlier request (example 87a) or because there is something about the request that the latter needs to be aware of, for example if the speaker is leaving and needs special consideration (example 87b). But the speaker is not pleading for attention (as in the case of requests with /*náa*/); rather, he is notifying the addressee and leaving the response up to the latter.

So far as I know, true invitations with /*naa*/ do not occur, perhaps because the non-involvement element (leaving the response to the addressee) would be contradictory to the implications of a genuine invitation.

- (83) /pěw naa, rawaŋ naa. dǎw phô tii røk./  
           1          2          3 4 5  
           '(Paew be careful, in a minute Father hit.)  
           1          2          3 4 5  
           'Better watch out, Paew, or Father will spank you.'  
           [a. Father threatens child with spanking. b. Older sister warns younger sister.]
- (84) /yàa klàp bâan døk naa./  
           1 2 3 4  
           'Better not get home too late, now, okay?'  
           1 2 3 4  
           [a. Father suspects daughter is going to be late home from a party. b. Host warns guest because of the danger of hold-ups in the neighbourhood late at night.]
- (85) /sèt léew ʔaw maa hây naa. mây nán phôm tham ŋaan mây dâay./  
           1 2 3 4 5          6 7 8 9 10 11 12  
           'Be sure and bring it back (to me) when you're through, now, won't you?'  
                           3,4          5                          1,2  
           Otherwise I can't get my work done.'  
           6,7 8 12 11          10 9  
           [Speaker is lending neighbour a tool.]

(86) /praphrát tua diidii naa. phûuyày kháw ca dâay rák./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 'Be sure and behave yourself nicely, won't you? And the grownups will like you.'  
 1 2 3 4,5 6,7 8

(87) /khǎo námsôm nỳ naa./  
 1 2 3  
 (request orange-juice a little)  
 1 2 3  
 'Say, could I have some orange juice?' 'Say, would it be all right if I have some orange juice?'  
 [a. Addressee did not hear an earlier request. b. Speaker calls attention of hostess as he serves himself after pushing to the head of the serving line.]

### 3.4.2 STATEMENTS WITH /naa/

Often these constitute statements which form the basis for some kind of AIU; the two together (the statement and the AIU) convey a message of warning or admonition (see examples 88, 89A, 90A, 91). However, /naa/ statements may also call for acquiescence or agreement (see 90B, 93, 94, 95). And they may form the basis for bafflement statements (see 96-98).

Note that bafflement statements express or imply a 'why' or 'how' complaint: 'why should such a thing be?'; 'how could such an event come about?'; so the 'why' or 'how' is not, of course, a request for information, but a complaint that such baffling, troubling or incomprehensible things should exist or occur. Note further, that examples 96 and 97 actually conclude with 'why' or 'how' questions, but example 98 does not. However example 98 nevertheless implies such a question; for behind the utterance is the complaint, 'why should such an unfortunate thing happen?'

Note also, that the addition of /naa/ to a statement makes the latter a question of sorts; it conveys a sense something like the following: 'do you hear me?', 'don't you realise that?', 'isn't that so, now?'. This question sense, however, is not necessarily reflected in the translations provided below.

(88) /dǎaw tii naa. yàa pay kuan nǎw ?iik./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 (in a moment hit) 'Watch it, or you're going to get a spanking. Don't you go  
 1 2 3 4  
 bothering your brother again!'  
 5 6 7  
 [Parent threatens child with spanking if he continues tormenting his younger brother.]

(89A) /?iik khon sǎay kwàa naa. yàa pay sǎncay khon ní lǎay./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (... go be interested ...) 'Look, can't you see the other girl's prettier?'  
 6 7 1 2 3 4  
 Don't you give this one a second thought.'  
 5,10 9 8

- (89B) /*ʔiik khon sǔay kwàa naa. thammay thǔŋ sǒncay khon níi lâ./*  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘You know, the other girl’s prettier. How come you’re interested in this one?’  
 1,2 3 5 4
- (90A) /*chán wâa kháw ca maa naa. yàa hùan lǎøy./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 ‘Look, I’m sure she’s coming. Don’t you worry about it.’  
 1 2 3 4 5 6,8 7
- (90B) /*chán wâa kháw ca maa naa. kháw bòok chán ʔeeŋ mâacháawníi./*  
 1 2 3 4 5  
 ‘Look here now, I believe he’s going to come. He told me so himself this morning.’  
 1 2 3 4 5
- (91) /*nít naa, kháw yǔŋ kan ciŋciŋ naa. khun pay chúay kêe khǎy nòy./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (... help correct a little) ‘You know, Nit, they’re really in a mess.  
 8 9 10 1 2,4 5 3  
 It would sure help if you’d go straighten them out, if you don’t mind.’  
 6 7
- (92) /*sǒŋ thǔm léew naa. dǎaw mây than rǒt./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  
 (... in a moment not in-time-for vehicle) ‘Look it’s already eight-o’clock!’  
 4 5 6 7 3 1,2  
 (Don’t you realise that?) We’re going to miss the bus!’
- (93) /*ŋaan khoŋ mây sanùk naa. chán mây yàak pay lǎøy./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 ‘You know, the party’s probably not going to be any fun.  
 1 2 3 4  
 I really don’t want to go at all.’  
 5 6 7 8 9
- (94) /*nǔu tǒŋ pay rooŋrian léew naa mêe. nǔu chúay mêe mây dǎay ròk./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 ‘Say, Mom, I really have to go to school now, okay? I’m afraid I can’t help you.’  
 6 1 2 3 4 5 7 11 10 8 9  
 [Mother is expecting help from child, unaware or not listening to the message that the child has to leave for school.]
- (95) /*nóŋ ca pay nêe naa. chán coŋ thǔi wáy hây kháw léew./*  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 ‘Your sister’s going, for sure, now, is she? Because I’ve reserved a seat for her already.’  
 1 2 3 4 5 6,8 7 9 10 11
- (96) /*kô hǎn kháw chalàat ní naa. thammay thǔŋ sǒp tòk dǎay lâ./*  
 1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10  
 ‘But he strikes me as being bright! How-come he managed to flunk?’  
 1 3 2 4 6,7 10 8,9

- (97) mûakíi hěn thóoŋ fáa cèm sǎy nī naa. fǒn tòk dâay yaŋŋay./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (just-now saw...) 'Hey, a moment ago the sky was bright and clear.  
 1 2 1 3,4 5 6  
 How can it be raining now?  
 10 9 7,8
- (98) /ræa tồ kùap sèt léew thiaw naa. mûakhæn phaayú? phát tèk pay thǎŋ lam./  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13  
 (boat built nearly finished already really ...) 'Here the boat was just about finished,  
 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 and last-night the storm came and battered the whole thing to bits!  
 7 8 9 12 13 10,11

### 3.4.3 QUESTIONS WITH /naa/

These are similar to /náa/ questions, only weaker. That is, they comprise 'I wonder' questions directed chiefly toward oneself, whose answer is not immediately available, and bafflement questions to which the speaker does not really expect an answer. But they are unlike /náa/ questions in that with the latter the speaker is conveying a sense of sustained desire or longing. He really wishes he could find the answer to his self-directed question, and he complains longingly about the baffling situation, wishing it were otherwise than it is. With /naa/ questions, on the other hand, the longing is weakened. The speaker indeed wonders about the answer to his question, but he can shrug the matter aside. He objects to the baffling situation, but nevertheless fatalistically accepts it, since there is nothing that can be done about the matter. There is, therefore, in both types of /naa/ questions, an element of emotional non-involvement or reduced emotional involvement on the speaker's part.

Note, however, that /naa/ questions are stronger than comparable /ná/ questions. The latter are more momentary and passing, whereas /naa/ questions involve a deeper and more continuing concern. The former may come and go without much thought; the latter are at least serious enough to have to struggle off or make an unwilling peace with.

Note, further, that (as with /ná/ and /náa/ questions) these utterances are already questions before the /naa/ is added. The /naa/ then converts the questions into those of the sort just described above.

- (99) /kháw khǎn hây khay naa./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'I wonder who he wrote to.' 'Well, who could he be writing to, I wonder?'  
 4 1 2 3
- (100) /phôo naa. thammay kɛɛ cháa naa./  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Hey, Dad, I can't understand why he should be so late.'  
 1 2 3 4  
 'Dad, I wonder why he's so late.'  
 [Note here that this question cannot be a straightforward request for information. It can only be an 'I wonder' question or a bafflement question. In either case, the child does not expect an informative response from his father.]



- (101) /ʔaacaan chûay dâay máy naa./  
           1      2      3  
           'I wonder if the professor could help us.'  
                           1      3      2

### 3.4.4 VOCATIVES WITH /naa/

These function in much the same manner as vocatives with other variants. For examples, see 83, 91, 100, above.

## 4. A GENERAL COMPARISON OF THE PRIMARY VARIANTS

Before considering the secondary modifications of *na*, it may be helpful to get a quick, general picture of the differences between the primary variants. This I have provided in chart form in Figure B, with general semantic information at the top, and a few examples of illustrative sentences in the body of the chart. Ditto marks in parentheses indicate that information given at the head of the column is directly applicable to the context in question. A dash (-) indicates that the primary variant cannot occur in the given context. Note that the chart ignores occurrences of primary variants where a given utterance might be intensified in meaning as a result of raised volume and pitch, for example. Modifications of this sort are dealt with in section 5 below.

## 5. SECONDARY MODIFICATIONS OF PRIMARY VARIANTS

As mentioned earlier, all of the primary variants discussed above can be further modified in form and meaning by what I have chosen to call secondary modifications. I call them secondary, not because they are any less important than the primary variations, but because they interact with the primary variants and produce additional effects upon them which then need to be accounted for.

These effects may in turn be roughly divided into secondary modifications which particularly affect the individual particle or particle variant itself, and those which affect the whole clause or sentence in which the particle occurs.

### 5.1 MODIFICATIONS AFFECTING THE INDIVIDUAL PARTICLE OR VARIANT

These include neutralisation; terminal /h/ (following short vowel forms); extra length (with long vowel forms); pitch lowering of /nâ/, /nâa/ and possibly /naa/; and a marginal pitch raising of /ná/ and /náa/. I shall discuss each of these in turn.

#### 5.1.1 NEUTRALISATION

In any utterance where *na* is immediately followed in the same sentence by another particle, only the form /ná/ , or perhaps occasionally a mid-tone form /na/, is possible. That is to say, when another particle follows, all the possibilities of differentiation in form and meaning are short-circuited.

Actually, the only particles that occur immediately following *na* are the speaker-addressee-relationship particles such as /khá/, polite form, woman speaking, and /cá/, intimate form used by or

PRIMARY VARIANTS	/ná/	/nâ/	/náa/	/nâa/	/naa/
General semantic values	Response desired (unemphatic expectation of response)	Momentary persuasion and restrained impatience	Begging, pleading, longing, concern for response	Sustained pressure, coaxing, persuading	Reduced speaker involvement
SAMPLE SENTENCES					
1. /phũt diidii/  'Talk nicely'	Friendly admonition  '..., now, okay?'	(")  'Okay now, you just...'	(")  'Aw, please won't you...'	(")  'Come on, do...'	Warning, threatening, advising, something to be heeded '(Careful now), you'd better...'
2. /khõo khanõm/  'May I have a cookie'	Unassertive request (no imposition) 'May I...(please)'	(")  'Okay now, let me...'	(")  'Aw, please, may I...'	(")  'Come on, do let me...'	Making sure request is heard, heeded (I want you to hear, heed <i>my request</i> )
3. /yen lézw/  'It's evening already'	Calling attention (i.e. because we have to go now) 'Say, it's..., (isn't it)'	(Addr. is delaying or not listening)  'Look here, it's ...'	(Addr. is delaying or not listening)  'Aw, please, don't you see it's...?'	(Addr. is delaying or not listening)  'Come on now, (do...), it's ...'	(Addr. is delaying or not listening)  'Look here now, it's ... (don't you see?)'
4. /thammay kháw cháa/  'Why's he so late?'	a. Informal question b. 'Please repeat' question c. Momentary 'I wonder' d. Mild bafflement-complaint question	-	a. - b. - c. 'I sure do wonder wh-...' d. 'Why, oh why (should this be)'	-	a. - b. - c. 'Well, I wonder...' (moderate concern for information) d. 'I can't understand why (this should be)'

FIGURE B: CHART COMPARING PRIMARY VARIANTS OF *na*

to women and children. When one of these does follow *na*, the added particle must occur in its question form variant, not its statement form: /pay ná khá/ 'I'm going, okay?' (woman speaking), not /pay ná khâ/.

It is true, of course, that the following particle would in any case limit the permissible range of occurrences of *na*. Thus if a woman speaker were showing the deference implied by the use of the polite /khá/, she could not then use any of the developed variants of *na*, whether one that conveys aggression or one that reveals any other, as it were undressed, emotional state. However, there *are* developed variants of *na* that would seem to be semantically consistent, for example, with the use of the endearing or intimate /cá/, or with the male non-restraint form /wá/. But still only the neutralised or undifferentiated form /ná/ or /na/ is permissible when *na* is immediately followed by either of these, or by any other such particle.

### 5.1.2 TERMINAL /h/

Either of the short vowel forms, /ná/ and /nâ/, may be pronounced with a terminal /h/. This occurrence of terminal /h/, incidentally, is characteristic of a number of other sentential postposition particles, all of which are distinct from most other comparable syllables in the language. The fact is that most syllables never terminate with /h/ under any circumstances. The only possible modification in pronunciation of such forms is a terminal glottal stop which occurs when the syllable in question is stressed. Contrariwise, the particle *na*, like some (but not all) sentential postposition particles, cannot occur with terminal glottal stop, only with terminal /h/.

The significance of this terminal /h/ with /ná/ or /nâ/ is a little difficult to pin down. It can convey affection, gentleness, personal interest in the addressee; or it can be distinctively feminine (as when admonishing a child); or it can express puzzlement (as when asking a bafflement question). And, no doubt, it can convey a number of other messages. One thing, at least, seems to be sure. Its presence is not simply arbitrary. That is, it *does* make a detectable if not clearly definable difference in meaning when it occurs.

### 5.1.3 EXTRA VOWEL LENGTH

Any of the long vowel variants of *na* (i.e. /náa/, /nâa/ and /naa/) may be modified by an extra lengthening of the vowel, thus conveying an additional sense of pleading, concern for the addressee, or (in the case of bafflement questions) puzzlement. To a certain extent it does for the long vowel variants what terminal /h/ does for the short vowel ones.

### 5.1.4 LOWERING OF PITCH

There are two different kinds of pitch lowering that must be noted here: a general falling-tone particle lowering that affects sentential postposition particles and particle variants having falling tone, and a special low-tone modification that affects the form /nâa/ and possibly also /naa/.

#### 5.1.4.1 GENERAL FALLING-TONE PARTICLE LOWERING

The primary variants /nâ/ and /nâa/ are subject to a general rule of lowering which affects any falling-tone sentence-final particle, long or short, when it occurs in prepause position and

unaccompanied by special stress or emphasis. In the case of long-vowel particle forms, including /nâa/, the pitch drop of the lowered falling tone will begin from a starting point at the mid-tone level or lower and then fall on down from there. And in the case of short vowel forms, including /nâ/, the pitch drop will begin from a starting point clearly below the mid tone level. In fact, here the resulting pitch is usually so low that the difference between falling tones of this sort and low tones is minimal. In either case, though, whether with long vowels or short, this lowered falling tone differs substantially from any non-particle falling tone, for the latter will usually drop from a starting point at the high tone level or higher and then fall on down from there.

General falling-tone particle lowering, as here described, has no special semantic significance but can be taken simply as a feature of normal intonation as it affects particles (but not other forms in the language). Note, however, that under conditions of intonational stress or emphasis, most falling-tone particles can be pronounced with a higher falling tone (see 5.1.5).

#### 5.1.4.2 SPECIAL LOWERING OF /nâa/ AND /naa/

Besides the general lowering discussed above, there is also a special type that affects /nâa/, and perhaps /naa/, and brings about a corresponding modification in meaning. In both cases the variant in question is lowered to what would ordinarily be taken to be low tone, and the effect on meaning is as follows.

The form /nâa/, when it is lowered (transcribed here with low tone, /nâa/), conveys an additional sense of pessimism, defeat, hopelessness with respect to whatever it is that the speaker is trying to persuade the addressee to do, acquiesce in, pay attention to, etc.

The form /naa/, when or if it is lowered, makes a warning or admonition more personal, less aggressive. I say 'if', here, because so far I have found only one speaker who claims to recognise a lowered /naa/, though she says she does not use it herself.

It will be noted, perhaps, that these lowered forms could conceivably be analysed as together making up one additional primary variant /nâa/. I am, however, reluctant to do this, because the native speakers I have questioned perceive intuitively that these are, in fact, variants of /nâa/, and possibly /naa/, respectively.

#### 5.1.5 PARTICLE PITCH RAISING WITH /nâa/, /ná/ AND /náa/

The variant /nâa/ can be raised in pitch above its normally lowered level (see 5.1.4.1), thus conveying an intensified urging toward or pressing for the desired response. And the higher the pitch raising the greater the intensification of meaning. Raised /nâa/, then, is pronounced with a falling pitch that starts at the high-tone level or higher and drops on down from there to end with a fairly low pitch.

The forms /ná/ and /náa/ can also be raised, but ordinarily, when this happens, the whole of the sentence or clause in which the variant occurs will be raised in pitch along with it (see section 5.2.2 below). However, I have a few examples of utterances from one native speaker where the variants /ná/ and /náa/ are raised above the pitch level one would expect when compared with the pitch levels of forms in the rest of the sentence – which, as a whole, is also raised in pitch. At present I have no clear picture as to what such additional raising adds to the meaning of the particle or to the sentence as a whole.

Note that the falling-tone short-vowel variant /nâ/ is not subject to raising of the sort described here – presumably because any intensification of meaning (as implied by the raising) would be incompatible with the element of momentariness, moderation, restraint that the use of /nâ/ necessarily implies.

## 5.2 MODIFICATIONS AFFECTING THE WHOLE CLAUSE

The above secondary modifications are ones that primarily affect just the particle or particle variant in question. I now wish to consider those that affect the whole clause or sentence in which they occur. These are of two types: increased volume and raised pitch. When these occur, the whole sentence, not just the particle, will be increase in volume and/or raised in pitch.

### 5.2.1 INCREASED VOLUME

So far, I have found at least two main functions of increased volume. One is the obvious case where the speaker has to raise his voice to make himself heard. The other is a matter of expressing aggressiveness, assertiveness, annoyance, hostility, anger and the like. One of the most frequent occurrences of the latter involves the use of /nâ/ to convey a flat demand or hostile command (see examples 1a, 2a, and others above.).

### 5.2.2 RAISED PITCH

When a speaker raises the pitch of his entire utterance (but not the volume), the general effect is rather similar to the use of terminal /h/ (with short vowel forms) or extra length (with long vowel forms). Often the utterance comes across as feminine, or as gentle or personal. And it can highlight the pleading of pleading utterances or the puzzlement of bafflement questions.

## 5.3 COMBINATIONS OF SECONDARY-MODIFICATION ELEMENTS

Naturally it is possible to use at the same time two or more of the secondary-modification features described above. Thus raised pitch and terminal /h/ can occur in the same utterance, and so can lowering with extra vowel length. And loudness can accompany both a raise in pitch and terminal /h/. I am not, at present, able to say much about the effect of such combinations. But it is clear that the feature of loudness usually (but not always) swallows up the semantic value of any co-occurring features. And raised pitch can occur with either terminal /h/ or extra lengthening of the vowel without changing the effect much as against any of the same features alone. At any rate, I shall have to leave the matter there.

## 5.4 WHY 'PRIMARY' VERSUS 'SECONDARY'

Up to this point, I have discussed the variations of *na* in terms of primary variants and secondary modifications. Now, with a reasonably clear picture of the phenomena involved, it becomes possible to discuss the question of why it seems advisable to treat the data in this way.

Why not, for example, set up a basic form *na* that is modified by various intonational or prosodic features of pitch, length, terminal /h/, etc.? Then one could go on to propose certain combinations of

such features with specified meanings assigned to each. Thus length plus falling tone would signal persuasion; shortness plus falling tone would signal momentary persuasion plus restrained impatience; and so forth. This kind of thing has been proposed by other authors (see Henderson, Terd, Sagarik and others), and I understand that this sort of analysis is customary in describing Chinese particles (see Chao). Why, then, do I not do the same thing here?

Well, let me say that I have no objection in principle to this way of handling the data. It may (or it may not) ultimately turn out to be the best way to describe the phenomena. But, for the moment, such a procedure presents difficulties. The biggest difficulty is the fact that we do not know enough about the meaning of various combinations to say anything very revealing about them. What in general does short vowel plus high tone mean? What does short vowel plus falling tone plus terminal /h/ signify? I am beginning to know what they mean in the case of the particle *sí* and the particle *na*. But it is not clear that the same combinations necessarily mean the same things in the case of just these two particles. And I am as yet able to say very little about what they mean with other particles.

Now there *are* some combinations that clearly can be assigned a more general meaning than can be observed in the case of a given particle. Thus long falling tone seems to signify persuasion, applying pressure, in both /sīi/ and /nāa/. And short falling tone could be said to signify statement (as opposed to question) both in /sī/ and /nā/, and also in the class of speaker-addressee-relationship particles like /khâ/ (polite particle, woman speaking). And so forth. But there are exceptions to many such statements that we might make. (For example, the shift of focus particle /lâ/ normally occurs short and falling, but it appears in the same form in both statement and question contexts; the same is true of the proximate focus particle /nī?/ and the non-proximate focus particle /nâ?/.) And when we have made the relevant generalisations, we have still left out a large proportion of the information that needs to be known about the meanings of the combinations we are seeking to describe.

In view of the above considerations, therefore, I prefer to leave the primary-secondary distinction as it is. Then if additional information and analysis requires a change in approach, the change can be made.

## 6. CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The phenomena I have described may be restated briefly as follows:

(1) The sentential postposition particle *na* occurs with various modifications of form and meaning, but in all occurrences it signals the message that the speaker desires or expects a given response, whether by action, acquiescence, information or whatever.

(2) The basic modifications of form and meaning involve five primary variants, each of which has its own distinctive form and meaning. These may be identified as follows:

(a) /ná/ signals the speaker's mild, unemphatic call for the desired or expected response; but in the case of commands it is demanding and often hostile. In non-command usage it also marks the utterance as a question.

(b) /nâ/ signals momentary persuasion or urging, and often also mild impatience. It also signals a statement (as opposed to a question).

(c) /nāa/ signals begging, pleading, longing and concern for the response in question. It also marks the utterance as a question.

(d) /*nâa*/ signals coaxing, pressure, sustained persuasion. It also signals a statement (as opposed to a question).

(e) /*naa*/ signals the speaker's reduced emotional involvement in receiving the desired response. It also marks the utterance as a question. With AIU's and statements, there is an additional element of calling the addressee to attend or heed the speaker's warning, admonition, statement of need etc. With 'I wonder' questions and bafflement statements or questions, /*naa*/ expresses moderate concern with respect to the response or situation in view.

(3) The primary variants are subject to secondary modification, either of the particle itself, or of the whole sentence or clause in which the particle occurs.

(4) Secondary modifications affecting the particle itself are as follows:

(a) Neutralisation. This occurs whenever *na* immediately is followed in the same utterance by another particle; it has the effect of short-circuiting potential occurrences of primary variants such that only /*ná*/, or rarely /*na*/, may occur. This means that, when neutralisation takes place, all the potential semantic distinctions of the primary variants are lost.

(b) Terminal /*h*/. This may be added to either of the short vowel variants, /*ná*/ or /*nâ*/, and it conveys (among other things) affection, gentleness, personal interest in the addressee.

(c) Extra vowel length. Long vowel forms /*náa*/, /*nâa*/ or /*naa*/ may be further lengthened to express such things as intensified pleading, concern for the addressee, deepened emotional involvement.

(d) Lowering of pitch. This may be one or another of two kinds: the first is a general falling-tone particle lowering, in which any falling-tone sentential postposition particle will ordinarily be pronounced lower than other falling tone forms in the language. That is, it will be pronounced with a pitch drop starting from the mid tone level or lower, not from the usual high tone level or higher. The second kind of lowering is a special lowering that affects /*nâa*/ (signalling discouragement, pessimism) and possibly also /*naa*/ (to signal more personal, less aggressive warnings).

(e) Raising of pitch. Most pitch raising affects the whole sentence or clause in which it occurs, but there appears to be a marginal type of raising that occasionally affects /*ná*/ and /*náa*/, the meaning of which is at present unclear.

(5) Secondary modifications affecting the whole clause are as follows:

(a) Increased volume. This may signal an attempt by the speaker to make himself heard, or it often signals aggressiveness, assertiveness, anger, impatience and the like. The most notable example changes /*ná*/ from a mild, friendly term to an abrupt, hostile command.

(b) Raised pitch. This often signals things like gentleness and personal concern, and sometimes comes across as feminine.

(6) The above secondary modifications, apart from neutralisation, can occur in various combination with (so far) somewhat unpredictable effects. However, increase in volume seems often to overpower other features.

## NOTES

1. My work on this article was funded in part through a one-month summer salary award provided by the Graduate School Research Fund of the University of Washington. From this same source I also received the funds necessary for hiring native-speaker assistance – without which my task would have been impossible. I therefore gladly acknowledge my debt and express my appreciation for the funding and assistance I received.

2. The transcription *na* throughout this paper, and also the transcription *si*, are intended as general representations covering any and all possible variations of tone or vowel length that may occur with the particle in question. Actually, I have more recently concluded (on the basis of a general study of particles) that it is possible and appropriate to establish underlying forms *ná* (with high tone) and *sí* (with falling tone), but the issue of underlying representations is explicitly avoided here.

3. I am indebted to many Thais who have helped me in this work, particularly Dr Malinee Dilokwanich and Mr Suriya Smutkupt, both of whom were graduate students at the University of Washington during the period of my research on *na*. These friends not only devoted considerable time to answering questions and providing examples of usage, but they also entered into thoughtful discussion and contributed many useful explanations and opinions.

4. There is one scholarly work which has contributed materially to my own research: an unpublished paper by Ms Nisa Sakdechayont (formerly Ms Udomphol) entitled 'The Thai Particle /Na/'. Not only have I used some of her examples, but I found her treatment a useful starting point for much of the work I have done since.

5. Forms cited between slash marks are phonemic representations transcribed in accordance with the system of phonemicisation used by Marvin Brown (1967 et al), which was adapted in turn from the system earlier developed by Mary Haas (1964). For a brief summary of the phonetic values of the symbols used here, see Cooke (1979).

6. For further discussion of this hostile usage of /ná/, see sections 2.1.1.2 and 5.2.

7. The most likely particle for ordinary invitations ('please come in', 'have a seat' etc.) is /sî/ or possibly /thəʔ/. For a comparison of these particles with /ná/, see section 2.1.1.3.

8. Actually there is still another possibility, and that is to use no particle at all. Commands with no particle shortcut all the possible distinctions discussed here, and they come across as rather abrupt and peremptory.

9. Note that questions *do* occur with the nearly homonymous demonstrative particle *nâʔ*:

/kháw pay nǎy nâʔ./

1 2 3

'Where's he going?'

3 1 2

I mention this here because I have found that native speakers sometimes confuse the two particles; actually /ná/ and /nâʔ/ are readily differentiated both in terms of form and meaning.



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## THE PROBLEM OF THE SIXTH TONE IN THAI

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### 0. SUMMARY OF ARTICLE

Richard Noss (1964) proposed that Thai has six tones, not five as usually assumed, pointing out that there are two contrasting high tones, one of which terminates with a glottal and the other not. Note, however, that a similar contrast exists in the case of falling tone, a fact that (following Noss's argument) would suggest the existence of two falling tones as well as two high. But this seems unwarranted. It would be better to explain the phenomenon on the assumption that certain peripheral lexical classes reflect a pattern of glottal-nonglottal contrast not to be found in mainstream forms in the language.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

It is probably safe to say that most analysts of the Thai tonal system have preferred to describe that system in terms of five phonemic tones: high, mid, low, falling and rising (see for example Haas 1964, Abramson 1962, Brown 1967). However, some (Noss 1964 and others) have proposed the existence of a sixth tone which (following Noss) may be transcribed /7/. This additional tone is comparatively rare and is very like the high tone, but it stands in clear contrast to it, for this rare high tone never terminates in glottal constriction or closure in the way its more common counterpart does. In fact there are several cases in which the glottalised and unglottalised high tones stand in clear minimal contrast, for example, [chánʔ] (transcribed phonemically as /chán/) 'shelf' versus [chán] (phonemically /chān/) 'I, me'; [kháwʔ] 'trace, image' versus [kháw] 'he, she, they'; [náaʔ] 'mother's younger sibling' versus [náa], a variant of the response-desired particle /ná/.

I believe that Noss (1964) was the first – at least the first in print – to claim the existence of this extra tone. Since then, so far as I know, no one has attempted to refute his claim or to come up with an alternative explanation for the phenomenon in question. In any event, the purpose of this paper is to show that contrasts of the type illustrated above may be accounted for without recourse to a hypothetical sixth tone. Instead they can be explained in terms of the contrasting behaviour of the terminal glottal in two different lexical class contexts in the language: one the context of mainstream lexical forms, the other that of certain peripheral lexical classes.

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Before I proceed with my discussion of the lexically conditioned behaviour of the terminal glottal, however, I must point out that the above-mentioned two types of high tone forms are not the only cases where presence versus absence of a terminal glottal gives rise to phonemic contrast. In fact the same type of contrast occurs with falling tone forms. Compare, for example, [thôoʔ] 'to be obvious' and [thôo] an exclamative of dismay, [nâaʔ] 'face' and [nâa] a variant of the response-desired particle /ná/, and [sîiʔ] 'rib' and [sîi] a variant of the expectable-response particle /sî/.

Now when one compares the glottal-nonglottal contrast in the context of the two types of tones, the high and the falling, it becomes apparent that the patterns of contrast are almost exactly parallel. In both types of tones, the usual pattern in the language is for forms occurring in prepausal position and ending in a long vowel or sonorant to terminate with glottal constriction or closure, and in both cases there are a few forms, all belonging to peripheral lexical classes, where the expected terminal glottal does not appear.

In view of the clear parallelism here, it makes sense to assume that in each case (whether with high or falling tone) the same kind of phonological process is taking place. Thus if presence versus absence of the glottal proves the existence of two high tones, it must likewise prove the existence of two falling tones. So there is not just one tone to be added to the usual five, but two. This seems a little excessive. Not only does it appear counterintuitive (to me at least), but it involves a multiplication of linguistic entities (two extra tones) where there exists only one phonetic contrast (presence versus absence of the glottal). It would seem preferable, therefore, to deal with both cases of contrast in terms of the behaviour of terminal glottal stop, not in terms of additional tones.

If we then examine the behaviour of the glottal, it becomes rather clear that forms belonging to the lexical mainstream of the language (nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.) differ significantly from forms belonging to certain peripheral lexical classes, namely sentence particles, exclamatives and a few of the personal pronouns. To demonstrate this claim, I shall therefore summarise the relevant features of the occurrence of the terminal glottal in both mainstream and peripheral class lexical contexts. And in doing so I shall orient my comments in terms of two types of syllables: those which have a terminal short vowel (with or without the glottal), which I designate as TSV syllables; and those having a terminal long vowel or sonorant, designated TLV/S syllables.

## 2. MAINSTREAM PATTERNS OF TERMINAL GLOTTAL OCCURRENCE

These may be summarised as follows:

(1) When TSV syllables occur with normal stress (that is, when they do not have reduced or minimal stress) they terminate in clear, abrupt glottal closure (e.g. [sàʔ' phôm'] 'to shampoo the hair', [khóʔ' pratu] 'to knock on the door', [tìʔ'tian'] 'to criticise', [ŋuú' dùʔ] 'vicious snake', [thuráʔ] 'business, errand'). However, when such syllables occur with minimal stress they have no terminal glottal (e.g. [ca kin] 'will eat', [sabaay] 'to be well', [kulâap] 'rose', [săntisùk] 'peace', [bôrisùt] 'to be pure', [thurákìt] 'business'). Note, further, that minimally stressed forms may become normally stressed when they occur in citation form or are pronounced with a somewhat artificial reading pronunciation (e.g. [càʔ' kin] 'will eat', [kùʔ'lâap] 'rose'). They also become normally stressed when they occur as the final syllables in polysyllabic words and therefore bear the usual word-final stress (e.g. [săntìʔ] 'peace', [thuráʔ] 'business').

(2) When TLV/S syllables occur in prepausal position and with high or falling tone, they will ordinarily terminate with glottal closure or constriction. Note, however, that glottalisation is less

prominent in TLV/S syllables than in TSV. Furthermore, TLV/S syllables with falling tone are even less clearly glottalised than those with high tone. Nevertheless, it is clear that glottalisation does occur rather consistently with both tones when they appear in prepause position (e.g. [sǎw léewʔ] ‘bought already’, [léew sǎwʔ] ‘then bought’, [bǎan mǎeʔ] ‘mother’s house’, [mǎe bǎanʔ] ‘housewife’). But compare other tones that have no glottal in prepause position: [sǎw mǎew] ‘bought a cat’; [léew thǎw] ‘then held’; [mǎe ʔǎan] ‘mother reads’.

We can say, then, that according to mainstream patterns terminal glottal occurs predictably following normally stressed TSV syllables and following high-tone or falling-tone TLV/S syllables in prepause position. But the pattern with certain peripheral lexical classes is quite different.

### 3. TERMINAL GLOTTAL OCCURRENCE WITH PERIPHERAL LEXICAL CLASSES

Here we find, first of all, that the majority of peripheral forms occur without a terminal glottal in those environments where mainstream forms would have one (e.g. [khá] question form of the polite particles used by females; [ʔé] exclamative of surprise or dismay; [náa] particle variant expressing begging, pleading, or wondering; [wáay] exclamative of fright, dismay, [chán] ‘I, me’; [sǐ] particle variant expressing urging; [thô] exclamative of bafflement or dismay). Note that unglottalised forms such as these never under any circumstances appear with the glottal – regardless of whether they are stressed or unstressed, medial or prepause.

At the same time, however, we find that a fair number of peripheral forms do in fact occur with a terminal glottal, much as mainstream forms do (e.g. [lèʔ] sole alternative particle; [héyʔ] ‘hey!’ [khâaʔ] ‘I, me’ (speaking to inferior). Such occurrences, naturally enough, give rise to a phonemic contrast between peripheral forms which have the terminal glottal and those which do not (e.g. [háʔ] informal polite particle, male speaking, versus [há] question form of the informal polite particle, female speaking; and [khâaʔ] ‘I, me’ versus [khâa] lengthened variant of /khâ/ formal and polite particle, female speaking).

So the fact of glottal-nonglottal contrast between differing peripheral forms is clear, but certain details as to glottal-nonglottal occurrences are worth further consideration. First, then, let us consider the possibilities and frequencies of occurrence of various types of glottal and nonglottal forms as set forth in Figure A. Here information is organised to show TSV syllable contexts in the upper portion of the chart and TLV/S in the lower, each portion being further differentiated in terms of tonal contexts. Vertical columns reflect possibilities of occurrence with different lexical classes. Thus the first three columns cover the three peripheral classes: sentence particles (S Part), exclamatives (Exclam) and personal pronouns (P Pron). A fourth column labelled Gen (for ‘generalised’) combines occurrence information concerning the three lexical classes and condenses it into one column. And a fifth column summarises mainstream occurrence patterns, here set forth for the sake of comparison. Each column is then divided into two subcolumns, the one on the left reflecting occurrences of the terminal glottal and set forth under the heading ‘ʔ’, and the one on the right reflecting occurrences of terminal nonglottal under the heading ‘Ø’.

In the body of the chart, the numerals indicate the number of forms of each type that I have succeeded in collecting in a first-approximation inventory (the quantities being based on a fairly complete count of Thai particles and variants, and of personal pronouns) and a more rough-and-ready count of exclamatives. (For a listing of forms in my inventory, see the appendix.) The double plus sign indicates that the number of occurrences of the type in question is indefinitely large. Square brackets indicate that a given occurrence is the only permissible alternative, and that therefore the

figures are not relevant with respect to the issue of contrast. Parentheses indicate that the occurrence in question reflects the use of a limited number of speakers.

SYLLABLE TYPE	TONAL CONTEXT	PERIPHERAL OCCURRENCES								MAINSTREAM OCCURRENCES	
		S PART		EXCLAM		P PRON		GEN		?	Ø
		?	Ø	?	Ø	?	Ø	?	Ø	?	Ø
TSV	Low	3						3		[++]	
	Mid	3	(1)					3	(1)		
	High	5	11	2	5			7	16	[++]	
	Falling	4	9					4	9		
	Rising		1						1		
TLV/S	Low		[2]		[2]		[1]				[++]
	Mid		[5]		[4]		[14]				[++]
	High		6	3	13	2	4	5	23	[++]	
	Falling	2	2		6	3		5	8		
	Rising		[4]		[4]		[1]				[++]

FIGURE A: POSSIBILITIES AND FREQUENCIES OF GLOTTAL AND NONGLOTTAL OCCURRENCE

On the basis of the information provided in Figure A, we can make the following general observations:

(1) Peripheral forms show a contrast between terminal glottal and nonglottal forms where mainstream forms show none.

(2) Peripheral forms allow terminal nonglottal in several contexts where mainstream forms do not; that is, with TSV high-tone forms and with TLV/S high-tone and falling-tone forms.

(3) Peripheral TSV forms occur on all five tones whereas mainstream forms of this type ordinarily occur only on low tone or high, or else on mid tone in non-final, minimally stressed syllables.

(4) Peripheral forms show a contrast between terminal glottal and nonglottal only in the context of high or falling tones.

(5) Terminal nonglottal peripheral forms occur much more frequently than glottal. (Note that if we exclude the figures in square brackets, where the issue of contrast is irrelevant, we find there are 58 nonglottal occurrences to 27 glottal, or more than two to one. And if we include only the high and falling tone forms, which are the ones most relevant for our purpose, the figures are 56 to 21, or nearly three to one.)

(6) Peripheral nonglottal TSV forms are almost entirely restricted to the context of high and falling tone. Exceptions are the mid tone form /si/, which occurs in the speech of some speakers but not others, and the rising tone form /lǎ/, which is obviously derived from the long vowel form /lǎə/.

(7) There are no TSV personal pronoun forms.

(8) TSV exclamatives occur only with high tone.

- (9) The sentence particle inventory includes no TLV/S glottalised high-tone forms.  
 (10) The exclamative inventory includes no glottalised falling-tone forms.  
 (11) The personal pronoun inventory includes no unglottalised falling-tone forms.

Further light will be shed on some of these generalisations in the discussion below, but on the basis of the above information we can see two rather striking facts: one, that peripheral forms behave very unlike mainstream forms in many respects; and two, that the three peripheral classes seem to differ significantly from each other – it seems unlikely that all the differences are simply due to the accidental limitations of a small inventory.

Now let us go on and take a closer look at some of the distinctive characteristics of each of the three peripheral classes, and see how these characteristics may bear upon the issue of glottalisation.

### 3.1 SENTENCE PARTICLES

Forms of this class are distinctive, first of all, in that they ordinarily occur unstressed even in prepause position. They may in fact also occur stressed, but whether stressed or unstressed the distinction between glottal and nonglottal remains. Mainstream forms, on the other hand, will appear stressed in prepause position; in such occurrence the glottal will automatically appear in TSV and in relevant TLV/S contexts.

Sentence particles are also distinctive with respect to certain subphonemic values that are associated with tones, and these seem to be conditioned by presence or absence of the glottal.

(1) High tone. Apart from the occurrence of weak stress, glottalised TSV high tones are pronounced much like their mainstream counterparts. Unglottalised TSV high tones, however, tend to trail upward (though they do not always do so), while mainstream forms tend to be more level. And TLV/S high tones – all of them unglottalised – are usually pronounced with fairly level pitch, while mainstream forms occurring in prepause position often trail upward, or upward and then down. On the other hand, stressed TLV/S high tones are usually pronounced with an exaggerated up-down contour.

(2) Falling tones. All falling tones are pronounced with considerably lowered pitch when unstressed; that is, the drop in pitch begins below the mid tone level. But stressed falling-tone forms drop in pitch from the high tone level or higher in much the same manner as with mainstream forms. Glottalised falling-tone forms usually have a rather weak glottal, the one exception being the proximate-reference particle /nâʔ/.

(3) Low, mid and rising tones are usually pronounced much like their mainstream counterparts.

On the basis of the above, we can say that sentence particles have tones readily differentiated in terms of the usual five tones that distinguish mainstream forms. It appears, however, that absence of glottalisation seems to condition minor, subphonemic changes in the pronunciation of high and falling tones, but these changes mostly do not occur when a given particle is stressed.

One further characteristic of sentence particles is also worth noting: the fact that a large number of the glottalised forms seem to have been derived from other forms by a process of reduction. Thus, for example, /háʔ/ (informal friendly form, male speaking) seems to be derived from /khráp/ (formal polite form, male speaking); /laʔ/ and /láʔ/ (turning point reached) evidently come from ;/léew/ 'already' (pronounced [léewʔ]); /thàʔ/, /thəʔ/ and /tháʔ/ from /thàət/; /nâʔ/ (non-proximate reference)

from /nân/ 'that, that one' (pronounced [nânʔ]); /nîʔ/ (proximate reference) from /nîi/ 'this, this one' (pronounced [nîiʔ]); /nîaʔ/ (proximate reference) from /nîi/ 'this' plus /nân/ 'that'. In each of these cases, the glottal of the particle form evidently reflects the terminal stop or glottal of the form from which it is derived. Not all sentence-particle terminal glottals can be accounted for in this way, but most can, and such examples serve to reinforce the notion that terminal glottalisation is not fully typical of particle forms.

### 3.2 EXCLAMATIVES

Apart from the fact that exclamatives possess greater possibilities of intonation than mainstream forms, their tones, vowel length and stress features are much like those of the latter. Note, however, that all forms with terminal glottal signal some sort of abruptness or sense of the speaker's being brought up short, for example, /ʔáʔ/ 'whoa!', /ʔúyʔ/ 'woops', /háyʔ/ or /háʔ/ 'hey!', 'whoa!'. Apart from these cases, all exclamatives that I have checked out, whether TSV or TLV/S forms, terminate with a nonglottal. In this respect, then, they are very unlike mainstream forms.

### 3.3 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

These pattern somewhat differently from other peripheral forms in that most members of this class are exactly like mainstream forms in every respect. The only exceptions are the four pronouns /chán/, /dichán/, /kháw/ and /phóm/. Furthermore, these forms are all alike in that they seem to reflect a special phonological process in which an underlying rising tone shifts to high.

Actually this rising-to-high tone pattern is a reflection of a more general, though rare, pattern in which certain minimally stressed and very commonly used forms shift from an underlying rising tone to a high tone in the context of ordinary rapid speech. For example, /khǒŋ khay/ 'whose', 'of whom' becomes /khǒŋ khay/, and /măankan/ 'likewise', 'same' becomes /múankan/. Typically this process affects syllables followed by another syllable that is stressed, there being no intervening pause, but pronoun forms of the type under consideration differ from these other derived high tone forms in that the former, like sentence particles, frequently occur unstressed even in prepause position. Furthermore, the forms /chán/, /dichán/ and /kháw/ retain the high tone without the expectable terminal glottal even when they are stressed. So it would appear that these forms have taken on the phonological characteristics of peripheral class forms at this point.

Professor William Gedney has suggested (personal communication) that the absence of glottalisation in personal pronoun forms of the type just described is a function of weak stress. This is an attractive hypothesis, for it would allow us to tie in this unusual phenomenon with more general mainstream rules involving absence of stress. But it seems clear that an explanation of this sort will work only for the form /phóm/ and not for the other three high-tone pronouns, for the latter remain unglottalised even in the context of stress (e.g. [khǒŋ chán'! mây chây khǒŋ kháw.] 'It's **mine**, not his.'). In fact, I am pretty sure that the forms /chán/, /dichán/ and /kháw/ will rarely if ever be pronounced with rising tone in normal speech even when stressed, the rising tone forms being reserved for a somewhat artificial reading pronunciation, or perhaps in isolated citation contexts. So the underlying rising tone in such cases has become a sort of semi-relic – not quite obsolete, but no longer a part of normal spoken language. It appears, therefore, that these three forms have taken on the nonglottal characteristics of peripheral forms, but the form /phóm/ has only gone part way in this peripheralisation process, for it shifts to high tone only under weak stress, and even then not



invariably. As for other personal pronoun forms, these evidently behave exactly like mainstream forms.

### 3.4 SUMMARY

We can say, then, that peripheral forms have varying characteristics, and that there are gaps and ambiguities in their patterned behaviour. Nevertheless, it is clear that peripheral occurrence patterns allow for the absence of a terminal glottal in phonological environments where mainstream forms require its occurrence. It is equally clear that peripheral patterns show evidence of a phonemic contrast between presence and absence of the glottal that cannot be found elsewhere in the language. In short, the differences between mainstream and peripheral patterns are obvious and inescapable.

## 4. EXAMINATION OF ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS

It is conceivable, nevertheless, that these differences might still be explainable on strictly phonological grounds; that is, by means of across-the-board phonological rules that exclude any appeal to lexical class as a conditioning factor. And if we are to do this, it would seem that we must either state the phonological conditions under which an underlying form with no glottal acquires one, or those under which an underlying glottal disappears. Let us then examine each alternative and see what emerges.

One alternative would be to propose rules for the *appearance* of the glottal; such rules would, I think have to look something like the following:

(1) Syllable-final short vowel is followed by a terminal glottal when it occurs stressed or prepause, unless the syllable has tone 6 or 7 (i.e. unglottalised high or falling tone).

(2) Syllable-final long vowel or sonorant consonant in syllables having high or falling tone (but not those having tone 6 or 7), will be followed by a terminal glottal when the syllable in question occurs in prepause position.

Now if we apply these rules, it becomes clear that Rule 1 allows the necessary contrast between forms such as [há], female-speech particle, and [háʔ], male-speech particle, for we could assume that [há] has the sixth tone (which, following Noss, could be transcribed /hã/), and it would therefore be excluded from the rule requiring the addition of a terminal glottal. The same rule would allow for the contrast between the response-desired particle variant [nâ] and the nonproximate-reference particle [nâʔ], for the former would be assumed to have the seventh tone (and might be transcribed /nã/).

Rule 2 would allow for contrasts such as that between the response-desired particle variant [nâa] (transcribed /nâa/) and the form [nâaʔ] (/nâa/) 'face', or that between other particle variants [náa] (/nâa/) and [náaʔ] (/náa/) 'mother's younger sibling'.

Furthermore, these rules reflect the (to me) intuitively convincing sense that the glottal produced under Rule 1 really *is* a feature of the stressed short vowel, and that produced under Rule 2 really *is* a feature of the tone. But in order for this rule to work in all contexts, one has been forced to postulate two extra tones – tones whose sole raison d'être is to prevent the more general rule from allowing glottal stop to appear in certain peripheral forms. This seems to me too great a price to pay for adhering to strictly phonological rules to account for what actually takes place.

A second alternative would be to reverse our approach, however, and set up phonological rules for the disappearance of the underlying glottal; the following rule would suffice:

(3) Syllable-final glottal disappears following an unstressed short vowel, or following a long vowel or a sonorant when any of these appear in non-pause position.

Now this rule has the virtue of handling glottal-nonglottal contrast without recourse to the postulation of extra tones. Thus forms like /sàʔ/ 'to shampoo', /háʔ/ (male speaker), /nâaʔ/ 'face', /náaʔ/ 'mother's younger sibling' would simply be assumed to have an underlying glottal (which disappears under certain conditions), whereas forms like /há/ (female speaker) and the response-desired particle variants /nâa/ and /náa/ do not. On the other hand, this rule does violence to the intuitive sense (shared, I suspect, by most scholars) that in most cases throughout the language the glottal really *is* a feature of the short vowel or of the falling or high tone. Once more, it would seem, we have carried our search for strict phonological rules too far.

A third alternative would be to set up rules going in opposite directions. Thus, for example, we could say that TSV forms lose an underlying glottal (as in Rule 1), but that TLV/S forms acquire one (as in Rule 3). In fact this seems like rather a nice compromise in some ways but it still does not account for the absence of the glottal in the case of many peripheral class TLV/S forms.

In short, we cannot set up across-the-board phonological rules for the occurrence of glottal stop as a subordinate feature of vowel length or tone unless we are willing to postulate two additional tones. And we cannot insist that its appearance necessarily reflects the presence of an underlying phonemic glottal unless we abandon the notion that the stop is, at least in part, a feature of the short vowel and of the high and falling tones.

But if we are willing to recognise the fact that mainstream forms behave differently from certain peripheral forms, and allow for the possibility of different – even conflicting – phonological rules between different classes of forms, our problem melts away. The resulting rules, then would look something like the following:

(4) Mainstream rules:

- (a) Syllable-final short vowel is followed by a terminal glottal when it occur stressed or prepause;
- (b) Syllable-final long vowel or sonorant, in a syllable having high or falling tone, will be followed by a terminal glottal when it occurs prepause.

(5) Peripheral rule: Syllable-final glottal disappears in non-pause position. (This rule assumes, then, that forms which allow the glottal have an underlying glottal, whereas other forms do not.)

If this solution causes raised eyebrows, it might be worth noting that the phonological differences between mainstream and peripheral forms are in any case something that must be recognised and described. In fact, a careful examination of sentence particles and exclamatives would certainly reveal phonological features other than those described above – features not necessarily related to the behaviour of the glottal, but ones differentiating these classes from mainstream forms in yet other ways. These special features are necessarily a part of our definition of these lexical classes.

It should not surprise us that such lexical classes should have such distinctive phonological features. Even in American colloquial English, for example, we find certain unique phonological phenomena that characterise the peripheral class of exclamatives, for example the nasalisation following initial /h/ in 'huh!', 'huh?' but not in 'ha!', and the appearance of seemingly phonemic

glottals in forms such as the negative expression 'hu-uh' [həʔə] or the mild alarm exclamative 'oh-oh' [ʔəʔə].

Obviously then, peripheral forms in a given language may be quite different from mainstream forms in their phonological characteristics and behaviour. And given this difference, it should not surprise us to find that peripheral forms will not always fit into the phonological rules that govern mainstream behaviour. In other words, lexical class may indeed condition phonological behaviour, and if we insist on strict phonological conditioning in the rules we set up, we run the risk of distorting the facts.

## APPENDIX

### A WORKING INVENTORY OF PERIPHERAL CLASS GLOTTAL AND NONGLOTTAL FORMS

Below are listed the glottalised and unglottalised peripheral class forms that have formed the data base for this paper. The information here is arranged in somewhat the same fashion as that in Figure A above. That is, the forms are arranged in terms of syllable type (TSV or TLV/S), tone and glottalisation, but actual forms are listed rather than mere numbers. For the sake of brevity, glosses are not provided. Duplicated forms (such as /laʔ/ and /laʔ/) are homonyms. Note, too, that variants of given particles are here listed as separate forms. Thus /ɛʔ/ and /lɛʔ/, intonational variants of /lɛʔ/, are both included in the listing, and so are the six variants of /ná/: /ná/, /nâ/, /náa/, /nâa/, /naa/, /nâa/.

#### SENTENCE PARTICLES

TSV FORMS	GLOTTALISED	UNGLOTTALISED
Low tone	làʔ lèʔ thàʔ	
Mid	laʔ laʔ thəʔ	si
High	háʔ láʔ láʔ léʔ tháʔ	cá há khá wá yá hé ló ná nó ní sí
Falling	nâʔ nâʔ nîʔ nîʔ	câ hâ khâ wâ yâ lâ nâ nê sî
Rising		lǎ
TLV/S FORMS		
Low		nàa wàa
Mid		maŋ naa ɲay sii waa
High		lǎə máŋ máy náa nóo wáa
Falling	nîaʔ nîiʔ	nâa sîi
Rising		cǎa khǎa wǎa lǎə nǎo

#### EXCLAMATIVES

##### TSV FORMS

High tone	ʔāʔ	ʔé chá chá há thó
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TLV/S FORMS	GLOTTALISED	UNGLOTTALISED
Low		hèe thòo
Mid		?ee ?əə ?òohoo ?oooy
High	?úy? háy? háəy?	?áay ?éé ?áə ?òohóo ?óoy ?úy háa háə háəy thúy wáay wúu wúy
Falling		?âaw ?òo ?ôo ?ôoy nêe thòo
Rising		?ǝo ?ǝy háa mǝe
PERSONAL PRONOUNS		
TLV/S FORMS		
Low tone		lòn
Mid		?ay ?eŋ kɛɛ khun kuu man mɯŋ naay raw riam thəə tua yoom yuu
High	?úa? lúu?	chán dichán kháw phóm
Falling	câaw? khâa? thân?	
Rising		phóm

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## THAI NASALISED VOWELS

JOSEPH R. COOKE

It is a matter of common knowledge that under certain conditions Thai vowels may be subphonemically nasalised. Roughly speaking, the conditions are as follows: all vowels are ordinarily nasalised following initial nasal consonants (/m/, /n/, /ŋ/); and the vowels /a/ and /aa/ (and sometimes other vowels) are nasalised following initial glottal consonants (either the stop /ʔ/ or the fricative /h/).<sup>1</sup> The first type of nasalisation (that following nasal consonants) is, I believe, quite general. That is, such nasalisation regularly takes place with all native speakers. But vowel nasalisation following glottal initials is more variable. That is, some speakers will ordinarily nasalise only /a/ and /aa/ following glottal initials, other speakers will nasalise other vowels, particularly following /h/, and some speakers will nasalise all vowels following /h/, but only some of them following /ʔ/. Also nasalisation of this kind is more likely, or at least more obvious, when the vowel is long or followed by a sonorant.

The above patterns of nasalisation may appear a little strange in spots. Certainly the first type of nasalisation seems natural enough, for one is not surprised to find vowels nasalised after initial nasal consonants. But why should initial glottals condition nasalisation? And why should that nasalisation occur with some vowels and not with others? The purpose of this paper is to examine these phenomena in terms of distinctive feature analysis and to see if thereby we can shed light on the questions that the phenomena raise.

Let us first consider the more straightforward type of nasalisation – that involving vowels following initial nasal consonants. Here, obviously, we have a simple case of assimilation: the vowel assimilates to the immediately preceding consonant as to the feature of nasalisation. Or, to put it another way, the velic, which is open during the articulation of the nasal consonant, remains open for the articulation of the following vowel. Thus the feature of nasalisation carries over from the initial consonant and affects the following vowel also. This process may be summarised in distinctive feature terms as follows:

Rule 1      V → [ + nasal] / [ <sup>C</sup> + nasal ] --

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Here the rule as stated clearly shows that the vowel has assimilated to its environment as to the feature of nasality. Nothing could be more straightforward. Not only the facts with regard to the sound change but also the motivation for that change are clear from the rule.

When we consider the second type of vowel nasalisation, however, we encounter a little more difficulty. Here, if we consider the fairly common pattern in which /a/ and /aa/ are nasalised after /ʔ/ or /h/, and then attempt to state this pattern in terms of the usual set of distinctive features at our disposal, we come up with something like the following rule:

$$\text{Rule 2} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{high} \\ + \text{low} \\ - \text{round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [ + \text{nasal} ] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{consonantal} \\ - \text{sonorant} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{--}$$

Now this rule certainly describes the facts accurately enough, but it doesn't seem to explain anything. Intuitively we know, or at least suspect, that some process of assimilation is at work, but there is nothing in the rule that helps us see what feature of the conditioning segment is carried over to the conditioned. Why should the features [- syllabic, - consonantal, - sonorant] cause the appearance of a feature [+ nasal]? And what is there about the features [- high, + low, - round] that makes this particular vocalic combination more susceptible to nasalisation than other vocalic combinations? And why should the glottal features have any particular effect upon the vocalic features? When we look at rule 2 in the light of such questions it appears completely arbitrary and unmotivated. What we need to do is to find some feature or combination of features that is relevant at the same time to glottal consonants, to low central vowels, and to the process of vowel nasalisation. Let us therefore look a little more closely at the articulatory mechanisms involved in the production of the various sounds we are considering, and let us see what we can discover.

The first thing we may note is the fact that the glottal consonants are in a sense more neutral with respect to the feature of nasalisation than other consonants are. That is, it is physiologically possible to articulate [h] and [ʔ] with the velic either open or closed. In the case of [h] this means that during articulation the airstream can pass through either the mouth or the nose or through both at the same time. And with [ʔ] this means that, after the stop is released, the airstream will pass through the mouth or through the nose or through both, depending on whether the stop is articulated with the velic closed or open. Clearly, then, these sounds have a potential for nasalisation simply by virtue of the fact that they are glottals.<sup>2</sup>

The case of the low back (or central) unrounded vowels is a little different. My guess is that the lower and more relaxed the tongue is, and the wider and more relaxed the pharyngeal opening, the more likely (from a physiological point of view) it is that the muscles controlling the velic will be relaxed. The result, at least for Thai speakers, is the increased propensity for nasalisation that is characteristic of the low central vowels /a/ and /aa/. And we can note also the fact that other low vowels seem to be more readily nasalised than higher vowels.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps it is worth noting, here, that historically, in some of the Thai languages, the glottal /h/ and the nasal /ŋ/ do pattern together, for we know that the proto-Thai form /ŋ/ is reflected as /h/ in some of the dialects of southern Thailand. This provides an independent bit of evidence for the assumption that glottals and nasals do indeed have some features in common.

And (to go further afield) one might note the way in which glottals, nasals and a low central vowel seem to be interrelated in the American colloquial expressions 'u-huh', meaning 'yes' (pronounced

[ʔh̃h̃] with nasalised vowels) and ‘hu-uh’ meaning ‘no’ (pronounced [h̃ʔh̃], also nasalised). One might suspect that these forms, being borderline words, have escaped the tyranny of the usual English subphonemic nasalisation rules, allowing the natural physiological processes to assert themselves. Thus the lax, low central vowel is here nasalised following glottals. Note, further, that when one is panting heavily from exertion, it is very natural to have the mouth open in something like the [ʌ] or [a] position, with the velic open and the breath escaping in a rapid series of vigorous glottal fricatives.

Be all this as it may, we have to assume that glottals and low central vowels in Thai have a special propensity or potential for nasalisation. So I suggest that we postulate a distinctive feature [+ p. nas] (propensity for nasalisation) as a characteristic of each of the phonemes in question. The relevant features for the classes of phonemes under consideration, then, may be summarised in the following matrix:

FEATURES	NASAL CONSONANTS <sup>4</sup>	GLOTTALS	OTHER CONSONANTS	/a/, /aa/	OTHER VOWELS
Nasal	+	-	-	-	-
P. nas		+	-	+	-

If we assume the above feature configurations, we can restate rule 2 above in a more revealing manner as follows:

$$\text{Rule 2a} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ + \text{ p. nas} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{ p. nas} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ + \text{ nasal} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{ nasal} \end{array} \right]$$

Here the rule clearly shows that a kind of assimilation is taking place, and we can see exactly what there is about the environment that causes the nasalisation to take place. Then we can complete the picture by writing another rule that states that all other occurrences of [+ p. nas] segments, and all cases of [- p. nas] segments are realised as [- nasal]. This can be stated in the form set forth in rule 3 below (assuming that rule 3 must apply after rule 2). Or it can be stated more fully as rule 3a. In the latter case we catch the generalisation (gleaned by comparing rules 2a and 3a) that nasalisation takes place when two [+ p. nas] segments occur in sequence, but not when a [+ p. nas] segment stands alone. Note that in rule 3a the symbol  $\alpha$  (according to the usual convention) may signal either plus or minus the feature in question, but always the same value throughout the equation for each application of the rule.

$$\text{Rule 3} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ p. nas}] \\ [- \text{ p. nas}] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [- \text{ nasal}] \quad / \quad \text{--}$$

$$\text{Rule 3a} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ - \text{ p. nas} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{ p.nas} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \alpha \text{ p. nas} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \alpha \text{ p. nas} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ - \text{ nasal} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{ nasal} \end{array} \right]$$

The above rules now cover the case where speakers nasalise /a/ and /aa/ after /h/ or /ʔ/. But what about speakers who nasalise other vowels more freely after /h/ than /ʔ/?

The simplest case, of course, is that in which speakers nasalise all vowels after /h/, but only /a/ or /aa/ after /ʔ/. (I might add that this is by no means a rare pattern among speakers of the language.) Here all we need to do is to classify /h/ as a nasal consonant<sup>5</sup> leaving /ʔ/ as the only consonant having the feature [+p.nas]. Then nasalisation following /h/ would fall under rule 1 above, which states all vowels are nasalised following a nasal consonant; nasalisation of /ʔ/ would be covered by rules 2a and 3 (or 3a).

A more complicated situation exists for cases where a speaker nasalises all low vowels after /h/, for example, but only /a/ or /aa/ after /ʔ/. Here it seems that we have a situation where /h/ and /a/ or /aa/ have a larger propensity for nasalisation than /ʔ/ and other low vowels, but /h/ still does not condition nasalisation in the manner nasal consonants do. Clearly, then, we are dealing with different degrees of propensity for nasalisation, and it would be well for our analysis to reflect that fact. Let us therefore postulate two levels of this propensity: [p.nas<sub>1</sub>] for the first or higher level; and [p.nas<sub>2</sub>] for the second or lower level. The matrix of features would then be as follows:

FEATURES	NASAL C	/h/	/ʔ/ <sup>6</sup>	OTHER C	/a/,/aa/ <sup>6</sup>	OTHER LOW V	OTHER V
Nasal	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
P.nas <sub>1</sub>		+	-	-	+	+	-
P.nas <sub>2</sub>			+	-		-	-

If we assume the structuring of relevant features as above, we can rewrite rules 2a and 3a as follows. (Here the subscript symbol x represents either level 1 or 2 of [p.nas] but always the same level throughout the equation for each application of the rule.)

$$\text{Rule 4} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ + \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{Rule 4a} \quad \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ - \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] \right\} + \left\{ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \alpha \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \\ -\alpha \text{p.nas}_x \end{array} \right] \right\} \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ - \text{nasal} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{nasal} \end{array} \right]$$

This modified rule could cover varying patterns of vowel nasalisation on the assumption that each variation between speakers (or even between different speech acts of the same speaker) presupposes a different matrix of classification of [p.nas] values for the vowels involved. Thus if a speaker were to nasalise everything except high vowels, following /h/, then all but the high vowels would be classified as [+p.nas<sub>2</sub>]. And rules 4 and 4a would still hold good.

In fact, I suspect that the general scheme set forth above could be modified still further to account for other variations in the conditions governing nasalisation: the possibility that long vowels are more subject to nasalisation than short; or live syllables more than dead; or vowels in live syllables with nasal finals more than vowels in other live syllables. But the general picture seems reasonably clear:



that there is a feature of propensity for nasalisation in Thai; and if one is to account for variations in nasalisation patterns, it is necessary to postulate degrees of this feature.

#### NOTES

1. For an earlier treatment of this second type of nasalisation, see Mary R. Hass and Heng R. Subhankha, 1945.

2. Note that this propensity toward the nasalisation of glottals (and also of low vowels) has been noted by others. See James A. Matisoff (1975), and John J. Ohala (1972, 1974 and 1975). Concerning the nasalisation of glottals, Ohala explains (1974:364) that glottal consonants 'do not require soft palate elevation since they involve air pressure build up further back in the vocal tract than the point where the nasal and oral cavities join'. And again (1972:1168) he explains that 'it is possible to produce acoustically acceptable versions of these consonants regardless of the state of the soft palate'. And yet again, he explains (1975:301) that the sound produced by these consonants is such that 'any oral-nasal coupling would have little acoustic and thus little perceptual effect on it'.

3. Ohala (1974:368) suggests an acoustic or perceptual reason for this propensity toward the nasalisation of lower vowels by explaining that the lowering of the velum with lower vowels is more tolerable than with higher vowels because nasal coupling has less effect on their acoustic quality.

4. Note that no [p. nas] value is assigned to nasal consonants here. This omission is intentional, for to assign a plus value would be to imply that nasal consonants have a propensity for nasalisation that is not always realised, and rule 3 and 3a (in this paper) would in fact yield un-nasalised vowels following nasals, which is incorrect. But nasal consonants can hardly be classified as [-p. nas], for this implies that they are not subject to nasalisation in the presence of [+p. nas] vowels. The problem here is that we are dealing with degrees of the same thing, potential nasalisation being of a lower degree than actual nasalisation. So actually [+nasal] implies all that [+p. nas] does and more.

5. It should be noted, however, that /h/ does not pattern with the regular nasals in all respects. For example, the latter occur as syllable-final segments in live syllables whereas /h/ does not. The point is that /h/ resembles the regular nasals in having the feature [+nasal] but it differs from them, for example, in that it has the feature [-sonorant].

6. Again, as in the case of the feature matrix underlying rule 2a, no [p. nas] value is given for nasal consonants; similarly no [p. nas<sub>2</sub>] value is given for the segments /h/, /a/ or /aa/. The problem once more is the fact that both plus and minus values are misleading; once again we are dealing with degrees of the same kind of thing, such that the higher degree feature always presupposes at least what is implied at the lower level, and more. This means that in the application of rules 4 and 4a, if [p. nas<sub>1</sub>] is interpreted as [p. nas<sub>2</sub>], then /a/ or /aa/ must be assigned at least a plus value for [p. nas<sub>2</sub>], since these vowels have that great a propensity for nasalisation, and more.

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