USE OF THESES

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A Description of Jruq (Loven):
a Mon-Khmer language of the Lao PDR

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I declare this thesis to be my own work and all sources used have been acknowledged.
ABSTRACT

This thesis is a description of Jruq, a Mon-Khmer language of mainland Southeast Asia. It is a minority language spoken in the Champassak, Attapeu and Saravane provinces of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR). The investigation is based predominantly on the data I collected during four intensive fieldwork trips between 1997 and 2000.

Jruq has not been studied thoroughly by linguists, and as a result there is very little literature available on it, mostly some wordlists, some very basic grammatical information and a small amount of text. This thesis is an attempt at a more complete and systematic description, within the limits of a Masters thesis. The range of topics covered include phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. Special attention is given to some particular features of Jruq which are typologically unusual, or otherwise noteworthy, these include:

- the phonation-type distinctions among initial consonants (this is treated as a phonological rather than phonetic distinction)
- the distinction of active rather than passive articulators in determining the major places of consonant articulation,
- word and syllable structure, and my proposal to treat the phonological word as basically monosyllabic,
- the interesting system of prefixation which is now no longer productive, and has been partly obscured by phonological changes to the language,
- the complex Tense, Aspect and Mood system unusual for other Mon-Khmer languages,
- the indigenous ‘Khom’ script, previously not described in detail in the literature.

Chapter 1 is a basic introduction to the Jruq language and speakers, describing Jruq’s broad linguistic affiliation and an ethnographic account of the Jruq as a distinct language community.

Chapter 2 is a detailed description of the sounds of Jruq. Of particular interest are the phonetic distinctions between laryngeal settings for all consonants. I provide spectrographic and instrumental analyses of my field recordings to illustrate these sounds. Chapter 3 is a phonological treatment of the sounds
discussed in Chapter 2. An analysis of word and syllable structure is given which best accounts for the highly restricted segments in particular positions of the word.

Chapter 4 examines the natural word classes in Jruq determined by syntactic criteria. Chapter 5 describes Jruq phrase types which are explained using Phrase structure rules and illustrated with Tree diagrams. Chapter 6 describes the Sentence types of Jruq which are determined by sentence-level intonation patterns (plus the use of various Particles).

The thesis also includes various appendices. Appendix I is a lexicon of 1500 Jruq words I recorded. These are sorted by initial consonant and I have included phonetic transcriptions of their pronunciation as I heard them. Appendix II is a brief description of the ‘Khom’ (Kommadam) script which was devised by the Jruq King, Ong Kommadam in the 1930’s. Appendix III comprises five glossed and translated Jruq texts. These include a monologue by Mr. Lin about his experiences during the US bombing of Paksong in 1971; a recipe for making ‘Sukiyaki’ by Miss Toi; a description of the traditional Jruq ‘welcoming ceremony’, by Mr. Ching; the ‘Bulbul’ song by Miss Toi and myself; and a short description by Mr. Lin of Jruq burial practices.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is a culmination of research conducted on and off over the past 4 years at the Australian National University and the University of Melbourne. The completion of this research project would not have been possible in the short run without the Masters Research Scholarship and financial support for fieldwork which I received at the A.N.U., in addition to the help given by my family and Paul Sidwell in funding and preparing my fieldtrips (thanks also Nick Enfield for help transferring money to Laos).

Looking back I am rather embarrassed to admit that in 1997 when looking for a topic to investigate for Masters at the University of Melbourne, I did not even know where the Lao P.D.R. was on the world map! I had never heard of ‘exotic’ languages such as Juq or Bahnar, nor the language families ‘Bahnaric’ or ‘Mon-Khmer’ for that matter. I had never learnt a language of Asia. Within a short period of time, I learnt much about the classification and whereabouts of these languages from Paul Sidwell (who at that time was completing his PhD on the reconstruction of Proto-Bahnaric lexicon). I also learnt the basics of Laotian from Nick Enfield (also completing a PhD at University of Melbourne) and my Lao teacher Sornsuda Souvannavong at the Victorian Lao School (Forest Hill). This enabled me to begin eliciting data from informants in the Lao PDR at the end of 1997.

I eventually withdrew from the Masters course at The University of Melbourne after many stops and starts because I could not work fulltime to fund my fieldtrips as well as write a thesis. In March 1999, I enrolled in Masters at the Australian National University and was awarded a full-time scholarship and fieldwork support. I thank my Supervisor Dr Avery Andrews who has given me many words of advise and has commented on earlier drafts of my thesis. Also thanks are due to my Advisors, Dr. Tony Diller who offered some of his knowledge of Laotian/Thai, and Dr Harold Koch who gave me valuable feedback and suggested corrections to my final draft—any errors in the final product are mine and mine alone. Other specialist Linguists, Anthropologists and botanists who work on the area, have kindly offered much expertise, suggestions, and even their unpublished work! In particular Michel Ferlus, Barbara Wall, Geoffrey Gunn, Paul Sidwell, Hubert Bählker.
Over the ensuing years I have managed to build a network of wonderful friends and contacts to whom I am very thankful for teaching me about the culture, languages and general knowledge of the region. Some, like my best friends and main informants Miss Toi and Mr. Lin, have devoted much of their time in teaching me about Jruq. Thankfully, they too have a passion for linguistics, and they often insist that they enjoyed teaching me the Jruq language just as much as I did! Other people I may have only met for ten minutes in the field but they have helped me navigate the wild rivers and forest tracks of the region, warned me of the dangers (such as unexploded ordinance or river perch with a taste for foreign flesh!), or who may have introduced me to a valuable contact. Outside of Laos, many people have helped me in various ways—some people in cyberspace I have not yet met but have offered some expert advice. I am well aware that during my fieldwork and the writing up of my thesis, my safety, sanity and my astounding good luck was very much in the hands of the following family members, friends, colleagues, and officials (in alphabetical order of first names)—

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Ø</td>
<td>ellipsed syntactic element</td>
<td>C₂</td>
<td>Obligatory Onset Consonant</td>
</tr>
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<td>//</td>
<td>phonemic representation</td>
<td>C₃</td>
<td>Coda (Word final) Consonant</td>
</tr>
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<td>()</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>NUM.INTER.</td>
<td>Numeral Interrogative ʔie?</td>
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<td>NUM.MOD.</td>
<td>Numeral Modifier</td>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
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<td>PTCL.</td>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>( V_{\text{comp.}} )</td>
<td>represents Verbs</td>
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<td>PWB</td>
<td>Proto-West Bahnaric</td>
<td>( V_{\text{ditr.}} )</td>
<td>Ditransitive Verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Polar Question Particle</td>
<td>( V_{\text{intr.}} )</td>
<td>Intransitive Verb</td>
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<td>Quant.</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>( V_{\text{semitr.}} )</td>
<td>Semitransitive Verb</td>
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<td>QP</td>
<td>Quantifier Phrase</td>
<td>( V_{\text{tr.}} )</td>
<td>Transitive Verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>QP(_{\text{(temp.)}})</td>
<td>Temporal Quantifier Phrase</td>
<td>( \text{VP} )</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Rhotic or Lateral after ( C_2 )</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{benefact.}) )</td>
<td>Benefactive Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>REQ.</td>
<td>Request Particle</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{cause}) )</td>
<td>Causative Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Clause/Sentence</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{direct.}) )</td>
<td>Directional Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(_{\text{rel}})</td>
<td>Relative Clause</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{instrum.}) )</td>
<td>Instrumental Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVP</td>
<td>Serial Verb Construction</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{main}) )</td>
<td>Main Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
<td>( \text{VP}(\text{purpose}) )</td>
<td>Purposive Verb Phrase (in SVP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TP(_{\text{quant.}})</td>
<td>Quantified Temporal Phrase</td>
<td>( W )</td>
<td>word</td>
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<td>Temp.(_{\text{adv}})</td>
<td>Temporal Adverb</td>
<td>WB</td>
<td>West Bahnaric</td>
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<td>Temp.(_{\text{desc.}})</td>
<td>Temporal Descriptive</td>
<td>WH</td>
<td>information question</td>
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<td>Temp.N</td>
<td>Temporal Noun</td>
<td>( \text{WH.UKNOW} )</td>
<td>Information question (unknown referent)</td>
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<td>Temporal Numeral</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>in §3 represents Vowels</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
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Where \( X \) stands for any Phrase or Phrasal head:

- \( X_{\text{adv.}} \) | X in adverbial function
- \( X_{\text{attrib.}} \) | X in attributive function
- \( X_{\text{cpd.}} \) | X with a compound word structure
- \( X_{\text{pred.}} \) | X in predicative function
- \( X_{\text{simp.}} \) | X with a simple Phrase structure
- \( X_{\text{complex}} \) | X with a complex Phrase structure

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CHAPTER 1

JRUQ LANGUAGE & SPEAKERS

1.0 AIMS

The aim of this dissertation is to describe the Jruq language as I have recorded it spoken today in Paksong, Lao P.D.R. Jruq (also known as Loven, Lawen, Boloven) is a West-Bahnaric language of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) phylum. Jruq speakers constitute one of the largest linguistic minorities of the southern Lao P.D.R. The language is spoken over most of the settled areas of the Boloven Plateau, overlapping the three provinces of Champassak, Saravane and Attopeu (refer to Map 2)\(^1\).

This first chapter profiles the Jruq language and its speakers, giving historical, geographic, social and political background. The linguistic context is discussed, including the genetic classification of Jruq, and the status of the language at the present time. The limited body of scholarship available on Jruq is reviewed, including some important unpublished sources, all setting the context for the description that follows.

1.1 THE JRUQ PEOPLE

1.1.1 Language Names

In the existing literature there is a confusing array of terminology designating the language and its speakers. In this dissertation I use the autonym Jruq throughout, other ethnonyms appear in quotes from other works.

The Jruq call themselves and their language \textit{Jruq} [j̥ruʔ ~ j̥uʔ?], and this has also been recorded by other researchers, e.g. ‘Djourou’ (Lavallée 1901), ‘Djerou’ (Dauplay 1929), ‘Jru’ (Bondet de la Bernadie 1949), and ‘Jirru’ (Fraisse 1951). The same word is used by surrounding Bahnaric and Katuic peoples in reference to the Jruq people and language. Various local people offered the folk etymology that \textit{Jruq} means ‘cowards/fleeing from war’, relating that historically the Jruq fled from somewhere in the north to find sanctuary on

\(^1\) The Nhaheun language, until 1997, was the main language spoken in the eastern side of the plateau. Now many have been relocated to the center of the plateau (Houvei Kong district) a predominantly Jruq settlement area. The other ethnic groups on the Plateau include the Alak (who live amongst both the Jruq and Nhaheun) and the Ta-oi who live to the north of the plateau.
the Boloven Plateau. It is difficult to assess this etymology, but I have found no particular evidence for or against it. Some of my informants have connected it with the homophonous word meaning ‘deep (water)’, but the basis for any connection is not clear.

In my fieldwork I came across the word Khom [kʰɔm] used by the Jruq and the neighbouring Nhaheun speakers as the word for their ancestors in stories about historical events such as the uprising against the French a century ago.

On a pris l’habitude d’appeler Bolovens ces différentes tribus réparties sur le plateau à qui les Lao Thaïs ont donné ce nom. En réalité, entre aux, les habitants du plateau s’appelaient Djerou, nom assez récent (début du siècle). Il semble qu’autrefois ils se désignaient sous le nom de Khom. (Moppert 1978:47)

In some cases the Jruq use it to refer solely to the Jruq speaking ancestors, and in other cases the Nhaheun use it to refer to a mythological group of people who divided and became the ancestors of Phu Thai, Jruq, Nhaheun, Red Thai, White Thai, Black Thai, etc. Dauplay (1929:40) also recorded “l’ancienne appellation étant «KHOM»” for the Jruq. Lao also has the word xDCMB /kʰɔm/ ‘Khmer (ancient name)’ (Kerr 1972:169). Thus, it may be the Khmer word /kʰɔm/ [kʰɔm] ‘below, low’² which has been adopted throughout the area in reference to former Khmer subjects.

Loven (variously Laven, Lawen) [lɔvɛn] is the Lao designation for the language and the people. According to Lavallée (1901:291) (and confirmed by my informants) local lore has it that once a Lao chief bought the right of suzerainty from a Jruq chief with a ring. The Laotian later stole back the ring, hence the ethnonymn means ‘he who lost the ring’ cf. Lao .localScale/lâ? vɛm/ ‘abandon ring’. Dauplay (1929:41) describes a similar legend for the word ‘Boloven’ (as in Boloven Plateau) as one possibility for the Lao term xDCMB /kʰâ: bɔː lâ? vɛm/ translated as “le Kha qui n’a pas abandonné la bague” (the slave who did not lose the ring). Interestingly my Jruq informants consistently write the Lao form as xBCAMB /lâ? vɛm/ (the inconsistency in spelling suggests that this is a folk etymology).

Two other legends are described by Dauplay (1929:41). The first of these was

² “...les Khmaer krom sont les Khmers installés dans la basse vallée du Mékong, en territoire vietnamien.” (Matras-Troubetzkoy, 1983: footnote p.15 (emphasis in original))
told to him by the Governor of Bassac (Champassak) himself:\(^3\)

Un bonze laotien aurait autrefois essayé de convertir les Khom à la foi bouddhique, ce qui impliquait la renonciation à pas mal d’antiques coutumes félichistes, notamment au sacrifice d’animaux vivants. Découragé du peu de succès de sa prédication, le bonze en question les aurait baptisés Kha-bo-la-ven, les Kha qui n’abandonnent pas le péché.

The third explanation for the origin of the word ‘Boloven’ is taken by Dauplty (1929:41) as the most plausible:

Boliven signifie en siamois circonscription, district et, par extension, limite, frontière de district. Au temps de la domination de Bangkok, la moyenne Sékong et le plateau dont nous nous occupons constituaient la limite extrême des territoires soumis au Siam, par l’intermédiaire du Roi de Bassac. Les Kha boliven et, par corruption, Bolaven, auraient donc été simplement les Kha de la bordure.

In modern Khmer, the word is still used to mean ‘region’, e.g.

/ɓɔːɾiweːn niːh/ ‘[in] this region’ (Huffman 1967:176)


‘Boloven’ is used to mean ‘place of the Loven’ according to many locals (both Lao and Jruq), and is sometimes extended to refer to the people and/or language. In this thesis I will use ‘Boloven’ solely as a geographical term, and ‘Jruq’ throughout as the ethnonymn, because that is what the speakers themselves use in their own language.

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\(^3\) This tale corresponds with the Nhaheun creation story which I recorded in my 1998 fieldtrip. I suspect it is of Buddhist origin appearing in various forms throughout southeast Asia.
1.1.2 Population and Geographical Distribution

Today there are about 40,000 Jruq people, living mostly on the Boloven Plateau. The 1995 Lao National Census counts 40,519 ‘Loven’ people, but it is difficult to assess how many of those counted actually speak Jruq, or in fact whether the figure is an underestimate, for several reasons, e.g.

- there is considerable pressure, even advantage, to identify as ethnically Lao (my Jruq informants, I noted, all claimed they were ethnic Laotian on their identification cards)

- villages sometimes undercount population to reduce taxation obligations.

- intermarriage between ethnic groups is common, in some cases preferred by custom. Marriage between Alak, Nhaheun and Jruq was, and still is, a normal practice. Also, the Jruq, like many groups in the region, practise(d) polygamy, and I was told in 1998 that the first wife was expected to be Jruq and the second Alak.4

According to the National Census, of the 40,519 Jruq people, 94.5% (38,287) live in the four southernmost provinces of the Lao P.D.R.5. The percentage of Jruq living outside the Lao P.D.R. is not certain. In my fieldwork in 2000, some Jruq elders in Pakson told me that many Jruq fled the country during an ancient war (probably the Siamese war of the 1820s) and settled in the vicinity of Bangkok. Some informants insist that the population of Jruq in Bangkok is greater than that of Jruq on the Boloven Plateau, and that these people still speak their ethnic language, but I doubt whether this is anything more than wishful thinking. I do know there are relatives of my informants in Canada and in the USA but these people no longer maintain their ethnic language. In the SIL ethnologue (14th edition, 2000), the only report of Jruq people living outside Laos is of migrants living in Stockton, California.

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4 Baudenne (1819:268) found in relation to the West Bahianic group in Attopeu province and on the Boloven Plateau, ‘[.]a polygamie est admise. Pout être valable, toute nouvelle alliance doit obtenir le consentement de la premiere épouse.’

5 24,584 reside in Champassak Province, 4061 in Attopeu province, 1093 in Sekong Province, and 8549 in Salavan province. 6.5% of the ‘Lawen’ population reside elsewhere in the nation (1995 Lao National Census).
1.1.3 The Boloven Plateau

The homeland of the Jruq is the Boloven Plateau (see Map 2)—a spectacular volcanic table formation that covers an area of 2,310 km². The plateau ranges in elevation from around 900m around much of its edge and across the eastern part, to some high peaks in the northern and southern rims (the highest being Phou Luang in the northeast at 1716 metres above sea level). In the central eastern region, Paksong lies at around 1300m. It is the trade center of the Boloven Plateau and a center of Jruq population.

Paksong lies at the intersection of the highways 23 and 28. Route 23 runs east up the plateau from Pakse city (Champassak province capital) lying on the Mekong River. Just past Paksong it turns north to Thateng which lies to the northern edge of the Plateau (within Sekong province). Thateng is a centre where Jruq mix with other ethnic groups, particularly Alak and various Katuic people. Route 28 begins where Route 23 turns north—it runs east through the centre of the Plateau and to Houei Kong. Houei Kong is a traditional Jruq settlement area, but since 1998 includes the forced resettlement of many Nhaheun people from the Se Plan Conservation Area. From Houei Kong Route 28 enters Attopeu Province and it spectacularly descends the eastern side of the plateau to the lowlands. The road hugs the southeastern perimeter of the plateau until Attopeu city (capital of the southern-most province of the same name).

The Plateau is a relatively cool place to live—there is even occasionallly frost at night. Between June and November it is buffeted by the annual southwest monsoon which deposits more than 4,000mm of rain (the heaviest in Laos)\(^6\). Historically it was covered with thick forest of tall timbers and large patches of bamboo and rattan, teaming with wildlife, including elephant, rhinoceros, gaur, deer and tigers. Today most of the western side is crop and grazing land while the eastern side is now reserved as the Se Plan Conservation Area (although it appears that the conservation area is more of a device for giving control of the forest over to development rather than for protecting nature). The Lao government wants to end traditional economies of slash and burn cultivation and forest foraging, preferring all ethnic groups to adopt the lowland style wet rice cultivation and cash cropping. Today the forests and grasslands of the western half are largely replaced by tea, pine, cardamon and coffee plantations. The traditional crop of dry rice is still cultivated, even along the

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asphalted Route 23—the popular wet rice cannot be grown on the plateau due to the heavy rainfall and unsuitable soil (Dauplay 1929).

1.1.4 Contemporary Jruq Society

During French rule, coffee began to be cultivated as a cash crop on the Plateau. The Jruq were employed as coolies, giving up their traditional forest economy for wage labouring. With decolonisation the Jruq took ownership of the farms and have become one of the wealthier communities of the Lao P.D.R. (certainly living better than many Lao farmers). As well as income from farming export crops, many residents of the Plateau receive cash income from overseas relatives. In my 1998 field trip I was told by the local doctor in Paksong that the area boasts the remarkable statistic of an average of three motorbikes per household. This is an outstanding figure when compared to the Nations’ capital (Vientiane) where many public servants ride bicycles to work and can only dream of owning a motorbike.

Today the language is very much alive as a medium of communication at the village level, however it is no longer used as a language of inter-ethnic communication, as appears to have been the case in the past between ethnic groups on the Plateau. Outside of the village or in the marketplace, Jruq speak Lao to everybody and are very mindful of the political convention that divides all Lao citizens into one of only three possible ‘ethnicities’—Lao Loum (lowland dwellers), Lao Theung (upland dwellers), and Lao Sung (mountain-top dwellers). Jruq must conventionally identify as Lao Theung.

This is not to say that the Jruq do not take pride in their identity—if a sufficiently large group of Jruq are present, they may feel free to speak as they please. However the issue of their ethnicity is not something which is discussed openly with strangers? as it is politically sensitive in the context of the Lao 1975 revolution which stressed the construction of a unified national identity.

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7 Whilst residing at Ban Thongset during my 1999 fieldtrip, I was informed that a “silly foreigner” strode into Paksong market place and asked people openly whether they were Loven and where he could find Loven people. This was the cause of great amusement to my Jruq friends, certainly they would not give such personal information to a stranger!
1.1.5 History

1.1.5.1 Origins

When questioned, the Jruq state that they ‘came from the north’, in fact one
man told me that it was from China! Parkin (1991) also repeats this idea that
they came from somewhere further north or east, but from where or when is
not clear. Lavallée (1901:291) writes:

Leurs [Les Boloven] traditions font venir tous les Khà du pays de
Vieng-Chan, emmenés par les chüong, magiciens armés d’une
épée enchantée. En tête marchaient les Radeh et en queue les
Boloven. Ceux-ci, épuisés par la fatigue et la maladie, ne purent
dépasser la région où ils sont maintenant fixés et y établirent. Il
est curieux de constater que cette légende se retrouve, presque
trait pour trait, ches les Niaheun et qu’il existe, ches tous les Kha
occidentaux, une vague idée d’une origine septentrionale. Il se
pourrait, en effet, que cette race ait été refoulée vers le Sud par
l’expansion des Thai.

This story seems to confuse the story of Babel (where all the people of Laos
were supposedly one race originating in Vientiane) with the mass exodus of
Laotians from Vientiane when Siam sacked the city in 1830. This was an effort
to overthrow King Chao Fa Ngum (1316-1374) who in 1827 and 1828
attempted to free Laos from its vassal ties with the Siam Kingdom.

A partir de 1827 l’invasion siamoise favorisa l’anarchie des
populations montagnards et l’émiettement des tribus. Les
peuplades belliqueuses profitèrent de cet état de choses pour
intensifier leurs razzias et leur trafic d’esclaves. (Bourette 1955:62)

Fraissee travelled around the Boloven Plateau in 1944 and compiled a detailed
account of the ethnographic and environmental situation. In one Jruq village
called Nong Lè, Fraissee (1951:58) was told a traditional story claiming the
‘Jirru’ came from the mountains to the east of Attopeu on the other side of the
Sekong:

Dans ce village, on m’a rapporté une tradition suivant laquelle les
Jirru habitaient, il y a très longtemps, les montagnes à l’Est
d’Attopeu, de l’autre côté de la Sékong. Ils n’ont jamais habité les
berges du Mékong, et, par ailleurs, n’ont conservé aucune tradition
selon laquelle leurs ancêtres auraient vu la mer.

In another village, Ban Nhik (Kilometer 30 between Pakse and Paksong, then

8 Bourette (1955), Bui Quang Tung (1958).
only 20 years old), Fraisse found another story whereby the ancestors of the Jruq village migrated south from Saravane Province due to famine:

Les ancêtres viendraient, suivant la tradition, de Pho Khem (?) dans la province de Saravane. La migration aurait été provoquée par des famines. (Fraisse 1951:62)

Fraisssè argues that there is anthropological/archeological evidence to suggest that the Jruq are different from the other West Bahnaric tribes who are believed to have come to southern Laos from the Annamite chain. The first evidence is that the Jruq did not possess the expected "hache à crosse" (1951:58) (an iron axe placed in a bamboo handle curved in the form of a cross) which is widespread among the particular tribal groups in question. Instead the Jruq had a handle made from a forked branch. Also the large crossbow of the southern tribes is not used by the Jruq. However, this evidence does not necessarily mean that Jruq is distinct from the language groups in the area—rather, it is likely that the Jruq were more enterprising and bold enough to make contact with many peoples. They adopted tools from different groups just as they bought woven material from the Alak, changed their house style to suit the Lao, and abandoned traditional crops for coffee under the French.

I recently suggested, on the basis of dialect geography, that the ancestors of the Jruq probably originated from the Annamite mountains east of Sekong and Attapeu (Jacq & Sidwell 2000). The Jruq could well have ascended the Plateau from the north (Saravane province) in search for more fertile land. Despite the lack of any reliable records before modern times, it seems clear that the Jruq (wherever they migrated from) were already established on the Boloven Plateau well before Laotians colonised the area. Plus, there are Khmer loan words in the lexicon which must date from the Old and Middle Khmer periods due to their phonological characteristics. Possibly the Jruq were in a tribute relationship with the Khmer Empire before the conquest of Angkor by the Laos in the middle of the 14th century, after which it was a dependency of Sukhothai (Briggs 1951:254)9.

9 Still standing is a Khmer temple called Wat Phu Ngoi, in Champassak Province, which is a lasting reminder of their rule. This temple is still used by the Jruq for traditional ceremonies.
1.1.5.2 Colonisation

The earliest historical sources indicate that the Champassak region was part of the Old Khmer Empire.

The Khmer influence began between the sixth and eighth century, with the Kingdom of Tchen La, located in Modern Champasak [...]. It is during the Khmer influence in the south from the 11th century that the migration of Tai minorities from Yunnan, Guangxi and northern Vietnam started to affect Laos. [...] Between the 11th and the 13th centuries, Tai communities established their authority over the whole Thai peninsula, creating two politically independent principalities, Luang Phrabang and Vientiane. (Chazée 1999:14)

The Lao Kingdom was eventually divided into three principalities: Luang Phrabang, in the north, was the royal and religious capital and home of the King. Vientiane, located downstream, where the Mekong widens and flows through flat lands, was the administrative and trade centre. Champassak, which lay in the far south. Together these principalities included much territory west of the Mekong that is today part of Thailand.

From 1778 Laos was a vassal of Siam, with the Lao states basically left to run their own affairs as long as they paid sufficient tribute to Bangkok. An attempt by the Lao princes to regain independence in 1823 saw Siamese troops burn Vientiane to the ground (leaving it depopulated for many years afterwards) and destroying many other towns. To pay for the war many Lao and ethnic peoples were sold into slavery in Bangkok.

From the 1860s the French began to show increased interest in Laos, particularly concerned by the colonisation of Burma by their arch rival Britain, and various exploratory expeditions were sent. Notable Frenchmen who explored the southern part of Laos included Francis Garnier (from 1866 until his last expedition ended in death in 1874), Commander Doudart de Lagrée (1867), and Dr. François Jules Harmand10 (1877) who was inspired by de Lagrée’s survey. They were chosen as specialists in their fields, e.g. botany,

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10 It is Harmand’s crossing of the ‘Great Plateau’ which first brought knowledge to the French of the indigenous inhabitants of the Boloven Plateau (although the Laotians had of course been collecting taxes from the ‘Kha’ for some time). Harmand writes in his diary on the 13th March 1877: “This Great Plateau is indicated on the map of the French Commission as volcanic and uninhabited. It appears very strange to me that such a vast stretch of land, surely very fertile, should be deserted.” (Harmand 1997:73)
anthropology, and they made extensive scientific records as well as conducting important strategic tasks such mapping and seeking viable routes to China. As a result, much about the traditional agricultural, hunting and cultural practices, trade, geography, habitat and relationships between various communities has been recorded.

Under Lao rule all the hill tribes were ‘Kha’ or slaves to the Lao Loum. This meant that they had to pay special taxes and provide corvee labour to the Laos, and observe certain social restrictions/obligations in the presence of Lao Loum (see Burchett 1957 for a discussion). Similarly a sort of pecking order existed between the various ‘Kha’ groups, and the Jruq appear to have been well placed in respect to their neighbours. Local folk history and notes by explorers in the region in the nineteenth century indicate that the Jruq were seen as the most prestigious ethnic group of the area, and their position as a group of relatively high status continues today. It is significant that Lavallée (1901:291) begins his ethnographic notes about the Mon-Khmer tribes of southeast Indochina with the following strong claim:

Les Boloven constituent, par leur nombre et leur état social, la plus importante des tribus établis entre le Mé-kong et la Sé-kong.

The Jruq remain very proud, and are evidently keen to obtain any benefit that might be had from technical progress or advanced social standing. Harmand, writing in 1877, noted of one village:

These Boloven are not real Kha. They have partly adopted Laotian dress and almost all of the men have adopted the hairdos of their neighbors (Harmand 1997:91)

30 March - ...I passed the night in a village surrounded by swamps and jungle...It is inhabited by Kha Boloven who speak Lao and who are indignant for being taken as tribesmen. (Harmand 1997:106)

A generation later once French colonialism had begun, Baudenne (1913) noted how the Jruq people had adapted other aspects of their life such as house building according to the Lao style:

Les Bolovens copient la demeure laotienne: les murs très résistants sont en écorce d’arbre; les maisons et leurs abords proprement entretenus. Cependant l’ensemble offre un coup d’œil peu réjouissant. (Baudenne 1913:264)
Twenty years after Baudenne, in the new town center of Pakson and also in Thateng, Hoffet (1933:28) revealed that Lao influence was overwhelming:

Village sans caractère spécial. L’ancien type de case tend à disparaître complètement au profit de la case laotienne... L’influence laotienne leur a fait perdre toute morale. S’habillent entièrement à la laotienne.

1.1.5.3 Wars and Revolution

In 1893 the French invaded militarily, seeking control of all Lao territory east of the Mekong. The actual date when the Jruq gave up their independance to the French is not documented, but according to Dauplay it was some time before 1895:

Un fait est certain: c’est que tous les Boloven, de même que tous les Kha habitant entre la Sékong et le Mékong, avaient, lors de la prise de possession du Laos par la France, en 1895, depuis longtemps renoncé à leur indépendance. (Dauplay 1929:55)

The Jruq and other ‘Kha’ of the Boloven area never willingly accepted French rule\(^\text{11}\). While it is true that under French law they were released from slavery, as free citizens they were obliged to pay three times the rate of poll tax as Lao Loum, and to perform compulsory labour at various times of the year. Also, in the 1890s the French reorganised local government in the Jruq area into six separate geographical jurisdictions (Gunn 1990:111; Dauplay 1929:42) disrupting the traditional practice of paying tribute directly to Bassac. Bassac itself was divided by the Mekong river—the new border between Siam and French Laos. Due to the increase in taxes “[f]rom the mid 1890’s to 1900, there was a resurgence in the traditional Lao-tribal pattern of slave trade” (Murdoch 1974:54). Unrest developed among the inhabitants of the Plateau (and elsewhere in Lao, Thailand and Vietnam) as the social and political-economic relationships between the Thai, Lao Loum and Lao Theung were dissolved.

\(^{11}\) The indigenous people of the Plateau also rose up against Lao domination twice during the nineteenth century (Gunn 1990:110).
The Kommadam Rebellion

In 1901 the dissatisfaction in the south of Lao fed a millenium movement known in the literature as the "Holy Man’s Uprising" (Gunn 1990). Local ethnic groups and Lao mandarins joined in rejecting French rule. Lao officials lost their tax collection rounds to French bureaucrats, and locals suffered an increasing taxation burden. In this context all levels of society were united in seeking restoration of the old order.

The catalyst for the uprising was the millennial hysteria which pervaded the region, and saw charismatic cult leaders emerge among many ethnic groups. Illeto (1992:215) states that ‘By 1901 the phumibun or ‘holy man’ phenomenon had escalated; the total emerging in 1902 alone numbered well over 100.’ In 1901 a temple was erected in honour of the Alak holy man Bac My\(^\text{12}\), but it was burned down by French authorities. Locals retaliated by murdering a Frenchman named Menard (Murdoch 1974:55-56). The French responded with a "pacification" operation on the Plateau with 15 troops from Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina (Dauplay 1929:60). During the year Jruq, Alak, Nhaheun, and Suq ethnics joined the rebels as well as Lao mandarins. By November 1901, one third of the local population of the Boloven had been killed in contrast to 128 killed French militia and officers (Gunn 1990:112).

Several noteworthy participators in this Phou Mi Boun movement included Ong Man (a ‘wise man’), Ong Khommaseng and Ong Kommadam. Ong Man started a similar movement in northeast Thailand (claiming that he was the Phou Mi Boun), and in 1902 trained an ever increasing rebel following to fight the Thai army. The Thai soldiers set an ambush in which 300 of Ong Man’s men died, and 400 were captured. Ong Man passed himself off as a farmer and escaped. He rejoined Bac My in an attack on the French Commissariat in Savannakhet in 8am on the 19th April, 1902. Convinced the French ammunition would turn into frangipani flowers and they would be unharmed, one hundred and fifty rebels died when the French opened fire. Both Ong Man and Bac My escaped to Phou Luang mountain on the Boloven Plateau with

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\(^{12}\) He is the person most commonly associated with the reknown Phu Mi Boun ‘man with merit’ shaman and cult leader, although the title Phu Mi Boun has been used in a number of millennium movements in Asia. According to Gunn (1990) Ong Keo (called Bac Mi (Bac My) by the French), was an educated tribal Alak, and son of a village chief. Gay (1989) writes that Nai My (Bac My/Ong Keo) was a Ngeq ethnic and became associated with the Phu Mi Boun movement in 1901—although already two distinct Phu Mi Boun’s had been identified in the 1890’s.
other Jruq rebels, including Ong Kommadam (Daplay 1929:62; Murdoch 1974:60; Gunn 1990:112).

From 1901 to 1936 they maintained an armed rebellion (which included Cambodians, Burmese, as well as Souei, Phou Thai, and Ngap minorities) mostly under the leadership of the Jruq chief Ong Kommadam\textsuperscript{13}. The revolt cost many lives on both sides, and was only suppressed with great effort.

Bac My surrendered to the French on the 13th October 1907 (Gunn 1990:114), where he remained under house arrest until January 1909 when he was invited into the local French Commissioner's house. He was bayoneted to death whilst "attempting to escape" (although his legs were still tightly shackled), and his head preserved in formaldehyde (Gunn 1990:116). Other smaller rebellions were lead by figures such as Bac Preuil (aka. Ong Thong) who was executed in Pakse in 1908\textsuperscript{14} according to Daplay (1929:64). Ong Xit and Ong Veun lead a band of rebels for some time but surrendered in December 1906 (Gunn 1990:114; Daplay 1929:64). But Ong Kommadam remained at large.

On November 14th 1910, Ong Kommadam invited Daplay to his sala in Phou Louang for peaceful discussions. Daplay writes on the 19th December 1910\textsuperscript{15}:

\textsuperscript{13} Gunn (1990: 114) claims the Kommadam was ethnically Nhaheun. However Moppert (1979:51) only mentions that the Kommadam was born in a Nhaheun Village. Daplay, Murdoch and my own informants state he was Jruq (Loven). I doubt that he was ethnically Nhaheun as Nhaheun were dominated by the Jruq (to whom they used to pay tribute and consider the lords of the plateau) (Wall 1975:7), so a Nhaheun leading the Jruq in rebellion would seem illogical. Furthermore, in the letter to Daplay on the 13th October 1910 (Moppert 1978:173-4), Ong Kommadam demands all Nhaheun, Souei and Phou Thai tribes be chased from the Boloven Plateau to make way for his Jruq kingdom. So, whatever his ethnicity, Kommadam was politically a Jruq.

\textsuperscript{14} 1909 according to Gunn (1990:114).

\textsuperscript{15} In personal communication with Professor Gunn 31st Jan. 2000, Gunn explained that the date of this quote ("Mort de Bac My et capture de ses lieutenants", Daplay to the Résident Supérieur, Saravane, 19th September 1910) in his 1990 volume was erroneous—it should read: 19th December 1910.
Deftly removing my pith-helmet, I took hold of the Browning and delivered from two meters, two shots, striking him (Kommadan) under the armpit and in line with his liver; the points of impact were clearly indicated by the little red spots on his white vest. (Gunn 1990:115).

Dauplay was criticised by the colonial press but exonerated by the Government for his actions. Miraculously, Kommadam escaped and survived, keeping a low profile for another fifteen years while building a fort on Phou Luang. In 1924 the French discovered his propaganda written in the ‘Khom’ language script\(^{16}\) which he had secretly been devising and spreading as far as Sekong, Darlac in Vietnam and Stung Treng in Cambodia (Gunn 1990:118). The Kommadam rallied as many ethnic followers as he could, having them pay their taxes to him instead of the French.

In June 1931 the French established a permanent post of officers and militia on the Boloven Plateau. The increased French presence on the Plateau\(^{17}\), combined with the famine of 1932, made it difficult for Kommadam to support and conceal the growing rebel following on Phou Luang. In January 1936 the Governor General sent police to Phou Luang and “some 4000 Kha submitted to the French authority” (Gunn 1990:125). Kommadam was killed in a surprise attack in Phou Deng\(^{18}\); his son Khamphan was arrested and taken to the north of Laos until he was released by the Japanese in 1945.

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\(^{16}\) In 1998, Paul Sidwell and I found Mr. Bounnyong, who was the Kommadam’s personal Secretary in the 1930’s. He and a handful of other tribal leaders helped devise and teach the Khom (or ‘Kommadam’) script. Unfortunately he died of old age in November 1998, after teaching us the characters and their sounds. Since then, we met the grand-niece of the Kommadam, be? tiew who still has the Kommadam’s notebooks. It is from these that we painstakingly transcribed the characters, sentences, and documents. The list of characters used in the script and their phonological equivalents are given in Appendix II.

\(^{17}\) This included the introduction of aircraft in combatting growing hostilities in southern Laos and Cambodia, and in January 1936 the Governor General formally requested the army’s involvement in the rebellion (Gunn 1990:125).

\(^{18}\) Gay (1989:233) reports the Kommadam was killed in September 1936.
CHAPTER 1: Jruq Language & Speakers

World War II

During the second World War (1939 to 1945), France handed control of Laos to Japan, although until fairly late in the war French officials were able to get about the country without interference (Japan and Vichy France were notional allies).

During the war, the Japanese maintained a substantial garrison at Phou Thevada near Pakson, which even today is avoided because of the minefields.

At war’s end the Japanese withdrew from Laos and an independence movement Lao Issarak (“Free Laos”) formed a provisional nationalist government, which promptly collapsed in 1946 after reoccupation by France. In 1949 Laos became an independent state in the French Union.

Civil War

From the early 1950s to 1975 Laos suffered civil war which ended with victory of the Pathet Lao communists. During that period the Jruq were mainly under Royal Lao administration, although not all willingly. In fact many who had been involved in the earlier anti-French rebellion, and their children joined the Pathet Lao. Khamphan, a son of Ong Kommadam, became a Pathet Lao leader in the south.

In the mid-1950s the Royal Lao forces and the Pathet Lao signed a peace deal and formed a coalition government of national unity. Under the terms of this treaty the Pathet Lao forces withdrew en masse to the north. The coalition quickly collapsed and hostilities resumed—many Boloven residents now found themselves pressed into service with the Royal Lao Army and the Americans (who occupied the plateau for a time). For two decades the Plateau suffered terrible military action, being in a strategic position between the Mekong and the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Pakson was attacked several times, variously by the Americans and the Pathet Lao (who with the North Vietnamese support attacked the town on the 15th May 1971 (Gunn 1990:173)). Locals still recall with terror of a two week long aerial bombardment by American B52 bombers.

The Pathet Lao took Vientiane in May 1975, and in December that year the Lao People’s Democratic Republic was proclaimed. The new regime expropriated foreign landholdings, distributing them to the poor and landless. This particularly advantaged the Jruq on the Boloven Plateau, where farming
was already developed under the colonial regime.

During this time, the country was largely closed off to foreigners. The authorities were highly suspicious of scientific investigations in the country, an attitude which only began to thaw in the 1990s. The opening up to outside capital and cultural influences has started a new revolution, which although bloodless, is more radically and rapidly transforming society than any before it. In this new world order the Jruq are landowning farmers who are integrating into the globalising cash economy. It is into this world that I arrive to do my field work.

1.2 THE JRUQ LANGUAGE

1.2.1 Linguistic Classification

1.2.1.1 Mon-Khmer

Jruq is commonly recognised as a West Bahnaric (WB) language, WB being one of (at least) three principle divisions of the Bahnaric family. In turn Bahnaric is a branch of the Mon-Khmer or Austroasiatic phylum, a stock of more than a hundred languages spoken mainly by ethnic minority groups, widely spread across a vast area including India, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and China (refer to Map 1).

The comparative study of Mon-Khmer languages is relatively underdeveloped, and views vary about the appropriate classification of the languages. Diffloth (1979) presents what is the commonly received view, positing an Austroasiatic phylum which divides into two main branches, Munda and Mon-Khmer, with Mon-Khmer further split into three divisions:

MUNDA

North Munda
South Munda

MON-KHMER

North Mon-Khmer
Khmuic
Palaung-Waic
Khasi
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East Mon-Khmer
  Khmeric
  Pearic
  Bahnaric
  Katuic
  Viet-Muong

South Mon-Khmer
  Nicobaric
  Aslian
  Monic

A more recent classification by Peiros (1998) using lexicostatistics finds no basis for a basic division between Munda and Mon-Khmer, and instead proposes six equidistant branches:

1. CENTRAL
   Bahnaric
   Katuic
   Aslian
   Monic

2. VIETIC (Viet-Muong)

3. NORTHERN
   Khmuic
   Palaung-Waic

4. KHMER

5. KHASI

6. MUNDA

According to this view there is no distinction between Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer. In either scheme Jruq is a Bahnaric language within Mon-Khmer, and these are the terms I will use throughout this thesis.
1.2.1.2 Bahnaric

In the 1960s scholars associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) conducted various lexicostatistical surveys of Mon-Khmer languages. They proposed a classification of the Bahnaric languages into three divisions: North Bahnaric, West Bahnaric and South Bahnaric (Thomas & Headley 1970). Both West Bahnaric and South Bahnaric are rather obvious subgroups, but North Bahnaric is much more heterogeneous. Smith (1973) suggested a further sub-division of North Bahnaric, putting Cua and Kotua into Eastern North Bahnaric. Then Gregerson et al. (1976) proposed splitting North Bahnaric in two, creating a Central Bahnaric division to accommodate Bahnar. Thomas (1980) further suggested expanding Central Bahnaric to include Alak and Tampoun.

Adams (1989:33) summarises this emerging classification as follows:

**NORTH BAHNARIC**
- Rengao
- Sedang
- Halang
- Jeh (Dié)
- Monom (Bonâm)
- Hrê (Davak)
- Todrah (Didrah)

**EAST BAHNARIC**
- Cua (Kor, Traw)
- Takua

**CENTRAL BAHNARIC**
- Bahnar
- Alak

**WEST BAHNARIC**
- Jruq (Jru)
- Nyaheun, Prou
- Ói, The
- Laveh
- (?)Brão, Krung, Kravet
- Sok
- Sapuan
- Ceng (Jeng)
- (?)Suq (Sou)

**SOUTH BAHNARIC**
- Stieng
- Central Mnong
- Southern Mnong
- Eastern Mnong
- Koho (Sre)
- Chrau (Jro)

Paul Sidwell, who completed a PhD on the historical reconstruction of Bahnaric (Sidwell 2001), has recently proposed a revised classification based upon shared phonological innovations in the vowel systems. In the manuscript currently being circulated he suggests the following:
1.2.1.3 West Bahnaric

Within West Bahnaric (WB) there are about a dozen languages. The internal classification of this group still presents difficulties because of the lack of data.

Thomas and Srichampa (in Phraya Prachakij-karacak 1995:306-7) examined Phraya Prachakij-karacak’s West Bahnaric vocabularies, and “A comparison of the distinctive vocabulary or distinctive forms of words” led them to suggest the following sub-groupings:

WEST BAHNARIC

Northwestern
   Nyaheun (Yaheun, Nhahon)
   Jruq (Boriwen, Boloven)

West Central
   Sork (Sawk)
   Sapuan
   “Ta-oy”
   Su’ (?)
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Southern
  Laveh (Rawe)
  Brao Krung
  Palau
  Su’ (?)

Central
  Cheng (Jeng)
  Oi

Northeastern (North Bahnaric?)
  Kraseng
  Trieng

Noting that this classification is basically intuitive and geographical, I (with Paul Sidwell) decided to investigate the issue. We established the sound correspondences using the limited data at our disposal, but found that this was not very helpful because the languages are so close phonologically that we found no innovations useful for subgrouping. Therefore we decided to use lexicostatistics, using the methodology of Peiros (1998:7-8)\(^\text{19}\). The results presented in Jacq & Sidwell (2000) are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{cognates} & 100\% & 80\% & 70\% & 60\% & 50\% & 40\%\\
\hline
\text{Trieng} & & & & & & \\
\text{Lawi} & & & & & & \\
\text{Jruq} & & & & & & \\
\text{Suq} & & & & & & \\
\text{Nhaheun} & & & & & & \\
\text{Sapuan} & & & & & & \\
\text{Sok} & & & & & & \\
\text{Cheng} & & & & & & \\
\text{Oi} & & & & & & \\
\text{Laveh} & & & & & & \\
\text{Brao} & & & & & & \\
\text{Kasseng} & & & & & & \\
\text{Taliang} & & & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{19}\) This method requires a historical reconstruction of the family in question so that only non-borrowed cognate vocabulary from the Swadesh 100 list is counted.
The most important results of this study are as follows:

- Kasseng and Taliang form a sub-group that is distinct from West Bahnaric.
- Lawi and Trieng can be grouped with West Bahnaric, but at a much higher level than the other languages.
- The rest of West Bahnaric forms a very close knit genetic grouping that originated in a relatively recent dispersal.
- Jruq and Suq show a very close subgrouping, possibly indicating they should be treated as dialects of one language.

The similarities between Jruq and Suq are all the more significant because they are not in intimate contact such as Jruq and Nhaheun are on the plateau, or similarly as Suq and Oi are on the lowlands. In Jacq & Sidwell (2000:7) we remarked:

Jacq briefly interviewed a Suq man in 1999, who explained that they are the ‘Water Jruq’ (being known as boat builders and handlers). Apparently the name Suq is simply a regular reduction of Jruq, the Jruq autonym. The limited data we presently have for Suq is not sufficient to test this thoroughly, but we have found lexical, grammatical and phonological isoglosses which suggest that Jruq and Suq should be grouped.

The principle source I have for Suq is Prachakij-karacak (1995), which gives parallel lists for “Boriwen” (Jruq) and “Su” (Suq) as well as other West Bahnaric languages. The transcription is originally in Thai, and was retranscribed phonetically by Thomas and Srichampa. It then requires further interpretation, which I can do because I have worked directly with Jruq and other WB speakers. This reveals phonological isoglosses which include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic</th>
<th>Jruq</th>
<th>Suq</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soil</td>
<td>pteh</td>
<td>têʔ [teh]</td>
<td>cf. Oi bədeh, Nh. breq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>ktiəŋ</td>
<td>katiəŋ [katiəŋ]</td>
<td>cf. Oi kradiaŋ, Nh. griəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>ʔjoiŋ</td>
<td>ʔjoŋ [ʔjoŋ]</td>
<td>cf. Brao &amp; Laveh jəuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk</td>
<td>bul</td>
<td>buul [bul]</td>
<td>cf. All other WB. buu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lick</td>
<td>dial</td>
<td>dial [dial]</td>
<td>cf. Oi liaw, Nh. diaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further work needs to be done on Suq, as it is one of the most under-

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20 Jruq, Nhaheun (Nh.), Brao, Laveh and Oi forms are from Ferlus’ (1969-70) manuscript notes. Suq is from Prachakij-karacak (1995) with my phonetic interpretation in brackets.
researched WB languages.

Contact with Lao has had many affects on the language, and these are discussed variously in this thesis. Despite this history of contact, Jruq as it is still spoken by older people, retains many distinctly Mon-Khmer features, while the speech of younger people shows considerable lexical borrowing and calquing from Lao, and losses of phonemic oppositions which are not found in Lao. As far as possible I have attempted to record ‘older’ forms of the language for this description, but it is also clear that Jruq is a changing language, and it is also important to record this aspect of the language.

1.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE JRUQ

1.3.1 Ethnographic research on the minorities of the area

The late 1800s and early 1900s was a period of significant ethnographic research in French Indochina. The French had a strong tradition of sending linguists, anthropologists and botanists along with military and survey expeditions in their colonial possessions. The French made a very comprehensive survey of Laos because they were keen to develop possible overland trade routes into the interior of China in competition with the British Empire. A good example of this is the publication in 1903 of Mission Pavie Indo-Chine. Atlas. Notices et Cartes, which documents and illustrates the August Pavie mission of 1879—1895.

Other Linguistic and Ethnographic texts followed, such as:

Ferrier (1903)

Ferrier published a short paper in 1903 in Revue Indochinoise entitled ‘Le Plateau des Bolovens’. He gives various information such as climate, inter-tribal relations and produce grown on the Plateau, concluding that the Plateau is a great place for raising cattle and buffalo for export throughout Laos and into Cambodia. Interestingly, he suggests the French Protectorate support the ‘peaceful’ ethnic minorities on the Plateau (including the ‘plus importante des tribus Khas’ the “Boloven” against the Laotians, who try to take over their cardamom and other cash crop economies. Ferrier remarks that the ethnics on the Boloven Plateau are kind, hospitable and certainly more industrious and more active than other populations of Laos (p.194).
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**Cabaton (1905)**

Antoine Cabaton published a paper in *Journal Asiatique* (10th Series, Vol.5., 1905) listing forms for over two hundred basic words in 10 Austroasiatic languages of Indochina. He mentions that the “Boloven” data is extracted from Lavallée’s 1901 manuscript.

**Maitre (1909, 1912)**

Henri Maitre published two enormous anthropological volumes on the Moï (montagnards/hilltribes) in Vietnam. Although he does not mention Jruq society, he gives valuable information about the inter-tribal relations, village set up, population figures and traditions of the other Mon-Khmer groups.

**Baudenne (1913)**

Baudenne in 1913, wrote an article entitled ‘Les Khas de la région d’Attopeu’ in *Revue Indochinoise*. It is divided into discussion of two groups of montagnards in southern Laos. The first corresponds roughly to the West Bahnaric group of peoples living around the Boloven plateau and adjacent lowland plains. The languages he cites include “Boloven”, Nhaheun, Sapuan, Oi, Suq, Laven, and also a non-WB language Kasseng. The second is a group of North Bahnaric and Chamic tribes found along the rivers leading into Attopeu from the Annamite range. These ethnic groups include Sedang, Halang/Doan, Djarai, Rengao, ‘Goelars’ (?) and ‘Ecrés’ (?). For both groups Baudenne describes their physical characteristics, clothing, house design and way of life including industry, religion, burial, laws and intertribal relations. There is no mention of language.

**Dauplay (1929)**

Dauplay (1929) published a monograph *Les terres rouges du plateau des Bolovens*. This is a large scientific essay documenting all aspects of the Plateau from aggregate rainfalls and temperature to agriculture, soil and rock types, and even the introduction of infrastructure such as roadways and the effects on the locals and economy. Dauplay pays particular attention to discussing the Jruq people, in particular the personality of ethnic political leader Ong Kommadam. The last days of the leader and the means by which Dauplay deceived and attempted to murder him are described, including direct quotes and rather blood thirsty detail.
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Hoffet (1933)

J. H. Hoffet (1933) also published material on the environment of the Moï in Vietnam and in the Boloven region. Importantly, Hoffet remarks that of all the ethnic groups he describes, the “Djru” (between Paksong and Thateng) are one of the most Laosised—in terms of their village structure and loss of traditional burial customs, etc.

Guilleminet (1942, 1952, 1959-63)

Paul Guilleminet (the early 1940’s to the 1950's) published articles and a volume on the costumes and traditions of the Bahnar, Sedang and Djarai people in Vietnam and a large two volume dictionary of Bahnar (1959-63).

Fraisse (1951)

In 1944 Fraisse travelled around 49 villages on the Boloven Plateau and Attapeu regions, and in 1951 his notes were published as *Les villages du plateau des Bolovens*—a detailed ethnographic description of village settlement, population figures and languages spoken around the area. Of importance, Fraisse notes the folk history told in various Jruq villages, and also comments of the village structure (information which I found crucial in recovering the original use of the Cardinal Directions in the language, see §4.4.3)

Even in the civil war conditions some research on ethnic minorities continued, and a considerable amount of material was published, e.g.

Bourotte (1955)

Bernard Bourotte (1955) wrote an extensive essay (over 100 pages) discussing the history of the highland populations in South Indochina, with particular emphasis on the southern and central Mon-Khmer groups and Chamic populations in Vietnam. It encompasses a wide range of information from precivilisation in the area (based on archaeological findings), rule by ancient kingdoms (including Champa, Old Khmer, Thai), in particular the influences between all the ethnic groups and the various kingdoms they were subjects to, plus the ethnic involvement in wars and uprisings. He includes maps showing the movement of the ethnic montagnards during the 17th and 18th centuries, and their relative locations today. Although discussion of the ethnic groups of Laos are not of focus in this essay, Bourotte does mention the Kommadam uprising on the Boloven Plateau between 1901 and 1907.

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Georges Condominas (1954 and passim) conducted anthropological research, particularly recording folktales, religion and mythology from minorities in South Vietnam. There is no substantial discussion of Jruq or other West Bahnaric groups, however Condominas (1954) does give fairly good information about transcription and pronunciation of Koho, Rhade, Jarai and Bahnar sounds.

1.3.2 Publications with reference to Jruq

Relatively little linguistic research has been done on Jruq—the published material is mostly limited to short word lists, and offer little insight into the grammar.

The earliest source for Jruq I have is a 1905 comparative lexicon of languages of Indochina compiled by Antoine Cabaton. It gives a couple of hundred basic vocabulary items in various Bahnaric, Katuic, Khmuic, Thai and other languages. The Jruq (listed as “Boloven”) is from André Lavallée’s 1901 manuscript, the original of which I have not yet tracked down. The transcription is not always good (e.g. glottalised sounds are not distinguished), yet the language is recognisably the same Jruq dialect as I recorded in Paksong—both lexically and phonologically. For example Lavallée records phom [phəm] ‘blood’ which shows the distinctive raising of long /a/ to /a/ not shared by other West Bahnaric languages.

The next source is a fascinating piece of scholarship by the Thai Official Phraya Prachakij-karacak first published posthumously in 1919. He collected word lists and brief ethnographic commentary on numerous languages of Laos, including 14 sentences and about 350 words of “Boriwen”. This was translated into English by David Thomas and Sophana Srichampa and republished in 1995. As the original text was written in Thai, the alphabet lacked appropriate signs for the sequences of sounds unique to Jruq and other Mon-Khmer languages. Thus the editors of the republished version had to interpret and adjust forms considerably—and it is possible to suggest many errors in their interpretation. Thomas and Srichampa express the hope that their republication of Prachakij-karacak’s data “will help pave the way for careful reconstructions of Proto Bahnaric” (p.103), but it is now clear that the data is of more historiographic than strictly linguistic use (see Jacq & Sidwell 2000 for further discussion).
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For this thesis, the publication of most considerable value for grammatical information is the 1949 paper by J. Bondet de la Bernadie Le dialecte des Kha Boloven. Although only 21 pages, it is quite broad in it’s grammatical coverage, with descriptions of morphology, grammatical words, clausal and sentential structures. Importantly it includes texts collected by the author which are fully glossed and translated into French. The phonetic transcription misses some important distinctions such as final glottals, glottalisation of consonants, vowel length and some vowel quality differences. Despite this, the lexicon is readily recognisable, so the texts can be read and related to the language as I have learnt it in the field. Very significantly a list of 45 grammatical words is given, some of which appear to have been replaced by Lao equivalents in the contemporary speech of many Jruq. Unfortunately de la Bernadie was assassinated by the Japanese in Thakhek in 1944—the paper was subsequently prepared for publication by Fraisse from the manuscript.

French researchers continued to be active in Laos until the end of the civil war, although generally restricted to areas nominally under Royal Lao control. In the West Bahnaric area Michel Ferlus collected wordlists in 1969-1970 for various languages including Jruq (“Laven”), Nhaheun, Cheng, Sapuan, Brao and Laveh. Those lists remained largely unpublished, although recently Ferlus has generously shared them with me (see Ferlus 1998; Jacq & Sidwell 1999, 2000). Ferlus’ Jruq lexicon is about 1000 words, and is very important for the accuracy of the phonetic transcription.

Around the same time, the French anthropologist Barbara Wall lived among the Nhaheun on the plateau in the late 1960s, publishing her thesis as a monograph in 1975. It is an important document because it is the last and most complete account of traditional life in Boloven forests, before swidden cultivation gave way to economy based on cash crops.

Another Jruq (“Loven”) lexicon of about 1000 words was also collected at this time, and appears in Franklin Huffman’s much cited but unpublished manuscript comparative wordlist of 30 Mon-Khmer languages. I have had no contact with Huffman, so I don’t know who actually collected the list. The copy I have was made by Paul Sidwell who copied it by hand from a photocopy held at the SIL Library in Bangkok in 1996. The list differs from Ferlus’ only in some minor ways (e.g. trivially in relation to vowels) and has proved to be very useful. The excellent IPA transcription appears to be quite reliable.
CHAPTER 1: Jruq Language & Speakers

Not only were the French active in Indochina. The 1960s and early 1970s was also a period of significant linguistic research by a (then) young generation of (mainly) American scholars, mostly associated the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)—an organisation founded in the 1950s to train linguists for bible translation of unwritten languages. The American military involvement in Indo-China created conditions which gave a generation of young evangelists access to scores of ethnic minorities which had otherwise had little contact with the western world. They poured into the region and set about surveying languages, and recording them to make dictionaries, grammars and bibles. Ultimately they pulled out of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia in 1975. They have remained based in Thailand and the Philippines since. The body of work amassed by the SIL enthusiasts today represents one of the most important resources for research on minority languages of the region; in effect the body of literature about Bahnaric languages that is written in English is largely due to SIL. I am indebted to that tradition for their linguistic trail-blazing.

While SIL scholars collected extensive data on many Bahnaric languages, apparently little attention was paid to Jruq (that I am aware of). I have a copy of one word list that Sidwell photocopied for me at SIL Bangkok: Dorothy Thomas and David Andrianoff’s (1978) “Lawen” basic vocabulary of 281 words. The list was collected in Thailand from a refugee who said he was from Houei Kong district (eastern Boloven Plateau). The list is remarkable for recording what appear to be many phonologically aberrant forms—particularly striking is [b] recorded where other speakers have [k:l] and [v] where we expect [b]. Being very short, this list is not important for my thesis.

1.3.3 Grammars of Bahnaric Languages

As far as I can establish there are four published grammars of Bahnaric languages available—all by SIL affiliated scholars.

- David Thomas. 1971. Chrau Grammar (South Bahnaric)
- Timothy M. Manley. 1972. Outline of Sre Structure (South Bahnaric)
- Charles E. Keller. 1976. A Grammatical Sketch of Brao a Mon-Khmer Language (West Bahnaric)
- Kenneth D. Smith. 1979. Sedang Grammar (North Bahnaric)

Thomas (1971), Smith (1979) and Keller (1976) are written in the Tagmemic framework that was then popular among SIL scholars (but which has failed to gain widespread application elsewhere). I have not taken a Tagmeic approach in this grammar; instead I have tried to present the grammar in more
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traditional and widely accepted terms.

Both Thomas and Smith wrote substantial and reasonably complete grammars which are very useful. Keller (1976) is a much shorter work, being an MA thesis prepared from a very small corpus of data collected in one short fieldtrip. Among its shortcomings it effectively ignores phonetics, phonemics and morphology, instead concentrating on syntax. This is a pity because until now it is the only attempt at a grammar of a West Bahnaric language.

Manley, on the other hand, while working closely with SIL and Christian and Missionary Alliance in Vietnam, did not take the Tagmemic approach. His grammar of Sre is written in a version of the Generative framework of Chomsky’s Aspects model, with strong influence of Starosta’s (early) Lexicase Grammar. Such generative grammars were popular for a time, but they are very dated today (yet as recently as 1999, Alves completed a PhD dissertation describing Pacoh (Katuic) language in terms of the Lexicase framework, under the supervision of Starosta). The style is excessively formalised and notationally complicated, and is arguably completely unsuited to the description of these languages. For example, the emphasis on case relations motivates Manley to establish 32 noun classes, each with distinct semantic feature specifications—the grammar then specifies extensive Case Realisation Rules. The result is overly cumbersome; nonetheless the text does contain valuable and useful data for South Bahnaric studies.

Field work by foreigners within Laos ceased after 1975, only to resume in the 1990s (to the best of my knowledge). I know that in the 1990s the Lao linguist Thongpeth Kingsada, the Thai Theraphan-Thongkum (Mahidol University), and Gérard Diffloth (Columbia University) have independently been collecting data on Bahnaric languages in Laos. Of these, I am aware that Theraphan has collected wordlists on thirteen languages of Sekong Province, and she has forshadowed that some of this data will be published in Thai in the near future. Her Jruq (“Laven/Jruq”) of Thateng district is apparently a more northern dialect than the one I have recorded—Theraphan states (pers. comm. November 2000) that her Laven speakers distinguish alveolar and dental voiced stops! Perhaps this dialect is the same as that which I recorded from Jruq speakers of the Phou Set region (north of Paksong). The Jruq in the Phou Set area lacks the /a/ < /a/ shift, common to Jruq spoken in Paksong and Houei Kong.
2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a detailed description of the sounds of the Jruq language and how they systematically contrast.

The phonetic description is based on my field recordings and spectrographic analyses. Jruq, like other Bahnaric languages, has a large inventory of sounds, however the limited published materials do not give a good phonetic description of these. Also, in my own field work I found many initial difficulties in distinguishing and transcribing utterances. The approach I have decided to take is to make a close phonetic description first, based on my taped recordings. From these recordings and my field notes I compiled a database of 1465 words which is included as Appendix I. All findings are dependent upon and restricted to this data set.

I use a classical phonemic approach in determining the set of phonological oppositions and the result is a inventory of phonemes. As far as possible I show phonological contrasts with minimal pairs.

Particular problems that are discussed:

- The status of phonation type contrasts in consonants
- Diphthongs as unitary vowel phonemes rather than vowel clusters
- How to deal with a partly phonemic epenthetic vowel in word initial consonant sequences

Preliminary Investigations

Naturally I first approached the subject with various preconceptions based on my readings. Because Jruq is a Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language located within the Southeast Asian Linguistic Area, I anticipated finding that the sound system would show many areally typical features. For example, according to Diffloth (1974:482):
A typical consonant system for an Austro-Asiatic language would be the following [...]:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{c} & \text{k} & ? \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{j} & \text{g} \\
\text{b} & \text{d} \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{ŋ} & \text{ŋ} \\
\text{w} & \text{r} & \text{l} & \text{s} & \text{y} & \text{h} \\
\end{array}
\]

This set represents word initial consonants—word finally consonants show no voice distinctions, and stops are normally unreleased.

In relation to vowels in these languages Diffloth writes:

Also characteristic of the Austro-Asiatic languages is an extraordinary variety of vowels: systems of 30 to 35 different vowels are not uncommon. [...] Diphthongs are not rare. Vowel length is usually distinctive: a normal vowel may contrast with an extra-short vowel of the same quality. (Diffloth 1974:482)

The highest number of phonemic vowels reported for a Mon-Khmer language is that of Brûu (Katuic language) with 41 vowels including distinctions of length, register and two levels of diphthongs (Phillips, Miller & Miller 1976). Some Mon-Khmer languages, such as Vietnamese, have developed tones, however this is quite rare for the family.

According to the linguistic sources on Jruq I expect to find a consonant inventory somewhat similar to that above, and a set of approximately 25 distinct vowels. Ferlus (1971), in a short paper comparing several WB languages, lists the following set of consonants for “Laven”:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{aspirated stops} & \text{ph} & \text{th} & \text{kh} \\
\text{plain stops} & \text{p} & \text{t} & \text{c} & \text{k} & ? \\
\text{voiced stops} & \text{b} & \text{d} & \text{j} & \text{g} \\
\text{plain nasals} & \text{m} & \text{n} & \text{ŋ} & \text{ŋ} \\
\text{preglottalised nasals} & \text{?m} & \text{?n} & \text{?ŋ} & \text{?ŋ} \\
\text{preaspirated nasals} & \text{hm} & \text{hn} & \text{hp} & \text{hŋ} \\
\text{resonants} & \text{w} & \text{l} & \text{r} & \text{j} \\
\text{preglottalised resonants} & \text{?w} & \text{?l} & \text{?r} & \text{?j} \\
\text{preaspirated resonants} & \text{hw} & \text{hl} & \text{hŋ} \\
\text{fricatives} & \text{s} & \text{h} \\
\text{preglottalised fricatives} & \text{?s} & \text{?ŋ} \\
\end{array}
\]
At first glance this suggests a distinction between plain, (pre)aspirated and (pre)glottalised segments. In the same paper Ferlus lists the “Laven” vowels as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
  i & \quad u \\
  e & \quad \varepsilon & \quad o \\
  \xi & \quad \lambda & \quad \sigma \\
  a & \quad i & \quad o \\
  ia & \quad ia \\
  uo & \quad ia \\
\end{align*}
\]

I retranscribe these according to IPA conventions as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>short monophthongs</th>
<th>long monophthongs</th>
<th>diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \acute{\iota} )</td>
<td>( \acute{i} )</td>
<td>( i )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \acute{\varepsilon} )</td>
<td>( \acute{o} )</td>
<td>( i\varepsilon )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \acute{\varepsilon} )</td>
<td>( \acute{o} )</td>
<td>( i\varepsilon )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar inventories of sounds for Jruq are indicated by the notes of Huffman (1971), de la Bernadie (1949), Prachakij-karacak (1995) and various SIL survey lists.

**Place of Articulation**

An important fact which I noticed in my field work but which is not revealed by any of the available sources, is that the distinction of place of articulation of the most active consonantal sounds (stops and nasals) is made with the active articulators (lips and tongue) rather than passive articulators (roof of mouth etc.). For example, in regard to coronal sounds, [t] and [d] are made with the apex of the tongue contacting anywhere between the back of the teeth and the post-alveolar position, thus I call them ‘apicals’; and [c] and [j] which are ‘laminals’ are made with the tongue blade contacting anywhere from the back of the teeth to the palatal region. I was able to notice this by direct observation and will consistently refer to places of articulation in terms of the active articulators (unless otherwise relevant) but using unmarked IPA symbols.

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21 Sometimes after high front vowels speakers push the blade of the tongue against the teeth allowing some of the tongue to bulge between the teeth. This is not the typical ‘interdental’ articulation found across languages as it does not involve the apex of the tongue.
2.2 Methods

Informants

My analysis of Jruq sounds is based on audio and video recordings of the speech of my principle Jruq informants, Mr. Lin and Ms. Toi, undertaken in my fieldtrips in 1999 and 2000. Both informants were born in and still reside at Pakson on the Boloven Plateau. Both speak Jruq fluently although Toi learnt it as a second language when young, whereas Lin spoke Jruq before learning the Lao national language.22

Voice Recordings

In order to obtain comparable recordings of speech from my informants I prepared a list of 240 Jruq words for use in elicitation sessions. For both informants I elicited three repetitions of the target word produced in isolation and once within the frame *pnus jru? ?manj .... pnus law ?manj* (Lao translation) 'Jruq people say ... Lao people say (Lao translation)'. The recordings were taken in the most quiet places possible in the field.23 In 1999 I used a flat microphone and a high quality cassette recorder (Sony TCM 5000). In 2000 I used a cardioid microphone with a different cassette recorder (Sony TCV 250). Half a dozen words on Toi's list in 2000 were subsequently added after the recording of Lin—these were words I learnt in the field and which provided additional minimal pairs. Both speakers were instructed to produce the target words at a normal speaking rate, although, in particular with Lin's elicitation, I still found they were performed slightly slower than the normal speech rate.

22 This difference in the acquisition of Jruq appears to be a direct result of the two week US air attack on the Boloven Plateau in 1971 during the Vietnam war. Those like Lin who were of speaking age before this assault (Lin was 6 years old), predominately spoke Jruq as a first language and later learnt the Lao language in refugee camps. Those like Toi who were born during or after the war on the Plateau first learnt to speak Lao. In 2000, I found that any Jruq ethnic over the age of 35 in Pakson was fluent in the Jruq language, but their younger kin are less likely to be able to speak Jruq either as a first or second language.

23 In 2000 I recorded Lin in a closed room at Pakson guest house to escape the noise outside. Unfortunately there was a significant echo which affected any spectrographic analysis of his tokens. Toi was recorded in 1999 on an open verandah in a house in the forest. In 2000, I re-recorded Toi in an open room at her house in Pakson which had little background interference or echos. I therefore use her tokens when illustrating final consonants and vowels.
CHAPTER 2: Phonetics & Phonology

Spectrographic & Instrumental Analyses

I consistently found that the second isolated iteration of the target word was made at the most normal speech rate and unmarked pitch contour; these items were digitized on a Computer Speech Laboratory (CSL) machine at 10 kHz sampling rate, and the files have been archived. In cases of significant allophonic variation in the articulation of speech sounds in a word, I examined all tokens in considering the analysis. Wide-band spectrograms were generated by CSL for these sound files, and pitch (F₀) and formant details computed automatically. All spectrograms were printed out (and saved as .JPG files) for reference.

The following acoustic parameters were measured:

a. Fundamental Frequency (F₀)

b. Target first and second formant frequency (F₁, F₂)

c. Consonant and vowel duration.

d. The number of consonant releases (trills have 2 or more releases)

e. Pitch tracks (a representation of the F₀ over time giving a data point every 20 milliseconds (ms)).

In particular, the formant targets and durations were found to be significant for distinguishing the vowels. Vowel onset was deemed to be the onset in wave form periodicity, and vowel offset is the point of loss of F₂ in the spectrogram. The target low formant frequencies (F₁ and F₂) were obtained from the steady-state region of the vowel after the CSL performed a formant history calculation. The mean F₁ and F₂ targets for each vowel type were plotted in a parallelogram (Figure 2.1) to show the articulatory position in the vocal tract.

Below I describe the acoustics and articulations of Jruq speech sounds, individually and in natural classes, on the basis of my direct observations and the insights gained from the instrumental analyses made with the CSL.

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24 Jruq does not have word level pitch distinctions, only sentential pitch indicating phrase boundaries, focus, and interrogatives versus declaratives.

25 Note that voiceless consonants word initially could not be measured because onset is not clear; final oral stop consonants were only measured in the occasions that they were released (although these are highly marked).
2.3 RESULTS

This section presents the instrumental findings for Consonant and Vowel sounds in Jruq. Natural classes of sounds are described in terms of two parameters—place and manner of articulation.

As mentioned above, consonants distinguish four oral places of articulation (labial, apical, laminal, dorsal) plus glottal. In addition, consonants share various manner distinctions such as voice timing and laryngealised settings\textsuperscript{26}.

Vowels on the other hand are not distinctively voiceless or laryngealised. Rather, there is a contrast between diphthongs and monophthongs (the latter having an additional two-way length distinction). The places of articulation of Vowels involve the following spatial parameters—three degrees of backness, three levels of height plus the secondary distinction of lip rounding.

2.3.1 Consonants

Consonants can be subgrouped into natural phonetic classes by the common characteristics which are shared between some sounds and distinguish them from others. The most basic division is between:

Stops

These involve a single complete obstruction in the oral cavity. Two basic contrasts of a raised or lowered velum create the distinctive subclasses of oral stops and nasals.

Continuants

These involve enough oral obstruction (without complete closure) to endue air turbulence in the oral cavity. Velaric position is not distinctive, but other manners of articulation are contrastive creating the subclasses: rhotic, approximants, and fricatives.

These are further divided into smaller classes which are described individually below.

\textsuperscript{26} Other distinctions such as aspiration, frication, and manner of release are relevant to particular natural subclasses of consonants (e.g. stops, approximants, nasals) and will be discussed in the relevant sections.
2.3.1.1 Oral stops

Oral stops involve a complete closure at some place in the vocal tract, and at the target of the sound the velum must be in a raised position. Jruq distinguishes oral stops at four places of articulation (labial, apical, laminal, dorsal) plus a glottal stop. The oral stops show various laryngeal settings, these are three voice onset timings: voiced (lead), voiceless (coincident), aspirated (lag); and laryngealisation. The latter is not very well understood by me, but clearly involves additional muscular tension in the larynx during, before and/or after the oral articulation.

These laryngeal settings are generally found at the four places of articulation. The examples below show these sounds in phonological contrast in word initial position. The instrumental analyses of these consonants will be discussed separately and illustrated with spectrograms further below.

Labials

Voiced: \([\text{ba}\text{t} ~ \text{m}\text{ba}\text{t}] \) ‘scar’

Voiced Laryngealised: \([\text{m}\text{u}\text{b}\text{ok}]\) ‘white’

Voiceless: \([\text{pi}\text{e}\text{t}]\) ‘knife’

Voiceless Laryngealised: (no examples in data)

Aspirated: \([\text{p}\text{h}\text{am}]\) ‘blood’

Apicals

Voiced: \([\text{d}\text{a}\text{n} ~ \text{n}\text{d}\text{a}\text{n}] \) ‘hunt’

Voiced Laryngealised: \([\text{m}\text{u}\text{d}\text{a}\text{w}]\) ‘flee, escape’

Voiceless: \([\text{t}\text{a}\text{w}]\) ‘see’

Voiceless Laryngealised: \([\text{n}\text{a}\text{n}]\) ‘bitter, salty’

Aspirated: \([\text{t}\text{h}\text{am}]\) ‘eight’

Laminals

Voiced: \([\text{j}\text{i}\text{i} ~ \text{n}\text{j}\text{i}\text{i}] \) ‘ill, hurt, sore’

Voiced Laryngealised: \([\text{p}\text{u}\text{k}\text{o}]\) ‘wet’

Voiceless: \([\text{cin}]\) ‘nine’

Voiceless Laryngealised: \([\text{t}\text{ci}\text{e}\text{n}]\) ‘lean (on someone)’
Dorsals

Voiced: [glüx ~ ñglüx] ‘force through’
Voiced Laryngealised: [ŋgōh] ‘long’
Voiceless: [kət’] ‘have’
Voiceless Laryngealised: [tikūŋ] ‘seed’
Aspirated: [kʰāj] ‘moon’

Voiced Oral Stops

Voiced oral stops are articulated with vocal cord vibration during the oral closure. This voicing is clearly observable in spectrograms where a dark period of low frequency (F₀) occurs, although there seems to be some attenuation of voicing just before the release. Voiced oral stops also have a tendency (perhaps half the time) to be mildly pre-nasalised in the word initial position, and the nasal is always homorganic with the oral stop. The tendency to prenasalise voiced stops word initially is also found for other Bahnaric languages such as M侬g Rố’dm (Blood 1976) and Sedang (Smith 1979).

In Jruq, the nasal aspect of these articulations is always very weak and often with only a slightly darker F₀ than that of the oral segment. The very weak (or absent) higher formants suggest that the velum is only partly lowered, which is evidence that the target for the consonant is oral rather than nasal. The following spectrograms of tokens by Toi show speakers can create word initial voiced stops with or without prenasalisation. When they are prenasalised, the nasal component is usually only 20-30 ms duration which is roughly a quarter to a third the length of a full nasal segment (see §2.3.1.2), and the duration of oral segment lasts for around 40 ms—around half the duration of a non-nasalised oral stop closure by the same speaker (compare with [duok] ‘canoe’ and [bat] ‘scar’ below).
[bat']/bat/ 'scar' (Toi)

[mbat']/bát/ 'grass' (Toi)

[duok']/duok/ 'canoe' (Toi)
Voiced stops occurring as the second member of a word initial consonant sequence are typically not prenasalised (although I have occasionally heard prenasalisation in this position), and are between 40-80 ms duration, e.g.
[kʰbuoʔ] /BUOʔ/ ‘bend over (forwards)’ (Toi)

[pʰdik’] /DIK/ ‘raise, lift’ (Toi)

**Voiceless Oral Stops**

There is a series of oral stops for which there is no voicing during closure. The lack of vocal fold vibrations can clearly be seen in the spectrograms of word initial voiceless stops below where \( F_0 \) is absent during the hold of the stop. A single or double striation indicates the sharp release of the pressurised air which was built up during the closure. Sometimes this can be a thick striation which suggests a greater pressure release (e.g. [kət̚] ‘have’ (Toi) below), but this is not a distinctive feature. There is also a very short pause—about 5-10 ms duration—between the release of voiceless stops and the onset of the following vowel. Examples are:
[pår] /pär/ 'fly (v.)' (Toi)

[tu'c]/tus/ 'head' (Toi)

[kat']/kat/ 'have; born' (Toi)
Laminal stops are somewhat different to those at other places of articulation. Both the voiced and voiceless onsets often have a slightly fricated release (note the high frequency turbulence after the release of the voiced laminal in [θu:] ‘deer’ above). In Jruq, these sounds are much less affricated than for example English church and jungle. This frication is a normal consequence of making the oral release with the wide laminal contact area. The amount of frication with Jruq laminal stops varies depending on the speaker, token and what part of the palate is approximated—thus I have heard the voiceless laminal ‘stop’ articulated as [ʒ], [ʕ], [ɕ] or [ɕ] and the voiced equivalent as [dʒ], [dʔ], [j] or [j]. The fricated component is only around 20ms in length at most (much less than a typical fricative segment27); thus it should be treated as part of a single affricate or stop sound rather than an aspirated stop—the latter having a fricated segment of up to 100ms (to be discussed below). Compare the tokens with initial laminals below:

[cãh] /cah/ ‘dig with spade’ (Toi)

---

27 Compare the length of these ‘affricated’ laminals with discussion of aspirated stops below, or see §2.3.1.3.3 for discussion of fricatives.
[cəuʃ] /cuom/ 'spread out' (Toi)

[kəʃiŋ] /kcien/ 'squint' (Toi)

In the example immediately above, note the long hold of the laminal stop in the onset sequence. In second position in such consonant sequences all the voiceless stops consistently have a period of closure lasting about 80-120ms, and usually follow a 20ms or so schwa-vowel, e.g.
In addition to the oral stops there is a word initial glottal stop [ʔ] which does not involve any associated oral closure. The spectrograms show that it is a complete closure, not just a momentary tensing of the larynx, as we do not see the thick striations characteristic of a laryngealised stop release. Sometimes the closure is some 80 ms before the onset of the vowel and there is usually some laryngeal effect on the first 20ms or so of the vowel, e.g.

[ʔic'] /ʔic/ 'shit' (Toi)

Word finally oral stops are distinguished for the four oral places of articulation plus glottal position and they are always voiceless. The articulation of these is slightly different to the voiceless oral stops occurring elsewhere because they tend to be unreleased. However, in slow elicitation circumstances (or if the speaker has nasal congestion) they can be released without any resulting miscommunication. One can see in the spectrograms below short period
(around 20 ms) of oral resonance which occurs naturally when there is an obstruction in the vocal tract. The hold of closure is calculated to be around 140ms duration when observing spectrograms of Toi's tokens which contain a release.

[cruoŋ'] /cuoŋ/ 'wear (hat)' (Toi) (No final release)

[tɔbɛc]/tɔbɛ/ 'play' (Toi)
[mat] /mat/ ‘love’ (Toi)

The final glottal stop can often be identified in my spectrograms by the alternating gaps of silence and resonance formants echoing in the vocal tract, e.g.

[yru?] /yru/ ‘deep’ (Toi)
Aspirated Oral Stops

Aspirated stops are rare in Jruq, although they occur in some very common words. Phonemically they are contrastive with stop + /h/ sequences, e.g. [pʰom] 'fart' versus [pʰom] 'bathe (v.tr.)', so I treat them as a phonemic unit because of their position in the word structure (see §3).

Aspirated stops are restricted to three places of articulation—labial, apical and dorsal, and voiceless manner. In contrast with unaspirated oral stops, there is a long delay in vowel onset (in the spectrograms this was regularly around 80-100 ms duration) filled with high frequency turbulence after the release of the stop.

[pʰɛ:] /pʰɛ/ 'husked, uncooked rice' (Toi)

[tʰam] /tʰam/ 'eight' (Toi)
Laryngealised Oral Stops

Laryngealisation of any consonant is purely a phonetic effect which is conditioned by a preceding glottal segment (/h/ or /ʔ/). The articulatory gesture appears to be an increased muscular tension in the pharyngeal and/or laryngeal regions which accompanies the oral closure. Its effects include slowing the movement of the vocal folds and a slight lowering of the velum. Acoustically it is usually characterised by an audible tenseness throughout the closure and release of the consonant.

I represent the laryngealised segments with a glottal stop followed by the appropriate consonant symbol linked with the coarticulation symbol (e.g. [ʔk], [ʔg]).

An accurate phonetic description of this phenomenon is difficult because it is not possible to observe the mechanism without using photoglottography or electrolaryngographic techniques to study the larynx and glottal movements. In the absence of detailed instrumental studies, authorities (such as Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, and others) speculate about the nature of glottalised articulations but their statements are subjective and inconclusive.

There are various descriptions of ‘glottalised’ stops in other languages, e.g. Ladefoged & Maddieson’s (1996) description of Siona (a Tucanoan language):

...there is a simultaneous glottal closure with the ‘glottalized’ series. Both stop series have a brief delay of voice onset after the release of the oral closure, but whereas this is filled with an acoustically noisy interval in the simple stop series, there is essentially silence between the oral release of a ‘glottalized’ stop and the beginning of voicing for a following vowel. (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:74)

Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) point out that the perceived ‘glottalised’ consonants in languages around the world often include a large range of acoustic realisations: e.g. implosives, ejectives or pulmonic stops in Kichean (Mayan) languages and, even creaky voice within Mon-Khmer languages such as Sedang and Pacoh.

The common feature is a constriction of the glottis, and it is this laryngeal gesture that is the essential target for production, rather than the particular airflow patterns that result from the movements of the larynx (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:89-90)
Smith (1979) describes Sedang (and other North Bahnaric languages) as having 'preglottalised' stops, which are voiced and mildly imploded. Diffloth (1974:482) states that "semi-voiceless" imploded stops are found in a few branches of Mon-Khmer. However, it is clear from my spectrograms of Jruq that creaky phonation, and/or implosive or ejective airstream mechanisms are not components of laryngealisation in Jruq. Also, Jruq laryngealisation occurs with both voiced and voiceless settings.

**Voiceless Laryngealised Oral Stops**

I begin with voiceless laryngealised stops. These sounds occur in the articulation of sequences of /h/ or /ʔ/ plus voiceless stop. Those which are realisations of /h/ plus voiceless stop sequences are usually homorganically prenasalised\(^\text{28}\). The best examples I have involve dorsal stops—these show several thick striations, indicating slowed/tensed glottal pulses, for up to 30ms after release, followed by normal glottal pulses for the vowel.

\[\text{[kǔn]} /\text{kǔn}/ 'seed' (Lin)\]

---

\(^{28}\) Many times in the field this was the only way I could establish whether the sequences involved a preceding /h/ or /ʔ/ as the latter are never condition prenasalisation before voiceless oral stops. It appears that Ferlus (1969-70) observed the same phenomenon, as he records words such as [ ihṭw, ihṭw] 'trow (hole)' in comparison to Huffman's (1971) [ ihṭw] 'lake (pond)'.

48
An example of a laryngealised laminal is [ʔtʃiŋ] ‘lean on someone’ which is illustrated below. It is difficult to see any noticeable difference between a plain laminal stop and a laryngealised one with the spectrogram, but it is articulated with a tenseness which is clearly audible.
Significantly, laryngealised voiceless apicals show a much shorter period of post-release tension, less than 10ms, or only time enough for one of the slowed glottal pulses, e.g.

[\text{\textit{t\text{"a}k}}] /\text{\textit{t\text{"a}k}}/ 'tortoise' (Toi)
I have only recorded one voiceless laryngealised labial stop [t̚] ‘ear’, and this also shows a very short period of post-release tension with only one or two slowed glottal pulses (see example below). I could not find any words beginning with a /p/ sequence, and only 7 words with /hp/ initial sequences. The limited examples of [̚P] in Jruq may correlate with the well known tendency for languages with glottal ejective stops to lack a labial member (e.g. Greenberg 1970), however I hesitate to describe these sounds as ejectives. It also seems that there is a correlation between the frequency and strength of laryngealisation and the physical distance between the oral closure and the larynx.
Voiced Laryngealised Oral Stops

Like the voiceless laryngealised stops, these are the realisations of /h/ or /ʔ/ plus voiced stop sequences. The voiced laryngealised stops in Jruq tend to be prenasalised like modal voiced stops, only more strongly so. The duration of the homorganic prenasalisation is around 50 to 80 ms, sometimes even longer than the period of non-nasalised oral closure, and involves much stronger nasal formants than those observed with the plain voiced stops, e.g.

[hɔʔtʰiðbiw] /biw/ ‘tamarind’ (Lin)
[h̩bi?] /hbi?/ 'evening' (Toi)

[ʔbo?] /ʔbo?/ 'carry on one's back' (Toi)

[haʔdəw] /hdaw/ 'flee, run away' (Toi)
[\text{Toi}]: /\text{prawn, lobster}/ (Toi)

[\text{Lin}]: /\text{long}/ (Lin)

[\text{Lin}]: /\text{know}/ (Lin)
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The stronger prenasalisation of laryngealised voiced stops surely correlates with the coarticulated laryngeal activity, such that the velum is lowered while the larynx is tensed in a complex gesture. A parallel effect in Jruq is where the /h/ regularly conditions prenasalisation on following voiceless oral stops (cf. previous discussion of Voiceless Laryngealised Oral Stops)—modal voiceless stops are never prenasalised. This phenomenon was dubbed ‘Rhinoglottophilia’ by Matisoff (1975, and later by others such as Michailovsky 1975), who pointed out that the articulation of glottal consonants in Asian languages is often associated with nasalisation effects. Although this is most commonly associated with nasalisation on vowels, the effect on consonants is also illustrated with modern Tibetan dialects such as Lhasa Tibetan which has “a strong tendency to give a nasal articulation to orthographic prefixal h- where it occurs in the second syllable of disyllabic compounds.” (Matisoff 1975:274). Examples below are reproduced from Matisoff (1975:275):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Lhasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'written prayer'</td>
<td>k'a-h'don</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to shudder'</td>
<td>sku-h'dar skyon-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to query (hon.)'</td>
<td>bka-h'hdri gna-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to settle a lawsuit out of court (hon.)'</td>
<td>bka-h'hdum bna-pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ohala (1975) offered the following (somewhat unsatisfactory) articulatory explanation for based on his instrumental studies (1971, 1972, 1975):

Glottal and pharyngeal obstruents may be nasalized for two reasons: an open velopharyngeal port would not prevent the build up of air pressure behind the glottal or pharyngeal constrictions since it is in front of those constrictions, and the noise produced by voiceless glottal and pharyngeal obstruents is so diffuse that oral-nasal coupling would have little acoustic effect on it (Ohala 1975:301)

This explanation suggests that nasalisation is merely an accidental concomitant of laryngeal articulations. However in Jruq the nasalisation is a regular/systematic feature of laryngealised stops. Its presence or absence

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29 Sprigg (1987) disputes this relationship however, saying that the high occurrence of nasalisation with laryngeal/glottal consonants may be purely circumstantial and there is no articulatory explanation for any conditioning factor. Matisoff (1975) makes a rather unfounded suggestion that the lowering of the velum is due to human 'laziness'.

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reliably distinguishes between /h/ + voiceless stop and /ʔ/ + voiceless stop (the latter is never prenasalised). Perhaps nasalisation is combined with laryngealisation by speakers to increase the perceptual salience of the /h/ feature.

2.3.1.2 Nasals

Like the oral stops, nasals involve complete oral closure which is distinguished at four oral places of articulation—labial, apical, laminal, dorsal. The difference between these and oral stops is the lowering of the velum which allows air to escape through the nasal cavity. For many linguists, nasals are grouped with continuants because the air flow in the vocal tract is able to escape. In Jruq however, the nasals show an exact parallel to oral stops with the place of articulations determined by the active articulators, and their ability to contrast modal voiced, voiceless and laryngealised settings. I therefore include them in the class of stops. The following examples demonstrate the contrasting places and laryngeal settings in word initial position:

**Labials**

Voiced: \[mâŋ] ‘night’
Voiceless: \[maʔ ~ mŋaʔ] ‘ride’
Laryngealised: \[m̡m, ŋ̪m, ŋm̡, ŋm̡̠] ‘rain’

**Apicals**

Voiced: \[nɔh] ‘understand’
Voiceless: \[nɔh ~ nŋɔh] ‘creek, stream’
Laryngealised: \[n̡nɔw ~ n̡ŋɔw ~ ɲɔw] ‘again’

**Laminals**

Voiced: \[nuŋ?] ‘attempt’
Laryngealised: \[ŋuŋ ~ ŋuŋ ~ ɲuŋ] ‘fog’

**Dorsals:**

Voiced: \[ŋaj] ‘we (incl.)’
Voiceless: \[ŋe̱t ~ ŋẽ̱e̱t] ‘forehead’
Laryngealised: \[ŋe̱m ~ ŋe̱m ~ ŋe̱m] ‘sweet’
Voiced Nasals

The voiced nasals occur for all four places of articulation. In general, voiced nasals in Jruq reflect prototypical nasal characteristics as Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:116) explain:

Voiced nasals are perceptually quite distinct from other speech sounds. The steady state portion of a voiced nasal consonant is characterized acoustically by a low frequency first resonance with greater intensity than the other resonances. The higher resonances have low amplitude. The overall amplitude of voiced nasals is usually less than that of adjacent vowels.

Voiced nasals appear word initially as single onsets, secondary elements of an onset sequence, and word finally with little difference in articulation other than duration. The word initial voiced nasals are regularly around 70-80 ms in duration for both Lin and Toi. These are sometimes homorganically post-stopped (i.e. orally released) by Toi, although very weakly.

[pun] /pron/ 'gourd' (Toi)
Interestingly, Toi regularly lengthens her initial nasals to around 100 ms when preceding an extra-short vowel, e.g. 'eye', below.
Voiced nasals in second position of an onset sequence are usually a little longer than the single nasal onsets (about 80-100 ms). Examples are given below.

[kʰmʰuok']/knuok/ 'snow, frost' (Toi)
Word finally nasals show no contrast in laryngeal setting, which parallels the oral stops. This follows "the usual tendency in languages to have more contrasts in syllable-initial position than in syllable-final position." (Ohala 1975:297). Jruq word final nasals also never show homorganic prestopping found in other MK languages such as M'ong R'o'm (Blood 1976) nor poststopping as found in Môdra, Tôdra, Kotua (Smith, various SIL wordlists). See [p'jin] 'foot', [b'am] 'eight' and [nan] 'gourd' by Toi above.
Voiceless Nasals

Voiceless nasals are the most common phonetic realisation of sequences of /h/ plus voiced nasal. In slow speech speakers clearly articulate these as a sequence [hn], however in normal circumstances the nasals tend to be assimilated by delaying the onset of voicing typically by around 40ms, although this varies greatly. Very rarely the entire nasal is voiceless as illustrated with [ŋiɔt] 'forehead' (Lin) below. An alternative made by Toi is to articulate such onsets simply with a very short voiced nasal (see [mir] 'bat', [iːaj] ‘trousers’, [ŋiɔt] 'forehead' below). However, the most common realisation by Jruq speakers is a partly devoiced nasal followed by a very short voiced component of around 40ms. The short period of some voicing is typical for a ‘voiceless’ nasal (e.g. Burmese, Dantsuji 1986, in Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:113) and its presence is helpful “to maintain an audible difference between them” (Ohala 1975:296).

Descriptions of these sounds in Bahnaric languages vary, e.g. Ferlus (1971) refers to ‘preaspirated’ nasals in Jruq; Manley (1972) refers to ‘aspirated nasals’ in Sre; and Smith (1979) mentions ‘voiceless nasals’ in Sedang. A true ‘aspirated nasal’ as defined by Dai (1985) involves a burst of nasal aspiration before the onset of the vowel\(^{30}\), but this is rare in Jruq (although Lin’s token [ŋiːaj] ‘trousers’, below, illustrates this). Also, Jruq voiceless nasals are never articulated as ‘breathy voiced’ where the nasal is modally voiced before a transition to [ɦ] (voiced aspiration)\(^{31}\). The typical realisation in Jruq is a partially devoiced/delayed voicing onset.

\(^{30}\) As found for Angami by Blankenship, Ladefoged, Bhaskararao & Chase (1993).

\(^{31}\) Such breathy nasals are described for Hindi (Dixit 1975, in Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:107). Confusingly Dixit also calls these ‘aspirated nasals’.
[mia] /hmía/ 'bat (n.)' (Lin)

[ssize]

[ünde] /hmía/ 'bat (n.)' (Toi) (note short nasal)

[ssize]

[‘tţaj] /hnaj/ 'trousers' (Lin)

[ssize]
[ŋaj] /hnaj/ 'trousers' (Toi) (note short nasal)

[ŋiət] /hnial/ 'forehead' (Lin)

[ŋiət] /hnial/ 'forehead' (Toi) (note short nasal)
Toi’s lengthens the voiced segment of these nasals before short vowels, as was observed with [m̃ar’] ‘eye’ in the previous discussion of voiced nasals, e.g.

[ŋ̃m] /hñm/ ‘hammer’ (Toi)

My phonemic treatment of the voiceless nasal as a sequence of phonemes /h/ + nasal rather than a unitary phoneme is supported by historical evidence. The voiceless nasals in Jruq reflect several WB prefixes that have lenited and merged to /h/ (the restrictions of the historical prefix system also account for the lack of voiceless laminal nasals [ɲ] in Jruq, see Jacq & Sidwell 2000). This is exactly paralleled in Burmese where /h/+ nasal is the source of voiceless nasals in Burmese32.

**Laryngealised Nasals**

Word initial nasals can be articulated with a laryngealised setting which I treat phonemically as a sequence of /ʔ/ plus voiced nasal. The differences between these and nasals with modal vocal fold vibration are not very clear in my spectrograms, although there is a tendency for laryngealised nasals to be shorter, at around 40 to 50ms versus 80ms. In some cases the laryngealised nasals could be interpreted as ‘preglottalised’ because often a barely audible glottal release is made before the nasal occlusion (see the spectrogram of [ʔñdɔw] ‘again’ by Toi below). Additionally, the onset of the following vowels can show somewhat slowed glottal pulses and the nasals can occasionally be weakly post-stopped.

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This great variation in the realisation of laryngealised nasals is typical for the few languages that have such distinctions. Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:108-9) describe the variation they found in laryngealised nasals for Native American Languages:

In Kwakw'ala...the laryngeal constriction gesture seems to be centered at the same point in time as the oral closure, so that creaky voice characterizes the middle part of the nasal, but in other languages the laryngeal constriction occurs at the beginning or the end of the nasal. In some cases the glottis may be entirely closed, temporarily preventing airflow through the nose.

Examples illustrating the phonetic realisations I find in Jruq are given below.
[\text{n̥ʌw}]/\text{n̥w}/ 'again' (Lin)

[\text{ŋn̥ʌw}]/\text{n̥w}/ 'again' (Toi)

[\text{ŋn̥ʊŋ}]/\text{n̥ʊŋ}/ 'stop, cease' (Lin)
[ŋəŋ] /ŋəŋ/ ‘stop, cease’ (Toi)

[ŋəː] /ŋəː/ ‘tree stump’ (Lin)

[ŋəː] /ŋəː/ ‘tree stump’ (Toi)
2.3.1.3 Continuants

Continuants are a natural class of consonant sounds which lie in opposition to stops. All continuants share an incomplete closure within the oral cavity but enough obstruction to condition local air turbulence which can escape the oral cavity. The velum position is not distinctive and it tends to be raised preventing air flow through the nasal passage (however the rhotic tends to have associated lowering of the velum). These sounds behave somewhat differently to stops with respect to place of articulation—they are not made with the same set of active and passive articulator approximations. The place of articulation varies considerably depending upon position within the word and immediate environment—more important is the consistent manner of articulation (such as how close the constriction is within the oral cavity). In the spectrograms of continuant sounds, high frequency formants ($F_2$, and $F_3$) are generally visible. Within this natural class there are three subclasses:

**Rhotic**

A voiced trill which may be distinctly laryngealised and involves a narrow aperture creating turbulence and vibration of the tongue with usually two rapid apical contacts to the alveolar ridge.

**Approximants**

Distinguished for three broad places of articulation (*labial, palatal, lateral*) plus voice and laryngealisation, these involve one partial contact or approximation in the oral cavity without complete closure.

**Fricatives**

Contrastive for two broad places of articulation (*palatal and glottal*), these are always voiceless and laryngealisation is only distinctive for the palatal. Fricatives involve a very narrow aperture which produces very high frequency turbulence.

I now present a detailed description of each of these subclasses and their additional contrastive articulations.

2.3.1.3.1 Rhotic

The Jruq rhotic is always voiced and typically has a trilled articulation with two (sometimes three) rapid occlusions of the tongue apex against the alveolar-post-alveolar region, created by the Bernoulli effect. This trill has the characteristic that the first period of contact usually has no vocal fold vibrations, while the second (and third) occlusion is accompanied by voicing.
during its closure and following open phases (this is also characteristic of Finnish, cf. Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). It could be argued that due to the complete closure during the initial stage of the trill it should be classed with the stops. However, the rhotic shares very few articulatory distinctions in common with the oral and nasal stops—instead it has a similar phonotactic distribution with the lateral approximant (some speakers confuse it with the lateral), it can be articulated as an approximant (usually after laminal articulations), it is restricted to a single place of articulation, and it has no voicing contrast.

Jruq distinguishes two kinds of rhotic articulations—a modal voice and a laryngealised setting. The latter I treat as a realisation of a phonemic /ɾ/ + modal rhotic sequence.

In word initial position, the rhotic sound is often accompanied by homorganic prenasalisation which can be orally released (e.g. phonetically [ⁿɾ] ~ [ⁿdɾ]), but this is not distinctive. Prenasalised or prestopped trills are also quite normal for other Bahnaric languages I have heard spoken (e.g. Alak and various WB languages). In Jruq, the pre-rhotic [ⁿ ~ nd] are very short—only 40-50 ms altogether. This is similar to the pre-nasalised trills with short voiced oral stop phases identified in Kele, the Austronesian language of the Admiralty Islands (Ladefoged, Cochran & Disner 1977). In the Kele language, the pre-nasalised stops with trilled releases contrast with plain alveolar trilled onsets, whereas in Jruq prenasalisation is not distinctive word initially.

\[ⁿdrua^{j}c\] /ruas/ 'elephant' (Toi)
As the second or third member of a consonant sequence, the rhotic is often shorter, with only one or two contacts, and is never prenasalised or prestopped. After apical or laminal stops, the rhotic can instead be realised as an approximant [ɹ] (see example below), but most speakers pronounce such sequences using trilled articulations.

Word finally the rhotic tends to be trilled in a similar manner to its word initial counterpart with two clear contacts, however it is never prenasalised or prestopped. For the generation who have learnt Jruq as a second language, the rhotic in this position is sometimes confused with the lateral, pronounced [t] or an apical retroflex [ɻ], [ɹ] or flap [ɾ]. This variation by second language speakers also occurs in other consonant positions in the word. Such a wide range of realisation for rhotics is not surprising. Lindau (1985:161) remarks
that:

an actual trill realization of an /ɾ/ is not as common as might be expected from descriptions of languages, where an /ɾ/ is often labelled as a “trill”. Even in languages where a possible realization is a trill, not all speakers use a trill, and the speakers that do, have tap and approximant allophones as well as the trill.

In Jruq the present merger between rhotic and lateral by second language speakers is in a transitional stage, but it is paralleled by a complete merger in Katuic languages of the area such as Kuy (Gainey 1985). I agree with Gainey’s suggestion (1985:12) that this is a result of Lao influence. An example of this confusion often made by Toi is illustrated below—the final is first pronounced as a lateral but clearly trilled in the second token.

[pduoɾ ~ pduor]: pdur/ ‘undo rope’ (Toi)

33 According to Tony Diller (pers. com. Oct. 2000) the Lao language historically merged Proto-Tai *r to h probably around 1400 AD. The ‘r’ sound/orthographic symbol was reintroduced into Lao through written Pali and Thai language (around 1500 AD), but since the communist regime commenced in the 1970’s, this foreign ‘r’ (which may have been pronounced all along as ‘l’) has been removed from the Lao orthography to reflect the current pronunciation. In my fieldwork I have heard speakers still use the ‘r’ sound but in words borrowed from or influenced by Thai, Khmer or Pali—interestingly these can variously be pronounced as an ‘l’ sound.
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Laryngealised Rhotic

Jruq also has a laryngealised rhotic articulation which is the phonetic realisation of a common word initial sequence of /ɾ/ + /ɾ/. I have heard the following seven examples in the field, however unfortunately my recordings of these were not of the quality to produce spectrograms because of background noise.

[?]ndrāj, ṭnrēj, ṭrāj] ‘small pestle’  
[?]rāt, ṭrāt] ‘butterfly’

[ʔræc’, ṭræc’] ‘cricket (insect)’  
[ʔndrək’, ṭdək’] ‘toad; necto bat’

[ʔrəŋ, ṭndreŋ, ndreŋ] ‘together, with’  
[ʔndret, ṭret, ɾet] ‘throughout’

[ʔ̱ruʃ, ṭndruj, ɾəuʃ] ‘mix together; confuse’

Based on my observations in the field these laryngealised rhotics are clearly distinguished from their non-laryngealised counterparts by preglottalisation (an audible glottal stop). There is no enduring tenseness throughout the articulation of the [ɾ], but like the modal counterpart it can be prestopped and/or prenasalised. Phonemically I represent these sounds as /ɾ/+/ɾ/, although I use the term ‘laryngealised’ to make a parallel association with the other laryngealised sounds described so far.

2.3.1.3.2 Approximants

Jruq also has a class of approximants which involve a broad obstruction within the oral cavity. Approximants in Jruq are phonetically distinguished for voicing and laryngealisation. Phonemically they contrast for three broad places of articulation which I call lateral, labial and palatal, for convenience. However the places of constriction in the vocal tract are quite variable and can be conditioned by adjacent segments or determined by word position.

The three contrasting approximants are also treated as distinct sounds from the phonetically similar vowels [ɪ, ʊ, ɨ] based on the following reasons:

a) Approximants are always produced with a narrower constriction in the vocal tract than vowels (spectrographic evidence for this is the weaker F₀ in comparison to the heavily sonorant F₀ for vowels; this distinction is also found by Maddieson & Emmorey (1985);

34 Note these words seem to coincide with two semantic fields small insects/animals, and togetherness.
b) Approximants can be partially fricated/realised as voiced fricatives in onset positions—[v], [v], [z], [z];

c) Approximants have laryngealised and voiceless settings like the other consonants—the ‘voiceless’ approximants are sometimes realised voiceless fricatives [f], [f], [c]).

Examples of their voice and laryngeal distinctions are illustrated below:

**Lateral**

Voiceed: 

[λʔn] ‘say, tell, inform’

Voiceless: 

[hoooloŋ ~ hoooloŋ ~ looŋ] ‘ear wax’

Laryngealised: 

[ʔɛ ~ ʔɛ] ‘variety of bamboo’

**Labial**

Voiceed: 

[wjoŋ ~ wjoŋ ~ wjoŋ] ‘return’

Voiceless: 

[moal ~ ʰyol ~ yol] ‘revolve’

Laryngealised: 

[ʔwian ~ ʔwian] ‘wet rice field’

**Palatal**

Voiceed: 

[jaj ~ jaj ~ zaj] ‘elder sibling’

Voiceless: 

[jau ~ ʰchaw ~ ʰcaw] ‘run’

Laryngealised: 

[ʔjɑŋ ~ ʔjɑŋ ~ ʔzɑŋ] ‘reason, how’

**Lateral Approximant**

The lateral approximant contrasts with the rhotic in all consonant positions in the word, and involves a single constriction or contact made by the tongue with the alveolar ridge. Air escapes around this obstruction so complete closure (as found in stops, nasals and in the first occlusion of the rhotic) is never created. I use the term lateral to cover the wide range of articulatory possibilities which vary from apical or laminal alveolar [], laminal palatoalveolar [], and dorso-alveolar []. The period of a lateral articulation is noticeably longer than a rhotic at between 70-90ms duration. In addition, laterals are distinguished phonetically for both voice and laryngealisation, although I treat these distinctions as allophonic realisations of phonemic /l/, /ɾ/+/l/ and /ʔ/+/l/ onset sequences.
Voiced Lateral

The most common lateral involves a modal phonation type and voiced manner of articulation (other voice or laryngeal distinctions are restricted to word initial position and are quite infrequent). The voiced lateral has the widest range of articulatory places. In word initial position the lateral varies from dental to post-alveolar with the F₁ formant under 500hz and F₂ around 1750hz. The single word initial laterals tend to be 70-90 ms duration, e.g.

\[
\text{[tɪŋ]} /\text{tɪŋ}/ \text{‘misbehaved’ (Toi)}
\]

\[
\text{[lʊx]} /\text{lʊx}/ \text{‘clean’ (Toi)}
\]

In contrast, voiced laterals occurring as the second segment in a consonant sequence are often only 40-50 ms in duration. These are articulated as alveolars or dorsals and speakers can vary the articulation with an apical or laminal articulator (I represent both with the ‘I’ symbol), e.g.
In word final position the voiced lateral is generally articulated by speakers as an apical contacting the (post-)alveolar region of the palate. However, conditioned laminal and dorsal articulations occur where the tongue is simultaneously raised and/or backed in assimilation with adjacent high vowels. The laminal articulation [l] (which I treat as phonetically ‘palatalised’) involves the tongue blade contacting the alveo-palatal region. It is found after high front vowels, and in the spectrograms the $F_2$ is raised to 2000 hz.

The alveo-velar lateral [t] involves a (post-)alveolar (apical) contact and a simultaneous constriction in the velar region, similar to the final dark ‘l’ in English feel. This dorsal constriction usually occurs after central vowels [ə], [i] or back vowels (I treat it phonetically as ‘velarised’). It can be identified in the spectrograms below by a raised $F_1$ (500-700hz) and lowered $F_2$ (1250 hz)
which is the 'pinching' effect common to vowels before velar articulations. Examples are given below.

[sɔč] /sɔl/ 'heel of foot' (Toi)

[j otl] /jol/ 'rich' (Toi)
Voiceless Lateral

Word initially laterals are phonetically distinguished for voice and I treat the voiceless counterpart as a phonological sequence of /h/ + voiced lateral. The voiceless lateral approximant most commonly involves an initial devoiced segment (similar to the voiceless nasals) with a transition to a voiced lateral before the onset of the following vowel. The voiced element is around 40-60ms which is almost half the length of a typical voiced lateral. This voiceless lateral is comparable to that of Burmese (Maddieson & Emmorey 1985).

\[ [\text{lu}c^\text{c}] /\text{hluc}/ 'flood' (Toi) \]

Another realisation of the /h/+/l/ sequence is a fricated lateral [ɬ] which is simply an unconditioned alternative to the voiceless lateral\(^{35}\). The lateral fricative is always a laminal and involves a tight constriction somewhere within the alveopalatal region creating high frequency turbulence. The realisation of phonemic /hl/ as a lateral fricative is also reported for another unrelated language in the area, Green Miao (Lyman 1979).

In slow elicitation circumstances, speakers can articulate this onset with a distinct consonant sequence separated by an epenthetic schwa [\text{豺}], e.g.

\[^{35}\text{According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) no known language has a minimal contrast between voiceless lateral approximants and the lateral fricative, although like in Jruq, both types can appear in the same language as allophones of the same phoneme.}\]
Laryngealised Lateral

The laryngealised lateral (the realisation of the phoneme sequence /ʔ/+/l/), is an uncommon sound, but occurs in some very common words such as [ʔlɔŋ] 'tree', [ʔjiaʔ] 'short'. The lateral approximation is regularly an apical dental or post-alveolar like the word initial modal voiced lateral. However, the sound is clearly distinguished by speakers, who consider it highly salient, and I am aware of the tenseness during the articulation. On my spectrograms one can clearly see the shorter duration of the segment at 40 ms (versus 60-80 ms for voiced laterals) as was also found for the laryngealised nasals, e.g.
Labial Approximant

Another contrastive approximant in Jruq is the labial. I use the term labial as it is the feature common to all the possible articulatory variations which range from labio-velar approximant [w, ʍ] to labiodental approximant [v] and labiodental fricative [v, f]. Like the lateral, the labial approximant is distinguished for voice and laryngealisation, and in a similar fashion I treat the voiceless labial as having an underlying /h/ + /w/ sequence, and the laryngealised labial approximant as phonologically /ʔ/ + /w/.

Voiced Labial Approximant

In word initial position, the voiced labial approximant has the largest variation in articulation, ranging from a labio-velar [w], a labio-dental approximant [v] or a labio-dental fricative [v]. The fricated variants of labial (and palatal) approximants in this position appears to be a linguistic tendency in Bahnaric languages, if not a wider areal feature. Blood (1976:14) describes Mə̀ông Rọ̀lọ̀m as having non-syllabic vowels which are fricated syllable-initially:

...in this [syllable-initial] position /i/ has the allophones [ʔi ~ ʃ] and /ʊ/ the allophones [ʔʊ ~ vʊ.] Thus, in syllable-initial position, /ʊ/ always has, and /i/ frequently has 'a barrier sufficient to produce...turbulent noise'. Phonetically then they are, in this position, analogous to the liquids, which have both consonantal and vocalic features.

I have no instrumental recordings of the word initial modal voiced [w ~ v ~ v] sound in Jruq, although it is common and I have heard it in more than ten words including [vət, væt, vət] 'round', [vʊr, vʊr] 'intelligent', and [uʃn, vin, wiʃn] 'return'. I did record some words with the labial approximant occurring as the second element of an onset sequence (usually after a short schwa). In this position it tends to be 60-80 ms in length, and like the word initial variant, it can be pronounced either as an approximant or a voiced fricative. The example below illustrates a labiodental approximant [v].

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36 Blood treats these non-syllabic sounds as allophones of high front and back vowels /i/ and /ʊ/, based on his 'principle of economy'.

37 This slipped my notice in developing my elicitation list.
Word finally the labial approximant can only occur as a voiced approximant [w] with a long duration of up to 200ms, as in the example below.

Voiceless Labial Approximant

A voiceless labial approximant occurs as a phonetic realisation of the sequence /h/ + /w/. In the same fashion as the voiced labial approximant, it has a broad range of articulation and can variously be pronounced as an approximant [ʍ, ɬ] or even a fricative [ɬ]38.

38 It is not surprising to find voiceless fricatives in free variation with voiceless approximants. Such cases are found for other languages in the area; e.g. Lyman (1979:8) states the phonetic value of the /hw/ sequence is [ɬ] and the /hy/ sequence is [ɬ, q] in Mong Njua (Green Miao).
Like other voiceless sounds discussed so far, the voiceless labial approximant usually has a short period of voicing before the onset of the following segment. This period of voicing tends to endure for up to 50ms—long enough to enable the hearer to distinguish the place of articulation for communication purposes. A typical example illustrating the voicing period is given below.

\[\text{[m\text{\textael}]}\] /hwiel/ ‘turn (head)’ (Toi)

However, Toi lengthens these to 100ms before short vowels in much the same way as her voiceless nasals, e.g.

\[\text{[\text{\textaar}]}\] /hw\text{\textaar}/ ‘throw’ (Toi)
Laryngealised Labial Approximant

Laryngealised labial approximants are rare in Jruq and I treat them underlyingly as a sequence of /n/ and /w/ phonemes. They are articulated with the same variation in manner and place as the modal voiced labial approximants, however they are strongly tensed in articulation, and perhaps a little shorter in duration. I have not obtained a good recording.

Palatal Approximant

The palatal approximant has a strikingly parallel pattern of variation and distribution with the labial approximant. It may be articulated word initially as a voiced approximant [j] or voiced fricatives [j, z] (in this position the fricatives are occasionally prenasalised and/or prestopped). My observations of the initial voiced palatal approximant suggest the sound is usually between 60 and 80 ms duration. Examples are given below for comparison.

[jen]/[jen]/'gold' (Toi)
[ˈjuːət] /juːt/ 'wall' (Toi)

[ˈzzaɪ] /jaj/ 'elder sibling' (Toi)

The palatal approximant can also occur in second position in an onset sequence (never in first position of a sequence). It has the same articulatory variation as that in word initial position, and tends to be between 60 and 80 ms in length.
Word finally it can only occur as a palatal approximant [j], and has a duration of up to 200ms like the labial approximant, e.g.

Voiceless Palatal Approximant

The voiceless palatal approximant is much rarer than the labial equivalent, and although realised often as [s, j] it sometimes gets articulated in the same manner as a modal voiced palatal approximant, suggesting a possible merger. An example of the latter is [pʰjuːʔ] ‘wet’, illustrated spectrographically below. In slow elicitations a speaker may articulate this onset as a clearly segmented [ʰɑj] which supports my phonemic analysis of the voiceless palatal approximant as a /h+/j/ sequence.
Laryngealised Palatal Approximant

Like the other approximants, the palatal can be laryngealised in word initial position. This articulation is very tense and often of shorter duration than the modal voiced palatal approximant. Sometimes I perceived a glottal stop release before the onset of the approximant, suggesting preglottalisation, and this supports my analysis of this sound as a sequence of /i/+/j/. An example is given below.
2.3.1.3.3 Fricatives

The third class of continuants is the fricatives. These are not distinguished for voice and they contrast with the fricative realisations of the approximants mentioned above. Only two places of articulation are distinguished and I refer to these as palatal and glottal for convenience (although they are not limited to these places of articulation).\(^{39}\) Word initially the two fricatives are straightforward to distinguish, however word finally they are more problematic as they have a wide and partially overlapping range of articulations. Both have voiceless targets (although some voicing may be conditioned by adjacent segments), and only the palatal fricative distinguishes modal and laryngeal settings.

**Palatal Fricative**

The palatal fricative word initially is consistently articulated with an alveolar (apical) [s] articulation so it is easily distinguished from the voiceless palatal fricatives [ɕ, ʃ] which are the realisation of the /ʍ+/j/ sequence. Some speakers may pronounce the palatal fricative as a retroflex [ʂ] before rhotics\(^{40}\), however I write this as ‘s’ in all cases. Some typical examples of the initial palatal fricative are illustrated spectrographically below. Note the very high frequency turbulence above 4000hz.

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\(^{39}\) A labio-dental fricative (that is not a free variant of the voiceless labial approximant) occurs in loanwords such as [fa:] ‘rice noodle soup’ (<Lao [fax]< Vietnamese), [fɔː: ʃɛt] ‘twins’ (<Lao [fɔː: ʃɛt]) and [faj fa:] ‘electricity’ (<Lao [faj fa:]). However this sound is increasingly being articulated instead as an aspirated stop [pʰ] in accordance with the local Lao pronunciation. I do not treat the labial fricative in the Jruq phonology because words containing it are not assimilated into the Jruq sound system (they are pronounced with suprasegmental tones which are a feature of Lao only). Furthermore, the latter two loanwords have Jruq equivalents: kuan bar ‘twins’ and ʔun ‘fire, electricity’, which are used by all first language speakers (Lao equivalents are used only by second language speakers who do not know the indigenous terms).

\(^{40}\) The retroflexed fricative was also found by Smith (1968) for Sedang although he contrasts it phonemically with a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative [ʂ]. In his first treatment (1968), the retroflex was treated as the realisation of the /st/ cluster, but this was later ‘abandoned for psycholinguistic reasons—educated Sedang completely rejected its orthographic implications’ (Smith 1979:23). I suspect that there probably is only one /s/ phoneme which is realised as a retroflex [ʂ] in the phonemic /st/ onset sequence. However, in Sedang the entire phonemic sequence /st/ is articulated as one sound [ʂ], not [ʂʰ] as in Jruq.
[sāj] /sāj/ ‘previous; yesterday’ (Lin)

[sieʔ] /sieʔ/ ‘how many?’ (Lin)

Word finally the palatal fricative is always articulated in either of two different but consistent manners by Jruq speakers—some speakers always pronounce it as a voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ], others always as [h]—regardless of the preceding main vowel$^{41}$. For all speakers this sound is distinguished from the final glottal fricative by a preceding palatal onglide and approximates the pronunciation of German ich. An example is given below (note the steeply rising F₁ formant which indicates the palatal onglide). The palatal articulation is indicated by the very high frequency turbulence (at 4500 hz and above), which is higher than observed for the apical articulation in word initial position.

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$^{41}$ Note that it never occurs after front vowels.
Laryngealised Palatal Fricative

The palatal fricative also contrasts for a laryngeal setting word initially. This is manifested with an audible tenseness and some voicing at the onset of the [s] sound. The effects can be observed in spectrograms where the laryngealised fricative [ʔs] has a very sharp onset (suggesting preglottalisation), some weak F0 striations indicating voicing, and denser striations at a high frequency. The high frequency range of the turbulence is somewhat lowered. Compare the following tokens with their minimal pairs [sie?] ‘how many?’ and [sâj] ‘previous, yesterday’ (above) involving modal palatal fricatives.
In the example below, note how the speaker can also articulate the onset as a segmented [ʔs] sequence. This supports my treatment of the laryngealised palatal fricative as the realisation of an onset sequence of /ʔ/ + /s/.

Glottal Fricative

The other fricative which I call glottal is not restricted to a single oral place of articulation. It is effectively a voiceless vowel that is coloured by adjacent segments. I write this as [h] for convenience but in some cases after front or back vowels it can be articulated with a closer approximation than the
preceding vowel and these I transcribe as [c, x] accordingly\textsuperscript{42}. When the oral obstruction is no greater than the adjacent segments there is noticeably less air turbulence than we find with the palatal fricative [s], e.g.

\[\text{[huok']}\] /huok/ ‘prevaricate, lies’ (Toi)

When /h/ occurs after a short schwa within a consonant sequence it is voiced [\textipa{[\textipa{h}]}]. It still takes on the oral articulation of the adjacent vowels. This is clearly seen in the following examples where the higher formants begin sharing the same frequency as the preceding schwa and then change in anticipation of the following vowel.

\[\text{[c\textipa{\textipa{o\textipa{n}}}]}\] /c\textipa{h\textipa{o\textipa{n}}}/ ‘carry in hand’ (Toi)

\textsuperscript{42} Smith (1979:23) similarly remarks that Sedang “...h is a voiceless glottal fricative though it assimilates to the shape of the following vowel”.

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Note that the examples above are treated phonologically as sequences of /c/ + minorsyllable /a/ (see §2.3.2.6) + /h/, although they could be analysed as the missing laminal stop in the aspirated series (*cʰ/). The lack of an aspirated laminal is actually normal for the area so I do not try to force it into this gap in the system.

Word finally, the glottal fricative is very similar to the palatal fricative in articulation and I found it difficult, in my initial fieldwork, to reliably distinguish the two sounds. The glottal fricative is articulated as a voiceless vowel, sharing the same constrictions in the oral cavity as the preceding vowel. However the constriction in the oral cavity may be increased so that after rounded back vowels it has a narrow constriction in the velar/dorsal region creating velar fricative sound [x], whereas after high front vowels the constriction is in the palatal region, creating a sound like a voiceless palatal fricative [ç]. This conditioned variation of the word final glottal fricative is also found by Blood (1976:9) for Mnong "Dolam". An example of the velarised fricative is given below (it contrasts with /bus/ ‘boil (v.intr.)’, the token illustrating the final palatal fricative earlier).

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43 Blood (1976:8) similarly finds Mnong /h/ is articulated as a “voiceless palatal fricative following ᵇ, i, and e”, and a glottal fricative elsewhere but “occasionally varying toward velar position following higher vowels".
Word final /h/ is also affected by a sandhi rule in discourse whereby it is deleted when followed by a nasal consonant. Thus the phrase /ʔaj ?i h ma reʔ/ ‘I will not go’ is articulated as [ʔaj ?i ma reʔ]. Otherwise the /h/ is retained.

2.3.1.4 Consonant Phonemes

The phonetic data establishes that speakers distinguish stops at four basic places of articulation (by active articulator), plus various continuants, similar to the scheme given by Diffloth as typical of Austroasiatic languages. It is straightforward to treat these distinctions as phonemic. The most economic account of the phonation type distinctions is to treat them as sequences of consonants, which is also supported by the fact that they cannot themselves be preceded by additional consonants (suggesting they fit the maximum onset sequence position in the phonological word structure, see §3). Speakers can also separate these complex sounds into clearly segmented sequences. I take this as good evidence for preferring a model with a simple inventory of phonemes (given below) and, if required, a more complex word structure.

Table 2.1: Consonant Phoneme Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$p^b$</th>
<th>$t^b$</th>
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<tbody>
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Summary of Consonantal Allophony

The initial consonants show the largest range of allophony in their phonetic realisations. The most significant conditioned allophony is in the effects laryngeal consonants /h/ and /?/ have on following consonants—these include epenthetic prenasalisation, frication, devoicing and laryngealisation. Unconditioned variation mainly affects voiced consonants regardless of the presence of preceding /h/ or /?/. For example, voiced stops may be prenasalised; semi-vowels may be fricated; and rhotics may be prestopped and/or prenasalised regardless of whether they are in simple or complex onsets.

Word final consonants are typically restricted to one allophonic realisation such that approximants are never fricated; rhotics are not prenasalised or prestopped; and stops tend to be unreleased. Where there is a variation in the realisation, this is always conditioned by preceding vowels; e.g. the lateral is velarised after back vowels, the glottal fricative takes the same manner of articulation as its preceding vowel.

An important consequence of the distribution of these phonetic processes is the indication that the phonological word can be divided into two main parts—the initial consonant or consonant sequence versus the rime (vowel and final consonant).
2.3.2 Vowels

Vowels are articulated with the least amount of constriction in the oral cavity. They are not distinguished for nasalisation or phonation types such as breathy or creaky voice, and carry no suprasegmental register or tones.

As anticipated in the beginning of this chapter, Jruq has a large set of vowel sounds which is typical of a Mon-Khmer language. In all there are twenty-five vowels—ten monophthongs distinguished for prosodic length, and a set of five diphthongs. The vowels can be distinguished by at least three tongue body heights and three spatial dimensions within the oral cavity—front, mid and back.

Most of the vowels were relatively unproblematic to distinguish in fieldwork. The hardest to distinguish were those which shared similar characteristics such as the high monophthongs and diphthongs which only differed by length and the presence or absence of short offglides. In addition, the monophthongs in the low central to back region share the same place of tongue position but involve rounded/unrounded distinctions. These particular vowels will be discussed as sets using spectrographic analysis for ease of comparison.

The phonetic and phonemic status of the minor syllable vowel is also discussed.

2.3.2.1 Length distinction

The most fundamental distinction in the vowel system is length. All monophthongs are either unmarked or extrashort (long versus short). I mark the short with a haček. The unmarked length ranges from approximately 140—200ms (or longer in open syllables). The marked length in Jruq is consistently 100ms or less. This distinction is illustrated with the minimal pairs below.
[cet'] /cet/ 'like, be fond of' (Toi)

[cet'] /cet/ 'ten' (Toi)

[hnat'] /hnat/ 'gun' (Toi)
2.3.2.2 Monophthongs

There are twenty distinct monophthongs. Based on my instrumental analyses I calculated the mean F₁ and F₂ values for vowel targets made by Lin:

Table 2.2: Monophthong Formant Targets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowels</th>
<th>Long Vowels</th>
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<td>F1 (hz)</td>
<td>F2 (hz)</td>
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<td>ñ̃/</td>
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It is clear that there is little articulatory difference between the two vowel lengths—Jruq is like Surin Khmer in this respect (Dhanan Chanthupanth & Chartchai Phromjakgarin 1978). The most significant difference I note is that Lin’s long front vowels tend to have slightly higher $F_2$ formants (100hz higher) than the short equivalents, and his long back vowels have lower $F_2$ formants (100hz lower) than the short equivalents. This is possibly because short vowels haven’t got the time to reach their acoustic target.

These averages are plotted into the following parallelogram:

**Figure 2.1: Monophthong Targets**

Mean targets of Lin’s monophthongs $F_1 \times F_2-F_1$

The only phonological/phonetic effects on vowels are conditioned by final consonants. Therefore the phonemic status of all the vowels can be readily demonstrated by showing their distributions within the phonological unit of the rime (vowel plus final consonant). I compiled the following table of rime collocations from the data in Appendix I (Table 2.3):
Table 2.3: Rime collocations (data in Appendix I)

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<td>ic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uoa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of these vowels is normal for a Mon-Khmer language. While there are many gaps in the table, a number of reasons account for these:

a) phonemic neutralisation  
b) systematic collocational restrictions  
c) lack of data/low frequency of occurrence
Phonemic neutralisation

The most immediately striking feature revealed by the table is the complete lack of length distinction before finals /s/, /h/, /ʔ/ and Ø. I treat length as unmarked in these rimes, although there is a tendency for the vowels to be phonetically shorter where there is a final consonant—this is a feature of the whole Bahnaric family. Classical phonemetics would treat this as an example of neutralisation.

Systematic collocational restrictions

There is a prohibition on front and back vowels being followed by a homorganic semi-vowel. This also applies to the diphthongs, such that the first part of the diphthong is relevant, e.g. */iaj/, */uaw/ do not occur.

Another restriction is that /ə/ can only occur before velar or laryngeal finals (where it is clearly phonemic). This restriction is also common to Bahnaric languages—the explanation is bound to be historical, but it is not clear to me.

Also note that /ʌ/ does not occur in open syllables. This is because it arose historically from a split of *ə which only occurred in closed rimes (see Jacq and Sidwell 2000). Similarly the diphthongs /ia/ and /ua/ do not occur in open syllables, and this has the historical explanation that they arose from diphthongisation of *ə and *ɔ in certain closed rimes only.

Lack of data/low frequency of occurrence

The bulk of the remaining gaps do not appear to be significant other than to reflect lack of data or combinations that simply have not occurred. Note that many rimes are attested by one or two examples only, and this is to be expected when there are so many possible combinations due to the large vowel and consonant inventories. Also there is a general trend for short vowels to be less frequent, and a partial explanation is that many of these have become long historically.
2.3.2.3 Vowel Phonemes

The evidence presented above demonstrates the following inventory of vowel phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>short monophthongs</th>
<th>long monophthongs</th>
<th>diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ĩ  ĩ  ũ</td>
<td>ĭ  ĭ  ŭ</td>
<td>ĭe  ĭe  ŭo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē  ē  ō</td>
<td>ē  ē  ō</td>
<td>ia  ia  ua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ă  ă</td>
<td>â  â</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such a large inventory is quite normal for the language area; even larger inventories are found in Katuic languages, Khmer dialects, and in other Bahnaric languages such as Sedang. Significantly, Jruq has more vowel phonemes than other West Bahnaric languages. In particular it has additional low back vowels /ă/, /â/, and distinguishes more diphthongs. I found these to be the most problematic in my fieldwork and I made a particular effort to collect data and thoroughly document and describe these sounds.

2.3.2.4 Low Back Vowels

It is evident that Jruq has a crowding of low back vowels—the differences between the formant targets are not very large. I had some initial difficulty in distinguishing /ă, â, ō/ and also noted a similar confusion of these in the Loven lists by Huffman (1971) and Ferlus (1969-70), particularly before final /w/. For example, compare the following (phonetic) transcriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Huffman</th>
<th>Jacq</th>
<th>Ferlus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
<td>kəpou</td>
<td>kəpɔw, kəpɔw, kəpɔw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'above'</td>
<td>kəlou</td>
<td>kəlɔw, kəlɔw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hole'</td>
<td>hˈtou ('lake')</td>
<td>nˈtɔw, nˈtɔw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thigh'</td>
<td>bluˈ</td>
<td>bləw, bləw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>taw</td>
<td>təw, təw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'new'</td>
<td>ʔnəu</td>
<td>ʔnəw, ʔnəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>hˈou</td>
<td>həw, həw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sound'</td>
<td>βrɔw kɾɔm ('thunder')</td>
<td>βrɔw, βrɔw, brɔw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My investigation of the speech of Lin and Toi reveals that each of them uses a different combination of the features **back** and **round** to distinguish /ʌ/ from /ə/ and /ʊ/.

Toi pronounces the /ʌ/ vowel more in line with her central vowels—somewhere between her /a/ and /ə/ according to my analysis of the formants, and none of these are ever rounded. The /ʌ/ is distinguished from the back vowels of similar height (/o/, /ʊ/) by the rounding feature. This is illustrated with the following spectrograms, including the computer-generated formant histories:

[cʌŋ] /cʌŋ/ 'straight' (Toi)

Formant averages for [cʌŋ] /cʌŋ/ 'straight' (Toi)
[kɔcʰ]/[kʰ]/ ‘really’ (Toi)

Formant averages for [kɔcʰ]/[kʰ]/ ‘really’ (Toi)

[cʰ]/[cʰ]/ ‘great-grandkin’ (Toi)
Formant averages for [cʌŋ] /cʌŋ/'great-grandkin' (Toi)

[cɔŋ] /cɔŋ/ 'eat rice' (Toi)

Formant averages for [cɔŋ] /cɔŋ/ 'eat rice' (Toi)
In contrast, the formant data indicates that Lin's articulation of /ʌ/ is further back, being very close in F₁ and F₂ frequencies with his /ɔ/ vowel. I checked the video footage and determined that Lin does not round his /ʌ/, which indicates that for him the rounding distinction is the most salient in this context. I made traces of his target lip positions for the following examples:
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Figure 2.2: Lin's Lip Position Targets for Back/Central Vowels

It is apparent that the /ɪ/ vowel has been confused with /ɜ/ and/or /ɔ/ by other fieldworkers because its articulation varies from speaker to speaker. However, the data presented here shows that speakers are able to regularly distinguish it within their own speech and therefore it is an independant phoneme.

2.3.2.5 Diphthongs

The other problematic area was reliably distinguishing the five diphthongs and the phonetically similar long high vowels /i/, /i/ and /u/.

I began fieldwork on Jruq with assumptions from working on other WB languages such as Laveh, Cheng and Oi. These do not have the full range of diphthong distinctions found in Jruq, so at first I only recorded /ua/, /ia/, /ia/ and three long high monophthongs for all languages. In 1999 I received Ferlus’ (1969-70) manuscript lexicon and was surprised to note that he had distinguished diphthongs [ie], [ia], [uo], [ua], [ia]. Very significantly Ferlus had even written [ie] and [uo] for some words that I had written with [i] and [u] respectively. I corresponded with Ferlus about this, and he insisted that he had found a consistent distinction between all of these. It was clear that I had
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confused not only some diphthongs, but had also confused some of these with high monophthongs. Therefore I devised a strategy to investigate this problem in detail in my subsequent fieldwork.

On my return to fieldwork in late 1999 and again in 2000, I carefully checked words from Ferlus’ list with my informants and found that I could also hear these subtle phonetic distinctions. Interestingly I also found variation of the type [i] ~ [ie] and [u] ~ [uo] in some environments, suggesting a neutralisation and/or an emergent phonemicisation of these diphthongs. However, there are environments where these do contrast so they must be treated as distinct phonemes. The near minimal pairs below illustrate these contrasts and clearly show the vowel quality of the offglides.

[hpit']/hpit/ ‘ear’ (Toi)

[piet’]/piet/ ‘knife (Toi)
[piat'] /piat/ ‘tongue’ (Toi)

Immediately below one can see that the situation above is exactly paralleled with the back vowels.

[cut'] /cut/ ‘rub, polish’ (Toi)
Structurally the diphthongs can be treated as unitary phonemes:

- they are approximately the same length as long monophthong vowels (possibly reflecting their historical origin as diphthongised monophthongs, see Jacq & Sidwell 2000);

- they are restricted in their composition (they always begin with a long high vowel, and finish with a extra short centering offglide)

Therefore the diphthongs are not simply clusters of any two short monophthongs, nor are they sequences of glide plus vowel.
2.3.2.6 Minorsyllable Vowel

Jruq also has a short central vowel that occurs after the first consonant in many word initial consonant sequences. These sequences can be of two types:

- involving a phonemic minorsyllable (stop + /a/ + /l, h/)
- an epenthetic (phonetic only) minorsyllable.

Speakers frequently break up initial consonant sequences with an extra short schwa creating a so-called ‘minorsyllable’ (Shorto 1963) which has no phonemic value. Such epenthetic schwas typically occur between consonants of similar sonority, e.g.

/ptoc/ [pʰtoʰcʰ] ‘complete (v.tr.)’
/pdɔc/ [pʰdɔʰcʰ] ‘story, narrative’
/pnos/ [pʰnoʰcʰ] ‘broom’
/psɔh/ [pʰsɔʰ] ‘remove (clothes)’

In onsets where sonority rises steeply, particularly C + /r, l/, the schwa is normally absent. However, in a very small number of words with a highly constrained word shape, the minorsyllable schwa is contrastive:

/kəla/ [kʰlaː] ‘cleared forest’
/kəlɔk/ [kʰlɔkʰ] ‘dig with hoe’
/kələh/ [kʰləhʰ] ‘morsel (of meat)’
/kəliŋ/ [kʰliŋʰ] ‘joint (wrist, ankle etc.)’
/kəluok/ [kʰluokʰ] ‘gate (in yard, stable)’
/pəlia/ [pʰliə] ‘startle (v.tr.)’
/pəhom/ [pʰhomʰ] ‘bathe (v.tr.)’
/təha/ [tʰəha] ‘pottery jar’
/kəhoʔ/ [kʰəhoʔ] ‘north’
/kəlaʔ/ [kʰlaʔ] ‘man, husband, male’
/kəlɔk/ [kʰlɔkʰ] ‘navel, umbilical cord’
/kələh/ [kʰləhʰ] ‘egg’
/kəliŋ/ [kʰliŋʰ] ‘roar, shout, snort’
/kəluok/ [kʰluokʰ] ‘anus, rear end’
/pəliə/ [pʰliə] ‘reversed, inside out’
/pəhom/ [pʰhomʰ] ‘fart’
/tə̊maʔ/ [tʰə̊maʔ] ‘eight’
/kə⁸uʔ/ [kʰə⁸uʔ] ‘bucket’

This parallels Chrau (South Bahnaric) as described by Thomas (1971:38): “A Presyllable vowel contrasts with its absence only before /l, r, w, y, h/.” This is a similar rule to Jruq except that it is restricted to /l, h/.

The minorsyllable vowel tends to be central in quality, although various sources have transcribed it differently. Compare the transcriptions of the Jruq words for ‘earth’, ‘cheek’ and ‘crocodile’, below:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>‘earth’</th>
<th>‘cheek’</th>
<th>‘crocodile’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacq (1999)</td>
<td>poteh, pteh</td>
<td>tōbōk</td>
<td>kabaw, kəbaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huffman (1971)</td>
<td>poteh</td>
<td>tōbōk</td>
<td>kabaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferlus (1969-70)</td>
<td>pteh</td>
<td>tōbōk, tōbōk</td>
<td>kōbāw, kōbāj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de la Bernardie (1949)</td>
<td>p’tēsh</td>
<td>t’bok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prachakij-karacak (1995)</td>
<td>pateʔ</td>
<td>tōbook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas &amp; Andrianoff (1969)</td>
<td>badeʔ, poteh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavallée (1905)</td>
<td>phatēh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After examining the formant structures in various spectrograms where this vowel occurs, I find that my informants typically pronounce this sound as schwa-like in normal speech. This sound is always much shorter than a main syllable short schwa—40ms or less rather than 100ms. I also find that in slow or careful speech the epenthetic vowel sounds like [aː] or [aʔ] (sometimes the word can be pronounced as two discrete syllables). Here are some examples:

[tabēc] /tbēc/ ‘play’ (Lin)
[tʰbɛːc] /tbɛc/ ‘play’ (Toi)

Compare the duration of the epenthetic schwa in Toi’s token above with the short schwa vowel below. The epenthetic vowel is less than one third the duration of the schwa below:

[dɔk̚] /dɔk/ ‘walk’ (Toi)

This shows that there is only one minoryllable vowel and I treat it as a phonetically reduced allophone of the /a/ phoneme in the few words where it is contrastive.
2.4 Summary

I now have a fairly complete account of the Jruq sound system. My most significant findings for the sounds of Jruq include:

- Stops and nasals are distinguished on the basis of the active rather than passive articulator.
- There exist voiceless/partly devoiced nasals, lateral and semi-vowels.
- Laryngealised versus plain settings are distinguished for all consonants (except glottal [ʔ] and [h]) in initial position.
- There is an aspirated series of voiceless stops, but these are rare and restricted to labial, apical and dorsal.
- Glide [i] and [ɛ] and high vowels [i] and [u] can be regularly distinguished on phonetic grounds.
- There are two consistently distinguished lengths for monophthongs.
- Two distinct series of diphthongs are distinguished by the height of the offglide.
- The [ʌ] vowel may be central or back, according to speakers' normal usage, but this vowel is always unrounded.

According to my findings, the '(pre)aspirated' continuants (cf. Ferlus 1969-70) are better described as 'voiceless' (or 'partly devoiced'). Phonetically these sounds correspond well to Smith's description of Sedang 'voiceless sonorants' which he writes orthographically with "h-, for voicelessness, for voiceless nasals and orals: hm, hn, hnh, hng, hv, hl, hr, hy." (1979:26). (I did not find a voiceless trill in [ɾ] in my recordings of Jruq). Phonemically these voiceless consonants are treated as a sequence of /h/ + consonant.

A complete account of the phonology requires an analysis of the phonological word which explains collocational restrictions and possibilities. There is also a relationship between morphological and phonological processes and the effects of these are seen at the level of word structure, which is the topic of the next chapter.
3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the word in Jruq. I begin by analysing the phonological word structure and restrictions on the occurrence of sets of phonemes in particular places in the word. The restrictions appear to be connected to a language specific sonority sequencing constraint. Of particular importance in the analysis of the word is how to treat initial consonant sequences with a phonemic epenthetic vowel. I am forced to present two word structure models, one for monosyllabic words and one for those with phonemic minory syllable vowels.

I then discuss the vestiges of an historical productive affixual system used for word derivation. As Jruq has joined the areal trend of a more isolating morphological system (such as Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese), the use of affixes is no longer productive. Instead new words are derived by simple periphrasis and I give a general description of the kinds of compound word combinations which occur in the language. Such compounds are highly prominent in the system of folk taxonomy and I describe this subsystem of the language in some detail.

3.2 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

3.2.1 Monosyllabic Words

More than 98% of the Jruq lexicon consists of monosyllabic words (according to Appendix I). These can be divided into two types which I call simple and complex.

Simple Monosyllables

Simple monosyllables are of the structure CV(C) and comprise about half of the lexicon. In such words, any consonant from the inventory given in §2.3.1.4 can appear in the obligatory word initial position. Word finally, consonants are not obligatory, and the set of possible consonants is restricted to any consonant phoneme except for voiced or aspirated stops.
In addition, there is a strong tendency for a word level constraint to be obeyed. This is a prohibition on the occurrence of two or more consonants sharing the same natural class and place of articulation in the one word. I call this the Word Level Constraint. This caveat is only violated by kinterms, plant and animal taxa, expressives and borrowings, e.g.:

/ḅap/ ‘father’
/kia/k/ ‘he, she, it’
/ceč/ ‘great-great-grandkin’
/roʔ/ ‘variety of banana’
/lial/ ‘lick lips’
/ʔɛb/ ‘oops!’
/gšk/ ‘pump (n.)’ (< Lao)
/kɔk/ ‘pipe, cigarette classifier’ (< Lao)

/jaj/ ‘elder sibling’
/ʔoʔ/ ‘younger sibling’
/maː/ ‘gourd’
/mām/ ‘brave’
/mam/ ‘feed baby mouthfuls’
/tiː/ ‘stuck to, close to’
/pʰap/ ‘book’ (< Lao)

Complex Monosyllables

Complex monosyllables are those with a sequence of consonants in the onset. All but 18 tokens of these in Appendix I have two consonants word initially (CCV(C)). These sequences are restricted by a sonority sequencing rule such that the second consonant in the sequence must be of equal or higher sonority than the first consonant. I call this the Onset Sonority Constraint. There are a small number of additional restrictions:

- if the initial consonant is a voiced stop it must be an oral stop followed by /ɾ/ or /l/
- if the initial consonant is /s/ it must be followed by /ɾ/, /ʔ/ (or /w/ in Lao borrowings)

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44 This Onset Sonority Constraint is specific to Jruq and does not precisely follow the Universal Syllable (US) as defined by Lowenstramm (1981:593):

In a string of segments, a syllable is a maximal substring such that:

a) (i) no segment is lower on the [sonority] hierarchy than both its immediate neighbors
(ii) no two segments of equal ranking on the hierarchy are adjacent

b) the onset is maximal within the limits of (a).

Jruq breaks Lowenstramm’s principle a) (ii), by permitting sonority plateaus, e.g. /pt/. Note also, like Greek and English, Jruq permits sequences of stop + fricative and fricative + stop, which implies that these classes of segments have equal sonority.

45 Two exceptions in my list are Lao loans /bʔew/ ‘belt’ and /lbiːʔ/ ‘bomb’.
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- if the initial is /h/, it cannot be followed by an aspirated stop, /s/, or /c/
- voiceless oral stops can be followed by any consonant

These restrictions are explained by two historical changes unique to Jruq, which occurred in the following order:

1. initial *s and *c merged with *h (> /h/) except before /r/.
2. voiced oral stops devoiced in all sequences except before /r/ and /l/.

This explains why there are some examples of /cl/ in Jruq today, as they arise from *jl. And also this explains why /hc/ and /hs/ sequences do not occur—as they presume the illicit sequences *ss and *cc—and the absolute high number of hC sequences today.

Phonetically, these CC sequences have four distinct realisations:

/CC/ = [CC], [CºC], [tºC], [Cº]

Where there is a strong rise in sonority, the realisation is simply [CC]. Between consonants with similar sonority such as /pt/, /pd/, /pn/, an epenthetic schwa vowel is inserted. This has no phonemic value and is disregarded for the purposes of analysing word structure. Finally, when a laryngeal is followed by another consonant, the result is a phonetically complex/coarticulated segment, e.g.

/ʔkʊn/ [ʔkʊn] ‘seed’
/ʔhʊn/ [ʔhʊn] ‘stop’
/hbiʔ/ [hmʔbiʔ] ‘evening’
/hlʊn/ [hlʊn] ‘neck’
/hjɔʔ/ [jaw] ‘run’
/hlʊn/ [hlʊn] ‘tree’

Triconsonantal Onsets

In my data there is a residue of 18 words which have initial sequences of three consonants:

/pəru/ ‘dress onself, clothe (v.tr.)’
/hkrik/ ‘snore’
/tplah/ ‘break (v.tr.)’
/tblɔ/ ‘joke (v.)’
/kbreh/ ‘blink (v.)’
/pdrəh/ ‘perch, horizontal pole’
/ʔdrieʔ/ ‘hiccup, belch’

/pʃɾəp/ ‘decorate (v.tr.)’
/hbron/ ‘papaya’
/tplɔʔ/ ‘show (v.tr.)’
/kdɾʔ/ ‘corral’
/pdriam/ ‘side by side; twins’
/ʔbɾeʔ/ ‘carry on shoulder pole’
/ʔdɾʔ/ ‘fish trap’

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/glo/  ‘howl (v.)’  /smɔ/  ‘grapefruit’ (< Lao)
/smɔŋ/  ‘hour, clock’ (< Lao)  /kmlŋ/  ‘beginning, start’ (< Lao)

Excluding the last three, which are borrowings, the above have an /h/ or /l/ in the third position which I represent as R. The Onset Sonority Constraint also applies to these sequences. Assuming that these represent the maximal onset complexity in Jruq, I can represent all monosyllables with the following phonological structure:

Figure 3.1: Jruq Monosyllabic Word Structure

\[ W = (C_1)C_2(R)V(C_3) \]

\[ C_1 = \text{voiceless consonant} \]
\[ C_2 = \text{any consonant} \]
\[ R = /h/, /l/ \]
\[ V = \text{any vowel} \]
\[ C_3 = \text{any consonant other than a voiced or aspirated oral stop} \]

3.2.2 Minorsyllables

The word structure presented in the previous section covers all but 21 words in my data set. These exceptions are analysed phonemically as having an additional syllable which I call a minorsyllable.

Note that above I discussed words with an epenthetic schwa which has no phonemic value. This is because the presence of the vowel between consonants does not contrast with its absence (ie. \[ C_aC_- = /C_C/- \]). However, in the restricted phonological environment between a voiceless oral stop and /l/, /h/ or /l/, the presence or absence of a schwa is contrastive. This contrast is demonstrated with the following comparisons:

/kɔla/ [kɔlɔ]  ‘cleared forest’  /klo/ [klɔ:]  ‘man, husband, male’
/kɔlɔk/ [kɔlɔk]  ‘dig with hoe’  /klɔk/ [klɔk]  ‘navel, umbilical cord’
/kɔlaj/ [kɔlaj]  ‘bullet’  /klaj/ [klaj]  ‘penis’ ⁴⁶
/kɔleb/ [kɔlɛb]  ‘morsel (of meat)’  /kle/ [kle:]  ‘egg’
/kɔlan/ [kɔlan]  ‘joint (wrist, ankle etc.)’  /klian/ [klian]  ‘roar, shout, snort’

⁴⁶ These two words are possibly etymologically related, as many languages in the area have extended the use of the words ‘penis’ and ‘testicles’ for weaponry.

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\[ /kəluok/ \] [kəluok] ‘gate (in yard, stable)’ \[ /kluoʔ/ [kluoʔ] \] ‘anus, rear end’

\[ /kərak/ \] [kərak] ‘crow (bird)’ \[ /kraʔ/ [krāʔ] \] ‘old’

\[ /kərinh/ \] [kərinh] ‘charcoal, coals’ \[ /krinh/ [krām] \] ‘sky’

\[ /pəlih/ \] [pəlih] ‘startle (v.tr.)’ \[ /plih/ [pəhi] \] ‘reversed, inside out’

\[ /pəhom/ \] [pəhom] ‘bathe (v.tr.)’ \[ /pəhom/ [pəhom] \] ‘fart’

\[ /pəhəw/ \] [pəhəw] ‘raise; lift onto (v.ditr.)’ \[ /pəhəw/ [pəhəw] \] ‘hurry, urgent’

\[ /təha/ \] [təhia:] ‘pottery jar’ \[ /təam/ [təam] \] ‘eight’

\[ /kəhak/ \] [kəhak] ‘spit out (v.tr.)’ \[ /kəhac/ [kəhac] \] ‘person’s name’

\[ /kəhoʔ/ \] [kənhoʔ] ‘north’ \[ /kəuʔ/ [kəuʔ] \] ‘bucket’

I treat these words as having a minisyllable rather than being disyllabic because it is clear that there are two fundamentally different types of syllables present. Normal syllables have the full range of phonological possibilities in the language, whereas the minisyllables are restricted to one vowel (which is phonetically extra short in length, see §2.3.2.5) and a small set of initial consonants \[ p, t, k / \].

These structures are common in Mon-Khmer languages and have variously been referred to as ‘minisyllables’ (Shorto 1963, and passim), ‘sesquisyllables’ (Matisoff 1989, and passim), and ‘pre-syllables’ (Smith 1979, and passim). Ferlus (1971) uses the term ‘disyllables’ to describe words with this structure in ‘Laven’, without distinguishing syllable types. The restriction of minisyllable vowels occurring only before \[ /t/ \] (and perhaps semivowels) is a characteristic of other Mon Khmer languages, as Thomas (1992) demonstrates:

Chrau has contrast between play ‘fruit’ and pale ‘unfortunately’...

Contrast between CC and CaC is found only between a stop and an

\[ l, r, w, \text{ or } y \] (Thomas 1971:30-44).

Mon has contrast only before liquids \[ [l] \] and \[ [r] \] and semivowels \[ [w] \] and \[ [y] \]: \[ /kəraʔ/ \] ‘six’ CaC—, \[ /kəraʔ/ \] ‘variety of rice’ CC—.

In Jeh there is contrast only with the consonant pairs \[ pr, tr, th, \text{ kl, kh} \]: (Gradin 1966:46-7).

\[ /tərah/ \] ‘chop out’ \[ /tərah/ \] ‘squawk’

\[ /kəhey/ \] ‘month’ \[ /kohey/ \] ‘moon’

In Cua (Maier 1969:14-6) there is a neutralized central \[ /a/ \], written as \[ a \], which assimilates to its surrounding environment and is in...
contrast with its absence only before /l\ or /r/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bla</td>
<td>‘answer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klaat</td>
<td>‘fog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trak</td>
<td>‘eggplant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala</td>
<td>‘jest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalaat</td>
<td>‘piece of meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarak</td>
<td>‘unison call in prayer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Katu (Wallace 1969:69) there may be three presyllables, only the last of which contrasts the presence or absence of a neutral vowel... (Thomas 1992:207-8)

Some Jruq words with minorsyllables are clearly derived from monosyllabic words. For example /pʰom/ ‘bathe (v.tr.)’ is derived with a verbal affix [pʰ-] plus /hom/ ‘bathe (v.intr.)’, and /kʰoʔ/ ‘north’ is derived from a preposition /hoʔ/ ‘in, at’. However most words with minorsyllables are unanalysable as two morphemes and I am forced to posit a more distinct word structure model to account for the minorsyllables:

**Figure 3.2: Jruq Minorsyllable Word Structure**

\[ W = C_1 \circ C_2 V(C_3) \]

\[ C_1 = /p/, /k/ or /t/ \]

\[ C_2 = /l/, /l/ or /l/ \]

\[ V = \text{any vowel} \]

\[ C_3 = \text{any consonant other than a voiced or aspirated oral stop} \]

### 3.3 Morphological Word

The word in Jruq can be analysed at a higher level than the phonological word. Some words can be analysed as having more than one morpheme or meaningful element. Such words in Jruq were created by two processes: affixation and compounding. The first is no longer productive in Jruq, but words still contain partly analyseable prefixes and infixes which are vestiges from a former highly agglutinating system. Due to phonological changes, many of these affixes are obscured and thus speakers no longer identify them as meaningful elements. Over time Jruq has become an isolating language under the influence of languages such as Lao and Thai. These days a common way of forming new words is by combining two or more roots to form compound words.
3.3.1 Historical Affixation

Jruq today show plenty of evidence of historically productive prefixation and infixation.

3.3.1.1 Nominalising <n> Infix

Throughout Mon-Khmer languages, an <n> infix derives nouns from verbs. This has been called a nominalising infix (Kruspe 1999, Smith 1975), and traces of this once productive infix are still observable in Jruq, e.g.

\[ \text{pár 'fly (v.)'} > p<n>ár 'wing' \]
\[ \text{pos 'sweep (v.)'} > p<n>os 'broom (n.)' \]
\[ \text{por 'help, assist (v.)'} > p<n>or 'broom (n.)' \]
\[ \text{kûj 'lie down (v.)'} > k<n>uj 'bed (n.)' \]
\[ \text{?er 'scoop up (small fish/tadpoles) with a net (v.)'} > ?<n>er 'dipnet (n.)' \]
\[ \text{cas 'comb (v.)'} > h<n>as 'comb (n.)' \]
\[ \text{côn 'steam (v.)'} > h<n>ôŋ 'sticky rice (n.)' \]
\[ \text{kuo 'reside (v.)'} > k<n>uo 'family (n.)' \]

PWB *cuaj ‘sow seeds (v.)’\(^{47} > h<n>uaj ‘dibble stick (n.)’

PWB *tûm ‘hammer (v.)’ (\(> *tâmûm ?\)) > h<n>ûm ‘forge (n.)’

3.3.1.2 The <r> Infix

The following words in Jruq suggest an historical productive <r> infix for verbs.

\[ \text{cut 'rub, polish (v.)'} \text{ or } jut 'wipe up (v.)' > c<r>ut 'push (away) (v.)' \]
\[ \text{cih 'throw away, abandon, bury (v.)'} > c<r>ih 'plow (v.tr)' \]
\[ \text{cih 'rinse (hair)'} > c<r>ih 'douse a fire' \]
\[ \text{sôh 'be empty'} > s<r>ôh 'to digest' \]
\[ \text{câm 'dried (fish)'} > c<r>âm 'dry, be dry' \]
\[ \text{hpit sôp tial 'ear lobe (place for inserting earring) (n.)'} > s<r>ôp 'put on, wear (earrings, shoes etc.)' \]

In Semelai, Kruspe (1999) describes the infix <r> as having a ‘causative’

\(^{47}\) This unaffixed root is no longer in the Jruq lexicon, only a prefixed form \(pcuej 'sow seeds'\). However \(cuej 'sow seeds'\) is found in Brao (Matras-Troubetzkoy 1983) and Nhaheun (Ferlus 1998) and throughout the Bahnaric family, e.g. Chrau:swây /suaj/ ‘to dibble’ (Thomas & Luc 1966).
function (in Semelai it happens to have a <n> allomorph before other /t/ consonants). However the function of this affix in Jruq is no longer clear—and it is possible that some of the above words may not be infixed at all but coincidentally share structural and semantic features (see §3.2.2 phonaesthesia).

One word (below) appears to have an <n> infix although it does not have an instrumental role. It is clear from historical comparisons that the <n> in this example is the realisation of an historical <rn> infix, although the difference between the function of this and the <r> infix is no longer apparent.

*bim* 'do, make' (PWB *bam* 'do, make') \(\rightarrow\) *p<n>im* 'labour (in field) (v.)'

Another example in my data shows that the word *pdirim* 'adjoined, side-by-side' (e.g. walking side-by-side) could be derived from either:

*priam* ‘twins’ with an infixed with <n> before /t/ which undergoes a morphophonemic change to /dr/, or

*diam* ‘?’ (e.g. *kdiom* ‘waist, lower back’) with an infixed <r> after /d/ and different prefix /p-/ or

*niam* ‘?’ (e.g. *kniom* ‘molars (‘teeth in pairs’) with an infixed <r> after /n/ which conditions /n/ > /d/, plus a prefix /k-/

### 3.3.1.3 Prefixes

Historically it appears there were many verbal prefixes used productively for word derivation, however only vestiges of these are still found in Jruq lexicon today. It is clear that over time the meanings of the words have changed and thus the function of the prefixes is no longer recoverable. I must therefore treat the various forms *p-, t-, k-, c-* etc. as “fossil morphs”. Comparisons suggesting derivational prefixation include:

**p-**

*tuol* ‘pile, heap (earth) (v.tr.)’ \(\rightarrow\) *p<o>uol* ‘hill, mound (n.)’

*j<æ)n* ‘stand (v.intr.)’ \(\rightarrow\) *p<j<æ)n* ‘install, establish s.t. (v.tr.)’

*j<uh* ‘swim (v.intr.)’ \(\rightarrow\) *p<juh* ‘make s.o. swim, take s.o. swimming (v.tr.)’

*niam* ‘good, well’ (v.intr.) \(\rightarrow\) *p<niam* ‘repair (v.tr.)’

*hom* ‘bathe (v.intr.)’ \(\rightarrow\) *p<o>hom* ‘bathe s.o. (v.tr.)’

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cēh 'finished, be complete (v.intr.)' > p-cēh 'complete s.t. (v.tr.)'
srōp 'put on, wear (earrings, shoes etc.)' > p-s<r>ōp 'decorate (v.tr.)'
dik 'rise, arise, jump up' (v.intr.) > p-dik 'climb (v.)', stay awake' (v.intr.)
dāp 'cover (v.tr.)' > p-dāp 'smother, extinguish (fire)' (v.tr.)
cōk 'take (v.tr.)' > p-cōk 'pick up (v.tr.)'
kūj 'lie down (v.intr.)' > p-kūj 'dream (v.tr.)'
sōh 'empty (v.intr.), remove, demolish (house, etc.) (v.tr.)' > p-sōh 'remove, change clothes (v.tr.)'

t-

wīn 'return (v.intr.)' > t-wīn 'keep, save (ie. not return money)'
plah 'break, shatter (v.intr.)' > t-plah 'break s.t. (v.tr.)'
pēn 'shoot (v.)' > t-pēn 'hunt, shoot s.t. (v.tr.)'
bīc 'able, get, have, exist' > t-bīc 'marry s.o. (v.tr.)'
pār 'fly (v.intr.)' > t-pār 'fly a kite'\footnote{Brao also has a term tōpar/tapār/ used in reference to the act of the grains 'flying' in the air when winnowing (Matras-Troubetzkoy 1983, p.332).}
p₃am 'blood (n.)' > t-p₃am 'bleed'
bīh 'come' > t-bīh 'bring s.t. (v.tr.)'
pāt 'wring out (juice); set (sun), wane (moon)' > t-pāt 'extinguish fire'
bōj 'fall down, stumble, crash land (v.)' > t-bōj 'knock down (v.tr.)'
p₃e 'break down (car, machine) (v.)' > t-p₃e 'destroy (v.tr.)'

c-

ruh 'fall, collapse (v.)' > c-ruh 'dive (v.tr.); plunge, fall (of water) (v.)'

k-

lom 'blow (v.intr.); wind (n.)' > k-lom 'blow (agentive) (v.intr.); blow s.t. (v.tr.)'
lōh 'question particle' > k-lōh 'call (v.tr.)'
dak 'water (n.)' > k-dak 'reheat (food) (v.tr.)'
cīēj 'one hip, the side of body (n.)' > k-cīēj 'lean to one side; lopsided (v.tr./v.intr.)'
jiēk 'lift, raise (v.tr.)' > k-jiēk 'weigh down; make s.thing heavy' (v.tr.)
dīj 'obstruct, block (path) (v.tr.)' > k-dīj 'shade (with umbrella)' (v.tr.)
pos 'sweep (v.tr.)' > k-pos 'stroke, smooth (one's hair) (v.tr.)'
pōh 'split (v.tr.)' > k-pōh 'semicircle, half (a round/spherical object) (n.)'
ciat ‘cut, slice (v.tr.)’ > k-ciat ‘scrape, scratch surface, pick (teeth) (v.tr.)’

huac ‘whistle (n.); a whistling noise’ > ka-huac ‘whistle (v.intr.)’

rah ‘flame (n.)’ > ka-rah ‘charcoal (n.)’

rēc ‘chop through (with axe)’ (v.tr.) > k-rēc ‘wooden scissors (n.)’

The following group of comparisons suggest morphologically complex forms, however speakers are not aware of the affixation because they no longer use the roots as independent lexemes.

*leh ‘?’ > hleh ‘fall involuntarily, slip’, k-leh ‘fall (v.intr), drop s.t. (v.tr.)’,

p-leh ‘make s.t. fall (v.tr)’

*ruop ‘?’ > c-ruop ‘wear clothes, cover (v.)’, k-ruop ‘put lid on (container)’

*bēc ‘?’ > t-bēc ‘play (v.tr.); for leisure, for fun’

Another prefix in Jruq is b- which appears to have an instrumental function like the <n> infix, although in my data there are only two such examples (given below). It is possible that the b- was used instead of the <n> in cases where the root began with /r/.

b-

rēŋ ‘hold, grasp (v.)’ > b-rēŋ ‘pole (for fishing)’

reh ‘fishhook’ > b-reh ‘pole (for fishing)’

A similar productive prefix: b(r)- + N ‘to be utilising N, USE’, is found in Semelai. Interestingly, it derives verbs from concrete (instrument-like) Nouns. This is the converse of the Jruq b- prefix which derives instrument-like Nouns from Verbs or Nouns. Kruspe (1999: 246-7) gives the following Semelai examples:

dol ‘house’

baju? ‘clothes’

kreta? ‘house’

kayuh ‘paddle’

layar ‘sail’

crmin ‘mirror’

simin ‘cement’

br-dol (USE-house) ‘to house oneself’

b-baju? (USE-clothes) ‘to wear clothes’

b-kreta? (USE-car) ‘to use a car’

b-kayuh (USE-paddle) ‘to paddle’

b-layar (USE-sail) ‘to sail’

b-crmin (USE-mirror) ‘to look in a mirror’

b-simin (USE-cement) ‘to concrete’

Another historical function of prefixes with traces in Jruq was to derive Cardinal Directions and other locatives from basic Prepositions. The prefixes
used were $k$- and $p$- although their functions are no longer clear. Today, speakers even confuse these prefixes, for example the following different forms were recorded for the cardinal directions and prepositions:

- $\text{liŋ}^\prime$ 'behind, back (direction)' $\rightarrow$ $k\text{-liŋ}^\prime$ 'west'
- $\text{lāw}^\prime$ 'on top' $\rightarrow$ $k\text{-lāw}^\prime$ 'above, over', $\text{p-lāw}^\prime$ 'upper (lip, etc.)'
- $\text{ta}^\prime$ 'to, toward, into', $\text{tiɔ}^\prime$ 'down at, down into' $\rightarrow$ $k\text{-ta}^\prime$ 'east',
- $k\text{-tiɔ}^\prime$ 'below, under', $\text{p-tiɔ}^\prime$ 'lower (lip, etc.)'
- $\text{ho}^\prime$ 'in, at, on' $\rightarrow$ $k\text{-ho}^\prime$ 'north'

A *tor- prefix was used throughout West Bahnaric in conjunction with body part terms, although this does not appear to be derivational. Examples are:

- **Jruq**
  - hπit 'ear'
  - hπuac 'finger'
  - hbo\k 'buttock'
  - hkol 'knee'

- **Proto-West Bahnaric** (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)
  - *torpīt 'ear'
  - *torpuoc 'finger'
  - *torbook 'buttock'
  - *torrool 'knee'

A $\text{j}$ initial is common in Jruq for words denoting tools and instruments, although it is unclear whether this is an historical derivational affix or a chance resemblance. Examples are:

- $\text{j\r\j}^\prime$ 'mortar bowl'
- $\text{j\r\am}^\prime$ 'tongs for fire'
- $\text{j\r\iam}^\prime$ 'spade'
- $\text{j\ri}^\prime$ 'large jar for rice wine'
- $\text{j\opol}^\prime$ 'small back basket'
- $\text{j\x\il}^\prime$ 'animal trap (for land or water)'
- $\text{j\en}^\prime$ 'trigger of gun'

In addition, various phonological changes have since occurred in Jruq, so without external comparisons, the form of the prefix is no longer recoverable. The changes include:

a) voicing distinction was lost in minoryllable consonants except before $\text{l}$, $\text{l}$,

b) *ca-, *tor-, *jɔ- *ra- and *sɔ- merged with /hɔ-/ in most minoryllable environments, *hɔ- was lost before /l/, and *tor- became /c/ e.g.

Jruq $\text{htɔp}^\prime$ 'bury (in grave)' $\rightarrow$ $\text{tɔp}^\prime$ 'plant, cover with earth' (the derivational prefix is no longer analyseable, and other WB languages do not have a prefixed form)
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Jruq hma ‘right (side)’ < PWB *camaa ‘sticky rice’ (e.g. Oi, Laveh, Brao camaa ‘right’, Nhaheun mmaa ‘right’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq hwa ‘row (loose oar)’ < PWB *torwa ‘oar, paddle’ (e.g. Nhaheun cvaa ‘canoe oar’, Cheng loog travaa ‘canoe oar’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq hda ‘span of thumb tip to middle finger tip’ < PWB *jodaa ‘handspan’ (e.g. Nhaheun jraa ‘spand b/w thumb and little finger’, Brao cdaa ‘span from thumb to mid-finger’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq hna ‘sesame’ < PWB *ranaa ‘sesame’ (e.g. Nhaheun hnaa ‘sesame’, Rengao ranaa ‘sesame’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq hna ‘crossbow’ < PWB *sanaa ‘crossbow’ (e.g. Oi, Suq sanaa ‘crossbow’, Nhaheun jraa ‘crossbow’, Cheng sraa ‘crossbow, arrow’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq la ‘leaf’ < PWB *浩ala ‘leaf’ (e.g. Nhaheun, Suq, Oi, Cheng hlaa ‘leaf’, Brao chlaa ‘leaf’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

Jruq cla ‘thorn’ < PWB *jirlaa ‘thorn’ (e.g. Nhaheun llaa ‘leaf’, Brao jirlaa ‘thorn’) (Jacq & Sidwell 2000)

A further development is that, because many second language learners of Jruq do not acquire the preaspiration feature in onsets, the distinction between prefixed and non-prefixed words is lost completely in such cases.

A phonological consequence of prefixation is that when words with an initial consonant sequence /?C/ are prefixed, the glottal stop is omitted. Hence there is a morphophonemic alternation between plain and laryngealized segments, e.g.

?tah ‘clap (hands)’ > t-pah ‘slap, hit s.t. with hand (v.tr.)’
?p-chat ‘hit (v.tr.)’ > t-bat ‘touch (v.tr.)’
?tuh ‘hearth (n.)’ > p-duh ‘burning (wood)’
?man ‘speak (v.), language’ > t-man ‘mouth (n.)’

49 Kruspe (1999) found that Semelai preserves the glottal feature of /?C/ onsets when the prefix is a clitic which adds syntactic information. Otherwise with derivational affixation the glottal feature is lost in the same way as in Jruq.

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3.3.1.4 Paradigm-levelling Prefixes

Another kind of affixation involves the replacement of the word initial consonants for words belonging to small paradigms. The most clearcut case involves what I call Temporal Numerals (§4.6.3). These are $br$- and $dr$-, which affix to lower Numerals to create attributes to Temporal Nouns deriving meanings such as ‘X days in the future’, ‘X years in the past’, etc. For example, $tn\acute{a}j\ bru\acute{a}n$ ‘in four days time’ and $tn\acute{a}j\ dru\acute{a}n$ ‘four days ago’ (< $p\acute{u}an$ ‘four’). This is a feature of Mon-Khmer languages in general, although Jruq has reanalysed some of the numerical values. This is clear in the comparisons of Mon-Khmer languages in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 (below).

The system of Kinterms shows evidence of replacement of initial consonants, perhaps reflecting a prefixation or at least alliterative rhyming. Within this subset of the lexicon there are two Paradigm-levelling Prefixes:

a) a regular initial $c$- used for lineal ancestral Kinterms possibly arose from the chance resemblance of initial consonants in $caw$ ‘grandchild’ and $c\acute{a}g$ ‘great-grandparent’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{caw} & \quad \text{‘grandchild’} & < \text{common areal word} \\
\textit{c\acute{a}g} & \quad \text{‘great-grandkin’} \\
\textit{c\acute{e}c} & \quad \text{‘great-great-grandkin’} & < \textit{k\acute{e}c} ‘small, tiny’ \\
\textit{cuc} & \quad \text{‘great-great-great-grand-kin’} & < ?
\end{align*}
\]

b) A $*j$- ~ $*\acute{j}$- (possibly from $jaj$ ‘elder sibling’) occurs frequently at the beginning of plural pronouns and for elder lineal Kinterms. The latter is somewhat obscured by phonological changes to the ‘grandmother’ word because of the illicit phonotactic word shape created by the prefixed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{?ja?} & \quad \text{‘grandparent, old person’} & < \textit{kra?} ‘old aged’ \\
\textit{?jo} & \quad \text{‘grandfather’} & < \textit{klo} ‘husband, male’ \\
\textit{?je} & \quad \text{‘grandmother’} & < \textit{trie} ‘wife, female’ \\
\textit{jaj} & \quad \text{‘elder sibling’} \\
\textit{?j\acute{u}o} & \quad \text{‘thing; female animal’} & < \textit{?u\acute{o}} ‘title for young men’ \\
\textit{?j\acute{a}r} & \quad \text{‘2.du’} & < \textit{bar} ‘two’ \\
\textit{?j\acute{e}} & \quad \text{‘1.du’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

50 $\acute{j}\text{ap}$ ‘maternal grandmother’ was recorded by Phraya Prachakij-karacak for Loven. The form is doubtful although possibly derived from $b\acute{a}p$ ‘father’. Similarly, Bondet recorded $\acute{y}d/\acute{l}\text{?ja}\acute{l}$ ‘grandmother’, which is possibly derived from $m\acute{a}\acute{s}$ ‘mother’.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jruq</th>
<th>Nhaheun</th>
<th>Cheng</th>
<th>Pacoh</th>
<th>Bru</th>
<th>Katu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>(tŋäj) hŋaj</td>
<td>hngê nüê</td>
<td>(tŋäj) haj</td>
<td>ingay parnô</td>
<td>parno’</td>
<td>rayiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 2 days time</td>
<td>(tŋäj) bʁañ</td>
<td>nüê mbra</td>
<td>(tŋäj) mbra</td>
<td>ingay parra</td>
<td>pra</td>
<td>rayiu tanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 3 days time</td>
<td>(tŋäj) bɾe</td>
<td>nüê mbre</td>
<td>(tŋäj) mbre</td>
<td>ingay parre</td>
<td>práï</td>
<td>rayiu tamrêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 4 days time</td>
<td>(tŋäj) bruǎn</td>
<td>nüê mbruǎn</td>
<td>(tŋäj) mbruǎn</td>
<td>ingay parroan</td>
<td>prêh</td>
<td>rayiu tamrât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 5 days time</td>
<td>(tŋäj) bɾit</td>
<td>nüê mbrâąng</td>
<td>(tŋäj) mbrin</td>
<td>ingay parrông</td>
<td>prît</td>
<td>rayiu taku’u’ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 6 days time</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nüê mbrô</td>
<td>(tŋäj) mbrît</td>
<td>ingay parrât</td>
<td>proat(^1)</td>
<td>rayiu tamral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 7 days time</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nüê mbrah</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay parrôl</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>rayiu tamrêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 8 days time</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nüê mbraam</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay parrol</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 9 days time</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nüê mbrin</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay parrih</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 10 days time</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nüê mbrît</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay parrît</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) *aroat arai prai* ‘a rhyme to follow proat and indicate further future, but not individually significant’ (Watson 1976, p.86).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jruq</th>
<th>Nhaheun</th>
<th>Cheng</th>
<th>Pacoh</th>
<th>Bru</th>
<th>Katu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) sāj</td>
<td>nūē sē</td>
<td>tjaŋ) sāj</td>
<td>ingay ntrō</td>
<td>mahāi</td>
<td>manua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 days ago</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) (g/d)ra</td>
<td>nūē ndra</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) ndra</td>
<td>ingay ntra</td>
<td>ntria</td>
<td>madēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 days ago</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) (g/d)re</td>
<td>nūē ndre</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) ndre</td>
<td>ingay ntre</td>
<td>ntrāi</td>
<td>tangaai balēk²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 days ago</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) (g/d)ruan</td>
<td>nūē ndruan</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) ndruan</td>
<td>ingay ntroan</td>
<td>ntrēh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 days ago</td>
<td>(tjaŋ) (g/d)rīt</td>
<td>nūē ndrāāng</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrōng</td>
<td>ntrīt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 days ago</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nūē ndrō</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrāt</td>
<td>ntroat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 days ago</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nūē ndraḥ</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrōl</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 days ago</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nūē ndrama</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrol</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 days ago</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nūē ndrin</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrīh</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 days ago</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>nūē ndrīt</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ingay ntrīt</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nhaheun (Ferlus) 'two days length = ra', 'three days length = re', 'four days length = ruan', 'five days length = rāāng', 'six days length = rō', 'seven days length = rah', 'eight days length = raam', 'nine days length = rin', 'ten days length = rīt'

² This is used for '2-20 days ago' (Watson 1976, p.87).
In addition, an initial /m/ is also a common initial in collateral Kinterms (those not directly blood related to ego). Although two of these have the same rime as kinterms or pronouns beginning with /k/, it is possible the similarity is due to chance rather than etymological relationship.

\textit{mu\-an} ‘nephew/niece’ (compare \textit{kua\-n} ‘child’ and PWB \textit{*moo\-n} ‘nephew, grandchild’)

\textit{mi\-ak} ‘child-in-law’ (compare \textit{ki\-ak} ‘3sg.’, and PWB \textit{*me\-ek} ‘daughter-in-law’)

\textit{mi\-h} ‘aunt/uncle’

The above discussion is limited by the amount of data I have been able to collect, and I am sure that a more extensive investigation would yield many more details about the morphological system of the language.

### 3.3.2 Phonaesthemes

Phonaesthemes are forms where distinctive sound shapes are associated with particular meanings, and this phenomenon is common in Southeast Asian languages. For example, in Jruq one can find many words with the same rime sharing a semantic field:

- the /\textit{o\-c}/ rime common to words meaning ‘end’: \textit{toc} ‘complete’, \textit{doc} ‘tip, end point’, \textit{soc} ‘last born child’, \textit{coc} great-great-great-grandkin’;

- the /\textit{o\-m}/ rime common to words about wind or air movement: \textit{lom} ‘air, wind (n.)’, \textit{\textcircled{o\-m} winnow’, \textcircled{p\-o\-m} ‘fart’, \textcircled{h\-o\-m} ‘smell’, \textcircled{k\-o\-m} ‘blow’;

- the /\textit{u\-o\-p}/ rime common to words meaning ‘to cover up’: \textit{cru\-o\-p} ‘wear, dress in’, \textit{kdu\-o\-p} ‘overgrown, grow over (e.g. weeds)’, \textit{kr\-u\-o\-p} ‘put a lid on container’

- the /\textit{c\-e\-c} \sim /\textit{\textcedilla\-c}/ rime common to words referring to small or tiny things, \textit{d\-e\-c} ‘mosquito’, \textit{k\-e\-c} ‘tiny, small’, \textit{c\-e\-c} ‘great-great-grandkin’, \textit{kr\-e\-c} ‘cut with wooden scissors’;

- the /\textit{\texttilde\-n} \sim /\textit{\texttilde\-n}/ rime common to words referring to ‘straightness, stiffness, rigidity’: \textit{c\-n} ‘straight’, \textit{j\-n} ‘aim (v.)’, \textit{d\-n} ‘straighten, tighten (string)’, \textit{j\-\texttilde\-n} ‘stand up’, \textit{kr\-n} ‘prohibited, forbidden’, \textit{h\-\texttilde\-n} ‘hard, rigid’, \textit{t\-n} ‘knot in tree, segment of bamboo’, \textit{bra\-n} ‘horizontal roof beam’

These rimes have various sources which are difficult to distinguish: chance resemblance, real etymological relationship, folk etymology, etc.
3.3.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in Jruq is not as prolific as in other Mon-Khmer languages, at least not in my exposure to the language. However I made some recordings of examples of both full and partial reduplication.

Examples of full reduplication are usually restricted to the class of Descriptives (§4.3.2) and have an emphatic function. In my fieldwork I have only found examples of full reduplication which involve two segments. Words with long vowels in closed syllables are usually shortened in the first segment of the reduplicated form. Examples from my data are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hăn} & \quad \text{saw} & \quad \text{màt} & \quad \text{mat} & \quad \text{loh} \\
3P. & \quad \text{younger.sibling} & 2SG. & \text{RED.-very} & \text{Q} \\
\text{Q} & \text{Is he your real younger brother?}'
\end{align*}
\]

dăp  hĕn hĕn

close  RED.-strong

‘Slam it shut!’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hli} & \quad \text{kra?} & \quad \text{kra?} & \quad \text{giaw} & \quad \text{ðh} & \quad \text{nŏm} \\
\text{corn} & \quad \text{RED.-old} & \quad \text{chew} & \quad \text{NEG.} & \quad \text{tasty} \\
\text{Q} & \text{Old corn is not nice to chew.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hok} & \quad \text{hăp} & \quad \text{sí} & \quad \text{dùm} & \quad \text{dum} & \quad \text{bān} & \quad \text{ʔaj} \\
\text{wear.shirt} & \quad \text{shirt} & \quad \text{colour} & \quad \text{RED.-red} & \quad \text{friend} & \quad 1SG. \\
\text{Q} & \text{My friend is wearing the bright red shirt.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔaj} & \quad \text{saw} & \quad \text{dăk} & \quad \text{pdi} & \quad \text{pdi} \\
\text{elder.sibling} & \quad 2SG. & \quad \text{walk} & \quad \text{RED.-slow} \\
\text{Q} & \text{Your elder sibling walks very slowly.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Full reduplications are also common in polite (and rather poetic) speech, usually by elders to village guests:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kăn} & \quad \text{saw} & \quad \text{mùn} & \quad \text{năh} & \quad \text{ʔmah} & \quad \text{juʔ} & \quad \text{bĕp} & \quad \text{bĕp} \\
\text{if} & \quad 2SG. & \quad \text{want} & \quad \text{know} & \quad \text{speak} & \quad \text{Jruq} & \quad \text{RED.-quick} \\
\text{dăk} & \quad \text{dăng} & \quad \text{nēp} & \quad \text{cmāt} & \quad \text{cmāt} \\
\text{walk} & \quad \text{hunt} & \quad \text{visit} & \quad \text{RED.-serious}
\end{align*}
\]

‘If you want to quickly learn how to speak Jruq, make sure you come to visit!’
CHAPTER 3: Word Structure

\[k\ddot{a}n\text{ saw kuo ne }\ddot{\jmath}it\text{ kmo}\]

if 2SG. stay here many year

\[\ddot{d}\ddot{a}k\text{ j\ddot{a}k j\ddot{a}k }\ddot{\jmath}a\ddot{a}n\text{ dak klah}\]

walk RED.-fluent like water flow

'If you stay here for many years you'd (speak Jruq) as fluently as flowing water.'

Partial reduplications always involve a pre-root repetition of the initial consonant plus an extra-short version of the main vowel. This creates a minoryyllable of a very marked type. This minorsyllable vowel, while unstressed, tends to be pronounced with the same quality as the main syllable vowel. This is unlike the words which normally have a phonemic minorsyllable vowel—which is consistently schwa-like in quality (§3.2.2). Speakers use partial reduplication with monosyllabic Descriptives to add emphasis, and otherwise the meaning of the root is not altered. Examples are:

\[?a\ddot{j}\text{ kuo hnam k\ddot{e}k\ddot{e}c}\]

1SG. stay house RED.-small

'I live in a tiny house.'

\[?a\ddot{j}\text{ kuo t\ddot{a}it dak c\ddot{a}m pi}\]

1SG. stay RED.-close water Champi

'I live right near Champi river.'

3.3.4 Compound Words

The historical system of affixual word derivation gradually depleted due to the favoring of monosyllable word structures (voiced prefixes became less sonorant (ie. devoiced) in accordance with an acceptable syllable-edge sonority). Words are always being created, and thus a new strategy arose which permitted words to consist of two or more compounded phonological words. Thus the distinction between a phonological word and morphological word was created.

The structure of compound words is left-headed like the clause-level syntax of the language; ie. the head word is on the left and the attributive or modifier follows. Thus a new noun can be created from any noun plus any word which carries the attribution, and a new verb can be created from any verb plus attributive modifier. The order in which these words occur is strict and thus these can be analysed as one unit.
Compound words are especially significant as they are the main way of naming plants and animals according to the Jruq folk taxonomy. In these taxonomic Compounds, the head is always a generic Noun representing a superordinate class of entities such as 'trees', 'fruits', 'fishes' and 'races'. The Generic head (or 'Class Noun') is followed by one or more attributive words which denote the varities/subspecies according to the Jruq taxa. Some of these attributive stems are analyseable, e.g. ʔiar 'chicken', ruas 'elephant', klaw 'testicles', ʔic 'shit', k électrique 'egg', kće 'little', hmet 'yellow'; whereas some are not.

Analyseable Compound Words:

- māt njāy "eye day ‘sun’"
- mām kjip "iron tongs ‘tongs’"
- tmo buh "stone roast ‘brick’"
- trōn muh "hole nose ‘nostril’"
- tdōn brēj "jungle savanna ‘forest’"
- hnōm ṭīn "house fire ‘hearth’"
- dak toh "water breast ‘milk’"
- ha hięp "open.mouth yawn ‘yawn’"
- roc klak "unravel stomach ‘intestines’"
- hpiŋ hǐal "tooth ‘laugh ‘front teeth’"
- dak cṛuh cēl "water dive rapids ‘waterfall’"
- ṭuar ṭom ḫe "basket winnow rice ‘winnow basket’"
- ji? tus "sick head ‘headache’"
- pet hit "drink.alcohol tobacco ‘to smoke’"
- ci? ṭe? "return go ‘return (e.g. ticket)’"
- si klām cūr "colour liver pig ‘purple’"
- tō kōk "correct jail (< Lao) ‘prison, jail’"
- kō ḥe "*sky split ‘lightning bolt’ 51"
- tah bāl "cut war ‘battle (v.)’"
- cōn ṭärp "eat.rice cooked.rice ‘eat a meal’"
- jūh dak "swim water ‘swim’"

51 Jruq has borrowed a word krām ‘sky’ (probably from Katuic), which has replaced the West Bahnaric word kre ‘sky’ in all but this set phrase for ‘lightning bolt’. This shows that once words are combined to form compounds they are reanalysed as bound units.
CHAPTER 3: Word Structure

hbaj ?ba? kuan cnur pet tpe ṭam
cloth carry.on.back child straw drink alcohol ancient
‘a knapsack’ ‘a straw for drinking rice wine’

joh hpet sōp tial ktʰp trāk ṭap hnōŋ
hole ear insert earring basket store cooked.rice sticky
‘an ear piercing’ ‘a sticky rice basket’

Partly-analyzieable Compound Words:

kliə cem ‘panther’
(kliə ‘tiger’ + cem ‘bird’)52

brēj ṭmio ‘rain, rainfall’
(brēj ‘savanna’ + ṭmio ‘rain’)

kūj ṭen ‘sleep’
(kūj ‘lie.down’ + ṭen ‘sleep’)

ca dɔŋ ‘wedding’
(ca ‘eat’ + dɔŋ ‘wedding (< Lao’))

Unanalyzieable Compounds, e.g.

diŋ law ‘lemur, loris’ (diŋ ‘bamboo tube?’, law ‘?’)
pǐt pjuel ‘pangolin’ (pǐt ‘?’ + pjuel ‘?’)
cōŋ huaj ‘spoon’ (cōŋ ‘steam?’ + huaj ‘?’)
jōk ṭaj ‘hiccup’ ( PWB *jōk ‘sip, inhale’ + ṭaj ‘?’)

Flora and Fauna Compound Forms:

ka ‘fish’

ka kriaw tiny white fish variety (ground when dried for eating)
ka blak tiny freshwater carp (blak = fish term throughout WB)
ka jian large black-scaled marshfish
ka hgoŋ small long-scaled fish variety
ka kʰlian catfish variety
ka krēŋ small oily fish variety (Lao: ṭā ᵖᵃʳ)

52 Some speakers say the word cem ‘bird’ is used because ‘panthers live in trees’, but this may be a folk etymology.
CHAPTER 3: Word Structure

cem 'bird'

cem pnām common sparrow (pnām = ‘village’)
cem pjoc sparrow variety which builds a hanging nest
cem ʔiar fowl, chicken (ʔiar = ‘chicken’)
cem pʰlaŋ unknown small bird variety
cem pʰliaw bulbul bird
cem triŋ hornbill
cem kər dove
cem bruŋ pigeon
cem ʔot small partridge
cem bruac quail
cem kçiŋ finch, small nervous bird
cem ʔũŋ firebird (named after colour) (ʔũŋ = ‘fire’)  
   [What do these mean?]
cem klaŋ eagle, hawk; generic taxa for birds of prey
cem klaŋ tliŋ owl
cem klaŋ kəŋ egret

plāj priŋ ‘banana’

plāj priŋ ʔdap banana of the short banana tree variety (ʔdap = ‘short’)
plāj priŋ kle ladyfinger banana variety (kle = ‘egg’)
plāj priŋ hʔom perfumed banana variety (hʔom = ‘smell nice’)  
plāj priŋ dum red banana variety (dum = ‘red’)
plāj priŋ reʔ small banana variety (reʔ = common expression of  
   unknown meaning used in taxonomic classification (e.g.  
   bih reʔ ‘kind of brown tree climbing snake’)  
plāj priŋ bruahan unknown banana variety (bruahan = unknown meaning)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

CHAPTER 4

WORD CLASSES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss the word classes of Jruq as I have analysed them based on syntactic rather than morphological criteria. The majority of words in Jruq are relatively easy to assign to discrete word classes because they only occur in positions in the clause where other words with a similar semantic reference and syntactic function occur. Examples of words that are straightforwardly assigned to particular classes are:

- *ka* 'fish'—noun
- *dök* 'go, walk'—verb
- *rāp* 'good'—descriptive
- *ma* 'future tense particle'

However some words must be treated as heterosemous, where a lexeme belongs to two or more word classes—this is also the case in English; e.g. *walk* can equally be a noun or a verb. Typically, heterosemous words in Jruq tend to belong to two of the open word classes, although some belong to one open class and one closed class, e.g.

- *?mio* 'rain'—noun; verb
- *brāw* 'noise, sound'—noun; 'make a noise'—verb
- *c²him* 'heart'—noun; 'breathe'—verb
- *plāj* 'fruit'—noun; 'fruit, round objects, baskets, pots, etc.'—classifier
- *ceh* 'finish'—verb; past tense particle

Because of this, I find semantic criteria and word form are not useful for distinguishing word classes. Rather, the word classes are determined purely on the basis of their inherent syntactic functions and their relative positions within the phrase, clause or sentence structure.

This chapter presents the following word classes distinguished for Jruq:

Nouns (§4.2)
- Common Nouns (§4.2.1)
- Proper Nouns (§4.2.2)
- Locative Nouns (§4.2.3)

Kinterms (4.2.4)
- Pronouns (§4.2.5)
- Ignoratives (§4.2.6)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

Verbals (§4.3)  Negatives (§4.8)
Adjectives (§4.3.1)  Syntactic Negator (§4.8.1)
Descriptives (§4.3.2)  Discourse Negator (§4.8.2)
Verbs (§4.3.3)  TAM Auxiliaries (§4.9)
Prepositions (§4.4)  Future Tense Auxiliary (§4.9.1)
  Generic Prepositions (§4.4.1)  Aspect Auxiliaries (§4.9.2)
  Role-assigning Prepositions (§4.4.2)  Mood Auxiliaries (§4.9.3)
Quantifiers/Classifiers (§4.5)  Modal Auxiliaries (§4.9.4)
  Classifiers (§4.5.1)  Existential (§4.10)
  Quantifiers (§4.5.2)  Adverbs (§4.11)
  Numerals (§4.5.3)  Pre-Subject Adverbs (§4.11.1)
  Indefinite Numbers (§4.5.4)  Post-Predicate Adverbs (§4.11.2)
  Numerical Interrogative (§4.5.5)  Other Adverbs (§4.11.3)
Temporals (§4.6)  Conjunctions (§4.12)
  Temporal Nouns (§4.6.1)  Coordinate Conjunctions (§4.12.1)
  Temporal Descriptives (§4.6.2)  Subordinate Conjunctions (§4.12.2)
  Temporal Numerals (§4.6.3)  Conditional Conjunctions (§4.12.3)
  Temporal Adverbs (§4.6.4)  Final Particles (§4.13)
Demonstratives (§4.7)  Interjections, Exclamations, and
  Vocatives (§4.14)

The four major open classes are Nouns, Numerals, Verbs and Descriptives. These are grouped on the basis of their different syntactic functions and positions.

In addition, there are two complex closed word classes—Prepositions and Temporals, which I classify solely on the basis of their syntactic function. These are each subdivided according to which members share the same syntactic properties. Both Prepositions and Temporals can occur as heads of Clause peripheral Phrases (Prepositional Phrases and Temporal Phrases), although Prepositional Phrases may also occur as relational modifiers of NPs, or as Predicates of Ascriptive or Equative Clauses (§6.2.1).

The remaining word classes are small closed sets of function words which are classified on the basis of their restricted syntactic functions and positions.
4.2 Nouns

Nouns are words which have the ability to head a Noun Phrase (NP). Their main syntactic function is to act as arguments of predicates. They may also function marginally as Predicates (§6.2.1). The supercategory of Nouns comprises the open classes of Common Nouns (§4.2.1), and closed classes of Proper Nouns (4.2.2), Locative Nouns (4.2.3), Kinterms (4.2.4), Pronouns (§4.2.5), and Ignoratives (§4.2.6).

The most important distinction between Nouns and other word classes is that only Nouns can also be modified by following Quantifier Phrases; that is they can be counted using Numerals and Classifiers or Quantifiers.

4.2.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns are the primary member of the Noun supercategory, and function referentially to indicate both concrete and abstract entities, e.g.

*puus 'human', *siaŋ 'voice', *kur 'boy/girlfriend', *brah 'god, spirit', *ksāk 'ghost, spirit of dead', *pnām 'village', *hnām 'house', *brēj 'savanna', *tdān brēj 'forest', *miŋ 'swidden', *tiʌn 'wet ricefield', *tuʌŋ 'road', *tʌm *lön 'tree', *tʌm *lön grēj 'fig tree', *sa 'pond', *dak cuh cēl 'waterfall', *kli ćem 'panther', *ʔūn 'fire', *puj 'smoke', *knām 'wood surrounding hearth', *kmēŋ 'firewood', *tʌŋ 'thatch', *kjiol 'wind', *hdien 'rainbow', *ʔdrīŋ 'fishtrap', *roč *klak 'intestines', *bat 'scar', *hpuc 'finger', *snah 'nest', *māŋ 'night', *māt tñāj 'sun', *ptuər 'star', etc.

Common Nouns may have a single or compound word structure. There is a potential problem in distinguishing Compound Nouns from phrasal structures, but in fact the distinction is easily made because 'Compounds cannot be interrupted by further constituents, while phrasally linked sequences can be.' (Crowley, et. al. 1995:247). Compare the following Compound Nouns versus Phrasal structures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound Noun</th>
<th>Noun Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cem (*kɔŋ) tiər</td>
<td>kle (*kɔŋ) tiər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird (of) chicken</td>
<td>egg (of) chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'chicken'</td>
<td>'chicken egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*'bird of a chicken'</td>
<td>'egg of a chicken'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\[ \text{pnus (}^{k\text{hoj}}\text{)} jru? \quad \text{kuan (}^{k\text{hoj}}\text{)} \text{ pnus jru?} \]

person (of) Jruq
‘Jruq person’
\[ *\text{‘person of a Jruq’} \]
child (of) person Jruq
‘Jruq person’s child’
\[ *\text{‘child of a Jruq person’} \]

Compound Nouns usually begin with a generic Noun such as \text{cem} ‘bird’ or \text{brah} ‘spirit’ followed by a more specific reference which may or may not be analyzable, e.g.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{cem } ?\text{iar} & \quad \text{‘chicken’} \\
\text{cem } ?\text{iaw} & \quad \text{‘bulbul bird’} \\
\text{cem } ?\text{liaw} & \quad \text{‘hornbill’} \\
\text{cem } ?\text{rua} & \quad \text{‘quail’} \\
\text{cem } ?\text{ru} & \quad \text{‘pigeon’} \\
\text{cem } ?\text{ru} & \quad \text{‘duck’} \\
\text{brah } ?\text{kua} & \quad \text{‘yeti’} \\
\text{brah } ?\text{kua} & \quad \text{‘ghost, soul of dead’} \\
\text{brah } ?\text{kua} & \quad \text{‘yeti’} \\
\text{brah } ?\text{kua} & \quad \text{‘ghost, soul of dead’}
\end{align*} \]

The use of \text{?me} ‘person’ in Compound Nouns

The way in which Compound Nouns are created can be illustrated in more detail with the use of the generic Noun \text{?me} ‘person’. \text{?me} is followed by Kinterms or Descriptives to denote a generalised reference. When it combines with Kinterms to form a Compound Noun, it distinguishes a group of people by their age and gender. In such cases it only combines with \text{trie} ‘woman’, \text{klo} ‘man’, \text{broh} ‘girl’ and \text{tik} ‘boy’, e.g.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{?me } \text{trie} & \quad \text{‘woman (marriageable age), women’} \\
\text{?me } \text{klo} & \quad \text{‘man (marriageable age), men’} \\
\text{?me } \text{broh} & \quad \text{‘girl (unmarriageable age), girls’} \\
\text{?me } \text{tik} & \quad \text{‘boy (unmarriageable age), boys’}
\end{align*} \]

\text{?me} cannot occur with other Kinterms, although it can occur with the word \text{hkuan} ‘child (ref.)’ as an address Kinterm which is clearly derived from the more general Kinterm \text{kuan} ‘child’.

\text{?me} can also combine with Adjectives like \text{kra} ‘old’, Descriptives like \text{kmaj} ‘widowed’, or Proper Nouns such as \text{jru} ‘Jruq’ or \text{hlak} ‘Alak’ and Locative Nouns such as \text{kdej} ‘middle’, or \text{ktia} ‘bottom’, etc. to create Compound Nouns describing a person in terms of his/her age, marital status, race and ethnicity:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{?me } \text{kra} & \quad \text{‘elder, old person, elderly people’} \\
\text{?me } \text{kmaj} & \quad \text{‘widow/widower’} \\
\text{?me } \text{jru} & \quad \text{‘Jruq people; the Jruq person’}
\end{align*} \]

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ʔme prom ‘Suay people; the Suay person’
ʔme hlāk ‘Alak people; the Alak person’
ʔme drom ‘Lao people; the Lao person’
ʔme kew ‘Vietnamese people; the Vietnamese person’
ʔme hān ‘Nhaheun people; the Nhaheun person’
ʔme ktsō ‘Lao Loum (lowland dwellers)’
ʔme kdej ‘Lao Theung (midland dwellers)’

These structures are clearly Compound Nouns because the constituents cannot be separated with any syntactic constituents. In contrast, ʔme may be modified by an Attributive Verb Phrase to refer to a person/people who specialise in an activity such as their profession or characteristics. In such cases, the Negative Auxiliary ʔih may be inserted between the ʔme and the modifying Verb Phrase. This shows these are not Compound Nouns but Complex Noun Phrases which function like Relative Clauses:

ʔme tēc jen
person sell gold
‘Jewellers.’

ʔme hnām
person make house
‘Builders’
‘people who build houses’

ʔme kōt lāj
person have disability
‘Disabled people.’

ʔme ʔih kōt lāj
person NEG. have disability
‘people who aren’t disabled’

These examples show that ʔme ‘person’ also functions as a Common Noun so this particular word is heterosemous. In my fieldwork I recorded a further use of ʔme as a pronoun pluraliser where it was followed by singular Pronouns to create the following:

ʔme nāj ‘1PL’, ʔme bān ‘2PL’, ʔme kān ‘3PL’.

However, I only heard this usage by one speaker, so it may be his idiosyncratic way of pluralising the pronouns.
4.2.1.1 Mass vs. Discrete Nouns

The class of Common Nouns cannot be further subdivided on the basis of systematic syntactic evidence. However, some shared characteristics, such as restricted sets of phrasal modifiers, exist for certain members of the class due to their inherent semantic content: for example the distinction between discrete and mass Nouns. When modified by Quantifier Phrases, these two groups of common Nouns behave differently. Discrete Nouns can be counted using any numeral and the appropriate Numeral Classifier (§4.5.2), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{pnuəs} & \quad \textit{puan} & \quad \textit{ra} & \text{human four person.CL.} \\
\textit{hnəm} & \quad \textit{traw} & \quad \textit{ləŋ} & \text{house six house.CL.} \\
\textit{priət} & \quad \textit{bər} & \quad \textit{cət} & \quad \textit{plaj} & \text{banana two ten fruit.CL.} \\
\textit{muok} & \quad \textit{bər} & \quad \textit{tus} & \text{hat two hat.CL.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘four people’‘six houses’‘twenty bananas’‘two hats’

Mass Nouns are counted as a measured quantity, in which case the appropriate Quantifier (§4.5.3) is chosen. Some mass Nouns are like liquids which are not seen to be made up of smaller components, and others are like bunches of fruit where the number of individual fruit segments is irrelevant. The particular Classifier \(kəŋ\) ‘pair’ is used for objects which usually come in sets of two, but as the pairs can be counted as discrete objects rather than part of a whole amount, \(kəŋ\) is treated as a Classifier rather than a Quantifier.

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{kəhuaj} & \quad \textit{pe} & \quad \textit{cəhəŋ} & \text{charcoal three single.handful.Q.} \\
\textit{dak} & \quad \textit{kpə} & \quad \textit{bər} & \quad \textit{cək} & \text{water coffee two glassful.Q.} \\
\textit{priət} & \quad \textit{muj} & \quad \textit{hnurə} & \text{banana one banana.stalk.Q.} \\
\textit{tial} & \quad \textit{puan} & \quad \textit{kəŋ} & \text{earring four pair.CL.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘three handfuls of charcoal’‘two glasses of coffee’‘one stalk of bananas’‘four pairs of earrings’

4.2.2 Proper Nouns

Proper Nouns have a unique and specific reference to people or places and thus cannot be modified by Quantifier Phrases, Demonstratives, or Attributive Phrases within the NP, although they may be modified by referential Prepositional or Noun Phrases. I distinguish two types—Personal Names and Place Names, on the basis of their inherent semantic reference and particular formation.
4.2.2.1 Personal Names

A large group of Nouns are Personal Names for people. In indigenous nomenclature, a given name is used to formally identify a person (although people may additionally have a nickname). However due to the influence of Lao, most people have a given name and a family name. These days, many Jruq do not have indigenous names, and some have both indigenous and Lao names. Examples of Jruq names are given below:\footnote{Note that many Names were claimed by my informants to be used by both genders, but those which I only heard used for one gender are marked accordingly.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḱrūŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>būt</td>
<td>(male)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a?</td>
<td>(male)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔ</td>
<td>(female)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koiφə (female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three female Names happen to have two stems (compound or reduplicated) and these are more like nicknames although they are not analyseable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gin</td>
<td>(female)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin</td>
<td>(female)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ploc</td>
<td>tah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nicknames have meanings attributed to them (these words occur in the lexicon as Descriptives or Nouns):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soc</td>
<td>literally ‘last born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōdūt (male)</td>
<td>literally ‘chubby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum   (female)</td>
<td>literally ‘red’ (calqued from a common name in Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pir   (female)</td>
<td>literally ‘flower’ (calqued from a common name in Lao)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lūŋ</td>
<td>literally ‘dearest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briah (female)</td>
<td>literally ‘tiny’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Personal Names (indigenous or Lao) can be preceded by the appropriate Title or Kinterm for the referent. Titles are a kind of Name which may or may not be compounded with Personal Names. The use of Titles is seen as both more polite and more distancing (one usually uses these to refer to strangers). The Title for young women beʔ can be used with a man’s name in reference to his wife. Both Kinterms (§4.2.3) and Titles (below) can be used as address or reference terms. They also occur as substitutes for Pronouns (§4.2.4) when
addressing a person. Jruq titles are the following:

*be*? 'Miss, Mrs' —used for young to middle-aged women (married or not)

*?uo* ‘Mr, (Miss)’ —used for very young to middle-aged men (married or not); may be used for very young girls

*?îm* ‘Honorific’ —used for older men or women (ie. who have grandchildren or totally grey hair); used as a higher respect title for people of authority or royalty (regardless of age).

Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>?îm</th>
<th>kʰăc</th>
<th><em>be</em>?</th>
<th>dîl</th>
<th><em>be</em>?</th>
<th>cîŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HON.</td>
<td>kʰăc</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>dîl</td>
<td>Mrs</td>
<td>cîŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Mr kʰăc’</td>
<td>‘Miss dîl.’</td>
<td>‘Mrs cîŋ.’ (Mr. Ching’s spouse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hăn</th>
<th>mot</th>
<th><em>?uo</em></th>
<th>ne?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3P.</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>Mr</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘She loves him (over here).’

‘that girl there (near)’

### 4.2.2.2 Place Names

Place names are used to refer to demographic or political centres/areas such as villages, districts, provinces or countries; or geographical features such as mountains, creeks, waterfalls, etc. Depending on the reference, a particular generic Noun will begin the compound, followed by attributive modifiers such as Nouns, Numerals, Verbs, and Descriptives. Place Names are a type of complex Noun, not a NP—they behave as semantic and syntactic units in the sentence. The modifying elements cannot be interrupted by other syntactic constituents—nor rearranged. The entire Place Name can be modified by Demonstratives, Prepositional Phrases and other constituents just as any Noun can, thus creating an NP. Furthermore, Place Names can only refer to one particular entity in the world. Traditional village names refer to a prominent geographical feature or one found in the former location of the village\(^{54}\). Examples of Jruq indigenous place names are given below.

---

\(^{54}\) Many villages on the plateau have been documented by Dauplay (1929) and Fraisse (1951) as having relocated due to the Kommadam Rebellion, drought, or in the search of better land. In my fieldwork I found many Jruq villages were resettled in new areas due to the evacuation and devastation during the Vietnam war. Other villages have moved to the main roads and larger trade centres for the benefits of modern living such as electricity.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

dak cruḥ cēl hkāw kleh ?īh kēt
water pour down rapids bear(n.) fall NEG. die
"The bear fell but didn’t die" Waterfall.’
dak mih pnām ktuac
water large village yeti
‘Big River’ (Lao: ‘Se Nam Noi’\(^55\)) ‘Yeti Village.’ (Lao: ‘Ban Katuat’\(^56\))

The following refers to a lake (which has no attributive Geographical Name) in terms of its location on a volcano which is called ‘Bomb Volcano’:

lake on top lower back mountain fire bomb
‘The lake on top of "Bomb Volcano".’

pnām dak jrēc pnām dak hlut
village water ? village water ?
‘jrēc River Village’ ‘hlut River Village.’
(Lao: ‘Ban Thong Set’) (Lao: ‘Ban Thong Set’)

pnām dak drap pnām kriɔŋ
village water ? village ?
‘drap River Village.’ ‘kriɔŋ Village.’
(Lao: ‘Ban Pak Bong’) (Lao: ‘Ban Nong Kheuang’)

Other village names are calques or partial calques of Lao village names, e.g.:

pnām tus ruas pnām h̄n̄h kɔŋ
village head elephant village creek ?
‘Elephant Head Village’ ‘kɔŋ Creek Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Hua Sang’) (Lao: ‘Ban Houei Kong’)

pnām dak hwāk pnām dak juj
village water change village water deer
‘Changing River Village’ ‘Deer River Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Se Plan’) (Lao: ‘Ban Houei Soi’)

\(^55\) Interestingly, the Lao name for this village (which also refers to the river the village is situated on) is literally ‘little river’. Although the river is perhaps the largest watercourse on the Boloven Plateau, it pales in comparison to the huge Mekong.

\(^56\) This one of the few villages where the Lao have attempted to adopt the indigenous Jruq Name.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

\[ \text{pnâm htoŋ kéc} \quad \text{pnâm bru tkuaj ?jeŋ} \]

village fern small
‘Little Fern Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Phak Khut Noi’)

village mountain horn gold
‘Gold Horn Mountain Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Phou Khao Thong’)

\[ \text{pnâm kleŋ jroŋ} \quad \text{pnâm sár krian} \]

village swamp tall
‘High Swamp Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Nong Sung’)

village meadow black plum
‘Black Plum Meadow Village’
(Lao: ‘Ban Thong Va’)

Since the French built route 23, the adopted village naming strategy by both Lao and Jruq is to count the number of kilometers distance from a main centre such as Pakse or Paksong. Jruq villagers use either Lao or Jruq numerals in these constructions, and of course the Laotians only use the Lao.

\[ \text{pnâm lāk puan cêt tʰam} \]

village kilometer four ten eight
‘Kilometer 48 village’ (48 kilometers from Pakse)

This naming strategy resembles a NP in that there is a head Noun which appears to be modified by a Quantifier Phrase. This especially seems apparent when in ‘market’ speech Jruq speakers will often omit the Quantifier lāk ‘kilometer’ in such Place Names, just as a Quantifier/Classifier can be ellipsed in Quantifier Phrases. However lāk puan cêt tʰam ‘kilometer 48’ is clearly not a Quantifier Phrase because in Quantifier Phrases, the Quantifier/Classifier (lāk ‘kilometer’) must always follow the Numeral if there is a head Noun present. Another argument that this is not a Quantifier Phrase construction is that the Numeral is more flexible that that of true Quantifier Phrases—I have observed speakers using the integers rather than the decimal base for the calculated distance (ie. saying ‘four five’ rather than ‘forty-five’), e.g.

\[ \text{pnâm bɔŋ sanŋ} \]

village two five
‘Kilometer 25 Village.’

Such use of integers is not permitted in the quantification of Nouns within Noun Phrases. Thus I argue that the Quantifier construction in these Place Names is analysed as a single unit without internal constituency which attaches to a generic Noun (pnâm ‘village’) to create a compound Noun.
4.2.3 Locative Nouns

A closed set of words are used nominally to refer to locations and directions. These are called Locative Nouns and they include a set of Cardinal Directions which relate to four fixed compass points, plus a larger set of Locative Nouns whose meanings relate to location/direction from points of reference in context.

Cardinal Directions

The Cardinal Directions are a closed set of four Nouns derived from Prepositions and body part terms. In contemporary Jruq these words are used solely in reference to the Cardinal points of reference—north, south, east, and west.:

\[
\begin{align*}
&< \text{ho?} \text{'in'} \\
&k\bar{o}\text{ho?} \\
&\text{north} \\
&\uparrow \\
&k\bar{o}\hat{\eta} \text{ west} \leftrightarrow \rightarrow \text{east} \ k\bar{\vartheta}? \\
&< \hat{\eta} \text{‘back, behind’} \\
&\downarrow \\
&\text{south} \\
&\text{kt\hat{\eta}} \\
&< \text{PWB }^\ast \hat{\eta} \text{‘following, next’ (obsolete)}
\end{align*}
\]

Historically these four terms did not apply to compass directions, instead they were used to describe four opposite directions with respect to the village layout (hence their derivation from Prepositions ho? ‘in’ and to? ‘to’):

"After a marvelous walk in the forest, I arrive at a second Boloven village, called Ban Dong Kheuong consisting of some fifteen houses, abandoned like the others, placed on a single line and built on an identical model." (Harmand 1997:92)

Harmand describes the Jruq houses, noting that "they have a verandah on each end. A platform lengthens the floor on the side of the principle entrance" (p.89). The older informants encountered in my fieldwork described the traditional Jruq house as having a main entrance and a back door. As
Harmand noted, these houses were aligned facing the same direction in either one or two lines:

**Figure 4.1: Traditional Village Design & Traditional use of Cardinal Directions**

As these directions came to be applied to the compass cardinal directions (under the influence of the Laots and Europeans), and Jruq villages were typically aligned with rivers, the use of these terms varied from place to place (hence the confusing glosses given to these Jruq terms by Phraya (1995), and other sources). The clearest evidence of the different village positions is found in Fraisse's (1951) detailed ethnographic study of the indigenous and Lao populations living throughout the Bolovnen Plateau. In reference to the three Loven villages north of Pakson in the Nong Lè complex (at that time already established for 40 years), Fraisse (p.60) notes that “L'entrée des maisons est toujours dirigée vers l'Est: c'est un «ordre des Génies».” In comparison, in a Loven village called Ban Nhik (now called ‘Kilometer 30 Village’) to the west of Pakson, Fraisse (p.64) remarks that “L'orientation des portes des maisons se fait vers le Nord ou le Sud.”

Nowadays, Jruq people have given up their traditional village structure and so the terms are consistently used by all speakers according to compass directions. Therefore, I have consistently recorded $k\varphi ho$ as ‘north’, etc., whereas several decades ago the same term would have been applied to

---

57 Phraya Prachakij-Karacak (1994): $ph\varphi o$ ‘in’; $pl\varphi y$ ‘north’; $pr\varphi o$ ‘south’; $pr\varphi in$ ‘out’
Bondet de la Bernadie (1945): $k\varphi y$ ‘west’; $kt\varphi o$ ‘north’; $kt\varphi in$ ‘south’
Huffman (1971): $kh\varphi o$ ‘north’; $k\varphi y$ ‘west’
Ferlus (1969-70): $kt\varphi o$ ‘north’; $nam.hn\varphi y$ ‘wet season’
Jacq (1998-2000): $k\varphi ho$ ‘north’; $k\varphi \varphi y$ – $pl\varphi y$ ‘west’; $kt\varphi o$ – $pt\varphi o$ ‘east’; $k\varphi y$ – $k\varphi y$ ‘south’

58 In contrast, Martin (1997:115) states that montagnard Khmer used to align their houses with the sun, but since 1970 have been instructed by the Authorities to align housefronts with rivers.
different compass directions.

Examples I recorded are given below (unfortunately I only have examples of 'north' and 'south'—the others were given to me as lexical items only):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋ?aj} & \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{kʰoʔ} \quad \text{pak sē} \quad \text{pnām} \quad \text{ŋ?aj} \quad (\text{kuo}) \quad \text{kūŋ} \quad \text{dak} \\
1\text{SG. reside} & \quad \text{north} & \quad \text{Pakse} & \quad \text{village} 1\text{SG. (reside) south} & \quad \text{water} & \quad \text{‘I live to the north of Pakse.’} & \quad \text{‘My village is downstream.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Other Locative Nouns

There is a substantial set of Nouns which refer to sides and angles of objects from certain viewpoints, plus body part terms, which are used to describe locations and positions of things:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hма} & \quad \text{‘the right side/direction’} \quad & \quad \text{hʔiaw} & \quad \text{‘the left side/direction’} \\
\text{nāj} & \quad \text{‘the inside’} & \quad & \quad \text{braŋ} & \quad \text{‘the outside; atmosphere’} \\
\text{pīt} & \quad \text{‘the rear, behind; footprints’} & \quad & \quad \text{ŋjāl} & \quad \text{‘the front’} & \quad (\text{c.f. hŋjāl ‘forehead’}) \\
\text{krom} & \quad \text{‘the underside; downstream’} & \quad & \quad \text{piaŋ} & \quad \text{‘the top; upstream’} \\
\text{kluoʔ} & \quad \text{‘the base, anus’} & \quad & \quad \text{līŋ} & \quad \text{‘the back; behind’}
\end{align*}
\]

These are usually found in conjunction with Generic Prepositions (§4.4.1), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hān} & \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{haj} \quad \text{kluoʔ} \quad \text{lōt} \\
3\text{P. reside} & \quad \text{LOC. back} & \quad \text{car} & \quad \text{‘He stayed at the back of the truck.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔme} & \quad \text{kuan} \quad \text{ŋok} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{ŋjāl} \quad \text{ʔaj} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{sit} & \quad \text{DIR. front} & \quad 1\text{SG.} & \quad \text{‘The child is sitting to the front of me.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hwiel} & \quad \text{tus} \quad \text{pal} \quad \text{hma} \quad \text{neh} \quad \text{ʔaj} \\
\text{turn} & \quad \text{head} & \quad \text{DIR. right.side} & \quad \text{look.at} & \quad 1\text{SG.} & \quad \text{‘Turn your head to your right and look at me.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔaj} & \quad \text{ʔtiaŋ} \quad \text{ʔtoʔ} \quad \text{haj} \quad \text{krom} \\
1\text{SG. dry.in.sun} & \quad \text{hot} & \quad \text{LOC. underneath} & \quad \text{‘I’m drying (the clothes) in the underpart (of the house).’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kat} & \quad \text{ʔjuo} \quad \text{dāŋ} \quad \text{haj} \quad \text{nāj} \\
\text{have} & \quad \text{thing} & \quad \text{which?} & \quad \text{LOC. inside} & \quad \text{‘Is there anything inside (the container)?’}
\end{align*}
\]

146
Sometimes these Locative Nouns can be used without preceding Generic Prepositions—in such cases I treat them as having a 'prepositional function' (see §4.4.1.1). Like Prepositions they can modify either Nouns or Verbs, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piŋ} & \quad \text{pit} & \quad \text{ne}? & \quad \text{kot} & \quad \text{trôm} & \quad \text{lub} \\
\text{tooth behind} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{have} & \quad \text{hole} & \quad \text{pierce} & \\
\text{The tooth at the back of this one has a hole through it.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hân} & \quad \text{bih} & \quad \text{têc} & \quad \text{jen} & \quad \text{pit} & \quad \text{hnêm} \\
\text{3P. come sell gold behind house} & \\
\text{She's come to sell gold (in the stalls) at the back of (this) cafe.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pnâm} & \quad \text{pioŋ} & \quad \text{dak} & \quad \text{kâm} & \quad \text{ląŋ} & \quad \text{koc} \\
\text{village upstream water inchoative burn} & \\
\text{The village upstream is starting to burn.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{plâŋ} & \quad \text{hli} & \quad \text{kuo} & \quad \text{pioŋ} & \quad \text{?îŋ} \\
\text{fruit.CL. corn reside top fire} & \\
\text{The corn is (hanging) over the fire.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cem} & \quad \text{pâr} & \quad \text{pioŋ} & \quad \text{hnêm} \\
\text{bird fly top house} & \\
\text{Birds are flying over the house.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?aj} & \quad \text{?da'?} & \quad \text{kset} & \quad \text{krom} & \quad \text{dâŋ} \\
\text{1SG. put cassette underneath stool} & \\
\text{I put the cassette under the stool.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pnâm} & \quad \text{?aj} & \quad \text{kuo} & \quad \text{krom} & \quad \text{dak} \\
\text{village 1SG. reside downstream water} & \\
\text{My village is downstream.}
\end{align*}
\]
4.2.4 Kinterms

Another subset of Nouns is Kinterms, which refer to and address people by their relationships to each other. These can be modified by another Kinterm, Pronoun, Personal Name, or Demonstrative within the NP. In my fieldwork I have not recorded a Kinterm modified by an Attributive or Referential Phrase and thus I am not certain if this is a possible construction.

The Kinterm system in Jruq is quite large and distinguishes, among other things, age, gender, five consanguineal generations (by blood), and affinal (by marriage) relations. Most of these Kinterms are both address terms and reference terms.

The Jruq Kinship system is complicated as it distinguishes lineal relations and only some collateral relations. Lineal relations are direct antecedents and descendants such as grandparents, parents, siblings, children, grandchildren, (see Figure 4.2 below).

Figure 4.2: Ego’s kinterms for Lineal Blood Relatives

\[
\begin{align*}
(&\text{tie} \sim ?\text{jo}) \text{ cuc} & \text{great-great-great-grandparents} \\
(&\text{tie} \sim ?\text{jo}) \text{ cēc} & \text{great-great-grandparents} \\
(&\text{tie} \sim ?\text{jo}) \text{ cāŋ} & \text{great-grandparents} \\
\text{?tie} \sim ?\text{jo} & \text{grandparents (grandmother \sim grandfather)} \\
\text{ma?} \sim \text{ bap} & \text{parents (mother \sim father)} \\
\text{ego} & \\
\text{kuan} & \text{children} \\
\text{caw} & \text{grandchildren} \\
(k\text{uan}) \text{ cēc} & \text{great-grandchildren} \\
(k\text{uan}) \text{ cuc} & \text{great-great-grandchildren}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that cēc and cuc have different generational distance from Ego depending on whether they are younger or older generations. However, this is only when viewed from the contemporary Western idea of generational Kinship. In Jruq society, the nuclear family is seen as including one’s parents, one’s siblings, one’s children AND one’s grandparents (grandparents often filling the role of raising their grandchildren). Therefore if we analyse the Jruq
lineal kinship in terms of generations removed from this nuclear family, the forms cēc and cuc are mirrored in older and younger generations. Consistent with this, gender distinctions are not distinguished outside the nuclear family.

Collateral relations are those blood relatives which are not directly related, such as aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, great-aunts, etc. Depending on the generation, these collateral relations will be distinguished from lineal relatives within the same generation. Figure 4.3 below illustrates this clearly. Within ego's generation one's siblings and cousins are not distinguished; but in the first ascending and first descending generations, these collateral and lineal relations are distinguished. Note that all Jruq Kinterms are those which Ego would use as reference and address terms, lines are used to show genetic relations not direction of speech:

**Figure 4.3: Ego's kinterms for Blood Relatives**

In the diagram above, note that age is an important feature distinguished only
within ego’s generation, where the kinters ?o?h ‘younger sibling/cousin’ and 
ja? ‘older sibling/cousin’ are found. The age of ego’s siblings/cousins will 
determine the appropriate term for their children: muan pja? versus muan ptuej. 
Age of any other relative is not relevant in the Jruq kinship. Age of one’s 
siblings/cousins was also found to be the basis of the Nhaheun kinship 
system:

La dichotomie entre aîné et cadets, qui est à la base du système 
nya hön, se reflète également dans les appellations et la 
comportement à l’usage des alliés (broy). (Wall 1975:72)

In comparison, gender is only distinguished for the first and second 
ascending generations (ego’s parents and grandparents). This is common in 
hilltribe kinship systems throughout Southeast Asia, and possibly reflects a 
relatively equal balance between the sexes in society59. Eggan (1960:48) 
points this out with regard to the Luzon ‘Sagada Igorote tribe’:

The principle of generation, and, to a lesser extent, that of relative 
age are important in all Mountain Province systems. The position 
and activities of the sexes are balanced, and sex distinction in 
terminology are restricted, for the most part, to the aparental 
generation and the immediate family.

Of course, Jruq speakers can always indicate the gender of any other kin with 
over marking. With kin of marriageable age one can simply place trie ‘wife’ or 
klo ‘husband’ at the end of the kinterm, e.g. ?o?h klo ‘younger brother’, mih trie 
‘aunt’. For one’s kin who are not of marriageable age, one instead uses the 
terms bro?h ‘girl’ and tk?k ‘boy’ to indicate gender.

For relations which are more distantly removed such as nephews, great-
grandfathers, Jruq speakers usually indicate gender using an additional word 
?me ‘person’ before trie ‘woman’, or klo ‘man’, e.g. ?me trie ‘female, woman’, 
?me klo ‘male, man’. One can also use this construction to indicate gender of 
one’s children, siblings etc. (e.g. kuan ?me klo ‘son’), so there is no apparent 
difference in the meaning when it is used for close versus distant relations. 
Rather, ?me is used pragmatically to signal that one is talking about gender

59 Jruq social structure is quite egalitarian. However, matrilocality is preferred when Jruq marry. 
This is also found in Nhaheun society, and the matrilineal system is evident in: a) ricefields taking 
the name of women, b) burial on the side of one’s maternal parents, and c) totems carried out by 
both husband and wife to each other and their children until death (Wall 1975). These latter 
traditions and law are no longer practised by the Jruq.
rather than spousal relationships (e.g. ʔoh ʔme trie ‘younger sister’) because klo and trie are also used to refer to the spousal relationships ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ respectively. Thus they can be added to Kinterms when specifying one’s in-laws in a Relational Phrase (e.g. ʔoh trie ‘wife’s younger brother’). For more discussion of the use of ʔme ‘person’, see §4.2.3.1.

One can also use consanguineal Kinterms like ‘nephew/niece’, ‘elder sibling’, ‘grandmother’, etc. as address and reference terms to people who are close friends but not at all related. This is typical throughout the area (such as in Lao). To indicate a referent is a true blood relation one modifies the Kterm with the reduplicated Intensifier Adverb ʔmat ʔmat ‘very’, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hăn} & \quad \text{ja} & \quad ʔmat & \quad ʔmat & \quad ʔaj \\
3P. & \quad \text{elder.sibling} & \quad \text{RED.-very} & \quad 1SG. & \quad \text{‘He’s my real elder brother.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Some additional Kinterms which are both address and reference terms are used by speakers for ‘fictive relatives’ (those which are not true blood or in-law relations):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b̥p} & \quad \text{kra? ‘grandfather’ (respect term used for really old men with totally grey hair—one can also use the respect title ʔim ‘HON.’) } \\
\text{mo?} & \quad \text{kra? ‘grandmother’ (respect term used for really old women with totally grey hair—one can also use the respect title ʔim ‘HON.’) } \\
(ʔme) & \quad \text{hkuan ‘child (ref.)’ (used to address any youth if the speaker is older than their parents) }
\end{align*}
\]

The grandparent terms immediately above are also preferred by some speakers over ʔie and ʔjo for one’s true grandparents. There is no associated meaning difference between these and thus they are probably like the multitude of kinterms English has for grandparents, e.g. grandma, grandmother, grandmamma, nanna, nan, etc. Other Jruq sources such as Phraya Prachakij-karacak (1995) and Fraisse (1951) recorded additional forms for grandparents which my informants did not recognize:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ya} & \quad (jəʔ?) ‘grand’mère’ (Fraisse 1951)— possibly < mo? ‘mother’ showing the ʔj ~ j alliteration common to terms for older relatives (§3.2.1.4). \\
\text{jaəp} & \quad (jəp?) ‘mother’s mother’ (Phraya 1995)— possibly < b̥p ‘father’ showing the ʔj ~ j alliteration common in terms for older kin. Phraya also records jie (ʔie) = ‘father’s mother’; joo (ʔjo) = ‘father’s father’
\end{align*}
\]
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

I did record the word \textit{?ja?} in combination with various lineal ascending kinterms as a cover term referring to ancestors and older relatives without gender distinctions, e.g.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{?ja?} cëc ‘great-grandparents’
  \item \textit{?ja?} \textit{?jo} ‘grandfather; great-grandfather’
  \item \textit{?ja?} \textit{?ie} ‘grandmother; great-grandmother’
\end{itemize}

**Affinial (in-law) Kinship**

So far, all discussion has concerned consanguineal Kinship terms. The system of Jruq Kinterms also distinguishes affinal (in-law) relations and these have a different structure as illustrated below in Figure 4.4 (note: marriage indicated with ‘\(=\)’, spouse with ‘\(\bullet\)’, ego’s blood relatives with ‘\(\nabla\)’, blood relatives and their spouses of ego’s spouse with ‘\(\bigstar\)’):

\begin{center}
\textbf{Figure 4.4: Ego’s kinterms for Spouses of Blood Relatives}
\end{center}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\textbf{ego} = \textit{\bigstar trie / klo} \textit{wife / husband}}
  \item \textit{\textit{\textbf{\textit{?oh}} \nabla = \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{hkaj}}} \textit{y’ger sibling}}} \textit{y’ger sibling’s spouse}}
  \item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{muan ptuej}} \nabla = \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{psaw}}} \textit{elder sibling’s child}}} \textit{elder cousin’s child \textit{elder sibling’s child’s spouse}}}
  \item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{kuan}}} \nabla = \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{miak / psaw}}} \textit{ego’s child}}} \textit{ego’s child’s spouse}}
  \item \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{muan pja?}}} \nabla = \textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{psaw}}} \textit{y’ger sibling’s child}}} \textit{y’ger cousin’s child \textit{y’ger sibling’s child’s spouse}}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{60} Speakers individually prefer one or other of these terms but I have heard both used without any difference in meaning. In fact, many of my informants stated emphatically that \textit{miak} = \textit{psaw} = ‘child-in-law’. Both words are indigenous to the WB system, but it appears that Jruq is losing the use of \textit{miak} as a distinction between one’s own child’s spouse versus one’s nephews/nieces spouses. Perhaps they once indicated gender of the spouse rather than collateral relationships as is found in Nhaheun — \textit{miak = daughter-in-law}, \textit{saw = ‘son-in-law’}.

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The relative age of ego's siblings is important here because it conditions a difference in spousal kinterms. Unlike the ego's collateral blood relations (in Figure 4.3 above), the spouses of one's nephews, nieces and second cousins are called the same term—psaw, regardless of their descendence from ego's younger or older siblings/cousins.

**Figure 4.5: Ego's kinterms for Relatives of Spouse**

The terms one uses for one's spouse's family form a different system altogether than the kin relations described thus far. The word hkāj found for 'ego's younger sibling's spouse' is used for all elder relations of one's spouse disregarding affinal, lineal or collateral status. Thus hkāj is used for grandparents, aunts, elder siblings, elder siblings' spouses, elder cousins, and parents of one's spouse. The younger sibling (and his/her spouse) of one's spouse is addressed and refered to as ?oh 'younger sibling'.

From the figures given so far, one can make the following simple generalisations:

- Jruq consanguineal Kinship system is lineal; the affinal marking system is lineal only with one's own consanguineal relative's spouses (the relatives on the side of the spouse are not lineal).
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

• Collateral distinctions are made for consanguineal relations at the first ascending generation and descending generations

• Gender distinctions are inherent for the first and second ascending generation for lineal relatives only; age distinctions are inherent for ego’s generation only (this applies for both consanguineal and affinal systems).

Additional terms used for referring to specific kinship relations include the following terms:

(kuan) soc ‘youngest/last born’, (kuan) ?loŋ ‘eldest/first born’,
(kuan) kdeŋ ‘middle born’, (kuan) mian ‘foster child’
ban hmoŋ ‘relatives’, nai hmoŋ ‘nuclear family’
bam siew ‘close unrelated friend’

Note that although the latter three begin with pronouns ban ‘3PL’ and nai ‘1PL’ they describe people in terms of lasting relationships rather than deictic information. Therefore I class them as Kinterms.

4.2.5 Pronouns

Personal Pronouns are a small closed class of Nouns which are used to refer to entities in terms of deictic relationship to the speaker and addressee. These generally refer to humans but can also refer to animals and sometimes even inanimate objects and abstract notions. For example, compare hān ‘3P’ in the following sentences:

hān ?me hān
3P. person Nhaheun
‘He is a Nhaheun man.’

cō ?jouco cō tros hān croum ban
dog female dog male 3P. on.top.of each.other
‘The female and male dogs, they are mounting each other.’

kla hān bul pêt
owner 3P. drunk drink.alcohol
‘Its (the book’s) owner was drunk.’

kʰān hān māŋ ?im ma mām ci? lā
if 3P. night HON. FUT. brave return Q
‘If it’s dark will you be brave enough to return (home)?’
Pronouns are distinct from Demonstratives (§4.8)—another word class with a deictic function; because Demonstratives refer solely to locations and places in relation to the speaker/addressee. Unlike other Nouns, Pronouns are subcategorised for number and person. There is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first and second person, a gender distinction in third person singular and a pragmatic new/old referent distinction in third person singular (without gender specificity). Pronouns also have a significant characteristic of substituting the entire NP (ie. not taking any modifiers). In the few situations when they take referential markers such as PP’s and Demonstratives, they must be repeated in a new Clause without any modifiers (this is the Echo-Subject construction, discussed in §6.2.2).

The Pronominal system is quite complicated in the third person so I begin by describing first and second person system.

Table 4.1: 1st & 2nd person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>?aj</td>
<td>saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>?jiə</td>
<td>jər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>njaj</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kpâŋ ?aj (incl.)(^{61})</td>
<td>kpâŋ saw (free variants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ban njaj (excl.)(^{62})</td>
<td>ban pe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{61}\) I have variously recorded this pronoun ‘we (exc.)’ as kpâŋ njaj and kpâŋ ?aj. It appears I may have misjudged the word boundary between the stems and that the correct transcription is the latter. This is also supported by Bondet de la Bernadie’s (1949) recording of k’pang ai /kpâŋ ?aj/ ‘nous’ and both our recordings of the 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns with the singular pronoun stems— Bondet: k’pang sôu ‘vous’, k’pang hon ‘ils, eux, elles’; Jacq: kpâŋ saw ‘2pl.’, kpâŋ ban ‘3pl.’.

\(^{62}\) Bondet de la Bernadie recorded this form as ban ai ‘nous’ which I retranscribe as ban ?aj, whereas both myself and Cabaton (1905) recorded it with the ?aj ‘1pl’ stem: ban ?aj ‘nous (eux et moi)’. I believe the correct form is the latter, especially as it parallels the use of the second person plural pronoun—Cabaton 1905 recorded ban pe ‘vous’, and I recorded ban pe ‘you (and your friend)’. 

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The singular and dual Pronouns are quite straightforward, however I found that second language speakers tend not to know the dual forms (they will possibly be lost from the system within another generation).

There are three ways of forming plural first and second persons. The most common is to use *naj* '1PL.' and *pe* '2PL.' for all referents. Older speakers retain distinctive forms which may go back to historical inclusive and exclusive distinctions. Some speakers form plurals with *kpān* 'group' plus singular Pronoun, while others use the 'indefinite pronoun' *bân* (§4.2.4.1) plus the unmarked plurals.

The third person system has increased complications due to borrowings and overlapping meanings of various forms. The following third person Pronouns have a particular restriction which distinguishes their application:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>animate</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td><em>kiak</em></td>
<td><em>kpān hān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td><em>buaj</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inanimate or animate</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>câp</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these, there are two *generic* third person Pronouns: *hān* (< Vietnamese) used for any 3rd person referent and a generic third person indefinite pronoun *bân* 'other, someone' (see Table 4.3).

---

63 These have cognates in Nhaheun and reflect the historical West Bahmaric Pronominal system. The Nhaheun pronouns are: *aa* '1sg.', *bâa* '1dual.incl.', *ngaa* '1pl.incl.', *yûa* '1dual.excl.', *naa* '1pl.excl.', *saa* '2sg.', *djaan* '2dual', *we* '2pl.', *djraab* '3sg.', *me* '3pl.' (Wall 1979:196)

64 This Pronoun has only been recorded in Jruq by Thomas & Andrianoff (1979). I include it here despite not recording it myself (my informants always used the generic third person *hān* for singular inanimate objects) because it is well supported by other West Bahmaric languages such as Sapuan and Oi.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

Table 4.3: Generic 3rd Person Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inanimate or animate</th>
<th>definite</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hǎn</td>
<td></td>
<td>bēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hǎn ‘3P’ can be used for either singular or plural humans, animals, inanimate objects (books), natural objects (trees, water) and abstract entities (such as the sun and wind). Other WB languages do not have this term, so it appears to be a recent loan word possibly through the Katuic languages from which Jruq has received many loanwords.

Both bēn ‘3PL.’ and hǎn ‘3P.’ can be used instead of the more specific third person pronouns, e.g.

\[\text{ʔán hán luj loh hmoh ?juo hán lyn haj saw} \]
not 3P. angry Q name thing 3P. tell LOC. 2SG.
\[\text{tāŋ dūŋ saw roj kiak} \]
WH. long.time 2SG. inform 3SG.
‘He wasn’t angry was he? What did he tell you? How long ago was it since you told him?’

\[\text{ŋaj hḍāj cāp pcruop} \]
1PL. borrow 3PL. wear
‘We borrowed them (sarongs) to wear.’

\[\text{ŋaj hḍāj bān pcruop} \]
1PL. borrow 3PL. wear
‘We borrowed some (sarongs) to wear.’

---

65 ‘He’ in all three of these clauses refers to a man who was not present in the discourse but whose name was mentioned previously in the conversation.
4.2.5.1 The use of \( b\alpha n \) as Indefinite/Identity Pronoun or Noun

The word \( b\alpha n \) is somewhat problematic. Its most basic role is as a third person Indefinite Pronoun 'someone (else)', however it can also be used without any reference to indefiniteness as an Identity Pronoun 'other'\(^{66}\). Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( b\alpha n \) } & \text{ ma ruat} \\
\text{other } & \text{ FUT. buy} \\
\text{'Others/someone else will buy it.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{h\=a\=n } & \text{ cet saw ?di? hom b\alpha n} \\
3p. & \text{ love 2SG. much more than other} \\
\text{'He loves you more than any other (person in the world).'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saw bim } & \text{ pʰɔ ñám hom b\alpha n} \\
2SG. & \text{ make soup tasty more than other} \\
\text{'You make tastier soup than other (people).'}
\end{align*}
\]

\( b\alpha n \) also has a role in marking first and second person Pronouns as plural (see Table 4.1). Furthermore \( b\alpha n \) falls into the Common Noun class. This latter function is clear in the following examples where \( b\alpha n \) is modified by a Pronoun in a Possessive Construction (true Pronouns cannot be Possessed). When in a Possessive (or Referential Phrase) Construction, its meaning is limited to 'friend':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( b\alpha n \) } & \text{ ñaj crɔ? ñāj wān kot b\alpha n ?aj haj pak sɔŋ} \\
\text{friend 1PL. early tomorrow birthday friend 1SG. LOC. Paksong} \\
\text{'It's our friend's (present). Tomorrow morning is my friend's birthday in Paksong.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hnɔm } & \text{ ñme klo b\alpha n ?aj hnɔm clp} \\
\text{house person man friend 1SG. house 3PL.} \\
\text{The house of my friends (male), their house.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Another function of \( b\alpha n \) is as an emphatic Reciprocal Pronoun meaning 'each other'. In this function it is never possessed (true Pronouns can't be possessed), and it substitutes for the entire Object NP Argument (those which refer to Patient). In such constructions it is often ambiguous as to whether \( b\alpha n \)

---

\(^{66}\) See Haspelmath (1997) for discussion of the difference between these two functions.
corefers to the Subject or not. Thus, it can be interpreted as either an emphatic Reciprocal Pronoun or an Indefinite Pronoun, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\eta\acute{a}j & kn\ddot{o}k & b\ddot{a}n & h\ddot{a}n & c\ddot{e}t & b\ddot{a}n \\
1\text{PL.} & \text{hug each other} & 3\text{P.} & \text{love each other} & \\
\text{‘We hug other (people).’} & \text{‘They love other (people).’} & \\
\text{‘We hug each other.’} & \text{‘They are best friends.’} & \\
\text{(Lit. ‘They love each other’) } & \\
\end{array}
\]

In conjunction with Prepositions such as \(?\eta\eta n\) ‘accompany’, \(t\ddot{o}j\) ‘accompany’, or the verb \(t\ddot{m}\ddot{a}r\) ‘quarrel’, which are typically used for reciprocal interpretations, the \(b\ddot{a}n\) is normally interpreted as a Reciprocal Pronoun, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\eta\acute{a}j & ?\eta\eta n & b\ddot{a}n \\
1\text{PL.} & \text{accompany each other} & 3\text{P.} & \text{angry} \\
\text{‘We’re accompanying each other.’} & \text{‘We accompanied others/ friends.’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
tn\ddot{a}j & s\ddot{a}j & ?m\ddot{e} & k\ddot{r}a? & t\ddot{m}\ddot{a}r & b\ddot{a}n & h\ddot{a}n & luj \\
\text{day} & \text{previous person} & \text{old} & \text{quarrel each other} & 3\text{P.} & \text{angry} \\
\text{‘Yesterday, the old couple quarrelled with each other, they were angry.’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, in the fixed expression below (a leave-taking Speech act), \(b\ddot{a}n\) is always a Reciprocal Pronoun:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\emptyset & b\ddot{i}? & ?\ddot{e} & b\ddot{o} & b\ddot{a}n & ?\ddot{n}\ddot{a}w \\
(1\text{PL.}) & \text{soon there see each other again} & \\
\text{‘(We’ll) meet each other again soon!’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

From my limited corpus of Jruq data, I am not certain whether or not the Reciprocal reading must involve a strict one-to-one relationship where all participants equally fill the Subject and Patient roles. For example, the following two sentences could have meant ‘each Referent was affecting each and every other Referent’ (a strict one-to-one relationship); or they could have the interpretation that within the large group of possible Referents each individual was affecting at least one other different Referent in the group, and probably all Referents were affected\(^{67}\).

\(^{67}\) This is similar in interpretation to ‘the plates were stacked on top of each other’, whereby each plate is stacked on another plate but not directly on every single plate. (Avery Andrews pers. com. 22/1/2001)
Chapter 4: Word Classes

\textit{kuan} \textit{cə} \textit{raj} \textit{ban}

child dog fool.around each.\textit{other}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft The puppies are fooling around with each other.\textquoteright\textquoteleft}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft The men are punching each other for fun.\textquoteright\textquoteleft}

Even in the example given earlier on page 154: \textit{cə ?juo cə tros hän cruom ban}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft The female and male dogs, they are mounting each other.\textquotequotequote}, it could be interpreted that both participants are equally engaged in the activity of copulation, although from an English speaker's perspective, one is \textit{mounting} the other (a better gloss for \textit{cruom} could be \textquoteleft copulate(animals)\textquotequotequote).

Where the Grammatical Object involves two (or more) inanimate Patient Referents which do not corefer to the Subject, \textit{ban} translates as \textquoteleft together\textquotequotequote, e.g.

\textit{saw} \textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft mai \textit{Ø} hrus \textit{ban}}

2SG. speak (language) confuse together

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft You speak the (two languages) mixed together.\textquotequotequote}

\textit{bih cuok \textit{Ø} \textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft rep \textit{ban}}

come pound (ingredients) accompany together

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft Pound (all the ingredients) together.\textquotequotequote}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft (We're) eating together.\textquotequotequote}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft (We're) eating each other.\textquotequotequote}

Sometimes, the \textit{ban} is ambiguous depending on whether the Argument is functioning to mark two inanimate Patients or an Indefinite Pronoun, Reciprocal Pronoun or full Noun in a Relational (possessive) Phrase. Thus, in the examples below \textit{ban} could be interpreted as \textquoteleft together; of another; of each other; of a friend\textquotequotequote:

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft \textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft raj \textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft pah tēj \textit{ban}}}

1SG. clap hand ***

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft I'm clapping my hands together.\textquotequotequote}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft I hit my friend's hand(s).'}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft I hit the hand of someone.'}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft We hit our heads together.'}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft We hit each other's head.'}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft We hit the head of someone.'}

\textit{\textquoteleft\textquoteleft We hit our friend's head.'}

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4.2.6 Ignoratives

The last subclass of Nouns to be discussed is Ignoratives "...which signal various types of speaker attitude to lack of knowledge in a particular epistemic domain" (Evans 2000:719). In Jruq these comprise a small closed class of words which subclass into Interrogatives and Indefinite Nouns. They express categories such as person, thing, reason, manner, place, quantity and time. Most of the Ignoratives in Jruq are polysemous—that is they share the same form but have a different function (Interrogative versus Indefinite Pronoun) depending on their syntactic position within the clause.

As pointed out by Karcevski (1969) and many others (e.g. Wierzbicka 1980b), the common element in the meaning of indefinite and interrogative pronouns is ignorance (hence Karcevski's term 'ignorative pronouns'). Given this common meaning element, one might suspect that an interrogative-indefinite pronoun could actually be vague rather than polysemous. (Haspelmath 1997:175)

In Jruq, there is a syntactic distinction between the use of Ignoratives as Indefinite Nouns versus Interrogative Nouns—the latter are always fronted to the beginning of the Clause, whereas Indefinite Nouns occur within the Clause in the place required by their argument role. Therefore I treat them as distinct subcategories of Ignorative.

4.2.6.1 Interrogatives

Interrogatives change statements into questions (Interrogative Sentences §6.3)—demanding an identification or explanation of some unknown. There are two kinds—Information Interrogatives and Identification Interrogatives.

Information Interrogatives

Information Interrogatives are placed before the Subject of the Clause regardless of their syntactic role in relation to the Predicate or Phrase (e.g. Object, Noun within an Attributive Phrase, Noun within a Prepositional Phrase, etc.). Thus they are comparable to English 'Wh'-questions which involve wh-clefting. They are usually preceded by the Interrogative Particles ḥaŋ ʔaŋ 'how?' or ḥmæh 'name'.

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ʔjāŋ ~ tāŋ 'WH.'

The topic of Information Interrogative Sentences (§6.3.2.2) consists of Compound Nouns formed by combining the Interrogative Particle ʔjāŋ ~ tāŋ with one of the following:

Nouns:
• ʔjua ‘thing’ giving non-human reference
• ʔjua ‘thing’ (+ more specific noun) giving inanimate reference

Predicatives:
• hmoŋ ‘to name, be named’
• kǝt ‘to have, exist’
• dǝŋ ‘take a long time, be ages’

Examples of these Interrogative constructions are given below:

ʔjāŋ ʔjua saw məŋ ?ok
WH thing 2SG. want drink
'What do you want to drink?'

tāŋ kǝt saw niəm
WH have 2SG. cry
'Why are you crying?'

ʔjāŋ hmoŋ si saw
WH name name 2SG.
'What is your name?'

tāŋ dǝŋ saw bīh haj ?pe?
WH long.time 2SG. come LOC. this
'How long did you come here for?'

hmoŋ 'WH.UNKNOWNS'

The word hmoŋ, which as a Verb means 'to name, be called', is used in place of the more generic Interrogative Particle ʔjāŋ ~ tāŋ 'WH.' to signal that the topic of the Interrogative Sentence is unknown or unseen by the Interrogator. Thus it is typically used when inquiring about abstract things like someone else's dreams or intentions, or a conversation which was not heard by the speaker. It can also signal a concrete entity which is not clearly visible to the speaker at the time of discourse (such as when the speaker's view is obstructed or the speaker is too distant to see it clearly). In all of these
situations, *hməh* 'WH.UNSPEC' compounds with either *?jua* 'thing (non-human/abstract)' or *?uo* 'thing (inanimate concrete object)', e.g.

*hməh*  
*?jua* saw cian  
WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. carry.in.hand LOC. hand  
'What are you holding (enclosed) in your hand?'

*māŋ daŋ hməh*  
*?jua* saw pkįŋ taw  
night last WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. dream see  
'Last night, what did you dream of?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* saw dāŋ  
WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. hunt  
'What are you looking for?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* saw hla ?aŋ  
WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. ask 1SG.  
'What did you ask me?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* saw ceh haj ?aŋ  
WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. insert LOC. soup  
'What things (I didn’t see) did you put in the soup?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* tלק kdoŋ ?aŋ  
WH.UNSPEC thing pot reheat soup  
'In which pot are you cooking the soup?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* trie hān bim wiak  
WH.UNSPEC thing wife 3P. make work  
'What kind of work does his wife do?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* trie hān haj  
WH.UNSPEC thing wife 3P. angry  
'What was his wife angry about?'

The contrast between *?jāŋ* and *hməh* is clear in the following pair of sentences:

*?jāŋ*  
*?jua* saw bim  
WH. thing 2SG. make  
'What (thing I can see you doing now) are you doing?'

*hməh*  
*?jua* saw bim  
WH.UNSPEC thing 2SG. make  
'What (activity that is obstructed from my view) are you doing?'
Speakers can delete the ʔuo or ʔuo when the meaning is clear from context:

\[
\text{hmoh} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{hän} \quad \text{ciŋ}
\]

WH.UNKNOWN (object) 3P. hold.in.hand
‘What’s he holding in his hand?’

In one example it appears that hmoh can fulfill the Temporal Phrase Adjunct position in a Clause, if the unknown time is the Topic of the Interrogative:

\[
\text{hmoh} \quad \text{bəc} \quad \text{hän} \quad \text{cök} \quad \text{klo} \quad \text{ʔnaw}
\]

WH.UNKNOWN PAST 3P. take man new
‘How long ago did she remarry?’

Interestingly, although the Interrogatives formed by ʔjäŋ ~ tæŋ and hmoh can be used for many NP roles including Direct Object, Indirect Object, Complement NP’s and even Temporal NP’s, neither of them can be used in reference to human Subject NPs. Thus the following are ungrammatical:

* \(\text{ʔjäŋ (ʔme)} \quad \text{bim} \quad \text{hməm} \quad \text{ne}\)?

WH. (person) make house this
‘Which person built this house?’

* \(\text{hmoh} \quad \text{(pnus)} \quad \text{bim} \quad \text{hməm} \quad \text{ne}\)?

WH.UNKNOWN (person) make house this
‘Which person built this house?’

Instead, one has to use the Identification Interrogative Noun ʔme dāj ‘which person?’ (see below). This is an interesting gap and perhaps reflects the semantics of Subjects.

The Interrogative Particle hmoh is probably cognate with hmaw ‘how’ in Pale (Palaung branch of Mon-Khmer). In contrast, the Pale Interrogative never conditions a wh-cleft construction; instead it appears in the position of the argument it stands for (thus it is functionally equivalent to dāj ‘which?’ in Jruq):

\[
\text{hmaw} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{pai} \quad \text{kha} \quad \text{ani}
\]

how (we) will manage occasion this
‘This time, how will we possibly make it?’

“Hmaw” occurs at any point in the clause where more specific information is desired—more specifically, it occurs as head or modifier of any point in the clause calling for classification.
Example:
"h mau" as head of the object, in a clause construct.

S: np  P: vp  O: cl. constr.
mei  m uh  are  dz ag  h mau

you have matter called what?

'What kind of trouble do you have?' (Janzen 1976:679)

Identification Interrogative

There are also Interrogative Constructions which ask the Addressee to specify one of a given set of entities. The Identification Interrogative Topic is formed by combining a Noun with the Interrogative Particle dâj ‘which?’—on the model: person+which? = who?, month/year+which? = when?, etc. The word dâj has been borrowed into Jruq from Lao Interrogative ไป /dây/ ‘where, when, what, who’, and has now permeated the Interrogative system to such an extent that today there are two competing systems (information versus identification) which a speaker can use to enquire about the same thing.

In the Identificational Interrogative compound, the Noun which precedes dâj must inherently be able to stand for a group of entities from which one or more members can be nominated (i.e. not m io ‘rain’, m ât n âj ‘sun’, etc.). These constructions can take any NP role and usually appear in situ (in the normal syntactic position of that role). However, I have recorded some examples where the Topic is fronted to a Pre-Subject position as a focus device. This contrasts with the Information Interrogative which is restricted to pre-Subject position.

Words that frequently combine with dâj ‘which?’ are:

• m e ‘person’
• j uo ‘thing’
• s i ‘colour’
• b o n ‘place’
• p n âm ‘village’
• p h et ‘country’
• k âj ‘month’
• n âj ‘day’
• k m o ‘year’
• w e l a ‘time’

• m e d âj ‘who?’
• j uo d âj ‘what?’
• s i d âj ‘what colour?’
• b o n d âj ‘where?’
• p n âm d âj ‘where?’
• p h et d âj ‘where?’
• k âj d âj ‘when?’
• n âj d âj ‘when?’
• k m o d âj ‘when?’
• w e l a d âj ‘when?’

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All of these may themselves be preceded with the generic third person Pronoun ʰành '3P.' to indicate a specific reference (the dâj ‘which?’ may then be omitted as it is redundant), e.g.

ʰành ʔjuo (dâj) saw mup se
3P. thing which? 2SG. want listen
‘Which things do you want to hear (told)?’

ne ʰành ʔme (dâj) kla hnâm
that 3P. person which? own house
‘Who owns that house over there?’

ʰành tŋaj (dâj) saw ma ci?
3P. day which? 2SG. FUT. return
‘Which day will you return?’

kmo ᵃŋaj ʰành kʰaj (dâj) saw ma bìh
year following 3P. month which? 2SG. FUT. come
‘Next year, which month will you come?’

In the ‘where?’ meaning, if the type of place is irrelevant, Jruq speakers simply combine Generic Prepositions ᵃŋaj ‘LOC.’, təʔ ‘to’, tãm ‘from’ with dâj, e.g.

•왹ⱨj ‘LOC.’
•tãm ᵃŋaj ‘from LOC.’
•təʔ ᵃŋaj ‘to LOC.’

In ritualised speech such as in the Jruq phatic greetings ‘where are you going?’, ‘where have you come from?’ etc. (§6.5), the dâj ‘which?’ may also be omitted, leaving just the Preposition, e.g.

ʰⱨj (dâj) saw ma re?
Loc. which? 2SG. FUT. go
‘Where are you going?’

təʔ ᵃŋaj (dâj) saw ma re?
to Loc. which? 2SG. FUT. go
‘Where are you going to?’

tãm ᵃŋaj (dâj) saw bìh
from Loc. which? 2SG. come
‘Where have you been?’
Examples illustrating the various combinations with dāj are given below:

?im  dāj  klo  ?im
person which? husband HON.
‘Who is your (‘Madam’s’) husband?’

hbi?  sāj  ne  ?im  dāj  bīh  juon  saw  hāj  ne?
evening previous here person which? come send 2SG. LOC. this
‘Who sent you here yesterday evening?’

saw  ma  bīh  buaj  ?im  dāj  hāj  pak  soŋ
2SG. FUT. come accompany person which? LOC. Pakson
‘Who will you take to Paksong?’

saw  hma  lōt  kʰōŋ  ?im  dāj
2SG. ride vehicle POSS. person which?
‘You rode in whose car?’

?juo  dāj  saw  bim
thing which? 2SG. make
‘What are you doing?’ (note left-dislocation for focus)

?juo  dāj  hān  īŋ
thing which? 3P. tell
‘What did he say?’ (note left-dislocation for focus)

?juo  dāj  ō  ma  dāŋ  prāk  ciam  Ŝ
thing which? (1SG.) FUT. hunt money feed (my children)
‘(With) what will I find the money to feed my children?’
(Literally: ‘what things can I (do) to get money for...’)

saw  ma  cruop  kdaŋ  si  dāj
2SG. FUT. wear sarong colour which?
‘What colour sarong will you wear?’

?ān  dāj  saw  mupon  ruat
thing.CL which? 2SG. want buy
‘Which one do you want to buy?’ (note left-dislocation for focus)

we  la  dāj  saw  ma  bīh  nāw
time(L.) which? 2SG. FUT. come again
‘When will you come again?’
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hăn ṭâj dăj saw bīh ṭām ṭat ta? pi
3p. day which? 2SG. come from Attapeu
‘On which day did you come back from Attapeu?’

kăj dăj plăj năŋ dum
month which? fruit persimmon ripe
‘In what month does the persimmon ripen?’

saw kuo pĕt dăj
2SG. reside country which?
‘What country do you live in?’

saw bīh ṭām pnăm dăj
2SG. come from village which?
‘What village do you come from?’

saw re? tă? bon dăj
2SG. go to place which?
‘Where did you go to?’

hăj dăj saw re? dă? kdaŋ ṭaj
Loc. which? 2SG. go put sarong 1SG.
‘Where did you put my sarong?’

kuo hăj law kâŋ hăj pnăm ṭës ta li hăj dăj raŋ
reside Loc. Lao with Loc. village Australia Loc. which? happy
hom ban
COMP. other
‘Living in Laos or living in Australia, which place is nicer than the other?’

In addition to these, dăj ‘which?’ can be combined with ṭaj ṭaj ‘WH.’ to form
an Interrogative Noun which asks the Addressee to specify an attribute of a
state/action or an entity—on the model of: ‘manner’+‘which’ = ‘which
way/how?’—in other words, deriving an Interrogative which refers to Adverbs
or Adverbial Phrases. In the examples below, note that ṭaj dăj constructions
which function as Adverbial Adjuncts are quite flexible—they may be
preposited before Subject position (like other WH.-Interrogatives), or they may
appear in their typical Adverbial position after the Predicate)

68 Cheng (1997:61-63) states that in many languages wh-Adjuncts behave differently to wh-
Arguments. For instance, wh-Adjuncts are often unable to be clefted, and if they do undergo
fronting it is due to topicalization. This seems also to be true of Jruq.

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ʔjäŋ däj saw kat
WH. which? 2SG. have
‘How are you?’ (note left-dislocation for focus)

ʔjäŋ däj si saw
WH. which? name 2SG.
‘What is your name?’ (Lit. ‘How are you called?’)

saw kuo káp ʔaj saw tāw ʔaj kat ʔjäŋ däj
2SG. reside with 1SG. 2SG. see 1SG. have WH. which?
‘Whilst you’ve been staying with me, how do you find me?’

saw tāw ka kat ʔjäŋ däj
2SG. see fish have WH. which?
‘How did the fish look?’

puus ca plāj naŋ tāŋ däj
person eat fruit persimmon WH. which?
‘How do people eat persimmon fruit?’

ʔjäŋ däj saw ma bim ca plun ʔkiet
WH. which? 2SG. Fut. make eat tadpole frog
‘How are you going to cook the tadpoles to eat?’

saw nāh to klo to ʔjūo tāŋ däj
2SG. know animal husband animal female WH. which?
‘How can you tell if the beetle is male or female?’

saw roj ʔaj tāw hān ʔjäŋ däj
2SG. tell 1SG. see 3P. WH. which?
‘Tell me how should he look like?’ (e.g. one’s dream husband)

4.2.6.2 Indefinite Nouns

Ignoratives can also function as an Indefinite Noun Phrase in a Declarative Sentence, where they tend to occur in the syntactic position of the Argument they refer to (although they may be preposed for focus). Thus, they are indistinguishable morphologically and syntactically from their Interrogative counterparts. The only cue which distinguishes their function is sentence-level intonation patterns (see §6.2, §6.3). As Indefinite Nouns, they take the meanings ‘who, whoever, anyone’; ‘what, whatever, anything’; ‘where, wherever, anywhere’; ‘when, whenever, anytime’, etc. Thus they refer to things as indefinite and unspecified. In contrast, if one wishes to suggest something as indefinite but specified, one attaches the Indefinite Number (§4.5.4) bāŋ
'some' to the appropriate generic Noun, e.g. bāŋ nam 'some times', bāŋ ruoh 'some times', bāŋ ?me 'some people', bāŋ ?juo 'some things', bāŋ ?jāŋ 'some kinds'. These are not Ignorative constructions because they cannot be preposed and function as Interrogatives.

Unlike Interrogatives, some of these Indefinite Nouns may be negated with ?iŋ to create meaning such as 'nothing', 'nowhere', 'no matter'. The forms I recorded are given below:

- ?iŋ dāj meaning 'whoever'
- ?juo dāj meaning 'what, anything'
- hāj dāj meaning 'any (particular) place'
- hāj meaning 'wherever, anywhere'
- ?jāŋ ~ tāŋ (kat) meaning 'whatever way, however'

Example sentences in which they occurred in my data are given below:

bāŋ ra bim hnam kēkēc ?in ra lyp
some person.CL. make house RED.-small other person.CL. tell
bep coh kēkēc ?in ra bep cah htkw hōp huc
like ignite corpse other person.CL. like dig hole bury grave
kat ?jāŋ ?iŋ dāj mun bim
EXIST WH. person which? want make
'Some people make burial huts, other people tell (their family) to cremate them, other people dig graves. Whatever way whoever wants it done.'

?juo dāj Ø la ?ok tāŋ saw bim Ø
thing which? (1SG.) although drink how? 2SG. make give (1SG.)
'I'll drink anything, however you make it for me.'

kāhān cōk bōh le? kjōŋ ?bōh ?ih tāŋ kat hān ?ih
if take salt and snail bubble NEG. WH. have 3P. NEG.
kēt hān ca
die 3P. eat
'If you put salt (on the snail) and the snail blows bubbles, it doesn't matter it won't die. It eats it.'
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1SG. NEG. know FUT. make thing which? day this 'I don't know what to do today.'

1SG. NEG. have thing which? give HON. 'I don't have anything to give you (Madam).'

LOC. which? have man 1SG. go accompany 1SG. happy 'Wherever my husband and I go together I am happy.'

1SG. NEG. Loc. which? FUT. walk 'I'm going nowhere/I'm not going anywhere.'

(3P.) when 1SG. see 2SG. 1SG. [happy heart] Adj-cpd 'Whenever I see you I'm happy.'
4.3 VERBALS

Verbals are a large, open class of words which can function as the Predicate of a Declarative clause. Depending on their inherent valency and syntactic function they determine the argument structure of the clause. Semantically, Verbals can describe states (e.g. kūj ‘sleep, asleep’, bíc ‘able, exist’, kat ‘have, exist’, hgāl ‘know’), qualities (e.g. tih ‘large’, crēṅ ‘curly’, crām ‘dry’, etc.), events (e.g. ?mio ‘rain’, kat ‘born, bear children’), actions (e.g. hjaw ‘run’, juh dak ‘swim’, tēc ‘sell’). All Verbals can be modified by Tense and Negation, which distinguishes them from non-Verbal Predicates such as Nouns.

Verbals may be of simple or compound word structure. The compounds are distinguished from phasal constituents because they function as single units which cannot be interrupted by other constituents. Examples of compound Verbals are:

kūj ngēn ‘sleep’ (kūj ‘lie down’ + ngēn ‘sleep’)
pkūj tāw ‘dream’ (pkūj ‘dream/sleep’ + tāw ‘see’)
cih hwer ‘throw away’ (cih ‘discard’ + hwer ‘throw’)
kdu? jīŋ ‘stamp feet’ (kdu? ‘stamp feet’ + jīŋ ‘foot, leg’)
jī? tus ‘be headachy’ (jī? ‘sore, ill’ + tus ‘head’)
rih cāj ‘happy’ (rih ‘happy’ + cāj ‘heart/soul’ (< Lao))
hdiah hpit ‘be noisy’ (hdiah ‘be noisy, irritate’ + hpit ‘ear’)
h?ir tmaŋ ‘be talkative’ (h?ir ‘be talkative’ + tmaŋ ‘mouth’)
si kce? ‘green/blue’ (si ‘colour’ (< Lao) + kce? ‘green, blue’)
si klām cūr ‘purple’ (si ‘colour’ (< Lao) + klām ‘liver’ + cūr ‘pig’)
pēt hit ‘smoke’ (pēt ‘drink alcohol’ + hit ‘tobacco’)
ca ?lp ‘eat (meal)’ (ca ‘eat’ + ?lp ‘cooked rice’)
juh dak ‘swim’ (juh ‘swim’ + dak ‘water’)
hom dak ‘bathe’ (hom ‘bathe’ + dak ‘water’)

Some Verbals may be reduplicated for intensification, e.g.

tāŋ bibim ?ih bibic kuan
WH. RED.-make NEG. RED.-get child
‘What do you do to not have children?’
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kêkêc joj joj pʰo wält ne tām tām
RED.-small RED.-? legend this RED.-ancient
‘Little by little, gradually the (Jruq) legend grew older.’

?me bih cih kleh hnat klah hmǔn hmǔn hmūn
person come discard fall gun explode RED-destroy
‘They came and dropped bombs which totally destroyed (everything).’

hmâm ruh hmâm kôkôc
house collapse house RED-burn
‘The houses fell down. The houses burnt down.’

?maŋ rôroj
speak RED-tell
‘Tell stories.’

Two other examples of Verbal reduplication perhaps convey iteration, e.g.

weh weh weh... ?aj ma ŋok ne?
RED.-move.away 1SG. FUT. sit this
‘Move over! I want to sit here.’

rrit hôm hom
ritual RED.-bathe
‘a cleansing ritual after childbirth’

Verbals can head any Verb Phrase (VP), whether or not it functions as a Predicate. Verbals can also function as attributives to Nouns within a NP, compare the following:

sök crêp ?goh
hair curly long
‘long curly hair’
‘the curly hair is long’

?aj bil saw
1SG. forget 2SG.
‘I forget you.’

?aj pnus bil
1SG. human forget
‘I’m forgetful’

kdak kdiám
roast onion
‘to roast onions’

kdiam kdač
onion roast
‘roasted onions’
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The following show how a Verb plus its Object can modify a Noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{net} & \quad \text{tpe} & \quad \text{cnur} & \quad \text{net} & \quad \text{tpe} \\
\text{drink.alcohol} & \quad \text{alcohol} & \quad \text{bamboo.straw} & \quad \text{drink.alcohol} & \quad \text{alcohol} \\
\text{‘to drink alcohol’} & \quad \text{‘a straw (for drinking alcohol)’} \\
\text{?om} & \quad \text{p'b} & \quad \text{?guar} & \quad \text{?om} & \quad \text{p'b} \\
\text{winnow} & \quad \text{husked.rice} & \quad \text{winnow.basket} & \quad \text{winnow husked.rice} \\
\text{‘to winnow rice’} & \quad \text{‘a winnow.basket (for winnowing rice)’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Verbal Subclassification**

The primary subclassification of Verbs is into a closed class of Adjectives and a large open class of Verbs, with an intermediate class of Descriptives. Various syntactic structures are only found with one or other of these classes. Each of these classes of Verbs can be distinguished by its combination of (partially overlapping) syntactic features:

a) **Adjectives:**
   - can only be modified by other Adjectives
   - can be comparativised with \(\text{hom} \) ‘more than’
   - can be intensified using the Degree Adverb \(\text{?mat} \) ‘very’

b) **Descriptives:**
   - can only be modified by other Descriptives or by Adjectives
   - can be comparativised with \(\text{hom} \) ‘more than’
   - can be intensified using the Degree Adverb \(\text{?mat} \) ‘very’
   - can undergo zero derivation to become Nouns
   - can predicate Negative Imperative Constructions only

c) **Verbs:**
   - head Main Verb Phrases within Serial Verb Constructions
   - can be modified by all kinds of Verbal
   - can undergo zero derivation to become Nouns
   - can predicate Imperative Constructions (both positive and negative)

There are also important semantic distinctions—Adjectives encode normally persistent qualities of the Subject or Predicate. Verbs describe typically transient states, actions, and events. Descriptives are used for perceptual qualities (which may or may not be transient) such as human character and traits (e.g. \(\text{cnah} \) ‘jealous’, \(\text{hmo?} \) ‘fear’), experiential behaviour (e.g. \(\text{kceh} \))
'sneeze', ını 'sore, ill') and also evaluation of human or non-human references (e.g. ƙuŋ 'beautiful', joľ 'rich').

When subcategorising word classes, we often find that the distinctions are not always clearcut. This is especially true of the Jruq Verbals. There is a continuum of semantic and syntactic properties as one moves from prototypical Verbs to prototypical Adjectives\textsuperscript{70}. In this scheme (see Figure 4.6 below), necessarily the most difficult subcategory to define is the Descriptives:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{basic-verbal-subclassification.png}
\caption{Basic Verbal Subclassification}
\end{figure}

Each of these subcategories of Verbals is discussed in more detail below.

4.3.1 Adjectives

The classification of Adjectives as a distinct part-of-speech is often problematic—in the case of Jruq, it seems reasonable to treat Adjectives as a subclass of Verbals.

A language will either encode Adjectival notions with a distinct word class which we can call Adjectives; or, the function can be carried by various word classes. Thus Adjectives are not a Universal:

Comparative studies on part-of-speech systems generally recognize that Adjectives, as opposed to Nouns and Verbs, do not constitute a universal word class. (Wetzer 1996:5)

Many languages have a relatively small closed class of true Adjectives (with other Adjective-like expressions created with Nouns or Verbs). Others have a subclass of either Nouns or Verbs being used to express all Adjectival properties\textsuperscript{71}.

\textsuperscript{70} The notion of PROTOTYPICALITY in relation to lexicon is discussed by Lakoff (1977).

\textsuperscript{71} The reader is directed to Hengeveld's (1992:69) typological classification of parts-of-speech.
Adjectivals tend to associate with the nouns or with the verbs; at the same time, they typically display grammatical properties not shared by "core" nouns or verbs. (Wetzer 1992:6)

In Southeast Asia the areal tendency is that Adjectives do not form a distinct open word class. As Rijkhoff (2000) points out, languages which have Nominal Sortal Classifier Systems lack an open Adjective class\textsuperscript{72}. Jruq, like Mandarin Chinese, Korean, and Burmese, expresses adjectival properties (such as tall, red, good, ugly, fast, intelligent etc.) with words which are syntactically similar in behaviour to Verbs rather than Nouns\textsuperscript{73}. For example, all Jruq Adjectives can occur as Predicates (following Subject NP arguments) and may be modified by Tense and Negation just like any Verbal. This is not just a feature of Predicates. In contrast to Predictival Descriptives and Verbs, Nouns used infrequently in Predicative functions can never be Negated or take Tense Marking.

Adjectives are distinct from Verbs in that they can be intensified with the Degree Adverb ?mat `very' (see §4.3.2.1). Only one Adjective can be intensified in a given Phrase, and furthermore, an intensified Adjective cannot be followed by additional Adjectives within the same phrase. Adjectives are distinct from all other Verba in that they can only be modified by other Adjectives. The order of Adjective concatenation is restricted and is important for determining the meaning and syntactic structure of the clause. It is also the basis for further subcategorising Adjectives.

\textsuperscript{72} Although almost all Southeast Asian languages which are Classifier languages (such as Thai, Vietnamese, Burmese, Mandarin, and Korean) have no true Adjective class; Hmong Njua is an exception. It does have a true Adjective class (distinct from Nouns and Verbs), but it also has a peculiar use of Classifiers which extends from Count Phrases to marking the Possessed object in Possessive constructions and marking the object NP in Transitive Clauses. The explanation for this complementary system is still not understood.

\textsuperscript{73} While Mandarin Chinese uses Verbs for adjectival notions (Li & Thompson 1981), Burmese (Okell 1969) and Korean (Martin & Lee 1969) derive "adjectival" attributes from Verbs with the use of affixation.
4.3.1.1 Subcategorisation of Adjectives determined on the basis of order of Concatenation

The order of Adjectives is dependent on inherent semantics—note the observation raised by Whorf (1945:108) with regard to English:

‘Inherent qualities’ such as colour, material, physical state (solid, liquid, porous, hard etc.), provenience, breed, nationality, function, use—has the reactance of being placed nearer the noun than the ‘non-inherent qualities’ such as size, shape, position, evaluation (ethical, esthetic, economic).

Thus in English one can say: large red house, steep rocky hill, nice smooth floor, etc., but not *red large house, *rocky steep hill, and so forth. The internal order of ‘inherent qualities’ or ‘non-inherent qualities’ such as solid red brick home versus *red solid brick home was dealt with by Dixon (1982), who classified Adjectives according to ‘seven semantic types’. Jruq Adjectives are generally consistent with Dixon’s classification\(^74\).

Figure 4.7 below shows the order of Adjective concatenation in Jruq:

**Figure 4.7: Order of Adjective Types**

\[
\text{dimension} > \\
\text{physical property} > \\
\text{colour} > \\
\text{value} > \\
\text{age} > \\
\text{speed} > \\
\text{measurement}
\]

While there seems to be no particular limit, one would normally use not more than three Adjectives within one Phrase. The following example illustrates that the strict order of Adjectives may appear to be violated in linear order, but is actually not in violation when the tree structure is considered:

---

\(^{74}\) I adopt Dixon’s terminology where appropriate.
Jruq differs from Dixon's classification two ways. The first is that an additional semantic type of Adjectives can be distinguished which I call 'Measurement'. Measurement always occurs finally in a sequence of Adjectives—after Speed which is prototypically more Adverbial. In many cases it is ambiguous in the translation whether these Measurement Adjectives directly modify the Noun or the preceding Adjective. In the examples below, ?di? 'many/much' and kčč ‘small’ can function as true Adjectives or adverbially. In the latter function, these particular words are similar to the Degree Adverb ?mat ‘very’ (although ?mat is a true Adverb as it is never used as an Adjective, see §4.11.2). However, this does not justify classing these as Adverbs, because—as I shall point out throughout §5—all kinds of words, Phrases and even simple Clauses can function adverbially to directly modify preceding constituents.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?aj} & \quad \text{?tiŋ} & \quad \text{hnaj} & \quad \text{?di}? \\
1SG \text{ dry.in.sun} & \text{ jeans} & \text{ many}(= \text{ Adjective}) & \text{ ‘I have dried many jeans in the sun.’} \\
\text{?aj} & \quad \text{?tiŋ} & \quad \text{hnaj} & \quad \text{?di}? \\
1SG \text{ dry.in.sun} & \text{ jeans} & \text{ much}(= \text{ adverbial}) & \text{ 3P. die colour} \quad \text{white} \\
& & & \text{ ‘I have dried these jeans in the sun so much they’re fading to white.’} \\
\text{yren} & \text{ sut} & \text{ jnom} & \text{ kččč} \\
\text{wax} & \text{ bee} & \text{ sweet} & \text{ RED.-small} \\
& & & \text{ ‘The honeycomb is a little bit sweet.’(= adverbial)} \\
& & & \text{ ‘The sweet honeycomb is small.’ (= predicative Adjective\textsuperscript{75})}
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{75} The fact that the Dimension Adjective appears finally in this sequence means it must function Predicatively, and is not an immediate constituent of \text{yren sut ‘honeycomb’} (see §4.3.1.9 for more discussion of how changing the order of Adjectives also changes constituency).
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

The second difference is that "human propensity" is the one semantic type which is filled using Descriptives rather than Adjectives\(^{76}\). The use of another word class for denoting "human propensity" is not unusual cross-linguistically.

Wetzer (1996) made the following observation from his analysis of 115 languages around the world with closed Adjective classes:

Contrary to Dixon's statement that all seven semantic types are generally included in the open class of adjectivals, my data suggest that even in these languages the physical property and human propensity types are more peripheral, in that concepts belonging to these types are regularly lexicalized in a different way than the age, dimension, value and colour types are (unfortunately, my data about the speech type are not reliable enough to make valid generalizations). (Wetzer 1996:9)

Furthermore, Jruq Descriptives denoting 'human propensity' seem to share the same function as 'value' Adjectives because in any phrase, words denoting human propensity and value cannot co-occur. This is due to similar inherent semantics rather than syntactic reasons. For instance, "human propensity" words inherently imply a good or bad evaluation\(^{77}\), thus "*cn̂ah raj 'jealous bad', or *kn̂xiŋ râp 'beautiful good' are non-sensical because of their inherent redundancy.

I now discuss each subtype of Adjective.

---

\(^{76}\) The fact that Human Propensity is represented by Descriptives rather than Adjectives in Jruq is a counter-example of Dixon's (1982: 46-7) generalisation that Human Propensity tends to be denoted with Nouns cross-linguistically—Descriptives in Jruq are definitely more Verb-like than Adjectives.

\(^{77}\) The term 'evaluative adjectives' was used by Bierwisch (1982) for English and German Adjectives sharing the value/human propensity semantic field. These may or may not have antonymous pairs, e.g. lazy vs. industrious; ugly vs. beautiful, brave vs. cowardly; stupid vs. intelligent; true vs. false; shy; frightened; jolly etc.
4.3.1.2 Dimension Adjectives

Dimension Adjectives form a small set of antonymous pairs:

- *tih* ‘large’ vs. *kēc* ‘small’
- *jroŋ* ‘tall (height)’ vs. *ʔdap* ‘short (height)’
- *ʔgoh* ‘long (length)’ vs. *ʔliaʔ* ‘short (length)’
- *jruʔ* ‘deep’ vs. *ʔtuas* ‘shallow’
- *tit* ‘close, near’ vs. *bŋaj* ‘far, distant’
- *biŋ* ‘full’ vs. *soh* ‘empty’
- *ʔhát* ‘narrow, tight’ vs. *ʔuanj* ‘wide’
- *riek* ‘fat, large, thick’ vs. *sra* ‘thin, slender’

In addition there are the words *kdūt* ‘chubby’, *hdat* ‘stocky (height)’78, *kēc* ‘small’ (bigger than *kēc*), *keʔ* ‘tiny’ (smaller than *kēc*), *briah* ‘tiny’ (for plant/animal terminology or nicknames only) which do not seem to have antonyms. These additional Adjectives suggest that this may be an open set of words, similar to the large open class of Dimension Adjectives in English, which may or may not have true antonymous relationships, e.g. *large* vs. *small*; *big* vs. *small*; *huge* vs. *tiny*, *giant* vs. *microscopic?*; *enormous; gargantuan; immense... etc.*

Note that more than one Adjective of Dimension may be used in a phrase but speakers usually insert a conjunction between them, e.g.

```
ʔaj  tih  jroŋ ʔaj  kēc ʔeʔ  ʔdap
1SG.  NEG.  tall  1SG. small and short
I’m not tall. I’m small and short.’

ʔme  triŋ  jroŋ (leʔ)  sra
person  wife tall (and) slender
‘A tall (and) slender woman.’
```

The following example volunteered during my fieldwork, shows that *kēc* ‘small’ can modify its antonymous Dimension Adjective—*tih* ‘large’; with an adverbial function to mean ‘a little bit’:

```
priŋt  bruαn  tih  kēkēc
banana  banana.variety  large  RED.-small
‘The ‘Bruan’ banana is a little bit bigger (than other bananas).’
```

---

78 In 2000, my informant, Mr. Lin, stated that this was “much shorter than ʔdap ‘short’”.

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Dixon (1982) made a generalisation that one member of each pair of Dimension antonymous pairs will be less marked than the other. Thus in English one uses statements such as ‘the stick is two meters long’/‘short’ or questions such as ‘How long is the stick?’ rather than ‘How short is the stick?’ (the latter is only used in a marked situation to indicate that the stick is known to be short). In Jruq, mensural Classifiers meaning ‘armspan’, ‘handspan’, ‘kilometer’ etc., are used as the parameter of length for such Quantifier constructions, rather than the Dimension Adjective itself. However, any of the Dimension Adjectives may be optionally used to modify the head Noun. The choice of Adjective depends on the unmarked dimension inherent to both a) the Nominal Object, and b) the mensural Classifier.

Thus depending on the Nominal referent, only ‘long’ or ‘short’ will be used with trees, houses, mountains; and only ‘deep’, ‘shallow’ with valleys, water, etc. And Adjectives meaning ‘long’, ‘deep’ rather than ‘short’, ‘shallow’ will tend to be used in conjunction with the Classifier armspan; and alternatively ‘short’, ‘thin’ and ‘small’ will be used in conjunction with thumbspan. Some objects are expected to be of a certain length (because of their function in the real world) and therefore the notion of ‘markedness’ relates to the use of the appropriate mensural classifier rather than Adjective. For example, roads are limited to one kind of mensural classifier (in this case: ḥāk ‘kilometer’) and can never take other such classifiers (e.g. po ‘thumb-length’) because this is not an appropriate measurement of such an infinitely large entity.

4.3.1.3 Physical Property Adjectives

Adjectives denoting Physical Property include quite an extensive list of antonymous pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rough (surface)</th>
<th>Smooth (surface)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?kaʔ</td>
<td>hel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Light (weight)</th>
<th>Heavy (weight)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥjaʔ</td>
<td>ḥjāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thin, weak</th>
<th>Thick, dense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>htiŋ</td>
<td>ḫbōl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hot</th>
<th>Cold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?toʔ</td>
<td>?dēh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cool</th>
<th>Warm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buat</td>
<td>ḫīk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasty, delicious</th>
<th>Disgusting, foul-tasting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jōm</td>
<td>hʔiŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sharp, pointy</th>
<th>Blunt, stubby</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doc</td>
<td>ḫīm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hard (surface); durable</th>
<th>Soft (surface) / Brittle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hʔāŋ</td>
<td>ḥdān / tjeŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dark, cloudy</th>
<th>Bright, clear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hlāp</td>
<td>trah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooked, ripe</th>
<th>Raw, unripe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cen</td>
<td>ḫil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*hjua? ‘wet’  vs.  cəm ‘dry’
kbot ‘curled up’  vs.  pjoθ ‘stretched out’
wəl ‘round’  vs?  cɑŋ ‘straight-edged’

There are also Physical Property Adjectives which do not have antonyms. These describe tastes: ɣam ‘sweet’; ɣnuom ‘astringent’; ʔnuoʔ ‘sour’; ʔtæŋ ‘bitter’, blæŋ ‘insipid, bland’. Plus there are the words ʔhæt ‘narrow, tight; swollen stomach (tight with food)’ and ɬw ‘loud (sound)’, which may have antonyms ‘loose, lax; empty’79 and ‘quiet’ but I have not recorded them. The following I tentatively class with Physical Property Adjectives although I am unsure whether they can have antonymous senses: ɣnuoŋ ‘sticky, glutinous’, pæj ‘bruised, squashed’, jɔk ‘smooth, fluent’, ʔwiεt ‘deserted, empty’. In addition, ɦʔæŋ ‘hard; durable’ has two alternate antonymous senses—one meaning ‘soft’ and one meaning ‘brittle’. dæŋ ‘straight’ has the Adjective antonymn crɛŋ ‘curly, wavy’, or the Adjective-like Verb antonyms kbuoʔ ‘be bent over, stooped’ and _kciɛŋ ‘be lopsided, leaning to one side’80.

An example of a Dimension Adjective followed by a Physical Property Adjective is:

muh  keʔ  doc
nose  tiny pointy
‘a tiny pointed nose’

More than one Physical Property Adjective may be used in a sequence without any suggestible constraint on order. However some orders do not sound right to speakers (because they are fixed expressions?), e.g.

brɛj  ʔmiə  hjuaʔ  ʔdeh
forest rain wet cold
‘The rain was cold and wet.’
*brɛj  ʔmiə  ʔdeh  hjuaʔ
forest rain cold wet

Sometimes both orders may be permitted but the constituency may change, as in the following where jəm ‘tasty’ can function adverbially after ɣam ‘sweet’:


80 Thus dæŋ ‘straight’ is possibly homosemus as both an Descriptive and Adjective.
4.3.1.4 Colour Adjectives

Jruq has five basic Colour terms, which are in accordance with the Berlin & Kay’s (1969) universal hierarchy. These are:

(sì) ?bok ‘white’  (also cream, beige, light pink etc.)
(sì) ?jog ‘black’  (also deep purple, dark browns, dark blue etc.)
(sì) dum ‘red’    (also orange, pink, brown)
(sì) hmet ‘yellow’ (also orange)
(sì) kce? ‘blue, green’ (also light blue, navy blue, light or dark greens)

They are all optionally formed as Compounds with an initial word sì ‘colour’ which is borrowed from Lao. In contrast, sì ‘colour’ is obligatory before all Non-basic colour terms (given below). Non-basic colour terms are derived using other vocabulary and are rarely used in discourse (speakers may instead use appropriate Lao terminology).

sì bran ‘(light) blue’ (literally ‘atmosphere’)
sì jut ‘grey, dark blue’
sì klam cür ‘violet, purple’ (literally ‘pig’s liver’)
sì ṭrus ‘multicoloured’ (literally ‘mixed’)

I have not heard more than one colour term per phrase in my fieldwork (ie. one does not say: ‘reddy-brown’, ‘bluey-green’, although with the use of the conjunction le? ‘and’, phrases such as ‘red and blue shirt’ are possible); therefore I tentatively treat this as a restriction for the Colour Adjective

---

81 jut is found throughout Mon-Khmer meaning ‘very dark’, e.g. Khmu jut ‘very dark’, jim jut ‘dark red’ (Suwilai Premsrirat 1992:133).
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The following sentence demonstrates the use of dum as a Physical Property Adjective meaning ‘ripe’ rather than its homophonous Colour Adjective meaning ‘red’, e.g.

\[ \text{plāj} \quad \text{hmāj} \quad \text{dum (sī)} \quad \text{hmēt} \quad \text{nām} \]
fruit.CL. persimmon ripe colour yellow tasty

'The ripe yellow persimmon is delicious.'

* ’The red yellow persimmon is delicious.’

4.3.1.5 Value Adjectives

Value Adjectives denote rather subjective good and bad evaluations. Only two antonymous pairs are found in this subcategory of Adjectives: trō ‘true, correct’ versus los ‘wrong, false’, and pak ‘difficult’ versus hbao ‘easy’ (these latter two are recent Lao borrowings). In addition to these, there is the frequently occurring Jruq word rāp ‘good’, which has no real antonym except its negated form.

pak ‘difficult’ vs. hbao ‘well, healthy, easy’
trō ‘right, correct’ vs. los ‘wrong, false’
rāp ‘good, well, pure, honest, nice, friendly, kind, proper, etc.’

These can be intensified with the Degree Adverb ?mat ‘very’, e.g.

\[ \text{pe} \quad \text{pnus} \quad \text{rāp} \quad \text{?māt} \quad \text{?mat} \]
you.PL. person good RED.-very
You (pl.) are great people!

\[ \text{psa} \quad \text{jru?} \quad \text{?maŋ} \quad \text{pak} \quad \text{?māt} \quad \text{?mat} \]
language Jruq speak difficult RED.-very
'The Jruq language is very difficult to speak.'

Note that among the Value Adjectives I include the terms for ‘different’, ‘difficult’ and ‘easy’, which Dixon (1982, p.16) had particular difficulty in classifying. The terms los ‘wrong, false’ and rāj ‘very bad’ (borrowed from Lao/Thai) have very negative associated meanings and thus are rarely used.

\[ ^{82} \text{The Negated form of this: } ?hāh \text{ rāp } \text{ is used to mean ‘bad, wrong, poor, not well, unfriendly, naughty, rude etc.’ So } \text{rāj ‘bad, evil, etc.’ is not the antonym of rāp.} \]
4.3.1.6 Age Adjectives

There are four Age Adjectives in Jruq which are in antonymic relationship. Note that pləʔ and ḥnaw are in complementary distribution in respect of animacy of the referent:

kraʔ 'old' (human/nonhuman) vs. pləʔ 'young' (human)
tām ‘ancient’ (human/nonhuman) vs. ḥnaw ‘new’ (non-human)

The words pləʔ and tām are less frequent in conversation than the other two Age Adjectives. I often heard speakers use the negated unmarked form ?iḥ kraʔ ‘not old’ in place of pləʔ.

Interestingly, speakers can equally use either kraʔ ‘old’ or pləʔ ‘young’ in comparative constructions for humans, e.g.

klo saw kraʔ hom ?aj
husband 2SG. old more than 1SG.
‘Your husband is older than I.’

?aj tāw saw pləʔ hom ?aj
1SG. see 2SG. young more than 1SG.
‘I think you are younger than I.’

However, when contrasting the age of non-humans, speakers only use kraʔ in conjunction with the Comparative Prepositions like hom ‘more than’ or cir ‘further’, e.g.

?aj mun cōk klo kraʔ cir ?aj
1SG. want take husband old further 1SG.
‘I want to marry a man who is older than me.’

An example of the Age Adjective preceded by a Dimension Adjective is:

moʔ hān pnus kēkēc kraʔ
mother 3SG. person RED.-small old
‘His mother is a very little old woman.’
4.3.1.7 Speed Adjectives

There are two Speed Adjectives in Jruq. They form an antonymous pair:

\[ \text{bēn 'fast, quickly'} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{pdi 'slow'} \text{ (this is more marked)} \]

These support the generalisation by Dixon (1982) that if Physical Property Adjectivals are represented by true Adjectives (i.e. Adjectives in Jruq), then Speed will also be represented with the Adjective class of words. However, the Speed Adjectives are somewhat more verb-like in that when they are used without Verb Predicates they inherently imply some kind of activity which is fast/slow (one cannot just ‘exist fast’), e.g.

\[ \text{hān (pnus) bēn} \quad \text{?aj kʰien bēn bēn} \]
\[ 3\text{P. (person) fast} \quad 1\text{SG. write RED.-fast} \]
\[ \text{‘He's fast (at something).’} \quad \text{‘I write very fast.’} \]

Speed Adjectives are limited to modifying only Dimension and Physical Property Adjectivals (see examples below). It could be argued that as they can only modify process words, they are not true Adjectives, however such restrictions are expected as Speed Adjectives are further along the more Verb-like continuum.

\[ \text{hān tīb bēn} \quad * \text{hān rōp/si hmet bēn} \]
\[ 3\text{P. tall fast} \quad 3\text{P. good/yellow fast} \]
\[ \text{‘He grows tall fast.’} \quad \text{‘He good/yellow fast.’} \]

4.3.1.8 Measurement Adjectives

Finally, there are Adjectives in Jruq which indicate positive measures of time, space or number. I class them as Measurement Adjectives. Eight of these stand in an antonymous relationship:

\[ \text{ploc 'last, late' (time)} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{nuar 'first, early' (time)} \]
\[ \text{hṇaj 'far, distant' (space)} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{tit 'near, close' (space)} \]
\[ \text{ʔdiʔ 'much, many' (amount)} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{kēc 'small, few' (amount)} \]
\[ \text{kʰìxw ~ pʰìxw 'upper' (location)} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{kṭiə ~ pṭiə 'lower' (location)} \]
\[ \text{duŋ 'ages, be a long time' (time)} \quad \text{kdēj 'middle' (location)} \]

These are clearly more Verb-like because they more frequently modify Verbal Predicates rather than Nouns (although the latter function does occur), e.g.
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- buar p³lìw
- hpuac kdêj
- buar ptiê
- lip upper
- finger middle
- lip lower
- 'upper lip'
- 'middle fingers'
- 'lower lip'

hnêm ploc ?aj... kêkêc hom hnêm ?naw

house last 1SG. RED.-small more.than house new

'My last home was smaller than my new one.'

kuan nuar ma ca doj

child first FUT. eat wedding(L.)

'The first born child will get married.'

pnus kdêj hta lôt cåk si p³im p³on pnums

person middle wash vehicle motorbike name Phimphone person

k³lìw hta lôt cåk si dum si k³âm p³on

upper wash vehicle motorbike colour red name Khamphone

'The person in the middle washing his motorbike is called Phimphone. The person above\(^{83}\) washing the red motorbike is called Khamphone.'

?me jru? ?me hân ?mâj pa sa kdêj

person Jruq person Nhaheun speak language middle

'Jruq and Nhaheun people speak 'midland' languages.\(^{84}\)

pnus ktiê

person lower

'Lao Loum (Lao people).'

Examples where these Measurement Adjectives modify Verbal Predicates attributively are:

Ø kuo ?dùŋ ?dùŋ
(2SG.) reside RED.-long.time 1SG. think much

'Stay for a while!'  'I think a lot.'

\(^{83}\) The use of 'above' is due to the funny perspective as both Speaker and Addressee were looking down from the verandah of a house. The particular Referent was standing behind Phimphone (further away from Speaker/Addressee) and therefore looked 'higher' in the distance.

\(^{84}\) This is a calque of Lao designation Lao Theung "Midland" people' for ethnic Mon-Khmer people who live in the mountains which are not as high as those in the north where Miao-Yao populations dwell. pnums ktiê is used for Lao Loum "Lowland" People', as in the following example.

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Many of these (namely nuār ‘first’, ploc ‘last’, k̥o-li-w ~ p̥o-li-w ‘upper’ (location), kti̥o ~ pti̥o ‘lower’ (location), kdëj ‘middle’) are absolute Measurements and thus cannot be modified by the Degree Adverb ?mat ‘very’ or by the Comparative Prepositions hom ‘more than’ and/or cir ‘further than’. However, the remaining Measurement Adjectives can be so modified, e.g.

\[
\text{saw re? hŋaj hom bən ca priet dum} \\
\text{2SG. go far more than other eat banana red} \\
\text{‘You travel further than others to eat red bananas.’}
\]

\[
\text{pnəm ?aj tit pak se hom pnəm saw} \\
\text{village 1SG. near Pakse more than village 2SG.} \\
\text{‘My village is closer to Pakse than your village.’}
\]

\[
\text{?aj ?tioŋ hŋaj ?dī? hən kət si hboŋ} \\
\text{1SG. dry (in. sun) jeans much 3P. die colour white} \\
\text{‘I’ve dried these jeans in the sun so much they are fading to white.’}
\]

\[
\text{hən cet saw ?dī? hom bən} \\
\text{3P. love 2SG. much more than other} \\
\text{‘He loves you much more than anyone else.’}
\]

\[
\text{hən ?maŋ ?dī? cir hom bən} \\
\text{3P. speak many further more than other} \\
\text{‘She speaks far more than the others.’}
\]

### 4.3.1.9 Strict order of these subcategories of Adjective

The order of concatenating the subtypes of Adjectives is very strict. A consequence of the restricted ordering of Jruq Adjective subclasses is that the boundaries of the phrases are clearly demarcated. If the order is violated in the surface representation, it is still grammatical but always implies a change in constituency, e.g.

\[
\text{təm ?ləŋ tih dəŋ} \\
\text{trunk tree tall straight} \\
\text{‘straight tall trees...’} \\
\text{‘The tree grows tall straight’}
\]

\[
\text{sək cren ?goh bəŋ} \\
\text{hair curly long fast} \\
\text{‘fast-growing long curly hair...’} \\
\text{‘Curly hair grows long fast.’}
\]

\[
\text{təm ?ləŋ tih bəŋ dəŋ} \\
\text{trunk tree tall fast straight} \\
\text{‘straight fast-growing tall trees...’} \\
\text{‘Fast-growing tall trees are straight.’}
\]

\[
\text{sək cren si dum ?goh bəŋ} \\
\text{hair curly colour red long fast} \\
\text{‘fast-growing long red curly hair...’} \\
\text{‘Curly red hair grows long fast.’}
\]
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

co kēc si ?jōŋ
dog small colour black
'small black dog'
'The small dog is black.'

co si ?jōŋ kēc
dog colour black small
* 'black small dog'
'The black dog is small.'

lōt si hbok ?goh
vehicle colour white long
* 'long white car...'
'The white car is long.'

hpuac ji? ?mat si dum
finger sore very colour red
* 'red very sore finger...'
'The very sore finger is red.'

co kēc si ?jōŋ kŋiŋ ?mat
dog small colour black beautiful very
'The small black dog is very beautiful.'

co si ?jōŋ kēc kŋiŋ
dog colour black small beautiful
'The dog with a bit of black on it is beautiful.'

Note in the last example, si ?jōŋ 'black' is an Adjective modifying co 'dog'; kēc 'small' is functioning adverbially to modify 'black'; and kŋiŋ 'beautiful' is functioning as an Adjectival Predicate.
4.3.2 Descriptives

Descriptives (Desc.) behave in a way which is both similar to Adjectives and similar to Verbs. They describe human character and traits (e.g. cnah ‘jealous’, hmo? ‘fear’), experiential behaviour (e.g. kceh ‘sneeze’, jì? ‘sore, ill’) and also evaluation of human or non-human references (e.g. kpaŋ ‘beautiful’, jol ‘rich’). Descriptives and Adjectives also share the Adjectival feature of ‘gradability’ as they can be comparativised or intensified (see §4.3.2.1). However, unlike Adjectives, these words carry inherent valency (like Verbs)—they can be either Intransitive (mām ‘brave’) or Transitive (cet ‘love’). Descriptives may also predicate Negative Imperative Constructions beginning with the Auxiliary ?nog ‘don’t!’—true Adjectives cannot function as Predicates in Imperative Constructions, e.g.

\[ ?nog hts? \quad ?nog luj \quad ?aj \quad * ?nog tih \]
\[ don’t lazy(desc.) \quad don’t angry(desc.) 1SG. \quad don’t large(adj.) \]
\[ ‘Don’t be lazy!’ \quad ‘Don’t be angry at me!’ \quad ‘Don’t be tall!’ \]

The list of Descriptives in Jruq which I have recorded is given below\(^{85}\).

Those with antonyms:

- jol ‘rich’  \quad vs. \quad t'hōk ‘poor’
- knaŋ ‘beautiful, fine, good, etc.’  \quad vs. \quad kja? ‘ugly, horrible, filthy’
- hmo? ‘fear, afraid’  \quad vs. \quad mām ‘brave, be brave’
- kêt ‘die, dead’  \quad vs. \quad dük ‘live, alive’
- bi? ‘forget’  \quad vs. \quad ci ‘remember’ (< Lao)
- puh ‘smell bad’  \quad vs. \quad h?om ‘smell good’
- laj ‘disabled, weak’  \quad vs. \quad hēŋ ‘strong, capable’

Those without antonyms:

- pë? ‘full, sated’
- ksar ‘shake, tremble’
- h?al ‘laugh’
- hliŋ ‘ticklish’

---

\(^{85}\) Some of these may be Adjectives rather than Descriptives according to the test that Adjectives may not be modified by the Prohibitive Mood Auxiliary: ?nog ‘don’t!’ (see §4.9.3.2), but I have not had the opportunity to thoroughly test all of them.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

Līŋ ‘misbehaved, irresponsible’
ṣet ‘love’
ṣro? ‘pity, feel sorry’
rin (cāj) ‘regret, feel annoyed’
sam ‘be tired’
cyur ‘be bored’
cnah ‘jealous’
rīh (cāj) ‘happy’
cep (cāj) ‘thrilled’
hwīt ‘crazy’
(hpīt) tüŋ ‘deaf’
bul ‘drunk’
؟ke ‘be injured, sprained’
tēhīat ‘miserly’
?mīe ‘be raining’
hlūŋ ‘precious, dear’
hʔir tmaŋ ‘be talkative, talk a lot’
hto? ‘lazy’
mt ‘like’
srin ‘pity, sympathise’
trō (cāj) ‘happy (perfect)’
kmal ‘shy, embarrassed’
niam ‘well, healthy’
raj ‘very bad, evil, atrocious’
prim (cāj) ‘joyful, enjoy’
wūr ‘intelligent, clever’
hwīt ‘confused’
(māt) sot ‘blind’
soʔ ‘be rotten, rot’
jiʔ ‘sore’
krot ‘restless, agitated, persistant’
ʔimaʔ ‘be snowing’ (< Lao)
hdiah hpiʔ ‘be noisy’
cmāt ‘serious’

Like any Verbal, Descriptives can be modified by other Descriptives or by Adjectives, e.g.

saw hʔal  ṭīh  cāj
2SG. laugh(Desc.) [happy heart](Desc.cpd.) ‘You are funny’ or ‘You laugh happily.’

c a  mak  kiaŋ  nūh  hʔin
eat orange stink(Desc.) horrible(Adj.) ‘The oranges (we are eating) stink horribly.’

The following examples show either Adjectives or Descriptives can function as predicates:

piŋ ʔloŋ  hʔom  si  hmet
flower tree.CL. smell(nice)(Desc.) [colour yellow](Adj.cpd) ‘The perfumed flower is yellow.’

ʔaj  kjaʔ  ʔīh  jroŋ
1SG. ugly(Desc.) NEG. tall(Adj.) ‘I’m short (and) ugly.’

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Interestingly, they differ from Verbs in that they can follow Adjectives in a Co-Predicating function (they do not necessarily modify the preceding Adjective):

\[
pior \ ?\eta\  h\omega k\  h\eta m
\]
flower tree \textit{white} (Adj.) \textit{smell} (nice) (Desc.)

‘The flowers are white (and) perfumed.’
or: ‘The white flowers are perfumed.’

\[
\emptyset \ ?h\eta r\  ji?\  t\omega m\eta j
\]
(3P.) \textit{spicy} (Adj.) \textit{hurt} (Desc.) mouth

‘It’s spicy (and) burning my mouth.’

Another interesting feature of Descriptives which marks them as distinct from Adjectives and similar to Verbs is that they can be nominalised by zero derivation. When nominalised they must always occur after \textit{bi:m} ‘make’ or \textit{kat} ‘have’, and may still be modified by the Degree Adverb \textit{\?\omega m} ‘very’, although true Nominals cannot. Thus the entire Descriptive Phrase, rather than the Descriptive itself, is actually being nominalised. Examples of nominalised Descriptive Phrases I recorded are given below:

\[
\eta m\eta \  \eta h\  k\omega t\  b\eta l
\]
person NEG. have \textit{forgetfulness}

‘People won’t forget.’

\[
m\eta h\  \eta j\  k\omega t\  l\eta j
\]
aunt 1SG. have \textit{disability}

‘My aunt has a disability.’

\[
s\omega w\  \eta h\  k\omega t\  h\omega m\eta \  l\omega h
\]
2SG. NEG. have \textit{fear} Q.

‘You don’t have any fears do you?’

\[
pn\omega m\  s\omega w\  k\omega t\  \eta m\eta \eta \  \eta m\omega \eta \  \eta m\omega t\  \eta m\omega t
\]
village 2SG. have \textit{snowfall} (L.) RED.-very

‘Your village gets a lot of snow.’

\[
\eta m\eta \  t\rho e\  k\omega t\  k\omega n\  k\omega o\  \eta \omega m\  \eta h\  b\rho c\  k\omega t\  h\omega \omega t
\]
person woman born child reside fire NEG. able have \textit{insanity}

‘Women who don’t lay over a fire during childbirth, are (afflicted by) insanity.’

\[
\eta j\  b\rho m\  l\eta j
\]
1SG. make \textit{mischief}

‘I’m having fun/I’m up to mischief.’
4.3.2.1 Gradability as a feature of Adjectivals

The hallmark of the lexical category adjective is its ability to be graded. The typical adjective has *continuous scale*, which can be ascertained morphologically and interpretively with such operations as the English comparative and degree specifiers such as *very*.

(Haag 1997:113)

As discussed variously above, almost all Adjectives\(^{86}\) can be graded using Comparative Prepositions such as *hom* ‘more than’, *cir* ‘further’, *muj hnie* ‘same’, *ʔjəŋ* ‘similar, like’. Examples are:

\[
\text{ʔoh} \quad \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{tih} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{saw}
\]
younger.sibling 1SG. large more.than 2SG.

‘My younger sibling is taller than you.’

\[
\text{hán} \quad \text{tih} \quad \text{cir} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{ban}
\]
3P. large further more.than other

‘He is taller than everyone else.’

\[
\text{haj} \quad \text{pəm} \quad \text{ʔaj} \ldots \quad \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{kěc} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{ban}
\]
LOC. village 1SG. 1SG small more.than other

‘In my village I’m smaller than everyone.’

Interestingly, some Descriptives may also be comparativised and intensified in the same fashion, e.g.

\[
\text{ʔaj} \quad \text{cet} \quad \text{saw} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{ban}
\]
1SG. love 2SG. more.than other

‘I love you more than anyone else.’

\[
\text{tus} \quad \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{jiʔ} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{tus} \quad \text{saw}
\]
head 1SG. sore more.than head 2SG.

‘My head hurts more than yours.’

\[
\text{saw} \quad \text{məm} \quad \text{hom} \quad \text{ʔaj}
\]
2SG. brave more.than 1SG.

‘You are braver than me.’

However comparativisation of Descriptives is limited by whether their inherent semantics allows gradability. Hence, words such as *ket* ‘die, dead’, *pʰɛʔ* ‘full, sated’, *(mət)* *sot* ‘blind’ and *dük* ‘live, alive’ cannot be comparativised. This

\(^{86}\) Exceptions are some Measurement Adjectives which carry absolute semantic meanings.
restriction in Jruq is interesting because, in translations into other languages like English, almost all kinds of Verbs allow comparability semantically, e.g.

\[ \text{* saw kūj nēn hom ?aj} \]
2SG. lie.down sleep more than 1SG.
‘You sleep more than I do.’ (English translation is acceptable)

\[ \text{* ?aj net tpe hom saw} \]
1SG. drink alcohol more than 2SG.
‘I drink more alcohol than you do.’ (English translation is acceptable)

\[ \text{* ?me klo ca hom ?me trie} \]
person man eat more than person woman
‘Men eat more than women do.’ (English translation is acceptable)

In contrast, Adjectives such as the Quantity Adjective \( ?dī? \) can be modified by the Comparative Preposition, e.g.

\[ \text{ saw kūj nēn ?dī? hom ?aj} \]
2SG. lie.down sleep much more than 1SG.
‘You sleep more than I do.’

\[ \text{ ?aj net tpe ?dī? hom saw} \]
1SG. drink alcohol much more than 2SG.
‘I drink more alcohol than you do.’

\[ \text{ ?me klo ca ?dī? hom ?me trie} \]
person man eat much more than person woman
‘Men eat more than women do.’

Descriptives which are gradable can also be comparativised using this construction \( ?dī? \ hom ‘much more than’. It is not possible to modify Adjectives in this way, nor the ungradable Descriptives, e.g.

\[ \text{ hān cet saw ?dī? hom ban} \]
3P. love(Desc.) 2SG. much more than other
‘He loves you more than anyone else.’

\[ \text{ hān ?man ?dī? hom ban} \]
3P. speak(Verb) much more than other
‘He speaks more than anyone else.’
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* hän tih ʔdiʔ hom ban
3P. large(Adj.) much more than other
‘He is tall more than anyone else.’

* hän p'ɛʔ ʔdiʔ hom ban
3P. sated(Desc.) much more than other
‘He is full more than anyone else.’

The Adjectival feature of gradability is also manifested in the use of the Degree Adverb ?mat ‘very’ used for intensification. All bar some Measurement Adjectives may be intensified using this Adverb, as can many of the Descriptives (including some of the so-called ‘ungradable ones’—in which case the use of the Degree Adverb is more metaphorical). Examples are:

kjiol ?deh ?mat ?mat mät saw dum ?mat
wind cold (Adj.) RED.-very face 2SG. red(Adj.) very
‘a very cold wind’ ‘Your face is very red.’
‘The wind is very cold.’

tus ʔaj jiʔ ?mat ?mat kuan hän liŋ ?mat
head 1SG. sore(Desc.) RED.-very child 3P. misbehaved(Desc.) very
‘My head is very sore.’ ‘Her child is very naughty.’

1SG. full(Desc.) RED.-very 1SG. tired (Desc.) RED.-very
‘I’m very full!’ (metaphorical) ‘I’m very tired.

Ø cōk kuan puan ra... Ø kêt ?mät ?mat
(2SG.) take child four person.CL. (2SG.) die(Desc.) RED.-very
‘(If you) have quadruplets, (you’ll) really die!’ (metaphorical)

As some Descriptives are transtive in valency, the Degree Adverb occurs after the Object NP, e.g.

ʔaj mot dak sut ?mät ?mat
1SG. like water bee RED.-very
‘I really like honey.’

ʔaj cet saw ?mät ?mat
1SG. love 2SG. RED.-very
‘I really love you.’
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Intensification of Adjectives and Descriptives is performed equally (ie. without any difference in meaning) using the free lexeme ?mat ‘very’ or by means of reduplication, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hnem} & \quad \text{saw} & \quad \text{tılıh} \\
\text{house} & \quad 2\text{SG. RED.-large} & \quad \text{with red.} \\
\text{‘your very big house’} & \quad \text{‘I’m a very fat person.’} \\
\text{hän} & \quad \text{pnus} & \quad \text{wür wür} \\
\text{3P. person RED.-intelligent} & \quad 2\text{SG. RED.-beautiful} & \quad \text{‘He’s a very intelligent person.’} \\
\text{saw} & \quad \text{k önü k önü} & \quad \text{‘You’re very beautiful.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The choice of manner of Intensification with the Adverb or reduplication is restricted. Whilst some Adjectives are quite flexible, most Adjectives and Descriptives seem to have a preferred manner of Intensification. These restrictions are not very clear to me—they seem to be associated to some extent with phonological word structure and semantic type \(^{87}\). The tendencies are:

- Colour Adjectives are always reduplicated rather than modified by ?mat ‘very’
- Adjectives or Descriptives with epenthetic schwas in an initial consonant sequence tend to be intensified with ?mat ‘very’, and those without tend to be reduplicated.

Exceptions are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{róg ?mat ‘very good’} & \quad \text{róg róg is never used;} \\
\text{pdi pdi ‘very slow’} & \quad \text{pdi ?mat is never used;} \\
\text{cmät cmät ‘very seriously’} & \quad \text{cmät ?mat is never used possibly because of the similar word shape to the Degree Adverb}; \\
\text{k núŋ ‘beautiful’} & \quad \text{may also be reduplicated (although it more frequently occurs with ?mat ‘very’)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{87}\) This distinction is comparable to the restriction English Adjectives have in Comparative and Superlative constructions—some take the lexical comparative ‘more than X’ or lexical superlative ‘most X’ and others take the morphological comparative ‘X-er’ or morphological superlative ‘X-est’, e.g. heavier, *more heavy, heaviest, *most heavy. Jesperson (1965) points out that the choice of these forms is dependent on the phonology of the Adjective in contemporary English.
- Dimension Adjectives denoting ‘largeness’ tend to take ?mat ‘very’ but those denoting ‘smallness’ tend to be reduplicated. These tendencies probably relate to the inherent semantics.

An exception is:

tīh ‘large’ which may either take ?mat ‘very’ or be reduplicated (tītīh ‘very big’ is less frequent but possible)

Some Descriptives such as hwīt ‘crazy’, niam ‘well, healthy’, kmal ‘shy, embarrassed’, cypur ‘bored’, so? ‘rotten’ I have never heard intensified either by reduplication or in conjunction with ?mat ‘very’. This may be because these particular Descriptives are more verb-like in some way—they are certainly more experiential than Descriptives like knāh ‘beautiful’ and the transitive cet ‘love’, whereas true Adjectives like kēc ‘small’, si dum ‘red’ and bēn ‘fast’ express states and more permanent/enduring qualities.

The process of reduplication is not limited to Adjectives and Descriptives; for example Clause-final Adverbs can be reduplicated for intensification (see §4.11.2). Expressives are also highly likely to be reduplicated, although this does not semantically make them more intense, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{brōj} & \quad ?\text{mie} \quad \text{brōj} \quad \text{broj} \\
\text{cem} & \quad \text{pʰliew} \quad \text{braw} \\
\text{cloud} & \quad \text{rain} \quad \text{RED.-BROY}^{88} \\
\text{bird} & \quad \text{bulbul} \quad \text{sing} \quad \text{RED.-PHANG}^{89} \\
\text{‘Its drizzling/raining lightly.’} & \\

cem & \quad pʰlān \quad braw \quad pʰan \quad pʰan \\
\text{bird} & \quad \text{bird.var.} \quad \text{sing} \quad \text{RED.-PHOEN}^{90} \\
\text{‘The Palang bird sings ‘Phoen Phoen.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, ?mat ‘very’ is also used with a more metaphorical meaning (perhaps better glossed as ‘real’) in emphasising one’s blood kin relationship with another person or ethnicity. Thus a Predicative Noun may be intensified:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hān} & \quad ?\text{oh} \\
3\text{P. younger.sibling} & \quad \text{2SG. RED.-very} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Is he your real younger brother?’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[88\] BROY = expressive used for many tiny particles such as small rain drops, dust particles, etc.

\[89\] PHANG = onomatopoeic imitation of Bulbul Bird’s song (and possibly other birds).

\[90\] PHOEN = onomatopoeic imitation of Palang Bird’s song (and possibly other birds).
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hān ?e - muan pja? ?aj ?me klo ne?
3P. yonder nephew cousin 1SG. person male this
muan ?mat ?mat
nephew RED.-very
‘That over there is my nephew (once removed via younger relative),
this man is my real nephew.’

1SG. person Ta-Oi NEG. exist person Jruq very
‘I’m a Ta-Oi person, I’m not really an ethnic Jruq person.’

One may argue based on this evidence, like Hengeveld (1992), that the ability to be modified by a Degree Adverb is not the best distinctive feature of an Adjective:

Combinability with a degree adverb is often claimed to be a distinguishing feature of adjectives in descriptions of individual languages. This is, first of all, not a cross linguistically generalizable property, since in languages such as Dutch there are verbs which may combine with a degree adverb too...Semantic factors also play a part in the combinability of adjectives with degree adverbs. Only gradable adjectives can be specified for degree, absolute adjectives cannot... (Hengeveld 1992:50-51)

Despite Hengeveld’s assertion contra generalisability, in the case of Jruq, it can be argued that the Degree Adverb ?mat ‘very’ is a highly salient characteristic associated with the Adjectival function (rather than with Adjectives per se).
4.3.3 Verbs

Verbs are the major open subclass of Verbals which typically function as Predicates. Verbs have the following unique syntactic characteristics which distinguish them from other types of Predicates. Only Verbs can:

- be modified by Modals
- head VP’s within Serial Verb Constructions
- predicate all kinds of Imperative Constructions

Furthermore Verbs:

- cannot be comparativised with hom ‘more than’ or intensified with ?mat ‘very’
- can modify Verbs and Nouns but not Adjectives or Descriptives

Members of the open Verb class can be further subdivided according to two parameters—Valency & Syntactic Function.

4.3.3.1 Subcategorisation of Verbs according to Valency

Verbs can be subcategorised, albeit rather weakly⁹¹, into six classes based on their typical core NP arguments. The subclasses I suggest are Intransitive, Transitive, Ditransitive, Semitransitive, and Complement-taking verbs. Each subclass is described in detail below.

4.3.3.1.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive Verbs have an inherent valency of one NP argument—the Subject NP. Intransitive Verbs typically refer to states, feelings and actions and these may be in the form of simple or compound word structure, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuj} & \quad \text{‘lie down’} & \quad \text{win} & \quad \text{‘turn back’} \\
\text{kceh} & \quad \text{‘sneeze’} & \quad \text{hboh} & \quad \text{‘bubble, pop, spit (fire)’} \\
\text{klohe} & \quad \text{‘fall, drop’} & \quad \text{knom} & \quad \text{‘urinate’} \\
\text{c?him} & \quad \text{‘breathe’} & \quad \text{?mi?} & \quad \text{‘to rain’} \\
\text{tb?c} & \quad \text{‘play’} & \quad \text{hd?w} & \quad \text{‘flee, run away’} \\
\text{p?e?} & \quad \text{‘be full, sated’} & \quad \text{hmup} & \quad \text{‘suffer’}
\end{align*}
\]

⁹¹ This subdivision is weak because the valency is inherent to the meaning of the word. Every language necessarily has Verbs with different valencies in order to explain the various types of information which occurs around us; therefore it is not a unique characteristic of the language.
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ksar ‘shake, tremble’
hlien ‘slip, be slippery’
ľŇj ‘misbehaved, irresponsible’
ľ recieved ‘be impossible, horrible’
kprŊ ‘be beautiful’
trŊ (căj) ‘be delighted’
jĩ? tus ‘have a headache’
mât sot ‘be blind’
kdũ? jũ ‘stamp (feet)’
htũp kũ ‘bury (body)’

hʔal ‘laugh’
luij ‘be angry’
sam ‘be tired’
htoʔ ‘lazy’
trŊ ‘be correct; be cheap; be struck’
riŋ (căj) ‘be upset, be annoyed’
ʔke ᵀkuat ‘have an injured back’
hpit tũŋ ‘be deaf’
hom ᵀak ‘bathe’
juh ᵀak ‘swim’

As Descriptives (referred to throughout the previous subsections) behave in an attributive manner, they are typically intransitive Verbs. In Imperative Sentences (§6.4), the Subject NP is ellipsed before all Verbs because reference to the Addressee is always implied.

4.3.3.1.2 Transitive Verbs

Verbs with an inherent valency of two core NP arguments—a Subject and Direct Object NP—are called transitive (v.tr.). In some situations, any one of these core arguments may be ellipsed if it is implied in the context. Transitive verbs in Jruq include:

c楝 ‘eat’
ʔok ‘drink’
ruator ‘buy’
těc ‘sell’
k셨 ‘have; give birth’
kdũm ‘carry in two hands’
kũien ‘write’
tũp ‘plant, cover with earth’
hdãy ‘borrow, loan s.t.’
pros ‘release’
kcet ‘kill’
kũiaŋ ‘carry in arms across chest’
ʔer ‘scoop with a net’
ʔom ‘winnow’

(e.g. ca priat ‘eat banana’)
(e.g. ũok dak toh ‘drink milk’)
(e.g. ruat tial ‘buy earrings’)
(e.g. těc jen ‘sell gold’)
(e.g. kot kuaj ‘bear children’)
(e.g. kdũm dak ‘carry water in scoop of two hands’)
(e.g. kũien nãŋ si ‘write letter’)
(e.g. tũp kũŋ ‘plant seeds’)
(e.g. hdãy kũu ‘borrow umbrella’)
(e.g. pros ka ‘release fish’)
(e.g. kcet kuac ‘kill yeti’)
(e.g. kũiaŋ kuaj ‘carry child in arms’)
(e.g. ũer plun ‘net tadpoles’)
(e.g. ũom pũ ‘winnow husked rice’)

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4.3.3.1.3  Semitransitive Verbs

Semitransitive verbs (v.semitr.) obligatorily require a Subject NP and an Indirect Object NP as core arguments. These are easily distinguishable from Transitive Verbs because the Indirect Object may be replaced with a Prepositional Phrase. A consequence of this is that Semitransitive verbs in Jruq tend to express positions or movement to/from locations. The arguments may be ellipsed in contexts where their reference is easily implied. Semitransitive Verbs in Jruq include:

\[ \text{hāw 'climb'} \quad \text{(e.g. hāw bru 'climb a mountain')}
\]  
\[ \text{vs. hāw tām hāj pāŋ 'climb from the valley'} \]

\[ \text{tieh 'descend'} \quad \text{(e.g. tieh pāŋ 'descend a slope')}
\]  
\[ \text{vs. tieh tām hāj sālāwān ‘come down from Saravane (province)'} \]
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- **ci? 'return'**  
  (e.g. ci? pnǎm 'return to the village'  
  vs. ci? ḫaj pnǎm 'return to the village')

- **bōŋ ‘fall over’**  
  (e.g. bōŋ pteh ‘fall to the ground’  
  vs. bōŋ ḫīw truọŋ ‘fall on the road’)

- **reʔ ‘go’**  
  (e.g. reʔ tlat ‘go to market’  
  vs. reʔ ḫaj tlat ‘go to market’)

- **kleh ‘fall’**  
  (e.g. kleh dak ‘fall into water’  
  vs. kleh ḫoʔ dak ‘fall into water’)

- **kuo ‘reside at’**  
  (e.g. kuo hnǎm ‘reside at home’  
  vs. kuo ḫaj hnǎm ‘stay at the house’)

- **dǎk ‘walk’**  
  (e.g. dǎk mir ‘walk in the swidden’  
  vs. dǎk wāl mir ‘walk around the swidden’)

- **ŋök ‘sit on’**  
  (e.g. ŋök ṭnǎl ‘sit on a tree stump’  
  vs. ŋök ḫoʔ ṭnǎl ‘sit on a stump’)

- **mǔt ‘enter’**  
  (e.g. mǔt māt ‘enter eye’  
  vs. mǔt ḫaj māt ‘enter into eye’)

- **bih ‘come’**  
  (e.g. bih pak sōŋ ‘come to Paksong’  
  vs. bih tām tiəʔ pak se ‘come from down at Pakse’)

- **nieh ‘exit’**  
  (e.g. nieh brēj ‘exit forest’  
  vs. nieh tām ḫaj brēj ‘exit out of the forest’)

- **hlaj ‘fall out, escape’**  
  (e.g. hlaj kbaʔ ‘fall out of the dish’  
  vs. hlaj tām ḫaj kbaʔ ‘fall out of the dish’)

### 4.3.3.1.4 Ditransitive Verbs

A small set of Verbs is ditransitive (v.ditr.), requiring three core NP arguments—a preceding Subject NP, and a following Indirect Object NP followed by a Direct Object NP. In most cases (except with ʔām ‘give’) the Indirect Object NP may be substituted with a Prepositional Phrase. Any of these NP arguments may be ellipsed but their reference is always implied by the context. Alternatively, these Ditransitive Verbs (except kʰien ‘write’) may be preceded by the verb cōk ‘take’ and Direct Object NP, and then followed by the Indirect Object. Ditransitive Verbs in Jruq include:

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- *pciam* ‘feed’  
  (e.g. *pciam hän pläj priat* ‘feed him bananas’  
  vs. *cök pläj priat pciam hän* ‘feed him with bananas’)  

- *ʔäm* ‘give’  
  (e.g. *ʔäm saw kʰøŋ tʔäm* ‘give you a present’  
  vs. *cök kʰøŋ tʔäm ʔäm saw* ‘give you a present’)  

- *pnäk* ‘distribute’  
  (e.g. *pnäk präk ?me klo* ‘hand out money to the men’  
  vs. *pnäk präk ?äm ?me klo* ‘hand out money to the men’)  
  vs. *cök präk pnäk ?äm ?me klo* ‘hand out money to the men’)  

- *hwäk* ‘send, exchange’  
  (e.g. *hwäk saw kdaŋ* ‘exchange sarongs with you’  
  vs. *hwäk kəp káp saw* ‘swap shoes with you’  
  vs. *cök nāŋ si hwäk ?äm saw* ‘send a letter to you’)  

- *kʰien* ‘write’  
  (e.g. *kʰien saw nāŋ si* ‘write you a letter’  
  vs. *kʰien nāŋ si haj saw* ‘write a letter to you’)  

In addition, there are at least two Ditransitive Verbs which are quite different because the third argument must be linked by means of a second Verb. That is, they only permit a following Direct Object followed by a Verb with a directional meaning (such as *ʔäm* ‘give’, *bih* ‘come’, *ci?* ‘return’) which takes either an Indirect Object NP or a PP. Rather than posit an even smaller subclass, I treat these as a marked kind of Ditransitive Verbs—possibly part way between a true Ditransitive Verb and a Complement-taking Verb:

- *cök* ‘take’  
  (e.g. *cök háp ?äm (haj) saw* ‘give a shirt to you’,  
  vs. *cök pläj re? haj tlat* ‘take fruit to market’)  

- *juon* ‘send, take, lead’  
  (e.g. *juon saw re? (haj) tlat* ‘take you to the market’,  
  vs. *juon saw ci? (haj) hnam* ‘bring you back home’)
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4.3.3.1.5 Complement-taking Verbs

A small number of verbs in Jruq require a preceding Subject NP and a following complement Clause or Verb Phrase. Such Verbs typically include Quotative words like ‘tell’, ‘request’, ‘ask’ or sensory words such as ‘hear’, ‘see’, ‘know’ (which create Quotative Constructions §6.2.3):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hmo?} & \text{ ‘fear’} & \text{lap} & \text{ ‘tell, inform, converse’} \\
\text{hgāl} & \text{ ‘know’} & \text{bim} & \text{ ‘make, cause’} \\
\text{tāw} & \text{ ‘see’} & \text{neh} & \text{ ‘watch’} \\
\text{muŋ} & \text{ ‘want’} & \text{pdo} & \text{ ‘request’} \\
\text{cām} & \text{ ‘wait’} & \text{mēj} & \text{ ‘permit, allow, enable, get’} \\
\text{se} & \text{ ‘listen, perceive’} & \text{sāŋ} & \text{ ‘hear’} \\
\text{rin} & \text{ ‘feel annoyed, upset’} & \text{nuh} & \text{ ‘smell (i.e. receive an odour)’} \\
\text{bil} & \text{ ‘forget’} & \text{pōm} & \text{ ‘assist, help’} \\
\text{kōt} & \text{ ‘think, consider’} & \text{kāŋ} & \text{ ‘trust, believe, be pleased’} \\
\text{prian} & \text{ ‘teach, instruct’} & \text{roj} & \text{ ‘tell, narrate’} \\
\text{se neh} & \text{ ‘take notice of’} & \text{se lap} & \text{ ‘converse about’} \\
?ām & \text{ ‘enable, in order to’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples illustrating their use as Complement-taking Verbs are given below:

?aj hmo? ?me gān saw laj
1SG. fear person carry 2SG. definitely
‘I’m afraid someone will surely kidnap you.’ (Literally: “carry you away”)

māŋ ?aj hmo? re? hom dak
night 1SG. fear go bathe water
‘At night, I’m afraid to go and bathe.’

?aj muŋ saw bih nēŋ haŋ ?aj
1SG. want 2SG. come visit LOC. 1SG.
‘I want you to come and visit me.’

?aj tāw saw kāŋ yāŋ hāŋ
1SG. see 2SG. beautiful same 3P.
‘I think you’re as beautiful as she is.’

māŋ ?aj lap ?aj tōŋ dōk tlaŋ
mother 1SG. tell 1SG. must walk market
‘My mother told me I must go to the market’

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?aj mēj saw ciam kuan ?aj
1SG. permit 2SG. feed child 1SG.
‘I'll get you to raise my children.’

?aj nuh saw jet hit
1SG. smell 2SG. smoke tobacco
‘I can smell you have smoked cigarettes.’

saw se hān ?mag tō lōh
2SG. hear 3P. speak correct Q
‘Did you hear him speak (English) correctly?’

?aj bil ?ok dak kpē?
1SG. forget drink water coffee
‘I forgot to drink the coffee.’

?aj pdo saw re? puat kmēn
1SG. request 2SG. go chop firewood
‘I would like you to go and chop firewood (for me).’

saw nuh ?aj ?ih tāw saw
2SG. stink 1SG. NEG. see 2SG.
‘You stink.’

?aj hmo? brah ?aj mān ci?
1SG. fear spirit 1SG. want return
‘I’m scared of spirits.’

?aj kbet ?ap ?ām hān plah
1SG. squeeze cooked.rice enable 3P. break
‘I’m squeezing the rice to break it up.’
4.3.3.1.6 Valency Changes

Some Verbs can undergo zero derivation (resulting in word order changes) to change their Valency. In doing so, they change their subclassification, e.g.

\[ \text{hnäm } koc \text{ burn}(v.\text{intr.}) \]
\[ 'the house is burning' \]
\[ 'burnt house' \]
\[ koc \text{ hnäm burn}(v.\text{tr.}) \text{ house} \]
\[ 'to burn a house' \]

\[ \text{dak } bus \text{ boil}(v.\text{intr.}) \]
\[ 'the water is boiling' \]
\[ 'boiling water' \]
\[ bus \text{ dak boil}(v.\text{tr.}) \text{ water} \]
\[ 'to boil water' \]

\[ \text{pəm } \text{nich} \text{ exit}(v.\text{intr.}) \]
\[ 'It's bleeding.' \]
\[ ?\text{aj } \text{nich } \text{hnäm} \text{ exit}(v.\text{semitr.}) \text{ house} \]
\[ 'I am leaving the house.' \]

\[ \text{pəm } \text{trie } \text{nich } \text{kuan} \]
\[ 'The woman is giving birth to a child.' \]

Other Valency changes were once created historically by affixation. Some of these are still transparent in Jruq, e.g.

\[ \text{nich } 'exit, leave, excrete (v.\text{intr.})' \]
\[ \text{pənich } 'remove (v.\text{tr/v.ditr.})' \]
\[ \text{niam } 'good, well (desc.)' (v.\text{intr.}) \]
\[ \text{pəniam } 'repair s.t. (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{net } 'drink alcohol; smoke (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{ppnet } 'get s.o. drunk (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{cək } 'take' (v.\text{tr.}) \]
\[ \text{pəcək } 'pick up (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{juh } \text{dak } 'swim (v.\text{intr.})' \]
\[ \text{ppuh } \text{dak } 'take s.o. swimming (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{bih } 'come (v.\text{intr.})' \]
\[ \text{tbih } 'bring (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{(mät) sot } 'blind (v.\text{intr.})' \]
\[ \text{ksot } (\text{mät}) 'close eyes (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{həw } 'climb (v.\text{tr.})' \]
\[ \text{pəhəw } 'raise; lift onto (v.\text{ditr.})' \]
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There are some examples of verbs with ambiguous valency such as *nuh* ‘smell, emit a bad odour; receive a bad odour’ and *trog* ‘be struck (by someone); to strike someone; be correct; be cheap’. This problem is connected with the lack of a syntactic passive in Jruq. It is difficult for me to discuss these in more detail because of the limitations of my data and the difficulties of elicitation. The examples below go some way to showing the varying scope of possible Grammatical Relations for each of these Verbs:

\[\text{saw } \text{nuh} \quad \text{?aj } \text{nuh} \quad ?c \text{ krök}\]
2SG. emit.odour 1SG. smell shit cow
‘You stink.’ ‘I smell of cow shit.’ ‘I can smell cow shit.’

\[\text{saw } \text{pet } \text{hit } \text{nuh} \quad \text{?aj}\]
2SG. smoke tobacco emit.odour 1SG.
‘You have been smoking, you stink to me.’

\[\text{?aj } \text{nuh} \quad \text{saw } \text{pet } \text{hit}\]
1SG. receive.odor 2SG. smoke tobacco
‘I can smell you have smoked cigarettes.’

\[\text{?aj } \text{pën } \text{cem } ?\text{h} \text{ tro } (\text{cem})\]
1SG. shoot bird NEG. strike (bird)
‘I shot at a bird but didn’t hit it.’

\[\text{hän } \text{tro } \text{?aj } \text{jî} \quad \text{hup } \text{tro } ?\text{mie}\]
3P. strike 1SG. sore picture strike rain
‘He struck me painfully.’ ‘The photo struck the rain.’

* ‘He was struck by me painfully’ ‘The photo was struck by the rain.’

\[\text{?aj } \text{tro } \text{pön } \text{hän } \text{bim}\]
1SG. strike because 3P. make
‘I was hit by him.’

* ‘I hit him.’

---

92 The use of one verb with the range of meanings ‘to hit, to be hit, to be correct’ is widespread in Mainland Southeast Asia, e.g. Khmer /trow/, Thai /thök/, Lao /thuuk/, Vietnamese bi, White Hmong /raug/ (Nomura 1992). These words have been called ‘passive’ verbs in the literature, although there is no real syntactic passive voice in these languages.

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4.3.3.2 Subcategorisation of Verbs according to Syntactic Function

In addition to classifying Verbs according to Valency, one can also propose a classification based on the patterns of syntactic function. As mentioned, one of the features distinguishing Verbs from other Verbals (ie. Adjectives and Descriptives) is that they alone can occur as heads of VPs in Serial Verb Phrases (SVPs). In this context, Verbs may be subcategorised according to their positional restrictions and (partly grammaticalised) functions within SVP structure.

SVPs have a remarkably restricted and symmetrical structure, which is ordered iconically according to the following three stages of an event in the real world\(^3\):

\[
\text{Intention} > \text{Action} > \text{Result}
\]

What is conceived as the central Action is expressed with a Main Verb Phrase. Small sets of Verbs called Co-verbs appear in the peripheral Intention and Result positions to encode information about the kind of Action taking place. These head Instrumental, Causative, Directional, Purposive, and Benefactive Co-verb Phrases. This is illustrated with the following diagram (Figure 4.8):

---

\(^3\) I take the view (established by Crowley (1987)) that a SVP Construction codes a SINGLE EVENT in Jruq. This is because a) all VP's in the SVP construction share the same Tense and only allow one Negative Particle and only one Auxiliary; and b) all positions within the SVP other than the Main Verb involve closed sets of Verbs which have been partly grammaticalised (ie. no longer convey their original function). Thus, I use the term Serial Verb Phrase in the same way as most descriptions of Mainland Southeast Asian languages, to refer to these complex, partly-grammaticalised, single Predicate constructions.

In contrast, truly serialised Events involve juxtaposition of more than one Verb Phrase or Clause (ie. more than one Predicate) which may be linked with Conjunctions. An alternative view (supported by Pawley (1987) and others) is that 'Speakers of serial-verb languages view some of our (emphasis original) unitary “events” as a concatenation of fragmented sub-events.' (Givón 1991:141); thus a Serial Verb Phrase and conjoined Verb Phrases and Clauses may be equated.
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Figure 4.8: SVP structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(+Instrumental/Causative), (+Directional)</td>
<td>MAIN VERB</td>
<td>(+Directional) (+Benefactive/Purposive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples based on this model are given below (the final Verbs have an adverbial ‘Purposive’ function, see §5.4.2):

\[
take \text{ (money)} + \text{ go (market)} < \text{BUY (fish)} > \text{return (to home)} + \text{ (to eat)}
\]

\[
make \text{ (you)} + \text{ come (here)} < \text{SING (song)} > \text{give (people)} + \text{ (to listen)}
\]

The Co-verbs can be subcategorised according to their syntactic position and their Instrumental, Causative, Directional, Benefactive, and Purposive functions. These subcategories are independent of Valency.

The information that these Co-verbs convey is different to the semantic values they denote as Main Verbs, so they can be treated as partly grammaticalised. Others have argued that Co-verbs are actually not true Verbs at all but are Prepositions or grammaticalised Case-markers (e.g. Matisoff 1969, Goral 1980, Wilawan 1993 94).

I argue this is not the case for Jruq—these Co-verbs lie somewhere between a prototypical Verb and a Preposition, and their recent origin as Verbs is self evident (see discussion below). Co-verbs carry the same inherent Valency as their Main Verb counterparts—some take Object NP or PP arguments. In

94 Matisoff (1969) and Goral (1980) have both described the Serial Verb contructions in Southeast Asia as having a predominantly Case-role function; ie. “...different serial verbs are used as grammaticalized markers of nominal case-roles, as in:

a) She take-stick break Patient
b) She walk go-market Locative
c) She work-give her Benefactive
d) She take-knife cut Instrumental...” (Givón, 1991:138)

Wilawan (1993) argues that there are no true SVPs in Khmer, Thai, Mandarin or Yoruba languages. He argues that the ‘co-verbs’ no longer function as full Verbs and thus they can be regarded as Prepositions or Affixes.

I have strong reservations about the appropriateness of applying the notion of ‘case’ to the analysis of Jruq and other related languages (however these still find favor; note for example the Lexicase grammars of Pacoh (Alves 1999), and Koho/Sre (Manley 1972)).

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addition, their meanings as Co-verbs are variable depending on the context, suggesting that Co-verbs less grammaticalised than Prepositions.\footnote{Several criteria were suggested by Li & Thompson (1973) and Pike (1970) which help distinguish true Serial Verbs from their derived Co-verbs. The \textit{semantic criteria} is that a ‘shift from verb to preposition usually involves the depletion of some semantic material out of the erstwhile verb.’ (Givón 1975:82). \textbf{Morphological criteria} which indicates a serial verb has become a preposition ‘is loss of ability to take normal verb affixes, such as modalities, subject agreement or object pronouns.’ (Givón 1975:84).}

At the same time, the Juq Co-verbs are clearly not prototypical Verbs. They cannot be marked individually for Auxiliaries, and they can’t each have a preceding Subject NP Argument, nor can they each be modified by Adverbs, Temporal Phrases or Prepositional Phrases. Instead, Co-verbs and Main Verbs act as a single Predicate coding a single Event. The facts that Co-verbs always occur in a tight relationship with a single Predicate (unlike true Prepositions which can occur embedded within NP’s or in Clause-peripheral positions), and that Co-verbs still carry inherent valency, are strongly indicative of their Verbal character. Thus I treat Co-verbs as a subclass of Verbs.

\textbf{Semantic basis of word order in the SVP}

The internal structure of the SVP is consistent across Southeast Asian languages. Diffloth reportedly made the following observation for resultative Serial Verb Phrases in several Mon-Khmer languages (Goral 1986:59):

The Resultative verb pairs I will study here can be derived from semantic representations containing at least three propositions: the first represents a voluntary action, the Initiative, performed by an Agent; the second contains a specific two-place predicate, INTEND, which is usually not overtly manifested in syntax, and remains abstract, with some important exceptions; the third is a one-place predicate, a State in which an Experiencer finds itself, let us call it the Result. (Diffloth, p.1.)

I agree with Diffloth when he points out that the \textit{Result} always occurs after the \textit{Initiative} in Thai and Mon-Khmer languages is a “manifestation of iconicity" (Diffloth, p.2: \textit{in} Goral 1986:59). This underlies the semantic basis for word order within the SVP.
An interesting consequence of this iconic structure is the degree of internal symmetry possible within the SVP. This is clearly evident by the fact that the same Co-verbs may be used in similarly peripheral positions. For example, a Directional Co-verb such as bih ‘come’ or re? ‘go’ can be used immediately before or after the Main Verb (marked by uppercase in the following examples), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \quad ma \quad re? \quad ruat \quad p\text{h}e \quad ?\text{âm} \quad saw \\
1SG. & \quad \text{FUT.} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{BUY \ rice \ give} \quad 2SG. \\
& \quad ‘I \ will \ go \ and \ buy \ rice \ to \ give \ you.’
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \quad ma \quad juon \quad saw \quad re? \quad pn\text{âm} \quad dak \quad dr\text{c} \\
1SG. & \quad \text{FUT.} \quad \text{SEND} \quad 2SG. \quad \text{go} \quad \text{village \ water} \quad \text{Set(river \ name)}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I will take you to Set River Village.’

Similarly, the verb c\text{g}k ‘take’ is used both as an Instrumental Co-verb and as a Benefactive Co-verb depending on its position in relation to the Main Verb Phrase (glossed in uppercase below), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \quad p\text{ât} \quad c\text{g}k \quad dak \quad ?aj \quad c\text{g}k \quad dak \quad hta \quad t\text{êj} \\
1SG. & \quad \text{WRING} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{water} \quad 1SG. \quad \text{take} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{WASH \ hand} \\
& \quad ‘I’m\text{ wringing (to get) the water out.’} \quad ‘I’m\text{ using water to wash my hands.’} \quad \text{(Benefactive)} \\
& \quad \text{(Instrumental)}
\end{align*}
\]

The Verb m\text{g}j ‘pass’ is used both as a Causative Co-verb and as a Purposive Co-verb depending on its position in relation to the Main Verb Phrase (glossed in uppercase below), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
saw & \quad ?m\text{anj} \quad m\text{g}j \quad ?aj \quad niem \quad ?aj \quad m\text{g}j \quad h\text{ân} \quad t\text{êw} \\
2SG. & \quad \text{SPEAK} \quad \text{intend} \quad 1SG. \quad \text{cry} \quad 1SG. \quad \text{enable} \quad 3P. \quad \text{SEE} \\
& \quad ‘You \ said \ that \ so \ I \ would \ cry.’ \quad ‘I \ let \ him \ see.’ \quad \text{(Purposive)} \\
& \quad \text{(Causative)}
\end{align*}
\]

I now describe each of the Verb subcategories within the SVP.
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4.3.3.2.1 Main Verbs

The Main Verb is the obligatory component of the SVP. Any Verbal except Descriptives or Adjectives may occur as a Main Verb to express the event being discussed, so long as it is not identical to Co-verbs filling the adjacent peripheral positions. The Main Verbs in the SVP examples below are glossed in uppercase:

\[\text{cap mun}? \text{goh} \quad \text{re? tčc} \]
3PL. want CHOP.FINELY go sell
'They want to chop up (the tree) to sell.'

\[\text{?aj ma re? ruat} \quad \text{pę} \quad \text{?ām saw} \]
1SG. FUT. go BUY husked.rice give 2SG.
'I will go and buy rice to give to you.'

\[\text{saw ma kʰien cōt maj bih haj} \quad \text{?aj} \]
2SG. FUT. WRITE letter come LOC. 1SG.
'You will write letters to me.'

As the head of a Verb Phrase, the Main Verb can take Noun Phrase Arguments and Adverbs but no other peripheral constituents such as Conjunctions, Particles, etc.

4.3.3.2.2 Instrumental Co-verbs

Many Main Verbs such as 'to hoe', 'to dig', 'to carry', 'to cut', 'to thresh' etc., inherently require the use of instruments and these instruments may be specified in discourse using the Instrumental Co-verb Phrase\(^{96}\). The most common Instrumental VP's use the Co-verb cĭk 'use' (grammaticalised from the Main Verb cĭk 'take') in conjunction with a Direct Object NP argument to imply that a particular tool was used in the Main Verb action, e.g.

\[\text{?aj cĭk piet tuac} \quad \text{?łoŋ} \]
1SG. use knife WHITTLE wood
'I use the knife to whittle the wood.'

---

\(^{96}\) A metaphorical “instrument” used as an inalienable object such as in 'use foot kick ball' never occurs in my data. I do not know whether this is because they are not possible in the language or whether I just failed to record them (further investigation is required which was not feasible in the limitations of this research project).
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?aj cɔk hpa? cruop tus
1SG. use blanket COVER head
‘I covered my head with a blanket.’

pons cɔk hnat pɛŋ cem
person use gun SHOOT bird
‘People shot the birds with guns.’

ŋaj cɔk kɗɔp kruop tloŋ k8k
1PL. use lid COVER pot
‘We cover the pot with the lid.’

ŋaj cɔk bɔŋ pos jih
1PL. use sprig SWEEP abandon
‘We use a sprig of a shrub to brush away (the bad spirits).’

?aj cɔk ʔloŋ ksuŋ pleh plaj pɔw
1PL. use tree fruit.pole MAKE.FALL fruit.CL. grapefruit
‘I’ll use the pole to get the grapefruit down.

ʔme cɔk cak tæŋ ktoŋ
people use pandanus WEAVE mat
‘People use pandanus to weave mats.’

hàn ket jɔn (ʔme) cɔk ʔloŋ pek ǿ
3P. die because (person) use wood STRIKE(with stick) (3P.)
‘He died because they struck (him) with a log.’

ŋaj cɔk ʔʃəŋ coh mir
1PL. use fire IGNITE swidden
‘We set fire to the swidden.’

The use of cɔk in the following examples suggests it can serve a patientive function instead of an instrumental one with objects which are not used as tools:

?aj cɔk tloŋ pɔhɔw ʔʃəŋ ʔaj cɔk dak ceh haj can
1SG. take pot RAISE fire 1SG. take water INSERT LOC. dish
‘I put the pot up on the fire.’ ‘I put the water into the dish.’

ʔme cɔk bɾik coh ʔʃəŋ ceh haj hunŋ kew
person take dust ignite fire INSERT LOC. bottle
‘People put the ashes (from a cremation) in a bottle.’
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bik tēj - kēkēc kē cōk dāk hōm cēh
tie hand RED.-small and take water perfume INSERT
(They) perform a small Baci (hand-tying) ceremony and throw in some perfumed water.'

bac cēh ?aj cōk Ø tbih hōj krom hnam
PAST. complete 1SG. take (clothes) BRING LOC. under house
'I've already brought (my clothes) underneath the house.'

?aj ma cōk hup tbih tām saw
1SG. FUT. take photo BRING give 1SG.
'I will bring the photo to you.'

?aj ma cōk bōh cēh hōj tōk nuar
1SG. FUT. take salt INSERT LOC. pot first
'I will put the salt in the pot first.'

klo ?aj cōk pōtāp tām bān neh
husband 1SG. take book(L.) GIVE friend look.at
'My husband gave the book to friends to look at.'

Ø cōk Ø tbih tām hān ca kōlaŋ
(2SG.) take (food) BRING give 3P. eat please
'Please take (the food) to him to eat!'

The NP Arguments of the Instrumental Co-verb may be internally modified by Adjectives, Descriptives and even Prepositional Phrases. These are still SVP constructions as the VPs are not interrupted by syntactic elements of a higher constituency. An example is the following where cōk dīŋ 'use bamboo tube' is modified by a Prepositional Phrase:

Ø cōk dīŋ hōj buar klo m tīŋ
(2SG.) take bamboo.tube LOC. lip BLOW fire
'Put the tube to your lips to blow the fire!'
4.3.3.2.3 Causative Co-verbs

Another Co-verb is mēj, which is used differently from the Instrumental Co-verb because it requires that the subject of the Main Verb is always different from the Subject of mēj. In this function, it seems to have a Causative complement structure and I gloss it variously as ‘allow, enable, permit’ (depending on the context). It is grammaticalised from the Main Verb meaning ‘pass, transmit’, and the original sense is clear in the following examples (note the Direct Objects are ellipsed as their reference is retrievable from context):

Ø mēj ?me klo dāk dok
(2SG.) PASS person man walk EXCL.
‘Give it to the man who’s going, go on!’

Ø mēj ?aj tem
(2SG.) PASS 1SG. draw
‘Give (it) to me to draw!’

Its function as a Causative Co-verb is illustrated below:

?aj mēj saw ciam kuan ?aj
1SG. enable 2SG. FEED child 1SG.
‘I’ll get you to raise my children.’

saw mën mēj ?aj kuo ?ne? mān tjaj
2SG. want enable 1SG. RESIDE here night day
‘You want me to stay here for the night.’

hbi? tjaj mēj jaj ?aj bih cōk ?aj ?sw
evening day enable elder.sibling 1SG. COME take 1SG. REQ.
‘This afternoon, get my sister to come and pick me up please!’

?aj ma mēj saw lōŋ pʰweŋ
1SG. FUT. allow 2SG. SING
‘I’m going to get you to sing a song.’

ŋaj ?ih mēj ?ūŋ pāt
1PL. NEG. allow fire EXTINGUISH
‘We (can’t) allow the fire go out.’

97 Alternatively this sentence could be interpreted as ‘I’m going to sing you a song’, where mēj is acting as the Main Verb ‘pass on’.
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hän ?ih mēj roj
3P. NEG. allow NARRATE
‘He wouldn’t let it be told.‘

hän mēj saw cēk kuan loh
3P. enable 2SG. TAKE child Q
‘Is he able to get you pregnant?’
(Literally: ‘Does he get you to have children?’)

?me klo saw mēj saw bih hō j ne?
person husband 2SG. enable 2SG. COME Loc. this
‘Your husband helped you come here.’ (ie. ‘paid for you to come here’)

4.3.3.2.4 Directional Co-verbs

Directional Co-verbs are highly frequent in discourse and are important for indicating the direction or location of the Action during the event. As a particular event may have a source and a goal, Directional Co-verbs may be used at the same time in pre-Main Verb and post-Main Verb positions in an SVP.

The choice of the Directional Co-verb is dependent on the location of the Event discussed in relation to the location of the speaking situation. Thus, if an action were to occur in a different place from the speaking situation, Directional Co-verbs such as re? ‘go’, ci? ‘return’ are used. In situations where the Event will/does occur in the same place as the speaking situation (or the same place as the Speaker is currently moving towards), Directional Co-verbs such as bih ‘come’, tbih ‘bring’ are used. In situations which imply a climbing or descending movement (because of the place where the Event described by the Main Verb occurs), the Directional Co-verbs hāw ‘ascend’ and tieh ‘descend’ will be used. Examples of their function within the position of Intention in the SVP are:

saw ma re? juon ?ām ?me dāj
2SG. FUT. go SEND give person which?
‘Who will you send them to?’

98 mēj in this example could also be analysed as a Main Verb meaning ‘to pass on’, with roj ‘narrate’ being a modifier. The sentence would then mean ‘He didn’t pass (the story) on (by telling).’

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LOC. which? 2SG. go PUT sarong 1SG.
‘Where did you put my sarong?’

tnāj ne bāp ?aj re? tūŋ jūj
day this father 1SG. go HUNT deer
‘Today my father is going to hunt deer.’

muan ?aj bīh nēŋ laj
niece 1SG. come VISIT often
‘My niece often comes to visit.’

bi? tō̄j hāw hān bīh csēk kūn jēw sōh
soon day new 3P. come TAKE bottles empty
‘Tomorrow he’ll come and take the empty bottles.’

?aj ma ci? gān tēc hāj pānām ?aj
1SG. Fut. return carry SELL Loc. village 1sg.
‘I’ll take them back to sell in my village.’

?aj hāw hūn hūw tuol hūm
1SG. climb FLEE roof house
‘I escaped via the roof.’

Examples of Directional Co-verbs in the Result position of an SVP structure are:

saw hama? pōm bīh tām hāj pānām lōh
2SG. RIDE aeroplane come from Loc. village Q
‘Did you ride a plane from your village?’

?aj ci? hāj hūm tīh bīh
1sg. RETURN Loc. house NEG. come
‘I didn’t make it back to home.’

?aj cām lōt bīh tām tī? pak se ci? pānām
2SG. WAIT car come from down Pakse return village
kēn hūw kē? swamp hole green
‘I’m waiting for the car (which is) coming from down at Pakse, (so I can) return to Nong Khoum Khiao Village.99

99 Note that the VP bīh tām tī? pak se ‘come from down at Pakse’ modifies the Noun lōt ‘car’ attributively and is not functioning as a Directional Co-verb because it takes a different subject.
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\begin{verbatim}
mew  kleh  tich  ta?  dak
cat  FALL  descend  to  water  
‘The cat fell into the water.’
\end{verbatim}

Sometimes the two Directional Co-verbs can fill the one deictic position within an SVP. These I treat as Compound Verbs because they have a single specific meaning (i.e. they do not refer to sequences of events); they must occur in a restricted order (one being bound to the other), and they cannot be interrupted by any other syntactic constituents. Such Compound Directional Co-verbs are:

\begin{verbatim}
ci?  win  ‘go back’ (return + turn back)  
bih  win  ‘come back’ (come + turn back)  
re?  ci?  ‘go back’ (go + return)  
re?  re?  ‘return’ (i.e. ‘return travel’ by plane) (return + go)
\end{verbatim}

An example of the use of a Compound Directional Co-verb is:

\begin{verbatim}
hbi?  ne?  saw  ma  re?  ci?  kūj  pak  səŋ  
evening  this  2SG.  FUT.  go  return  SLEEP  Paksong  
‘Tonight you will go back and sleep in Paksong.’
\end{verbatim}

The following examples illustrate how two Directional Co-verb positions can fill slots within the one SVP. Note that in such cases, the Directional Co-verbs differ in form and function:

\begin{verbatim}
hān  bih  ruat  ci?  gān  haj  hnəm  
3P.  come  BUY  return  carry  LOC.  house  
‘They came to buy (the cooked rice) to take back home.’  
(Note gān ‘carry’ modifies the kind of “return”)  
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
bi?  ?e...  ?aj  ma  bih  win  juon  saw  ci?  
after  that  1SG.  FUT.  come  turn.back  SEND  2SG.  return  
‘In a while, I’ll come back and take you back.’
\end{verbatim}
4.3.3.2.5 Benefactive Co-verbs

The final slot within the SVP is optionally filled by a Benefactive or Purposive Co-verb Phrase. The Co-verbs used for this grammaticalised function are the same as those used for the equally peripheral function of Instrumental VP, namely: c₃k 'get', and ṭām ‘for, about, to’ although here their meanings are quite different (but equally “bleached” in comparison to their original Main Verb meanings ‘take’ and ‘give’ respectively).

c₃k ‘get’ is used to indicate a physical outcome of the Action in the Main Verb Phrase, and due to the Valency of this Verb (requiring a following Object NP (and optionally a PP)), the function may be described as Benefactive, e.g.:

hān re? ṭer c₃k (plun) sa
3P. go NET(v.tr.) get (tadpole) self
‘She went and netted them (tadpoles) herself.’

?$aj re? tēc kʰiŋ haj tlat c₃k prāk
1SG. go SELL clothing LOC. market get money
‘I’m going to sell clothing at the market for money.’

ŋaj ?uaj c₃k pe
1PL. TURN.AROUND get 2PL.
‘(We’re) turning around for you.’ (ie. pick you up in the car)

In the Benefactive function, ṭām means ‘for, about, to’, e.g.

hān c₃k tbih ṭām ?aj
3P. TAKE bring for 1SG.
‘He brings them back for me.’

?$aj ma ciaŋ ṭām saw
1SG. FUT. HOLD.IN.HAND for 2SG.
‘I will hold it for you.’

saw lāŋ ?aj ñm aç ṭām hān....
2SG. tell 1SG. SPEAK to 3P.

?$ih men... ?aj ñm aç ṭām co
NEG. exist 1SG. SPEAK about dog
‘You thought I was speaking to her.
That’s not right, I was speaking about the dog.’

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\[ jaj \text{ - } ?aj \text{ } bin \text{ - } \emptyset \text{ } ?\text{am} \text{ - } b\text{ac} \text{ - } tr\text{aw} \text{ - } k^h\text{aj} \]
elder.sibling 1SG. MAKE (shirt) for (1SG.) PAST six month.CL.
‘My elder sister made it for me six months ago.’

4.3.3.2.6 Purposive Co-verbs

Purposive Co-verbs are quite similar to Benefactive ones, except that the means for benefiting from the Action are usually more abstract (less tangible). Syntactically they also differ—instead of requiring an Indirect Object NP after them as Benefactive Co-verbs do, they take a Clause which has a different subject to that of the Main Verb. There are two Purposive Co-verbs—\textit{mēj} ‘enable’ and \textit{?am} ‘in order to’.

Purposive \textit{mēj} ‘enable, for’ is actually very similar to its function as a Causative Co-verb, however instead of introducing the rest of the complex VP (including the Main Verb) as the ‘purpose’, it introduces the purpose after the Main Verb (marked in uppercase in the examples below), e.g.

\[ saw \text{ } ?\text{man} \text{ - } mēj \text{ - } ?aj \text{ - } r\text{ah} \text{ - } c\text{âj} \]
2SG. SPEAK make 1SG. happy
‘You’re just saying that to make me feel better.’

\[ ?aj \text{ - } na? \text{ - } ?\text{an} \text{ - } k\text{at} \text{ - } wiak \text{ - } mēj \text{ - } saw \text{ - } p\text{h\text{om}} \]
1SG. PROBABLE HAVE work for 2SG. help
‘I haven’t got any work for you to help me with.’

\[ ?aj \text{ - } bot \text{ - } ?\text{ih} \text{ - } mēj \text{ - } ?\text{me} \text{ - } t\text{aw} \text{ - } \emptyset \]
1SG. DUCK.DOWN NEG. enable person see (1SG.)
‘I’m hiding to stop people from seeing me.’

\[ h\text{ân} \text{ - } n\text{âm} \text{ - } p\text{bot} \text{ - } ?\text{ih} \text{ - } mēj \text{ - } \emptyset \text{ - } ?\text{man} \]
3P. TASTY too.much NEG. enable (1SG.) speak
‘It’s so delicious I’m lost for words!’

The Purposive Co-Verb \textit{mēj} may be substituted with \textit{?am} (I am not sure whether there is any semantic distinction between the two). Rather than the typical ditransitive valency exhibited by this Verb in unmarked usage, \textit{?am} as a Purposive Co-verb is always followed by a VP or clausal complement, and takes the meaning ‘in order to’, e.g.
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1SG. SQUEEZE cooked.rice in.order.to (3P.) break
‘I’m squeezing the rice to break it up.’

?me kriŋ cōk cem pros ?äm Ø pār
person wiseman use bird RELEASE in.order.to (3P.) fly
‘The wiseman releases the bird so it can fly.’

Ø klet kbāŋ ?äm Ø kēkēc
(2SG.) CUT(in.strips) bamboo.shoot in.order.to (3P.) RED.-small
‘Slice the bamboo so it’s small!’

cā phē... Ø dāk ?äm Ø sroḥ
eat full (2SG.) WALK in.order.to (3P.) digest
‘If (you’re) full from eating, walk it off.’

ŋaj tpah kie ?äm Ø nieh
1PL. HIT egg in.order.to (3P.) exit
‘We hit the (boiled) eggs to remove them (from their shells).’

?aj ma re? haj hōŋ kan tām luat ?äm ?me neh
1SG. FUT. GO LOC. police.station in.order person look
nan si kōŋ ŋaj
document POSS. 1SG.
‘I will go to the Police Station to show the people my visa.’
(i.e. ‘so they can look at’)

ŋaj tpāt ?ūŋ ?äm ʔūŋ smē ʔaj
1PL. EXTINGUISH fire in.order fire smoulder continue
‘We extinguish the flames so the fire keeps smouldering.’

This use of ?äm as a Complement-taking Verb is superficially similar to the use of Adverbal Phrases (§5.3). Any VP (or SVP) may be modified by a final Adverb, Adverbal Phrase, or Adverbal Clause which tends (iconically) to express the Result (and usually the Purpose) of the Action in the Main Verb Phrase. The following underlined VP’s have Purposive functions much like ?äm ‘in order to X’, where they modify the preceding complex VP structure. I refer to these as VP(adv.) in the Verb Phrase Structure (§5.4):

100 The Instrumental cōk is used here because the bird in this context is the metaphorical Instrument by which the spirit of the deceased is set free.
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ŋaj hdāj caŋ pcnuop
1PL. BORROW 3PL. wear
‘We borrowed them (sarongs) to wear.’

ŋaj cōk la priot ksōp buh
1PL. use leaf banana WRAP roast
‘We wrap it in a banana leaf to roast.’

hān bih tēc jeŋ cōk prāk ruat lōt cāk
3P. come SELL gold take money buy motorbike
‘She’s come to sell gold for money to buy a motorbike.’

ʔme sōk bān tēc
person PUNCH RECIP. play
‘The men are punching each other for fun.’

saw ʔmaŋ hrus bān
2SG. SPEAK confuse RECIP.
‘You speak the (two languages) mixed together.’

saw ʔām ʔaj neh ʔōw
2SG. GIVE 1SG. look at REQ.
‘Give it to me to look at!’ (Note overt Subject of Imperative) ¹⁰¹

ʔme pnet hān būl tpe
person MAKE.DRINK 3P. drunk alcohol
‘They made him get drunk.’

pnuŋ bus plāj hli piaŋ
person BOIL fruit CL. corn mushy(L)
‘The person boiled the corn until it became mushy.’

Similarly, a more complex Verb Phrase can be used adverbially in this function:

ʔme ʔām saw prāk bih tēc hāj prēt lāw
person give 2SG. money come play LOC. country Lao
‘They gave you money to come as a tourist to Laos.’

¹⁰¹ Note that neh is not Main Verb here unless the sentence means ‘let me look at it!’ in which case ʔām is serving a Patientive function.
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1SG give 2SG GO send return guesthouse
‘I’ll give you (a lift) back to the guest house.’

It appears that the Preposition haj can also be used in a Purposive function ‘for/to do something’. Examples are:

?aj miaŋ hok kdaŋ haj høy hian
1SG. borrow wear sarong for school
‘I borrowed the sarong to wear for/to/at school.’

?me kra? ?ih kbaj ?maŋ ?äm Ø haj se
person old NEG ever speak give (3P.) for listen
‘The old folk have never told (stories) (for people) to listen to.’

?ih kat bon kuo haj hdaŋ... ?in kuo
NEG. have place reside to flee others reside
‘There was no place to stay to escape (the war). Other people were there (before us).’

Event structure and the Verbal lexicon

Jruq speakers frequently have a choice between using a single (typically indigenous) Main Verb or a Verbal periphrasis (SVP) to denote the same event, e.g.

?äm X neh ‘give X to look at’
?äm X wijn ‘return back to X’
?äm X wijn ‘give X back to’
cšk X re? ~ cšk X biŋ ‘take X to’
re? X cšk ‘take X to’
cšk X ?äm ‘take X to give to’

tplō ‘show’
?uaŋ ‘turn around’
hwák ‘send, exchange’
tbiŋ ‘bring’
psk ‘fetch’
maj ‘transfer, pass, give’

Parallel constructions are illustrated below:

dšk re? cšk ?äm ?aj neh kŋLŋŋ
walk go take give 1SG. look at please
‘Please go and get it for me to look at.’

102 This is certainly the most grammaticalised of the peripheral verbs in the SVP structure. Very rarely is it still used for ‘pass’, which accounts for the vast number of recordings I have of the alternative structure cšk X ?äm in my fieldnotes.

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dāk pcheq tpla? ṭāj kōlāŋ
walk fetch show 1SG. please
‘Please go and fetch it to show me.’

I suggest that the choice is based on whether or not speakers wish to represent the event in terms of a single action or as a structured series of sub-events, particularly amongst first language speakers who have a good command of the indigenous lexicon. Second language speakers tend to use more periphrasis, consistent with the style of Lao speech. This leads me to suggest that external factors, rather than shared cognitive parameters govern the use of simple VP’s versus SVP’s.

4.3.3.3 Imperatives as a feature of Verbs

As discussed above, the Imperative Construction is associated solely with Verbs; thus the most reliable syntactic difference between Adjectives and all Verbs is that Adjectives can never be the Predicate in Imperative Constructions (§6.4). For example, the following are ungrammatical in both positive and negative senses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ tih} \\
& (2SG.) \text{ tall} \\
& * \text{ ‘Be tall!’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ ṭāj kra?} \\
& (2SG.) \text{ DON’T old} \\
& * \text{ ‘Stop being old!’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, Adjectives may occur as modifiers of the Imperative Verbal Predicate or its NP arguments, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ ṭāj ci? dun ōw} \\
& (2SG.) \text{ DON’T return long.time REQ.} \\
& \text{ ‘Come back soon!’ (Lit. ‘Don’t return (and stay) for a long time!’)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ bim } \emptyset \text{ tih bèn ōw} \\
& (2SG.) \text{ make (3P.) tall fast (2SG.) improve RED.-fast REQ.} \\
& \text{ ‘Make it tall, quickly!’ ‘Get well quickly!’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ kδēh dak kēkēc} \\
& (2SG.) \text{ reheat water RED.-small} \\
& \text{ ‘Heat the water up a little!’ ‘Heat the little bit of water up!’}
\end{align*}
\]
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This is the most reliable way to distinguish Adjectives from all Verbs because, although the Descriptives are able to occur as Predicates of Negative Imperatives, they cannot occur as positive Imperatives like other Verbs, for example:

Ø ḥanā ji? ?deh ?aw
(2SG.) DON'T sick cold REQ.
‘Get well soon!’
(Lit. ‘Don’t have a fever!’) 103

Ø ḥanā kmaš ?aj ?aw
(2SG.) DON'T shy 1SG. REQ.
‘Don’t be shy of me!’

103 Note how the Adjective ?deh ‘cold’ can modify a Descriptive Predicate.
4.4 Prepositions

Prepositions are a closed class of words which head Prepositional Phrases and always take a following NP. Usually they indicate location or direction of action or state, but they can be used to indicate Possession, Comparison and other more 'syntactic' functions which are generally in accordance with NP Role-marking functions in Case-marking languages. Prepositions are distinguished from Nouns and Verbs in that:

- they cannot take Negation/Tense/Aspect/Mood marking
- they cannot be Quantified

Jruq Prepositions can be subcategorised into the following:

- Generic Prepositions
- Role-assigning Prepositions

4.4.1 Generic Prepositions

Generic Prepositions specify action in the domains of: Location vs. Direction, Goal vs. Source, Enclosure vs. Surface, and Interior vs. Exterior. They are the most frequently used Prepositions, and include the following closed set:

- ħaj "LOC." vs. pal "DIR.", Location vs. Direction
- taʔ ‘to’ vs. tām ‘from’, Goal vs. Source
- ḥoʔ ‘in, inside’ vs. liw ‘on’, Enclosure vs. Surface
- tāt ‘across’ vs. wāl ‘around’, Interior vs. Exterior

Examples of their uses are given below.

hām kuo ħaj ṭāp
3P. reside LOC. cave
‘They live in caves.’

ʔaj bil ħaj hnəm
1SG. forget LOC. house
‘I left it (forgotten) at home.’

ʔme kje ħaj hnəm ṭāp
person dance & sing LOC. house fire
‘The people are dancing and singing in the kitchen.’
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?me ?maŋ t bäc haj ?me kuan
person speak play Loc. person child
‘People tell jokes to the children.’

pal brēŋ kät kur ?lɔŋ
DIR. forest exist trunk tree
‘Towards the forest there are trees.’

bān hmoŋ pal bāp
relation DIR. father
‘the relations on my father’s side’

month new 1SG. FUT. go to Attapeu
‘Next month I will go to Attapeu.’

ŋaj dāŋ tɔ? pak sɔŋ
1PL. walk to Paksong
‘We’re going to Paksong.’

mew kleh tɔ? dak... ?ih mën juh dák
cat fall to water NEG. exist swim water
‘The cat fell into the water. It didn’t swim.’

?aj bih tām hāp kɔŋ
1SG. come from [bury corpse]104
‘I’ve come from the funeral.’

?aj kät trometer ho? pŋ
1SG. have hole in tooth
‘I’ve got a hole in my tooth.’

kʰo cem kuo ho? tɔm ?lɔŋ
tiger bird reside in trunk wood
‘Panthers live in trees.’

?aj pŋŋ juj lāw bru
1SG. shoot deer on mountain
‘I shot the deer on the mountain.’

---
104 Although this looks like a Verb Phrase, hāp kɔŋ is in fact functioning as a compound Noun meaning ‘funeral’—remember that Prepositions must always be followed by a NP.
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bih ket līw truŋ
snake die on road
'The snake died on the road.'

?aj mot neh līw krăm
1SG. like look.at on sky
'I like looking at the sky.'\(^{105}\)

?oh ?aj hmə? dāk tāt dāk
younger.sibling 1SG. fear walk across water
'Ve my younger brother is afraid to go across the river.'\(^{106}\)

?aj mun dāk wāl hnam
1SG. want walk around house
'I want to walk around the house.'

Note that the Prepositions may also indicate a metaphorical 'location' of time
(from the moment of speech):

?aj hgal kīak tām kmo gra
1SG. know 3SG. from year PAST-two
'I've known him since two years ago.'

Generic Prepositions may also be concatenated but this is restricted to the
Location, Goal and Source Prepositions. hāj 'LOC.' can occur after tō 'to' and
tām 'from' to indicate movement to or from a set location, e.g.

saw tdāk bih tām hāj pnām pdi lōh
2SG. go.by.foot come from LOC. village slow Q
'Did you walk slowly from the village?'

bāc dāk saw nāh riap tām hāj muj
complete walk 2SG. know count from LOC. one
'How far can you count from one?'

tō hāj (dāj) saw ma re?
tō LOC. (which?) 2SG. FUT. go
'Where are you going to?'

\(^{105}\) The sky is perceived as a tangible surface.

\(^{106}\) A similar grammaticalisation with the Khmer word kät 'cut' which is used in the same way: kät phum 'through a village' literally "cut village" (Gorgoniyev 1966:108).
4.4.1.1 Other words used Prepositionally


\[\text{bim p?t hpuac ?j?o pal h?iaw pal hma}\]

make finger.print finger female DIR. left.side DIR. right.side

‘I made left and right thumbprints.’

\[\text{m?t tv?j h?w pal h?iaw ?aj}\]

eye day climb DIR. left.side 1SG.

‘The sun is rising to my left.’

\[\text{?aj c?m l?t b?h t?m tio? pak se ci? pn?am}\]

1SG. wait vehicle come from down.at Pakse return village

klen h?w kce?

swamp hole green

‘I’m waiting for the car from down at Pakse (in order) to return to Nong Khoum Khiao Village.’

\[\text{b?h hwar pal pit ?aj}\]

snake crawl DIR. behind 1SG.

‘The snake is crawling to the back of me.’

\[\text{?j?o ne? haj n?el}\]

thing this Loc. front

‘This thing to the front (of you).’

\[\text{pal kluo? han ?j?o}\]

DIR. base 3P. sour

‘At the base (of the pineapple) it’s sour.’

\[\text{bac ceh ?aj c?k t?h t?m haj krom hnam}\]

PAST finish 1SG. take bring from Loc. underneath house

‘I’ve already brought in (my clothes) from underneath the house.’

\[\text{k?t ?j?o d?j haj n?j}\]

have thing which? Loc. inside

‘Is there anything inside (the container)’
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haj braŋ ?no?

**Loc.** outside hot

‘It’s hot (at the) outside.’

ho? kdēj hān ḫōŋ

**in middle** 3P. black

‘He’s wicked.’ (Lit. ‘He is black to the core’)

Interestingly, I have also found some of these Locative Nouns (namely *pit* ‘behind’, *piŋ* ‘top/upstream’, *krom* ‘underneath/downstream’, *kdēj* ‘middle’ and possibly *nāj* ‘inside’) can function prepositionally. As such, they require a following Object NP or Demonstrative, e.g.

hān bih tēc jēŋ *pit* hnum

3P. come sell gold **behind** house

‘She’s come to sell gold (in the stalls) at the back of (this) cafe.’

piŋ *pit* ne? kāt trōm luh

tooth **behind** this have hole pierce

‘The tooth at the back of this one has a hole through it.’

pnām *piŋ* dak kām lāŋ koc

village **upstream** water INCHOATIVE burn

‘The village upstream is starting to burn.’

plāj hli kuo *piŋ* ḫīŋ

fruit.CL. corn reside **top** fire

‘The corn is (hanging) over the fire.’

hān lom *piŋ* dak

3P. jump **top** water

‘He jumped over the river.’

?aj ḫā? kṣet krom dāŋ

1SG. put cassette **underneath** stool

‘I put the cassette under the stool.’

pnām ḫaj kuo krom *dak*

village 1SG. reside **downstream** water

‘My village is downstream.’

mew ṇok kdēj jāŋ saw

cat sit **middle** leg 2SG.

‘The cat is sitting between your legs.’

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\[ \text{dak} \quad \text{kdēj} \quad \text{pnām} \quad \text{piaŋ} \quad \text{hkol} \]
\text{water} \quad \text{middle} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{extend} \quad \text{knee} \]
\text{‘The (flood) water in the centre of the village was up to the knees.’} \]

Note that in the following example nāj ‘inside’ does not have a following Noun—perhaps because hnam ‘house’ has been preposed for topicalisation:

\[ \text{tuj} \quad \text{hnam} \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{ʔjuo} \quad \text{nāj} \]
\text{each house} \quad \text{NEG.} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{inside} \]
\text{‘Each house had nothing inside.’} \]

In addition, a few Verbs seem to be able to function prepositionally (although perhaps they could be analysed as kinds of ‘complement-taking’ Adverbs):

\[ \text{ŋak} \quad \text{‘pull’} > \text{‘away from, distant’} \quad \text{mūt} \quad \text{‘enter’} > \text{‘inside’} \]
\[ \text{hāw} \quad \text{‘climb’} > \text{‘upwards’} \]
\[ \text{tit} \quad \text{‘stick to’} > \text{‘adjacent to, near’} \]

Examples are:

\[ \text{nāj} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{reʔ} \quad \text{laŋ} \quad \text{hāw} \quad \text{bru} \]
1PL. FUT. go continue up(wards) mountain
\text{‘We will keep going up the mountain.’} \]

\[ \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{pnām} \quad \text{tit} \quad \text{pnām} \quad \text{dak} \quad \text{jrēc} \]
1SG. reside village adjacent village water Set.River
\text{‘I live in the village next to Set River Village.’} \]

\[ \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{dōk} \quad \text{car} \quad \text{riak} \quad \text{ŋaj} \quad \text{pak} \quad \text{pnām} \]
1SG. walk cast net far away from village
\text{‘I’m going to cast my net far away (from the village).’} \]

\[ \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{dōk} \quad \text{tpeŋ} \quad \text{lāw} \quad \text{bru} \quad \text{ŋaj} \quad \text{pak} \quad \text{pnām} \]
1SG. walk hunt on mountain far away from village
\text{‘I’m going to shoot on top of the mountain far away from the village.’} \]

\[ \text{107 Note that hāw ‘climb’ in one example in my data seems to function as the Object of a Generic Preposition (i.e. similar to the role of Locative Nouns):} \]
\[ \text{ʔaj} \quad \text{bīh} \quad \text{tūm} \quad \text{hāw} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{wān} \]
1SG. come from ‘up at’ Saravane
\text{‘I’ve come from up at Saravane.’} \]

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4.4.2 Role-assigning Prepositions

There are a variety of other Prepositions which are not used to refer to physical position or location. These Role-assigning Prepositions are subclassed according to the following syntactic functions:

- **Possessive Preposition**
  - kʰəŋ 'of' (< Lao)

- **'Source' Preposition**
  - cak 'from' (< Lao)

- **Instrumental Preposition**
  - kāp 'with' (< Lao)

- **Comitative Prepositions**
  - toj 'with'
  - ʔrep 'with'
  - kāp 'with' (< Lao)

- **Comparative Prepositions**
  - ʔjāŋ 'like, similar to'
  - muj hnie 'same as'
  - hom 'more than'
  - cir 'further'
  - ploc 'after'
  - nuar 'before'

Each of these are discussed below.

4.4.2.1 Possessive Preposition

Many Possessive Constructions in Jruq are formed with simple parataxis of Possessed NP + Possessor NP. Such Possessive Constructions may appear within Noun Phrases (as Attributes) or may be used Predicatively as non-Verbal Ascriptive Clauses. On the other hand, speakers may also indicate possession with the use of a Verbal Predicate such as kat 'have', bīc 'get, have' or kla 'own' which is always followed by the Possessed NP, which acts as the Direct Object Argument. These can be used for both inalienable and alienable entities, although the choice of these is dependent on the inherent animacy of the Possessor, or whether the possessed Object was paid for.

In addition to this indigenous way of indicating possession, a Lao/Thai word kʰəŋ 'of' has been borrowed into Jruq to indicate 'ownership'. It is not used for inalienable entities such as body parts, facial features, or other characteristics (e.g. a snake's poison). Jruq speakers tend to only use it for tangible objects.
which may be bought or transferred such as shoes, clothing, vehicles, and livestock etc. This is the **Possessive Preposition**. The Possessed NP precedes $k^b\hat{o}\eta$ 'of' and the Possessor NP follows. Examples are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
saw & \quad h\hat{m}a \quad l\hat{o} \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ?m\hat{e} \quad d\hat{a}j \\
2SG. & \quad ride \quad vehicle \quad of \quad person \quad which? \\
'You \quad rode \quad in \quad who's \quad car?'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
h\hat{\acute{a}}n & \quad re? \quad p\hat{a}k \quad se \quad h\hat{\acute{a}}n \quad l\hat{a}j \quad t\hat{\acute{a}}w \quad n\hat{a}g \quad si \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ?aj \\
3P. & \quad go \quad Pakse \quad 3P. \quad ITERATIVE \quad see \quad letter \quad of \quad 1SG. \\
h\hat{\acute{a}}n & \quad c\hat{i}n \quad c\hat{\ddot{c}}k \quad t\hat{b}h\hat{\acute{i}}h \quad ?\hat{\acute{a}}m \quad ?aj \\
3P. & \quad so \quad take \quad bring \quad give \quad 1SG. \\
'He \quad goes \quad to \quad Pakse \quad and \quad he \quad often \quad finds \quad my \quad letters, \quad so \quad he \quad brings \quad them \quad back \quad to \quad give \quad me.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k\hat{d}a\hat{\acute{a}}n \quad ne \quad (k\hat{\omega}t) \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ?m\hat{e} \quad d\hat{a}j \\
sarong \quad here \quad (have) \quad of \quad person \quad which? \\
'Who's \quad is \quad this \quad sarong?'
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, I recorded the use of $k^b\hat{o}\eta$ to emphatically state kin relationship. In such cases, the NP representing the Possessor is always stressed:

\[
\begin{align*}
h\hat{\acute{a}}n \quad ?\hat{\acute{o}}h \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ?aj \\
3P. \quad younger.sibling \quad of \quad 1SG. \\
'He's \quad my \quad younger \quad brother!'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj \quad p\hat{u}a\hat{\acute{t}} \quad ?\hat{b}n \quad t\hat{e}n \quad j\hat{a}j \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ?aj \quad (bim) \\
1SG. \quad chop \quad wood \quad instead.of \quad elder.sibling \quad of \quad 1SG. \quad do \\
'I'm \quad chopping \quad wood \quad instead \quad of \quad my \quad sister \quad (doing \quad it).'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma}? \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad k\hat{\ell} \quad ?aj \quad k\hat{e}t \quad k\hat{m}\hat{\ddot{o}} \quad g\hat{r}a \\
mother \quad of \quad husband \quad 1SG. \quad die \quad year \quad PAST-two \\
'The \quad mother \quad of \quad my \quad husband \quad died \quad the \quad year \quad before \quad last.'
\end{align*}
\]

The word $k^b\hat{o}\eta$ 'of' seems to have been borrowed into Jruq with all of its functions found in Thai/Lao. That is, it can also function as the Noun $k^b\hat{o}\eta$ 'thing, object' from which the Possessive function is derived (Bisang 1996:548), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
h\hat{m}oh \quad ?\hat{\acute{o}}w \quad sa\hat{w} \quad m\hat{\acute{a}} \quad r\hat{u}a\hat{t} \quad k^b\hat{o}\eta \quad ca \quad h\hat{b}\hat{\acute{i}}? \quad ?n\acute{a}w \\
name \quad thing \quad 2SG. \quad FUT. \quad buy \quad object \quad eat \quad evening \quad new \\
'What \quad things \quad will \quad you \quad buy \quad for \quad food \quad tonight?'
\end{align*}
\]

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hän kät kʰɔŋ 'aj
3P. EXIST thing 1SG.
'She’s mine.' (ie. 'she’s my possession')

4.4.2.2 ‘Source’ Preposition

Another Preposition borrowed from Lao indicates the source of possession (i.e. ‘the giver’). Like the Possessive Preposition kʰɔŋ ‘of’, it tends only to be used in reference to alienable objects which can be bought or transferred. In the following example it occurs in conjunction with kʰɔŋ ‘of’:

kap kʰɔŋ aj bíc cak me? kʰɔŋ pol
shoe of 1SG. receive from mother of Paul
‘I got my shoes from Paul’s mother.’

Note it seems to be nominalised after kät ‘to have’ in the following sentence:

ʔjuo dāj ʔih Ø sāl lān hāp... ʔih kät cak
thing which? NEG. -FUT. ruined ask shirt NEG. have ‘charity’
‘Things which were not destroyed we sold for shirts, there wasn’t charity.’

4.4.2.3 Instrumental Preposition

To indicate the use of a tool or instrument for the Predicate action, Jruq speakers usually use the Co-Verb cōk ‘take, use’ in a Serial Verb Phrase construction (§4.3.3.2.2), on the model— I take axe chop tree. However, the Preposition kāp ‘with’ (borrowed from Lao) can be used in an alternative Instrumental Construction, where it is always followed by the NP Object representing the tool, e.g.

ʔaj klōk pteh kāp cok
1SG. hoe ground with hoe
‘I dig the ground with a hoe.’

bus dak kāp ʔiŋ fāj fa
boil water with fire electricity (L.)
‘Boil the water using electricity.’

Note that kāp ‘with’ also functions as a Comitative Preposition (§4.4.2.4) where it does not serve an Instrumental function.

---

108 This sentence is quite marked in Jruq—kin relationships are rarely conveyed as ‘possessed’.

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4.4.2.4 Comitative Prepositions

Comitative Prepositions convey the meaning of ‘with, together’. There are three such Prepositions in Jruq: toj, ñrep and kāp (< Lao). These are very close in meaning but the choice of these is differentiated on the basis of whether the Predicate involves physical movement or not. toj is always used with Predicates such as ‘walking’, ‘returning’, etc. where the following NP is an active participant, e.g.

\[
\text{saw ma ci? ləh tŋāj ne toj ?aj}
\]

2SG. FUT. return Q day this with 1SG.
‘Will you go back today with me?’

kāp is always used with Predicates such as ‘residing’ and ‘speaking’, and also more dynamic Events such as ‘swapping’. It is always followed by an NP participant which is not necessarily active, e.g.

\[
\text{hān loj ñh ra? ?maŋ kāp ?aj}
\]

3P. DURATIVE NEG. put.down speak with 1SG.
‘She wouldn’t put the phone down at all to speak with me.’

\[
\text{?aj mʊŋ hwāk kəp kāp saw}
\]

1SG. want swap shoe with 2SG.
‘I want to swap shoes with you.’

\[
\text{bon trie hān kuo hŋaj loh kāp saw kuo}
\]

place wife 3P. reside far Q with 2SG. reside
‘The place where his (former) wife lives, is far away, isn’t it, from where you live?’

\[
\text{saw kuo kāp ?aj saw təw ?aj kət ?jāŋ dāj}
\]

2SG. reside with 1sg. 2SG. see 1sg. have like which?
‘Whilst you’ve been staying with me, how do you find me?’

ñrep is slightly different—it can combine with toj to mean ‘together with’, or it can appear by itself with states such as ‘to cry’. ñrep often takes an ellipsed NP modifier because it always implies a reflexive pronoun bən ‘each other’, e.g.

\[
\text{hān dōk toj ñrep (bən)}
\]

3P. walk with with (each other)
‘They are walking together (with each other).’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

cām ?aj... cc? ?lē... ?aj ma dāk toj ?rēn (bān)
wait 1SG. after moment 1SG. FUT. go with with (each. other)
‘Wait for me. In a moment I’ll go together with you.’

ŋaj ma ɲiəm ?rēn (bān)
1PL. FUT. cry with (each. other)
‘We will both cry together.’

4.4.2.5 Comparative Prepositions

There are many ways in which speakers can compare NP entities. They can create similatives with ?jāŋ ‘like, similar’ (or the Lao equivalent bēp ‘like, similar’), or equatives muj hnie ‘the same’, or comparatives hom ‘more than’ and cir ‘further’. Examples of these are given below:

?aj tāw saw kplāŋ ?jāŋ hān
1SG. see 2SG. beautiful same.as 3P.
‘I think you’re as beautiful as she is.’

dum ?jāŋ tmo buh kdiat hnam
red same.as stone roast wall house
‘Red like the bricks of house walls.’

ɲo? prop ?jāŋ co
barking.deer bark same.as dog
‘The barking deer barks like a dog.’

saw neh ?jāŋ bāp
2SG. look same.as father
‘You look like your father.’

hkōj kət bēp ɲo? kōt tkwaj kēkēc
mousedeer have same.as barking.deer have horn RED.-small
‘The mousedeer is the same as the barking deer but with little horns.’

saw saj ʔjwo ne? muj hnie pnuŋ hāŋ
2SG. insert thing this same.as person Nhaheun
‘You are wearing this thing (bracelet) just like a Nhaheun person.’

hān cet saw ʔdiʔ hom bāŋ
3P. love 2SG. much more.than other
‘He loves you more than any other person (in the world).’
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- tiat hän ṭmän ban kāp sian plāj ṭloŋ ruh ṭkw
  parrot 3P. speak other with voice fruit tree collapse loud
  hän sian hnat hom

more.than voice gun blow
‘Those parrots talking to each other and the sound of the acorns falling
was louder than the sound of the air rifles.’

hän pnăm ṭaj ṭaj kēc hom ban
LOC. village 1SG. 1SG. little more.than other
‘In my village I’m smaller than the others.’

saw bim pʰə pnäm hom ban
2SG. make soup tasty more.than other
‘You make tastier soup than other (people).’

saw kāŋ hom ṭaj
2SG. beautiful more.than 1SG.
‘You’re more beautiful than I.’

kne ṭaj břeŋ pnäm hom kne hnam
rat LOC. forest tasty more.than rat house
‘Forest rats are tastier than house rats.’

hän hjaw běŋ hom ṭaj
3P. run fast more.than 1SG.
‘He runs faster than I.’

ṭaj hjaw běŋ ṭjaŋ seh
1SG. run fast same.as horse
‘I run as fast as a horse.’

pnăm ṭaj cir pnăm saw
village 1SG. further village 2SG.
‘My village is further away than yours.’

hän net cir cāk bul ṭet
3P. drink.alcohol far body drunk drink.alcohol
‘He drank more than his body (could cope with) and got drunk.’

ṭaj juh dák cir saw
1SG. swim water further 2SG.
‘I swam farther than you.’
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hān ?man ?di? cir hom ban
3P. speak many further more than other
'She speaks more than the others.'

?aj som ?jāŋ saw
1SG. tired same as 2SG.
'I'm as tired as you.'

saw ?man ?jāŋ kre ma ?deŋ tus
2SG. speak same as sky FUT. split head
'You're saying incredible things.' (Lit. 'you're speaking like lightning will strike your head'.)

The last example above shows the Object of the Preposition can be substituted with a clause (see §6.2.1).

In addition, speakers also compare the relative time of Events by using Adverbial Prepositions ploc 'after', and nuar 'before'. In this Comparative Prepositional function, these words must take following NP's which refer to the entity being compared.

Examples are:

?aj cōŋ nuar kāŋ saw
1SG. eat meal before 2PL.
'I'm eating dinner before you lot.'

?aj hāw lōt nuar saw cōŋ ci? pak sōŋ wīn
1SG. climb car before 2SG. so return Pakson turn. back
'I'll climb in the car before you, so I can go back to Pakson.'

saw bīŋ haj ne nuar ?aj
2SG. come LOC. here before 1SG.
'You came here before me.'

---

109 This distinguishes the Adverbial Prepositions ploc and nuar from their Measurement Adjective functions where they do not take following NP referents (see §4.3.1.8 and §4.11.2).

110 If the NP kāŋ saw was omitted, nuar would function as an Adverb and the sentence would read 'I'm eating dinner first.'
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- saw  kat  ploc  ?aj
  2SG. born  after  1SG.
  'You were born after me.'

Note that cir 'further' appears to be nominalised to mean 'advancement' in the following example (I have no evidence of other Comparatives or indeed Prepositions being nominalised):

?me  hmo?  cir  ?ru?  ?aj  ne?
  person  fear  'advancement'  Jruq  1PL.  this
  'The people were afraid of the (intellectual) advancement of us Jruq.'
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

4.5 COUNTING & CLASSIFICATION

This section describes various word classes used for the functions of counting and classifying\(^{111}\) Noun Arguments in Jruq. The word classes used for these functions are listed below:

Counting words:

- Numerals (\textit{ie.} definite Numbers) (§4.5.1.1)
- Indefinite Numbers (§4.5.1.2)
- Numeral Interrogative (§4.5.1.3)

Classifying words:

- Classifiers (§4.5.2.1)
- Quantifiers (§4.5.2.2)

4.5.1 Counting

4.5.1.1 Numerals

Jruq has a decimal Numeral System. There is a closed class of fifteen Cardinal Number denominators (given below) which can combine to denominate any quantity. Note that there is no ‘zero’ in Jruq\(^{112}\):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muj} & \text{ ‘one’} & \text{trāw} & \text{ ‘six’} & \text{klām} & \text{ ‘100’} \\
\text{bor} & \text{ ‘two’} & \text{pāh} & \text{ ‘seven’} & \text{hlik} & \text{ ‘1000’} \\
\text{pe} & \text{ ‘three’} & \text{tām} & \text{ ‘eight’} & \text{bān} & \text{ ‘1000’ (< Lao)} \\
\text{puan} & \text{ ‘four’} & \text{cin} & \text{ ‘nine’} & \text{sen} & \text{ ‘10,000’ (< Lao)} \\
\text{sāg} & \text{ ‘five’} & \text{cēt} & \text{ ‘ten’} & \text{min} & \text{ ‘100,000’ (< Lao)}
\end{align*}
\]

Numbers above ten, other than the base numbers, are formed in much the same manner as those in Lao, Khmer and other neighbouring Southeast Asian languages—lower Numerals precede the bases they modify, and the

\(^{111}\) These are distinct from \textbf{Class Nouns} (see §3.2.4) which are used for taxonom classification. This is because there is a difference between the processes of grouping Nouns into taxonom groups (for identificational purposes) and classifying them for the purpose of Counting and Quantification.

\(^{112}\) Mon-Khmer languages lack an indigenous term for ‘zero’—Old Khmer lacked it but Modern Khmer uses a Sanskrit word \textit{som(y)} (Jacob 1965:144).
sequence is descending from the largest to the smallest base, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{barang cêt '20'} & \quad \text{barang cêt puan '24'} \\
\text{t dém klâm trców cêt pe '863'} & \quad \text{pe bán puan cêt sæj '3045'} \\
\text{pe bán muj klâm '3100'} & \quad \text{sañ jin cin cêt '5000,090'}
\end{align*}
\]

Approximate numerical quantification is performed by juxtaposing two consecutive Numerals (the smaller one precedes the larger one):

\[
\begin{align*}
tx̄m & \quad \text{pas} & \quad \text{taj} & \quad \text{taju?} & \quad \text{pe} & \quad \text{puan} & \quad \text{kmo} \\
\text{time(past) that} & \quad \text{1SG. age} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{four} & \quad \text{year.Q.} \\
\text{'At that time I was three or four years old.'}
\end{align*}
\]

When counting Objects, Numerals require a following Classifier ('CL.') or Quantifier ('Q')\textsuperscript{113}, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bôn̄a} & \quad \text{saw kot cêt sæj plāj} \\
\text{banana.hand.Q. 2SG. have ten five fruit.CL.} \\
\text{'Your banana hand has fifteen bananas.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taj} & \quad \text{kot} & \quad \text{tōk} & \quad \text{pe} & \quad \text{plāj} \\
\text{1SG. have pot three fruit.CL.} \\
\text{'I have three cooking pots.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taj} & \quad \text{kot} & \quad \text{kdn̄a} & \quad \text{pāh} & \quad \text{joh} \\
\text{1SG. have sarong seven sarong.CL.} \\
\text{'I have seven sarongs.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Cardinal Numbers may be used to count Time as a \textit{continuum}, in which case a Temporal Quantifier (§4.7.2.4) is used after the Numeral, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taj} & \quad \text{cër hian} & \quad \text{bōr} & \quad \text{kmo} & \quad \text{muj} & \quad \text{tajt} & \quad \text{sañ} & \quad \text{taj} & \quad \text{muj} \\
\text{1SG. hire study two year.Q. one week.Q. five day.Q. one} \\
\text{day.Q. four hour.Q.} \\
\text{'I've been teaching four hours a day, five days a week for two years.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{113} See §4.5.2 for more discussion of Classifiers, and §4.5.3 for Quantifiers.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

?aj ?ama? bor cēt phā kmo
1SG. age two ten seven year.Q.
‘I’m twenty-seven years of age.’

The Cardinal Numbers may also be used to name a date or specific point in Time. In this function, Temporal Quantifiers are not used. Instead Jruq uses a typical International style of specifying dates (see below), where the Numerals are modifiers of the head Noun (this is similar to the derivation of ‘Ordinal’ Number constructions, discussed below).

wān kot ?aj tāj cēt saŋ kʰāj cēt muj kmo
birthday 1SG. day ten five month ten one year
muj bān cin klām phā cēt bor
one thousand nine hundred seven ten two
‘My birthday is on the fifteenth of November, 1972.’

In these latter Numeral Constructions, the Cardinal Number cannot be substituted by the Numeral Interrogative sie? ‘how many?’. Instead, one has to use the Interrogative dāj ‘which?’ to form an Interrogative, e.g.

wān kot saw tāj cēt saŋ kʰāj dāj
birthday 2SG. day ten five month which?
‘Your birthday is on the 15th of which month?’

Ordinals

Distinct Ordinal Numbers such as ‘the first’, ‘the second’ etc., do not seem to exist in contemporary Jruq (although other MK languages such as Pacoh and Khmer have them114). Instead one can use Adverbs nuar ‘before, first’, ploc ‘after, last’ and Comparative ham ‘more than’ after the head Noun. Alternatively, speakers use the Cardinal Numbers as attributes (without taking following Classifiers) to count Ordinally, e.g.

kuan bor ?me trie
cild two person woman
‘The second child is a girl.’

trie nuar/muj bāc kēt
wife before/one PERFECTIVE dead
‘(My) first wife is dead.’

pnam pe
village three
‘The third village’

kʰāj cin
month nine
‘August.’ (Lit. ‘the ninth month’)

114 See Watson (1976), Jacob (1965).
4.5.1.2 Indefinite Numbers (or ‘Amounts’)

There is a small set of words which substitute definite Numbers to specify a
general quantity of an entity without indicating an exact measure or number,
therefore I call them Indefinite Numbers (INDEF.NUM.). Note that in ‘market
speech’ they can appear without Classifiers or Quantifiers. The Indefinite
Numbers I recorded in Jruq are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kăp} & \text{ 'each'} \\
\text{bāŋ} & \text{ 'some amount' (< Lao)} \\
\text{tuj} & \text{ 'every'} \\
\text{?in} & \text{ 'the rest/remaining amount'} \\
\text{toc} & \text{ 'all'} \\
\text{?di?} & \text{ 'many, much'}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of their functions are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pnus náh cā } & \text{(priot) kăp kăp hnie} \\
\text{person know eat (banana) RED.-each sort.CL.} & \text{ 'People can eat every single variety (of banana).'} \\
\text{tam luat cōk kăp hnat lōh} & \text{soldier take each gun Q} \\
\text{ 'The soldiers took every (single) gun, did they?'} \\
\text{kăp tōj sāw ?māŋ āŋ? lōh} & \text{each day 2SG. speak Jruq Q} \\
\text{ 'Do you speak Jruq every day?'} \\
\text{tuj màŋ sī? bāŋ (prāk) sāw cēr nēn} & \text{every night NUM.INT. thousand (money) 2SG. hire sleep} \\
\text{hnom lāt} & \text{house apartment} \\
\text{ 'How much do you pay every night to sleep at the guest house?'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?aj cōŋ cō? tōj hōi? tuj tōj pē nuoh} & \text{1SG. eat.rice early day evening every day.Q. three time.Q.} \\
\text{ 'I eat breakfast, lunch, and dinner, three times a day.} \\
\text{?aj ruat muj kpāw tuj kpāw bōr cēt bōr bān} & \text{1SG. buy one sack every sack two ten two thousand} \\
\text{ 'I'm buying one sack (of charcoal). Each sack costs 22,000 kip.'} \\
\text{bāŋ ?mē cā ?hī būc} & \text{some person eat NEG. able} \\
\text{ 'Some people can't eat it.'}
\end{align*}
\]
bāŋ ʔjāŋ ʔih ʔām

some WH. NEG. tasty

'Some kinds (of alcohol) aren’t tasty.’

ʔaj ca ka nán bāŋ ruoh
1SG. eat fish only some time.Q.
'I eat fish only sometimes.’

ʔaj puat ʔlōŋ bāŋ ʔam
1SG. chop wood some season
'I sometimes chop wood.’

bāŋ ca ruh

some eat stink

'Some kinds of food stink.’

bāŋ ra bim hnam kēkēc... ʔin ra

some person.CL. make house RED.-small other person.CL.

coh kso̞k... ʔin ra cah htiw htāp huc

ignite corpse other person.CL. dig hole bury grave

'Some people make (burial) huts, others cremate the body, and others dig graves.’

saw ruat mi wāj ʔaj ma bim ʔin Ø cōk ʔōw
2SG. buy fine.noodle 1PL. FUT. make other (kinds) take EMPH.

'You buy the fine noodles. We’ll make other (kinds of food) to take okay!'

Ø ca toc
(2SG.) eat all

'Eat it all up!'

ʔme pnīeh ʔih toc ʔkūŋ hbiw

person remove NEG. all seed tamarind

'They didn’t remove all the tamarind seeds (from the jam).’

kuan saw naʔ toc (ra)
child 2SG. yet all (person.CL.)

'Are all your children still alive?’

kmo ne kat tiat ʔdiʔ (to)
year this have parrot many (animal.CL.)

'This year there are many parrots.’

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CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

?aj  c3k  pʰâk  ?di  ?di?  hnic
1SG. take leafy.vegetable RED.-many kind.CL.
‘I’m getting many kinds of green vegetables.

The words toc ‘all’ and kȳp ‘each’, and tȳj ‘every’ and muj ‘one’ may be combined to create a more emphatic meaning of ‘every single’ as in the following examples:

?aj  ca  toc  kȳp  plāj
1SG. eat all each fruit.CL.
‘I ate all the fruit.’(ie. ‘every single piece of fruit’)

?aj  nāh  toc  kȳp  ra
1SG. know all each person.CL.
‘I know everyone.’(ie. ‘every single person’)

?mē  ?ām  saw  prāk  bīh  haj  ptyêt  law  tȳj  muj
person give 2SG. money come Loc. country Lao every one
kmo  sie?  bān  (prāk)
year.Q NUM.INT. thousand (money)
‘How much money do they give you to come to Laos every single year?’

4.5.1.3 Numeral Interrogative

There is one word in Jruq—sie?—which is used as a Numeral Interrogative (NUM.INT.) to inquire ‘how many/how much?’. Interestingly, Bondet (1949) recorded tāŋ  ?di? ‘how many?’ which uses the generic Interrogative Particle ʔjāŋ ~ tāŋ ‘WH.’, plus ?di? ‘much, many’. All my informants used exclusively sie?, which on phonological grounds must be a Jruq or possibly Katuic word. Examples include:

sie?  ra  saw  hqāl  si  tŋāj  ?e?
NUM.INT. person.CL. 2SG. know name day.Q. that
‘How many people’s names did you know that day?’

saw  ma  kuo  ?ne?  sie?  tŋāj
2SG. Fut. reside here NUM.INT. day.Q.
‘You will stay here (the place we are in) for how many days?’

pnuŋ  ȵaj  sie?  kmo  cīŋ  c3k  klo
person 1PL NUM.INT. year.Q. PERMITTED take man
‘How old should we be before we can marry?’
4.5.2 Classification

Like other Mainland Southeast Asian languages, Jruq classifies Nouns for counting. Nouns in these languages are unmarked for number and definiteness (i.e. they are ‘transnumeral’ (Greenberg 1974))—for example the Jruq Noun *pnus* can be used to mean ‘person; a person; the person; people; the people’. In order to be counted, the Noun must first be individualised. This is the principle function of the Classifier.

...if a noun is transnumeral in a given language, it cannot occur in immediate combination with a numeral—it first has to be individualized by the numeral classifier as the most appropriate tool with which to make it countable. (Bisang 1993:3)

Jruq contrasts two types of Classifiers which I call: Classifiers and Quantifiers. The latter are for individualising mass/collective/abstract Nouns. These two types have often been confused in the literature (e.g. Jacob (1965) unifies them under the term ‘numeral co-efficients’).

In numeral classifier languages the numeral classifier construction is almost always identical with the measure construction including rules of word order. This is so much the case that many grammars of such languages consider the numeral classifier construction as merely a subvariety of an overall construction type which includes measures. For example if the order is five-flat-object-book, a classifier language will almost invariably have the order five-pounds-cheese. (Greenberg 1975:30)

In the 1960’s specialists began to distinguish the two categories—Hla Pe (1965) first distinguished ‘Classifiers’ from ‘Quantifiers’ in Burmese. The functions of Classifiers and Quantifiers have since been extensively investigated with other mainland Southeast Asian languages (Greenberg 1975; T’sou 1976; Seiler 1986; Bisang 1993 and passim). T’sou (1976: 1217/18) distinguished Classifiers and Quantifiers\(^\text{115}\) according to the binary features [± exact] and [± entity] (the following is quoted by Bisang (1993:10):

\(^{115}\text{Measures, collectives and kind being subsets of Quantifiers.}\)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

I. [+ exact] [+ entity] "...refers to an exact quantity and involves discrete physical entities."
(classifiers)

II. [+ exact] [- entity] "the measure is exact, but it refers to no discrete physical entity. Pounds, gallons, and feet for example are commonly known as measure words."
(measures)

III. [- exact] [+ entity] "there is a definite sense of well defined discrete entity or entities, but the quantity is not exact either by design or by convention" e.g. "a brood of chicks".
(collectives)

IV. [- exact] [- entity] "which characterizes mainly abstract nouns, the measure is neither exact nor does it refer to a discrete physical entity."
(kind)

The subgroup I comprises true Classifiers. The remaining three subgroups are different subtypes of Quantifiers. On the same basis I distinguish Classifiers and Quantifiers in Jruq although I additionally identify several subcategories of Measures, and refer to the subtype 'kind' as Abstract.

Few researchers have indicated or found a Grammatical distinction between the two word classes. However, in Jruq there is a syntactic difference—Classifiers are not obligatory for counting Nouns, whereas Quantifiers are obligatory in the Quantifier Phrase.

4.5.2.1 Classifiers

In addition to individualising discrete Nouns, Classifiers simultaneously class them, such that particular Nouns take a specific Classifier. Some Classifiers are used for many Nouns which form an abstract set based on their physical appearance or function in the real world (e.g. 'round things'). However this is not a reliable generalisation, as some are used for Nouns which seem to bear very little in common (e.g. the Classifier tus 'head.CL.' is used for books, cabbages and hats). In some cases more than one Classifier may be used for a particular Noun but the choice of one over the other may carry specific semantic information (e.g. ra 'person.CL.' can only be used in
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

counting people (live or dead), whereas cǎk ‘body.CL.’ is used for counting
dead people or dead animals)

There are at least 32 Classifiers\textsuperscript{116} in Jruq (about a third of which are
borrowed from Lao) and, in the most part, only a particular one may be
associated with any given Noun. The Jruq Classifiers which I have recorded,
and the kinds of referents they are used for, are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to ‘gen.anim.CL.’</td>
<td>animals (esp. insects); some people use for all inanimate objects=&quot;market speech&quot; (&lt; Lao ㎡)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭān ‘gen.obj.CL.’</td>
<td>objects, esp. tools, e.g. brooms, axes, bullets, vehicles, stars, flowers (some people use for sarongs, cooking pots, single earrings, bracelets, hats, pens=&quot;market speech&quot;) (&lt; Lao ǿ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra ‘person.CL.’</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cǎk ‘body.CL.’</td>
<td>dead people, dead animals (at least: fish, frogs, chickens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cem ‘bird.CL.’</td>
<td>birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tus ‘head.CL.’</td>
<td>hats, books, cabbage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuan ‘child.CL.’</td>
<td>bullets, arrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kle ‘egg.CL.’</td>
<td>eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luoŋ ‘net.CL.’</td>
<td>scoop nets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pla ‘blade.CL.’</td>
<td>knives, fishhooks, machetes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōh ‘sarong.CL.’</td>
<td>sarongs, pants, dresses (some people use for shirts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làŋ ‘house.CL.’</td>
<td>houses (&lt; Lao 圹)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pnām ‘village.CL.’</td>
<td>villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truŋ ‘road.CL.’</td>
<td>roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwien ‘direction.CL.’</td>
<td>routes (some people use for roads); sides (of body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpaŋ ‘shoulder.CL.’</td>
<td>shoulder straps (for back baskets, bags)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dak ‘water.CL.’</td>
<td>large water courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnoŋ ‘creek.CL.’</td>
<td>small water courses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{116} There are possibly many more Classifiers in Jruq (such as counting rocks, fingers, strands of hair etc.) but I have not had the opportunity to conduct an extensive or thorough investigation of these due to the limitations of this project.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

- kleŋ 'lake.CL.'  
lakes, ponds, swamps

?lōŋ 'tree.CL.'  
plants, bushes, small trees (unsure if extendable for grasses etc.)

tōm 'trunk.CL.'  
trees

plāj 'fruit.CL.'  
fruits (e.g. individual bananas); pots, pans, baskets; small sackfuls

ʔkūŋ 'seed.CL.'  
small roundish things (e.g. seeds, grains, tablets, stones, (gun)shot, buttons, eyes, teeth, (some people use for individual bananas))

la 'leaf.CL.'  
leaves; sheets of paper

bāj 'leaf.CL.'  
sheets of paper (< Lao ຝ)</n

si 'colour.CL.'  
colours (< Lao ກ)</n

kʰān 'long.obj.CL.'  
pens, boats (some people use for trousers and shirts) (< Lao ວ)</n

kīŋ 'jewelry.CL.'  
individual earrings, necklaces, bracelets

kāk 'long.obj.CL.'  
cigarettes, pipes (< Lao ຢ)</n

lien 'coin.CL.'  
currencies, coins (< Lao ຄ ລ 'medal')</n

pʰen 'panel.CL.'  
panels of thatching, corrugated iron, woven wall panels (< Lao ນ)</n

A single appropriate Classifier is most commonly placed after the counting word (i.e. a Numeral such as bōr ‘two’ (§4.5.3), an Indefinite Number such as ʔdiʔ ‘many’ (§4.5.4) or the Numeral Interrogative sieʔ ‘Num.Int.’ (§4.5.5)), according to the following structure:

**head N + counting word + Classifier**

Examples include:

tmio bōr ʔān
axe two object.CL.
‘Two axes.’

kmō ne kōt cem tiat ʔdiʔ cem/to
year this have bird parrot many bird.CL./animal.CL.
‘This year there are many parrots.’

saw kōt reh sieʔ pla
2SG. have fish.hook Num.Int. blade.CL.
‘How many fishhooks do you have?’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

\textit{pnos} bar ?án
broon two \texttt{object.CL.}
'Two brooms.'

\textit{ruat} k\texttt{le} ?\texttt{iar} bar \texttt{k\texttt{l}}
buy egg chicken two \texttt{egg.CL.}
'Buy two chicken eggs.'

\textit{k\texttt{l}áj} jen muj ?án
bullet trigger one \texttt{thing.CL.}
'One bullet.'

\textit{k\texttt{uan}} h\texttt{n}at sie? \textit{k\texttt{uan}/?án}
child gun \texttt{NUM.INT.} \texttt{child.CL./thing.CL.}
'How many bullets?'

\textit{h\texttt{ăn}} k\texttt{ot} muok bar tus/?án
3P. have hat two \texttt{head.CL./thing.CL.}
'He has two hats.'

\textit{c\texttt{ák}} ?\texttt{ier} sie? \textit{c\texttt{ák/to}}
body chicken \texttt{NUM.INT.} \texttt{body.CL./animal.CL.}
'How many chicken carcasses?'

\textit{?\texttt{aj}} \textit{ruat} hbaj hom dak p\texttt{uan} j\texttt{äh/to}
1SG. buy cloth bathe bathe four \texttt{sarong.CL./thing.CL.}
'I bought four bathing sarongs.'

\textit{?\texttt{aj}} \textit{kot} tial p\texttt{uan} k\texttt{ín}/?án
1SG. have earring four \texttt{jewelry.CL./thing.CL.}
'I have four earrings.'

\textit{h\texttt{áp/hnaj}} pe j\texttt{äh/to} k\texttt{ýn}
shirt/trousers three \texttt{sarong.CL./thing.CL./long.obj.CL.}
'Three shirts/trousers.'

\textit{l\texttt{uk}} wan sie? \textit{?k\texttt{ün}/?án}
cartridge \texttt{NUM.INT.} \texttt{seed.CL./thing.CL.}
'How many pieces of shot in the cartridge?'

\textit{muj} l\texttt{äh} sie? \texttt{pl\texttt{äj}}
one hand.banana.Q \texttt{NUM.INT.} \texttt{fruit.CL.}
'How many bananas on one hand?'
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

\[ ?aj \ c\h c\k\ k\u a\n\ c\e\t\ s\a\j\ r\a \]
1SG. take child ten five person.CL.
‘I have fifteen children.’

\[ ?aj \ k\o\t\ h\n\a\m\ p\e\ l\a\n \]
1SG. have house three house.CL.
‘I have three houses.’

\[ p\u\a\l\ h\i\t\ s\i\e?\ k\o\k \]
single.cigarette tobacco NUM.INT. long.obj.CL.
‘How many cigarettes (do you have)?’

\[ k\d\i\a\t\ j\u\a\t\ s\i\e?\ p\h\e\n \]
wall.panel wall NUM.INT. panel.CL.
‘How many wall panels (on your wall)?’

\[ ?g\u\a\r\ q\o\m\ p\h\e\ p\u\a\n\ p\l\a\j \]
winnow.basket winnow husked.rice four fruit.CL.
‘Four winnow baskets.’

\[ k\p\h\i\w\ k\h\u\a\j\ p\u\a\n\ p\l\a\j \]
large.sack charcoal four fruit.CL.
‘Four large sacks of charcoal.’

\[ b\a\k\ h\j\a\w\ m\u\j\ h\w\i\e\n\]
carry.on.one.shoulder back.pack one direction.CL.
‘Carry the backpack on one shoulder.’

\[ ?b\o?\ h\j\a\w\ b\e\ r\ t\p\a\l \]
carry.on.back back.pack two shoulder.CL.
‘Carry the backpack with two straps.’

\[ l\o\t\ ?a\j\ p\d\u\k\ p\l\a\j\ h\w\i\ m\u\j\ k\l\a\m \]
vehicle 1SG. transport fruit cabbage one hundred

\[ h\o\m\ t\u\s/p\l\a\j \]
more.than head.CL./fruit.CL.
‘My truck is carrying more than one hundred cabbages.’

\[ s\a\w\ k\a\t\ m\a\t\ b\e\ r\ ?k\u\y \]
2sg. have eye two seed.CL.
‘You have two eyes.’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

suan saw kar priat sie? tam
garden 2SG. have banana NUM.INT. trunk.CL.
‘How many banana trees does your garden have?’

Note that the two generic Classifiers ?ăn and to (both borrowed from Lao) can be used instead of the more restricted indigenous Classifiers. However, some informants described the use of these as more ‘casual’ or ‘lazy’.

As is commonly found in many Classifier languages (Greenberg 1975), the Classifier Phrase (counting word + Classifier/Quantifier) in Jruq acts as one constituent which can sometimes be preposed before the head Noun, or even separated from the head Noun by other words, e.g.

sie? jah/ to/ kʰan
NUM.INT. sarong.CL./thing.CL./long.obj.CL. 2SG. get shirt/trousers
‘How many shirts/trousers do you have?’

bik saw sie? ?ăn/ kʰăn
pen 2SG. NUM.INT. thing.CL./long.obj.CL.
‘How many pens do you have?’

pʰap tūh saw kat sie? la
book large 2SG. have NUM.INT. leaf.CL.
‘Your large book has how many sheets of paper?’

puan ra pnaus jru?
four person.CL. person Jruq
‘Four Jruq people.’

puan lānj hnam puan to cō
four house.CL. house four animal.CL. dog
‘Four houses.’
‘Four dogs.’

However, Jruq also displays the interesting characteristic that Classifiers are not obligatory in Jruq Count Constructions. This is unusual for a classifier language (at least according to Greenberg’s (1975) typological

117 The only example of an obligatory Classifier in Jruq is in the fixed expression muj ra (one + person.CL.) used Adverbially to mean ‘alone’, e.g.

ʔaj ma re? pak se muj ra
1SG. FUT. go Pakse one person.CL.
‘I will go to Pakse alone.’

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generalisations). Many speakers often omit the Classifier and create a
construction whereby the head Noun follows the counting word, which is more
akin to that of Non-Classifier languages (e.g. ‘four dogs’). Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pe } & \text{ hnoam } haj \ ?e \ & \text{?aj } & \text{taw } ?di? \ & \text{ka} \\
\text{three } & \text{house LOC. there} & \text{1SG. see many} & \text{fish} & \text{I saw many fish.}' \\
& \text{bor } ?me & \text{br?h } kda?j & \text{kn?g} & \text{puan co} \\
\text{two } & \text{person girl sarong beautiful} & \text{four dog} & \text{Four dogs.'}
\end{align*}
\]

When I quizzed my main informants (first language speakers), many said this
was a casual register (‘market speech’). It seems that Bondet de la Bernadie’s
(1949:61) example below was also in ‘market speech’ (I include my English
translation and IPA transcription):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pn?m } & \text{?aj } \text{kuo } \text{kot } \text{bor } \text{kl?m } \text{pnu} \text{s} \\
\text{Village moi rester avoir deux cents hommes} \\
\text{Le village où j’habite a deux cents habitants.} \\
\text{(The village I live in has two hundred people.)}
\end{align*}
\]

In counting money, speakers very rarely use the Classifier/Quantifier lien
‘coin.CL.’, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muj } & \text{joh } kda?j ... \text{pe } \text{c?t } \text{b?n } \text{pr?k} \\
\text{one } & \text{sarong.CL. sarong three ten thousand} & \text{money} & \text{‘One sarong (costs) thirty thousand Kip.’}
\end{align*}
\]

As a result, this construction is not seen as ‘market speech’—instead the use
of lien is seen as more formal or official status.

Significantly, Jacob (1965:145) found a similar ‘flippancy’ in the use of Modern
Khmer Classifiers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Numeral coefficients are catalysed by their occurrence immediately} \\
\text{after the numeral in close juncture, e.g. [...]} \\
\text{kon bry n?ek} & \text{three children} & \text{(children three persons)} \\
\text{sdac bry pr?eh -?n(k)} & \text{three kings} & \text{(kings three eminent-bodies)}
\end{align*}
\]
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

In colloquial speech these numeral coefficients are not always present; kən bry and sdac bry may equally well be heard.

It may be the case that there are two competing ways of counting Nouns in Mon-Khmer languages. Further evidence for this is given by Milne (1921) for Palaung (Austroasiatic language of Burma) where, like in Juq and Modern Khmer, a Numeral can precede the head Noun, or a head Noun can be followed with a Numeral plus Classifier, compare the way of saying ‘two fish’:

ār kū ‘two+fish’

kū ār tō ‘fish+two+classifier’

Although Milne does not mention whether or not the two constructions carry the same semantic reading, Greenberg (1975:39) claims (based on his own analysis of Milne’s data) that the different count constructions are semantically and syntactically significant. The use of the Classifier phrase is claimed to be adverbial because it can be separated from the head Noun by other units such as Prepositional and Temporal Phrases. I am not certain if it is true of Palaung (Greenberg only demonstrates this ‘adverbial’ interpretation with one example). I have not found any difference in syntactic function or meaning in the two constructions in Juq—whether or not the Classifier is absent, or separated from the head Noun, e.g.

?me brəh bər ra kdaŋ kŋəŋ
person girl two person.CL. sarong beautiful
‘Two girls in beautiful sarongs.’

bər ?me brəh kdaŋ kŋəŋ
two person girl sarong beautiful
‘Two girls in beautiful sarongs.’

?me brəh kdaŋ kŋəŋ bər ra
person girl sarong beautiful two person.CL.
‘Two girls in beautiful sarongs.’

All three examples above have been interpreted as indefinite/unspecified, however they can each equally be interpreted as having discourse specific referents, to mean ‘The/those two girls in beautiful sarongs’ or ‘the two girls in those beautiful sarongs’. This shows that Juq does not appear to use Classifiers in the additional specificational function common to other
Southeast Asian languages (such as Thai, Vietnamese, Hmong)\(^{118}\). For example, compare the following minimal pair constructions in Thai—the presence of the Classifier is used to mark discourse specificity in conjunction with Demonstratives; and definiteness in conjunction with Adjectives (examples are excerpted from Hundius & Kölver (1983:172)):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{a) rôm} & \text{nûi} & \text{b) rôm} & \text{khan} \\
\text{umbrella} & \text{this} & \text{umbrella} & \text{long.handed.obj.CL. this} \\
\text{‘this/these umbrella(s)’} & \text{‘this umbrella’} \\
\text{c) rôm} & \text{sûi-khiaw} & \text{d) rôm} & \text{khan} \\
\text{umbrella} & \text{green} & \text{umbrella} & \text{long.handed.obj.CL. green} \\
\text{‘green umbrella’} & \text{‘the green umbrella(s)’} \\
\end{array}
\]

### 4.5.2.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers measure mass Nouns or count groups of similar entities rather than counting them individually.

In the process of measuring, we group objects which are not countable, or for which countability is of no importance in a given context, into a unit of measure which is now understood as being countable/discrete. (Bisang 1993:8)

These Nouns include *mass* Nouns (e.g. ‘water’); Nouns which are too numerous to be counted effectively as individualised entities (e.g. ‘rice’ instead of ‘grains of rice’); notions of Distance and Time (which are not bounded by set dimensions but can be conveniently divided according to natural features such as body part dimensions or motion of the sun), and Variety (subcategorising classes of Noun according to perceived featural similarity/difference).

\(^{118}\) On two occasions I found Jruq Classifiers which seemed to function as discourse specifiers, as opposed to their unmarked use within a Quantifier Phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{hnam} & \text{lûng} & \text{koc} \\
\text{house} & \text{house.CL. burn} & \\
\text{‘The house (of ours) was burnt down.’} \\
\text{saw} & \text{nûh} & \text{to} & \text{klo} & \text{to} & \text{?jwo} & \text{tûn} & \text{dàj} \\
\text{2SG. know} & \text{animal.CL. husband} & \text{animal.CL. female} & \text{WH. which?} & \\
\text{‘How can you tell if (the beetle) is male or female?’} \\
\end{array}
\]

I hesitate to make any remarks about these as I have no other examples of this in my data, and it is possible that they could be influenced by the use of Classifiers in Lao.
Jruq Quantifiers almost always share the same position as Classifiers within the Quantifier Phrase:

\[
\text{head N + counting word + Quantifier}
\]

\[
\text{or: counting word + Quantifier}
\]

This is typical of Classifier languages:

It is generally the case that numeral classifier languages will apparently lack a classifier in nouns indicating periods of time, units of distance and the word ‘time’ in such phrases as ‘five times’. It was hypothesized that in these cases, the correct interpretation was not that the classifier is omitted but that words like ‘day’, ‘mile’ and ‘time’ are themselves measures of verbal action so that we have to do with a subtype of the overall classifier or measure phrases. In other words, such phrases as ‘five days’ are rather to be identified with (Q<-->Cl) than (Q<-->N). (Greenberg 1975:30)

I subgroup Quantifiers into the following categorise on the basis of their discrete systems/units of measurement:

- Collectives
- Measures :
  - Proportion
  - Capacity
  - Portion
  - Temporal
  - Empirical
- Abstract

Each of these is discussed individually below.

4.5.2.2.1 Collective Quantifiers

Collective Quantifiers are used to count the number of natural groups that particular entities form in the real world. They differ from Classifiers in that the number of discrete objects is not important only the number of natural groups, e.g. ‘two bunches of grapes’ does not give any indication of the actual number of individual fruits (although they are able to be individuated). The Jruq Collective Quantifiers are listed below:

\[
\text{lah} \text{'banana.hand.Q.'} \quad \text{hands of bananas}
\]

\[
\text{hnuor} \text{'banana.branch.Q.'} \quad \text{branches of bananas}
\]
- *hcit* ‘round.cluster.Q.’ clusters of large roundish tree-fruits (e.g. coconuts, eggfruits, etc.)
- *kpum* ‘cluster.Q.’ clusters of other tree-fruits (e.g. bananas, cardamom, etc.)
- *kpaŋ* ‘group.Q.’ groups of animals (i.e. herds of cattle, flocks of parrots, swarms of bees\(^{119}\) (but not monkeys))
- *?guac* ‘troop.Q.’ troops of monkeys
- *knuo* ‘family.Q.’ families of people
- *htiol* ‘race.Q.’ group of people sharing same ethnicity & leadership
- *kʰu* ‘pair.Q.’ things occurring in twos (e.g. shoes, earrings) (< Lao ອັດ)

Some illustrations of their use are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{tâm} & \text{nuar} & \text{kot} & \text{hmôh} & \text{kriŋ} & \text{pah} & \text{ra} \\
\text{time(past) before have} & \text{relative} & \text{elders} & \text{seven} & \text{person.CL.} \\
\text{hu} & \text{ne?} & \text{kot} & \text{Ø} & \text{muj} & \text{htiol} \\
\text{moment this have} & \text{(relative) one} & \text{race.Q.} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In the past there were seven tribes (lit. seven tribal elder relations), now there is only one ethnic community.’

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{kəp} & \text{bər} & \text{kīŋ} & \text{muj} & \text{kʰu} \\
\text{shoe} & \text{two} & \text{jewelry.CL.} & \text{one} & \text{pair.Q.} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Two shoes equals one pair.’

### 4.5.2.2.2 Measure Quantifiers

Measures describe the quantity of an entity in terms of regular units of measurement with which it can be compared and grouped. As real world entities occur in many different shapes, sizes and materials, a standard way of measuring like-quality entities is useful for quantifying them.

There are at least five systematic ways to measure such entities in Jruq:

---

\(^{119}\) Some speakers have used this for quantifying coconuts (instead of *hcit*) but others say this is the wrong usage.

\(^{120}\) I do not know if this is also used for ‘schools of fish’.

---

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• **Proportion** (measuring size in subdivisible units)

• **Temporal** (measuring time in subdivisible units)

• **Capacity** (measuring amount in standardized containers)

• **Portion** (measuring a fractional amount of a single ‘whole’ entity)

• **Foreign** (measuring distance/weight using International standard Empirical units)

Note the variable position of the Constituent— *counting word + Measure Quantifier*, within the Phrase:

\[
\text{dak puan cık} \quad \text{puan cık dak}
\]

water four glass.Q. four glass.Q. water

‘Four glasses of water.’ ‘Four glasses of water.’ (casual)

\[
p^b\epsilon \text{ puan ki lo} \quad \text{puan ki lo} p^b\epsilon
\]

husked.rice four kilo.Q. four kilo.Q. husked.rice

‘Four kilos of rice.’ ‘Four kilos of rice.’ (casual)

### Proportion Measures

Proportion Measures form a complete system of Quantification based on body-part dimensions\(^{121}\). These are typically applied to the height of plant growth in one’s crop or length of material being purchased in the market place or used for building (thus: wood, cloth, string, iron, etc.). However they can also be used just as freely to describe the length and breadth of animals (such as fish and snakes) and other objects. The Proportion Measures I recorded in the field are given below:

\[
\text{las ‘armspan (fathom)’ } = 2x \text{ tpål ~ těj lengths}
\]

(distance from one middle fingertip to the other with arms extended sideways)

\[
\text{tpål ~ těj ‘1 armlength’}^{122} = 2x \text{ sōk lengths}
\]

(distance from the top of the shoulder to the extended middle finger-tip of same arm)

---

\(^{121}\) These bodypart dimensions are perhaps based on the male proportions as the extremities are longer.

\(^{122}\) The two terms těj and tpål are equivalent—Speakers preferring one over the other for unknown reasons.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

- sōk ‘elbow-middle finger (cubit)’  (= 2x hda lengths)
  (distance from the tip of the elbow to the extended middle finger-tip of
  same arm)

hda ‘handspan’  (= 2x po lengths)
  (distance from the tip of the extended thumb to the tip of the extended
  middle finger or little finger of same hand)

po ‘thumb length’
  (distance from the first knuckle to tip of the thumb)

Examples of their use are:

?qaj ruat hbaj hom dak muj las
1SG. buy cotton bathe water one armspan.Q.
‘I bought an armspan of cotton material (for a bathing sarong).’

bar sōk muj tēj
two cubit.Q. one armlength.Q.
‘Two cubits equals one armlength.’

tam swē muj hda
trunk choko one thumbspan.Q.
‘The choko vine is one thumbspan (tall).’

Capacity Measures

Capacity Measures form a system of quantification based on the amount of
the entity/material which can fit into a prescribed-sized container. Each
quantity will typically be measured using a single unit of Capacity depending
on its size and material structure (e.g. liquids are not measured by ‘sackfuls’).
The Capacity Measures I have recorded in Jruq are:

\[c\hōy\] ‘one.handful.Q.’  one handed scoop (for measuring grain, small
fruits (e.g. chillies), seeds, water, etc.)

\[kbuat\] ‘two.handful.Q.’  a scoop formed by two hands together (for
measuring grain, small fruits (e.g. chillies), seeds, water, etc.) (this = two \[c\hōy\])

\[kpaw\] ‘medium.sackful.Q.’  sackfuls (medium-sized) (for measuring grain,
seeds, charcoal, small fruits, etc.)

\[ksōp\] ‘large.sackful.Q.’  sackfuls (large) (for measuring grain, charcoal,
etc.) (< Lao \(n=\#\&\))
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

\[ kʰu? \text{ 'bucket.Q.' } \]

bucketful (for measuring liquids) (< Lao ႅ)  

cok 'glass.Q.'  
glasses, cups (< Lao ໜໝາ)  

can 'dish.Q.'  
plates, dishes (< Lao ໝາກ)  

ksɔŋ 'packet.Q.'  
cigarrette packet  

sa kêt 'packet.Q.'  
packaged food (< Lao ສັກ)  

to kêt 'crate.Q.'  
bear by crate (one crate = one dozen bottles) (< English 'crate')

Examples of their use are:

\[ \text{saw toŋ ruat tpe bie bar to kêt... muj to (kêt) səŋ} \]

2SG. OBLIGED buy alcohol beer two crate.Q. one crate.Q. five  

cêt bān  
(ten thousand (coin.CL)  

'You must buy two crates of beer. One crate costs 50,000 kip.'

\[ \text{ŋaj ruat muj kpāw... tuj kpāw bar cêt bar bān } \text{(prāk)} \]

1SG. buy one sack.Q. every sack.Q. two ten two thousand (money.Q.)  

'I'm buying one sack (of charcoal). Each sack costs 22,000 kip.'

\[ \text{ŋaj ma ruat mi waj muj sa kêt} \]

1SG. FUT. buy fine.noodle one pack.Q.  

'I will buy one packet of fine noodles.'

\[ \text{ŋaj muj ruat muj ksɔŋ ha deŋ} \]

1SG. want buy one packet.Q. 'Red Flower'(L.)  

'I want to buy one packet of 'Red Flower Brand' (cigarettes).'

\[ \text{saw ma ruat sie? ksɔŋ pʰɛ} \]

2SG. FUT. buy NUM.INT. sack.Q. husked.rice  

'How many sacks of rice will you buy?'

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Portion Measures

Portion Measures form a system of measuring part of a single entity, and are therefore always used in conjunction with the Numeral muj ‘one’. The choice of Portion measurement tends to be dependent on the three-dimensional shape of the Object (although some such as smon ‘hour’ are abstract). The Portion Measures I have recorded are:

?nāl ‘half cut (width-wise)’ (e.g. banana cut in half through its width)
poḥ ‘half (length-wise)’ (e.g. banana cut in half though its length)
kdēj (Jruq) ~ kʰŋŋ (< Lao) ‘half’ (e.g. half a glassful)
kpɔh ‘half a round object’ (i.e. semicircle)
kɛc ‘a piece, bit’

Examples of their use are:

plāj hnat muj kdēj (~ kpɔh) ?nāl
fruit pineapple one half.Q. half.Q.
‘A quarter of a pineapple.’ (Lit. ‘one half cut of a half of a pineapple’)

plāj priöt muj poḥ
fruit banana one half.Q.
‘Half a banana (cut length-wise).

plāj priöt muj ?nāl
fruit banana one half.Q.
‘Half a banana (cut width-wise).’

trāw mon muj ?nāl
six o’clock.Q. one half.Q.
‘Six thirty.’

bœr tnajj muj ?nāl
two day.Q. one half.Q.
‘Two and a half days.’

bœr ?an kāp muj ?nāl
two thing.CL. with one half.Q.
‘Two and a half things.’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

?qaj ma ca muj kēc
1SG. Fut. eat one piece.Q.
'I will eat a little bit.'

Two of these constructions—muj kdēj ‘a half’, muj kēc ‘a bit’—may be followed by an additional Classifier or Quantifier, in which case they may be considered as Numeral Modifiers rather than true Quantifiers (see §5.3). For example:

?qaj ?ok dak muj kdēj (~ kʰn̂j) cōk
1SG. drink water one half.Q. glass.Q.
'I drank half a glass of water.'

Note that sometimes the order of the head Noun and the Quantifier may be reversed in ‘market speech’ register:

?qaj ca muj kdēj knōm
1SG. eat one half.Q. cake
'I ate half a cake.'

A metaphorical expression is muj kpēh ‘one semicircle’ to mean ‘stupid, slow-witted, retarded’, e.g.

kuan muj kpēh
child one half.round.obj.Q.
'A retarded/stupid child' (Lit. ‘A half-wit')

Temporal Measures

Temporal Measures are used for counting units of Time. In contemporary Jruq, the traditional Calendric system (§4.6.2) is being replaced by the modern Lao method of using Numerals and Quantifiers for counting periods of time. The Temporal Quantifiers I have recorded are:

tənj ‘day.Q.’
days; periods of waning/waxing moon
kʰnj ‘moon.Q.’
months
kmə ‘year.Q.’
years
mānj ‘night.Q.’
nights
ʔa tʰit ‘week.Q.’
weeks (< Lao  сахар)
moŋ ‘o’clock.Q.’
o’clock (< Lao หกโมง)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

- *smōn* ‘hour.Q.’
- *hours* (< Lao ສັ່ງວັນ)
- *na ti* ‘minute.Q.’
- *minutes* (< Lao ສະລາດ)

All can be measured by Cardinal Numerals. The last three (all Lao loans) are used with both Cardinal Numerals and with Portion Measures (one can halve an *hour* but not a *week*).

Examples of their use are:

- *hān* ?apu? sie? kmo
  3P. age NUM.INT. year.Q.
  ‘How old is she?’

- *kʰaj* cēt pe tjāj
  moon ten three day.Q.
  ‘The thirteenth day of the moon’s wane.’

- *?aj ma kuo ?pe? bər pe ?a tʰit*
  1SG. FUT. reside this two three week.Q.
  ‘I will stay here for two or three weeks.’

- *saw ci? pnām sie? moŋ*
  2SG. return village NUM.INT. o’clock.Q.
  ‘At what hour will you return to your village?’

- *trāw moŋ muj ?nāl (smōn)*
  six hour.Q. one half.Q. hour.Q.
  ‘Six-thirty.’

- *na? cēt na ti hān ma kêt*
  PROGRESSIVE ten minute.Q. 3P. FUT. dead
  PROBABLE
  ‘In another ten minutes she (would have been/will be) dead.’

- *?aj puat ?loŋ (muj) ?nāl smōn*
  1SG. chop wood (one) half.Q. hour.Q.
  ‘I chopped wood for half an hour.’

- *?aj re? pak se (muj) māŋ tjāj*
  1SG. go Pakse (one) night.Q. day.Q.
  ‘I went to Pakse for a day and a night.’ (ie. 24 hours)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

?aj cer hian bər kmo muj ?a tŋ̄it səŋ tŋ̄aj muŋ
1SG. hire study two year.Q. one week.Q. five day.Q. one
tŋ̄aj puan smoŋ
day.Q. four hour.Q.
‘I’ve been teaching four hours a day, five days a week for two years.’

Foreign Measures

In addition to the Measures discussed so far which are generally encoded using Indigenous terms, there are two recent borrowings from Lao/European which are used to empirically measure distance (Proportion) and weight (Capacity):

- läk ‘kilometer.Q.’ for measuring distance (< Lao)
- ki lo ‘kilogram.Q.’ for measuring weight (< French)

Jruq does not use other Metric units such as those which are used in Lao: ɛəŋ mēt ‘meter’ and ɲām kālam ‘gram’, etc. Examples of the use of Foreign Measures in Jruq are:

hǎn jìc hẹʔ muj läk
3P. leave go one kilometer.Q.
‘He has to go one kilometer away.’

traw krōk bər ki lo pe cēt bān (prāk)
meat cow two kilogram.Q. three ten thousand (money)
‘Two kilograms of beef is 30,000 kip.’

tām haj kłēŋ jroŋ bīh kłēŋ kceʔ cēt puan läk
from LOC. lake tall come lake green ten four kilometer.Q.
‘Its fourteen kilometers from High Lake (Village) to Green Lake (Village).’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.5.2.2.3 Abstract Quantifiers

Abstract Quantifiers are used to count abstract entities such as ‘kinds, sorts of things’, ‘times’, and ‘locations’.

hnie ‘sort.CL.’ kinds, sorts, ways (ances; plant varieties, etc.)
uoř ‘time.CL.’ times, events
bon ‘place.CL.’ locations, geographical features (< Lao văvú)

Examples of their use are:

kăp kăp hnie
RED.-each sort.Q.
‘Every single variety.’

ŋaj cōk p̄āk ?di ?di? hnie ceh hoŋ tōk
1PL. take leafy.vegetable RED.-many sort.Q. insert LOC. pot
‘We put many kinds of vegetables in the pot.’

hăn kien trāw ruoŋ čiŋ ceh
3P. write six time.Q. in.order.to finish
‘He’s written it six times in order to finish it (correctly).’

tuŋ tŋaj caṭ t)nām pe ruoŋ
each day.Q. eat medicine three time.Q.
‘You (must) have medine three times a day.’

hoŋ hem pak soŋ... kət bōŋ bon
guesthouse Pakson EXIST two place.Q.
‘There are two Pakson Guesthouses.’

Note that the construction muj hnie ‘one kind’ has been metaphorically extended to mean ‘the same as’—where it functions as a Comparative Preposition (§4.4.4.5), e.g.

ʔaj tāw saw kŋāŋ muj hnie hăn
1SG. see 2SG. beautiful same.as 3P.
‘I think you’re just as beautiful as she is.’

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4.6 Temporals

Periods of Time and points in Time can be expressed using a variety of means besides Quantifier Phrases (using Numerals and Temporal Measure Quantifiers). One way in which Juq speakers can refer to Time is by using the indigenous taxonymnic Calendrical System where Temporal Nouns are modified using special Temporal Descriptives. This system labels fixed periods of time much in the way Europeans use ‘Wednesday’, ‘Saturday’, ‘November’, ‘1999’, etc.

Alternatively, speakers can describe time in terms of the distance from the Time of Speech, such as ‘in two days time’, ‘five months ago’, etc. These are constructed using Temporal Nouns plus special Temporal Numerals (historically derived from the Cardinal Numerals).

Another alternative is to refer to time in relation to other times or events in discourse, such as ‘the time before that’, ‘after then’, etc. These constructions employ the use of Temporal Adverbs.

I discuss all of these Word Classes below:

- Temporal Nouns
- Temporal Descriptives
- Temporal Numerals
- Temporal Adverbs

4.6.1 Temporal Nouns

Temporal Nouns head Temporal Phrases. They are a subset of Nouns which inherently carry Time-related meanings. These Temporal Nouns are:

\[
tgäj 'day' \quad mäñ 'night' \quad këñj 'month' \quad 2le 'moment'
\]
\[
kgu 'year' \quad täm 'time' \quad 2a tëñit 'week'
\]

As heads of Temporal Phrases, these are not confused with Temporal Measure Quantifiers (although they are often homonymous), because heads occur to the left of the Phrase and are modified to their right. Quantifiers on the other hand always occur at the end of a Quantifer Phrase.
Like all Nouns, these Temporal Nouns can be modified by Demonstratives to indicate deictic reference (except \$lɛ \textit{‘moment’} which I have never recorded in conjunction with a Demonstrative), e.g.

\begin{quote}
tjæj ne bap \aj re? tpɛŋ ju√y
\end{quote}

day this father 1SG. go hunt deer
\textit{‘Today my father is going to shoot deer.’}

\begin{quote}
sie? ra saw hgal si tjæj \je?
\end{quote}

Q.INT. person.CL. 2SG. know name day that
\textit{‘How many people’s names did you know that day?’}

Temporal Nouns can be modified to their right by \textbf{Temporal Descriptives}, \textbf{Temporal Numerals}, and \textbf{Temporal Adverbs}. Note that \$lɛ \textit{‘moment’} cannot be subcategorised into smaller periods of time and therefore it is never modified by Temporal Descriptives or Temporal Numerals.

\subsection*{4.6.2 Temporal Descriptives}

Temporal Descriptives are attributive modifiers of Temporal Nouns. They are used in a taxonymic classification of Calendrical Periods of Time (and like many modifiers in Jruq folk taxonomy, their meanings are sometimes not analyseable). The indigenous Jruq Calendrical system identified 10 periods in a day, various periods of the waning moon, 10 days in a week, 12 months in a year (the 3 weeks in a month are not distinguished), and 12 years in a cycle.

\textbf{10 watches of the day}

The period from sunrise to after-dark of a single day is divided into ten specific times (or ‘watches’). The Temporal Noun used for this taxon is māŋ \textit{‘night’}, despite the fact that most of periods which are distinguished are during the daylight hours. The subclassification is based on daily activities and is not relevant to the sun position. Most of their meanings are not known to contemporary speakers so the expressions are fossilized. The Temporal Descriptives are given below including their transcription in the Kommadam’s personal notebook that I transcribed in Paksong (1998):

\begin{quote}
\textbf{māŋ kluy} 1st period of the day
\textbf{māŋ cʰun} 2nd period of the day
\end{quote}
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

The younger generation do not use these terms. Instead they refer to the following eight watches of the day\textsuperscript{123} which refer to sun position (ñanaj is used as the Temporal Noun, although māt nañj (Lit. ‘face of the day’) is the actual word for ‘sun’):

- nañj klo? ‘sunrise, dawn’ (< klo? ‘excrete’)
- (ñanaj) κrō? ‘early morning’
- (ñanaj) jian ‘late morning’
- jīŋ nañj ‘noon’ (< jīŋ ‘stand, upright’)
- (ñanaj) hbi? ‘afternoon, evening’ ~ prāk nañj ‘afternoon’ (< prāk ‘money’)
- nañj luc ‘dusk’ (< luc ‘flood’)
- nañj kleh ‘sunset’ (< kleh ‘fall’) ~ nañj pāt ‘sunset’ (< pāt ‘extinguish’)
- māŋ ‘night’

10 days of the week

A week in Jruq traditionally consisted of ten days (each month consisting of three weeks). These were named using the Temporal Noun nañj ‘day’ and ten different taxonymic modifiers (all of which are no longer analyseable). Only the older generation still remember and use this Taxonomy—younger Jruq speakers use the Lao 7 day week terms. The days of the week are given below transcribed from the Kommadam notebook:

\textsuperscript{123} Here one watch equals about three hours.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

Periods of the Moon’s Phases

One can also divide the Month according to the phases of the moon. Three Temporal Descriptives are used to modify $k^haj$ ‘moon’ to create the following times:

$k^haj$ pät ‘no moon; waning moon’ (< pät ‘extinguish’)

$k^haj$ ?naw ‘first day of new moon; waxing moon’ (< ?naw ‘new’)

$k^haj$ biŋ ‘full moon’ (< biŋ ‘full’)

The nights in between are specified with Quantifier Phrases (although I have only recorded speakers counting the days of the waning moon). A single night can also be subdivided according to the moon’s position:

$k^haj$ hän ‘moon-rise’ (< hän ‘climb’)

$k^haj$ tän ‘moon-set’ (< tän ‘bury, plant’)

12 months of the year

Many speakers still use the traditional method of naming the twelve months of the year. The Temporal Noun used is $k^haj$ ‘month’, and most of the Temporal Descriptives are still analyseable today. The taxonomy is based on the harvest. Some of the terms for the months are found in other West Bahnaric languages (Nhaheun and Brao equivalents from Ferlus (1998) are listed under each for comparison), although the others appear to be innovations by Jruq. The transcriptions from the Komammad’s notebook are included.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

kʰaj knuac  ‘granary preparation month’
Nhaheun: khê vûng; Brao: kavuan

kʰaj hnam  ‘(come) home month’
Nhaheun: khê vang; Brao: vœŋ

kʰaj hplaj  ‘rice festival month’
Nhaheun: khê gûn; Brao: mâk

kʰaj plâk  ‘trading month’ (?< prâk ‘money’)
Nhaheun: khê krô; Brao: kphâh

kʰaj ksâp  ‘wrap rice seedlings month’
Nhaheun: khê guah; Brao: k?ôr

kʰaj sriaj  ‘husk rice seeds month’
Nhaheun: khê sriang; Brao: criaj

kʰaj hluac  ‘rice counting month’
Nhaheun: khê qnook; Brao: anôk

kʰaj kre deh  ‘thunder storm month’
Nhaheun: khê raaw; Brao: rao

kʰaj pluaj  ‘flood month’
Nhaheun: khê pluông; Brao: plûŋ

kʰaj mân hnâk  ‘partly ripened rice month’
Nhaheun: khê saat; Brao: c’hat

kʰaj mân mat  ‘fully ripened rice month’
Nhaheun: khê mrûê; Brao: benui

kʰaj pco  ‘starving month’
Nhaheun: khê gram; Brao: kôdâm
12 year cycle

There are two ways of naming the twelve years of the cycle. The first is similar to the taxonomic systems already described. The Temporal Noun used for this system is kmo 'year'. The other system is similar to the Chinese calendar where each year corresponds to an animal. Each year begins with an animal term followed by tam ‘trunk’ and various tree species (some of the animals and tree species I have not been able to analyse). Unfortunately only the older generation remember the terms for both calendrical systems. Younger speakers use the Lao calendar (also based on the Chinese Calender) or count the years with Quantifier Constructions. The indigenous years of the cycle are presented below including the transcriptions in the Kommadam Script.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kmo cuaj} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{pha sins tam pok} \\
< \text{hnuaj 'dibble stick'} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{? - Fig tree'} \\
\text{kmo c'hieng} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{khat tam krong} \\
& \quad \text{? - Persimmon tree'} \\
\text{kmo cnaw} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{krak tam seng p'aj} \\
& \quad \text{Cow ~ ? tree'} \\
\text{kmo ksai} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{k'ak tam plaj} \\
& \quad \text{Crow ~ Rambeh tree'} \\
\text{kmo ksaw} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nok (tam taj gu)} \\
< \text{ksaw 'shake'} & \quad \text{? - Monkey ~ ? tree'} \\
\text{kmo pla} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{kia tam sel} \\
< \text{pla 'fruit'} & \quad \text{? - Tiger ~ Areca tree'}
\end{align*}
\]
4.6.3 Temporal Numerals

Temporal Numerals mark periods of time in the Past or Future. They are historically derived from Cardinal Numbers with Replacing Prefixes br- ‘in the future’, and gr- ~ dr- ‘in the past’ (see §3.2.1.4). These have an Adverbial function in Temporal Phrase Constructions. I have heard them used in conjunction with Temporal Nouns tyāj ‘day’, kʰǎj ‘month’, kmo ‘year’, and ʔatʰit ‘week’. The two Replacing Prefixes attach to the Numerals pe ‘three’, puan ‘four’, saŋ ‘five’ and cēt ‘ten’. Note that their meanings in contemporary Jruq have altered somewhat—for example the -aŋ rime (< saŋ ‘five’) now means ‘two’. The system is given below followed by some example sentences.
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

br- ‘FUT-’

\( \text{tnāj brā} \) ‘the day after tomorrow’
\( \text{tnāj bre} \) ‘in three days time’
\( \text{tnāj bruan} \) ‘in four days time’
\( \text{tnāj brīt} \) ‘in five days time’

\( \text{gr} \) ~ \( \text{dr} \) ~ ‘PAST-’

\( \text{tnāj drā} \) ~ \( \text{grā} \) ‘two days ago’
\( \text{tnāj dre} \) ~ \( \text{gre} \) ‘three days ago’
\( \text{tnāj druan} \) ~ \( \text{gruan} \) ‘four days ago’
\( \text{tnāj drīt} \) ~ \( \text{grīt} \) ‘five days ago’

\( \text{kha} \) ~ \( \text{brā} \) ‘in two months time’
\( \text{kha} \) ~ \( \text{bre} \) ‘in three months time’
\( \text{kha} \) ~ \( \text{bruan} \) ‘in four months time’
\( \text{kha} \) ~ \( \text{brīt} \) ‘in five months time’

\( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{brā} \) ‘in two years time’
\( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{bre} \) ‘in three years time’
\( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{bruan} \) ‘in four years time’
\( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{brīt} \) ‘in five years time’

\( \text{bi?} \) ~ \( \text{to?} \) ~ \( \text{hnāj} \) ~ \( \text{brā} \) ~ \( \text{re?} \)
soon hot following FUT-two go
‘Tomorrow or the next day when it’s hot, (we can) go.’

\( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{dre} \) ~ \( \text{?aj bih} \) ~ \( \text{pak sō} \) ~ \( \text{muj ra} \)
year PAST-three 1SG. come Pak song one person.CL.
‘Three years ago I came to Pak song alone.’

\( \text{?at} \) ~ \( \text{drā} \) ~ \( \text{?aj cer pe} \) ~ \( \text{bān} \) ~ \( \text{?at} \) ~ \( \text{ne puan} \)
week PAST-two 1SG. hire three thousand week this four
\( \text{bān} \) (prāk) hāw ĵōj
thousand (money) climb continue
‘Two weeks ago I paid three thousand (Kip), this week four thousand.
(The price) keeps going up.

\( \text{?aj} \) ~ \( \text{hgal} \) ~ \( \text{kiak} \) ~ \( \text{tām} \) ~ \( \text{kmo} \) ~ \( \text{gra} \)
1SG. know 3SG. from year PAST-two
‘I’ve known him since two years.’

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4.6.4 Temporal Adverbs

The Temporal Nouns may also be modified by Temporal Adverbs to describe times in relation to other event times (mentioned in discourse) or the present time of speech. The Temporal Adverbs are in antonymous relationships:

*naj ‘following’ (< *naj ‘far, distant’) vs. saj ‘previous’

*naw ‘next, further’ (< *naw ‘new’) vs. *lac ‘past’

nuar ‘first’ (< nuar ‘before, early’) vs. ploc ‘last’ (< ploc ‘after, late’)

They combine with the Temporal Nouns *naj ‘day’, *baj ‘month’, km ‘year’, t*n ‘time(in past)’, *le ‘moment’, and *a*t ‘week’. Some examples of their functions are:

bi? *to? (toaj) *naj *baj *re?
soon hot (day) following Fut-two go
‘Tomorrow or the next day when it’s hot, (we can) go.’

*bap *aj ket t*n km *saj
father 1SG. die time(past) year previous
‘My father died last year.’

t*naj *saj *me *kra? *mar *bn *h*aj
day previous person old quarrel each other 3P. angry
‘Yesterday the old couple were quarrelling with each other, they were angry.’

*baj *saj *aj *re? *nep h*aj
month previous 1SG. go visit 3P.
‘Last month I went and visited her.’

*le *naw bul ci? *bih *ho? *nam
moment next drunk return NEG. come in house
‘In a moment (‘next moment’), I’ll be drunk and I won’t make it home.’

*baj *naw *ma *bih *naw *b*aj
month next 2SG. Fut. come again Q
‘Next month will you come again?’

124 The Temporal Noun *le ‘moment’ seems to be more restricted—only *naw ‘next’ was recorded as a possible modifier of *le.
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- kmo bac kot ka ?di?
  year past have fish many
  ‘In past years there were many fish.’

  bac ceh saw blo mat tam saj
  PERFECTIVE 2SG. wash.face face time(past) previous
  ‘When did you wash your face last?’

  tam nuar kot hmoh krien pul ra
  time(past) first have relative wise.man seven person.CL.
  hu ne? kot muj htial
  when this have one kind.Q.
  ‘In the beginning there were seven ethnic tribes, now there’s only one.’

  tam nuar ?me ket han roj ?aj mun tbic ?aj
  time(past) first person.CL. die 3P. tell 1SG. want perform 1SG.
  mun htap tbuc li ?aj mun coh ksok
  want bury bury or 1SG. want ignite corpse
  ‘Before the person dies, (s)he says, “I want it done (like this). I want to be buried in a grave” or “I want to be cremated.”’

  ?atit la ploc brej ?mia ?di?
  week however last cloud rain much
  ‘However, last week it rained a lot.’

Sometimes they can be combined with Numerals, in which case the Temporal Noun acts like the Temporal Quantifier, e.g.

  bar kba nj nuar ?aj re? wieg can
  two month.Q. before 1SG. go Vientiane
  ‘Two months earlier I went to Vientiane.’

Other times they may combine with Aspectual Adverbs (Adverb3) bi? ‘soon’ and ce? ‘after’ (discussed under §4.11), e.g.

  bi? tnej ?naw han bih cok kug kew soh
  soon day next 3P. come take bottles empty
  ‘Come tomorrow he’ll take the empty bottles.’

  bi? (tnej) hqaj saw neh sa ?aw
  soon (day) following 2SG. look.at self REQ.
  ‘Come tomorrow you’ll see (him) yourself!’
4.7 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are a closed set of five words which encode five degrees of distance from the Speaker, these are given below:

**Table 4.4: Demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distant (not visible):</td>
<td>?e ‘there; that (way over there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonder Distant (visible):</td>
<td>?e? ‘there; that (over there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonder (closer than ?e?):</td>
<td>ne ‘that/this; there (distant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near (closer than ne):</td>
<td>ne? ‘that/this (close); here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Near (closer than ne?):</td>
<td>?ne? ~ ?nie? ‘this; right here (very close)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives provide deictic information about the identifiability or reference of NP’s. They have three functions (Himmelmann 1996):

a) *spatial* (ie. to single out a referent in the situational context),

b) *discourse deictic* (ie. to single out a referent in discourse context),

c) *recognitional* (ie. to introduce an intended referent for discourse which is shared knowledge by Speaker and Addressee/refer to something in the discourse as understood).

Any Demonstrative may be used in Spatial functions, whereas only ?e? and ne? can be used as Discourse Deictics or in Recognitional functions (much like ‘this/these’ and ‘that/those’ in English). These three different uses are demonstrated with the following sentences.

Examples of their *Spatial* function (where all referents are newly introduced and pointed out from the place of speech):

- mēl  ?e  ṇaj  lān
  flat.place there 1PL. bogged
  ‘At that flat place over there we got bogged.’

- pe  hnam  ḫaj  ?e
  three house LOC. there
  ‘The three houses over there (in the distance).’

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kuan ?jaj ?aj ?uo ne
child elder.sibling 1SG. Mr. here
'He's the child of my elder sister, that (near) boy.'

neh kiak ho? ne
look 3SG. in here
'Look that's her (in the photo) over here.'

sie? hnie kat cem haj ne?
Q.INT. type.Q. exist bird LOC. here
'How many kinds of birds are there here (on this photo)?'

caw kuo ?ne? mot lah
2SG. reside here like Q
'Do you like staying here (in this place we are in)'

Examples of Demonstratives functioning as a Discourse deictic (where the referent is being re-introduced as the topic):

kdaj ?e? knaŋ lah
sarong that beautiful Q
'Is that sarong (which we are discussing) beautiful?'

sie? ra saw hgal si tjaŋ ?e?
Q.INT. person.CL. 2SG. know name day that
'How many people's names did you know that day (the event we are discussing)?'

hbi? sâj ne ?me dâj bih juan saw
evening previous here person which? come send 2SG.
haj ne?
LOC. there
'Who took you there (to the place we are discussing) yesterday evening?'

In the following example, although the new topic of conversation introduced by Speaker A is krôk pak sonj 'Paksong cows', Speaker B changes the topic to krôk ne 'these cows' (a new referent and one present at the time of speech). Thus, the use of ne 'here' is actually Spatial rather than a Discourse deictic:

krôk pak sonj ca lôt lah
cow Paksong eat vehicle Q
'Do Paksong cows eat cars?'
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Speaker B (introducing new topic referent nearby):

krök ne ?ih ca löt hän hit si si
cow here NEG. eat vehicle 3P. smell only
'These cows are not eating the car; they’re only smelling it.'

The following examples show the Demonstratives with a **Recognition**
Discourse function (indicating the Speaker understands the referent from
previous discourse, or that a new referent is introduced as already known to
the Addressee):

a) ?me dāj ?man ?e?
   person which? speak that
   'Who said that (comment we all just heard) ?'

b) Indicating to Addressee the spatial position of the referent already
   introduced in discourse. Note the use of the same Demonstrative despite
   the fact that the spatial positions are different.

   ?juo ne? kuo tit ?juo ne? kuo hŋaj
   thing this reside near thing this reside far
   'This thing nearby.'  'That thing over there.'

4.8 **NEGATION**

There are four basic Negative Operators in Jruq.

?ih ‘NEG.’  ?mīn ‘impossible!, not allowed!’
?ŋŋ ‘DON’T’  ?mīn ‘not’

These have different syntactic and/or discourse functions but all mark
Negative polarity. ?ih is the **Syntactic Negator**. It usually acts as an Auxiliary
(modifying the Predicate and/or other Auxiliaries), but it can also modify non-
Predicate Attributive Phrases and Adverbial Phrases. ?mīn is used as the
**Discourse Negator**, to negate a previously uttered (or following)
Proposition. ?ŋŋ is the Negative Imperative, which functions as a Deontic
Mood Auxiliary (discussed under §4.9.3.2). ?mīn is used as a Negative
Interjection (discussed under Interjections §4.16).
4.8.1 Syntactic Negator ʔiŋ ‘NEG.’

ʔiŋ ‘NEG.’ is the standard sentential Negative Auxiliary. The main distinction between ʔiŋ and the other three Negatives is that it cannot occur in isolation as a single clausal constituent. Instead, ʔiŋ must occur immediately before the constituent it modifies. The following examples show ʔiŋ being used to negate Verbal Predicates (either Verbs or Descriptives) and Non-verbal Existential Predicates.

hān ʔiŋ ʔ Ø ƙn̥ŋ
3P. NEG. -FUT. beautiful
‘He isn’t handsome.’

pe ʔiŋ ʔ Ø ca pēŋ nuar
2PL. NEG. -FUT. eat M.S.G.
‘You lot don’t eat M.S.G.’

haj pn̥m ʔaj... ʔiŋ kət ʔap ʔaŋ ca
LOC. village 1SG. NEG. EXIST cooked.rice eat
‘In my village, there isn’t any food to eat.’

ʔiŋ kət bɾɛŋ ʔmio
NEG. EXIST forest rain
‘It isn’t raining./There isn’t any rain.’

Depending on the context, the Negative ʔiŋ can be interpreted in various ways, e.g.

ləŋ ʔaj ʔiŋ ʔ Ø ləŋ
vehicle 1PL. NEG. -FUT. bogged
‘Our car doesn’t get bogged.’
‘Our car isn’t bogged.’
‘Our car didn’t get bogged.’

ʔaj ʔiŋ ʔ Ø ʔməŋ h[uo]k
1SG. NEG. -FUT. speak prevaricate
‘I am not telling lies.’
‘I did not lie.’
‘I don’t tell lies.’

Note that the Negative in the following example can be interpreted either as modifying the Predicate pn̥m ‘be tasty’ (where pləŋ nuh is one constituent), or as modifying the Adjective pn̥m which is an adverbial modifier of the Predicate
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nuh ‘to stink’:

pläh nuh ?ih Ø nâm
fruit stink NEG. -FUT. tasty
‘Smelly fruit is not tasty.’
‘The fruit smells not tasty.’

Examples below show the use of ?ih to negate non-Predicate modifiers of a Noun. In such cases it creates antonyms (e.g. râp ‘good’ > ?ih râp ‘not good’):

saw Ø ŋên kbot pkûj ?ih Ø râp
2SG. -FUT. sleep curled up dream NEG. -FUT. good
‘When you sleep curled up you have nightmares.’
‘When you sleep curled up you dream badly.’
‘When you sleep curled up your dreams are bad.’

saw Ø ?mag ?ih trô
2SG. -FUT. speak NEG. correct
‘You said it wrong’
‘You didn’t say it right.’

hân ?mag jru? ?ih hlah
3P. speak Loven NEG. clear
‘He speaks Loven unclearly.’
‘He doesn’t speak Loven clearly.’

?ih can also negate a non-Predicate Clausal modifier of an argument, e.g.

?me trie ?ih kat hăng tpeh toh hmeh luj
person woman NEG. have shirt pound breast shake continue
‘Women without shirts (on), pound (rice) and their breasts shake around.’

The Negative ?ih can modify other Grammatical constituents such as Modal Auxiliaries nâh ‘know how’, mot ‘like, enjoy’, mâm ‘brave’:

?aj ?ih nâh tâŋ kdam
1SG. NEG. know weave sarong
‘I don’t know how to weave sarongs.’

?aj ?ih nâm ŋên
1SG. NEG. know sleep
‘I can’t sleep.’
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- saw ?ih mot ca huc plăj braw loh
  2SG. NEG. like eat flesh fruit coconut Q
  'Don't you like eating the coconut flesh?'

?aj ?ih măm bim sa hmo? hăn luj
1SG. NEG. brave make self fear 3P. angry
  'I'm not brave enough to do it myself, I'm afraid he'll get angry.'

It is important to note that when the Negative ?ih precedes Modal Auxiliaries, it
does not also modify the following Predicate (despite what the translation of
the sentence may suggest). These are not considered the Main Predicates of
sentences because they can be transposed along with the Negative (thus they
form an 'Auxiliary constituent') to Sentence-final position, whereas true
Predicates cannot (see §4.9.4), e.g.

?aj ?mañ ?ih năh
1SG. speak NEG. know
  'I just don't know how to say it!'

?aj ṭen ?ih noh
1SG. sleep NEG. know
  'I just can't sleep!'

saw ca ?ih mun loh
2SG. eat NEG. want Q
  'Don't you want to eat?'

?ih 'NEG.' cannot be used to directly negate Non-Verbal Nominal Predicate
constituents (ie. in Equative/Ascriptive Constructions). Instead, the Negator
must be moved before the Subject to negate the entire clause, e.g.

* ?aj ?ih pnuș tmŏŋ
  1SG. NEG. person steal

?ih ?aj pnuș tmŏŋ
  NEG. 1SG. person steal
  'I'm not a thief.'
  'It's not true that I'm a thief.'

The Negator ?ih must precede the Future Tense Auxiliary ma 'FUT.' to mean
'will not (happen)'. One cannot say: *ma ?ih bim [FUT. NEG. make] 'will [not do
s.t.]'. Alternatively one can use the following Mood constructions (see §4.9.3)
which are compound forms:

a) PROBABLE Mood construction: na? ?an bim [POSSIBLE not make] (Lit.
  'haven't done it yet'); or

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b) IMPROBABLE Mood construction: ?nh na? bim [NEG. POSSIBLE make] (Lit. ‘will not do something’).

Similarly, the Negative ?nh ‘NEG.’ may precede Aspect and Mood Auxiliaries. However, the presence of ?nh is restricted by the inherent semantics of these. For example, ?nh cannot co-occur before:

- INCHOATIVE Aspect: kām lāŋ ‘starting to’
- SEMELFACTIVE Aspect: tōn ‘once’
- ITERATIVE/DURATIVE Aspect: laj ‘keep on, continue’

Thus: ‘not starting to happen’, ‘not once happened’, and ‘not keep on happening’ are not possible constructions in Jruq\(^{125}\). ?nh is also restricted from occurring after some of these Aspect/Mood Auxiliaries such that ‘starting not to happen’, and ‘once not happen’ are also not permitted. This is because it is usually preferred to say when things are happening rather than when they aren’t. However, ?nh may occur after laj to mean ‘keep on not happening’, e.g.

\[
* \text{?aj \ ?nh \ laj \ bīc \ ?man} \\
\text{1SG. NEG. DURATIVE able speak} \\
\text{‘I’m not keeping being able to speak (to her).’}
\]

\[
\text{?aj \ laj \ \ ?nh \ bīc \ ?man} \\
\text{1SG. DURATIVE NEG. able speak} \\
\text{‘I kept not being able to speak (to her).’} \\
\text{(because the phone was always engaged)}
\]

All other Aspect and Mood Auxiliaries are able to be modified by the ?nh Negative Particle but in doing so they create new Auxiliaries where the components are bound to each other, e.g.

\[
\text{na? ‘still, yet’} \quad \text{(POSSIBLE (Evidential) Mood)} \quad \text{\rightarrow} \quad \text{\ ?nh na? ‘not going to’ (IMPROBABLE (Evidential) Mood)}
\]

\[
\text{kʰaj ‘ever’} \quad \text{(REALIS (Actual) Mood)} \quad \text{\rightarrow} \quad \text{\ ?nh kʰaj ‘never’ (IREALIS (Actual) Mood)}
\]

\(^{125}\) The restricted use of the sentence-internal Negative with some Aspects is also found in other Mon-Khmer languages such as Semelai (Kruspe 1999:509).
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bac (ceh) ‘already’  >  ?iŋ bac ‘did not’
(PERFECTIVE Aspect)  (IMPERFECTIVE Aspect)

Examples illustrating this are:

?aj  ?iŋ na?  re?  pak se
1SG. IMPROBABLE go  Pakse
‘I’m not going to go to Pakse.’

saw  ?iŋ na?  ket  kuan  loh
2SG. IMPROBABLE give.birth child  Q
‘Aren’t you going to have children?’

dak  ?iŋ bac  lus
water  IMPERFECTIVE  boil
‘The water hasn’t boiled.’ (ie. ‘hasn’t come to the boil’)

?aj  ?iŋ bac  re?  hta  hup
1SG. IMPERFECTIVE go  wash  picture
‘I haven’t gone and processed the film.’

?aj  ?iŋ k4aj  saŋ  no?  prop
1SG. IRREALIS hear  barking.deer  bark
‘I’ve never heard the barking deer cry.’

?aj  ?iŋ k4aj  taw  ?me  klo
1SG. IRREALIS see  person  man
‘I’ve never seen the man.’

In cases where ?iŋ ‘NEG.’ occurs after the Progressive Aspect Marker na?, the
?iŋ is modifying the following constituent. For example in the following clause,
?iŋ ket is acting as one constituent—it substitutes the word duk ‘alive’ because
duk cannot be used with inanimate references:

tam  ?loŋ  na?  [?iŋ  ket]
trunk  tree  PROGRESSIVE  [NEG.  die]
‘The tree is still [alive].’ (ie. ‘still [not dead]’)

In the following sentence, the ?iŋ forms a constituent with the Modal Auxiliary
bic ‘able’ to mean ‘unable’, e.g.
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ʔaj naʔ [ʔih bíc ceh hian]
1SG. PROGRESSIVE [NEG. able PERFECT study]
‘I'm still [not finished studying].’(ie. ‘still unable to finish study’)

Clause-external ʔih

In all the above functions ʔih ‘NEG.’ has a clause-internal position where it negates the Predicate, a non-Predicate Modifier or other Grammatical Constituents such as Auxiliaries. In addition, ʔih may also be used with a pragmatic Discourse function to negate the truth-value of an entire clause. In such cases it appears before the Subject position as a clause-external Negative. Unlike the clause-external negator ʔan, it is not followed by a prosodic pause (suggesting that it is a constituent of the same sentence as the following clause). Furthermore, ʔih only negates the following clause ( unlike ʔan which can negate the previous clause). Examples are:

ʔih saw ma reʔ wieg cân
NEG. 2SG. FUT. go Vientiane
‘Aren’t you going to go to Vientiane?’

ʔih saw trin loh pnám saw
NEG. 2SG. miss Q village 2SG.
“You don’t miss it, do you, your village?”

ʔih hän hgāl = hän ʔih hgāl
NEG. 3P. know 3P. NEG. know
‘They don’t know (how to say it).’ ‘They don’t know (how to say it).’

ʔih ʔaj nāh némon = ʔaj ʔih nāh némon
NEG. 1SG. know sleep 1SG. NEG. know sleep
‘I can’t sleep.’ ‘I can’t sleep.’

This is an infrequent use of ʔih — the same function tends to be fulfilled using the Discourse Negator ʔan ‘not’.
4.8.2 Discourse Negator ?än ‘not’

?än ‘not’ is predominantly a sentence-external Negative Particle. It has two pragmatic functions:

a) Discourse Contradictor—where it is used in isolation to refute preceding discourse by another speaker.

b) Preclausal Negator—where it signals the following clause is to be read in the negative.

Therefore the difference between ?ih ‘NEG.’ and ?än is that the latter is used to negate the truth-value of the previous or following Clause; ie. ‘The sentence S is not true.’ (Horn 1985:143). ?ih on the other hand usually negates a constituent which is smaller than the level of Clause. However, as discussed above, ?ih sometimes gets used with a Preclausal Negator function like ?än.

As Discourse Contradictor, ?än may appear as a single sentential constituent marked by a prosodic pause (‘...’), e.g.

(1) Speaker A:

\[ \text{bac saw c5g loh} \]
\[ \text{PERFECTIVE 2SG. eat.rice Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Have you already eaten?’} \]

Speaker B:

\[ \text{?än... ?aj na? 0} \]
\[ \text{not 1SG. POSSIBLE (eat.rice)} \]
\[ \text{‘No. I haven’t yet (eaten).’} \]

(2) Speaker A:

\[ \text{hän ?oh saw loh} \]
\[ \text{3P younger.sibling 2SG. Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Is he your younger brother?’} \]

Speaker B:

\[ \text{?än... hän kət ?me law ?aj pənus jru?} \]
\[ \text{not 3P. born person Lao 1SG. person Jruq} \]
\[ \text{hän kət ?oh cet ?aj} \]
\[ \text{3P. born younger.sibling love 1SG.} \]
\[ \text{‘No. He’s a Lao person I’m a Jruq person. I love him like my younger brother.’} \]
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(3) Speaker A:

saw ma ruat trāw cūr lōh cōŋ hbiŋ ne
2SG. FUT. buy meat pig Q eat.rice evening this
‘Are you going to buy pork for dinner?’

Speaker B:

?ān... trāw krōk de de ?aj ma ruat
not meat cow EMPH. EMPH. 1SG. FUT. buy
‘No. I’m going to buy beef (not pork)’

(4) Speaker A:

Ø cōŋ nāw ?āw
(2SG.) eat again EMPH.
‘Eat again!’

Speaker B:

?ān... ?aj pʰē?
not 1SG. full
‘No (I won’t). I’m full.’

(5) Speaker A:

saw cet ?me trāk neŋ lōh
2SG. love person boy this Q
‘You love this boy here, don’t you?’

Speaker B:

?ān... ?aj cet hān hōŋ ?ē
not 1SG. love 3P. in there
‘That’s not true. I love him over in that place.’

This use of ?ān to negate the truth-value of a preceding clause is now commonly substituted with ?īh men—a calque of the equivalent phrase in Lao ἐν ὀμδί /bōː mēːm/ (NEG.+ exist) to mean ‘not true’! Both ?īh men and ?ān are treated as Interjections (§4.14). An example is:

?īh men... ?aj cet hān
NEG. exist 1SG. love 3P.
‘That’s not true. I love him.’
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As a Preclausal Negator, a speaker does not include a prosodic pause after $\tilde{\lambda}n$, e.g.

$\tilde{\lambda}n$ saw $h\tilde{\imath}n$
not 2SG. feel.repulsed
‘Aren’t you repulsed (by the foul-tasting food)?’

$\tilde{\lambda}n$ hân luj ło̱h
not 3P. angry Q
‘He wasn’t angry was he?’

Sentence-internal $\tilde{\lambda}n$

In addition to the primary function of $\tilde{\lambda}n$ as the Discourse Negator, $\tilde{\lambda}n$ also functions as a clitic attached to the PROGRESSIVE Aspect Auxiliary $na\tilde{\imath}$. In such situations it creates the PROBABBLE EVIDENTIAL Mood Auxiliary ‘not yet (but imminent)’, e.g.

saw $na\tilde{\imath}$ $\tilde{\lambda}n$ kət kuan ło̱h
2SG. PROBABBLE give.birth child Q
‘You haven’t had children yet, have you?’ (will have children soon)

hân $na\tilde{\imath}$ $\tilde{\imath}wɔ$ $na\tilde{\imath}$ $\tilde{\lambda}n$ crâm
3P. PROGRESSIVE wet PROBABBLE dry
‘It’s still wet, it’s not dry yet.’ (it will be dry soon)

$\tilde{\imath}aj$ $na\tilde{\imath}$ $\tilde{\lambda}n$ bim $hnəm$ ceh
1SG. INCOMPLETE make house PERFECT
‘I haven’t finished building the house.’ (it will be finished soon)

trie $\tilde{\imath}aj$ tɛc pləj hprɔŋ $na\tilde{\imath}$ $\tilde{\lambda}n$ toc
wife 1SG. sell fruit cucumber INCOMPLETE all
‘My wife hasn’t sold all the cucumbers.’(she will sell them all soon)
4.9 TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD AND MODAL AUXILIARIES

In addition to the Negative Auxiliary ʔih, other grammatical words may occupy the Auxiliary slot between Subject and Predicate in a basic Clause. These are: Future Tense, Aspect Auxiliaries, Mood Auxiliaries and Modals. "Tense, aspect, and mood are all categories that further specify or characterize the basic predication, which can be referred to as the event." (Chung & Timberlake 1985:202). In Jruq, these Auxiliaries mark:

- the point in time (with respect to the time of speech) when the Event occurred (TENSE),
- the internal stages of the Event (ASPECT),
- the possibility/necessity of the Event occurring in the real world (MOOD),
- the Subject's personal attitude to performing or experiencing that Event (MODALS)

Each of these categories are discussed in detail below.

4.9.1 Future Tense Auxiliary ma ‘FUT.’

Tense can be described in terms of a temporal dimension that is directional, with a privileged point or interval of time we will call the tense locus...an event occurs on an interval of time, the event frame. Tense locates the event in time by comparing the position of the frame with respect to the tense locus. (Chung & Timberlake 1985:203).

In Jruq, as in many languages, the tense locus is the moment of speech (ie. 'absolute tense'). Thus the time of the occurrence of an Event is compared to the moment of speech. The Jruq tense system views the time continuum as 'ascending time'—whereby only events occurring in the Future time (from moment of speech) are lexicalised using the Auxiliary ma126, while Non-Future (both Past and Present) time is unmarked (Ø). This means any utterance which does not have the Future Tense Auxiliary (nor the use of additional

---

126 Early in my research I assumed this was a grammaticalised loanword (< Lao: māa 'come') due to the tendency for Tense and Aspect Auxiliaries to be grammaticalised from basic deictic Verbs (Matisoff 1991). However, it appears this Auxiliary may be an indigenous Mon-Khmer Grammeme because even in the distant Mon-Khmer language Semelai (Malaysia) there is an Irrealis proclitic ma= (Kruspe 1999).
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Temporal Phrase Adjuncts or Aspectual Adverbs) is ambiguous as to Past or Present tense, e.g.

?aj  Ø  klãk pth  kãp  cok
1SG. (NON-FUT.) dig ground with hoe
‘I dig/am digging the ground with a hoe.’
‘I dug the ground with a hoe.’

?aj  ŋh  Ø  taw  ?mè  klo
1SG. NEG (NON-FUT.) see person man
‘I don’t see the man.’
‘I didn’t see the man.’

For the sake of brevity and avoiding redundancy, I will not indicate Non-Future Tense in clauses in my linguistic examples.

Uniquely, the Future Tense ma is only ever found in Auxiliary position. It has no independent lexical value in Jruq (suggesting it has been completely grammaticalised). Examples of its use are given below:

?aj  ma  ca  muj  kãč
1SG. FUT. eat one piece.Ø.
‘I will eat a little bit.’

brëj  ma  ?më  nãw
cloud FUT. rain again
‘It will rain again.’

?aj  ma  tëc  kpê  ñw
1SG. FUT. sell coffee EMPH.
‘I’m going to sell some coffee!’

saw  ma  prian  ?aj  ñè
2SG. FUT. teach 1sg. EMPH.
‘You will teach me, won’t you?’

Jruq does have a way of marking the tense locus as occurring at a different moment from the speech act (ie. ‘relative tense’). This is done with the use of Aspectual Adverbs which occur in clause initial or clause final position. These are treated within the Adverbs section §4.11.
4.9.2 Aspect Auxiliaries

"Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of an event in time." (Chung & Timberlake 1985:202). An event (or sub-event) can be marked with the use of Aspect as 'beginning to occur', 'occurring', 'ended' and 'completed' (this is 'lexical Aspect'). Most of these Aspects are marked in Jruq using words which appear in the Auxiliary position of a Clause—Aspect Auxiliaries. Some Aspects occur clause initially or Clause finally in which case I call them Adverbs (§4.11). The Aspect Auxiliaries form the following closed set:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect Type</th>
<th>Jruq Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCHOATIVE Aspect</td>
<td>kām lãŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE Aspect</td>
<td>naʔ 'still, yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOMPLETIVE Aspect</td>
<td>naʔ ?an 'not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITERATIVE/DURATIVE Aspect</td>
<td>laj 'often; continue to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMELFACTIVE Aspect</td>
<td>tōn 'once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECTIVE Aspect</td>
<td>bāc (ceh) 'already have, finished'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECTIVE Aspect</td>
<td>?īh bāc 'not yet, haven't'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these is discussed in detail in the following subsections.

4.9.2.1 Inchoative Aspect kām lãŋ

INCHOATIVE Aspect is used to indicate that the Event is beginning to occur at the moment of speech. It therefore cannot be used in conjunction with the Future tense Auxiliary ma. This word is found both in Khmer and Lao (nān) so it is possibly an old loanword from Khmer. An example of its use is below:

pnām pięŋ ḍak kām lãŋ koc
village over water INCHOATIVE burn
‘The village upstream is starting to burn.’

Note that in Jruq, the use of the Inchoative Aspect may be applied to some States to derive Processes. So Descriptives (e.g. tīh ‘large, be large’) which typically refer to States can become processes (e.g. ‘enlarge’), e.g.

 mái neʔ kām lãŋ tīh
cooked.rice this INCHOATIVE big
‘This rice (which is cooking) is starting to enlarge.’
4.9.2.2 Progressive Aspect \textit{na?}

PROGRESSIVE Aspect Auxiliary \textit{na?} is used with dynamic Events (those that have the possibility of changing over time), such as ‘writing’, ‘running’, etc.

The progressive asserts that an event is dynamic over the event frame. By definition, then, processes but not states can appear in the progressive. (Chung & Timberlake 1985:215).

Examples of the Progressive Aspect in Jruq are given below:

\begin{verbatim}
?aj \textit{na?} cām saw \textit{re?} tō nāw
1SG. PROGRESSIVE wait 2SG. go phone again
‘I'm still waiting for you to ring again.’

?aj \textit{na?} ?iŋ bīc cēh hian
1SG. PROGRESSIVE NEG. able finish study
‘I still haven’t finished study.’

?aj \textit{na?} \textit{re?}
1SG. PROGRESSIVE go
‘I'm still going (to go).’
\end{verbatim}

The latter example can also be read as ‘I'm still going to go’ with a modal interpretation of the Auxiliary \textit{na?}. Similarly it is ambiguous in the following example as to whether the \textit{na?} is functioning as a Progressive Aspect or Possible Evidential Mood (see §4.9.3.6 for the discussion of \textit{na?} as an Evidential Mood Auxiliary).

\begin{verbatim}
bim ?jāŋ ne... bi? ?e O \textit{na?} ma ci lōh
make now soon there (2SG.) *** FUT. remember Q
‘If you (write it) now, will you \textbf{still} remember (how to do it) later on?’
‘If you (write it) now, will you \textbf{ever} remember (how to do it) later on?’
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Evidence for Grammaticalisation of \textit{na}?}

The Progressive Aspect \textit{na?} is historically derived from an intransitive Verb \textit{na?} meaning ‘be; alive (people)’. The Verbal function is now almost obsolete in contemporary Jruq due to the extended use of \textit{kət} (the Existential §4.10) for human referents. However I did record its Predicative function in the following example:
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kuan saw na? toc loh
child 2SG. alive all Q
‘Are all your children still alive?’

Bondet de la Bernadie (1949) also recorded its Predicative use in the following example (I provide the English translation and IPA transcription). Note that this does not seem to convey an IMPROBABLE Epistemic Mode (which is the sole function of ?ih na? today):

kũŋ ?ih na? pnus
Sud il n’ya pas homme
Le Sud est inhabité. (Bondet de la Bernadie 1949:71)
(The south is uninhabited)

The sense ‘alive (people)’ is now usually conveyed with the word dũk (which in other West Bahnaric languages such as Nhaheun and Sapuan means ‘to know’). Note that the notion of ‘living’ is conceived as a process rather than a state in Jruq, so it can be modified by the Progressive Aspect, e.g.

mo? bâp saw na? dũk loh
mother father 2SG. PROGRESSIVE alive Q
‘Are your parents still alive?’

Interestingly, Jruq has grammaticalised na? ‘live’ to Progressive Aspect rather than kuo ‘reside’, or haj ‘LOC.’, whereas elsewhere in Southeast Asia, languages typically derive Progressive Aspect from Verbs meaning ‘dwell, be at’ (Matisoff 1991). Matisoff (1991:415-418) illustrates this process with examples from various Southeast Asian languages, some of which I reproduce here:

Lahu (Tibeto-Burman) chê

As a main Verb:
ŋà nå? ³-ha mà chê
1SG gun soul NEG dwell
‘There dwells no soul in my gun.’

With the Progressive function:
?a-mi chê šë
sing *** PTCL
‘Go on singing!’
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Burmese (Tibeto-Burman) *nei*

As a main Verb:
\[ \theta u \, \text{nei} \, \text{te} \]
3SG house be at PTCL
'He is at home.'

With the Progressive function:
\[ \theta u \, \text{zagā} \, \text{pyō} \, \text{nei} \, \text{te} \]
3SG words speak *** PTCL
'He is speaking.'

Thai (Tai-Kadai) *jūu*

As a main Verb:
\[ \text{khu}n \, \text{phāo} \, \text{māj} \, \text{jūu} \, \text{bāan} \]
HON father NEG be at home
'Father is not at home.'

With the Progressive function:
\[ \text{kāw} \, \text{rian} \, \text{phasāa} \, \text{ʔəŋkrīt} \, \text{jūu} \]
3SG study language English ***
'He's still studying English.'

Chinese (Sino-Tibetan) *zài*

As a main Verb:
\[ tā \, \text{xiànzài} \, \text{zài} \, \text{bù} \, \text{zài} \, \text{jīā} \]
3SG now be at NEG be at home
'Is he at home now?'

With the Progressive function:
\[ tā \, \text{zài} \, \text{fūshū} \]
3SG *** swim
'She is swimming.'

Vietnamese (Mon-Khmer) *đ* 

As a main Verb:
\[ őng \, \text{chū} \, \text{đ} \, \text{nhà} \]
HON boss be at home
'The boss is at home.'
With the Progressive function:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nhà} & \quad \text{tôi} & \quad \dot{\text{ô}} & \quad \text{gần} & \quad \text{dây} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{1SG} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{near} & \quad \text{here}
\end{align*}
\]

‘My house is near here.’

Other Bahnaric languages, such as Chrau, also grammaticalise ‘sit’ to Progressive aspect. Examples below are from Thomas (1971). I have tentatively provided individual glosses (as given elsewhere in the text), as they were not given in the examples.

Chrau (South Bahnaric) \(gũq\)

As a main Verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mai} & \quad \dot{\text{gũq}} & \quad \text{vồq}! \\
\text{you (male)} & \quad \text{sit} & \quad \text{PTCL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You sit still!’ (Thomas 1971:188)

With the Progressive function:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anh} & \quad \dot{\text{gũq}} & \quad \text{ính} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{***} & \quad \text{army}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I’m (sitting) in the army.’

(that’s what I’m doing now) (Thomas 1971:146)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nềh} & \quad \dot{\text{gũq}} & \quad \text{nhái} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{***} & \quad \text{speak}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He (persisted in) talking.’ (Thomas 1971:147)

Matisoff (1991) suggests this grammaticalisation of ‘dwell/be at’ to Progressive Aspect is a universal process. In creole languages, this is also a consistent way of forming Progressive/Habitual/Iterative Aspect (Givón 1982).

4.9.2.3 Incomplete Aspect \(na? \ ?án\)

\(na? \ ?án\) is used similarly to the Progressive Aspect (implying the Event is occurring at the time of speech) except that it suggests that the Event is nearing an end. This distinguishes it from the Imperfective Aspect \(\ddot{\text{ph}} \ \text{báć}\) ‘not yet, haven’t’, which can be used for Events which haven’t yet started and may not necessarily be concluded for a while. Examples in my data are few, but they all seem to co-occur with a PERFECT Post-Predicate Adverb \(cĕh\) ‘finish’ or the inherently PERFECTIVE Generic Quantifier \(toc\) ‘all, whole, entire’, e.g.
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- ?aj  na?  ?ān  bim  hnom  ceh
1SG. INCOMPLETIVE make house PERFECT
‘I haven’t finished building the house.’

trie  ?aj  tēc  hphōŋ  na?  ?ān  toc
wife 1SG. sell cucumber INCOMPLETIVE complete
‘My wife hasn’t sold all the cucumbers yet.’

4.9.2.4 Iterative/Durative Aspect łaj

The word łaj is borrowed from Lao127. It is used as an Aspect Auxiliary in two ways:

a) as an Iterative Aspect marker (marking events which are ‘composed of a multiple number of essentially equivalent sub-events that are iterated over time’ (Chung & Timberlake 1985:221), or;

b) as a Durative Aspect marker (‘the explicit measurement of the duration of the event frame’ (Chung & Timberlake 1985:222).

Both functions are only used with actual events in Jruq, and thus łaj only ever occurs in conjunction with the Non-Future Tense.

The following example illustrates the use of łaj for a Durative Event (‘not hanging up the phone’) which occurs during many non-contiguous events (‘attempting to ring over and over again’), e.g.

hān  łaj  ?īh  ra?  ?māŋ  kāp  łaj
3P. DURATIVE NEG. put.down speak with 1SG.
‘She wouldn’t put the phone down at all to speak with me.’

The example of the Iterative use of łaj is in the following, where it indicates a regularly occurring event (‘finding letters’) during distinct non-contiguous events (‘going to Pakse’), e.g.

hān  re?  pak  se  hān  łaj  tāw  nāŋ  si  kʰōŋ  łaj
3P. go Pakse 3P. ITERATIVE see letter POSS. 1SG.

hān  cįŋ  cōk  tbīh  ?ām  łaj
3P. so take bring give 1SG.

‘He goes to Pakse and he keeps finding my letters, so he brings them back to give me.’

127 Jruq seems to have extended the use from Lao “tāŋ /lāːj/ 1. exceed, pass outside, further... ; 2. quite, definitely; 3. at all’ (used with negative)” (Kerr 1972:1004).
4.9.2.5 Semelfactive Aspect トン

In contrast to the Iterative/Durative Aspect, the loanword トン ‘once’ (< Lao ต่ง /tɔːn/ 'section, part, episode, time, etc.') is used to mark Semelfactive (i.e. 'punctual') Aspect:

...iteratives describe durative events that occur repeatedly or regularly, while semelfactive verbs refer to one individual occurrence. (Bussman 1996:244)

The Semelfactive is inherently perfective and actual—therefore it only occurs in conjunction with Non-Future Tense. As examples are rare in my data, I am not certain whether トン is used in the same way as English ‘once’ to suggest ‘irrelevance’ to the present situation (e.g. ‘I knew how to do it once, but I have now forgotten how.’). I collected the following two Juq examples in the field:

?aj トン tāw ?mē klo
1SG. SEMELFACTIVE see person man
‘I once saw the man.’

?aj トン re? miŋŋ ?at ta? pi
1SG. SEMELFACTIVE go province Attapeu
‘I once went to Attapeu Province.’

4.9.2.6 Perfective Aspect bufio (ceh)

PERFECTIVE Aspect bufio (ceh) is used to indicate that an event is completed within the Event frame. It is usually in conjunction with telic Predicates (those with inherent endpoints) such as ‘be full’, ‘build a house’, ‘eat a meal’, e.g.:

?aj bufio tāw ?mē klo (lew)
1SG. PERFECTIVE see person man (already)
‘I (already) saw the man.’

?aj bufio ceh pʰɛʔ?
1SG. PERFECTIVE sated
‘I’m full.’

The optional ceh does not alter the syntactic meaning although its presence may perhaps be more emphatic. In any case, as a criticised particle in the Perfective Aspect, it no longer carries the Perfect Aspect meaning (see §4.10.2.1 below).
In some cases the Perfective can be used in conjunction with an already inherently perfective Verb *hlieng* ‘to stop’ to imply that the event stopped ‘a while ago’ (thus it acts like a pseudo-Past Tense). *hlieng* is necessary in conjunction with *atelic* Predicates (such as most Adjective-like Verbs), e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
klak & b\alpha c & hlieng & ji? \\
stomach & PERFECTIVE & stop & hurt \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My stomach has (already) stopped hurting.’

In addition, the Perfective Aspect *b\alpha c* (*ceh*) can be used directly with *states* (e.g. ‘be ugly’) to derive a *dynamic* (and/or *telic*) sense (e.g. ‘become ugly/reach the ugly stage’). With this ‘change-of-state’ function it is perhaps better labelled as *Ingressive* Aspect, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
kday & ?aj & b\alpha c & ceh & kja? \\
sarong & 1SG. & ‘INGRESSIVE’ & ugly \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My sarong is (now) ugly.’ (i.e. ‘out of fashion’, ‘ruined’, etc.)

In complex clauses, such as the example below, it can be used in conjunction with the Future Tense Auxiliary to mean ‘will already have’ (equivalent to English ‘future perfect’ tense):

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
?aj & b\alpha c & ma & ci? & pn\acute{a}m & ?aj... ?aj & re? & ?\acute{e}p \\
1SG. & PERFECTIVE & FUT. & return & village & 1SG. & 1SG. go & accompany \\
saw & ceh & bat & ?\hat{i}h & bic \\
2sg. & insert & begging.bowl & NEG. & able &
\end{array}
\]

‘I will already have gone home, so I won’t be able to go with you to make offerings (to the monks).’

The Perfective *b\alpha c* is also used in Pre-Subject Position as an Adverb and/or a Subordinate Clause conjunction (see §4.11.1.2, and §4.12.2.1).

### 4.9.2.7 Imperfective Aspect *?\hat{i}h b\alpha c*

IMPERFECTIVE Aspect *?\hat{i}h b\alpha c* is used to indicate that an event has not been completed within the Event frame. It does not give any information whether the Event has actually begun or not in the real world (a defining characteristic which distinguishes it from the Incomplete Aspect *na? ?\lambda n* ‘not yet’, §4.9.2.3). It is therefore conveniently used in discourse to suggest that the Event in question has been started when in fact it hasn’t (especially when one has been requested to do something). It is only used with Non-Future Tense and
usually in conjunction with telic Predicates such as ‘build a house’, ‘develop a film’, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \text{ re? tlat } \text{ ?ih bAc } \text{ hta } \text{ hup} \\
1SG. & \text{ go market IMPERFECTIVE wash picture} \\
& \text{ ‘I’ve gone to the market but I haven’t processed the film yet.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The Imperfective can also be used in conjunction with Predicates which are inherently atelic but are marked telic with the addition of Prepositional Phrases or other Phrases which signal a result, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
h\text{An} & \text{ ?ih bAc } \text{ re? pak se} \\
3P. & \text{ IMPERFECTIVE go Pakse} \\
& \text{ ‘He hasn’t gone to Pakse yet.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \text{ ?ih bAc } \text{ re? hta hup} \\
1SG. & \text{ IMPERFECTIVE go wash picture} \\
& \text{ ‘I haven’t gone to process the film yet.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Like the Perfective Aspect, ?ih bAc can also be used in conjunction with states to create a dynamic reading, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
p^\varphi & \ldots \text{ ?ih bAc } \text{ h\text{An} tih} \\
\text{cooked.rice} & \text{ IMPERFECTIVE 3P. large} \\
& \text{ ‘The rice (it) isn’t enlarged yet.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The repeated Subject in the example above (using h\text{An}) must occur when inanimate Subjects are represented as ‘dynamic’ or ‘active’ in some way. This is in accordance with Silverstein’s (1976) Animacy Hierarchy, where less animate References are less likely to occur as Actors and are usually marked in some way to indicate such an unusual role.
4.9.3 Mood Auxiliaries

In Jruq there are distinct ways of marking Events as actual, hypothetical, or necessary in the real world. One way in which this is manifested is with the use of Mood Auxiliaries.

Mood characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world. An event can simply be actual (more precisely, the event world is identical\textsuperscript{129} to the actual world); an event can be hypothetically possible (the event world is not identical to the actual world); the event may be imposed by the speaker on the addressee; and so on. (Chung & Timberlake 1985:241)

The Mood Auxiliaries in Jruq distinguish Actuality vs. Counterfactuality; Deontic Obligation vs. Deontic Permission vs. Prohibition; and a scale of Epistemic Potentiality:

**Actuality Mode:**
- **REALIS Mood:** \( k^h \dot{a}j \) ‘ever’ (< Lao)
- **IRREALIS Mood:** \(?ih k^h \dot{a}j \) ‘never’

**Deontic Mode:**
- **PERMISSION Mood:** \( c\dot{i}g \) ‘permitted to’ (< Lao)
- **OBLIGATION Mood:** \( t\dot{o}h \) ‘obliged to’ (< Lao)
- **PROHIBITIVE Mood:** \(?\dot{p}o\dot{h} \) ‘DON’T’

**Epistemic Mode:**
- **PROBABLE Mood:** \( na? \) \(?\dot{a}n \) ‘not yet’
- **POSSIBLE Mood:** \( na? \) ‘yet’
- **IMPROBABLE Mood:** \(?ih na? \) ‘not going to’

These three subtypes of Mood are each described in more detail in the following subsections. Note that Mood Auxiliaries do not seem to co-occur with Tense marking in my data\textsuperscript{130}. This restriction is most likely due to the similar

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\textsuperscript{129} I assume The Authors mean the event world is encoded as identical to the actual world.

\textsuperscript{130} With the possible exception of:

\begin{verbatim}
 bim \(?\dot{a}n \) ne... bi? \(?e \)  \( \emptyset \)  na?  ma  ci loh  
make now soon there (2SG.) *** FUT. remember Q  
'If you (write it) now, will you still remember (how to do it) later on?'  
'If you (write it) now, will you ever remember (how to do it) later on?'

However it is ambiguous as to whether \( na? \) is functioning as an Aspect or Mood Auxiliary.

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semantics. Many Mood Auxiliaries such as *Irrealis* (Actuality Mood) or *Impossibility* (Epistemic Mood) inherently imply the Future Tense.

### 4.9.3.1 Actuality Mode

The Actuality Mode marks whether an Event is identical or not to the actual world.

If we focus on verbal morphology, we find that languages commonly distinguish between actual and non-actual events, or — to use morphological terms — between realis and irrealis mood. (Chung & Timberlake 1982:241)

To convey that the Event is identical to the Actual world, the Realis Mood *kʰaj* ‘ever’ is used. If it is not identical (ie. it is *counterfactual*), the Realis Mood is negated to create the Irrealis Mood *ʔiŋ kʰaj* ‘never’. As these inherently imply a sense of actuality, these Mood Auxiliaries cannot be used in conjunction with Future tense (because the events are supposed to have been able to occur at, or before, the time of speech). Examples of the Realis and Irrealis Mood Auxiliaries are given below:

\[ ?aj\ kʰaj \ taw\ ?me\ klo \]
1SG. REALIS see person man
‘I have seen the man before.’

\[ saw\ kʰaj \ taw\ brah\ loh \]
2SG. REALIS see ghost Q
‘Have you ever seen a ghost?’

\[ bi\ ?e\ hən\ kʰaj\ taw hən\ ʔiŋ\ hmo? \]
soon that 3P. REALIS see 3P. NEG. fear
‘Whenever he’ll see (a tiger), he’ll not be afraid.’

\[ ?aj\ ʔiŋ kʰaj\ taw\ ?me\ klo \]
1SG. IRREALIS see person man
‘I’ve never seen the man.’

\[ kcaŋ\ ?aj\ ʔiŋ kʰaj\ ?maŋ\ huok \]
really 1SG. IRREALIS speak prevaricate
‘Really! I never tell lies.’ or: ‘Really! I never told a lie.’

---

131 This is borrowed from Lao: “*čːŋ /kʰːj/ ‘1. accustomed to; 2. ever; 3. consequent; 4. imperfect tense.”* (Kerr 1972:218).
4.9.3.2 Deontic Mode

"The Deontic Mode characterizes an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation." (Chung & Timberlake 1985:246). It expresses that an Event world is obligatory, necessary or prohibited from occurring in the real world. In Jruq two words have been borrowed from Lao to express obligation and necessity. These are illustrated in the following examples:

$pnu$ $n$ $j$ $s$ $i$ $e$ $p$ $k$ $m$ $O$ $c$ $i$ $g$ $c$ $i$ $k$ $k$ $l$ $o$
person 1PL. Q.INT. year.Q. (1PL.) PERMITTED take man
‘How old must we be before we can marry?’

$n$ $j$ $t$ $o$ $n$ $r$ $e$ $p$ $p$ $d$ $i$ $l$ $t$ $p$ $a$ $t$ $?i$ $n$
1PL. OBLIGED go slow vehicle extinguish fire
‘We must travel slowly or the car will stall.’

$m$ $?a$ $l$ $?a$ $?a$ $t$ $o$ $n$ $d$ $o$ $k$ $t$ $l$ $a$ 
mother 1SG. tell 1SG. OBLIGED walk market
‘My mother told me I must go to the market.’

One can also mark Obligation or Permission negatively with the use of the Prohibitive Auxiliary $?n$ $n$ ‘DON’T’. As it occurs with an Imperative, the Subject NP is usually ellipsed because it redundantly implies the Addressee, e.g.

$O$ $?n$ $n$ $j$ $i$ $?d$ $e$ $h$ $?w$
2SG. PROHIBITIVE sick cold REQ
‘Get well!’ (Lit. ‘stop having a fever!’)

$O$ $?n$ $n$ $c$ $i$ $d$ $u$ $n$ $?w$
2SG. PROHIBITIVE return take.long.time REQ.
‘Come back soon!’ (Lit. ‘Don’t be a long time away!’)

However, in one example I recorded the use of the Prohibitive Auxiliary following the Subject NP:

$s$ $a$ $w$ $?n$ $n$ $k$ $m$ $a$ $l$ $d$ $e$ $j$
2SG. PROHIBITIVE shy EMPH.
‘Don’t you be shy!’
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4.9.3.3 Epistemic Mode

"The Epistemic Mode characterizes the event with respect of the actual world and its possible alternatives." (Chung & Timberlake 1985:242). Antonymnic possibility is represented with the grammaticalisation of Progressive Aspect na? combined with the Syntactic Negator ?ih or the Discourse Negator ?An. I have found no evidence of three distinct levels of Epistemic Modal in other Mon-Khmer languages. To prevent confusion with English Modality, I avoid glossing these with words as ‘may’, ‘should’, etc., and instead I tentatively provide the following abstract labels for them in Jruq132:

PROBABLE: na? ?An ‘not yet (but soon)’
POSSIBLE: na? ‘not yet (but maybe)’
IMPROBABLE: ?ih na? ‘not yet (and probably never)’

Probable Mood

The Probable Mood tends to be used as for when an Event may occur in the future but it hasn't yet begun. It is a Polite way of asking or commenting on an Event's non-occurrence without suggesting that the Addressee is at fault. This an extention of na? ?An functioning as the INCOMPLETIVE Aspect (§4.9.2.3) where it is used to imply that the Event has already begun at the time of speech and is about to be completed.

In my field work it was often used to express one hasn't (yet) had children (not having children could be seen as a result of impotence/infertility, thus it is safer/more polite to imply the event is in progress but not is yet to reach the stage of completion/success e.g.

saw na? ?An  kæt  kwan  loh
2SG. PROBABLE have child Q
'Don't you have children yet?'

The Probable Mood is also used to politely convey that a requested event will soon happen, but has not yet taken place (implying that circumstances prevented it rather than it being the fault of the instigator), e.g.

132 The relative strength of these Epistemic Moods could possibly be represented on a continuum scale much like de Haan (1997) did for Khmer Deontic Modality. However as I have limited examples in my corpus and it was difficult to extract the full range of meanings and functions for these from my informants, I cannot make a detailed investigation.
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- ?aj na? ?an lay hän... ce? ?le
  1SG. PROBABLE tell 3P. after moment
  ‘I haven’t told him yet, after a moment (I will).’

Note that the Future Tense Auxiliary ma can be used to imply Probable Mood, as in the following Complex Clause where it is ambiguous (except in context) whether ma is acting as a Tense or a Mood Auxiliary:

na? cět na ti hän ma ket
PROGRESSIVE ten minutes.Q. 3P. *** die
PROBABLE
‘In another ten minutes she will die’
‘In another ten minutes she would have died.’

In the latter reading, the event (getting one’s appendix out and not dying) had occurred in the past.

Possible Mood

The Possible Mood is used to suggest simply that something could happen but has not happened at the time of Speech. It is very close in semantics to the Progressive Aspect na? much like the use of ‘still’ in English:

I’m still waiting (Progressive Aspect)
— Event is occurring at the time of speech

I’m still going to paint your picture one day (Possible Mood)
— the Event hasn’t begun at the time of speech

While the use of na? in conveying Possible Mood is not very common in discourse, it does not convey any impoliteness. In Jruq society, Events are more frequently conveyed in terms of actuality rather than possibility. A speaker will say he or she ‘will go’ or ‘is going’ to perform an Event rather than hedging with ‘perhaps I will go’ or ‘I’ll probably go’. In the following example, the speaker happened to not have made up her mind about performing the Event (going to a party on Saturday) and the Event in question had not yet begun at the time of speech (Thursday before the party):

?aj na? re?
1SG. POSSIBLE go
‘I am still going to go.’
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As mentioned under the discussion of Progressive Aspect, this example could also be read as ‘I'm still going,’ in which case the Event is occurring at the time of speech. Another example of this ambiguity is:

\[
\text{saw na? mup re? tqp p'ak su loh} \\
2\text{SG. PROGRESSIVE want go plant leaf.vegetable cabbage Q} \\
\text{POSSIBLE} \\
\text{‘Do you still want to plant cabbage?’} \\
\text{‘Are you still going to want to plant cabbage?’}
\]

**Improbable Mood**

The Improbable Mood is used very rarely to suggest that something will probably never happen (but there is always a chance of changing one’s mind). The use of this Mood is very rare because it could easily violate the cultural norm of avoiding the mention of ‘ineventuality’. However, I did record its use in the following sentences:

\[
\text{saw ?ih na? kat kuan loh} \\
2\text{SG. IMPOSSIBLE have child Q} \\
\text{‘Are you still not going to have children?’}
\]

Discussing the concept of having children with the use of the Improbable Mood is very rare because it could imply someone is incapable of having children (a most upsetting circumstance in Jruq society)\(^{133}\).

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\(^{133}\) This particular sentence was directed to myself. After fieldtrips spread over three years, I had explained to my informants that in Western society people typically have fewer children and at a later age. Eventually they felt comfortable enough to ask me whether I still had not ‘chosen’ to have children—though the issue still perplexed them as the question was repeated as if I might change my mind.
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4.9.4 Modal Auxiliaries

Another way of conveying Modality is with the use of Modal Auxiliaries. The Modal Auxiliaries express ability, capability, desires, and fears about performing the Event. Thus they convey information about the Speaker’s volition, which is much more personal than their perception about whether or not the Event is actual or feasible in the real world. The Modal Auxiliaries in Jruq are given below.

\begin{align*}
\text{mūn} & \quad \text{‘want to’} & \quad \text{mōt} & \quad \text{‘like to, enjoy’} \\
\text{bic} & \quad \text{‘be able to (circumstantially)’} & \quad \text{nāh} & \quad \text{‘be able to (innate) skill’} \\
\text{mām} & \quad \text{‘be brave enough to’} & \quad \text{hmo?} & \quad \text{‘fear to’} \\
\text{bil} & \quad \text{‘forget to’}
\end{align*}

As Auxiliaries, these words no longer show the syntactic characteristics of their Verbal counterparts. Those derived from transitive Verbs no longer require following NP Object Arguments; instead all require an immediately following Verb Phrase (Predicate). This is consistent with the definition of ‘Auxiliaries’:

Auxiliaries are recognized by the fact that they do not show the features characterizing lexical predicates, such as selection restrictions and valency. As long as a word shows any of these features it cannot be considered a true auxiliary. (Hengeveld 1992:30-31)

In addition, Modal Auxiliaries are never used in Imperative Constructions. Examples of these Modal Auxiliaries are given below:

\begin{align*}
?\text{aj} & \quad \text{kāt} & \quad \text{pnuṣ} & \quad \text{mūn} & \quad \text{bih} & \quad \text{h gàl} & \quad \text{psa} & \quad \text{jru?} \\
1\text{SG. born person want come know language Jruq} & \quad \text{‘I am a person who wanted to get to know the Jruq language.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
?\text{aj} & \quad \text{mūn} & \quad ?\text{ta?} & \quad ?\text{aj} & \quad \text{mūn} & \quad ?\text{psa?} & \quad ?\text{aj} & \quad \text{bul} & \quad \text{kīm} \\
1\text{SG. want vomit 1SG. want burp.up 1SG. drunk liver} & \quad \text{‘I want to vomit, I want to be sick. I’ve got a queasy stomach.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{māg} & \quad ?\text{aj} & \quad \text{hmo?} & \quad \text{re?} & \quad \text{hom} & \quad \text{dak} \\
\text{night 1SG. fear go bathe water} & \quad \text{‘At night, I’m afraid to go and bathe.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
?\text{aj} & \quad \text{bil} & \quad ?\text{ok} & \quad \text{dak} & \quad \text{kp’ce} \\
1\text{SG. forget drink water coffee} & \quad \text{‘I forgot to drink the coffee.’}
\end{align*}
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\textit{?aj \ râh \ câj \ ?aj \ mot \ tâw \ saw}

1SG. happy 1SG. like see 2SG.
'I'm happy. I like seeing you.'

\textit{pnus \ nâh \ ca \ (priat) \ kôp \ kôp \ hnie}

person able eat (banana) RED.-each sort.CL.
'People can eat every single variety (of banana).'

\textit{?oh \ ?aj \ hmo? \ dâk \ tât \ dak}

younger.sibling 1SG. fear walk across water
'My younger brother is afraid to go across the river'

\textit{?aj \ hmo? \ kleh}

1SG. fear fall
'I'm afraid I'll fall.'

Like many Auxiliaries, all Modals can be preceded by the Negative Auxiliary \textit{?îh}. Examples of the use of negated Modals are given below.

\textit{saw \ ?îh \ mot \ ca \ huc \ plâj \ braw \ lôh}

2SG. NEG. like eat flesh fruit coconut Q
'Don't you like eating the coconut flesh?'

\textit{?aj \ ?îh \ nâh \ cîhim}

1SG. NEG. know breathe
'I can't breathe.'

\textit{?aj \ ?îh \ màm \ re? \ haj \ brêj}

1SG. NEG. brave go LOC. forest
'I'm not brave enough to go to the forest.'

\textit{?aj \ ?îh \ bic \ re? \ pnâm \ pnuan}

1PL. NEG. able go village Panuan
'We can't go to Panuan village.'

The distinction between the use of \textit{bíc} 'able to' and \textit{nâh} 'able to' is based on whether or not the Subject has the skill/ability to perform the event in question or whether it is based on chance/circumstance. For example, innate ability such as \textit{breathing, eating, sleeping} and skills such as \textit{swimming, weaving} are all expressed using \textit{nâh} 'know how to, be able to'. Circumstantial ability such as \textit{having} the money to buy something, or \textit{being able to} fit in a bus full of people, etc., is expressed using \textit{bíc}. This is clear in the following examples:
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- kõnn bíc sãj prãk ?ám trïc men bíc nieh
  if able pay(L.) money give wife exist(L.) able leave
  'If you can pay compensation to your wife, then you can divorce her.'

c ûap krai bíc klo kra?
eat cooked.rice polished.rice able husband old
  'If you eat polished rice you'll get to be an old man.'

brêj ?mio cîh nãj ?ih bíc re? pnâm pnuan
forest rain down.pour 1PL NEG. able go village Panuan
  'Its pouring with rain so we can't go to Panuan Village.'

saw nâh se lôh
2SG. know listen Q
  'Can you understand?' (listening to Thai language on the radio)

?aj ?iï nâh yên
1SG. NEG. know sleep
  'I can't sleep.'

?aj ?iï nâh tân kdaï
1SG. NEG. know weave sarong
  'I don't know how to weave sarongs.'

I sometimes recorded the use of nâh in Information Interrogative Constructions
(fronted WH-questions), where it seemed to relate to a circumstantial ability. In
such examples (two are given below), the nâh is used to indicate that the
Subject has some control (through choice) over the Event, rather than some
automatic outcome:

tân saw nâh bîh wîn... saw rin ?aj lôh
WH. 2SG. know come turn.back 2SG. miss 1SG. Q
  'Why did you come back? Did you miss me?'

?jâng kat (?me) nâh ca cûr
WH. have (person) know eat pig
  'Why do people eat pig (in a pig eating rite)?'

The use of the Modal mun 'want to' is suggesting some obligation in
the following example. The Predicate kmal 'be shy, embarrassed; feel shame' is

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more agentive in Jruq than the gloss in English suggests:

raj mung kmal ban k'än ban se O lan
1SG. want shy others if others listen (1SG.) tell
‘I’ll feel shy of other people, if they listen to (me) talk.’

Modal Auxiliaries never co-occur with the Future Tense ma in my data, because inherently they convey a present state of mind about performing an Event either in the future or present time. However I did find examples (below) of Modals preceded by Aspect Auxiliaries. I assume that this means Modal and Aspect Auxiliaries can co-occur if they are not restricted by their semantics, e.g.

raj loj thi bic man
1SG. DURATIVE NEG. able speak
‘I couldn’t speak to her at all.’ (after many attempts at phoning her)

The following sentences suggest that sequences of two Modal Auxiliaries are permitted (although I have no other examples of this in my data):

raj mun na h man thâh git ha saw... saw ma
1SG. want know English LOC. 2SG. 2SG. FUT.
priam raj de?
teach 1SG. EMPH.
‘I want to speak English in your country. You will teach me, okay!’

k'än saw mun nah man jru? ben ben... dëk dëng nën
if 2SG. want know speak Jruq RED.-fast walk hunt visit
RED.-serious
‘If you want to learn to speak Jruq quickly, make sure you visit (Jruq people) often!’

---

134 If so, this is probably connected with the fact that kmal is a Descriptive (§4.3.2) (and therefore more Verb-like) rather than an Adjective.
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Postposing Modal Auxiliaries

Uniquely, Modal Auxiliaries may be postposed in Polar Question Constructions (although this is not obligatory). If the Modal is negated, the Negative Auxiliary ʔih is postposed along with the Modal, which suggests they behave as one constituent. Examples of postposed Modals are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pnus} & \quad \text{jru} \quad \text{ʔmaŋ} \quad \text{hāŋ} \quad \text{nah} \quad \text{loŋ} \\
\text{human} & \quad \text{Jruŋ} \quad \text{speak} \quad \text{Nhaheun} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Do Loven people know how to speak Nhaheun?’} \\
\text{piŋ} & \quad \text{muh} \quad \text{bīc} \quad \text{loŋ} \\
\text{change} & \quad \text{nose} \quad \text{able} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Can we swap noses?’} \\
\text{hāŋ} & \quad \text{kot} \quad \text{kuan} \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{bīc} \quad \text{loŋ} \\
\text{3P. give birth} & \quad \text{child} \quad \text{NEG. able} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Can’t she bear children?’} \\
\text{saw} & \quad \text{ca} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{mup} \quad \text{loŋ} \\
\text{2SG. eat} & \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{NEG. want} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Don’t you want to eat fish?’} \\
\text{saw} & \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{ʔne} \quad \text{mot} \quad \text{loŋ} \\
\text{2SG. reside} & \quad \text{here} \quad \text{like} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{‘Do you like staying here?’}
\end{align*}
\]

Modal Auxiliaries are often also postposed for Focus, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{krup} & \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{bīc} \\
\text{cover} & \quad \text{NEG. able} \\
\text{‘The lid won’t go on!’} \\
\text{hmə?} & \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{bīc}... \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{kot} \quad \text{bon} \quad \text{hmə?} \\
\text{ride} & \quad \text{NEG. able} \quad \text{NEG. have place} \quad \text{ride} \\
\text{‘(We) can’t ride (in the truck)! There’s no place for passengers.’} \\
\text{ʔaj} & \quad \text{rin} \quad \text{cāŋ} \quad \text{re?} \quad \text{kʰŋ} \quad \text{pʰa} \quad \text{pʰeŋ} \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{bīc} \\
\text{1SG. upset} & \quad \text{soul} (L) \quad \text{go} \quad \text{Phapheng Waterfalls} \quad \text{NEG. able} \\
\text{‘I’m upset that I can’t go to PhaPheng Waterfalls.’} \\
\text{ʔaj} & \quad \text{ŋēn} \quad \text{ʔih} \quad \text{nah} \\
\text{1SG. sleep} & \quad \text{NEG. know} \\
\text{‘I just can’t sleep!’}
\end{align*}
\]

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Sometimes the Modal Auxiliary is Postposed in ‘WH-’ (Information)
Interrogatives after the Predicate, although this is optional. Compare the
following:

\[ ?\text{jāŋ} \text{kət} (\text{ʔme}) \ n\text{əh} \ c\text{a} \ c\text{ūr} \]
\[ \text{WH have} \ (\text{person}) \text{know eat pig} \]
‘Why do people eat pig (in a pig eating rite)?’ (\text{ɐəh} is not postposed)

\[ t\text{āŋ} \ d\text{ūŋ} \ h\text{ān} \ b\text{im} \ b\text{ic} \]
\[ \text{WH long.time 3P. make able} \]
‘How long did it take her to make it?’ (\text{bic} is postposed)

\[ ?\text{ʔme} \ d\text{āj} \ n\text{əh} \ b\text{im} = ?\text{ʔme} \ d\text{āj} \ b\text{im} \ n\text{əh} \]
\[ \text{person which? know make person which? make know} \]
‘Who knows how to make it?’

Note that there is an experiential Verb \text{se} ‘try, attempt to’ (derived by
metaphorical extension from a Complement-taking Verb \text{se} ‘listen’), which I do
not treat as a Modal Verb, despite its similar positions, e.g.

\[ ?\text{ʔaj} \ se \ s\text{im} \]
\[ 1\text{SG. try taste} \]
‘I’ll taste (it).’

\[ ?\text{ʔaj} \ ?\text{ʔih} \ m\text{ūŋ} \ se \ ca \]
\[ 1\text{SG. NEG. want try eat} \]
‘I don’t want to try (some) to eat.’

It is not a Modal Verb because it can be used in Imperative Sentences, e.g.:

\[ \text{Ø se s\text{im} n\text{ōm}} \]
\[ 2\text{SG. listen taste tasty} \]
‘Taste (it)! (It’s) delicious!’

\text{se} ‘try’ is not a Co-Verb because it is restricted to occurring only before a small
set of Verbs which describe eating, such as \text{ca} ‘eat’ and \text{s\text{im}} ‘taste’. These
constructions can themselves be preceded by Directional or Instrumental Co-
Verb such as \text{bi\text{h}} ‘come’ and \text{mēj} ‘allow’. I therefore treat \text{se ca}, \text{se s\text{im}} as
compound Main Verbs meaning ‘try some to eat’, ‘try a taste’ respectively.
4.10 EXISTENTIAL kət

The Existential in Jruq is used as a clause-external functor to signal the truth-value of a following Proposition. In a sense, it has an Aspectual realis vs. irrealis function. However I do not class it with the Aspectual Auxiliaries because unlike other Auxiliaries, the Existential:

- is never preceded by a Subject NP constituent
- never takes an immediate VP constituent
- must precede either a single NP or a full clause (S)
- cannot co-occur with any Future Tense, Aspect, Mood or Modal Auxiliaries

The Existential can be negated with ?iḥ to create the following antonymous expressions:

kət ‘there is, there are’  ḫiḥ kət ‘there is not, there are not’

kət is a multifunctional lexeme in Jruq. When kət is used as an Existential it no longer carries valency like its Intransitive and Transitive Verb counterparts ‘be born’, ‘give birth’ and ‘have’. These distinct uses are illustrated below:

kət as Intransitive Verb ‘be born’:

?aj  ṭuŋ kət  ṭuŋ  jru?
1SG. want born person Jruq
‘I wish I was a Jruq person.’

kət as Transitive Verb ‘give birth’:

saw kət kuan puan ra saw kət kʊŋ
2SG. give.birth child four person.CL. 2SG. die really
‘You’ll really die from giving birth to quadruplets!’

?aj kət miŋ hən kət mʊan
1sg. have aunt 3P. give.birth niece
‘I have an Aunt who bore my niece.’

kət as Transitive Verb ‘have’:

hən kət ḫiʔiŋ
3P. have goitre
‘He has (a) goitre.’
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1SG. NEG. have money buy house big
‘I haven’t got the money to buy a big house.’

k?t as Existential Auxiliary ‘EXIST; there are; it is’:

?ih k?t c?j?r
NEG. EXIST boredom
‘It isn’t boring.’ (lit. ‘There’s no boredom.’)

EXIST stone reside in cooked.rice stone RED.-small
‘There are stones in the cooked rice, little stones.’

EXIST person different speak first
‘There was someone else (on the phone) before me.’

?ih k?t na? riep ptuar (sie? ??n)
NEG. EXIST 1PL. count star Q.INT. thing.CL.
‘We don’t count the stars (in a constellation).’
(Literally: ‘It isn’t true that we count the stars (in a constellation).’)

The prototypical position of the Existential is pre-Subject position. However, Adjuncts such as Prepositional Phrases, Temporal Phrases or Quantifier Phrases may sometimes precede the Existential Verb, e.g.

pal br?j k?t ?k?r ?loj
direction forest EXIST trunk tree
‘Towards (in the direction of) the forest, there are trees.’

kmo ne k?t tiat ?di? to
year this EXIST parrot many animal.CL.
‘This year, there are many parrots.’

sie? hnie k?t cem haj ne?
Q.INT. type.Q. EXIST bird LOC. this
‘How many kinds of birds are there here (on the photo)?’

Depending on prosodic pauses (‘...’), the k?t in following sentence can be either the Existential or a Transitive Verb due to the sentence being interpreted as having an NP or PP in preverbal position:
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haj hnom... ?aj kət seh pe to
LOC. house 1SG. have horse three animal.CL.
‘At home, I have three horses.’

haj hnom ?aj... kət seh pe to
LOC. house 1SG. EXIST horse three animal.CL.
‘At my home, there are three horses.’

The Existential may be postposed in Polar Question Constructions (§6.2.5) without changing the meaning of the sentence. This is similar to the use of Modal Auxiliaries. Examples of the varying position of the Existential are:

?me bim trie hān luj... kət ləh
person punch wife 3P. angry EXIST Q
‘Are there people (in your country) who punch their wives when angry?’

kət ?me bim trie hān luj ləh
EXIST person punch wife 3P. angry Q
‘Are there people (in your country) who punch their wives when angry?’
4.11 Adverbs

Adverbs convey various Mood and Aspectual senses related to the Event. Many Adverbs are homonymous with Aspectual and Mood Auxiliaries, however these words never occur between Subject and Predicate in a basic Clause. Instead they can be divided into Pre-Subject Adverbs (those in pre-Subject position), and Post-Predicate Adverbs (those in post-Predicate position)\(^{135}\). In addition, some Adverbial Conjunctions occur in Auxiliary position but they serve to conjoin Subordinate Clauses together based on the order of Events in the actual or hypothetical world. The latter are as subclass of Conjunctions (§4.12.2).

4.11.1 Pre-Subject Adverbs

Pre-Subject Adverbs fulfill a variety of Aspectual/Mood functions, but they all communicate aspects of *Time* — the Pre-Subject Position occupies the default Temporal Phrase position. I divide these Pre-Subject Adverbs into three categories based on what kinds of constituents they systematically combine with.

- **Adverb\(_1\)** — only occur immediately before a full clause (§4.11.1.1)
- **Adverb\(_2\)** — usually occur within Quantified Temporal Phrases
  - can occur in conjunction with the Quantity Descriptive: *duŋ* 'be a long time' (§4.11.1.2)
- **Adverb\(_3\)** — occur immediately before a Temporal Noun
  - introduce ‘protasis’ constructions in Conditional Sentences (§4.11.1.3)

---

\(^{135}\) Only *ʔjāŋ ne* ‘now’ can appear in either peripheral position which may suggest that in fact these two kinds of Adverbs are different word classes. However, as they all function as prototypical ‘adverbs’ and are consistently used in Clause/Phrase ‘peripheral’ positions, I treat them as belonging to the same class.
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4.11.1.1 Adverb_1

Three Pre-Subject Adverbs only ever occur before a full clause:

\textit{tma} 'almost'\(^{136}\)
\textit{psat} 'usually, often'
\textit{ʔjän ne} ~ \textit{ʔaj ne} 'now' (\textit{ʔjän} ~ \textit{ʔaj} 'WH.' + \textit{ne} 'this')
\textit{hu} 'moment, when'
\textit{bəc (ceh)} 'already'

These words may co-occur with Aspect Auxiliaries or the Existential within the following clause, e.g.:

\textit{psat} \textit{hän} \textit{kʰaj} \textit{re? pak se}
\textbf{usually} 3P. REALIS go Pakse
'He usually always goes to Pakse.'

\textit{tma} \textit{ʔaj pēn cem}
\textbf{almost} 1SG. shoot bird
'I almost shot the bird.' (ie. shot at but missed the target)

\textit{bəc ceh saw bla māt tǎm sāj}
\textbf{already} 2SG. wash.face face time(past) previous
'When did you wash your face last?'

\textit{kmo bəc kōt ka ʔdiʔ bāt ʔjän ne ʔtʰ kōt ʔØ}
year past EXIST fish many but \textbf{now} NEG. EXIST (fish)
'Last year there were many fish, but \textbf{now} there are none.'

\textit{bəc hän cōk klō loh}
\textbf{already} 3P. take man Q
'Has she already married a man?'

\textit{hu neʔ ʔaj ʔtʰ mun ʔØ... bəc ceh ʔaj cōj}
\textbf{moment} this 1SG. NEG. want (eat) \textbf{already} 1SG. eat
'I don't want to (eat) right now. I've already eaten.'

\(^{136}\) This Adverb may have been formed with the historical Mon-Khmer Negative Prefix *ʔa-. If so it suggests that it was affixed to \textit{ma} the Future Tense Auxiliary (or its antecedent).
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

Note that ᵇⁿẹ̀ and ᵇᵃᶜ may co-occur:

\[ ᵇⁿẹ̀  bᵃᶜ  ᵇᵃᵖ  ᵗⁱʰ \]

**now already** 3PL. large
\*Now they are grown up.\*

The following complex Clause shows that the Topic may be preposed before the Adverb₁ if it requires more effort to process the information. This more clearly separates Topic and Comment:

\[ sⁱᵃⁿ'h  nᵃᵗ  kᵃᵖ  sⁱᵃⁿ  pˡᵃʲ  ᵇⁿẹ̀  rᵘⁿ... \]

voice gun with voice fruit tree collapse
\[ tᵐᵃ  Ǿ  tᵃʷ  kᵃⁿ \]

**almost** (3P.) see each/same(l.)
\*The sound of the guns and the sound of the acorns falling, they were almost the same.\*

4.11.1.2 Adverb₂

These Adverbs are homonymous with the Aspect/Mood Auxiliaries:

PERFECTIVE Aspect: \[ bᵃᶜ \]

IMPERFECTIVE Aspect: \[ ᴰⁱʰ bᵃᶜ \]

PROGRESSIVE Aspect – PROBABLE Mood: \[ nᵃ? \]

IMPOSSIBLE Mood: \[ ᴰⁱʰ nᵃ? \]

In contrast with Auxiliaries Adverb₂ are usually found in conjunction with Temporal Phrases, and thus they are Clause-Peripheral. As such, they modify TPs which contain a Quantifier construction such as ‘in two minutes’, and may co-occur with Tense Auxiliaries within the following Clause¹³⁷, e.g:

\[ nᵃ?  cᵉᵗ  nᵃ tⁱ  hᵃⁿ  mᵃ  kᵉᵗ \]

PROGRESSIVE ten minutes.Q. 3P. FUT. die
PROBABLE
\*In another ten minutes she will die.\*
‘In another ten minutes she would have died.’

¹³⁷ One could analyse these as mini-clauses consisting of an Aspect marker + Predicate, suggesting they are comparable to French *il y a [deux jours] ‘there is [two days]’ > ‘[two days] ago’* (Harold Koch, pers. comm. 1/5/2001). However I feel that this introduces an unnecessary level of complication.
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bac puan mǎŋ hǎn tah klak sŏl
PERFECTIVE four night.Q. 3P. cut stomach intestines
‘Four nights ago she had her appendix cut out.’

na? muj kmɔ ?aj ma cɔk kuan
PROBABLE one year.Q. 1SG. FUT. take child
‘In one year’s time I’ll have children.’

bac pe smɔŋ ?aj cảm lót
PERFECTIVE three hour.Q. 1SG. wait vehicle
‘For three hours (already) I’ve waited for the bus!’

The Adverb\textsubscript{2} words may otherwise precede the Quantity Descriptive duŋ ‘be a long time’, which inherently carries a temporal meaning. This creates the senses ‘it won’t be long before’ or ‘it’s been a long time since’ (perhaps this is the same function as Adverb\textsubscript{3}, discussed in the next subsection). In such functions, the Adverb\textsubscript{2} may co-occur with Tense Auxiliaries in the main Clause, e.g.

ʔih na? duŋ ?aj ma cɔk kuan
IMPROBABLE be.long.time 1SG. FUT. take child
‘It won’t be long before I’ll have children.’

bac duŋ ʔih bo knɔk klo ?aj
PERFECTIVE be.long.time NEG. see hug husband 1SG.
‘It’s been a long time since I’ve seen and hugged my husband.’

Examples below show that the Temporal Phrase may be placed at the end of the clause for emphasis.

hǎn plie trie bac puan kmɔ
3P. leave wife PERFECTIVE four year.Q.
‘He left his wife four years ago!’

ʔaj ?aj bim ?ùm bac trəw kʰaj
elder.sibling 1SG. make give PERFECTIVE six month.Q.
‘My elder sister made it for me six months ago!’

ʔaj cảm lôt duŋ ?mät ?mat bac pe smɔŋ
1SG. wait vehicle long.time RED.-very PERFECTIVE three hour.Q.
‘I waited for the bus for a very long time, for three hours!’

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saw t'o la sāp re? haj ?aj bāc. bōr ?a t'it...
2SG. telephone go LOC. 1SG. PERFECTIVE two week.Q.
?aj na? cām saw re? t'o nāw
1SG. PROGRESSIVE wait 2SG. go phone again
‘You telephoned me two weeks ago! I’m still waiting for you to ring again.’

These Aspect2 words do not require a Quantifier Phrase, e.g.

?ah hāw hōw tmuol hnam na? kliō buaj kāp ?aj
1SG. climb flee roof house PROGRESSIVE tiger follow bite 1SG.
‘I escaped by climbing on the roof, but still the tiger kept following me to bite me.’

I did not record ?ih bāc used in conjunction with a Quantifier Phrase, only as a single pre-clausal constituent. Like the Perfective Aspect, ?ih bāc can also be used in conjunction with states to create a dynamic reading, e.g.

?ih bāc hān re?
IMPERFECTIVE 3P. go
‘He hasn’t come yet.’

p'ē... ?ih bāc hān tiē
cooked.rice IMPERFECTIVE 3P. large
‘The rice (it) isn’t enlarged yet.’

4.11.1.3 Adverb3

The Adverb3 words are always used in conjunction with Temporal Nouns to create meanings like ‘in a while’, and ‘after a moment’, or ‘just now’. The two Adverb3 words have been fully grammaticalised from Verbs meaning ‘finish’ and ‘come’, including phonological changes:

biʔ ‘soon; when (future)’ < bih ‘come’
ceʔ ‘after; when (past)’ < ceh ‘finish’

The Adverbial words ceʔ and biʔ are used in a unique function to conjoin Subordinate Clauses, where they introduce the ‘protasis’ clause (that which sets the scene for a resulting Event) in Conditional Sentence constructions (this is discussed in more detail in section §4.12.2). Instead of introducing a full clause as the ‘protasis’, Adverb3 words can introduce a Temporal Phrase for the same function.
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Both \textit{bi}? and \textit{ce}? often occur in combination with the Temporal Noun \textit{?le} ‘moment’, e.g.

\begin{center}
\textit{bi}? \textit{?le} \texttt{Ø} \textit{ma} \textit{ca}
\textit{soon moment (1PL.) FUT. eat}
\textit{‘We'll eat soon.’}
\textit{ce}? \textit{?le} \textit{?aj} \textit{ma} \textit{hom} \textit{dak}
\textit{after moment 1SG. FUT. bathe water}
\textit{‘In a moment, I’ll go and bathe.’}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textit{ce}? \textit{?le} \textit{?aj} \textit{ci}? \\
\textit{after moment 1SG. return}
\textit{‘In a moment I’ll return (home).’}
\textit{ce}? \textit{?le} \textit{?aj} \textit{ma} \textit{bim} \textit{cǎŋ} \textit{ton} \textit{hbi}? \\
\textit{after moment 1SG. FUT. make eat.meal time evening}
\textit{‘In a moment I’ll make dinner.’}
\end{center}

The Temporal Noun \textit{?le} may sometimes be modified by the Descriptive \textit{?naw} ‘new’ to mean ‘in another moment’ or ‘next time’, e.g.

\begin{center}
\textit{ce}? \textit{?naw} \textit{re}? \textit{nǎw}
\textit{after new go again}
\textit{‘Next time (the rains ceases) I’ll try going again.’}
\textit{bi}? \textit{?naw} \textit{?aj} \textit{ma} \textit{re}? \textit{něŋ} \textit{saw}
\textit{soon new 1SG. FUT. go visit 2SG.}
\textit{‘Tonight, I will come and visit you.’}\textsuperscript{138}
\textit{ce}? \textit{?le} \textit{?naw} \texttt{Ø} \textit{re}? \textit{nǎw}
\textit{after moment new (1SG.) go again}
\textit{‘After another moment, I’ll (try to) go again.’(ie. attempting to avoid the rain)}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{138} The use of \textit{bi}? \textit{?naw} means ‘the next period of time in the future’. It is used to refer to the next period in the day from the time of speech, so if one uses it in the early morning (\textit{ton} \textit{cro}) it would refer to the late morning (\textit{tpaj} \textit{?jan}), if one uses it around midday (\textit{kǐŋ} \textit{tpaj}) it refers to the afternoon/evening (\textit{tpaj} \textit{prāk} ~ \textit{ton} \textit{hbi}?). If one uses it at night (\textit{ton} \textit{māŋ}) it could be used to refer to the following morning.
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ce? ile ?naw ?aj ci?
after moment new 1SG. return
‘After another moment, I’ll return (home).’

after moment new return LOC. house NEG. come
‘After a moment, you won’t be able to make it home.’

The Adverb bi? can also precede Temporal Noun Phrases such as ton cro? ‘morning’ to mean ‘in the morning’. This is similar to the use of come in English ‘come Christmas’. Examples are given below.

bi? ton saw ci? loh
soon time 2SG. return Q
‘Will you be returning soon?’ (ie. ‘in the (near) future’)

bi? ton cro? ?aj ma bim
soon time early 1SG. FUT. make
‘I’ll do it in the morning.’

bi? tñaj ?naw hän bih cäk kün kew soh
soon day new 3P. come take bottles empty
‘Tomorrow he’ll come and take the empty bottles.’

bi? hnaj saw ma ci? loh
soon tomorrow 2SG. FUT. return Q
‘Tomorrow, you’ll leave will you?’
4.11.2 Post-Predicate Adverbs

Many Adverbs can appear after the Predicate to convey Aspect, Mood or simple Adverbial meanings. Most of these are single lexemes which do not require following modifiers. These are listed below:

**Perfect Aspect:**
- *ceh* 'completed'
- *nāw* 'again, anew'
- *(laj) laj* 'keep on, continue, often'
- *definitely* *(laj)* 'indeed, for sure' (< Lao 139)
- *already* *(lew)* 'already' (< Lao 140)
- *(r̄māt)* *(r̄māt)* 'really, very'
- *(kcōn)* *(kcōn)* 'really, truly'
- *(mī)* *(mī)* 'only, simply' ~ *(sī)* *(sī)* (< Lao)
- *seriously* *(cmāt)* *(cmāt)* 'seriously'
- *(nē)* *(nē)* 'now, right now'
- *earlier, forwards* *(nuar)* 'before, first; forwards, ahead'
- *later* *(plug)* 'after, last'
- *backwards* *(bāt)* 'back, backwards'

I discuss each of these below.

**Perfect Aspect ceh**

*ceh* 'Perfect Aspect' is used after the Predicate to indicate a lasting result of the Event's occurrence. It can be used in conjunction with Future or non-Future Tense or any other Auxiliary because it refers solely to the completion of the Event (whether or not the Event corresponds to the actual world or the hypothetical world):

```
ked ?nāw ?aj ma bim hnam ceh
month next 1SG. FUT. make house PERFECT
'Next month I will finish building my house.'

?aj na? ?nā bim hnam ceh
1SG. INCOMPLETE make house PERFECT
'I haven't finished building the house.'
```

139 Lao: ຕຸ່ມ /lāj/ "exceed (v.); further, too much (adv.); after that (conj.)" (Kerr 1972:1004).

140 Lao: ຜ້າໜ່ວ /lēw/ "past tense" (Kerr 1972:1016).
nǎw ‘again’

One can indicate that an Event will happen again by using the Adverb nǎw ‘again, anew’. It is also different in function to the Iterative/Durative Aspect Auxiliary laj, because it is used for telic events, and seems to be used in conjunction with Future Tense only. Examples are:

brēj ma ?mīa nǎw
cloud FUT. rain again
‘It’s going to rain again.’

?aŋ na? cām saw re? dō nǎw
1SG. PROGRESSIVE wait 2SG. go phone again
‘I’m still waiting for you to ring again.’

we la dāj saw ma bih nǎw
time which? 2SG. FUT. come again
‘When will you come again?’

laj ‘continue’

The multifunctional Aspectual laj is used in Post-Predicate position in two ways. The first is to convey a Durative/habitual Mood where it means ‘continue’ (possibly from Lao: cā gǐ /lāj/ “exceed (v.); further, too much” Kerr 1972:1004). Note that Prepositional Phrases (which are clause peripheral) may follow this Adverb.

muan ?aŋ bih nēŋ laj
niece 1SG. come visit continue
‘My niece often comes to visit.’

moŋ ?aŋ ?ih ket hān dāk laj
watch 1SG. NEG. die 3P. walk continue
‘My watch did not stop working, (the hands) still went around.’

hān la ma bih laj... ?ih bih...
3P. however FUT. come continue NEG. come

hān ?ih ket prāk ?idī?
3P. NEG. have money much
‘She has always (wanted) to come but has never made it. She hasn’t got much money.’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

ñme trie ?ih kät hāp tpeh toh hmēh lāj
person woman NEG. have shirt pound breast shake continue
‘Women who don’t wear shirts, pound (rice) and their breasts keep shaking.’

njaj ?mān lāj
1SG. speak continue
‘I’m just saying it (for a joke).’ (Colloquial English: ‘I’m just going on.’)

ŋaj ma ne? lāj hāw bru
1PL. FUT. go continue up mountain
‘We will keep going up the mountain.’

It can be partly reduplicated for intensification, e.g.

njaj ma kuo ne lālāj
1SG. FUT. reside here RED.-continue
‘I will live here (in this region) forever.’

lāj ‘definitely’

The other use of lāj is more emphatic than simply conveying a sense of continual action. Here it means ‘surely, definitely’ and implies a permanent lasting result of the Event. This is a direct loan from Lao: ລี่ /lāj/ ‘quite, definitely’ (Kerr 1972:1004). Unlike lāj ‘continue’, it can occur with finite/semelfactive states such as ‘to die’, e.g.

tām mā? bic hān ket lāj
time(past) mother get 3P. die definitely
‘When his mother gave birth to him she died straightaway.’

njaj hmo? ?mē gān saw lāj
1SG. afraid person carry 2SG. definitely
‘I’m afraid people will surely take you away.’

lew ‘already’

This Post-Predicate Adverb is a direct loan from Lao (ລະວ /lē:w/ ‘past tense’). It is more emphatic than using a Perfective Aspect Auxiliary. In the following example it co-occurs with bāc ‘perfect’, however the repetition of the Subject hān for the human subject seems to suggest the Speaker has self-corrected the utterance. If so, perhaps lew cannot co-occur with bāc as a Perfective Auxiliary—rather only if bāc is a pre-Subject perfective Adverb.
māŋ - lew
be.night already
'It's night already!' 

hān bac hān re? lew
3P. PERFECTIVE 3P. go already
'He's already gone!' 

(?māt) ?mat 'really, very'

The most common way of intensifying Adjectives and Descriptives involves the use of the Post-Predicate Degree Adverb ?mat 'very' which can be reduplicated for added emphasis, e.g.

kjiel ?deh ?mat ?mat
wind cold RED.-very
'The wind is very cold.' 

tus ?aj ji? ?mat ?mat
head 1SG. sore RED.-very
'Very sore.'

?mat can be used to intensify Descriptives in non-Predicate constituents, which distinguishes it from all other Post-Predicate Adverbs, e.g.

?aj cām lōt dun ?māt ?mat bac pe smog
1SG. wait vehicle long.time RED.-very PERFECTIVE three hour.Q.
'I waited for the bus for a very long time, for three hours!'

Uniquely, ?mat can also be used metaphorically to intensify Non-Verbal Predicates, e.g.

1SG. person Ta-Oi NEG. exist person Jruq very
'I'm a Ta-Oi person, I'm not really an ethnic Jruq person.'

However as I have not exhaustively tested the use of ?mat 'very' in the language, I hesitate to treat it as a separate class of Adverbs.
(kcŋ) kcŋ ‘really, truly’

This indigenous Adverb occurs with an emphatic meaning ‘really!’, which is slightly different from the Adverb laŋ ‘definitely’ because it implies epistemological (the speaker’s view of truth/actuality of the Event) rather than epistemic Mood (the actuality of the Event). It is used for Verb Predicates (thus it appears in complementary distribution with ʔmat ‘very’). Examples are given below.

saw kōt kuan puan ra saw kēt kcŋ
2SG. give.birth child four person.CL 2SG. die really
‘(If) you have quadruplets, you’ll really die!’

kcŋ can be reduplicated for even more emphasis (ie. ‘really truly!’), e.g.

ʔaj mot saw kcŋ kcŋ
1SG. like 2SG. RED.-really
‘I really truly love you.’

Note that kcŋ is not a true Interjection, even though it occurs seemingly as an extra-clausal constituent in the following example. True Interjections can be used in complete isolation, however kcŋ, if uttered as a single clausal element, must be immediately followed by a full clause which expresses the reference.

kcŋ ʔaj ʔih kʰaj ʔmaŋ huok
truly 1SG. IRREALIS speak prevaricate
‘Truly! I never tell lies.’

I am inclined to believe that kcŋ in the example above is actually part of an ellipsed phrase:

(ʔaj ʔmaŋ) kcŋ
(1SG. speak) truly
‘(I’m speaking) honestly!’
‘What I said was true!’

Do you have a word...
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

mi? mi? ‘only’

Another emphatic Post-Predicate Adverb is the indigenous word mi? mi? ‘only, that’s all’. This is always used in a Reduplicated form, and is used to reassure the Addressee that something is not as serious as they might presume.

?aj Ø ?maŋ mi? mi?
1SG. -FUT. speak only
‘I’m only joking (ie. I’m not being serious)’

?aj Ø kuo hnam mi? mi?... ce? ?e re? tēc kʰiŋ
1SG. -FUT. reside house only after that go sell things
haj tlat cŎk prak
LOC. market take money
‘I’m only staying at home. Afterwards I will go and sell things in the market to earn money.’

mi? mi? is equivalent to, and often substituted with, the Lao Adverb si si ‘only’ (a reduplication of si ‘true, straight’), e.g.

krŎk ne ?ih Ø ca lôt... hăn hit si si
cow here NEG. -FUT. eat vehicle 3P. smell only
‘Those cows (nearby) are not eating the car! They’re only smelling it’

cmāt ‘seriously’

In contrast with the use of mi? mi? ‘only’, the Post-Predicate Adverb cmāt cmāt 141 invokes an emphatic meaning of ‘seriously; make sure!’. I have only recorded it in the following example where it was reduplicated.

kʰăn saw Ø mṳŋ nāh ?maŋ yr? bēŋ bēŋ dāk dāŋ
if 2SG. -FUT. want know speak Jruq RED.-fast walk hunt
nēŋ cmāt cmāt
visit RED.-serious
‘If you want to learn to speak Jruq quickly, make sure you visit (Jruq people) often!’

141 Possibly cognate with Semelai cpat ‘to be quick’ > cpa- cpat ‘to be really quick’ (Kruspe 1999:239)
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

¿jǎŋ ne ~tǎŋ ne ‘now’

The other Post-Predicate Adverb is ¿jǎŋ ne (~ tǎŋ ne) ‘(right) now’, which is a compound of the Interrogative ¿jǎŋ ~ tǎŋ ‘WH.’ and Demonstrative ne ‘this’. It is used to emphatically state the Event is occurring at the time of speech (as a pseudo-present tense). Examples are:

\[\text{\texttt{?aj ma dǎk ¿jǎŋ ne}}\]
\[\text{1SG. FUT. walk now ‘I’m going now.’}\]

\[\text{\texttt{?aj Ø mûŋ tǎw ?me klo tǎŋ ne ho? (¿ne?)}}\]
\[\text{1SG. -FUT. want see person man now at here ‘I’m want to see the man here and now!’}\]

I also recorded it in conjunction with the Adverb1 \text{\texttt{hu ‘moment, when’}}:

\[\text{\texttt{hu tǎŋ ne}}\]
\[\text{moment now ‘Right now!’}\]

Bondet de la Bernadie (1949) records a different use of ¿jǎŋ ne in presenting one’s Personal name. This function may be obsolete as I never heard it used by my informants. I provide the translation and an IPA re-transcription in the examples below:

\[\text{\texttt{bo ?aj kat kuan tûk pe ra ?aj kat}}\]
\[\text{Père moi avoir enfant garçons trois individus moi être kuan ?loŋ kuan kdej su nǎj ¿jǎŋ ne}}\]
\[\text{enfant aîné enfants cadets Su Naï ainsi ‘Mon père a trois garçons, je suis l’aîné, mes cadets s’appellent Su et Naï.’ (Bondet 1949:67)}\]
\[\text{‘My father has three sons, I am the eldest, my younger siblings are called like this: Su and Nai.’}\]

\[\text{\texttt{?aj su ¿jǎŋ ne}}\]
\[\text{moi Su ainsi ‘Je m’appelle Su’ (Bondet 1949:65)}\]
\[\text{‘I’m called like this: Su.’}\]
**nuar** ‘earlier, first; ahead, forwards’

The word *nuar* is used for a wide range of attributive/comparative functions. It has already been presented as a Measure Adjective (§4.3.1.1), where it modifies Nouns to mean ‘first (born)’ or ‘former (wife)’. It also has a Descriptive function in Temporal Phrases to mean ‘last (month)’. As an Adverb, *nuar* modifies the entire Predicate to mean ‘first’, ‘earlier’ or ‘forwards’, e.g.

```
saw hom nuar... ?aj ?juor ploc
2SG. bathe first 1SG. follow later
‘You bathe first and I’ll go later!’

lot dâk nuar
vehicle walk forward
‘The car is going forwards.’
‘The car is going ahead.’
```

**ploc** ‘later, last’

This is the antonym of the Adverb *nuar* ‘first, earlier’. As an Adverb, *ploc* is used to mean ‘last, later’. It is very similar to the Comparative Preposition use *ploc* ‘after X; later than X’ (§4.4.4.5), except that it is not followed by a NP of comparison, e.g.

```
han Ø bih hnôm ploc
3P. -FUT. come house last
‘He was last home.’
```

Note that in the example above, if *ploc* was functioning as a Quantity Descriptive (modifying the Noun *hnôm* ‘house’), the sentence would mean ‘*He came to (his) former home*’ or ‘*He came to the last home*’. The syntactic function of *ploc* (and *nuar*) is therefore dependent on context or constituency (whether it is within the NP or not).
\textit{pit} ‘back, backwards’

This is the antonym of one sense of the Adverb \textit{nuar} ‘forwards’. It is very similar to the prepositional use of the Locative Noun \textit{pit} ‘back, behind’ (see §4.4.1.1), except that it is not able to be followed by a NP of comparison, e.g.

\begin{verbatim}
 hann ci? pit
 3P. return backward
 'He is going backwards.'
 'He is going back.'
\end{verbatim}

4.11.3 Other Adverbs

There are two loanwords which I treat below which appear to have adverbial functions. They are both borrowed from Lao and their syntactic properties are not consistent with those of the other Adverbs mentioned thus far. I tentatively group them with the Adverbs because of their function, however I suspect that they are recent borrowings which have not yet been integrated into the Jruq syntax (and therefore should not be classed with Jruq function words).

\textit{nān} ‘only’

\begin{verbatim}
in my data i recorded nān 'only' before subjects, objects and even adverbal quantifier phrases, where it has a kind of restrictive and/or emphatic function:

raj Ø ca nān ?ap
 1SG. -FUT. eat only cooked.rice
 'i only eat cooked rice.'

raj Ø ca ka nān bāŋ ruoh
 1SG. -FUT. eat fish only some occasion.Q.
 'i only eat fish sometimes.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
mih raj Ø mup bih laj te hann ?ih Ø bih
 1SG. -FUT. want come often but 3P. NEG. -FUT. come

hann Ø kot laj nān kuan hann Ø bih
 3P. -FUT. have disability only child 3P. -FUT. come

'my aunt wanted to come often but she didn't. she is disabled. only her children came.'
\end{verbatim}

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cŏn ‘until’

This is from Lao 俐 in /cŏn/ ‘until’, and requires a following Verb Phrase. In the examples from my data (given below) it links the circumstance and the result:

?aj ��  kuaj  kpįw  pʰe  som  cŏn  nîch
1SG. -FUT. carry.on.shoulder sack husked.rice tired until excrete pʰor  ?k
sweat warm
‘I’m so tired from carrying sacks of rice on my back, that I’m sweating.’

că  hli  nôm  cŏn  dial  hpuac  tēj
eat corn tasty until lick finger hand
‘The corn is so nice to eat that I’m licking my fingers.’

?aj  fi  hďaŭ  pe  tญา̄j  saw  cŏn  bi  l  ?măj  yru?
1SG. -FUT. flee three day.Q. 2SG. until forget speak Jruq
‘I was away for three days so you’ve forgotten how to speak Jruq.’

hăn  fi  ji?  cŏn  hmet
3P. -FUT. ill until yellow
‘She’s so sick she’s yellow.’

?aj  hian  hnaj  hbają  cŏn  səm...  cĭŋ  fi  nāh
1SG. learn trousers cotton until tired so (1SG.) know
‘I studied how to tie the loincloth until I was exhausted, so I’d know how.’
4.12 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are used to link words and Phrases and Clauses together. Jruq distinguishes **Coordinate**, **Subordinate** and **Conditional** Conjunctions. Coordinate Conjunctions conjoin two constituents of equal rank which can be swapped without any change in meaning—these Conjunctions are mostly Lao borrowings. Subordinate Conjunctions link two constituents of unequal rank (one is always dependent on the other). These also are all Lao borrowings. Conditional Conjunctions are more abundant in the language and conjoin two Clauses which do not appear to be syntactically dependent on each other, however they convey rather dependent semantic relations. One of these Clauses always introduces a *condition* or ‘tension-creating’ circumstance (*protasis*), and the other Clause presents the *result* or ‘tension-relaxing’ event (*apodosis*) (Bussman 1996:389). The Conditional Conjunctions are mostly indigenous words and are restricted in their syntactic position—some must always attach to the *apodosis* Clause and others always to the *protasis* Clause. Each of these sets of Conjunctions are discussed below.

4.12.1 Coordinate Conjunctions

The Coordinate Conjunctions occur between the two equal elements that they conjoin. In my data they are used to conjoin Noun Phrases, Prepositional Phrases, Verb Phrases (including Descriptives, Adjective-like Verbs, and Verbs) and Clauses. In all examples, the Coordinate Conjunctions link two Phrasal or Clusal constituents which share heads from the same word class; thus one can link two Attributive Noun Phrases, two Prepositional Phrases, two Descriptives, two Quantified Noun Phrases, but never a Descriptive with a Verb Phrase, etc. With all Coordinate Conjunctions, the constituents which are coordinated may be swapped without altering the grammaticality of the construction. A prosodic pause (‘...’) may precede any of the Coordinate Conjunctions but can never follow it\(^{142}\).

\[^{142}\text{Thus the Coordinate Constructions may be characterised as \textit{prepositional} since the prosodic pause suggests it acts as a structural unit with the following constituent. This reflects the tendency that "non-verb-final languages generally have the prepositional type of conjunction, verb-final languages the postpositional type." (Schachter 1985:47).}\]
There are six Coordinate Conjunctions in Jruq:

- kap ‘with’ (< Lao)
- le? ‘and’ (< Lao)
- le? ‘and then’
- li ‘or’ (< Lao)
- bät ‘but’ (< ?)
- te ‘but’ (< Lao)

kap ‘with’

This Conjunction is from Lao นุ /káp/ “Preposition: with; Conjunction: and” (Kerr 1972:96). It can be used to coordinate Noun Phrases or Preposition Phrases, in which case it can be equally substituted with le? ‘and’ without any significant change in meaning. Examples are:

- ?aj ca tråw kap plåj ?lon 1SG. eat meat with fruit tree ‘I’m eating meat and fruit.’
- ca plåj hbiw kap ?ap hnonŋ nám eat fruit tamarind with cooked.rice glutinous tasty ‘Eating tamarind with sticky rice is delicious!’
- siaŋ hnat... kap siaŋ plåj ?lon ruh... tma taw kän voice gun with voice fruit tree collapse almost see each(L.) ‘The sound of the guns and the sound of the acorns falling were almost the same/the same as each other.’
- kuo haj law... kap haj pnám ?as ta li.... haj daj roh reside LOC. Lao with LOC. village Australia LOC. which? happy hm hom bnn more.than other ‘Living in Laos or in Australia—which place is nicer?’

kap ‘with’ is also used in adding part/whole Quantities, in which case it cannot be substituted with le?, e.g.

- bōr ?ān... kap muj ?nål two thing.CL. with one half.Q. ‘Two and a half things.’
- na? bōr ?a ð’it kap muj tnaj yet two week.Q. with one day.Q. ‘Another two weeks and one day.’
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le? ‘and’

This Coordinate Conjunction is borrowed from the Lao Conjunction: ທ້າ /lē/ ‘and’ (Kerr 1972:984). It is used to conjoin Noun Phrases, Verb Phrases, and full Clauses, e.g.

ŋaj le? saw
1SG. and 2SG.
‘Me and you.’

suan ŋaj kät hpŏn... le? kät cnaj... le? kät
1SG. have cucumber and have chilli and have
mak ?ī?... le? trāp
fruit pumpkin and eggplant
‘My garden has cucumbers and chillis and pumpkins and eggplants.’

(ŋaj) ŋën le? ŋën haj pit
(1SG.) sleep and sleep LOC. behind
‘(I) slept and slept on the back (of my elder sibling).’

(ŋaj) knŏm le? knŏm haj pit jaj
(1SG.) urinate and urinate LOC. behind elder sibling
‘(I) pissed and pissed (down the) back of my eldersibling.’

bul... le? ŋën de
drunk and sleep EMPH.
‘Get drunk and you’ll fall asleep!’

săŋ na ti... le? ?măw
five minute.Q. and enough
‘Five minutes and it’s enough!’

ŋaj re? pak se... le? ma ci? wĭn pak sŏŋ
1SG. go Pakse and FUT. return turn.back Paksong
‘I’m going to Pakse and I’m going to go back to Paksong.’

ʔme trie yrŏn (le?) sra
person wife tall (and) slender
‘A tall (and) slender woman.’

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?e? ‘and’

I am not certain of the origin of the word ?e? ‘and’. This is not a very common Conjunction in Jruq, and it can be substituted with the frequently occurring le? ‘and’ (used both to link a sequence or repetition of events, or conjoining two simultaneous states). However ?e? is restricted to only conjoining Verb Phrases. Examples are given below:

bul pet... ?e? niem
drunk drink.alcohol and weep
‘Get drunk and then you’ll cry!’

kân ceh haj dak côk dak ceh haj can ?e?
if insert LOC. water take water insert LOC. plate and
côk kjonh pros hân ?ok dak
take snail release 3P. drink water
‘If you put it in water, (if you) put water into a dish and put the snail in it, it drinks the water.’

1SG. NEG. tall 1SG. small and short
‘I’m not tall. I’m small and short.’

Li ‘or’

This is borrowed from the Lao Conjunction: ວັ່ /li/ ‘or’ (Kerr 1972:1114). It can conjoin Verb Phrases and full Clauses, in which case any of the Coordinated Constituents may be swapped without altering the meaning.

c... li ?ih ca... hën cih.... ?ih ?jân kat... ?aj bic prâk
eat or NEG. eat pour discard NEG. WH. have 1SG. get money
‘(If you) eat it or don’t eat it, I’ll throw it away. It doesn’t matter, I have got (your) money.’

tâm nuar ?me ket hân roj ?aj mûn tbić ?aj
time(past) first person.CL. die 3P. tell 1SG. want perform 1SG.
mûn htâp tuc li ?aj mûn coh ksôk
want bury bury or 1SG. want ignite corpse
‘Before the person dies, (s)he says, “I want it done (like this). I want to be buried in a grave” or “I want to be cremated”.’
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t naprawdę saw ma kuo ne?... li re? pak son

day this 2SG. FUT reside here or go Paksong:
'Today, you'll stay here or go to Paksong?'

However, in examples where li 'or' is used in coordinating Quantifier Phrases (for estimating quantities of things or time), the order is restricted. The smallest number must always precede the larger number, e.g.

?aj mun cāk kuan bar... li pe ra
1SG. want take child two or three person.CL.
'I want to have two or three children.'

ŋaj ma re? hŋaj... li bran
1PL. FUT. go tomorrow or FUT-two
'We will go tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.'

bāt 'but'

I am unsure of the origin of bāt 'but'. It is possibly a Pali word\textsuperscript{143} borrowed into Jruq through Khmer or Lao because many words in Jruq which begin with a simple onset /b/ are loanwords from Pali. In my data this Coordinate Conjunction was only ever used to link full Clauses, which may be swapped without change in meaning, e.g.

?aj mun nāh ?āŋ gīt... bāt ?aj hto?
1SG. want know English but 1SG. lazy
'I'd like to learn English but I'm lazy.'

kmo bāc kōt ka ?di? (to)... bāt kmo ne ?īh kōt
year PAST have fish many (animal.CL.) but year this NEG. have
'Last year there were many fish, but this year there are none.'

\textsuperscript{143} It is possible that the first component of the following Pali words in Lao may be the source of the bāt Conjunction in Jruq: ឆ្នាំ/pāt cā ban/ 'the present; now'; ឆ្នាំចាប៉ា/pāt cā nyā kām/ 'comcomitant causes'; អាស្រី/pāt cay/ 'necessities, requisites'; បន្តិច/pāt sā/ 'later on, after...'

(Kerr 1972:797-8).
te ‘but’

This Conjunction is borrowed from Lao ການ /tēː/ ‘but’ (Kerr 1972:577). It is equivalent to the use of băt and links full Clauses which can be swapped without any change in meaning. Examples from my data include:

ŋāj sāj ?deh... te ŋāj ne ?ne?
day previous cold but day this hot
‘Yesterday was cold but today is hot.’

?ān... hān ?māj ?tih tro... te ?aj hgal
not 3P. speak NEG. correct but 1SG. know
‘No. He didn’t speak (English) correctly, but I understood.’

4.12.2 Subordinate Conjunctions

There are three Subordinate Conjunctions in Jruq which link one clause as dependent to another. Two of the three Subordinate Conjunctions are Lao borrowings:

ten ‘instead of’ (< Lao) jān ‘because of’ (< Lao) biih ‘until’

ten ‘instead of’

This Conjunction is borrowed from Lao ການ /tēː/ ‘take the place of; in lieu of’ (Kerr 1972:667). It is used to contrast either the Subject NP’s or the Predicates of the two Clauses (the Clauses cannot be swapped). If either of these constituents co-refer in both Clauses they can be ellipted, e.g.

aj puat ?lōŋ ten jāj kōŋ ?aj ʔō
1SG. chop wood instead elder.sibling of 1SG. (chop)
‘I’m chopping wood instead of my sister (doing it).’

aj bim cōŋ cōʔ ten ʔō kōŋ dāk
1SG. make cooked.rice morning instead (1SG.) fetch.water water
‘I’m cooking breakfast instead of fetching water.’
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ŋon ‘because of’

This Subordinate Conjunction is borrowed from Lao ຫວກ /myːm/ ‘with the aid of; by, because of’ (Kerr 1972: 530). In Jruq, ŋon conjoins two full clauses, where one event is the direct result of another, e.g.

tam ṭhon mak mi ket ŋon kmuok kleh hān ṭdeh
trunk tree jackfruit die because fog fall 3P. cold
‘The jackfruit trees died because they got cold in the frost.’

Sometimes the following clause is omitted if it would otherwise just be filled with bim ‘make’, e.g.

kle plah ŋon hān (bim)
egg break because 3P. (make)
‘The egg broke because of him.’

ʔaj trə bim ŋon hān (bim)
1SG. be.struck punch because 3P. (make)
‘I was punched by him.’

bīh ‘until’

This is the only indigenous Subordinate Conjunction which has been partly grammaticalised. It derives from the Verb bīh ‘come’, and is placed between two clauses in the following manner:

ʔaj ma cām (saw) cək klo bīh saw dāŋ Ø ʔām Ø
1SG. FUT. wait (2SG.) take man until 2SG. hunt (man) for (1SG.)
‘I will postpone getting married until you find a husband for me.’

I have no other examples of its use in my data.
4.12.3 Conditional Conjunctions

Conditional Conjunctions join two Clauses, one of which conveys a condition or proposition which is ‘tension-creating’ \((apodosis\) or ‘disequilibrium’). The other Clause conveys a directly resulting situation or proposed ‘tension-relaxing’ change \((protasis\) or ‘equilibrium’). Although there is a clear dependency in the semantic relation between the two Clauses, there is no clear evidence to suggest that the Clauses are syntactically dependent in Jruq. There are two main types of Conditional Conjunctions—Adverbialising and Complementising.

4.12.3.1 Adverbial Conjunctions

In Jruq, most Conditional Conjunctions are Adverbial in that they express time, purpose and result. These Adverbial Conjunctions must always attach to the \(protasis\) Clause (regardless of whether it occurs first or second in the Conjoined Construction). There are two kinds—one is the Conjoining Adverbial Conjunction variety which attaches to the beginning of the \(protasis\) Clause, the other is an Embedding Adverbial Conjunction which is inserted in the Auxiliary position of the \(protasis\) Clause. Both of these are discussed separately below:

4.12.3.1.1 Conjoining Adverbial Conjunctions

There are six Conjoining Adverbial conjunctions which attach to the beginning of the \(apodosis\) Clause. This Clause is simply juxtaposed to the \(protasis\) Clause, and between them there is a prosodic pause. These conjunctions are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
bi? & \text{ ‘as soon as (future)…, when (future)’} \\
hu? & \text{ ‘when (just now)…’} \\
b\text{ąc} & \text{ ‘after (future/past)…’} \\
cce & \text{ ‘after (future)…’} \\
ton & \text{ ‘when (realis)…’ (\(<\ Lao\))} \\
k\text{hän} & \text{ ‘if (irrealis)…’ (\(<\ Lao\))}
\end{align*}
\]

The first three of these Conjunctions are very interesting as they may have been regrammaticalised from other (already grammaticalised) lexical items in Jruq\(^\text{144}\). In addition to their semantic reduction, these three words have been phonologically regularised so that they all end in glottal stop e.g.

\(^{144}\) Although it could be argued that they underwent a separate grammaticalisation from the original Verb, and thus we have polygrammaticalisation (Harold Koch, pers.comm.1/5/2001).
The reduction in both semantics and phonology during the process of grammaticalisation is called ‘coevolution’ (Bybee, Perkins & Pagluica 1994; Bisang 1996). Bisang (1996) claims that coevolutionary processes are marginal in Mainland Southeast Asian languages (grammaticalisation in these languages usually just involves semantic reduction), so it is significant that they occur in Jruq. It seems that the accompanying phonological reduction in these Conjunctions was a concurrent development in order to distinguish these grammatical functors from the (already) grammaticalised Aspectual words *bih ‘until’* and *ceh ‘PERFECT Aspect’.*

**bih? ‘as soon as..., when (future)’**

*bih?* attaches to the *protasis* Clause which establishes the context for the second Event. As *bih?* is always used for hypothetical or probable Events which haven’t happened yet, the Future Tense is always omitted from the *protasis* Clause because it is redundant, e.g.

*bih? saw ci? pak se... ruat cie ?âm ?aj ?ôw*

**soon** 2SG. return Pakse buy paper give 1SG. EMPH.

‘When you’re going back to Pakse, please buy me some paper!’

*bih? saw bul jet... ?aj mun neh saw kje*

**soon** 2SG. drunk drink.alcohol 1SG. want watch 2SG. dance/sing

‘When you’re drunk (tonight), I want to watch you dance and sing!’

*bih? hân bih kuo... hân ma cök winh*

**soon** 3P. come reside 3P. FUT. take turn.back

‘When she comes to stay, she’ll take it back.’

*bih? ?to... hraj hbraj Ø re?*

**soon** hot tomorrow FUT-two (1PL.) go

‘When it’s sunny, tomorrow or the next day (we’ll) go.’

The clauses may be reordered so that the *apodosis* Clause appears in first position, but the Conjunction remains attached to the *protasis* Clause, clearly indicating it forms a constituent with it, e.g.
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\(?aj\ ma-\ cãm\ cãk\ Klo\ bi?\ saw\ dãŋ\ Ø\ ?ãm\ Ø\)
1SG. FUT. wait take man soon 2SG. hunt (man) for (1SG.)
‘I will postpone getting married, until you find a husband for me.’

The Demonstrative \(?e\) (used here anaphorically) may substitute the protasis
Clause if the reference is clear from previous discourse or context, e.g.

\(bi?\ \?e\ ?aj\ ma\ buh\ trãw\)
soon that 1SG. FUT. roast meat
‘As soon as that (is accomplished), I will roast the meat.’

\(bi?\ \?e\ bo\ ban\ seh\ nãw\)
soon that see (each) other listen again
‘I’ll meet you again then (at the upcoming event already mentioned)!’

Sometimes, the speaker follows the Demonstrative with an entire embedded
clause which re-specifies the protasis Event if, perchance, the Addressee may
not understand the reference, e.g.

\(bi?\ \?e...\ hãn\ k^{[\circ]}\ tãw...\ hãn\ ?iḥ\ hmo?\)
when that 3P. ever see 3P. NEG. fear
‘In those times—if he ever sees (a tiger)—he’ll not be afraid.’

ce? ‘after (future)...’

In contrast with \(bi?\), this Conditional Conjunction does not specify a future
Event, as the protasis Clause may refer to an Event currently occurring at the
time of speech. I always heard ce? used with the Demonstrative \(?e\) which
referred to a previously mentioned Event, e.g.

\(?aj\ kuo\ hnam\ mi?\ mi?\ ce?\ ?e\ re?\ tèc\ k^{[\circ]}\ nąj\)
1SG. reside house RED.-only after that go sell things LOC.
\(tlat\ cãk\ prãk\)
market take money
‘I’m only staying at home. After that, I will go and sell things in the market
to earn money.’

I found both \(bi?\ \?e\) and ce? \(?e\) to be very common in spoken genres such as
giving instructions or describing a recipe, e.g.
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ce? ʔe ʔaj ceh pūk cūr haj tōk
after that 1SG. insert oil pig Loc. pot
‘After that, I put the pig fat into the pot.’

ce? ʔe cōk Ø sīm ʔe rōp
after that take (food) taste that good
‘After that, try it to see if it’s any good (to taste).’

bāc ‘after (future/past)’

bāc has a similar meaning/function to ce?, although significantly it is not used with following Demonstrative ʔe in my data. Instead it seems to require an overt statement of both Events. bāc ‘after’ also seems to be used only for events which are occurring or have occurred at the time of speech, e.g.

bāc saw ceh hian Ø bic prūk ʔi?
after 2SG. finish study (2SG.) able money much
‘After you finish study, you’ll get lots of money.’

bāc ʔaj cōŋ ʔaj ma re? ʔep saw
after 1SG. eat.meal 1SG. FUT. go with 2SG.
‘After I’ve eaten, I’ll go with you.’

In the example below, it is clear bāc forms a constituent with the protasis Clause because it remains with it if the Clauses are swapped:

ŋaj mus Ø... bāc Ø crām... leʔ ŋaj coh
1PL. slash (field) after (field) dry and 1PL. ignite
‘We cleared the field, after it was dry. And we burnt it.’

hu? ‘when’

hu? ‘when’ is an indigenous Conditional Conjunction (derived from the Adverb1 hu ‘when’) which conjoins two simultaneous Events which must have occurred prior to the act of speech. Unlike other Conditional Clauses mentioned thus far, the protasis Event sets the scene within which the apodosis Event occurred (thus it is not like a condition and result sequence). Some examples of its use are illustrated below:

hu? ʔaj dōk haj tōŋ... ʔaj tāw hlap cem
when 1SG. walk Loc. jungle 1SG. see feather bird
‘When I walked in the forest, I saw a bird feather.’

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hu? ?aj re? hian... ?ih kət pnus prian ?āŋ gīt

when 1SG. go study NEG. have person teach English

‘When I went to school, there weren’t any English teachers.’

ton ‘when’

ton ‘when’ is a Lao loanword (< MaxLength/MaxLength ‘section, part, episode, time, etc.’) which is used by some speakers instead of hu? ‘when’ to conjoin two Clauses. The meaning appears to be very similar to hu? ‘when’ where the two Events must have happened prior to the act of speech, e.g.

ton ?aj bih... ?aj tāw hān
when 1SG. come 1SG. see 3P.
‘When I came, I saw him.’

kʰān ‘if’

The most common Conditional Construction is created with the use of the Lao loanword kʰān ‘if’. It is used to conjoin two Clauses which convey a sequence of hypothetical Events which may or may not have ever happened. It is a very frequent construction in the spoken language (and it seems it is gradually replacing all the indigenous Conditional Conjunctions mentioned above). I illustrate it’s function with the following examples from my data.

kʰān ?lōŋ ?soʔ... ktiŋ kleh tiə? htiw
if wood rotten bone fall down hole
‘If the wood is rotten, the bones fall into the hole.’

kʰān kuan kət... ?me bim rit htiāp
if child die person make ceremony bury
‘If a child dies, people perform a burial.’

kʰān pnus ?diʔ ra tōp pʰak su... pʰāk su ?ih
if person many person.CL. plant cabbage cabbage NEG.
kət hla kʰa
have ask value
‘If many people plant cabbage, the cabbage has no value.’

kʰān dak ?ih ?toʔ... cāk dak toh sāj
if water NEG. hot take water milk insert
‘If the water isn’t hot, add milk to it.’
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kʰān trie ?aj ?ih sbaj... ?aj ?ih sbaj
if wife 1SG. NEG. healthy 1SG. NEG. healthy
‘If my wife is happy (healthy) then I’m not happy.’

kʰān hān tnew jiʔ... ?aj lāŋ hān ?ih bīc kuan
if 3P. pregnant sore 1SG. tell 3P. NEG. have child
‘If she has a painful pregnancy I’ll tell her not to have the child.’

kʰān saw ciʔ... ceʔ ?le brej ?miə... saw ma huoʔ?
if 2SG. return after moment cloud rain 2SG. FUT. wet
‘If you return, in a moment it will rain and you’ll get wet.’

kʰān ceh haj dak... cõk dak ceh haj can ?eʔ?
if insert LOC. water take water insert LOC. plate and
cõk kjoŋ pros... hān ?ok dak
take snail release 3P. drink water
‘If you put it in water—put water into a dish and put the snail in it—it
drinks the water.’

kʰān kêt puang ra... kêt (kuan) ?lœŋ... kêt
if give.birth four person.CL. have (child) eldest have
(kuan) kõɛj nuar... (kuan) kõɛj ploc... (kuan) soc
(child) middle first (child) middle last (child) last.born
‘If you have four children (you’ll have) an eldest child, an older middle
child, a younger middle child and a last born child.’

In the following example, kʰān ‘if’ is postponed along with the protasis Clause,
which is evidence that it forms a constituent with that Clause:

pcuaj ?ih huan. kʰān huan... ?ih kêt plâj
dibble NEG. sprout if sprout NEG. have fruit
‘Sow (Choko) seeds and they don’t grow. If they do grow, they won’t fruit.’

?aj sâj dak toh... kʰān ?aj mup (bim/sâj)
1SG. insert water milk if 1SG. want (do/insert)
‘I’ll add milk if I want to (add it).’

bìʔ ?leʔ... ?aj ma ciʔ pnâm... kʰāŋ brēj ?ih ?miə
soon moment 1SG. FUT. return village if cloud NEG. rain
‘In a moment I’ll return to my village if it doesn’t rain.’

?aj mup kmal ban... kʰāŋ ban se Ø lāŋ
1SG. want shy other if other listen (1SG.) tell
‘I feel shy if others listen (to me) talk.’
4.12.3.1.2 Embedding Adverbial Conjunction *la* ‘although’

This Embedding Complementising Conjunction is very common in Jruq, and seems to be an indigenous word as it has cognates in other Mon-Khmer languages\(^{145}\). *la* ‘although’ always appears in the Auxiliary position of the *protasis* Clause. Examples are:

\[ ma? \ aj \ la \ kēkēc \ cōk \ kōt \ poḥ \ ra \]
mother 1SG. *although* RED.-small take give.birth seven person.CL.
‘Although my mother was small (statured), she was able to have seven children.’

\[ aj \ la \ mūp \ ci? \ de... \ ūh \ kōt \ prāk \ cer \ lōt \]
1SG. *although* want return EMPH. NEG. have money hire vehicle
‘Although I’d like to go back (to town) too, I don’t have the money for a fare.’

\[ hān \ la \ ma \ bih \ laj \ ūh \ bih \ hān \ ūh \]
3P. *although* FUT. come DURATIVE NEG. come 3P. NEG.
kōt \ prāk \ ūdi? \ hān \ laj \ nān \ kuan \ hān \ bih
have money much 3P. disabled only child 3P. come
‘Although she has always wanted to come, she has never made it. She hasn’t got much money. She’s disabled. Only her children came.’

4.12.3.2 Complementiser Conjunctions

There are Conjunctions which function as Complementisers which attach to
the *apodosis* Clause instead of the *protasis* Clause. Like the Adverbial
Conjunctions, there are two types of Complementisers—those which attach
to the beginning of the *apodosis* Clause; and those which occur in the Auxiliary
position of the *apodosis* Clause. The former I call *Conjoining Complementisers* and the latter I call *Embedding Complementisers*.

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\(^{145}\) Sedang uses *la* as a coordinating conjunction, e.g.

Bǔa ngān hōm chiang mōi tiah *la* ōh
‘Try and see whether it’s the same or not.’ (Smith 2000:167)
4.12.3.2.1 Conjoining Complementisers

There are two Conjoining Complementisers which are always inserted at the beginning of the *apodosis* Clause. Just like Coordinate Conjunctions, these Complementisers may be preceded by a prosodic pause but never followed by a pause:

\[ ?\text{jåŋ} \varepsilon \sim ?\text{àng} \varepsilon \text{’therefore..., so...’} \quad t^b\text{āŋ} \text{’therefore..., so...’} (< \text{Lao}) \]

\[ ?\text{jåŋ} \varepsilon \sim ?\text{àng} \varepsilon \text{’therefore, so’} \]

\[ ?\text{jåŋ} \sim ?\text{àng} \text{ is a polyfunctional Grammatical morpheme in Jruq—as an Ignorative (see §4.2.5), it functions as ‘WH.’ to create Interrogatives, or as an indefinite Noun meaning ‘whatever way, however’. As a Comparative Preposition (see §4.4.2.5) it means ‘like, same as’. As a Conjunction, it must be followed by the Demonstrative \( \varepsilon \) ‘that’, which acts like a relative Pronoun indexing a previously mentioned full Clause. This is similar to the structure of the Adverbial Conjunctions bi? \varepsilon and ce? \varepsilon. Examples are given below:} \]

\[ \text{kjiol} \ ?\text{to?...} \quad ?\text{jåŋ} \varepsilon \quad ?\text{aj} \ däk \ \text{hom} \]
wind hot **therefore** 1SG. walk bathe
‘The weather’s hot so I’m going to bathe.’

\[ ?\text{aj} \ ca \ \text{pläj} \ \text{biø...} \quad ?\text{jåŋ} \varepsilon \quad ?\text{aj} \ \text{ket} \]
1SG. eat fruit poison **therefore** 1SG. die
‘I ate poisonous fruit so I’m dying.’

\[ t^b\text{āŋ} \text{‘therefore, so’} \]

This is a Lao loanword (< ข้าม ‘reach, attain, succeed; to, up to; so far; until!’), which seems to be used by at least one younger Jruq informant in place of the indigenous Complementiser ?jåŋ (~ tåŋ) \varepsilon. I only recorded it in the following utterance and it is ambiguous as to whether it occurs at the beginning or in Auxiliary position of the *apodosis* Clause because the coreferential Subject Argument is ellipsed. However as \( t^b\text{āŋ} \) is used instead of \( ?\text{jåŋ} \varepsilon \) (possibly in the process of replacing the indigenous Conjunction), I tentatively group them:

\[ ?\text{aj} \ \text{mıp} \ \text{cøŋ...} \quad t^b\text{āŋ} \ \text{mıp} \ \text{pëŋ} \ \text{cem} \]
1SG. want eat.meal **so** want shoot bird
‘I want to eat so (I) want to shoot a bird.’
4.12.3.2.2 Embedding Complementiser ćiŋ ‘so, in order to’

There is one Embedding Complementiser in Jruq, ćiŋ ‘so... in order to...’ (<Lao < ໔ໜ /ćiŋ/ ‘then, and then; so, therefore; of obligation’). In Jruq it is always inserted in the Auxiliary position of the apodosis Clause (regardless of whether it is preposed or not). Because it occurs embedded within a Clause, there is no associated prosodic pause indicating a change in constituency. In all examples of its use in my data, ćiŋ always implied that the Subject intentionally performs the apodosis Event:

hăn re? pak se hăn laj taw năŋ si kʰôŋ ?aj
3P. go Pakse 3P. ITERATIVE see letter of 1SG.
habi ćiŋ cōk tbih ?ām ?aj
3P. so take bring give 1SG.
‘He goes to Pakse and often finds my letters, so he brings them to me.’

?me cliaŋ neh māt... hăn ćiŋ re? tah wen t’a
person peer look.at eye 3P. so go cut glasses(L.)
?ām klo ?aj ceh
give husband 1SG. insert
‘The person looks at (his) eyes. He prepares the glasses in order to give them to my husband to put on.’

?aj cah da? bu? bíc plāj swɔ ċiŋ bih htăp
1SG. dig put pile receive fruit choko (1SG.) so come bury
‘I’m digging piles of dirt for chokos, so (l) can come back and plant them’.

?aj hian hnaj hbaj cōn som ɔ ćiŋ nal
1SG. study trousers cotton until tired (1SG.) so know
‘I studied how to tie the loincloth until I was exhausted so (l’d) know how.’

hăn kien trăw ruoh ɔ ćiŋ ceh
3P. write six occasion.CL. (3P.) so finish
‘He’s written it six times in order to finish it (correctly).’

In the example below, which involves an Indirect Object, ćiŋ follows the Verb:

kuan ?jāŋ ?aj na? ?ih kŋŋŋ pan dâj ɔ
child similar 1SG. PROGRESSIVE NEG. beautiful similar(L.) (1SG.)
hwäk ćiŋ ?me mih
send so person aunt/uncle
‘My sons (‘children like me’) are not good (ie. well behaved) so (l’m) sending (them) to their aunts and uncles.’
4.13 Final Particles

There are numerous Particles in Jruq which occur at the end of Clauses to serve a pragmatic (Discourse) function. Their meanings are rather difficult to define, although all of them change the Voice of a simple Declarative into Imperatives, Requests, Exclamations, Emphatic Affirmations, Reflexives, Reciprocal Questions, or Polar Questions, etc. These Final Particles are listed below and each is then discussed separately.

"Agentive" Particle:  
\textit{sa} 'SELF'

"Focus" Particles:  
le ~ le? 'FOC.'  
he ~ he? 'FOC.'  
?e ~ ?e? 'FOC.'

Interrogative Particles:  
\textit{loh} 'Q' (Polar Question Particle)  
\textit{ke} 'how about?' (re-directs a question)  
\textit{de?} 'hey?' (asks for affirmation)

Emphatic "Request" Particles:  
\textit{?sw} 'REQ.'  
\textit{k\text{	extdegree}li\textdegree} 'Please' (polite)  
\textit{da} 'REQ.' (< Lao; equivalent to \textit{?sw})  
\textit{sa?} 'REQ.' (leave-taking request)  
\textit{tk\textdegree} 'REQ.' (‘right now!’)

Emphatic "Exclamatory" Particles:  
\textit{ti} 'EXCL.' (‘it did!’; < Lao)  
\textit{deh} 'EXCL.' (‘gosh!’, ‘really!’)  
\textit{de} 'EXCL.' (‘too’)  
\textit{deh} 'EXCL.' (‘of course!’)  
\textit{me?} 'EXCL.' (‘indeed!’)  
\textit{ne?} 'EXCL.' (‘indeed!’)  
\textit{dsk} 'EXCL.' (‘but no!’)
4.13.1 “Agentive” Particle sa

The Particle sa 'self' emphasises the role of the Agent in the preceding Clause. This superficially resembles a Reflexive but, unlike a true Reflexive, sa does not require the Agent and Patient to co-refer, e.g.

?aj hiën sa
1SG. study self
'I learnt it by myself.'

?aj sël Ø sa
1SG. attach (net) self
'I attached (the netting to the pole) myself.'

hbi? ṭnaj saw neh Ø sa ?šw
evening tomorrow 2SG. look.at (him) self REQ.
'Tomorrow night you'll see (him) yourself'

hän re? ṭcl co$k Ø sa
3P. go scoop.net take (tadpole) self
'She went and netted (the tadpoles) herself.'

sök hän hän krëc sa hän krëc sök hän
hair 3P. 3P. cut(w.scissors) self 3P. cut(w.scissors) hair other
'His own hair he cuts himself (and) he cuts other people's hair.'

?aj ?ih mám bim sa hmo? hän luj
1SG. NEG. brave make self fear 3P. angry
'I'm not brave enough to do it myself, I'm afraid he'll get angry.'

?aj knök cäd sa
1SG. hug body self
'I hug myself.' (Literally 'I hug my body myself')

ŋaj hmoḥ sa cin ra
1PL. call self nine person.CL.
'Our family has nine people in it.' (Lit. we're related to ourselves as nine people')
4.13.2 Focus Particles

There are three Particles le (~ le?), he (~ he?), and ?e (~ ?e?) which are used after Noun Phrases as focus devices. They tend to precede Relative Clauses which give more information about the NP referent. I do not know whether each Particle has a slightly different function or not, they do not seem to be used for any other function in my data. Examples are given below:

\[ ?aj \quad ?a \quad kikic \quad ?a \quad pu \quad le \quad traw \quad kmo \]
1SG. PROGRESSIVE RED.-little age FOC. six year.CL.
‘I was still little—my age was six years.’

\[ ?jæŋ \quad si \quad ?uo \quad le \quad kuo \quad høj \quad t\vstoŋ \quad sët \]
WH. name Mr. FOC. reside LOC. Thongset
‘What is the name of that man who lives in Thongset?’

\[ ?juo \quad dôj \quad le \quad (ŋaj) \quad ñic \quad bic \]
thing which? FOC. (1PL.) NEG. have
‘(We) didn’t have anything at all.’

\[ harp \quad ?aj \quad ?e \quad traw \quad cët \quad kmo \]
father 1SG. FOC. six ten year.CL.
‘My father (though) is sixty years old.’

\[ ?num \quad ñaj \quad taw \quad pe \quad bih \quad ñe?... \quad ñoj... \quad he \quad rôp \]
person 1PL. see 2PL. come that oh! FOC. good
‘(Us) folk thought of you (two) coming here—(we thought) “Oh! It’s great!”.’

\[ pe \quad muh \quad th \quad he?... \quad ñmag \quad hian... \quad na? \quad høj \quad muh \]
2PL. nose large FOC. speak learn PROGRESSIVE LOC. nose
‘You (two) with large noses speaking as language learners, (your speech) is still in your noses.’ (ie. our accents are not like first language speakers).

4.13.3 Interrogative Particles

Instead of using one of the many wh-Interrogatives discussed in section 4.2.5, a speaker can simply attach a final Interrogative Particle to the end of a simple Declarative, to ask for information from the Addressee. However, the kind of information requested is not as meaningful as that expected when one uses true Interrogatives such as ?me dôj ‘who?’, and hmoŋ ?juo ‘what (unseen)?’. There are three Interrogative Particles in Jruq—one which asks for a yes-no reply (the Polar Question Particle); one which is used to redirect a
previously asked question to another Referent; and one which simply asks for confirmation or affirmation from the Addresseee. These are discussed in more detail below.

**Polar Question Particle **loh

The simplest way of forming an Interrogative is to use the final Polar Question Particle *loh* ‘Q’. This follows a Declarative Clause and invites the Addressee to simply agree or disagree with that Proposition. Examples are given below.

\[ \text{tam luat csk kāp hnat loh} \]
Police take each gun Q
‘Did the police take every gun?’

\[ \text{saw ?ih na? kät kuan loh} \]
2SG. IMPROBABLE have child Q
‘Aren’t you going to have children?’

\[ \text{saw kuo ?ne? rōh loh} \]
2SG. reside here happy Q
‘Are you happy staying here (the place we are in)?’

\[ \text{kdan ?e? kPAY loh} \]
sarong that beautiful Q
‘The sarong (you mentioned) is beautiful, isn’t it?’

\[ \text{saw khaj taw brah loh} \]
2SG. ever see ghost Q
‘Have you ever seen a ghost?’

**ke** ‘how about?’

This Interrogative Particle is used shortly after a question has been asked and answered during the conversation. *ke* is placed after a Noun Phrase to redirect the previous question to the new NP referent. For example, having been asked one’s age one can answer with:

\[ \text{?aj ber cēt puan kmo... saw ke} \]
1SG. two ten four year 2SG. how about?
‘I’m twenty four years old, and what about you?’
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Note that the new Referent does not have to be present in the discourse situation. For example, one can ask an Addressee what their name is, and after they respond one can ask the same Addressee what the name of their relative/friend is, whether or not that relative/friend is present or not:

\[ \text{si} \quad \text{klo} \quad \text{saw...} \quad \text{ke} \]
\[ \text{name husband 2SG how about?} \]
\[ 'And what about the name of your husband?' \]

de? ‘hey?’

The other Interrogative Particle is de?, which is used to ask for confirmation or affirmation from the Addressee. One simply places it at the end of a Declarative Clause, e.g.

\[ \text{ka} \quad \text{tih} \quad \text{de?} \]
\[ \text{fish large hey?} \]
\[ 'The fish was big, wasn’t it!' \]

\[ \text{saw} \quad \text{bih} \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{?pe?} \quad \text{n\#h} \quad \text{?ma\#} \quad \text{jru?} \quad \text{?di?} \quad \text{de?} \]
\[ 2SG. come reside here know speak Jruq much hey? \]
\[ 'You came here knowing how to speak a lot of Jruq, didn’t you!' \]

\[ \text{?aj} \quad \text{mun} \quad \text{n\#h} \quad \text{?ma\#} \quad \text{?\#n} \quad \text{git} \quad \text{haj saw...} \]
\[ 1SG. want know speak English LOC. 2SG. \]
\[ \text{saw ma prian} \quad \text{?aj de?} \]
\[ 2SG. FUT. teach 1SG. hey? \]
\[ 'I want to speak English in your country. You will teach me, won’t you!’ \]

\[ \text{Ø} \quad \text{cru?} \quad \text{de?} \]
\[ (you did it) morning hey? \]
\[ '(You did it) this morning, didn’t you!’ \]

4.13.4 Request Particles

There are a handful of final Particles used either to instruct the Addressee to perform an act, or to ask permission from the Addressee to perform an act. Each of these Particles and their application are discussed below.
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kələŋ 'Please'

The most polite way to request an action from the Addressee is to use the Final Request Particle kələŋ 'please'. This is usually reserved for when one is asking for a gift or when one asks the Addressee to perform a great favour (one which is expensive or is particularly difficult or time consuming to do). Sometimes kələŋ is followed by the more informal request particle ?əw. Examples are illustrated below:

saw ruat ʔəm ʔaj kələŋ ?əw
2SG. buy give 1SG. please REQ.
'Please buy me one, would you!'

Ø dək xe? cək ʔəm ʔaj nəh kələŋ
(2SG.) walk go take give 1SG. look at please
'Go and get it to show me please!'

Ø cək hna ʔəm ʔaj kələŋ
(2SG.) take crossbow give 1SG. please
'Go and get the crossbow for me please!'

?əw 'REQ.'

Jruq speakers often indicate an informal Request with the clause final Request Particle ?əw. It can be used as in Imperative Voice to ask the Addressee to perform a particular activity, e.g.

Ø ləŋ jaj ʔaj bikh pcək ʔaj ?əw
(2SG.) tell elder.sibling 1SG. come pick up 1SG. REQ.
'Tell my elder sister to come and pick me up, please!'

Ø hδəw ?əw
(2PL.) flee REQ.
'(You lot) flee!'\[\text{146}\]

Ø bih nəŋ ?əw
(2SG.) come visit REQ.
'Come and visit!'

\[\text{146}\] This is more like a warning 'watch out!' than an exclamation such as 'nick off!'! To create an expletive Imperative, one uses the word hδa (of unknown meaning—possibly an exclamation meaning 'damn!' but I think it cannot appear in isolation) as in:

hδa dək
*** go
'Go away, damn it!'
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ʔśw may be used in conjunction with the more polite Particle kɔlajj ‘please’ if someone is asking for an expensive favor or present, e.g.

Ø jōon ʔăm ʔaj neh kɔlajj ʔśw
(2SG.) send give 1SG. look at please REQ.
‘Send me one to look at, please!’

In the market place, hawkers cry out their wares or services using ʔśw. It can follow a full Clause, requesting that someone buy their goods, e.g.

Ø ruat knōm ʔśw
(2SG.) buy cake REQ.
‘Buy some cakes!’

However it is more typical in market speech that the ʔśw is simply placed after a Nominal which represents the goods/services being offered for sale, e.g.

plaj ḥpōŋ ʔśw    pak se ʔśw
fruit cucumber  REQ    Pakse  REQ
‘Cucumbers (for sale)’    ‘(Bus going to) Pakse’

In addition, ʔśw is also often to express hope for a change of state such as improving one’s health:

Ø niam bēŋ bēŋ ʔśw    Ø niŋ jiʔ ʔdeh ʔśw
(2SG.) well RED.-fast REQ    (2SG.) DON’T  sick  cold  REQ
‘Get better soon!’    ‘Get well!’ (Lit. ‘Don’t have a fever!’)

It is also used to request permission from the Addressee to be excused to perform an activity. In the latter function it is less of a request and more of a leave-taking device (which is usually fulfilled using sɔʔ), e.g.

ʔaj ma tēc kpʰe ʔśw
1SG. FUT. sell coffee  REQ
‘I’m going to sell some coffee now!’
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**da ‘REQ.’**

Some speakers use *da*, the Lao Final Request Particle (คำ 'dáː' ‘final familiar request particle’), for all the functions of the indigenous Particle ʔsw. Thus, *da* is used to request the Addressee to perform an Event, to hope for a change in the state of the Addressee, and as a leave-taking device, e.g.

\[
\emptyset \text{ cong } da \emptyset \text{ ca } ʔa p \quad da
\]

(2SG.) eat.meal REQ (2SG.) eat cooked.rice REQ.

‘Eat it up! It's mealtime!’

\[
\emptyset \text{ ñ̄n } r̄p \quad da
\]

(2SG.) sleep good REQ.

‘Sleep well!’

\[
\emptyset \text{ tāw } gən \quad t̄nj̄j̄ ʔe \quad da
\]

(1PL.) see other(L.) day that REQ.

‘We’ll see each other on the day!’

**saʔ ‘REQ.’**

The difference between this Request Particle and ʔsw is very subtle. In one function, saʔ can be used for (positive) Imperatives/Exalttatives, e.g.

\[
\emptyset \text{ dūk } saʔ
\]

(2SG.) climb REQ.

‘Stand up!’

\[
\emptyset \text{ cām } taj \quad saʔ
\]

(2SG.) wait 1SG. REQ.

‘Wait for me!’

\[
taj \quad tpoʔ \quad tep \quad saʔ
\]

1SG. close tape REQ.

‘I’m turning off the tape (player)!’

More commonly, however, saʔ is used to indicate leave-taking in conjunction with ʔsw, e.g.

\[
ʔsw \quad taj \quad bim \quad wiak \quad saʔ \quad ʔsw \quad taj \quad reʔ \quad hom \quad saʔ \quad ʔsw
\]

REQ. 1SG. make work REQ. REQ. 1SG. go bathe REQ. REQ.

‘I’m going to do work now!’

‘I’m going to bathe now!’

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**tkēj ‘REQ.’**

This Request Particle is used informally with an Imperative Voice to mean ‘do it right now!’ It is much stronger than  sø and is therefore not very common in discourse. However, examples I recorded are:

\[ ?āj μ̣uŋ ²sāv ²tkēj... ²sāv ?āt ṭep \]
\[ 1SG. want listen 2SG. REQ. 2SG. record tape \]

‘I want to listen to you right now—(what) you recorded on the tape.’

\[ saw ?āt ṭep tkēj \]
\[ 2SG. record tape REQ. \]

‘You record the tape now!’

### 4.13.5 Exclamatory Particles

Many Final Particles are used to emphasise the proposition in the Clause. Unlike Request Particles, they do not implore the Addressee to respond in a particular way, nor are they used to convey Politeness strategies such as leave taking. Each of the Exclamatory Particles and their applications is discussed below.

**ti ‘EXCL.’**

This Particle is probably an areal Exclamatory Particle as it is also found in Lao—⁵tī/⁵tî/ ‘emphatic or exclamatory particle’ (Kerr 1972:574). ti is used with a rising (T) intonation pattern (suggesting it is not a simple Lao borrowing), and it conveys an emphatic meaning like ‘it really did!’ for Events which are unusual and are likely not to be believed, e.g.

\[ bih ⁵cruh ⁵⁵ti \]

snake dive EXCL.

‘The snake jumped off (the roof) it did!’

**dēj ‘EXCL.’**

This Exclamatory Particle is used as a mild warning to the Addressee. It too is accompanied by high rising intonation:

\[ saw ṭ̣ṇg ⁵kmal ⁵⁵dēj \]
\[ 2SG. DON’T shy EXCL. (3P.) bitter EXCL. \]

‘Don’t you be shy!’ ‘It’s bitter!’
de 'EXCL.'

de is used for emphasis at the end of a Clause and means something like ‘too’ or ‘actually’. It is not as strong as many Exclamatory Particles and is not associated with any particular intonation pattern. Examples are:

?qaj 1.sg. de
1SG. tell EXCL.
‘I think so too!’

bul le ɲɛn de
drunk and sleep EXCL.
‘Get drunk and you’ll sleep, too!’

?qaj la mʊŋ ci? de... ?ih kɔt prɔk cer lɔt
1SG. however want return EXCL. NEG. have money hire vehicle
‘I want to go back too, however I don’t have the money for a fare.’

?ən... trǎw krɔk de de ?aj ma nuat
not meat cow EXCL. EXCL. 1SG. FUT. buy
‘No, it’s actually beef which I’m going to buy (not pork).’

deh ‘EXCL.’

Another Exclamatory Particle is deh, which is used for strong emphasis at the end of a Clause. It takes a sharp high rising intonation and seems to mean something like ‘indeed!’ or ‘honestly!’ Speakers say it is equivalent to the Lao Exclamatory Particle  استراتيجิก /nɔː/. Examples are few in my data but the following clause shows its use by Toi after being asked how old the Speaker would wish her ‘dream-husband’ to be:

kra? cir qaj  deh
old further than 1SG. EXCL.
‘Older than me, for sure!’

In another example, given below, it was used to emphasise the ceaseless bombing of the Plateau by American troops in 1971. Note that ɲŋŋ appears to function as a Main Verb possibly meaning ‘leave, stop’ (a typical Verb from which Deontic expressions are grammaticalised):

ɲʊŋ bih cih kleh hnat... ?ih ɲŋŋ  deh
aeroplane come discard fall gun NEG. *** EXCL.
‘The aeroplanes dropped bombs. They didn’t stop!’
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Another example of *deh* is the following, where it occurs in conjunction with another Exclamatory Particle *me?*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saw } & \text{ ?ih ma bih me? bêt ne } \uparrow \text{deh} \\
\text{2SG. NEG. FUT. come EXCL. moment(L.) here EXCL.} \\
\text{‘I say! You won’t really come back here ever again!’}
\end{align*}
\]

*me? ‘EXCL.’*

This Exclamatory particle may be from Lao *าน/tu* /mě:/ ‘quite! I say!’ and it is used with a sharp rising intonation. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
māw & \uparrow \text{me?... bac hān cen} \\
\text{enough EXCL. PERFECTIVE 3P. cooked} \\
\text{‘That’s quite enough! It’s cooked now.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
tō & \uparrow \text{me?} \\
\text{correct EXCL.} \\
\text{‘That’s exactly right!’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?aj re? kūj yēn } \uparrow \text{me?} \\
\text{1SG. go lie.down sleep EXCL.} \\
\text{‘I say, I’m going to sleep!’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?jāŋ ?e } \uparrow \text{me?} \\
\text{same that EXCL.} \\
\text{‘Just like that!’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pe bíc ?manj ?ih niéh hlah } \uparrow \text{me?} \\
\text{2PL. able speak NEG. excrete clear EXCL.} \\
\text{‘You two speak unclearly!’}
\end{align*}
\]

On one occasion, it was used as to indicate affirmation in answer to a previous question:

Speaker A:

\[
\begin{align*}
hān tēc jeŋ hāj tlat loh \\
\text{3P. sell gold LOC. market Q} \\
\text{‘Does she sell gold at the market?’}
\end{align*}
\]
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Speaker B:

↑ me?... bon pit hnam
EXCL. place behind house
‘Indeed! Right behind (this) house.’

ne? ‘EXCL.’

This Exclamatory Particle is perhaps borrowed from Lao ឆ្នាំ /nè:/ ‘exclamation’, or ឆ្នាំ /nê:/ ‘sure(ly), certain(ly)’ (Kerr 1972:686). ne? is similar to the use of me? in semantics, however it takes a sharp falling intonation, e.g.:

 konuş ញត ោ រុត ោ តök ↓ ne?
person 1PL. -FUT. buy (money) all EMPH.
‘Us folk spend it all (ie. money on goods)’!
Lit. ‘Us folk buy (until) the money is gone, we do!’

ញត ោ រុត ោ កឡូម ↓ ne?
1PL. -FUT. happy liver EMPH.
‘We’re thrilled!’

dok ‘EXCL.’

This particle is clearly a loan from Lao: នូវ /dɔːk/ ‘emphasis and euphony at end of sentences’ (Kerr 1972:546), because it takes the high falling tone instead of the rising intonation pattern typical of indigenous Final Particles. It’s meaning is not translatable into English but here are some examples:

មេព្រើ ឱម ក៊ូ េ េ dok dok
transmit person husband walk EXCL.
‘Give this to the man who is going, go on!’

ោ hmoɁ ោ ក៊ូ េ trie ឱម... ញាបេ ឱូ ក៊ូ ឱម dok...
(2SG.) afraid (3P.) take wife new 3P. NEG. take new EXCL.
ញាបេ េេ េេ េʔេ ឱូ េេ ឱូ ឱូ ឱូ ឱូ ឱូ ឱូ dok...
3P. love 2SG.
‘You’re afraid he’ll get a new wife. Well he won’t take a new (wife)! He loves you!’

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4.14 Interjections, Exclamations & Vocatives

The final class of words are those which can occur alone without combining with Clauses or other constituents—this distinguishes them from Final Particles which must occur in conjunction with a preceding Clause. Such words are Interjections, Exclamations, and Vocatives.

4.14.1 Interjections

Interjections are used to convey Pragmatic information such as the Speaker’s agreement or disagreement with a proposition. Four Interjections are used in Jruq:

?ә ‘yeah, mmm, uh-huh’ (expresses agreement)
?әә ‘no, not true!’ (expresses disagreement)
?ih men ‘not true!’ (expresses disagreement—equivalent to ?әә)
?mйй ‘no way! impossible!’ (expresses total (shocked) disagreement)

?ә ‘yes, hmm’

There is no formal way of indicating agreement in Jruq. Instead, one uses the areal interjection ?ә, which in Lao, Thai and other languages is reserved only for intimate or informal situations. As this is an isolated constituent, it is followed by a pause. An example is:

?ә... әә tәй tәй hәәm әә tәәw тәәt әә kәәg
yes two week.Q. more.than 1SG. see parrot two group.CL.
‘Yes. More than two weeks ago I saw two flocks of parrots.’

?әә ‘no, not true’

?әә is usually drawn out longer than a monosyllabic Jruq word. It is cognate with the syntactic Negator in other West Bahnaric languages such as Brao ?әә. As a sentence-external Negative Interjection, ?әә is articulated with a falling-rising intonation pattern (↗), and is uttered with a pause between it and any following clause (...). The topic in the clause (being contrasted) is always stressed with a falling pitch contour (↓), e.g.

↗?әә... әә ↓ pәe?
not 1SG. full
‘No. I’m full.’

↗?әә ... әә cet ↓ hәәn
not 1SG. love 3P.
‘Not true. I love him.’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

ʔih men ‘no, not true’

The Negative Interjection ʔan is occasionally substituted with ʔih men — this is a partial calque of the Lao equivalent for ‘not’\textsuperscript{147}. ʔih men is uttered with a rising intonation (↑)—not falling-rising, and the constituent in the following clause which is being contrasted always takes a falling intonation, e.g.

ʔih $\uparrow$ men ... ʔaj cet $\downarrow$ hān
NEG. exist 1SG. love 3P.

‘Not true! I love him.’

saw ʔan ʔaj ʔmaiŋ ʔam $\downarrow$ hān... ʔih $\uparrow$ men... ʔaj ʔmaiŋ
2SG. tell 1SG. speak give 3P. NEG. exist 1SG. speak

ʔām $\downarrow$ čo
give dog

‘You thought I was speaking about her. That’s not true. I was speaking about the dog!’

kjōŋ hāj $\uparrow$ brēj $\downarrow$ brāw... ʔih $\uparrow$ men... kjōŋ hāj $\downarrow$ dak
snail LOC. forest sing NEG. exist snail LOC. water

‘The forest snail sings, not the water snail.’

ʔmīŋ ‘no way!, impossible!’

The fourth kind of Negative Interjection, ʔmīŋ, is used as a sharp rebuke to a previous comment or offer, and means something like ‘no way!’ or ‘impossible!’ (it doesn’t have a lexical meaning). Some speakers say it has a stronger semantic meaning ‘forbidden, can’t’ and is used to rebuke taboo or illegal social customs such as walking around naked (as an adult) or having an extra-marital affair, e.g.

ʔme čōk trie ʔdiŋ ra... ʔmīŋ
person take wife many person.CL. forbidden

‘People who take many wives. That’s forbidden!’

However, most uses of the Negative Interjection ʔmīŋ are tongue-in-cheek and are used by young women as a flirtatious game with an admirer to imply they already have a fiancé(e).

\textsuperscript{147} The Lao equivalent is box men ‘not’ where box is the Lao Negative and men means ‘exist; be’.

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(1) Speaker A:

\[ ?\text{aj} \quad \text{cet} \quad \text{saw} \quad ?\text{mät} \quad ?\text{mat} \]

1SG. love 2SG. RED.-very

‘I love you very much.’

Speaker B:

\[ ?\text{mǐn} \]

impossible!

‘You can’t!’

(2) Speaker A:

\[ \text{cōk} \quad \text{klo} \quad ?\text{nāw} \quad \text{bic} \quad \text{loh} \]

take man again able Q

‘Will you marry another man?’

Speaker B:

\[ ?\text{mǐn} \]

forbidden!

‘Not allowed to.’

4.14.2 Exclamations

Exclamations are are spontaneous cries which invoke emotions such as pain, frustration or surprise. These words are always stressed, and although they occur as single constituents, they may be followed by a Clause which explains the cause of the emotional outburst. \( ?e\text{h} \) ‘oops!’, and \( ?\text{oj} \) ‘ouch!’ were recorded accompanied by rising intonation, whereas \( \text{hūj} \) ‘damn!’ took falling intonation:

\( ?e\text{h} \) ‘oops!’

\[ \uparrow ?e\text{h}... \quad ?\text{aj} \quad \text{bil} \]
oops 1SG. forget

‘Oops! I forgot!’

\( \text{hūj} \) ‘damn!’

\[ \downarrow \text{hūj}... \quad ?\text{aj} \quad \text{siew} \quad ?\text{ih} \quad \text{tro} \]
damn! 1SG. miss NEG. strike

‘Damn it! I missed (the target).’
CHAPTER 4: Word Classes

?oj le? ‘ouch!’
↑ ?oj le?... ?oŋ bim ?aj
ouch DON’T punch 1SG.
‘Ouch! Don’t punch me!’

4.14.3 Vocatives

Vocatives are used to signal to other people for attention, and are usually accompanied by a Proper Name of the person one is signalling to. These words are always stressed, and are accompanied by a regular intonation pattern which I mark as ↑ (‘rising intonation), or ↓ (falling intonation).

If a speaker wants to call for someone who is not visible, or who’s whereabouts are unknown, they use ?ɔ ‘oh’. The Person’s Name always appears after this Vocative and the Personal Name takes falling intonation, e.g.

?ɔ... ↓ lkw
oh Low
‘Oh Low! Where are you Low?’ (calling a boy called Low)

If one wants to signal to a person who is in view, one uses ?aj ‘hey!’. The Proper Name is placed before ?aj which takes rising intonation, e.g.

krɛ... ↑ ?aj
Kre hey!
‘Hey Kre!’ (Calling a girl called Kre)
CHAPTER 5

PHRASE STRUCTURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I describe Jruq Phrase structure. In any sentence there are positions for Clause Internal Phrases and Clause Peripheral Phrases.

The main Clause Internal Phrases are Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases—they carry the core Syntactic functions of any sentence: Subject and Predicate. Each Noun Phrase or Verb Phrase can be further modified by other Phrases and with Phrasal concatenation and/or subordination. One such modifying phrase is the Quantifier phrase which can only modify Nouns.

There is also a Clause Peripheral Position which can be filled with Prepositional Phrases and Temporal Phrases. These act as adjuncts directly modifying Clause Internal Phrases while they themselves cannot be modified by other elements. The Prepositional Phrases and Temporal Phrases are optional elements. They are used to give additional information about the predicated Event, such as the time and place it occurred.

These four main Phrase types are discussed in the following subsections:

Clause Internal: Noun Phrase (§5.2)
Quantifier Phrase (§5.3)
Verb Phrase (§5.4)

Clause Peripheral: Prepositional Phrase (§5.5)
Temporal Phrase (§5.6)

5.2 NOUN PHRASE

The Noun Phrase (NP) is always headed by a Noun (N), although this may be ellipsed from the surface representation in discourse. All modifiers occur to the right of this Noun and are optional. There are two subtypes of Noun Phrase determined by their internal structures:

a) Simple Noun Phrase  b) Complex Noun Phrase

These are discussed below.
5.2.1 Simple Noun Phrase

The Simple Noun Phrase (NP_{simp.}) is always headed by a Noun (N), although this may be ellipsed from the surface representation in discourse. All modifiers occur to the right of this Noun and are optional. These modifiers consistently appear in a restricted order in my data which I represent with the following formula:

\[
NP_{simp.} = \left\{ \left( N_{(cpd)} \ (N_1^*) \ (QP),(PP*) \right) \right\} \left( \text{Dem.} \right)
\]

\[
\text{Pron.}
\]

\[
QP = \left\{ \left( \text{Num.}_{(cpd)} \right) \right\} \left( \text{Class.} \right)
\]

\[
\text{Quant.}
\]

\[
PP = \text{Prep}_{(cpd)} \ NP
\]

NP = ‘Noun Phrase’; N_{(cpd)} = ‘head Noun (single or compound structure)’; N_1 = any (compound) Noun (e.g. Common Noun, Pronoun, Proper Noun, Locative Noun, Kinterm etc.) without an attributive modifier; conj. = ‘Conjunction’; QP = ‘Quantifier Phrase’; PP = ‘Prepositional Phrase’; Dem. = Demonstrative; Pron. = ‘Pronoun’; Num._{(cpd)} = ‘Numeral (single or compound structure)’; Quant. = Quantifier; Class. = ‘Classifier’; Prep_{(cpd)} = ‘Generic Preposition (single or compound structure).’

Paraphrasing this formula: a NP_{simp.} constitutes either:

1. a single Pronoun followed optionally by a Demonstrative; or

2. a Noun (of simple or compound word structure\(^{149}\)), followed optionally by one or more attributive Nouns (N_1), a Quantifier Phrase and/or Prepositional Phrase(s) and/or Demonstrative; or

The Prepositional Phrase(s) may appear before or after the Quantifier Phrase. Prepositional Phrases may be concatenated—if there is more than one in the NP, they must be immediate constituents (i.e. the sequence: PP+QP+PP is not permitted).

\(^{148}\) Note (see §4.5.2) that in ‘market speech’, speakers can often Quantify a Noun simply by placing a Numeral before the head Noun and omitting the Classifier.

\(^{149}\) The compound Noun, as discussed previously (see §4.2.1), is one with a single Noun head followed by modifiers such as one or more Nouns/Verbals. Compound Nouns act as single constituent units rather than creating a full NP, as the elements within it “cannot be interrupted by further constituents” (Crowley et.al. 1995:247) such as Preposition kʷag ‘of’. Semantically, a compound Noun does not indicate possession. In contrast, when an N_1 modifies a Noun attributively, the second functions as the ‘possessor’ of the first.
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

In addition, the NP_{\text{simp}}. may be concatenated using a Conjunction and a following NP of similar syntactic structure to the first. Thus, at a deeper level we have the following structure:

$$\text{NP}' = \text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \ (\text{conj.} \ \text{NP}_{\text{simp.}})$$

In my data I do not have any recordings of possible maximal NPs such as:

$$(((\text{N}_{\text{cpd}}) N_1^* \text{ PP} \text{ QP}) \text{ Dem.}) \text{ conj.} \ ((\text{N}_{\text{cpd}}) N_1^* \text{ PP} \text{ QP}) \text{ Dem.})$$

I believe that a maximal NP structure would be grammatical because all smaller combinations of the NP constituents do occur. Examples of NPs which I recorded are given below.

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - Pron.
  - pe
  - 2PL.
  - 'you lot'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - N
  - hnəm
  - house
  - 'house'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - N_{\text{cpd.}}
  - plāj
  - priat
  - fruit
  - banana

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - Pron.
  - hān
  - ?e
  - 3PL.
  - there
  - 'him there'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - N
  - Dem.
  - hnəm
  - ?ne?
  - house
  - this
  - 'this house'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - N_{\text{cpd.}}
  - ?me
  - klo
  - ?e
  - person
  - man
  - there
  - 'those men'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - QP
  - Num.
  - Class.
  - hnəm
  - pe
  - läŋ
  - house
  - three
  - 'three houses'

- NP_{\text{simp.}}
  - PP
  - Loc. N_{\text{ prep.}}
  - NP
  - pnām
  - pioŋ
  - dak
  - village
  - above
  - water
  - 'the village upstream'

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NP'
  \--- NPsimp.
  |    Dem
  |    N
  |    N1
  |    Pron.
  \--- pnám  ngaj  ?ne?

'our village here'

NP'
  \--- NPsimp.
  |    Dem
  |    N
  |    N1
  |    Pron.
  \--- ?aj  le?  saw

1SG. and 2SG. 'me and you'

NPsimp.
  \--- Ncpd.
  |    PP
  |    Prep.
  |    NPsimp.
  |    Kinterm
  |    \--- Kinterm
  |    |    N1
  \--- bann  hmo?  pal  bap

friend relative side father 'the relatives on my father's side'

NP'
  \--- NPsimp.
  |    Dem
  |    N
  |    N1
  |    Pron.
  \--- psa  ?ru?  ngaj  ?ne?

language Jruq 1PL. this 'this Jruq language of ours'

NPsimp.
  \--- N
  |    Ncpd.
  |    Dem.
  \--- siaj  ?me  brch  ?e

voice person girl here 'the voice of this girl'

NPsimp.
  \--- N
  |    PP
  |    Prep.
  |    NPsimp.
  |    \--- N
  |    \--- Ncpd.
  \--- klep  liw  kdiom
  \--- bru  ?yn  la? bat

lake on the top lower back mountain fire bomb 'the lake on the top of "Bomb Volcano"'
5.2.2 Complex Noun Phrase

A Complex Noun Phrase has a modified structure—it consists of a Simple Noun Phrase where the optional modifying constituent (i.e. \( N_1 \) (QP), (PP*) (Dem)) is replaced with a Relative Clause (S
rel). Alternatively, a Clause (S) or a Demonstrative (Dem.) may substitute the entire complex NP—these are discussed in §6.2.1, and variously in §6.

Embedded (ie. Subordinate) structures such as Verb Phrases or Relative Clauses are always simplified in comparison to their equivalent independent constituents. By ‘simplified’ I refer to a restriction on the kinds of constituents which can modify the head of these embedded structures. A simplified Clause in Jruq is one that has:

a) no overt Auxiliary other than the Negative and Tense Auxiliaries,
b) Noun Phrases which are filled by N only,
c) an ellipsable head NP referent,
d) no adverbial Phrasal Adjuncts—only Adverbs,
e) no ditransitive/semitransitive/complement-taking Verbs,
f) no embedded/conjoined structure,
g) no serial Verb Phrases,

These restrictions are typical of subordinate constructions generally:

Subordinate clauses can generally be distinguished from main clauses by their inability to stand alone. This inability can readily be explained in terms of their structural properties. Subordinate clauses are typically introduced by a conjunction (that, if, when, because and so on) or relative word (who, which, whose and so on). They are often non-finite, in which cases the verb will be non-tensed and the subject often omitted... (Finegan, et.al. 1992:124)
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Relative Clause

The S$_{rel}$ in Jruq does not contain a Relative Pronoun. This is also the case for some other Mon-Khmer languages such as T’in (Khmuic) (Filbeck 1976:286)$^{150}$. When the Subject of the Main Clause and the NP head of the Embedded Clause co-refer, the head NP within the Relative Clause is always ellipsed (Ø). If the Subject of the Main Clause and the Object NP within the Relative Clause co-refer, then the NP dominating the Relative Clause is ellipsed. If, on the other hand, the Subject NP within the Main Clause does not co-refer with the head of the Relative Clause, both are expressed using full NP constructions.

All core Arguments can be relativised in Jruq (Agent, Subject, Object, and Indirect Object), including core NP’s in non-Verbal Clauses. In addition, Locations (Oblique NP’s) within PP’s, may also be relativised. However, I have not recorded examples of relativised Possessor NP’s or Objects of Comparative constructions in Jruq$^{151}$. The Relative Clause appears immediately after the NP which it relativises, and is embedded in situ within the Main Clause (in the position determined by the head Nouns’ core Syntactic role).

Taking these points into consideration, the Complex Noun Phrase can be represented with the following formula:

$$NP'_{complex} = N(cp)\ S_{rel}$$

$$S_{rel} = (NP)\ Aux.\ VP\ ^{152}$$

$^{150}$ However, my survey of reference grammars indicates that Mon-Khmer languages usually do have Relative Pronouns:

- Vietnamese has rạng ‘that’, cho ‘so that’ (Nguyen Dang Liem, 1976:794)
- Khuu has nâm ‘who, which, where, when, that’ (Premsrirat, 1987:33)
- Khmer has dael ‘that which, those which’ (Huffman, 1967:157)
- Sedang has ki ‘relative particle’ (Smith, 1975:120)
- Semelai has maa ‘REL’ (Kruspe, 1999:545)
- Chhau relative clauses have cô (used also as a general ‘connector’) (Thomas, 1967:80)

$^{151}$ This is consistent with Keenan & Comrie’s (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy where Genetives and Objects of Comparison are the least accessible for relativisation.

$^{152}$ Note that both NPs and VPs within Relative Clauses have simplified structures (see §5.2.2).
Examples of Complex Noun Phrases I have recorded are given below.

```
NP''complex
  NP'    Dem.
    NPsimp.    Srel
    NPpd.    (NP)    Aux.    VP
      ?me    brəh    Ø    Ø    kŋlŋj    nɛ

person girl (3P.) -FUT. beautiful here
'this/these beautiful girl(s)'
'this/these girl(s) who is/are beautiful'
```

```
NP''complex
  NPsimp.    Srel
    N    (NP)    Aux.    VP'
      pnus    Ø    Ø    rɔp    ?mât    ?mɑt

person (3P.) -FUT. good RED.-very
'good/kind person/people'
'the person/people who is/are good/kind'
```

Both of the above examples may be interpreted as full Declarative Sentences meaning 'Those are the beautiful girls.', and 'People are very good.'—however this interpretation is only possible if there is a falling intonation on the last element in the construction (see §6).

The following examples illustrate the Complex NP structure within full Clauses. The first two examples illustrate the ability for Subjects of the Relative Clauses and Main clauses to be overtly expressed when they do not co-refer. All other examples contain ellipsed heads within the Relative Clause because they co-refer to the relativised NP.
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S

NP''

NP'complex

Dem. Tense T Vtr. NPsimp.

S

NPsimp.

S

N

Aux. VP

N

N

Tense Adj.

co suaj Ø ʔjöŋ ʔe?< Ø kāp ?aj

dog tail -FUT. black there -FUT. bite 1SG.

‘That black-tailed dog bit me.’

‘That dog with the black tail bit me.’

S

NP''

NPsimp.

S

S

N

Aux. VP

N

N

Pron. Tense Vtr. NP

hnəm saw Ø kat kuan Ø ruh ləh

house 2SG. -FUT. give.birth child -FUT. collapse Q

‘Did the house where you had children fall down?’

S

NP''

NPcomplex

S

N

Aux. VP

N

(VP)

Aux. VP

N

N

N

ncpd.

jōnã Ø cih ʔme Ø Ø pēn hnat saj

aeroplane -FUT. discard person (3P.) -FUT. shoot gun ?

‘The aeroplane dropped paratroopers.’ (or “people (who were) shooting”)
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

person man (3P.) -FUT. come from LOC. Pakse -FUT. return already
'The man who came from Pakse; has already gone back.'

dog one animal.CL. of person (3P.) -FUT. own house -FUT. die
'The house owner's dog is dead.'
Literally: 'The dog of the person who [owns the house] is dead.'

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'Is [the place where his wife lives] far away from [the place where you live]?'
mother (3P.) FUT. reside guesthouse Paksong FUT. deposit name 1SG. Phetsamone

[The woman living at Paksong Guesthouse] gave me my name ‘Phetsamone’.
person woman (3P.) NEG. -FUT. have shirt -FUT. pound (rice) (and) breast -FUT. shake continue

"[Women who don't have shirts] pound rice, (and) (their) breasts keep shaking."
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Sinterrog(-v)

NPcomplex

Srel.

Ncpd.

NP Aux. VP

Pron. Tense Vditr. NP

Ncpd.

?me broh saw Ø ?äm kuan co

?oh saw l̕oh

person girl 2SG. -FUT. give child dog y.sibling 2SG. Q

‘Is [the girl to whom you gave the puppy], your sister?’

S

NPsimp. Aux. VP’pred.

Pron. Neg. Tense. VP (VPadv.?)

Vtr. (NP’complex?)

NPsimp. (Srel.?)

N (NP) Aux. VP

Tense

ŋaj ʔih Ø kat bon Ø Ø kuo

1PL. NEG. -FUT. have place (1PL.) -FUT. reside

‘We didn’t have [a place [to stay]].’

‘We didn’t have [a place [where we (could) stay]].’

The previous example illustrates the ambiguity in determining whether a final non-Predicating VP is an embedded Relative Clause within a Complex NP, or whether it is functioning as a ‘Purposive’ Adverbial adjunct to the Predicate (VPadv.).

Two other ambiguous examples are illustrated below:
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S

NP\textsubscript{simp.}  Aux.  (VP\textsubscript{pred.})

Pron.  Neg.  Tense  VP  (VP\textsubscript{adv.}?)

V\textsubscript{tr.}  (NP\textsubscript{complex}?)

NP\textsubscript{simp.}

N  (NP)  Aux.  VP

Tense  V\textsubscript{tr.}  NP

1SG.  NEG.  -FUT.  have  money  (1SG.)  -FUT.  buy  house

'I don't have [money [to buy a house]].'

NP\textsubscript{complex.}

S

NP\textsubscript{simp.}  S\textsubscript{rel.}  Aux  Tense  (VP\textsubscript{pred.})  (VP\textsubscript{adv.}?)

N  (NP)  Aux.  VP\textsubscript{'}  V\textsubscript{tr.}  (NP\textsubscript{complex}?)

Tense  VP  Adv.  Adj.

kr\textsuperscript{ɔ}k  Ø  Ø  t\textipa{̥}h  ?mat  Ø  ca  bàt  Ø  Ø  ?di?

cow  (3P.)  -FUT.  big  very  -FUT.  eat  grass  (3P.)  -FUT.  much

'[Big cows] eat a lot of grass.'

'[Big cows] eat grass a lot.'

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5.2.3 Adverbial Noun Phrases

Any NP may function Adverbially (NP_{adv.}) as a modifier of the Predicate. In such cases, it fills the post-predicate Adverbial position and is always a simple NP structure without internal QP or PP modifiers. An example is:

\[
\text{S} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{smp.}} \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{VP}_{\text{pred.}} \\
\quad \text{Pron.} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{(adv.)}} \\
\quad \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{ksar} \quad \text{cūk} \quad \text{c^{3}him} \\
\text{1SG.} \quad -\text{FUT.} \quad \text{shake} \quad \text{body} \quad \text{heart} \\
\quad \text{'I shook (from fear) to my body and soul.'}
\]

\[
\text{S} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{smp.}} \quad \text{Aux} \quad \text{VP}_{\text{pred.}} \\
\quad \text{Pron.} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{Modal} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{(adv.)}} \\
\quad \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{mup} \quad \text{kēt} \quad \text{pānus} \quad \text{jru?} \\
\text{1SG.} \quad -\text{FUT.} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{be.born} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{Jruq} \\
\quad \text{'I want to have been born a Jruq person.'}
\]

5.2.4 Substitution of Noun Phrases

Any NP (of simple or complex structure and of any grammatical function) may be substituted by a Demonstrative. This is performed for simplification or clarification in discourse.

If the referent is already known to the Addressee (i.e. previously been introduced by a full clause or NP, or it is clear from the context or extralinguistic indexing such as hand signals), the Speaker may substitute the entire NP with a Demonstrative, e.g.
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

NP\text{simp.}
\quad N \quad QP \quad PP
\quad Num. \quad Class. \quad Prep. \quad (NP)=\text{Dem.}
\quad \text{house} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{house.CL.} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{there}
\quad \text{‘the three houses over there (at that place)’}

NP\text{'complex}
\quad NP\text{simp.} \quad S\text{rel.}
\quad N \quad (NP) \quad Aux. \quad VP\text{'attrib.}
\quad \text{thing} \quad \text{(3P.)} \quad -\text{FUT.} \quad \text{reside} \quad \text{LOC.} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{return}
\quad \text{‘things (ie. possessions) with which to live back here’}

S\text{interrog.}
\quad NP \quad Aux. \quad VP\text{’pred.} \quad \text{Interrog.Ptcn}
\quad Pron. \quad Tense \quad VP \quad VP(adv.)
\quad \text{saw} \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{kuo} \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{roh} \quad \text{loh}
\quad \text{2SG.} \quad -\text{FUT.} \quad \text{reside} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{happy} \quad \text{Q}
\quad \text{‘Are you happy staying here (the place we are in)’}
5.2.5 The Jruq Noun Phrase in Typological Context

The NP structures I have found in Jruq are very typical for Austroasiatic languages, and are presented in the following brief summary.

In Khmer the order of constituents in a basic NP structure is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
N & A1 & X & A2 \\
noun & \text{single-lexeme attribute} & \text{quantifier attribute} & \text{phrasal attribute} & \text{demonstrative} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{booŋ-sray} < \text{lpco} < \text{bay nɛeq} < \text{roboŋ knɔm} < \text{nuh}
\]

older sister < pretty < three person < of me < that
‘those three pretty (older) sisters of mine’ (Huffman 1967:214)

Where A1 = a single Noun/Verb/Adjective; X = Quantifier Phrase; A2 = Prepositional Phrase/Verb Phrase and other Phrases. There are a few rules concerning co-occurrence (Huffman 1967:214-5):

If the A1 position is not filled by a qualitative attribute, it may be filled by a non-phrasal genitive:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
N & A1 & X & D \\
mit & \text{kŋom} & \text{bay nɛeq} & \text{nuh} \\
\end{array}
\]

friend < my < three person < that
‘those three friends of mine’

If the quantifier attribute does not include a specifier, it may occur before the A1 position, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
N & X & A1 & A2 & D \\
ptɛaŋ & \text{bay} & \text{thum} & \text{roboŋ look} & \text{nuh} \\
\end{array}
\]

house < three < large < of you < that
‘those three large houses of yours’
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

A demonstrative is sometimes attributive to an immediately preceding noun, rather than to the entire noun phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
N & A1 & X & A2 \\
mit & < & thum & < & pii & n̥eq & < & roboh & monuh & < & nuh \\
\end{array}
\]

friend < large < two person < of > man < that
'that man's two large friends'

In addition, a Relative Pronoun Phrase may modify a head Noun in a Noun Phrase (this is equivalent to the embedded 'S' in the Jruq NP), e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
/knɒm & | trow-kaa & >> & dael & | mean & >> & boŋkan & < & weŋ̥ \phantom{>}. \\
\end{array}
\]

I | need >> that-which I have >> handle < long
'I need one with a long handle.' (Huffman 1967:216)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
/knɒm & | tow & roŋk & >> & boŋ-proh & < & dael & < & kɔst & l ceo kruŋ \phantom{>}. \\
\end{array}
\]

I | go hunt-for >> older-brother < who < he | is teacher
'I'm going to visit [my] older brother who is a teacher.'
(Huffman 1967:217)

Similarly, in Khmu, the NP structure is made up of a Head Noun plus a variety of simple or complex modifiers which may co-occur. Suwilai Premsrirat (1987:31) presents this structure as:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{n} \\
\text{pron (poss)} \\
\text{adj} \\
\text{Prep P} \\
\text{rel cl} \\
\text{num (+ class)} \\
\text{dem} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[NPn = H:n \quad (\text{Mod:})\]
Even in Austroasiatic languages which are under influence from typologically very different languages, as is Mundari (spoken in India and under Indo-Aryan influence), the NP structure is remarkably similar to that of the Khmer system—except with reversed word order. Cook (1965:278) describes the Mundari Noun Phrase as:

The formulation of the noun phrase is given in the following approximate order. The demonstrative is initial and the head noun is final; quantitative adjectives always precede qualitative; but the position of the possessive slot is not rigidly immovable in the frame.

\[
N = \pm \text{Dem: dem} \pm \text{Poss:poss} \pm \text{Qn: qn.aj} \pm \text{Ql:Ql.aj.} + \text{H:n}
\]

Read: A Noun phrase construction consists of a demonstrative slot filled by demonstratives, a possessive slot filled by possessive, a quantifier slot filled by quantitative adjectives, a qualifier slot filled by qualitatives, and a head slot filled by a noun.

Some other Austroasiatic languages may differ slightly in the general constituent order within Noun Phrases. An example of this is Temiar (spoken in Malaysia). The Noun Phrase, as described by Benjamin (1976), is almost the same as that of Jruq except that the Prepositional element appears before the head, whereas all other modifiers follow the head:

The noun phrase (NP) may be rewritten as follows:

\[
\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{prep}) \left[ \text{noun} \left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{pron} \\
\text{mod} \\
\text{(pron) (dem)} \\
\text{dem}
\end{array} \right) \right]
\]

where mod \rightarrow \{ \text{adj} \text{ verb}_C \}

The primary nominal elements are therefore: nouns (noun), pronouns (pron), demonstratives (dem), and prepositions (prep). The secondary nominal elements are: adjectives (adj) and verbs in the continuative aspect (verb_C)....All realisations of the above NP formular constitute possible utterances, but not complete sentences, in Temiar. (Benjamin 1976:154-5)

Chrau (South Bahnaric) language also has a slightly different order—the Quantifier Phrase (Numeral + Classifier) precedes the Head, and any other modifiers follow the Head Noun:
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

The general form of the Chrau Noun Phrase can be summarized as:

Num. — Clas. — Head — Mod.

in which the Numeral slot may be filled by numbers and other counters, the Classifier slot may be filled by regular or temporary classifiers, the Head slot may be filled by a simple or complex noun, and the Modifiers slot may be filled by adjectives, possessives, and demonstratives...

The modifier slot follows the head noun and can be divided into two subslots: adjective, and demonstrative.

The adjective slot is filled by a noun (possessor) or, less frequently, by an adjective ... occasionally by a reduced clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chrau</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ỉèr ᐣnɦ</td>
<td>my chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du lâm ỉèr ᐣnɦ</td>
<td>a chicken of mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỉèr maq</td>
<td>a large chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỉèr pàn chãp</td>
<td>a hen sitting on eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piêng sa</td>
<td>rice for eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Thomas 1967:106-7)
5.3 QUANTIFIER PHRASE

The Quantifier Phrase (QP) has been discussed briefly in the previous subsection. It is used to count Nouns, and thus can only modify head Nouns within a NP. The Quantifier Phrase was represented in the previous subsection as:

\[
QP = \text{Num.}_{(\text{cpd})} \left\{ \text{Class.} \right\} \left\{ \text{Quant.} \right\}
\]

For example:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{NP} & \text{QP} & \text{NP} \\
\text{Ncpd.} & \text{Num.} & \text{Ncpd.} \\
\text{plāj} & \text{priest} & \text{dak} \\
\text{fruit} & \text{banana} & \text{coffee} \\
\text{seven} & \text{seed} & \text{one} \\
\text{‘seven (individual) bananas’} & \text{‘a glass of coffee (liquid)’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

This is actually an oversimplified representation—the Quantifier Phrase can have a much more complicated structure. The ‘count’ component in the QP can involve either a simple structure (a single Numeral), a compound structure (two or more compounded Numerals), or a complex Numeral structure involving one or more Numerals conjoined with one or more other Numerals. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{NP} & \text{QP} & \text{NP} \\
\text{N} & \text{Num. complex} & \\
\text{kuan} & \text{Num. conj.} & \\
\text{child} & \text{Num.} & \\
\text{[two or three]} & \text{person} & \\
\text{‘two or three children’} & \text{CL.} & \\
\end{array}
\]
In addition, the complex Numeral structure may involve an embedded Numeral Modifier. The **Numeral Modifier** (Num.Mod.) is actually a slot filled by quantifying words from a variety of word classes. It includes the Comparative Preposition *hom* 'more', and Portion Measures *kế* 'bit' and *kđểj* 'half' (or the Lao equivalent *kʰjìŋ* 'half'). These create Compound quantities such as *mûj kđểj* 'one half', or *bër hom* 'two or more', which are then followed by the appropriate Classifier/Quantifier. Examples of these are given below:

- **Water one half glass.**
  - ‘half a glass of water’

- **Fruit banana one half half.**
  - ‘quarter of a banana cut lengthways’

- **Fruit cabbage one hundred more.**
  - ‘more than one hundred cabbages’
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Furthermore, the complex Numeral structure may instead be substituted by either a single Indefinite Number (Indef.Num.) such as ?di? ‘many, much’, toc ‘all’, kāp ‘each’ or toc kāp ‘every single’ (§4.5.4), or the Numeral Interrogative (Num.Inter.) sie? ‘how many?’ (§4.5.5). Examples are:

```
NP
  | QP
  |   Num.complex. Class.
  |    Indef.Num.
  |      cem ?di? hnie
  |   bird many kind.CL.

'many kinds of birds'
```

```
NP
  | QP
  |   Num.complex. Class.
  |    Indef.Num.cpd.
  |      pnus toc kāp ra
  |   person every.single person.CL.

'every single person'
```

Therefore the Quantifier Phrase in Jruq is maximally represented with the following Phrase Structure Rule:

```
QP = \{
  \text{Num}(\text{cpd}) \quad \text{Class.}
  \text{Num.complex.} \quad \text{Quant.}
\}

\text{Num.complex.} = \{
  \text{Num}(\text{cpd}) \quad (\text{conj.}) \quad \text{Num}(\text{cpd})
  \text{Num}(\text{cpd}) \quad \text{Num.Mod.}
  \text{Indef.Num.}
  \text{Num.Inter.}
\}
```

Note that in ‘market’ speech, the QP precedes the head Noun. It is also common that a Complex NP will involve a preposed QP, e.g.

```
S
  | NP
  |   Aux. VP
  |     NP
  |       Num. Class. N Srel.
  |         (QP) Tense Desc.
  |           (NP) Aux. VP
  |               Desc.
  |                 pe làn
  |                   "hnəm Ø Ø th Ø Ø kpən

three house.CL. house -FUT. large -FUT. beautiful

'The three houses which are big] are beautiful.'
```
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Some special Quantifier Phrase Structures may occur within clause-peripheral Temporal Phrase Constructions (these are discussed further in §5.5). In such cases, the QP_{(temp.)} is limited to having Temporal Measure Quantifiers in the Classifier position (§4.5.3.2.4). These are actually Clause-Peripheral constituents because they can be preposed to Pre-Subject Predicate Position but they modify the entire Predicate.

In contrast, QP’s which occur strictly in Post-Predicate Adverb position are treated as Adverbial adjuncts (QP_{(adv.)}). Like other Clause-internal Phrasal Adjuncts (such as NP_{(adv.)} mentioned above), the QP_{(adv.)} has a restricted structure. It is often filled by an Indefinite Number (§4.5.4) such as toc ‘all’, ?di? ‘much’, and does not require a following Quantifier or Classifier. Compare the uses of QP’s within Temporal Phrases and as Adverbial adjuncts in the examples below:

```
1SG. -FUT. drink coffee two three more occasion.Q.
‘I drank coffee more than two or three times.’

person 1PL. -FUT. buy (money) all EMPH.
‘Us folk spend it all (ie. money on goods)!’
Lit. ‘Us folk buy (until) money is gone.’
```
5.4 **Verb Phrase**

A Verb Phrase (VP) is headed by a Verbal (an Adjective, Descriptive or Verb). The main function of the VP is to act as Predicate of a sentence, however VP’s may also occur as embedded attributive modifiers of Complex NP’s, or as Phrase-peripheral Adverbial modifiers (VP<sub>adv.</sub>) of the Predicate.

Depending on the inherent semantics of the Verbal, up to two Object NP Arguments and an Indirect Object represented by a Prepositional Phrase may follow the head of the VP (Adjectives, Descriptives and Intransitive Verbs take no Object NP Arguments). Another modifier is the Adverb, which directly modifies the entire Verbal Predicate—sometimes NP’s, PP’s or VP’s may act as Adverbial adjuncts, in which case they too are found in this Adverb position. The other modifier is the Auxiliary, which is found between Subject and Predicate positions (discussed in §6.2.2.1). The Auxiliary is not subordinate to the Predicate, but is an independent ‘sister’ constituent. All other modifiers such as Pre-Predicate Adverbs, Temporal Phrases, Prepositional Phrases, and Clause Final Particles are Clause peripheral and are thus not part of the Verb Phrase.

Like the Noun Phrase, the Verb Phrase may be one of two types—**Simple Verb Phrase** or **Serial Verb Phrase**. These are each discussed below.

5.4.1 **Simple Verb Phrase**

The Simple Verb Phrase Structure is formed by a Verbal head followed by the required number of Arguments determined by the subtype of Verbal (any of these arguments may be ellipsed in surface structure if their reference is retrievable from context). Depending on the Verbal, the following Arguments may be required:

- no arguments (Adjectives, Descriptives, Intransitive Verbs)
- one NP argument (Transitive Verbs)
- a PP argument (Semitransitive Verbs)
- two NP arguments or a NP argument plus a PP (Ditransitive Verbs)
- a VP or S argument (Complement-taking Verbs)

In addition, an optional Phrase peripheral Adverbial modifier may be placed at the end of the main Verbal constituent. This is typically in the form of an Adverb, however a NP<sub>adv.</sub>, QQ<sub>adv.</sub>, VP<sub>adv.</sub> or PP<sub>adv.</sub>, may fulfill this
function. The VP\(_{(adv.)}\), usually consists of an Adjective or Descriptive Verbal, but it may sometimes be headed by a prototypical Verb taking NP\(_{(and)\ PP}\) Arguments. The VP\(_{(adv.)}\) does necessarily represent a sequential Event so I treat it as an embedded peripheral component within the Simple Verb Phrase—the entirety of which refers to a single Event. The Simple Verb Phrase is represented with the following formula:

\[
\text{VP}_{\text{simp.}} = (V_{\text{cpd}}) (NP) \begin{cases} (NP) \\ (PP) \\ (VP) \\ (S) \end{cases} \begin{cases} (Adv.) \\ (NP_{(adv.)}) \\ (QP_{(adv.)}) \\ (VP_{(adv.)}) \\ (PP_{(adv.)}) \end{cases}
\]

As discussed in §4.3, a compound Verb \(V_{\text{cpd}}\) typically begins with a Verbal of some kind followed by one or more bound lexical elements which may include Nouns or Verbals. These words cannot be interrupted by other constituents (such as Auxiliaries, Adverbs), and they act as one lexical unit which refers to a single event (never a sequential event). Such compound Verbs are:

- \(\text{cīh kłe}\) ‘drop’ (discard + fall)
- \(\text{pēkúj tāw}\) ‘dream’ (sleep + see)
- \(\text{se lāp}\) ‘converse’ (listen + tell)
- \(\text{hṃōh lāp}\) ‘inquire’ (ask + tell)
- \(\text{jūh dāk}\) ‘swim’ (swim+ water)
- \(\text{rīh cāj}\) ‘happy’ (happy+ soul\(\text{(L.)}\))
- \(\text{si bṛaj}\) ‘blue’ (colour\(\text{(L.)}\)+ atmosphere)

Simple Verb Phrases performing Predicative roles are illustrated below:

```
S                      S
  NP                NP
  ?aj               ?aj
  -FUT.            -FUT.
  forget           tall
  1SG.             2SG.
  ‘I’ve forgotten you.’

S
  Aux.                VP
  Tense             V\(_\text{ir.}\)          NP
  Ø                bil         saw
  2SG.

S
  Aux.                VP
  Tense             V\(_\text{ir.}\)          NP
  Ø                jōŋ
  1SG.

  NEG. -FUT. tall

  ‘I’m not tall.’
```
When Simple VPs are embedded within a Noun Phrase they perform an attributive function, acting as a modifier of a head Noun in a rather complex compound Noun construction. This construction seems to act as one constituent, the entirety of which may be further modified by QP’s or PP’s, as expected with any head of a Simple NP. The embedded VP’s are not to be confused with Relative Clauses because the latter require (at least in underlying structure) a head NP within the modifying Phrase. For example, in the sentence below, one cannot insert a NP between *cnur ‘straw’ and *jet *tpə *təm ‘drink jar wine’; thus it acts as one compound Noun constituent:

(2SG.) -FUT. give 1SG. straw drink.alcohol alcohol ancient REQ. ‘Please give me [the drinking straw for jar wine]’

Simple VPs also perform Adverbial functions to the Predicate when they occur after the Predicate VP. These also cannot be confused with Relative Clauses as they do not take a head NP. They seem to correspond in function with the purposive English Prepositional Phrases ‘for doing X’ or ‘to do X’ (see examples below).

‘The men are punching each other for fun.’
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

NP
   | Aux.
   | VP'
pred.
   | Tense
   | VP
   | Vtr.
   | (NP)
brah ktuacl Ø roc Ø ca klum
spirit yetl -FUT. disembowel (people) eat liver
'The yeti disembowels (people) to eat the liver.'

NP
   | Aux
   | VP'
pred.
   | Tense
   | VP
   | Vtr.
   | (NP)
   | Vtr.
   | NP
   | Desc.cpd
?moe Ø ppnet hánn bul tpe
person -FUT. make.drink.alcohol 3P. drunk alcohol
'They made him get drunk.'
(Lit. 'They made him drink alcohol so he was drunk.')

Note the pivotal construction in the previous example where the Subject of each VP refers to a different NP referent (moe 'people' and hánn 'him').

5.4.2 Serial Verb Phrase

The Serial Verb Phrase Construction is the most complex Verb Phrase construction. Serial Verb Phrases have been discussed under the section on Co-verbs (§4.3.2.2.2), but I discuss the internal order of the Serial Verb Phrase in more detail here. The Serial Verb Phrase has a restricted structure where the head Verb Phrase (Main Verb) is surrounded by Co-verbs (with Directional, Instrumental and Benefactive functions) which are partly grammaticalised. The Complex Verb Phrase Structure can be represented with the following formula:
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

\[
V_{\text{P complex}} = \quad SVP \begin{cases} 
& (\text{Adv.}) \\
& (\text{NP}_{\text{(adv.)}}) \\
& (\text{QP}_{\text{(adv.)}}) \\
& (\text{VP}_{\text{(adv.)}}) \\
& (\text{PP}_{\text{(adv.)}}) 
\end{cases}
\]

\[
SVP = \quad \left( (\text{VP}_{\text{(instrum./cause)}}) \ (\text{VP}_{\text{(direct.)}}) \ \text{VP}_{\text{(main)}} \ (\text{VP}_{\text{(direct.)}}) \ (\text{VP}_{\text{(benefactive/purpose)}}) \right)
\]

\[
\text{VP}_{\text{(main)}} = \ V_{\text{(cpd)}} \ (\text{NP}) \quad \text{VP}_{\text{(direct.)}} = \ V_{\text{(cpd)}} \begin{cases} 
& (\text{NP}) \\
& (\text{PP}) 
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\text{VP}_{\text{(instrum.)}} = \ V \ (\text{NP}) \quad \text{VP}_{\text{(benefact.)}} = \ V \ (\text{NP})
\]

\[
\text{VP}_{\text{(cause)}} = \ V \ (\text{NP}) \quad \text{VP}_{\text{(purpose)}} = \ V \begin{cases} 
& (\text{VP}) \\
& (\text{(S)}) 
\end{cases}
\]

As discussed above, the Adverb position may be filled by a Post-Predicate Adverb, or it may be substituted by any Phrase type which serves an Adverbial function.

In Serial Verb Phrases, only the Main Verb Phrase is obligatory. This is filled by a Verb Phrase headed by a prototypical Verbs such as Intransitive or Transitive. Interestingly it is never headed by Descriptives, Adjectives or Complement-taking Verbs—this is because:

a) Descriptives and Adjectives are not usually used to describe Events (they typically describe enduring States), so the three stages of an Event: Intention, Action and Result are not usually possible with these kinds of Verbals

b) Complement-taking Verbs create a structure which would probably be too complicated within an already complex SVP.

In my data, the Main Verb is never headed by more complicated Verbs such as Semitransitive, Ditransitive, or Complement-taking Verbs. This is probably to reduce discourse complexity to enable easier comprehension. Although the Main Verb is structurally the most simple of all VPs within the SVP, it may inherently carry the most complex semantic information in the structure.

---

153 Note that ʔām as the Purposive Co-verb ‘in order’ has a complement-taking valency in contrast with its unmarked use as a ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’.

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CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

The final Verb Phrase constituent in the SVP acts like an adverbial modifier of the main Verb (this is also found in the Simple Verb Phrase). It is possible that it can be headed by any Verbal, however it is most commonly filled by less proto-typical Verbals such as Descriptives, Adjective-like Verbs and Intransitive Verbs (i.e. those which typically refer to enduring States and Experiences).

In contrast, the membership of each of the other optional Co-verb Phrases surrounding the Main Verb is much more restricted. Directional Verb Phrases may only be headed by one of the Directional Co-verbs—bih ‘come’, ci? ‘return’, reʔ ‘go’, wijn ‘go back’, hāw ‘ascend’, tieh ‘descend’, tbih ‘bring’, pcšk ‘take’. Instrumental and Benefactive Verb Phrases may only be headed by the Co-verb: cšk ‘use, put; get’. And the Causative and Purposive Verb Phrases may only be headed by the Co-verbs: mēj ‘allow, enable, get’, ūâm ‘in order to’. Each of these Co-verbs may take Object NP or PP Arguments or even Verb Phrase/Clause complements, depending on its inherent valency.

There are three important syntactic restrictions on Serial Verb Phrases which suggest SVPs act as single units (and thus represent a single Event) within a sentence rather than concatenated discrete Verb Phrases:

I. the entire SVP can be preceded by an Auxiliary slot, but each internal VP cannot be preceded by an additional Auxiliary.

II. each internal VP must corefer to the same Subject which precedes the SVP structure.

III. the string of VP’s may not be interrupted by any other constituents such as Adverbs, Particles, Conjunctions, Temporal Phrases, etc.

If any of the above three constraints are broken, the structure is interpreted as a conjoined VP or Clause (i.e. peripheral to the SVP structure), or involving an Adverbial VP adjunct (VP_{adv.}). Examples of complex VP structures are:
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

One wonders why the need for a new category symbol SVP.

person -FUT. come discard fall gun
'The (American) people came and dropped bombs.'

3P. -FUT. take letter bring for 1SG.
'He brings letters back for me.'

1SG. FUT. go buy rice for 2SG.
'I will go and buy rice for you.'
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

soon day new 3P. -FUT. come take bottles 3P. -FUT. empty
'Come tomorrow, he'll come and take the empty bottles.'

person -FUT. come discard fall gun explode RED.-destroy
'The people dropped bombs to destroy (everything).'

1PL. -FUT. use leaf banana wrap roast
'We wrap it in a banana leaf to roast.'
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Note the pivotal construction in the example above, where the subject of the Adverbial VP co-refers with the Object of the Main Verb—la priat ‘banana leaf’.

```
NP  Aux.  VP'complex
  Pron.  Tense  SVP
          VP(direct.)  VP(main)  VP(benefact.)  VP(adv.)  Vtr.  NP
          V Intr.  V tr.  N  V tr.  N  N
hán  Ø  bìh  tác  jeg  cõk  prák  ruat  lôt  cǎk
3P. -FUT. come sell gold get money buy car motor

'She's come to sell gold for money to buy a motorbike.'
```

Note that sentences like one immediately above are common in Jruq—where 3 VP’s occur within a SVP. This is interesting as Goral’s (1986) cross-linguistic comparison of concatenated Verb Phrases rarely treated examples containing more than 2 such Co-verbs in languages such as Khmer, Vietnamese, Thai, and Burmese.

5.5 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

As discussed above, the Prepositional Phrase (PP) may occur as a **Clause-internal NP modifier.** In such functions, the PP has a more simplified constituency structure than an equivalent constituent in a higher stratum. That is, the embedded NP within the Prepositional Phrase is limited to a single or concatenated Nominal (N_{cpd}) plus an optional Demonstrative—the head N cannot be modified by QP’s or PP’s.

In addition, the Prepositional Phrase may also function as a **Clause-internal Adverbial adjunct (PP_{(adv.)})** which describes the Event indexed by the Predicate. Such PP_{(adv.)}'s typically involve Comparative constructions and Instrumental constructions (discussed below). Like all other Adverbial adjunct Phrases, the PP_{(adv.)} is more restricted in structure—it cannot be concatenated like other PP's and it forms a constituent within the Predicate VP, because it cannot be dislocated to Pre-Subject Position for topictivity. However, the internal constituency of the PP_{(adv.)} is not restricted in this adverbial function because the NP within the PP may be a complex Noun Phrase (ie. it may be
substituted by a simplified clause or modified by a Relative clause or VP).

Besides these functions, the most common use of the PP is as a **Clause-Peripheral Adjunct**. These always describe the location of the entire Event indexed by the Predicate. I treat the latter function as a Clause-Peripheral constituent because the PP may be placed before the Subject or after the Predicate without any change in meaning. There is a tendency, however, that it occurs post-Predicatively in unmarked usage, and in Pre-Subject position if it is the Topic.

Regardless of its function or Clausal position, the Prepositional Phrase may be represented with the following Phrase Structure rule:

\[ PP = \text{Prep}_{(cpd.)} \ NP \]

Examples of PPs in the three functions of Nominal modifier, Adverbial Adjunct (Phrase-peripheral) and Clause-peripheral Adjunct are illustrated below.

As PPs may be used attributively to modify Nouns within Noun Phrases, they have a very similar function to attributive Nouns (N₁) within the NP (see §5.2.1). In the following example, note how one kind of ‘rat’ is modified attributively with a Prepositional Phrase *haj brēj ‘in forest’*, whereas the contrastive kind of ‘rat’ is modified using an attributive Noun *hnom ‘house’*. It would have been equally acceptable to distinguish both kinds of ‘rat’ using both PP’s (*kne haj brēj* vs. *kne haj hnom*) or N₁ (*kne brēj* vs. *kne haj hnom*) constructions, or the other possible combination—(*kne brēj* vs. *kne haj hnom*).

![Phrase Structure Diagram](image)

‘[Rats in the forest] are tastier than [house rats].’
Examples of Adverbial PP Adjuncts (PP_{(adv.)}) which occur peripherally within the Predicate are given below:

S
  NP  Aux.  VP_{(predicate)}  Ptcn
    N  Tense  VP  PP_{(adv.)}
        V_{comp.}  (S)  Prep  NP
              N  Dem.
        ?me  Ø  bim  Ø  hjaj  nāŋsi  ne  ne?

person -FUT. make LOC. letter this EMPH.

'The people did (that) to those letters, they did!' 

S
  NP  Aux.  VP_{(predicate)}
    Pron. Tense  VP  PP_{(adv.)}
        V_{tr.}  NP  Prep.  NP
              N  N
        ?aj  Ø  klāk  pteh  kāp  cok

1SG. -FUT. hoe ground with hoe

'I dig the ground with a hoe.'

An example of a PP occurring as a Clause-internal Adjunct within an embedded VP_{(adv.)} is:

S_{imperative}
  NP  Aux.  VP_{complex}  Ptcn
    Pron Tense  SVP  VP_{(adv.)}
        VP_{(direct.)}  VP_{(main)}  V  PP
              V_{intr.}  V_{tr.}  (NP)  Prep.  NP
                    N  N  N
    (saw)  Ø  ci?  gān  Ø  tēc  hjaj  pnām  saw  ṭōw

2SG. -FUT. return carry (3P.) sell LOC. village 2SG. REQ.

'Take (it) to sell in your village!'
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Below are examples of PPs used in Clause-Peripheral positions. Note how they may appear before or after the core constituents of the Clause (ie. Subject and Predicate):

```
ho\? kde\j h\an \O \?j\og
in middle 3P. -FUT. black
‘He’s wicked.’
(Lit. ‘he’s black to the core’)
```

```
pal kluo\? h\an \O \?juo\?
DIR. base 3P. -FUT. sour
‘At the base, it’s sour.’
```

```
bih \O hwar pal pi\t \?aj
snake -FUT. crawl DIR. behind 1SG.
‘The snake is crawling to the back of me.’
```

```
saw \O hjaw b\en \?j\ang seh
2SG. -FUT. run quick similar horse
‘You run quickly like a horse.’
```
5.6 Temporal Phrase

The Temporal Phrase (TP) is the other Clause-Peripheral Phrasal constituent. It is used to modify the Predicate by indexing the time of the Event’s occurrence, and linking separate Events in terms of their relative time of occurrence. The TP usually appears in Pre-Subject position to set the frame of the Event to be discussed, although it can be postposed after the Predicate. At a more abstract level, TP’s could be analysed as a type of NP. However, it is clear that their syntactic function is simply Adverbial, so I do not intend to pursue that particular line of investigation. Instead, I treat Temporal Phrases (and their Temporal Noun heads) as special syntactic constituents, and I present the following description of the TP.

There are many different TP structures which a Speaker may choose to use:

1. Simple Temporal Phrase:

This is where a Temporal Noun (§4.6.1) is followed by a single modifier such as a Temporal Descriptive (§4.6.2), Temporal Adverb (§4.6.4), Temporal Numeral (§4.6.3), Numeral (§4.5.1), Demonstrative (§4.7), or a Relative Clause (§5.2.2). In addition, a Pre-Subject Adverb (see §4.11.1.2, §4.11.1.3) such as *bi?* ‘as soon as’, *ce?* ‘after’, *bāc* ‘PERFECTIVE’, *na?* ‘PROGRESSIVE’, etc. may precede the Temporal Noun:

\[ \text{TP}_{\text{simp.}} = (\text{Adv.}) \text{ Temp.N} \]

- Temp.Desc. \[ \text{ton crc}\text{'morning'} \]
  \[ \text{tnāj } \text{sruaj}\text{'3rd day of 10 day week'} \]
  \[ \text{bi? ton crc}\text{'come the morning'} \]

- Temp.Adv. \[ \text{tnāj sāj}\text{'yesterday'} \]
  \[ \text{(tnāj) Ĥāj}\text{'tomorrow'} \]
  \[ \text{bor kâj nuar}\text{'two months before'} \]
  \[ \text{hbi? nāw}\text{'tonight'} \]
  \[ \text{ce? tnāj nāw}\text{'after the next day'} \]

- Temp.Num. \[ \text{tnāj drc}\text{'three days ago'} \]
  \[ \text{kmo bruann}\text{'in four years time'} \]
  \[ \text{bi? kmo bruann}\text{'in four years time'} \]

- Num(cpd.) \[ \text{tnāj cēt muj}\text{'the 11th day (date)'} \]

- Dem. \[ \text{tnāj pe?}\text{'that day'} \]
  \[ \text{ce? tnāj pe?}\text{'after that day'} \]

- Srel. \[ \text{tnāj saw bīh nēj}\text{'the day you visited'} \]
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

2. Quantified Temporal Phrase:

This is where a Temporal Noun modified by a Temporal Descriptive is followed by a Temporal Quantifier Phrase. Sometimes a Pre-subject Adverb may precede this construction. Within this Quantifier Phrase only a Temporal Measure Quantifier (§4.5.3.2.4) can fill the Classifier position.

\[ TP_{quant.} = (Adv.) ((Temp.N \ Temp.Desc.) \ QP_{(temp)}) \]

\[ QP_{(temp)} = \begin{cases} \text{Num\(cpd\)} \quad \text{Quant.} \\ \text{Num\_complex} \end{cases} \]

Vietnamese examples:

tnắng cơ(?: cin mon) ‘this morning at 9am’
bi(?: ton cơ(?: cin mon) ‘come this morning at 9am’
cikt smo(?: ‘ten hours’
bac puan mà(?: ‘for four nights (already)’
bọt tnắng muj ?:nal ‘two and a half days’
pe ruoh ‘three occasions’
na?: cikt nati ‘in ten minutes time’

3. Complex Temporal Phrase:

This is where two (or more) Simple Temporal Phrases or Quantified Temporal Phrases are either juxtaposed or conjoined using Coordinate Conjunctions such as li ‘or’, or tam...bih ‘from...until’. These constructions may also be preceded by Pre-Subject Adverbs such as bi?: ‘as soon as’, ce?: ‘after’, bac ‘PERFECTIVE’, na?: ‘PROGRESSIVE’, etc.

\[ TP_{complex} = (adv.) \begin{cases} \text{TPsimp.} \quad \text{TPsimp.} \quad \text{TPsimp.} \quad \text{TPquant.} \end{cases} \]

Vietnamese examples:

tnắng hạj (li) tnắng brạj ‘tomorrow (or) the next day’
ce?: tnắng hàj (li) tnắng brạj ‘after tomorrow (or) the next day’
tâm kʰaj pát bih kʰaj bi?: ‘from new moon until full moon’
tnắng nuar ton cơ?: ‘in the morning of the day before (that)’
muj tnắng pe ruoh ‘three times a day’
kʰaj bọt tnắng cêt muj ‘February 11th’
bac kʰaj bọt tnắng cêt muj ‘since February 11th’
Examples of these different Temporal Phrase constructions are illustrated in the sentences below.

'Two months earlier I went to Vientiane.'

'Today my father is going to shoot deer.'

'Three years ago I came to Paksong alone.'
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

soon time early 1SG. FUT. make (3P.)
'I'll do it in the morning.'

month previous 1SG. -FUT. go visit 3P.
'Last month I visited her.'

PROBABLE one month.Q. 1SG. FUT. pick fruit coffee
'In another month, I'll pick the coffee.'

PERFECTIVE three hour.Q. 1SG. -FUT. wait vehicle
'For three hours (already) I've waited for the bus!'
from year one 1000 nine 100 nine ten three until (year) nine ten six 1SG. -FUT. reside this
'From 1993 until 1996 I lived here.'

(at) village 1SG. two month.Q. (1PL.) -FUT. drink (coffee) one occasion.Q.
'In my village, in two months we only drink (coffee) once.'
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

The Temporal Phrases may be postposed after the Predicate as a focusing device, or if they are structurally complex. Examples of right-dislocated TP's are given below:

```
S
  NP
  | Aux.
  | VP
  |   TP_quant.
  |   | QP(temp.)
  |   |   Num.
  |   |   Quant.
  Pron.  Tense  V_intr.
  saw  Ø  kūj
  2SG. -FUT. lie.down ten hour.CL.
  'You slept for ten hours.'

S
  NP
  | Aux.
  | VP
  |   TP_quant.
  |   | QP(temp.)
  |   |   Gen.Quantity
  |   |   Quant.
  Pron.  Tense  V_cpd.
  ?aj  Ø  juh  dak  kāp  trăj
  1SG. -FUT. swim water each day.CL.
  'I swim every day.'

S
  NP
  | Aux.
  | VP
  |   TP_complex
  |   | QP(temp.)
  |   |   Num.
  |   |   Quant.
  |   |   Num.
  |   |   Quant.
  Pron.  Tense  V_tr.
  saw  Ø  ca  tnam  muj  trăj  pe  ruoh
  2SG. -FUT. eat medicine one day.CL. three time.CL.
  'You take the medicine three times (a day).'
```
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QPinterrog.</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Aux.</th>
<th>VP</th>
<th>TPsimp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sie?</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>saw</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>hğâl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.INT.</td>
<td>person.CL.</td>
<td>2SG.</td>
<td>-FUT.</td>
<td>know name day that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'How many people did you know the names of, that day?'

S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Aux.</th>
<th>VP</th>
<th>TPsimp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pron.</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Vintr.</td>
<td>Temp.N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aj</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>kat</td>
<td>tjâj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1SG. -FUT. born day ten one

'I was born on the 11th day (of the month).'</n

In Post-Predicate position, the Temporal Nouns may sometimes be preceded by Post-Predicate Adverbs which clearly shows that the Adverb can form a constituent with the Temporal Noun—the entire construction forming a Temporal Phrase, e.g.

S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Aux.</th>
<th>VP'complex</th>
<th>TPquant.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kintem</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>SVP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prep</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Pron.</td>
<td>VP(main)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aj</td>
<td>kʰaj</td>
<td>?aj</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

elder.sib. of 1SG. -FUT. make give (1SG.) PERF. six month

'My elder sister made (it) for me six months ago!'

Sometimes the Temporal Phrase is separated from the pre-Predicate Adverb by right-dislocation. Thus it is clear that although both the TP and a Pre-
CHAPTER 5: Phrase Structure

Predicate Adverb refer to the time of the same Event, sometimes they are not co-dependent constituents, e.g.

\[ S_{\text{interrog.}} \]

\[ \text{Adv.} \quad NP \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad TP \]

\[ \text{бак сеh} \quad \text{saw} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{blo} \quad \text{måt} \quad \text{šàm} \quad \text{säj} \]

PERFECTIVE 2SG. -FUT. wash.face face time(past) previous

'When did you wash your face last?'

In the following example the TP occurs after the predicate perhaps because of the complexity of its structure (ie. for easier processing):

\[ ?aj \quad \text{cer} \quad \text{hian} \quad \text{bor} \quad \text{kmo...} \quad \text{muj} \quad ?at'ít \quad \text{sàŋ} \quad \text{tnáj...} \quad \text{muj} \]

1SG. hire study two year.Q. one week.Q. five day.Q. one

\[ \text{tnáj} \quad \text{puan} \quad \text{smoŋ} \]

day.Q. four hour.Q.

'I've been teaching for two years: four hours a day, five days a week.'

Note that the Future Tense Auxiliary *ma* is ellipsed (as in the example below) if the Temporal Phrase and the context already suggest an Event which hasn't occurred yet. This is common in many languages, such as in English 'She's having the baby in October' where the use of the present progressive (is V-ing) can be combined with a Temporal Expression to imply a future Event.

\[ S_{\text{simp.}} \]

\[ \text{TP} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{N} \]

\[ \text{tnáj} \quad \text{cét} \quad \text{hán} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{nich} \quad \text{kuan} \]

month ten 3P. (FUT.) excrete child

'In October, she'll have the baby.'
CHAPTER 6: Sentence Structure

CHAPTER 6

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the Sentence in Jruq. This is the level of grammar which combines Words, Phrases, and Clauses to make complete utterances. The term ‘complete utterance’ distinguishes Sentences from simpler utterances such as Interjections and Vocatives\(^{154}\). Unlike Interjections and Vocatives, Sentences are complete when they have (at least in underlying structure) an element which represents the topic of the proposition (ie. Subject/Topic), and a constituent which adds propositional content about that topic (Predicate/Comment).

Units at the phrase level are strung together to form the larger units of analysis that we refer to as SENTENCES. Phrases cannot normally be used as complete utterances in their own right, while sentences can. So, a sentence can be tentatively defined as the unit of linguistic analysis which has the following features:

- It has a complete meaning on its own.
- It has an internal structure that can be described without reference to other sentences.
- It is marked by an intonation break, such as the final falling intonation that is typical of statements in English before the new intonation pattern of the next sentence, or the final rising intonation that is typical of some exclamations or some questions. (Crowley, et.al. 1995:31)

Sentences consist of one or more Clauses which may be embedded or concatenated. Thus the simplest sentence is a single clause—this necessarily means that ‘Clause’ and ‘Sentence’ can often be equated and the terms used interchangeably, e.g. in my Phrase Structure diagrams I follow the standard convention of using (S) for both Clause and Sentence constituents.

\(^{154}\) Interjections and Vocatives (see §4.14) may be used as independent utterances to convey information such as a response to a question, or to signal the attention of someone, etc. They may also combine with sentences to add pragmatic information such as agreement with the proposition or clarification of the intended Addressee. This is discussed at the end of §6.4.
CHAPTER 6: Sentence Structure

Jruq uses important clause- and sentence-level features of focus stress and pauses to demarcate the edges of clausal and phrasal structures. Three distinct pitch contours are used to distinguish the three major Sentence types—Declaratives, Interrogatives and Imperatives. The pitch contours for these Sentence types are the same in Jruq as in other Mon-Khmer languages:

The pitch movement or the intonation seems to cover mainly the last syllable. The basic intonation pattern is a level mid pitch over the sentence with different intonation contours on the last syllable. From the data available, there are three basic intonations in Khmu: level /\rightarrow\/, rising /\Uparrow\/, and falling /\Downarrow\/. The terms level, rising and falling here refer mainly to the pitch. However, loudness, quality and length also clearly make some contribution to the auditory impression of intonation (see Hammarström 1976, p.32). (Suwilai 1987:95)

The Focus stress\textsuperscript{155} may occur on any internal constituent which is the head of a Phrase or on any element which is important enough to take the Focus of the sentence (this includes grammatical words such as Auxiliaries, or any modifier such as Adjectives which are used comparatively between referents in the discourse). There may be a slight rise in pitch in conjunction with stressed elements, but this is not distinctive and does not alter the particular pitch contour associated with each of these three Sentence types.

The use of purely grammatical functors—Conjunctions, Final Particles and Auxiliaries which are found between Phrases and Clauses—helps to further subcategorise these three major Sentence Types\textsuperscript{156}.

The use of the various Final Particles in Jruq creates emphatic or exclamatory senses. These attach to one or more of the major Sentence Types to create different ways of expressing the same information. Thus they create different subtypes of Interrogatives, Declaratives and Imperatives, in much the same way as more complex Clause structure creates different subtypes of Sentence

\textsuperscript{155} Note the word/phrase level stress is marked by a greater acoustic prominence rather than marked rising of pitch.

\textsuperscript{156} Many grammars of Mon-Khmer languages have confused Sentence types with Sentence structure—resulting in an over-abundance of “Sentence types” including Declaratives, Imperatives, Interrogatives, Conditionals, Vocatives, Exclamations, Existentials, Quotatives, Equatives, Intransitives, Transitives, etc. Similarly, many grammars confuse Sentence types with Sentence usage—thus equating all of these with formulaic Greetings, Thanks, Apologies, etc.
CHAPTER 6: Sentence Structure

types. I therefore treat these Particles as ‘attitudinal markers’ based on the framework set out by Sadock & Zwicky (1985:161), who did not consider attitudinal markers in Lahu as diagnostic of Sentence Types because, among other things:

a) They are not mutually exclusive. They may be freely combined except where the meaning would be contradictory.

b) Their conventional meaning does not deal specifically with speech acts, but their combination with other meaningful elements produces the effect of specifying the speech act type of the clause they occur in.

Another issue is that the internal word order may be rearranged by the Speaker to topicalise certain constituents which are the focus of the conversation. This does not create a new Sentence type, but simply modifies an existing one. Therefore I treat topicalisation and dislocation of sentence-internal constituents as a discourse feature within each Sentence type.

The three major Sentence Types and the subcategories I have observed in Jruq are therefore:

**Declaratives** (§6.2)
- Equatives/Ascriptives (§6.2.1)
- Predicatives (§6.2.2)
- Quotatives (§6.2.3)
- Conditionals (§6.2.4)
- Existentials (§6.2.5)

**Interrogatives** (§6.3)
- Polar Questions (§6.3.1)
  - Prosodic Polar Question (§6.3.1.1)
  - Syntactic Polar Question (§6.3.1.2)
- Information Questions (§6.3.2)
  - Identification Interrogatives (§6.3.2.1)
  - Information Interrogatives (§6.3.2.2)

**Imperatives** (§6.4)
- Positive Imperative (§6.4.1)
- Prohibitive Imperative (§6.4.2)

These Sentence types may also be used in formulaic utterances which are used for social purposes such as Greeting, Leave-taking, Apologies, Thanking, and other ritualistic speech. These are not additional Sentence types, rather they are examples of ritualised Sentence usage. Thus regardless of the Sentence type (Declarative/Interrogative/Imperative), they convey information which is understood in the context of shared knowledge of social conventions. These Formulaic Expressions are discussed further in §6.5.
6.2 Declarative

The most basic Sentence type is the Declarative which is the construction used to make statements. Declaratives are articulated with a rather flat midtone and a sharply falling intonation at the end of the sentence. For embedded Clauses within the Sentence, the intonation may fall slightly at the end of each Clause and may rise slightly at the beginning of each Clause, but over all, the intonation also falls. Examples are given below (the contour line represents intonation; [ ... ] indicates inter-clausal pauses; [ ] precede stressed elements (these are also emboldened in the English translation)):

\[
\begin{align*}
?aj & \ O \ kuaj \ kpìw \ səm... \ cón \ | \ nìch \ | \ p'or \ | \ ?ík \\
1SG. \ -FUT. \ carry.on.shoulder \ sack \ tired \ until \ excrete \ sweat \ warm
\end{align*}
\]

'I'm so tired from carrying sacks (of rice) on my back that I'm sweating.'

\[
\begin{align*}
kmì \ | \ ?náw... \ | \ klo \ | \ ?aj \ la \ ma \ bìh \\
year \ next \ husband \ 1SG. \ however \ FUT. \ come
\end{align*}
\]

'Next year, however, my husband will come.'

There are many subcategories of Declaratives which are determined by their internal syntactic structure—yet all share the midlevel pitch and sentence-final falling intonation pattern. The most simple of the Declarative sentences are the Equative and Ascriptive types. The most common Declarative sentence is the Predicative. All other Declarative types—Existentials, Quotatives, Conditionals; are derived from the Predicative using certain kinds of embedding structures and Grammatical words such as Conjunctions, Prepositions etc.

6.2.1 Equatives & Ascriptives

These Declaratives involve what are generally known as Topic vs. Comment structures. That is, the two major constituents of the sentence (the Topic and Comment) are both formed using structures which are headed by non-Verbal constituents (S.-v). The Topic (what the sentence is about) is followed by the Comment (what is said about the Topic).

The intonation pattern of these is always flat with a sharp fall on the final word, and stress may occur on any element carrying the focus. Compare for example the following:
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hán | muan ?aj
3P. niece 1SG.
‘She’s my niece.’

hán muan | ?aj
3P. niece 1SG.
‘She’s my niece.’

Unlike most Declaratives, Equative and Ascriptive Constructions do not contain Auxiliaries (thus Auxiliaries can be treated as a purely Verbal feature). The Comment may be modified by Adverbs (or Phrases functioning adverbially such as QP_{adv.}), just like Verbal Predicates, which shows that the Comment is functioning as a Predicate.

The constituents can vary from Demonstratives to complex NPs depending on the extent to which new information is required, e.g.:

?me trie sét | ?ner ne... pauw hap
person woman attach scoop.net there person Nhaheun
‘That woman making the scoop.net, is a Nhaheun person.’

?me | trie ne... pauw hap
person woman there person Nhaheun
‘That woman is a Nhaheun person.’

| neʔ... pauw hap
this person Nhaheun
‘That’s a Nhaheun person.’

I now treat Equatives and Ascriptives separately.

6.2.1.1 Equatives

Equatives are those where the Topic is expressed as one and the same entity as the Comment. It has the following sentence structure:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{(TP)} \ NP_{(subj.)} \ NP_{(pred.)} \ (PP) \]

Where NP may be substituted by a TP, QP or Demonstrative.

It is inherent to the nature of Equative constructions that the Topic will be of the same phrasal type as the Comment. The superficial exception is where one phrasal constituent is replaced by a Demonstrative. Examples of Equatives include the following:
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NP

K'term N1 Prep. NP

Pron. Place.Name

mih ?aj haj ?a me ri ka ?me trie Ø Ø si kùn

aunt 1SG. LOC. America person wife (3P.) -FUT. named Kun

‘My aunt in America is a woman called Kun.’

NP''

S-v

NP'complex

NP

Sv.rel. Ncpd. (NP) Aux. VP


?me broh Ø Ø k-native nè ?sh ?aj ?màt ?mat

person girl (3P.) -FUT. beautiful here y'ger.sib. 1SG. RED.-very

‘This beautiful girl is my younger (blood) sister.’

‘The girl who is beautiful here is my younger (blood) sister.’

NP

S-v

Kinterm N1

Kinterm N1 Pron.

kuan jaj ?aj rùo nè

child elder.sibling 1SG. Mr. here

‘The child of my elder sister is him here.’
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person woman (3P.) -FUT. own house that
'That is the woman who owns the house.'

grandfather that
'Grandfather is that (person).'

When both Topic and Comment are filled by a Temporal Phrases or Quantifier Phrases they function as Nominals in the marked context of mathematical equations and similar constructions. For example:

two arm length Q. one fathom Q. each family Q. seven person CL.
'Two arm lengths equals one fathom.' 'Each family has seven people.'
CHAPTER 6: Sentence Structure

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S-v \\
| \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad |
| (NP=) TP_{simp.} | (NP=) TP_{quant.} \\
| \quad | \quad |
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
māj \quad ne? \quad kāj \quad cēt \quad pe \quad tāj \\
\text{night} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{moon} \quad \text{ten} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{day}.Q.
\end{array}
\]

'Tonight is the 13th day of the moon's wane.'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S_v \\
| \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad |
| NP | QP | NP | QP |
| (kōp) | bār | kūj | Ø | muj | kāu |
\end{array}
\]

(shoe) two jewellery.CL. (shoe) one pair.CL.
'Two (shoes) equals one pair.'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S_v \\
| \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad |
| (NP=) TP_{simp.} | (NP=) TP_{simp.} |
| \quad | NP | Aux. | VP | \quad | Pron. | Tense | V_{intr.} | \\
| kmō | ?aj | Ø | kāt | kmō | muj | bān | cin | klām | pāh | cēt | bār |
\end{array}
\]

year 1SG. -FUT. born year one 1000 nine 100 seven ten two
'The year I was born was the year 1972.'
6.2.1.2 Ascriptives

Ascriptives are clauses/sentences where the Topic is expressed in a relational manner with another entity. Thus the Comment is often expressed with an attributive Noun Phrase, a Prepositional Phrase expressing a particular location, possession, or comparison, or a Quantifier Phrase, e.g:

\[
S_v \rightarrow (TP) \ NP_{(subj.)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PP \\ QP \end{array} \right\}_{(pred.)}
\]

Where one of the NPs may be replaced by a Demonstrative.

Examples are:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \\
| \quad | \\
\text{Pron.} \quad \text{N}_{\text{cpd.}} \\
\text{hān} \quad ?\text{me} \quad \text{hʌŋ} \\
\text{3P. person Nhaheun} \\
\text{‘She’s (a) Nhaheun (person).’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \\
| \quad | \\
\text{Pron.} \quad \text{N}_{\text{cpd.}} \\
\text{hān} \quad \text{pnus} \quad \text{pak se} \\
\text{3P. person Pakse} \\
\text{‘He’s (a) Pakse (resident).’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{NP}_{\text{simp.}} \\
| \\
\text{(N)} \quad \text{QP} \\
| \\
\text{Num.} \quad \text{Class.} \\
\text{(?me) puang ra} \\
\text{(person) four person.CL. person Jruq} \\
\text{‘(Those) four people are Jruq people.’}
\end{array}
\]
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NP
N Dem Prep. NP
kdang ne? kʰoŋ ?aj
sarong this of 1SG.
‘That sarong is mine.’

NP
N N₁ Prep. (NP =) Dem.
hnɔm ?aj haj te
house 1SG. LOC. there
‘My house is over there.’

NP’complex.
NP
Kinterm PP (NP) QP
kuan kʰoŋ hán Ø pe ra...
child of 3P. (3P.) three person.CL.
‘Her three children are all girls.’
‘Her children (who are three) are all girls.’

NP
Kinterm PP Num. Class.
kuan kʰoŋ hán pe ra
child of 3P. three person.CL.
‘She has three children.’ (Lit. ‘Her children (are) three people.’)
The old man (who is) behind me is a Jruq man from Panuan Village.
CHAPTER 6: Sentence Structure

Each sackful of charcoal is twenty-two thousand (kip).

Note that the Quantifier Phrase within the Topic constituent in the preceding example has been preposed before the head Noun (kʰuaj 'charcoal') for Topicality.

The Ascriptive Clause may function as the core Argument of a Complement-taking Predicate, e.g.

'I think (of you that) you are a beautiful person.'
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Note that the Ascriptive Clause may appear as a Relative Clause, e.g.

3P. -FUT. have person girl (3P.) person large
'She has tall daughters.' (Lit. 'she has daughters (who) are tall people')

Clause-peripheral Phrases such as Temporal Phrases may precede the Topic NP where they modify the following Ascriptive Clause, e.g.

'time(past) that house (of) 1SG. LOC there'
'At that time, my house was over there.'
6.2.2 Predicatives

The Predicative Declarative Sentence ($S_V$) obligatorily requires three constituents—a Subject (the thing being talked about), a Predicate (what is said about the Subject), and an intermediate Auxiliary (Aux.). The Predicate must always be filled by a simple Verb Phrase (VP) or a Serial Verb Phrase (SVP), and the Subject is typically filled by a Noun Phrase (NP), although other constituents may fulfill this role (such as Demonstratives, Clauses, Temporal Phrases, etc.)—these are discussed variably in the following text as they occur. In addition to these obligatory constituents, an Adverb may be used to modify the Predicate. This Adverb may be substituted with any Phrase structure functioning adverbially (i.e. NP$_{(adv.)}$, PP$_{(adv.)}$, TP$_{(adv.)}$, VP$_{(adv.)}$, QP$_{(adv.)}$). The combination of all of these constituents creates the Clause-internal structure which I represent with the following Phrase Structure rule:

$$S_V \rightarrow \text{NP}_{(subj.)} \ \text{Aux.} \left( \text{VP} \begin{cases} \text{SVP} & (\text{pred.}) \end{cases} \right)_{(Adv.)}$$

In addition to this Clause-internal Structure, various optional Clause-peripheral elements, such as Pre-Subject Adverbs, Temporal Phrases, and Prepositional Phrases, may be placed outside the construction. Temporal Phrases tend to occur before the Subject, and clause-peripheral Prepositional Phrases tend to occur after the Predicate (as in the revised Phrase Structure below)—however these positions are strong tendencies rather than fixed positions.

$$S_V \rightarrow (\text{Adv.})(\text{TP}) \ \text{NP}_{(subj.)} \ \text{Aux.} \left( \text{VP} \begin{cases} \text{SVP} & (\text{pred.}) \end{cases} \right)_{(Adv.)}(\text{PP})$$

I now briefly discuss the Subject, Auxiliary, Predicate and Adverbial constituents and their special characteristics.
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Subject

The Subject is normally not ellipsed in Declarative Sentences, unlike Subjects within Imperative or Interrogative Sentence types. In fact, the Subject is so necessary in the Declarative Sentence, that use of a ‘dummy it’ hăn ‘3P.’ is common in impersonal sentences which are semantically ‘Agentless’. However, hăn is still ellipsable, so it is not as obligatory as the ‘dummy it’ in English. Such sentences refer to weather and time, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
S' & \quad \text{conj.} \\
S & \quad \text{TP} \\
\text{Temp.N. Adv.} & \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{Pron. Tense} & \quad \text{Adj.} \\
tjàj & \quad \text{(hăn) } \emptyset \\
sàj & \quad ?dèh \text{ te } \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{previous 3P. } \text{-FUT.} \\
\text{cold} & \quad \text{but} \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{this (3P.) } \text{-FUT.} \\
\text{hot} & \quad \text{hot} \\
\text{‘Yesterday (it) was cold but today (it) is hot.’}
\end{align*}
\]

It is common in discourse that a Speaker will repeat the Subject for clarification and specification of the referent. This is called an ‘Echo-Subject’ construction. Sometimes this involves beginning the Sentence with a Person’s Name, other times it may involve a complex NP. In any case, the second mention of the Subject is always filled with hăn ‘3P.’, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
S' & \quad \text{conj.} \\
S & \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{(Echo Subject)} & \quad \text{N_{cpd}} \\
\text{co} & \quad \text{?jùo} \quad \text{le?} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{female (and) dog male } \text{3P. } \text{-FUT.} \\
\text{mount each other} & \quad \text{‘The female and male dogs—they’re mounting one another.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the infrequent occasions when the Subject of a Declarative was ellipsed from Pre-Predicate position, it was usually repeated at the end of the sentence for clarification (this is called right dislocation, or an ‘afterthought’ construction), e.g.
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 Predicate

The Predicate may be subcategorised based on the type of Verbal and the Argument structure. Some Predicatives have a very simple structure, where the Predicate is constituted by an Adjective, Descriptive or Intransitive Verb. These do not take following NP arguments, however they may be modified by lexical Adverbs, e.g.:

Other Predicates may consist of Transitive, Ditransitive, Semitransitive or Complement-taking Verbs. These require immediately following constituents such as NP’s, PP’s, VP’s or Clauses. These are obligatory constituents, but they may be ellipsed if their reference is easily discerned from the context of the immediate situation or previous discourse; thus they are less obligatory Arguments than the Subject.
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An infrequent feature of the Jruq language is Predicate ellipsis in a Declarative Sentence. This is only possible if the Verb has a generic meaning such as *kat* ‘have’ or *bic* ‘be, get’ and if the verb’s semantics are retrievable from context (usually if the same Predicate occurred in immediately preceding discourse). These ellipsed Predicative Sentences cannot be confused with the Equative/Ascriptive Sentence types because the Auxiliary may still be present e.g.

```
NP  | Aux.  | VP
   | N     | N
Quant.gen. | Neg.  | Tense | V_tr.  | NP
   | N     | N     | N1 (=PP)
   | Loc.N
   | hjuj  | hnom  | ?ih   | Ø  | Ø  | ?juo  | nadj
```
every house NEG. -FUT. (have) thing inside
‘There was nothing inside all the houses.’

```
NP  | Aux.  | VP
   | N     | N
N_cpd. | Tense | V_tr.  | NP
   | Ø     | Ø     | ?kung | ?di
   | Quant.gen
   | plaj  | plo   | Ø     | Ø
```
fruit grapefruit -FUT. (have) seed many
‘Grapefruits have many seeds.’
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Auxiliary Slot

Auxiliaries are words that express the tense, aspect, mood, voice or polarity of the verb with which they are associated... (Schachter 1985:41)

The Auxiliary slot contains a strict sequence of the grammatical words which indicate **Mood**, **Aspect**, **Tense Negation**, and **Modals**. These give information which is not already inherent to the Predicate or Subject, such as pinpointing the time in which the Event occurred or will occur. The fact that they refer to Events means they cannot occur within Equative/Ascriptive Sentences, because these describe States and inherent relationships with other entities.

In Jruq, the Auxiliary slot is treated as **obligatory**, because when it is not overtly filled by an Auxiliary it necessarily conveys Non-Future Tense. Therefore the only obligatory Auxiliary is **Tense**—Non-Future Tense is marked with Ø, while Future Tense is marked with *ma*. All other Auxiliaries are optional, and may co-occur if the inherent semantics allows. The only restriction seems to be that Mood Auxiliaries do not co-occur with Tense/Aspect/Modal Auxiliaries, and this is probably because Mood has a broad semantic coverage over these three domains. The order of the constituents in the Auxiliary position is:

\[
\text{Aux} \rightarrow (\text{NEG.})\{(\text{Aspect} \text{ Tense, } \text{Modal})\} \\
\phantom{\text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{NEG.}} \{(\text{Mood})\}
\]

Adverbials

Any Predicate may be modified optionally by lexical Adverbs such as *mat* 'very' and *mi?* *mi?* 'only' in the previous two examples. Somewhat confusing for constituent analysis are the Adverbials *côn* 'until' and *nân* 'only' (§4.11.3), which are borrowed from Lao and which must occur before NP’s, VP’s, QP’s or clauses:
In addition, any simplified Phrasal Structure (and sometimes simplified Clauses) may substitute the Adverb position to modify the entire Predicate. These are marked as NP(adv.), VP(adv.), PP(adv.), QP(adv.), S(adv.). In Khmu, sentences with Adverbial Phrases attached to the Predicate have been dubbed ‘Merged Sentences’ and treated as a type of Serial Verb Phrase construction (Suwilai 1987:79). However, in Jruq they are not as restricted as Co-verbs within the SVP construction—any kind of Phrase can appear Adverbially in this position after the main Verb. Indeed, these Adverbial Phrases may occur in conjunction with a complex SVP Predicate. Some examples of VP(adv.) are given below:

`person -FUT. boil fruit corn mushy`

`The person boiled the corn (until it was) mushy.'`

(Note the pivotal construction)
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```
NP  Aux.  VP'_simp.
   
N    Tense  VP
       Vtr.  NP
            Pron.

ieme  Ø  pnet  hăn  bul  tpe

person -FUT. make drink alcohol 3p. drunk alcohol
'People made him get drunk.'

PP
Prep. NP Ncpd. Tense. VP VP'_simp. VP(adv.)

haj  ca  đơ...  ieme  klo  Ø  hlăp  buar  dum
LOC. wedding person man -FUT. paint lip red
'At weddings, the groom paints his lips red.'

NP  Aux.  VP'_simp.
   
N    Tense  VP
       Vtr.  NP
            Pron.

ieme  Ø  sŏk  băn  tbĕc

person -FUT. punch each other play
'The men are punching each other for fun.'
```
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1SG. -FUT. have shit fire enter eye

'I've got ash in my eye.'

1SG. FUT. go buy fruit cucumber get money buy rice

'I'm going to go and sell cucumbers for money to buy some rice.'

1SG. FUT. come return send 2SG. go visit house 1SG.

'I'll come back and take you to visit my house.'
mother of 1SG. -FUT. SEW (it) fast very enable 1SG. -FUT. wear evening this

'My mother sewed it very quickly for me to wear tonight.'
It is common for Adverbial VP’s to be preposed for focus or topicality, especially as they describe the Purpose of the Event in the Predicate. Examples are:

 côŋ... Ǿ Ǿ sāj huat
steam (2SG.) -FUT. insert steaming.basket
‘To steam you put it in a steaming basket.’

bus... Ǿ Ǿ sāj tōk
boil (2SG.) -FUT. insert pot
‘To boil you put it in a pot.’

srūaj... Ǿ Ǿ ?dā? Ǿ hāj duaj
thresh (1PL.) -FUT. place (rice) LOC. lap
‘To thresh (we) put (rice) in (our) laps.’

re? sruat... Ǿ Ǿ ?bē? pnuaj
go harvest (person) -FUT. carry.on.back back.basket
‘To go and harvest, (people) carry a backbasket.’

bīh bōr ra... Ǿ ?ih Ǿ kēt prāk
come two person.CL. (1PL.) NEG. -FUT. have money
‘For the two of us to come, (we) don’t have the money.’

Adverbial PPs are commonly Comparative constructions headed by the Comparative Prepositions hōm ‘more than’, ṭijāŋ ‘like, similar to’ or muj hnie ‘same as’. Examples of such PP(adv.)’s are illustrated below.

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“I think you look like my mother.”

“Its a resin string like (that which) people make to go fishing.”

Other Declaratives

Three other subcategories of Declarative Sentences—namely, Quotatives, Existentials and Conditionals—are distinguished by their added syntactic complexity to the basic Predicative Sentence structure, and their slightly different intonation patterns. However all three are derived from the Predicative Declarative (taking a Verbal Predicate only) and all share the final sharply falling pitch contour common to all Declaratives. I treat them separately in the following three subsections.
6.2.3 Quotatives

These are a special kind of Declarative Sentence used to make statements of reported speech or similar functions. Quotative Declaratives contain a main Clause headed by a Quotative Verb which governs an embedded utterance. The Quotative Verbs include ʔman ‘speak, say’, lən ‘tell, discuss’, hla ‘ask’, hmoŋ ‘call’, and roj ‘tell, inform, narrate’ (these all take Clause (and NP) complements). The embedded utterance usually consists of a sentence which takes the appropriate intonation contour for its sentence type. Less frequently, the embedded utterance may instead be in the form of a Vocative or Interjection.

These Quotative Declaratives may be discussed in terms of direct and indirect speech. Direct speech requires an embedded utterance which may be of any Sentence type. This embedded utterance usually contains an overt Subject NP, unless it is an Imperative Sentence type. The intonation pattern of the particular embedded utterance is maintained. Indirect speech, on the other hand, is limited to containing an embedded Declarative Sentence with a mid-level intonation with final sharp fall. The embedded Declarative Sentence is simplified by allowing an ellipsed Subject reference (this is usually not permitted in full Declarative Utterances).

Examples of Quotative Sentences are given below:

\[ S'v(quote) \]
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \text{NP} \\
  \text{Pron. Tense} \\
  \text{Aux. V_comp.} \\
  \text{S_v(declarative)} \\
  \text{NP} \\
  \text{Pron. Tense V_tr.} \\
  \text{Aux. VP} \\
  \text{NP' complex} \\
\end{array} \]

\begin{itemize}
  \item saw Ø ʔman saw ma bim hmoŋ Ø Ø këkčc
  \item 2SG. -FUT. speak 2SG. FUT. make house 3P. -FUT. RED.-small
  \item 'You said you will build a house which is small.' (indirect quote)
\end{itemize}

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S'\(v(quote)\)

NP Aux. VP
Pron. Tense V\(_{\text{comp.}}\) NP (S =) Vocative

ŋaj Ø kloh hän be? hibk kur

1PL -FUT. call 3P. Ms thousand boyfriend

'We call her "Miss 1000 boyfriends."

S'\(v(quote)\)

NP Aux. VP
Pron. Tense V\(_{\text{comp.}}\) \(S_1(v(\text{declarative}))\)

saw Ø laŋ bik saw Ø ket

2SG. -FUT. tell pen 2SG. -FUT. dead

'You told me your pen had stopped working.' (indirect quote)

S'(quote)

NP Aux. VP
Pron. Tense V\(_{\text{comp.}}\) NP (S =) Imperative

ŋaj Ø laŋ hän Ø ṭah Ø bīc kuan

1SG. -FUT. tell 3P. (2SG) NEG. -FUT. get child

'I'll tell her, "Don't have the child."' (direct quote)
'Before a person dies that person informs (everyone), "I want people to build me a burial hut."'
"He said "Come again! And bring some girls to stay in Laos!"." (direct quote)
person 1PL. -FUT. see 2PL. -FUT. come there and (1PL.) -FUT. discuss Oh! FOC. good

"Us folk saw you two coming here, and we said, "Oh that's great!"." (direct quote)
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3P. -FUT. ask 2SG. WH. which? 2SG. -FUT. reside LOC. Lao

‘He asked you how you like living in Laos.’ (indirect quote)

Note that the entire Complement Clause (clause representing the thing that is said) may be substituted with a Demonstrative:

Other Declarative Sentences which have a Complement-taking Verb as Predicate are not treated as Quotative Sentences because they do not communicate reported speech and thus they never have embedded utterances, only embedded Clauses or Verb Phrases. The intonation pattern is also consistently a level mid tone with a sharply falling pitch. Clause finally, so (unlike direct quotes) at the Sentence level there is no difference between these and other Predicative Sentences. Examples of Complement-taking Predicative Sentences are:
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1SG. -FUT. fear wife 1SG. -FUT. pregnant sore
'I'm afraid that my wife is having a painful pregnancy.'

2SG. -FUT. think 1SG. -FUT. speak (that) to 3P.
'You thought that I said (that) about her.'

2SG. -FUT. ask (3P.) -FUT. buy coffee
'She asked to buy some coffee.'
6.2.4 Conditionals

Conditional Declarative Sentences contain two Clauses—one which represents the protasis (condition) and the other which represents the apodosis (result). These Clauses may occur in either order, although it seems there is a tendency for the protasis Clause to appear first. Either way, the initial Clause is always accompanied by a mid level tone which does not fall. The second Clause has a lower level pitch with a final sharp fall. Two main types of Conditional Conjunctions are found in Jruq. The first are Adverbialising Conjunctions (see §4.12.3.1) which always attach to the protasis Clause (these include $k^h\text{n}$ ‘if, when (irrealis)’, $\text{mu}$ ‘when (realis)’, $h\text{u}$ ‘when (just now)’, $b\text{\=a}_c$ ‘after (future/past)’, $c\text{e}_?$ ‘after (future)’, and $b\text{\textit{i}}$ ‘as soon as, when (future)’, $l\text{a}$ ‘although’). The second are Complementising Conjunctions (see §4.12.3.2) which always attach to the apodosis Clause (including $t^h\text{\=a}_g$ ‘so’, $\text{j\=a}_g$ ‘therefore’, $c\text{\=i}_\text{\=a}_g$ ‘in order to’). All of these Conjunctions are stressed in discourse.

Both Clauses can usually only be filled by subtypes of Declaratives—that is, either Equative, Ascriptive, Predicative, Existential, Quotative, or Imperative Clauses. However, sometimes Formulaic Expressions may fill the subordinate clause. Examples of Conditional Declarative Sentences with a variety of these Clause types are given below.

“If the wood rots, the bones fall into the grave pit.”
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\[ S'(conditional) \]
\[ S_v.(equational) \quad S_v.(interrogative) \]
\[ \text{conj.} \quad NP \quad NP \quad NP \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad Q \]
\[ kʰǎn \quad hǎn \quad màŋ... \quad ?im \quad ma \quad màm \quad ci? \quad lōh \]
\[ \text{if} \quad 3P. \quad \text{night} \quad \text{HON.} \quad \text{FUT. brave} \quad \text{return} \quad Q \]

'If it’s night time, will you be brave enough to return?'

\[ S_v.(conditional) \]
\[ S_v.(predicative) \quad S_v.(imperative) \]
\[ \text{conj.} \quad NP \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP' \quad \text{VP}_{adv.} \]
\[ kʰǎn \quad dak \quad ?ih \quad \emptyset \quad ?toʔ... \quad \emptyset \quad \emptyset \quad cɔk \quad dak \quad toh \quad sǎj \]
\[ \text{if} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{NEG.} \quad \text{-FUT. hot} \quad (2SG.) \quad \text{-FUT. take} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{breast} \quad \text{insert} \]

'If the water isn’t hot, add milk to it!'

\[ S_v.(conditional) \]
\[ S_v.(predicative) \quad S_v.(predicative) \]
\[ \text{conj.} \quad (NP) \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad \text{conj.} \quad (NP) \quad \text{Aux.} \quad VP \quad \text{PP}_{adv.} \quad (Tense) \quad \text{V}_{semitr.} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{Place.Name} \]
\[ ?aj \quad \emptyset \quad hǎw \quad lòt \quad nuar \quad saw... \quad cīŋ \quad \emptyset \quad \emptyset \quad ci? \quad \text{pak sōŋ} \]

1SG. \quad \text{-FUT. climb} \quad \text{car before} \quad 2SG. \quad \text{so} \quad (1SG.) \quad \text{FUT return} \quad \text{Paksong}

'I’ll get in the car before you so I can return to Paksong.'
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S_v(conditional)

S_v.(predicative)  S_v.(predicative)

NP  Aux.  VP  conj.  NP  Aux.  (VP)

Pron.  Tense  Vditr.  NP  Pron.  Tense  Modal

?aj  Ø  såj  dak  toh...  Ø  k bàn  ?aj  Ø  mun  Ø

1SG. -FUT. insert water breast if 1SG. -FUT. want (insert) 'I'll add milk (to it) if I want to.'

S_v(conditional)

S_v.(predicative)  S_v.(predicative)

NP  Aux.  VP  conj.  NP  Aux.  VP'

Pron.  Tense  Adj.  Pron.  Tense  SVP

 kjial  Ø  ?to?...  ?jàn  ?e  ?aj  Ø  re?  hom

wind -FUT. hot therefore 1SG. -FUT go bathe 'The weather's hot, so I'm going to bathe.'
when 1sg. -FUT. go study NEG. have person (3p.) -FUT. teach English

'When I was went to school, there weren't any English teachers.'
'If you want to be able to speak Jruq quickly, make sure to visit!'
If you put salt (in the bowl with the snail) and the snail bubbles, it doesn't matter.'
Occasionally the Conjunction is omitted, and it is clear from the intonation pattern, Tense/Aspect marking and context, that the juxtaposition of the two clauses results in a Conditional Declarative Sentence. Examples from my data are:

- **S'\(v\)(conditional)**
  - **S\(v\). (predicative)**
    - **NP**
    - **Aux.**
    - **VP**
      - **Tense**
      - **Desc.**
    - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **Adj.\(\text{cpd}\)**
    - **(NP)**
    - **Aux.**
    - **VP**
      - **Tense**
      - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **Adj.\(\text{cpd}\)**
  
  - **saw**
  - **∅**
  - **ŋəm**
  - **kbot**...
  - **(saw)**
  - **∅**
  - **pkuj**
  - **ʔh**
  - **r̪p**

  2SG. -FUT. sleep curled up (2SG.) -FUT. dream NEG good
  ‘If you sleep curled up, you have bad dreams.’

- **S'\(v\)(conditional)**
  - **S\(v\). (predicative)**
    - **NP**
    - **Aux.**
    - **VP**
      - **Tense**
      - **V\(\text{tr.}\)**
    - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **N\(\text{cpd.}\)**
    - **(NP)**
    - **Aux.**
    - **VP**
      - **Tense**
      - **V\(\text{tr.}\)**
    - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **N\(\text{cpd.}\)**
  
  - **∅**
  - **∅**
  - **ca**
  - **ʔdyn**
  - **∅**
  - **∅**
  - **bic**
  - **klo**
  - **kra?**

  (2SG.) -FUT. eat cooked rice polished rice (2SG.) -FUT. get man old
  ‘If you eat polished rice, you’ll get to be an old man.’

- **S'\(v\)(conditional)**
  - **S\(v\). (predicative)**
    - **NP**
    - **Aux.**
    - **VP**
      - **Tense**
      - **Adj.\(\text{cpd.}\)**
    - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **V\(\text{tr.}\)**
    - **V\(\text{intr.}\)**
    - **Adj.\(\text{cpd.}\)**
  
  - **hli**
  - **∅**
  - **kra?**
  - **kra?**...
  - **∅**
  - **∅**
  - **giaw**
  - **∅**
  - **ʔh**
  - **n̪sm**

  corn -FUT. RED.-old (person) -FUT. chew (corn) NEG tasty
  ‘If the corn is old, it doesn’t taste nice.’
6.2.5 Existentials

Existential Clauses/Sentences are a kind of Declarative which is created with a Noun Phrase preceded by an Existential Auxiliary and optional Negative Auxiliary—(?ih) kat ‘there are(not)’. Clause-peripheral Temporal Phrases and Prepositional Phrases may appear either before the Existential or Sentence-finally. The Existential Auxiliary is always stressed, and may involve a slight raising of the pitch. The remainder of the sentence has a normal Declarative pitch contour; therefore despite the structural differences, the Existential Sentence is treated as a kind of Declarative.

Examples of Existential Sentences are given below.

NEG. EXIST person Jruq LOC. village of 1SG. ‘There are no Jruq people in my village.’

EXIST stone reside LOC. cooked.rice ‘There are stones in the cooked rice.’

Note the verb kuo ‘reside’ has a prepositional function in the example above.
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```
Sv(existential)
  /
 TP  Exist.  NP
  /
 Temp.N.  Dem.  N  QP
 /
 kmc  ne  kät  tiät  ?di?  to

year  this  EXIST  parrot  many  animal.CL.
'This year there are many parrots.'

Sv(existential)
  /
 PP  Exist.  NP
    /
 Prep.  NP  N
     /
 pal  brēj  kät  ?kūr  ?lōg

direction  forest  EXIST  stump  tree
'Towards the forest there are tree stumps.'
```

The Existential Clause may be embedded within other sentence types such as the Interrogative Sentence. In combination with the Polar Question Particle loh, it may be postposed after the Noun Phrase which it modifies, e.g.

```
Sv(interrogative)
  /
 Sv(existential)
    /
 NP'complex  Ptc.l.
      /
 NP  Exist
       /
 Srel.
        /
 N  (NP)  Aux.  VP'
          /
 Tense  VP  S(adv.)
            /
 Vtr.  NP  NP  Aux.  VP
             /
 Kinterm  Pron.  Tense  Desc.
              /
 ?me  Ø  Ø  bim  tric  hän  Ø  luij  kat  loh

person (3P.) -FUT. punch  wife  3P. -FUT. angry  EXIST  Q
'Are there people who punch their wives when they're angry?'
```
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The following example shows the Existential Auxiliary can appear before a full clause. However, in this marked circumstance it functions emphatically in a similar way to the Negative Interjection ßan 'not true':

\[
S'_v \\
\downarrow \text{Neg. Exist.} \\
S_v. \\
\downarrow \text{NP Aux. VP} \\
\downarrow \text{Pron. Tense V_tr. NP (interrog.)} \\
\downarrow \text{N QP (interrog.)} \\
\downarrow \text{Quant.Int. Class.} \\
\text{ñih kót ŋaj ð Ø riep ptuar sie? ßán}
\]

NEG. EXIST 1PL. -FUT. count star QUANT.INT. thing.CL.

'It isn’t so that) we count the stars (in a constellation).'

6.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are a distinct type of Sentence which are used by Speakers to request information or verification on a topic in the form of a reply by the Addressee. There are many subtypes of Interrogatives, but they all share the same distinctive sentence-level intonation pattern of a sharply rising-falling pitch contour over the focus of the sentence. There are two main subtypes of Interrogatives:

a) Polar Questions which require a Yes/No or similar affirmative/negative response from the Addressee.

b) Information Questions which require some kind of detailed elaboration (and never an accompanying Yes/No response) from the Addressee.

These and their further subcategories are discussed in the subsections below.
6.3.1 Polar Questions

Polar Questions are the most simple in structure and require the most simple responses from the Addressee. The main clause is a simple Declarative structure which is accompanied by the Interrogative pitch contour.

There are two kinds of Polar Questions:

a) **Prosodic Polar Questions**—where the entire Sentence is structurally a Declarative Sentence, but the intonation indicates it is used as a Question.

b) **Syntactic Polar Questions**—where the Declarative Sentence is accompanied by the Sentence Final Polar Question Particle *loh* ‘Q’.

These are each discussed below.

6.3.1.1 Prosodic Polar Questions

The most simple Interrogative is formed simply with the combination of this Interrogative intonation pattern and a Declarative Sentence structure. Thus there is no syntactic or morphological indication that the Sentence is an Interrogative rather than a Declarative. Such Interrogatives are common in casual speech, but they are not as common as syntactic Interrogatives. In these Interrogatives, the pitch rises steeply over the Topic of conversation, and then falls steeply over the main Verb. Examples are given below ([↑] indicates rising intonation, [↓] indicates falling intonation, [...] indicates pauses between clauses and phrases.):
In response to these Prosodic Polar Questions, the Speaker expects the Addressee to answer with either an Interjection such as ?λα ‘no’, ?α ‘yes’ or a repetition of the word marked by the rising pitch with or without a preceding Interjection. This response may sometimes be elaborated using an answer which incorporates the Auxiliary and Main Verb. Thus the likely answers to the preceding example are:

(?)  bαc  dυν

(Yes) PERFECTIVE  long.time

‘(Yes). A long time.’ (affirmative response)

(?)λα...  ?ιβh  dυν

(not)  NEG  long.time

‘(No). Not a long time.’ (negative response)

?α...  bαc  dυν  ?αj  bιh  ne?

(Yes) PERFECTIVE  long.time  1SG.  come  here

‘(Yes). I’ve come here for a long time already.’ (affirmative response)

6.3.1.2 Syntactic Polar Questions

As mentioned already, Syntactic Polar Questions are formed with a Sentence final Polar Question Particle lɔɬ ‘Q’ usually placed after a simple Declarative clause. These Interrogatives are used by Speakers to induce a ‘Yes/No’ response by the Addressee. Interestingly, the rising and falling pitch is placed on different elements than in Prosodic Polar Questions. The rising pitch always accompanies the Auxiliaries and the Predicate. Depending on the argument structure of this Verbal the falling pitch will appear in different positions. For instance, if the Verbal takes following NP or PP arguments, the pitch will fall over these, and the Final Polar Question Particle will then take a
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steeply rising pitch. If the Verbal has no following Arguments, the pitch will fall over the final Polar Question Particle. Examples are given below:

\[ S_v(\text{interrogative}) \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{Aux.} \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{Pron.} \quad \text{Neg.} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{Modal} \quad V_{\text{tr.}} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{PP} \]
\[ \text{Prep.} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{Nepd.} \]
\[ Q \]

2SG. NEG. -FUT. like eat flesh of fruit coconut Q

'Don’t you like eating coconut flesh?'

\[ S_v(\text{interrogative}) \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{Aux.} \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{Pron.} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{Adj.} \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ Q \]

2SG. -FUT. cold Q

'Are you cold?'

Possible responses to these questions would include:

(ʔih) mot
(NEG.) like
'(l) (don’t) like (eating it).'

(?ih) ?deh
(NEG.) like
'(?l am) (not) cold.'

ʔan... ʔaj ?ih mot (ca)
no 1SG. NEG. like (eat)
'No. I don’t like eating (it).'

ʔa... ʔaj ?deh (?mat)
yes 1SG. cold (very)
'Yes. I’m (very) cold.'
As with Declarative Sentences, Interrogatives may involve Echo-Subject constructions where the Subject is first made explicit for specification/clarification, and then is referred to again within the Sentence using *hān* ‘3P.’, e.g.

\[
S' \quad \text{NP} \quad S_{y\text{(interrogative)}} \quad \text{VP'complex} \quad Q
\]

\[
\text{Title} \quad \text{Name} \quad \text{Pron.} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{SVP} \quad \text{VPdirect.} \quad \text{VPmain}
\]

\[
\text{be?} \quad \text{ciŋ} \quad \text{hān} \quad \varnothing \quad \text{re?} \quad \text{el} \quad \text{plun} \quad \text{loh}
\]

Mrs Ching 3P. -FUT. go net tadpole Q

‘That Mrs. Ching, did she go and net the tadpoles?’

### 6.3.2 Information Questions

There are two ways of seeking explicit information from the Addressee. The first is by forming an **Identification Interrogative**, where the Addressee is asked to give more specific information about a given. The second way is to create an **Information Interrogative**, where the Addressee is asked to explain typically unknown or unseen things. With both of these Interrogative constructions, the Interrogative Ignorative (§4.2.4) takes the high rising pitch, and the remainder of the Sentence has a falling pitch contour with a low falling pitch sentence finally.

#### 6.3.2.1 Identification Interrogatives

Identification Interrogatives are formed by combining *dāj* ‘which?’ with either a preceding Noun Phrase to refer to an entity, or with *tāŋ* ~ *tāŋ* ‘how?’ to refer to an Adverbial manner/quality. This compound structure is called an Identification Ignorative (§4.2.4.1). This Ignorative takes the required position which its role determines (i.e. Subject Position, Direct Object Position, modifier of a Prepositional Phrase, etc.). If it appears as the final constituent in the Sentence, then the rising intonation occurs on the Noun and the falling intonation on the word *dāj* ‘which?’. Otherwise, the *dāj* takes high rising pitch and the final element of the Sentence takes the falling pitch.
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These Identificational Ignoratives may occur within any kind of Declarative sentence, including Ascriptives, Quotatives, Predicatives, etc. Examples are given below:

-NP (interrog.)
  -NP (interrog.)
  -N
  -Title
  -?me
  -daj
  -kb
  -?im

  person which? husband HON.
  'Who is your ('Madam's') husband?'

-Sv (interrogative)
  -NP
  -Aux.
  -VP'
  -N
  -Tense
  -Vtr.
  -NP
  -Ncpd.
  -plaj
  -naj
  -taj
  -daj

  person -FUT. eat fruit persimmon how which?
  'How (in which way) do people eat the persimmon fruit?'

-S-v (interrogative)
  -NP
  -PP (interrog.)
  -N
  -Dem.
  -Prep.
  -NP (interrog.)
  -kdaq
  -ne
  -k'oj
  -?me
  -daj

  sarong there of person which?
  'Whose is that sarong?'
6.3.2.2 Information Interrogatives

Information Interrogatives are formed using compound Information Ignoratives such as ʔjæŋ ʔjuo 'which?', tæŋ kæt 'why?', ʔjæŋ hmoʰ 'how named?', tæŋ dæŋ 'how long?', hmoʰ ʔjuo 'which? (unseen)', hmoʰ ʔuo 'which (inanimate)? (unseen)'. These substitute the particular referent which is the focus of the Question. Unlike Identification Ignoratives, these Ignoratives must be preposed to Pre-Subject position, regardless of their syntactic function (like 'wh'-questions in English). Note that Clause-Peripheral Phrases such as Temporal Phrases may precede the Interrogative Phrase, which suggests that Interrogative Phrases are of equal constituency to the basic Clause and the Clause Peripheral elements.

The high rising intonation occurs on the final word in the compound Information Ignorative, and the falling pitch always occurs on the final word in the Sentence. Examples are given below:
6.4 Imperatives

The Imperative Sentence type is used when the speaker expects an action, cessation of action, or response from the Addressee. Imperatives are distinguished from other Sentences by the high level intonation pattern which continues throughout the entire Sentence structure, and the tendency that each word will carry stress (high audible prominence).

There are two kinds of Imperative—positive and prohibitive. Both can carry unmarked, emphatic or polite connotations. Politeness is created with the use of the final Request Particles (kælæ) ð̄w ‘(please) REQ.’ and sæ ð̄w ‘REQ.’ The Imperative can be emphasised with Particles such as dāj ‘Emph.’. The two kinds of Imperative are discussed in the subsections below.

6.4.1 Positive Imperative

The Positive Imperative is used to request, urge or command the Addressee’s response or affirmative action. The minimal structure is a Verb Phrase headed by a prototypical Verb (remember Adjectives and Descriptives cannot predicate positive Imperatives). This Verb may be preceded by a Subject NP which usually addresses the Addressee—indexing the second person reference is redundant therefore it can be ellipsed. In my data, such Imperatives always take Non-Future Tense.
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Some Polite Positive Imperatives directed at the Addressee may be created with Final Particles which can make the Imperative either more strong (using dāj ‘EMPH’) or polite (using ṣow ‘REQ’), e.g.

Some Imperatives are directed towards the Addressee to get his or her response, however the actual Subject of the Event may index the Speaker. Such Imperatives are similar to the construction ‘I’m going to X, okay?’. These usually take Future Tense Auxiliary to show an Event which is imminent (depending on approval by the Addressee), however they occasionally take the Non-Future Tense (Ø) to indicate a present action. In addition, these Imperatives obligatorily require the Subject reference (i.e. ḫaj ‘1SG’ or ḫaj ‘1PL’ ) to be overtly present in the Sentence. To make such Imperatives Polite, one uses the Final Particle ṣow or the compound sa ṣow ‘REQ’, e.g.
6.4.2 Prohibitive Imperative

This Imperative commands the Addressee to stop performing or prohibit a particular activity. These Constructions usually have an ellipsed Subject (which cannot refer to the Speaker). In addition, the Prohibitive Imperative never involves the Future Tense Auxiliary, but requires the Negative Imperative (Deontic Mood Auxiliary) ʔnot 'don’t!' (see §4.9.3.2). Unlike the Positive Imperatives, the predicate of the Prohibitive may be a Descriptive or a Verb (but still never an Adjective).

As with any Imperative, the Prohibitive may take the Final Particles for politeness of intensification. Examples are given below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} & \quad \text{Aux.} & \quad \text{VP} & \quad \text{Ptc.} \\
\text{Pron.} & \quad \text{Tense} & \quad \text{Mood} & \quad \text{Desc.} \\
\text{saw} & \quad \emptyset & \quad ʔnot & \quad k\text{ma}\text{l} & \quad d\text{aj} \\
\text{2SG.} -FUT. & \quad \text{DON'T} & \quad \text{shy} & \quad \text{EMPH} \\
\text{‘You stop being shy!’} & \quad \emptyset & \quad ʔnot & \quad j\text{i}? & \quad d\text{yp} & \quad ʔsw \\
\text{(2SG.)} -FUT. & \quad \text{DON’T} & \quad \text{ill} & \quad \text{ages} & \quad \text{REQ.} & \quad \text{‘Don’t stay sick too long!’}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the following example seems to involve an embedded Emphatic Existential (§6.2.5) rather than the typical Predicative Declarative Clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} & \quad \text{Aux.} & \quad \text{S_v(emphatic exist.)} & \quad \text{S_v(quote)} & \quad \text{S_v(declarative)} \\
\text{Pron.} & \quad \text{Tense} & \quad \text{Mood} & \quad \text{Exist.} & \quad \text{S_v(quote)} & \quad \text{S_v(declarative)} \\
\emptyset & \quad ʔnot & \quad k\text{at} & \quad \emptyset & \quad ʔaj & \quad \emptyset & \quad m\text{ot} & \quad \text{saw} \\
\text{(2SG.)} -FUT. & \quad \text{DON’T} & \quad \text{EXIST} & \quad (2SG.) -FUT. & \quad \text{discuss} & \quad 1SG. -FUT. & \quad \text{love} & \quad 2SG \\
\text{‘Don’t say “I love you.”!’}
\end{align*}
\]
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Vocatives

Vocatives are simple utterances comprising Personal Names, Pronouns or Kinterms which are used to signal the Addressee's attention. They are used in conjunction with Sentences and can either precede the Sentence or follow it, e.g.

?jo... to? haj ?im ma re?
grandfather to LOC. HON. FUT. go
'Grandfather! Where are you going?'

bap kra?... to? haj ?im ma re?
father old to LOC. HON. FUT. go
'Grandfather, where are you going?'

saw ne? saw bic sie? kmo
2SG. here 2SG. able Q.INT. year.Q.
'Your age, how old are you?'

tim haj saw bih... soc
from LOC. 2SG. come youngest.sibling
'Where have you come from? Younger sibling!'

Vocatives can be distinguished from Echo Subject constructions because the latter are only possible when Subject does not co-refer to the Addressee. This is because Echo Subjects are a discourse strategy for clarifying and specifying Referents which would otherwise be confusing to the Addressee—and as the default Subject would be the Addressee (see Silverstein's heirarchy), there is no need to use Echo Subject constructions if the Subject of the sentence is coreferential with the Addressee.

It is possible to use left-dislocation to move a Subject which is co-referential to the Addressee (and Speaker) for Topicality. This is clear in the example below, where the Subject NP has been preposed before the Clause-Peripheral Temporal Phrase:

pnum naj sie? kmo Ø çij cèk klo
person 1PL. Q.INT. year.Q. (SUBJ) obliged take man
'Us folk, how old should we be before we can marry?'
6.5 Formulaic Expressions

There are many formulaic expressions used regularly for Speech Acts such as greeting, leave taking, thanking, apologising, etc. These typically establish or terminate communication between Subject and Addressee. Other formulaic expressions are like proverbs or metaphorical expressions, and are used as a solidarity tool because only discourse participants who share knowledge of these metaphors would understand their contextual reference. Many formulaic expressions in Jruq have been calqued from Laotian expressions, whilst others seem to be indigenous.

These are each presented below under subheadings referring to the particular Speech Act.

Greetings & Leave-taking

Greetings are used to initiate communication acts, whereas Leavetaking is used to terminate a conversation.

Greetings

Throughout Mainland Southeast Asia, the structure of Greetings usually resembles Interrogatives which inquire about arrival of the Addressee. There are two kinds of Greetings determined by whether the discourse participants are both in the act of travelling somewhere, or whether one is stationary.

If the both participants are in the act of travel, they will both use a formula like:

\[
\text{to? h}aj\text{ saw ma re?}
\]
\[
\text{to LOC. 2SG. FUT. go 'Where are you going to?'}
\]

\[
t\text{m h}aj\text{ saw bih}
\]
\[
\text{from LOC. 2SG. come 'Where have you come from?'}
\]

If one participant is stationary and greets a passer-by, the Speaker can use the same formulas as those above, or may welcome the traveller into his situation by using the following Imperatives:
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bih nēŋ ūaj ūzw ca ūp ūzw
come visit 1SG. REQ. eat cooked.rice REQ.
‘Come and visit me!’ ‘Come and eat a meal!’

If the Speaker is greeting a person who is stationary, they may use a formula like:

hmōh ūjuo saw bim re? toj ūaj ūzw
WH(unseen) thing 2SG. make go together 1SG. REQ.
‘What are you doing?’ ‘Come with me!’

Leave-taking

When signalling the termination of a Conversation, the person who is leaving will often use the politeness Particle ūzw ‘REQ.’ in conjunction with a strict formula which wishes good luck, e.g.

niām rōp ūzw pkūj rōp ūzw
well good REQ. dream good REQ.
‘(Stay) healthy and good!’ ‘Sweet dreams!’ (used at night time)

Alternatively, a leave-taker will combine ūzw ‘REQ.’ with a Declarative sentence explaining motivation for leaving or an Imperative Sentence promising to return for some kind of Event, e.g.:

ūaj ci? ūzw bi? ūe bo bān seh nāw
1SG. return REQ. soon there see other listen again
‘I’m going, okay!’ ‘See/talk to you again!’

The other participant will often signal acknowledgement with a repetition of the word ūzw ‘REQ.‘, meaning ‘okay!’. In more formal situations, one can use the following Imperative formulas which invite the leave-taker to return again, e.g.

ci? ūzw bih nēŋ nāw ūzw
return REQ. come visit again REQ.
‘Come back, okay!’ ‘Come back and visit again, okay!’

ūhp ci? ūjū ūzw
DON’T return long.time REQ.
‘Don’t stay too long away!’

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When leaving the presence of someone who is ill, one can use one of the following Imperative formulas:

\[
\text{saw niam běn běn ?əw} \quad \text{ دون’t ill} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{REQ.}
\]

‘Get well soon!’

\[
\text{Don’t have a fever!}
\]

**Thanking & Apologising**

Thanking and apologising to someone is almost always performed using the following Lao borrowings with the addition of the indigenous Final Particle ?əw ‘REQ.’:

\[
kʰɔp \quad câj \quad ?əw \quad kʰɔ \quad tət \quad ?əw
\]

enter(1) heart(L.) REQ. ask guilt REQ.

‘Thank you!’

‘Sorry!’

However, in very formal situations, such as in the midst of a ritual or when a stranger or guest is visiting, a person will thank people or apologise using a ritualistic formula which addresses the various relations the Speaker has to people in the audience. Typically, the most formal address does not contain any Kinterms referring to adults, instead the Lao Titles tʰaw ‘Mr’ and næŋ ‘Miss’ are used:

\[
\text{lun soc tʰaw næŋ hu ?na hu ke?}
\]

dearest youngest Mr Mrs when baby when little

\[
\text{hu lun hu tʰaw hu næŋ...}
\]

when dearest when Mr. when Mrs.

‘My dear ladies and gentlemen, babies, children and adults...’

When in the presence of relatives and close friends one will use Kinterms as in the following Thanking speech:

\[
\text{tŋāj ne ?aj sūt tîh rōh haj kʰɔŋ klâm ?māt ?mat}
\]

day this 1SG. extremely large happy LOC. thing liver RED.-very

\[
\text{bīc bō tǎw ?me mîh ?ja? ?ōh jaj}
\]

able see see person aunt/uncle elders younger.sib. elder.sibling

‘I am extremely happy in my soul to see you all here today, my aunts, uncles, grandparents, younger siblings and older siblings.’

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The apology given to family and friends is very similar in structure to the formal Thanking speech act, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{hla} & \text{hlup} & \text{cet} & ?\text{me} & \text{mih} & ?\text{ja}? & ?\text{oh} \\
\text{ask} & \text{dearest} & \text{love} & \text{person} & \text{aunt/uncle} & \text{elders} & \text{younger sibling} \\
\text{ja} & \text{hta} & \text{naw} & \text{pla}? & \text{kap} & \text{cak} & \text{ra} \\
\text{elder sibling} & \text{wash} & \text{again} & \text{young} & \text{each} & \text{body} & \text{person CL}.
\end{array}
\]

'(I) ask my dearest aunts and uncles, elder siblings, and younger siblings, to come clean as a younger (ie. subordinate) with every one.'

The \text{hta} 'wash' refers to the ritual ceremony \text{rit hom hom} or \text{rit that} performed just after birth where all family and friends wash their hands and touch the stomach of the baby.

Signalling pity is clearly different from apologising. One simply uses the non-formulaic Declarative:

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
?\text{aj} & \text{sro}? & \text{hmup} & \text{saw} \\
\text{1SG. pity} & \text{suffer} & \text{2SG.} \\
\text{I'm sorry you are suffering.}'
\end{array}
\]

**Metaphors**

During my fieldwork I managed to collect a number of metaphorical expressions in Jruq, however as they are not very frequent in discourse, there are possibly many more which I have not yet heard. Examples of metaphors used to describe people are:

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
?\text{me} & \text{hkuan} & ?\text{ih} & \text{cuh} & ?\text{me} & \text{hkuan muj} & \text{kpah} \\
\text{person} & \text{NEG. full} & \text{child} & \text{one} & \text{half} \\
\text{a stupid/retarded child} & \text{a stupid/retarded child} \\
\text{(Lit. 'not full (of brains in the head)') & \text{(Lit. 'a halfwit')}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
?\text{me} & ?\text{ih} & \text{hgal} & \text{brij} \\
\text{person} & \text{NEG. know} & \text{forest} \\
\text{'an ignorant person'} & \text{'}\text{an ignorant person'} \\
\text{(Lit. 'person who doesn't know the surroundings')}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
?\text{an} & ?\text{me} & \text{bim} & \text{taj} & ?\text{me} & \text{tbec} & \text{taj} \\
\text{not person} & \text{make} & \text{day} & \text{person} & \text{play} & \text{day} \\
\text{'lazy people'} & \text{'}\text{lazy people'} \\
\text{(Lit. 'people doing nothing all day') & \text{(Lit. 'people who play all day')}
\end{array}
\]

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Other metaphors describe actions:

\[
\text{saw } \text{jo}h \quad \text{ni}ch \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{lo}h
\]
2SG. pierce exit this Q

'Have you been here before?'
(Lit. 'have you pierced and exited this place?)

\[
\text{njaj} \quad \text{ni}l \quad \text{nl}h \quad \text{kl}a\text{m}
\]
1PL. NEG. know liver

'We don't understand each other.'

(similar to the Lao expression: Ḭ ᵃ ṭʰǎ /bɔ: kʰâw caj/)

\[
\text{njaj} \quad \text{hmo} \quad \text{ku}t \quad \text{cʰim}
\]
1SG. fear dead heart

'My heart stopped for fear.'

(similar to the Lao expression: Ḭ ᶸ ṭʰǎ /cəj kʰânt/)

These metaphors above are simply used as poetic devices. One other metaphor I heard was used as a polite way to refer to the taboo topic of toileting. In familiar situations (such as with family and friends) Jruq people can simply state they are going to the toilet, e.g.

\[
\text{njaj} \quad \text{re} \quad \text{kn}o\text{m} \quad (?w) \quad \text{njaj} \quad \text{re} \quad \text{nc} \quad (?w)
\]
1SG. go urinate REQ. 1SG. go shit REQ.

'I'm going to piss!' 'I'm going for a shit!'

However, in public (where strangers may be present), a Jruq person will say they are 'going for a stroll' to avoid any embarrassment. Lin explained that although the meaning of the word Ḭwɛt/ɲɛt/ is 'wander', speakers pronounce it a little differently [ɲɛt] to imply that they are going for a shit, e.g.

\[
\text{njaj} \quad \text{re} \quad [\text{ɲɛt}] \quad \text{njaj} \quad \text{re} \quad [\text{ɲɛt}]
\]
1SG go wander 1SG go 'shit'

'I'm going for a walk.' 'I'm going for a shit!'

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Other poetic speech is used by elders in the presence of strangers and guests in formal situations. Take for example the following Conditional Declarative Sentence:

\[
\text{kăn saw Ø kuo ne ?di? kmo... saw Ø dák}
\]

if 2SG. -FUT. reside here many year 2SG. -FUT. walk

\[
\text{jāk jāk ?jāŋ dak kāh}
\]

RED-fluent like water flow

‘If you lived here for many years, (you’d be able to speak) fluently as water flows.’

Proverbs, sayings.

Explanations for bad events reflect the superstitious culture area. Some explanations are clearly folkstories, and it is not clear whether they are said seriously or as a joke:

\[
\text{ŋēn kbot... pkūj ?iŋ rōp}
\]

sleep curled up dream NEG. good

‘If you sleep curled up, you have nightmares.’

The following expression is used as a joke when the power is cut off. It refers to the high birth rate in poor countries, and is a calque from Lao: 埚်ဖြင့် မျမ်းနည်း /bō: mā: fāj, mī: lūk lāj/:

\[
\text{?iŋ kət kʰuaj... kət kwan laj}
\]

NEG. have charcoal have child often

‘If there’s no electricity, there’s always lots of children (born).’

The joking expression used to warn children not to point at rainbows (Note the left-dislocation of all the Object references: ‘rainbow’ and ‘finger’ for topicalisation):

\[
\text{hdįŋ saw hʔol... hpuac saw ma hʔat hʔip}
\]

rainbow 2SG. point finger 2SG. FUT. cut off shoved inside hole

\[
\text{kluo?... hit câŋ ?iŋ hān hʔat tēj}
\]

anus smell as if NEG. 3P. cut off hand

‘If you point at rainbows, your finger will be cut off and shoved up your anus, and (you will) smell (your finger) as if it wasn’t cut off your hand.’

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Emphatic expressions

To imply something is so good or pleasing, one can say much like in English ‘X is so good, I’m lost for words’, e.g.:

\[
\text{hān pəm pʰot ʔih mēj ʔmaŋ}
\]
3P. tasty too.much NEG. allow speak
‘It’s so delicious I’m lost for words!’

\[
\text{hān pəm ʔmat cən dial hpuac tēj}
\]
3P. tasty very until lick digit hand
‘It’s finger-licking good!’

To exclaim that something is too good to be true, or impossible, Jruq speakers have two expressions. The first literally means ‘lightning will split your head open’. This is directly calqued from Lao: ຫ ນ ໂ ໄ ສ ຘ /kʰ: ʔa: sǐ? pʰaː húa/. Examples I recorded in the field are:

\[
\text{saw ʔmaŋ ʔjāŋ krə ma deh tus}
\]
2SG. speak like sky FUT. split head
‘You’re saying impossible things!’
(Lit.: ‘you are speaking as if lightning will split your head open’)

\[
\text{hān cək trie krə ma deh tus}
\]
3P. take wife sky FUT. split head
‘He (a monk) can’t marry.’
(Lit.: ‘He marries a woman and lightning will split his head open’)

The other means ‘there is no sun’ and is also calqued from Lao: ອ ໂ ບ ຮ /bəː miː wêː/. It can be used in place of the expressive ʔmihn ‘impossible!’ as a sharp (but sometimes flirtatious) rebuke:

\[
\text{cək trie ʔnəw... ʔih kat tŋāj}
\]
take wife new NEG have sun
‘You can never marry me.’
(Lit.: ‘You can take a new wife when there’s no sun’)

Again perhaps some words of depress.
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

JRUQ VOCABULARY (1500 ITEMS)

Entries alphabetised according to the following order (the minorsyllable vowel "ə" is disregarded):

ã, a, ã, o, ã, i, ia, i, ia, o, ū, u, ua, ū, e, ë, i, ia, o, ã, ñ, ã, ë, i, iə, ñ, b, c, d, g, h, j, k, kh, l, m, n, ng, p, ph, r, s, t, th, w

Abbreviations used:

NB = note (comment); (H) = Huffman (1971); (F) = Ferlus (1969-70); (T&A) = Thomas & Andrianoff (1978); PWB = Proto-West-Bahnaric (reconstructed form is asterisked); '=<' = source (loan, derivation or historical form).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic transcription</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation as recorded</th>
<th>Translation — comments, other sources, derivations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/täm/</td>
<td>[tâm]</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tän/</td>
<td>[tân]</td>
<td>thing, object classifier (&lt; Lao ñu /tän/ 'thing, article')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taj/</td>
<td>[taj, täj, täj]</td>
<td>I, me (1SG.) — NB length is not distinctive: [taj] (F), [taj, täj] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tat/</td>
<td>[tat', tat']</td>
<td>famished, parched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔʔ/</td>
<td>[tɔʔ, tɔʔ]</td>
<td>shit (n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔʔ/</td>
<td>[tɔʔ, tɔʔ]</td>
<td>laddle (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔh/</td>
<td>[tɔh, tɔh]</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛ/</td>
<td>[tɛ]</td>
<td>that, those, there (in sight but far away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛ ~ tɛʔ/</td>
<td>[tɛʔ, tɛ]</td>
<td>Focus Particle (FOC.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛʔ/</td>
<td>[tɛʔ]</td>
<td>that, those, there (absent, not in sight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛʔ/</td>
<td>[tɛʔ]</td>
<td>and (conj.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛh/</td>
<td>[tɛh, tɛh]</td>
<td>oops! (interjection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛp/</td>
<td>[tɛp', tɛp']</td>
<td>watch (someone do something)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛŋ/</td>
<td>[tɛŋ, tɛŋ]</td>
<td>jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɛɾ/</td>
<td>[tɛɾ, tɛɾ, tɛɾ]</td>
<td>catch small fish, tadpoles with a scoop net (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɕɾ/</td>
<td>[tɕɾ', tɕɾ]</td>
<td>shit (n., v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɪm/</td>
<td>[tɪm]</td>
<td>respect title for older male/female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /ŋiŋ/ | [ŋiŋ] | large fat variety of banana — NB Compound word /priŋ ʔiŋ təm/ (= Lao ᵁŋ ṭʰɔw). |
| /ŋih/ | [ŋiŋ, ŋiŋ] | Negative Auxiliary (NEG.) |
| /ŋiar/ | [ʔiær, ʔiəl, ʔiəɾ, ʔiəɾ] | chicken |
| /ŋiɛ ~ ʔiie/ | [ʔiɛ, ʔiie, ʔiie] | grandmother |
| /ŋok/ | [ʔok'] | drink (v.) |
| /ŋɔp/ | [ʔɔp'] | paint (the skin) (< Lao ʂu /ŋõp/ ‘perfume (v./n.)’) |
| /ŋɔʔ/ | [ʔoʔ] | variety of banana — NB Compound word /priŋ ʔoʔ/ (= Lao ᵁŋ ʂʰu). |
| /ŋɔm/ | [ʔɔm, ʔom] | to winnow rice |
| /ŋok/ | [ʔok'] | turn upside down |
| /ŋot/ | [ʔot'] | small partridge — NB Compound word /cem ʔot/ (= Lao ʔûn ʂʰu) |
| /ŋûp/ | [ʔûn] | fire (n.) |
| /ŋu/ | [ʔuː] | hammock (< Lao ʂ /ŋu/ ‘cradle’) |
| /ŋuaj/ | [ʔuaj, ʔuej, ʔwaj] | stir (cooking) |
| /ŋual/ | [ʔuət] | choke, suffocate |
| /ŋuaj/ | [ʔuan, ʔueŋ] | wide |
| /ŋuas/ | [ʔuač, ʔuaʰ] | chestnut — NB Compound word /pläj ʔuas/ (Ferlus records /pläj ʔueh/) |
| /ŋuo/ | [ʔuo, ʔuː] | respect title for middle-aged or younger man |
| /ŋšw/ | [ʔʌw, ʔʃw] | request particle (REQ.) — NB [ʔawh] (H); [ʃw] (F) |
| /ŋə/ | [ʔəː] | yes (interjection) |
| /ŋəj/ | [ʔəj, ʔəj] | hey! (interjection) |
| /ŋən/ | [ʔən, ʔən] | not, no (discourse negator) |
| /ŋəp/ | [ʔəp', ʔəp'] | cooked rice |
| /ŋik/ | [ʔik'] | warm, hot (weather, object) |
| /ŋim/ | [ʔiım] | warm (body) |
| /ŋip/ | [ʔiip', ʔiip'] | tent, shelter, cave |
| /ŋbaw/ | [ʔbaw, ʔmybaw, ʔmybaw] | dig (e.g. a grave) |
| /ŋbok/ | [ʔbok', ʔmybok', ʔmybok'] | white |
| /ŋbaʔ/ | [ʔbaʔ, ʔmybaʔ, ʔbaʔ] | carry (on back) (two shoulder straps) — [ʔbaʔ] (H), [baʔ] (F) |
| /ŋbat/ | [ʔbat', ʔmybat'] | hit (v.tr.) |
| /ŋbreʔ/ | [ʔbreʔ, ʔmybreʔ, ʔmybreʔ] | carry (on shoulder pole) |
| /ŋdeʔ/ | [ʔdeʔ, ʔmydeʔ, ʔmydeʔ] | different, other, foreign |
| /ŋdeh/ | [ʔdeh, ʔmydeh, ʔmydeh] | cold |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/ʔdəp/ [ʔdəp', ʔdəp', ʔnʔdəp'] short (height); lowland dwellers
dfish trap

/ʔdr̥t/ [ʔdr̥t̥', ʔdr̥t', ʔʔdr̥t'] hiccup, belch < PWB *ʔdiʔ

/ʔdriaʔ/ [ʔdriaʔ, ʔʔdriaʔ, ʔʔʔdriaʔ] dragonbean (= Lao 眛 CRUDNAC)

/ʔgor/ [ʔgor, ʔʔgor] long (space)

/ʔgoh/ [ʔgoh, ʔʔgoh, ʔʔʔgoh] woven winnow/basket (wide and flat)

/ʔguar/ [ʔguar, ʔʔguar, ʔʔʔguar] howl (v.)

/ʔglo/ [ʔglo, ʔʔglo, ʔʔʔglo] spicy — NB [ʔʔhor] (H)

/ʔhár/ [ʔʔhär, ʔʔhär] narrow, tight; stuffed (stomach)

/ʔhát/ [ʔʔhát', ʔʔhát', ʔʔhát'] itch (v.), scratch (v.)

/ʔhat/ [ʔʔhät', ʔʔhät', ʔʔhät'] tobacco

/ʔhát/ [ʔʔhät', ʔʔhät', ʔʔhät'] how, reason, what; similar to, kind of

/ʔján/ [ʔʔján, ʔʔján, ʔʔján] soup

/ʔjáʔ/ [ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔʔjáʔ] ancestors; respect term for very old people

/ʔjáʔ/ [ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔʔjáʔ] late morning

grandfather

/ʔjáʔ/ [ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔʔjáʔ] black

/ʔjáʔ/ [ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔʔjáʔ] female (animal); thumb

/ʔjáʔ/ [ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔjáʔ, ʔʔʔjáʔ] what?, anything; thing, insect —NB [ʔʔnua] (H), [ʔʔjáʔ, juo, ʔʔjáʔ] (F)

/ʔjau/ [ʔʔjau, ʔʔjau, ʔʔʔjau] follow, come later/afters another person

/ʔjau/ [ʔʔjau, ʔʔjau, ʔʔʔjau] awake, wake up — NB [ʔʔjow] (F)

/ʔjau/ [ʔʔjau, ʔʔjau, ʔʔʔjau] we dual

/ʔjau/ [ʔʔjau, ʔʔjau, ʔʔʔjau] shrimp, prawn, lobster

/ʔjauʔ/ [ʔʔʔjauʔ, ʔʔʔjauʔ, ʔʔʔʔjauʔ] sour — NB [ʔʔʔjauʔ] (H), [ʔʔjauʔ] (F)

/ʔkàʔ/ [ʔʔkàʔ, ʔʔʔkàʔ, ʔʔʔʔkàʔ] child-in-law (spouse of eldest child); parent-in-law (parents—aunt—uncle of spouse)

/ʔkàʔ/ [ʔʔkàʔ, ʔʔʔkàʔ, ʔʔʔʔkàʔ] rough

/ʔke/ [ʔʔke, ʔʔʔke, ʔʔʔʔke] injured; twisted, sprained (back); rolled back (eyes); bruised (buttocks)

/ʔkiet/ [ʔʔkiet, ʔʔʔkiet, ʔʔʔʔkiet] small tree frog

/ʔkoc/ [ʔʔkoc, ʔʔʔkoc, ʔʔʔʔkoc] set alight, burn (tr.)

/ʔkuny/ [ʔʔkuny, ʔʔʔkuny, ʔʔʔʔkuny] seed

/ʔkuny/ [ʔʔkuny, ʔʔʔkuny, ʔʔʔʔkuny] trunk (tree)

/ʔłuŋ/ [ʔʔłuŋ, ʔʔʔłuŋ] wood; tree classifier

### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nle/</td>
<td>[nle], [nle:]</td>
<td>soon, in a moment, a short period of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lēh/</td>
<td>[lēh], [lēh]</td>
<td>just now (immediate past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lia?/</td>
<td>[lia?], [lia?]</td>
<td>short length (space/object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/māñ/</td>
<td>[māñ], [māñ], [māñ], [māñ]</td>
<td>speak; language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/māt/</td>
<td>[māt:], [māt:], [māt]</td>
<td>very (general intensifier); true (ie. blood kin relations) — NB [māt] (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mē/</td>
<td>[mē], [mē]</td>
<td>generic personal pronoun; impersonal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mōn/</td>
<td>[mōn], [mōn], [mōn]</td>
<td>not permitted, impossible; no!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mian/</td>
<td>[mian], [mian], [mian]</td>
<td>request, take as a present; foster (child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mia/</td>
<td>[mia], [mia], [mia]</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāl/</td>
<td>[nāl], [nāl], [nāl]</td>
<td>half, a piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāw/</td>
<td>[nāw], [nāw], [nāw]</td>
<td>next, further — NB [nāw?] ‘further’ (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/naw/</td>
<td>[naw], [naw], [naw]</td>
<td>new — NB [naw] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nēr/</td>
<td>[nēr], [nēr]</td>
<td>large scoop net for catching small fish, shrimp or tadpoles (&lt; /rēr/ ‘catch fish with scoop net’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nuj/</td>
<td>[nuj], [nuj], [nuj]</td>
<td>worm (earth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/noŋ/</td>
<td>[noŋ], [noŋ]</td>
<td>stop, don’t!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ne?/</td>
<td>[ne?], [ne?], [ne?]</td>
<td>this, that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/njū/</td>
<td>[njū], [njū], [njū]</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nuat/</td>
<td>[nuat], [nuat]</td>
<td>fog — NB [nuat] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nā/</td>
<td>[nā], [nā]</td>
<td>baby, infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nūt/</td>
<td>[nūt], [nūt], [nūt]</td>
<td>tree stump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nōm/</td>
<td>[nōm], [nōm], [nōm]</td>
<td>sweet — NB [nōm] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāj/</td>
<td>[nāj], [nāj]</td>
<td>pestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāl/</td>
<td>[nāl], [nāl], [nāl]</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nāc/</td>
<td>[nāc], [nāc]</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nok/</td>
<td>[nok], [nok]</td>
<td>toad; kind of nectar bat (compound word /nok/ priŋ) — NB [nok] ‘toad’ (F) &lt; PWB *nok ‘toad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nōp/</td>
<td>[nōp], [nōp]</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nēl/</td>
<td>[nēl], [nēl], [nēl]</td>
<td>throughout, everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nēn/</td>
<td>[nēn], [nēn], [nēn]</td>
<td>together, with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nēp/</td>
<td>[nēp], [nēp], [nēp]</td>
<td>mixed up, confused, combine (things which blend); multicoloured /si ?rus/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/saj/</td>
<td>[saj], [saj], [saj], [saj], [saj]</td>
<td>fish with a hook and line; fishing line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sie?/</td>
<td>[sie?], [sie?], [sie?], [sie?]</td>
<td>uterus, placenta; filth, rubbish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tān/</td>
<td>[tān, m³tān, ?³tān]</td>
<td>bitter, salty; strong sharp smell/taste — NB [tān]- (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tät/</td>
<td>[tät‘, m³tät‘, ?³tät‘]</td>
<td>tear, break (string); cut off (object on photograph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tər/</td>
<td>[tər, m³tər, ?³tər]</td>
<td>string handle of rice basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/teʔ/</td>
<td>[teʔ, m³teʔ, ?³teʔ]</td>
<td>copulate (people), fuck (coarse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toʔ/</td>
<td>[toʔ, m³toʔ, ?³toʔ]</td>
<td>hot; heat, sunshine — NB [to]- (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tuh/</td>
<td>[tuh, m³tuh, ?³tuh]</td>
<td>hearth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tup/</td>
<td>[tup‘, m³tup‘]</td>
<td>burial hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tuaʔts/</td>
<td>[tuaʔts, m³tuaʔts, ?³tuaʔts]</td>
<td>shallow (space); piercing (voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tuon/</td>
<td>[tuon, m³tuon, ?³tuon]</td>
<td>carry on shoulder pole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsaʔ/</td>
<td>[tsaʔ, m³tsaʔ, ?³tsaʔ]</td>
<td>vomit (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tak/</td>
<td>[tak‘, m³tak‘, ?³tak‘]</td>
<td>small tortoise (Manouna Impressa—<code>impressed tortoise</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twian/</td>
<td>[twian, m³twian, ?³twian]</td>
<td>ricefield (wet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/twiet/</td>
<td>[twiet‘, m³twiet‘, ?³twiet‘]</td>
<td>deserted, empty (of people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bak/</td>
<td>[bak‘, m³bak‘]</td>
<td>carry on one shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bāl/</td>
<td>[bāl, m³bāl, bal]</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bān/</td>
<td>[bān, m³bān]</td>
<td>thousand (&lt; Lao 俐 /pān/ <code>one thousand</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bāŋ/</td>
<td>[bāŋ, m³bāŋ]</td>
<td>some (&lt; Lao 俐 /bāŋ/ <code>some</code>) — Part of compounds like /bāŋ nam/ <code>sometimes</code>, /bāŋ ?me/ <code>someone</code>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bät/</td>
<td>[bät‘, m³bät‘]</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bāt/</td>
<td>[bät‘]</td>
<td>occasion (&lt; Lao?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bat/</td>
<td>[bat‘, m³bat‘, bat‘]</td>
<td>wound, scar (&lt; Lao 俐 /bāt/ <code>wound, injury, ache</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bat/</td>
<td>[bat‘]</td>
<td>blessing, offering for monks (&lt; Lao 俐 /bät/ <code>begging bowl</code> &lt; Pali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baw/</td>
<td>[baw, m³baw, mba:ʔ]</td>
<td>kite (n.) (&lt; Lao -football /vān/ <code>kite</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bōŋ/</td>
<td>[bōŋ, m³bōŋ]</td>
<td>sprig (leafy branch of a bush)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bōŋ/</td>
<td>[bōŋ, m³bōŋ]</td>
<td>fall over (to ground), crash (Lao: 俐)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bō/</td>
<td>[bō, m³bō]</td>
<td>see, meet — NB [bō]- ‘often, accustomed to’ (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bōh/</td>
<td>[bōh, m³bōh, bōx]</td>
<td>salt — NB [bōh]- (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bon/</td>
<td>[bon, m³bon, bon]</td>
<td>place (&lt; Lao 俐 /bōn/ <code>place</code>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bēŋ/</td>
<td>[bēŋ, m³bēŋ]</td>
<td>quickly — NB [bēŋ]- (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/be/</td>
<td>[be, m³be]</td>
<td>raft (&lt; Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/beʔ/</td>
<td>[beʔ, m³beʔ]</td>
<td>respect title for middle-aged/young woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/bep/   /bep, m*bep, bəp/ similar to, like (< Lao ṭεıp /bə:p/ ‘model, type, kind, sort’)

/ben/   /beŋ, m*beŋ, mbeŋ/ grill, toast (< Lao ṭɨŋ /pɨːŋ/ ‘grill, roast, toast, barbecue’)

/bic/   /bic, m*bic/ able, can, get

/bin/   /biŋ, m*biŋ/ Melastomataceae plant species—Osbeckia chinensis Linn. (Lao: ວຽມມາ, ຦ອບເ__[bəŋ] _bp longipinnata). Compound word /biŋ bɔŋ tʰɛŋ/.

/bih/ /bic, bɨh/ snake

/bil/ /bit, m*bit, biːt/ forget

/bin/ /beŋ, bɨŋ, m*beŋ, bɨŋ/ full (moon) — NB [biŋ] (F)

/biam/ /biam, m*biam/ corner of mouth

/biel/ /biɛt, m*biet/ mat (woven) (< Khmer)

/bon/ /boŋ, m*bon, boŋ/ shin (bone)

/bot/ /bɔt, m*bot/ duck down, curl down (to avoid detection)

/bũt/ /bʊt/ Person’s name (possibly male only)

/buʔ/ /buʔ, m*buʔ/ a pile, mound (e.g. dirt for planting chokos)

/buh/ /buh, m*buh/ roast (in fire); roasted (e.g. ‘bricks’)

/bul/ /bʊl, m*bul/ Person’s name (male or female) drunk; queasy, nauseous

/bul/ /bʊl, m*bul, buoʃ/ boil (v.)

/bus/ /bʊs, bɨŋ/ accompany, together, with

/buaj/ /buaj, m*buaj/ lip

/buar/ /buaar, m*buaar/ cool, cold (water, air)

/buat/ /buaat, m*buaat/ tuber, taro — NB [buam] (H)

/buom/ /buom, m*buom, buːm/ two — NB [bair] (Ban Set Khot Loven)

/bær/ /bær, m*bær, bær/ already (Perfective Aspect)

/bāc/ [bəːc, m*bəːc, bəːc/ other, reciprocal marker

/ban/ [bən, m*ban, bən/ friend

/ban/ [bən, m*ban, bən/ father — NB [baap] (H)

/bap/ [bəp, m*bəp, bəːp/ tie, attach

/bik/ [bɪk, m*bik/ soon, when (future); in a while (temporal adverb)

/biʔ/ [bɪʔ, m*bɪʔ/ come

/bih/ [bɨh, m*bih, biːk/ punch, beat, fight

/bim/ [bɪm, m*bim, bɪm/ work, make, do

/bim/ [bɪm, m*bim, bɪm/ strap (belt) (< Lao ṭɛːw /bəːw/ ‘belt (n.)’)

/biʔew/ [bəʔew, bəʔɛw/
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jruq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thigh — NB [bław] (H); [blaw, blaw] (F)</td>
<td>[mblaw, blaw, mblaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiny freshwater carp fish variety. (=Lao: ໝໝ). Compound word /ka blak/</td>
<td>[blak, mblak, blak]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insipid, tasteless, clear, colourless (soup)</td>
<td>[blaŋ, mblaŋ, blaŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ivory</td>
<td>[blok, mblok, blok]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wool</td>
<td>[blēn, mbēn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used to, accustomed, ever</td>
<td>[blēh, mblēh, blēč]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bright light, flash — NB [blip] (F)</td>
<td>[bliep, mbliep, blip']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dandruff — NB Compound word: /sraŋ blo/</td>
<td>[blo:, mblo:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spark, cigarette lighter — NB [blip blaŋ] 'flash' (F)</td>
<td>[blxŋ, mblxŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash (face); ablutions</td>
<td>[bli:, mbli:, blia, blaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemongrass, citronella — NB Compound word /brāŋ saj/</td>
<td>[brāŋ, plāŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person's name (male or female)</td>
<td>[brāŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earthworm — NB Compound word /bīh brāŋ/</td>
<td>[brān, mbrān]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound, noise (of thunder, bird, cow, elephant, snail, frog etc.)</td>
<td>[brāw, mbrāw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brao (people)</td>
<td>[brāw, mbrāw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish trap (small vase-like with little legs)</td>
<td>[bra:, mbra:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| taxon for a plant possibly Saffron (Zingiberaceae) Curcuma sp. (Lao: ໄຊຊາເຊ) | [bra?/]
| Compound word /pir bra?/ | [brah, mbrah] |
| spirit, ghost — NB [braah] (H) | [braj, mbraj, braj] |
| thread (cotton) | [brak, mbrak] |
| peacock          | [braŋ, mbraŋ, braŋ] |
| outside, environment; blue (sky colour) | [braŋ, mbraŋ, braŋ] |
| roof beam (or any horizontal house beam) | [braŋ, mbraŋ, braŋ] |
| coconut          | [braw, mbraw, bra:w] |
| young girl       | [brōh, mbrōh, mbrōx] |
| forest, savanna, land without crops, houses, or jungle — NB [braj] (H) | [brēj, mbrēj] |
| three days/months/years (in future) | [bre:, mbre:] |
| /breh/  | [brɛːɕ, mbrɛːɕ] | fishing rod — NB Compound word: /brehʔ-saj/ 'fishing rod' < /reb/ 'hook, sickle' |
| /brit/  | [brɪtʰ, mbrɪtʰ] | five days/months/years (in future) |
| /briah/ | [brɪaːh, mbrɪeːh] | Person’s name (possibly female only) — lit. ‘tiny’ |
| /briat/ | [brɪaːtʰ] | Person’s name (male or female) |
| /broj/  | [brɔj, mbrɔj, broj] | sprinkle, drizzle (rain) |
| /brûk/  | [brûkʰ, mbrûkʰ] | ashes |
| /bru/   | [bru, mbru:] | mountain |
| /brul/  | [bruːt, mbruːt, bruːt] | pigeon — NB ‘peacock’ (H) |
| /bruːc/ | [bruːcʰ, mbruːcʰ, bruːcʰ] | quail |
| /bruːn/ | [bruːn, mbruːn] | banana variety |
| /bruːn/ | [bruːn, mbruːn] | four days/months/years (in future) |
| /bruːn/ | [bruːn, mbruːn] | tape worm (intestinal worm) |
| /brăh/  | [brɑːh, mbrɑːh] | fishing rod — NB Compound word /brañʔ-saj/ < /rɑːɲ/ ‘grasp, hold on to’ |
| /brañ/  | [mbrɑːɲ, mbrɑːɲ, mbrɑːɲ] | broadcast, scatter seeds |
| /căj/   | [căj] | two days/months/years (in future) |
| /căk/   | [căkʰ] | heart, soul, mind (< Lao èmes /caŋ 'heart, mind') |
| /căm/   | [căm] | body |
| /căm/   | [căm] | wait for; guard, protect |
| /căń/   | [căŋ] | dried (fish) |
| /căń/   | [căŋ] | great-grandparents |
| /căń/   | [căŋ] | peel off (bark), cut |
| /căŋ/   | [căŋ] | indeed, so, since, as if, perhaps |
| /căw/   | [căw, cœw] | (< Lao ʔām /caŋ wəŋ/) |
| /ca/    | [caː, cœːaː] | grandchildren |
| /cah/   | [cāh] | eat |
| /cak/   | [cāk] | dig (with spade), scrape |
| /cak/   | [cak, ca:k] | from (< Lao ʔœm 'from') |
| /can/   | [can, cœan, cam] | Pandanus (*Pandanaceae*) Pandanus Furcatus. (Lao = čām /tie/). The thorny triangular stems are stripped of their thorns and used for weaving mats. |
| /car/   | [car, car, jar] | dish (bowl, plate) (< Lao čām /cam/ ‘plate, dish, disc’) |
|         |               | cast out (net) |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/cas/  [ca'ç, ca'ç, ca'j]  comb (v.)
/cêk/  [cêk', cêk', cêk]  take, get; marry (take partner)
/côñ/  [côñ, côñ, côñ]  eat (rice/meal)
/cô/  [cô]  dog
/côh/  [côh, côx]  chisel out, pierce, puncture
/côk/  [côk']  glass; classifier for measuring liquids (< Lao ຄ່ /côk'/ 'glass of metal or plastic; cup')
/cêj/  [cêj, cêj, cäj]  louse (head) — NB [çôj] (H)
/cêt/  [cêt', cêt']  stab, insert, pick (teeth)
/cêh/  [cêh, cêh, cêj]  insert; put on (sarong)
/cêh/  [cêh, cêh, cêj]  rice (unhusked)
/cêc/  [cêc']  great-great-grandkin
/cêl/  [cêl, jêl, cêl]  rapids, cascade, waterfall
/cêt/  [cêt', cêt]  ten
/cêl/  [cêl, cêl, jêl]  after, in a while (temporal adverb)
/cêh/  [cêh, cêc]  finished
/cêm/  [cêm, cêm, cêm]  bird
/cên/  [cên, cên, cên]  cooked, ripe
/cêp/  [cêp', cêp']  thrilled, happy—Compound word /cêp câk/
/cêr/  [cer, cer, cel]  employ (person), hire, rent—NB [ker] (F)
/cêt/  [cêt', cêt', cêt']  love
/cêw/  [cêw, cêw]  spicy sauce, dip (for dipping sticky rice into) (< Lao ສິ /cêw/ 'pepper sauce')
/cêñ/  [cêñ, cêñ]  obliged, must (< Lao ວູ /cêñ/ 'auxiliary: of obligation')
/ciñ/  [ciñ, cêñ]  return
/ciñ/  [ciñ, ciñ, ciñ]  nine
/ciñ/  [ciñ, ciñ, ciñ]  feed (v.), nurture, raise (animals/children)
/ciam/  [ciam, ciam, cêiam]  pick (teeth)
/cian/  [cian, cian, cêian]  carry (in hand), hold, take (in hand)
/cian/  [cian, cian, cêian]  slice (v.tr.)
/ciat/  [ciat', ciet', cêiat]  paper (< Lao ກິ /ciat/ 'paper')
/cie/  [cie, cie]  hip, the side of the torso at the waist
/cien/  [cien, cien]  hoe (large) (< Lao ອິ /côk'/)
/côñ/  [côn]  until, to the point of (result) (< Lao ອິ /con/ 'until')

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APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/côte/ [côţ, côţə] steam (v.)
/immerse, submerge in water
/côt/ [côt] jot down (< Lao ɨn /côt/ ‘note, write down, mark’)
/cûm/ [cûm, cum, cuom] burn (v.tr), set alight
/ask where someone is, worry, miss
/cûr/ [cûr, cûrə, cur] douse fire (extinguish with water)
/pig
/cuç/ [cuç, cœuc] great-great-great-grandkin
/cûh/ [cûh, cúx, cûx] full, enough
/cûm/ [cûm, cum, cuom] spread, cover
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] rub, polish
/spider
/cûm/ [cûm, cum, cuom] thresh; pound up (with small pestle) — NB [cuak] (H)
/cûn/ [cûn, jûn, jôn] straight-edged — NB [cân] (H), [cûn] (F)
/cûr/ [cûr, cûrə, cur] they (3p.plural)
/cûn/ [cûn, jûn, jôn] so that, in order to, therefore, and then (< Lao 籴 /cûn/)
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] remember (< Lao <s> /cûl’:/ ‘remember, recognize’)
/abandon, throw away, discard
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] (e.g. sweep off bad spirits when entering sacred area); bury (body)
/cûl/ [cûl’, jîh, jîh] rinse hair, wet hair
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] work (n.)
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] further (distance), more than
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] (comparative)
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] carry in one hand; one handful (measurement)
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] breathe; heart, mind
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] thorn
/cûla/ [cûla; cûla:] arrow, arrow feathers
/cûl/ [cûl’, cûl, cûl’] peer at, examine, stare
/cmât/ [cûmât] serious, try hard to
/cmûwh/ [cûmûwh, cûmûwh] vine, creeper
/cûn/ [cûn] jealous
/cûn/ [cûn, cûn, cûn] blowpipe; bamboo straw for drinking wine
/cûn/ [cûn, cûn, cûn] chilli — NB: ‘pepper (black, whole)’(H)
/cûn/ [cûn, cûn, cûn] bored
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/cräm/ [cräm, cˌräm, cˌøräm] dry
taxon for tree varieties of 1. tree
with white flowers (Gramineae) Saccharum
arundinaceum (Lao: глах лēн),
2. ʔɲəŋ cräm ɲhar (Lao: ʔɲhēn).

/crāŋ/ [crāŋ, cˌrēŋ] taxon for tree species
(Anacardiaceae) used for
timber because termites don't
eat it. Melanorrhoea sp. (e.g.
Gluta Tavoyana Hook F.)
(Lao: ʔtām hēn, ʔtām hēn).
Compound word ʔɲəŋ cran./

/croʔ/ [crōʔ, cˌroʔ] early morning
/spear (n.)
curly hair (hair)
/sprinkle (v.tr.) (e.g. salt on s.t.)
dive (person); cascade, pour
down (a verticle drop
waterfall)
push (away)
short hair, fur
mount (v.tr.) (animals
copulating)
wear clothes, cover up (with a
hat, large jumper, sarong,
blanket etc.); wear a ring
wish for, grant; ask for
something
plow (v.tr.)
douse, extinguish a fire with
water
which? (interrogative)
final expressive meaning ‘gee
wiz, crikey!'
mock, imitate
hunt for, look for
tighten (string/wire), make
straight
stool, wooden chair (< Lao ʔŋ
/tāŋ/ ‘stool, chair, sofa’)
cover (face/doorway)
duck
water
underarm, armpit
break off by bending, pinch off
| /dɔh/   | [dɔh, dɔx] | crack knuckles, pop bones out of socket by pulling |
| /dɔk/   | [dɔkʰ, nɔdɔkʰ] | hide (tr.), conceal |
| /dɔkʰ/  | [dɔkʰ] | of course not; emphatic negative |

(< Lao ການ /dɔːkʰ/ ‘for emphasis and euphony at end of sentence’)

| /ɗɔn/   | [ɗɔn, ɗɔn̥, ɗɔŋ] | python |
| /ɗɔŋ/   | [ɗɔŋ, ɗɔŋ̥] | island (< Lao ສາດ /ɗɔŋ/ ‘island’)
| /ɗɛc/   | [ɗɛcʰ, nɗɛcʰ, nɗɛcʰ] | mosquito |
| /ɗɛj/   | [ɗɛj, nɗɛj] | living, fresh, alive—NB [ɗaj] (H), [ɗɛj, ɗɛj] (F) |
| /ɗe/    | [ɗɛ] | too, also (final emphatic agreement particle) |
| /ɗeʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ, nɗɛʔ] | final interrogative particle |
| /ɗeʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ, nɗɛʔ] | final emphatic request particle |
| /ɗɛh/   | [ɗɛh] | split, part (v.); lightning bolt (lit. 'sky split') |
| /ɗɛh/   | [ɗɛh] | Person's name (male or female) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | lemur, loris—NB Unanalyseable |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | Compound word /ɗɛʔ law/. |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | bamboo tube—NB [ɗɛŋ] (F) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | flick (tail/tongue) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | candle (< Lao ສາດ /ɗɛʔn/ ‘candle’) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | tip, point, top (of tree); pointy |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | Person's name (male or female) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | living (person), alive |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | eel; used as an attributive for /sɔŋ dʊŋ/ ‘Black-striped weasel’ because of dark sleek appearance. |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | red, ripe |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | long (time) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | front basket (small, tied around waist) —NB [ɗuaŋ] ‘tobacco drying basket’ (F) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | pubic bone |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | boat, canoe—NB [ɗuak] (H) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | walk, go |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | thresh rice with feet |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | last (night/time), just now |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | mud—NB [ɗar] (F) |
| /ɗɛʔ/   | [ɗɛʔ] | put, place, keep—NB [ɗaʔ] ‘keep’ (H) |
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /dîk/ | [dîk, ɗîk] | rise, arise, jump up |
| /diŋ/ | [diŋ, ɗiŋ, diŋ] | obstruct, block (a road) – |
| /dîʔ/ | [dîʔ, ɗîʔ, ɗîʔ] | much, many |
| /diə/ | [ɗiə, diə] | herbs—NB attributive in Compound word: /bât cla diə/ ‘herbs, spices’ (= Lao ອ້າງ ສ້າງ) |
| /diəl/ | [ɗiəl] | Person’s name (possibly female only) |
| /dra – gra/ | [ɗra:, ɗgra:] | two days/months/years (in past) |
| /drap/ | [ɗrapʔ] | River name and village name (Lao: ວານຫຼວງ) |
| /dre – gre/ | [ɗre:, ɗgre:] | three days/months/years (in past) |
| /drît – grît/ | [ɗdrît, ɗgrît] | five days/months/years (in past) |
| /driam/ | [ɗdriam] | stagger |
| /drom/ | [ɗdrom, ɗrom, ɗdrom] | Lao (people) |
| /druan – gruan/ | [ɗdruan, ɗgruan] | four days/months/years (in past) |
| /gah/ | [ɗgah] | make a vow/offering to a spirit |
| /gōk/ | [gōk, ɗgōk] | pump (water) (< Lao ທໍາ /kɔk/ ‘pump, suck out’) |
| /gōŋ/ | [gōŋ, ɗgōŋ] | gong (< Lao ທໍາ /kɔŋ/ ‘gong, drum’ < areal) |
| /gōk/ | [gōk, ɗgōk] | basket variety |
| /giaw/ | [ɗgiaw, ɗgiew, ɗgiəw] | chew (< Lao ທໍາ /kʰiaːw/ ‘chew, masticate’)—NB [giaw] (H) |
| /gōŋ/ | [gōŋ, ɗgōŋ] | bracelet, necklace |
| /gōʔ/ | [gōʔ, ɗgōʔ] | hunchbacked, bent over (person) |
| /gōk/ | [gōk, ɗgōk, ɗgōk] | a large cattle variety (male or female)—NB ‘female (animal)’ (F) |
| /gōn/ | [gōn, ɗgōn] | transport (v.), carry |
| /glōŋ/ | [glōŋ, ɗglōŋ] | cross-eyed, deformed eye—NB [glōŋ] ‘blind/closed eye’ (F) |
| /gluh/ | [glûx, ɗglûx, ɗglûh] | force or beat one’s way through the jungle edge of road |
| /gûŋ/ | [gûŋ] | sap, lacquer, oil from particular tree species. Sap is used for torches and sealing boats etc. |
| /grāŋ/ | [grāŋ, ɗgrāŋ] | basket variety |
| /grap/ | [ɡrapʔ] | harvest (n.) |
| /hâŋ/ | [hâŋ] | he, she, it |
| /hān/ | [hān] | shirt—NB [hāp] ‘shirt’ (H) |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hanyu Pinyin</th>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hàw/</td>
<td>[hǎw, hǎw]</td>
<td>climb, rise—NB [hǎw, hǐw] (F); [hǎw] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ha/</td>
<td>[ha:]</td>
<td>open mouth (v.)—In Compound word /ha hiəp/ 'yawn'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/han/</td>
<td>[han, hǎn]</td>
<td>goose (&lt; Lao ຜົ້ /hǎn/ 'goose' &lt; area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/he ~ heʔ/</td>
<td>[hɛʔ, he]</td>
<td>Focus Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoʔ/</td>
<td>[hɔʔ, hoʔ]</td>
<td>in, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hok/</td>
<td>[hɔkʰ, hɔkʰ, hɔk]</td>
<td>wear (shirt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hom/</td>
<td>[hom, hɔm]</td>
<td>more than (comparative), surpass; soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔŋ/</td>
<td>[hɔŋ, hɔŋ]</td>
<td>room (&lt; Lao ປ້ ຊ /hɔŋ/ 'room')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/heŋ/</td>
<td>[heŋ, heŋ, heŋ]</td>
<td>pour away, spill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hel/</td>
<td>[heːl]</td>
<td>smooth, polished (surface)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hip/</td>
<td>[hɪpʰ, hɪpʰ]</td>
<td>chest, large box, coffin (&lt; Lao ປ /hip/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hian/</td>
<td>[hian, hien]</td>
<td>yellow wasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hien/</td>
<td>[hien]</td>
<td>study (&lt; Lao ວມ /hian/ ‘study, learn’)—NB [hian] (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hom/</td>
<td>[hom, hom]</td>
<td>bathe (intr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hon/</td>
<td>[hon]</td>
<td>Person's name (possibly male only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoŋ/</td>
<td>[hoŋ, hoŋ]</td>
<td>corner (inside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔŋ/</td>
<td>[hɔŋ, hɔŋ]</td>
<td>pelvis (bone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoŋŋ/</td>
<td>[hoŋŋ, hoŋŋ]</td>
<td>that's all, only, truely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔŋj/</td>
<td>[hɔŋj, hɔŋj, ʔŋj]</td>
<td>to, at, toward, where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔŋŋ/</td>
<td>[hɔŋŋ]</td>
<td>Nyaheun (people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɪt/</td>
<td>[hɪtʰ, hɪtʰ]</td>
<td>smell something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hiəp/</td>
<td>[hiəpʰ]</td>
<td>yawn (v.)—Compound word /ha hiəp/ 'yawn'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hu/</td>
<td>[hu:]</td>
<td>when (conj.), whenever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huʔ/</td>
<td>[hùʔ, huʔ]</td>
<td>immediately, when (just now), whilst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huc/</td>
<td>[hʊcʰ, hʊcʰ]</td>
<td>flesh (of coconut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hup/</td>
<td>[hupʰ]</td>
<td>picture (&lt; Lao ປ /hupʰ/ 'picture, image, photograph')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hur/</td>
<td>[hur, huor, hur]</td>
<td>cold (sick), influenza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hut/</td>
<td>[hʊtʰ, huorʰ]</td>
<td>rice steaming basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huač/</td>
<td>[huačʰ, huačʰ]</td>
<td>whistle (n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huaj/</td>
<td>[huaj, fǔej]</td>
<td>spoon—Compound word /cōŋ /huaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huan/</td>
<td>[huan, fuan]</td>
<td>spring (water), well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huan/</td>
<td>[huan]</td>
<td>sprout (v.), grow (plants, teeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huat/</td>
<td>[huatʰ]</td>
<td>remove, take out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/huok/ [huok', fuok', huk'] tell lies, deceive—NB [huɔk] (H)
/huor/ [huor] spear (v.), throw a spear—
/hʔaŋ/ [hɔʔaŋ] hard, sturdy, strong
/hʔai/ [hɔʔaɬ, hɔʔaɬ] laugh, smile
/hʔiŋ/ [hɔʔiŋ, hɔʔiŋ, bʔiŋ, sʔiŋ] disgusted, feel repulsed; filthy, disgusting
/hʔir/ [hɔʔir, hɔʔiɬer] talkative—Compound word /hʔir tman/
/hʔiat/ [hɔʔiɬat', hɔʔiɬet'] hate, detest
/hʔiaw/ [hɔʔiaw, hɔʔiɬew, bʔiɬew] left (side/direction)
/hʔiet/ [hɔʔiɬet', hɔʔiɬat'] fry (v.), cook in a pan
/hʔol/ [hɔʔoɬ, hɔʔoɬ] point; index finger
/hʔom/ [hɔʔom, hɔʔoɬm] smell (nice) (v.intr.); perfume
/hʔuat/ [hɔʔuɬat', bʔuɬat'] hoarse, whisper
/hʔuɬ/ [hɔʔuɬ, bʔuɬ] steam (n.)
/hʔeʔ/ [hɔʔeɬ] egg white
/hʔit/ [hɔʔiɬt', hɔʔiɬt] shade
/hbaj/ [mʔbaj, mʔbaj, mʔbaj] bean classifier (peanut, longbean, soyabean)
/hbaj/ [hʌmʔbaj, mʔbaj, mʔbaj] well, healthy, easy (< Lao สะดวก [sá baŋ] 'happy; well, healthy')
/hbaj/ [hʌmʔbaj, mʔbaj, mʔbaj] cloth, material, cotton—NB [hbaj] (H)
/hbaj/ [hʌmʔbaŋ, mʔbaŋ] footprint—NB [hbəŋ] (H)
/hboh/ [mʔbəh, hʌʔəh, mʔbəh] bubble (n.); blow bubbles (fish); pop (fire)
/hbiw/ [mʔbiɬ, bʔiɬ, hʌmʔbiɬ, hʌbəiɬ] tamarind
/hbok/ [hʌmʔboɬk, mʔbok, mʔboɬk] buttocks
/hbuac/ [hʌmʔbuac'] taxon for Theaceae tree variety Schima wallichii. (Lao: ັໍລິມມາຣແມ. Compound word /ʔoŋ hbuac/.
/hbuot/ [hʌmʔbuot', mʔbuot', mʔbuot'] compress, squeeze
/hbɔl/ [hʌmʔbəɬ, mʔbəɬ] tripod (metal)
/hbiʔ/ [mʔbiʔ, mʔbiʔ, hʌmʔbiʔ] afternoon, evening
/hbiəʔ/ [bʔbiəʔ, mʔbiəʔ, hʌmʔbiəʔ] lean on someone; trip and fall
/hbron/ [hʌmʔbron, mʔbron] papaya tree variety (Lao: ວານ ຳງ ບໂນນ) cluster of round fruit (classifier) (used for coconuts, eggfruit only)—Lin said synonymn to /kpum/ but more restricted.
/hcit/ [hʌcit', hʌcəcit'] borrow (& return)
/hdaj/ [bʔdaj, mʔdaj, hʌndaj] tender, soft—NB [ʔdan] (H)
/hdən/ [bʔdən, hʌdən]
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/hda/ [hⁿda:, n्da:, ṅda:] span of thumb tip to middle finger tip
/hdat/ [hⁿdat’, n্dat’] very short height (e.g. tree), stocky (person); to speak abruptly/strictly (Compound word /ʔman kdet hdat/)
/hde/ [hⁿde:, n্de:, ṅnde:] rattan (Gramineae) Oxyteranthera parvifolia. (Lao: ບໝ ວໝ) — Compound word /ʔlēn hde/.

/hden/ [hⁿden, hⁿden, ṅden] star
/hdiac/ [hⁿdie’c’, n্die’c’] spurt (v.), squirt
/hdia/ [n’n diah, hⁿdieh, ṅdiah] noisy, raucous, irritating (the ear)
/hdien/ [hⁿdien, ṅdien, ṅdien] rainbow—NB [ʔdien, ndien] (F)
/hdix/ [hⁿdix, ṅdix, ndix] flee from, run away, leave—NB [ndix, ndix] ‘leave, flee from’ (F)

/hgāl/ [hⁿgālt, ṇgālt, ṅgālt] understand, know
/hgok/ [hⁿgok’, ṇgok’, ṅgok’] small long-scaled fish variety. (Lao: າ ຢ) Compound word /ka ṇgok/.

/hjaw/ [hⁿjaw, jaw, ṇjaw, ṇjaw] run
/hjaw/ [hⁿjaw, jaw, ṇjaw] backpack, knapsack
/hjuor/ [hⁿjuor, ṇjuor, juor] leave behind, lose (drop possession)
/hjuaʔ/ [hⁿjuaʔ, ṇjuaʔ, ṇjuaʔ] wet—NB [juaʔ] (H), [njuoʔ] (F)
/hjuc/ [hⁿjuc’, ṇjuc’, ṇjuc’, ṇjuc’] light weight
/hkāj/ [hⁿkāj] taxon for a fruit tree (Mimosoideae) Entada tonkinensis Gagn. (Lao: ມໝ ຘນ) Compound word /plāj hkāj/.

/hkāw/ [hⁿkāw, ṇkāw, ṇkāw, ṇkāw] bear—NB [ʔkāw, ṇkāw] (F)
/hkōn/ [hⁿkōn, ṇkōn, ṇkōn] carry load (hanging)
/hkiat/ [hⁿkiat’, ṇkiet’, ṇkiet’] scabies; itch
/hkoj/ [hⁿkoj, ṇkoj, ṇgoj, ṇkoj] mousedeer (Tragulus pygmaeus) —[nkōj, nkoy] (F)

/hkol/ [hⁿkol, ṇkol, ṇkol, ṇkol] knee
/hkuan/ [hⁿkuan, ṇkuan, ṇkuan] youth, children (address term to young strangers if you are older than their parents)

/hkuat/ [hⁿkuat, ṇkuat’] back (person)—NB [hkuat] (H)
/hrkik/ [hⁿrkik’, ṇrkik’] inhale, snore
/hlāj/ [lāj, hⁿlāj] trap (v.) (on land only)
/hlāk/ [lāk’, hⁿlāk’] Alak (people, language)
**APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jruq</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Chinese Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hla/</td>
<td>[la:, ña:, ña:, ña:]</td>
<td>ask, question, demand (e.g. a price for goods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hla/</td>
<td>[la:, ña:, ña:]</td>
<td>however, but (conjunction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlah/</td>
<td>[lâh, ñah, ñâlah]</td>
<td>clear (sound, voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlaj/</td>
<td>[laj, ñaj, ñalaj]</td>
<td>overflow, fall over the side (liquid or solid matter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlap/</td>
<td>[lâp', ñâlap']</td>
<td>dye (hair) (v.tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlap/</td>
<td>[lâp', ñâp']</td>
<td>scales of fish, ant eater etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlän/</td>
<td>[lân, ñân, ñän]</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlön/</td>
<td>[lön, ñön, ñön, ñön]</td>
<td>fall involuntarily, slip (one’s legs from under oneself), collapse (due to weak knees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hleh/</td>
<td>[lêh, ñêh, ñêh]</td>
<td>straw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hleñ/</td>
<td>[lêñ, ñêñ, ñêñ, ñêñ]</td>
<td>corn (Gramineae) Zea mays L. (Lao: ລາກ). Compound word /plâj hli/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hli/</td>
<td>[lii, ñi, ñi:]</td>
<td>ticklish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlip/</td>
<td>[lîp, ñîp, ñîp]</td>
<td>slippery, slide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hliap/</td>
<td>[lîap, ñîap, ñîap]</td>
<td>cease, stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hliën/</td>
<td>[lîën, ñîën, ñîën]</td>
<td>wild fruit tree with edible fruit (Phyllanthus emblica Linn.) (Lao: ສຸດາລຸດໜ້າ). Compound word /?mûñ hliew/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hliew/</td>
<td>[lîew, ñîew]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huoʔ/</td>
<td>[luoʔ, ñuoʔ]</td>
<td>ragged, torn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huon/</td>
<td>[luon, ñûon, ñûon]</td>
<td>ear wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlâp/</td>
<td>[lâp']</td>
<td>dark, cloudy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlîk/</td>
<td>[lîk', ñîk']</td>
<td>muddy (water) —NB [ûîk] (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hma/</td>
<td>[hûma:, ñûâna:, ña:]</td>
<td>right (side/direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmaʔ/</td>
<td>[hûmâʔ, ñûmâʔ, ñaʔ, ñmâʔ]</td>
<td>ride (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmûh/</td>
<td>[hûmûh, ñûmûh, ñûh, ñûh]</td>
<td>relatives, family; related to—NB [ûmûh] ‘friend’ (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmûk/</td>
<td>[hûmûk', ñûmûk', ñûk']</td>
<td>bark (of tree), shell (egg), rind/peel (fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmeh/</td>
<td>[mêh, ñmêç]</td>
<td>move (figet, breasts, shaking, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmêt/</td>
<td>[hûmêt', ñûmêt', ñmêt']</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmoʔ/</td>
<td>[hûmôʔ, ñûmôʔ, ñmôʔ]</td>
<td>fear, afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmoc/</td>
<td>[hûmôc', ñûmôc', ñôc']</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmûm/</td>
<td>[hûmûm, ñûmûm]</td>
<td>combine; jumble; mix together (ingredients)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmûp/</td>
<td>[mûmûp, ñûp]</td>
<td>suffering (n.)—NB ᵇ/ţrmûn/ = /mûp/ ‘want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmôl/</td>
<td>[mûmôl, ñûmôl, ñôl]</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmia/</td>
<td>[hûmîa, ñûmîa, ñia]</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/hna/ [ŋña:, ņa:] rhinoceros—NB

/hnâj/ [hånãŋ, ŋannée, ŋñeŋ] persimmon fruit

/hnât/ [hånát, ŋñeát'] pineapple (Bromeliaceae) Ananas comosus (L.) Merr. (Lao: ປານາກາ).

/hnã/ [hånã:, ņa:] bow (n.), crossbow

/hnaj/ [hånaj, ŋñaaj] trousers; to wear trousers

/hnãj/ [hånaj, ŋñaaj] fruit tree taxon (Lao: ປາກາກາ).

/hnas/ [hånãç, ŋñaaj, ņaj] varieties include /lọŋ̄ hñaŋ dak/ (Lao: ປາກາກາ).

/hnât/ [ŋñat', hånat'] Compound word /lọŋ̄ hñaŋ.

/hnŏh/ [ŋǹb, ŋǹk] gun, rifle

/hnie/ [ŋnie, hńie, ŋńie, ŋie] creek, stream

/hnŏŋ/ [ŋⁿŏŋ, ŋnŏŋ] kind, type, sort

/hnôc/ [hⁿôc', ŋnôc', ŋnôc'] sticky, glutinous (rice)—NB [hⁿôŋ, hⁿôŋ] (F)

/hnûaj/ [hⁿûaj, ŋnuaj, ŋnuaj] comb (n.)

/hnûor/ [hⁿuor, ŋnuor] needle

/hnûm/ [hⁿûm, ŋnuûm, ŋûm] dibble stick

/hnûm/ [hⁿûm, ŋnuûm] banana stalk (classifier)

/hnûm/ [ŋûûm, ŋûm] hammer (n.)

/hnaj/ [hⁿaj, ŋañaj, ŋañaj] house

/hnô/ [hⁿôc, ŋnôc, ŋôc] forge (n.); metal tripod for cooking

/hnîal/ [hⁿîat, hⁿîat, ŋîat, ŋîat] pine tree taxon (Podocarpaceae), e.g. /lọŋ̄ hⁿô dum/ Dacrydium imbricatus (Blum) Laufert. (Lao: ປາກາກາ).

/hpã?/ [hⁿpã?, mⁿpã?, mpã?] forehead

/hpak/ [hⁿpak'] blanket, covering

/hpãŋ/ [hⁿpãŋ, mⁿpãŋ, mpãŋ] kind of tree (Lagerstroemia sp. (Lythraceae))—NB

/hpôŋ/ [hⁿpôŋ, mⁿpôŋ] Compound word /lọŋ̄ hpak/

/hpet/ [hⁿpet', hⁿpet', mⁿpet'] palm of hand, sole (underside of foot)

/hpît/ [hⁿpît', hⁿpît', ŋpît', mpît'] fence

/hpîŋ/ [hⁿpîŋ, mⁿpîŋ, ŋpîŋ] kind of tree with pine-cone like seedpods

/hpîŋ/ [hⁿpîŋ, mⁿpîŋ, ŋpîŋ] ear—NB [hⁿpît] (F), [hpiit] (H)

/cucumber
**APPENDIX I: *Jruq Vocabulary***

| /hpuac/ | [ʔpuːc’, ʔpuaːc’, h̥puːc’] | finger—NB [hāpuːc] (F), [hpuac] (H) |
| /hta/ | [ʔtaː, nʔtaː, h̥taː] | wash (hands, dishes); develop film |
| /htak/ | [h̥tak’, t̥ak’, ʔt̥ak’] | bean, pea |
| /htɔʔ/ | [h̥tɔʔ, h̥tɔʔ, nʔtɔʔ, nʔtɔʔ] | lazy |
| /htit/ | [h̥t̥it’, ʔt̥it’] | similar (-/t̥it/ ‘stuck, next to’) |
| /htɔk/ | [h̥tɔk’, nʔtɔk’] | brain |
| /htɔp/ | [h̥t̥ɔp’, nʔt̥ɔp’, ʔt̥ɔp’] | fern, bracken (*Blechnaceae* sp. *Woodwardia cochinchinensis* Ching.) (Lao: ນໝໝ) — NB [nʔtɔŋ, ʔtɔŋ] (F) |
| /htxw/ | [h̥txw, nʔtxw, ʔtxw] | bury in grave; burial |
| /htuŋ/ | [h̥tuŋ, h̥tuŋ] | hole (ground)—NB [nʔtɔw, ʔtɔw] (F); [htɔw] (H) |
| /htip/ | [h̥tìp’, nʔtìp’] | downpour, continuous or heavy rain |
| /htiəl/ | [h̥t̥iəl, h̥tiəl, ʔtiəl] | reach in & take s.t. out, dig out—NB [j̥iəp] (F) |
| /htian/ | [h̥t̥iəŋ, nʔt̥iəŋ, ʔtiəŋ] | classifier for tribe, community, variety |
| /hwāk/ | [h̥wːk’, ʔwːk’, w̥k’, f̥k’] | thin |
| /hwāl/ | [h̥wːl, ʔwːl, w̥w] | change; turn (direction), exchange (money, goods); send (by mail) (< Lao ວາ /fǎk/ ‘deposit, send, leave’) |
| /hwāl/ | [hvːl, h̥vːl] | turn, revolve (tr.); dizzy |
| /hwai/ | [h̥wː, w̥wː, h̥waː] | small back basket for carrying wood (Lao equivalent ວາ /kāpʰav/) |
| /hwaj/ | [h̥wːj, w̥waj] | row a boat (loose oar) |
| /hwar/ | [h̥war, w̥war] | mango (Houei Kong Loven) |
| /hwert/ | [fer, ver, h̥wer, ʔer] | entwine, climb up (vine); crawl (snake) |
| /hwit/ | [h̥w̥t’, ʔw̥t’, ʔɾ] | wander |
| /hwil/ | [w̥iʔ] | crazy |
| /hwii/ | [h̥w̥i, w̥i, ʔiː] | confused |
| /hwial/ | [h̥w̥iəl, ʔiəl, w̥iəl, fiːl] | Chinese cabbage (*Cruciferae*) *Brassica chinensis* L. var. *pekinensis* Benth. (Lao: ນໝໝ) |
| /hwian/ | [ʔiɛŋ, wien] | turn, bend |
| | | side (e.g. carry a bag on one side) — can be counted like a classifier (< /wien/ ‘routes, directions’) |

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/hwær/ [hɔʔwær, həʊvɔːl, ɣɔːr, Ɂɔr, ɣɔːl] throw, toss, discard
/jäm/ [jɑm, jɑm] vacant, empty—(house)
/jaŋ/ [jaj, jaŋ, jaj, pjaŋ] elder sibling—NB [jaj] (H, F)
/jan/ [jaŋ, jaŋ, jaŋ] resin; plastic (like fishing line); tar (road)
/jōk/ [jōk’] hiccup—Compound word /jōk ʔaŋ/
/jōh/ [joŋ, jōh] sarong classifier; some speakers also use it as a shirt classifier
/jel/ [jet, pjet] ages, long time
/jen/ [jeŋ, jəŋ, pjeŋ, pəŋ] gold
/jol/ [jot, jɔt, jot, pjoŋ, pət] rich, wealthy, fortunate
/jut/ [jut’, jut’, jut’] dark grey, dark blue (colour)
/juat/ [juat’, pjuat’, çuat, juat’] wall (of house)
/jan/ [jəŋ] Person’s name (possibly male only)
/jih/ [iŋh, pɨŋx, ɨx] pour down forcefully, heavy (rain)
/jik/ [iık’, pɨık’, ɨık’, jîk’] lift (up/out), raise (glasses in a toast)
/jāŋ/ [pjāŋ, jāŋ, jāŋ] aim for (e.g. to shoot), strike (e.g. a car running a person over)
/jāt/ [jāt’, pɨjāt’] drip, leak (with drips)
/joh/ [jōh, jōh, pyōh] peck; snake bite
/jēt/ [jēt’, jēt’] ladle water, scoop up
/jēh/ [jēh, pɨjēh, pɨjēc] sting (v.) (e.g. salt on a wound, lemon juice in eye etc.), very sharp pain (abdominal pain or headache)
/jan/ [jen, pjeŋ] trigger (of gun/crossbow)—NB Lin uses different form: [pjeŋ], saying /jen/ isn’t correct. I recorded /jen/ from Loven originating in Ban Panuan, and Ferlus records [jen] ‘trigger’.
/jer/ [pjeɾ, pjeɾ] soak, macerate (e.g. rice)—NB [jęɾ] (F)
/jiʔ/ [jiʔ, jiʔ] sick, hurt
/jip/ [pɨɲ, pɨjn, jin] sew
/jian/ [jian, jien] copper, brass
/jōk/ [jōk’, jōk’, pɨjōk’] suck, slurp, smoke
| /jop/   | [jopʰ, jʰopʰ] | horsefly—NB [jɔːp] 'swarm of flies' (F) |
| /jop/   | [jʰopʰ]       | small back basket with two handles, for collecting tree bark. |
| /jək/   | [jəkʰ, jəkʰ]  | fluent, smooth flowing (speech/moving water etc.) you (dual) |
| /jəɾ/   | [jəɾ, jəɾ]    | trap (water or land) (n.) stand (intr.), upright; noon |
| /jəl/   | [jəl, jəl, dəl] | foot, leg; pole (of house) |
| /jəŋ/   | [jəŋ, jəŋ]    | swim |
| /jəŋ/   | [jəŋ, jəŋ, dəŋ] | deer—NB [juej] (F) |
| /jüh/   | [jʊx, jəh]    | wipe up |
| /jui/   | [jui, jui, juej] | lead, send, accompany—NB |
| /jut/   | [jutʰ, jutʰ, juotʰ] | [jui] (H) |
| /juon/  | [juon, jəu̯n, juon, juan] | fig species (Moraceae), e.g. Ficus altissima Bl. largest fig variety (Lao: ສ່າງ), Ficus curtipes Com. |
| /jrej/  | [jrej, jrej]  | large pottery jar for rice wine wax (bees wax); variety of waxy yellow edible mushroom /pset |
| /jri/   | [jri, j̥ɔ̝ri]  | spade |
| /jrin/  | [jriŋ, j̥ɔ̝rin, j̥ɔ̝riŋ] | high, tall; highland dwellers mortar (bowl) |
| /jriam/ | [j̥ɔ̝riam, j̥ɔ̝riem] | smoke meat |
| /jроn/  | [j̥ɔ̝ron, j̥ɔ̝ron] | poker for the fire |
| /jraj/  | [j̥ɔ̝raj, j̥ɔ̝raj, j̥ɔ̝raj] | body hair |
| /jɾəŋ/  | [j̥ɔ̝rəŋ]      | deep sound (voice) |
| /jɾəm/  | [j̥ɔ̝rəm]      | deep (space) |
| /jɾiap/ | [j̥ɔ̝riapʰ, j̥ɔ̝riapʰ] | Jruq (Liver) (people/language) boar, wild pig — NB [jruak] (H) |
| /jɾuʔ/  | [j̥ɾuʔ, j̥ɾuʔ]  | beginning, starting to; Inchoative Auxiliary (< Lao ິ/ /kam lāŋ/ ‘auxiliary: continuous or progressive action (precedes verb)’ < Khmer) |
| /jɾuʔk/ | [j̥ɾuʔkʰ, jɾuakʰ, jɾuʔkʰ] | bite and, with (< Lao ɲu /kāp/ ‘Preposition: with’) |
| /kām láŋ/ | [kām lāŋ, kʰm lāŋ, kʰm lāŋ] | fish (n.) (generic), classifier for fish. |
| /kāp/   | [kāpʰ]       | work (n.) (< Lao ɲu /kam/ ‘work, business’ < Pali.) |
| /kāp/   | [kāpʰ]       | |
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /kɔʔ/    | [kɔʔ, kɔʔ] | hang on hook; scorpion (NB: Compound word /kuan kɔʔ/ = literally ‘child hook’) |
| /kɔk/    | [kɔk’, kɔk’] | cigarette (classifier), pipe (< Lao น้า /kɔk/ ‘cigarette, cigar’) |
| /kɔʔ/    | [kɔʔ, kɔʔ] | frozen, congeal, solidify |
| /kɔŋ/    | [kɔŋ, kɔŋ] | gong (< Lao/areal) |
| /kɔŋ/    | [kɔŋ, kɔŋ] | stalk (of vine etc.) (< Lao ɲɛŋ /kɔŋ/) |
| /kɛc/    | [kɛc’, kɛc’] | little, a little bit |
| /kɛŋ/    | [kɛŋ] | very well, strong (< Lao ɛŋ/kɛŋ/ ‘brave, capable, strong’) |
| /kɛʔ/    | [kɛʔ] | and you? (final reciprocal question marker) |
| /kɛʔ/    | [kɛʔ, kɛʔ] | sheep (< Lao ɛn /kɛʔ/ ‘sheep’) |
| /kɛh/    | [kɛh] | very small |
| /kɛt/    | [kɛt’, kɛt] | barking deer, serow (Capricornis sumatrensis) |
| /kew/    | [kɛw] | die, dead; fade (metaphorical) |
| /kɛc/    | [kɛc’] | Vietnamese few, little |
| /kɛŋ/    | [kɛŋ] | classifier for counting single items of a natural pair (e.g. ‘four earrings, one shoe etc.’) |
| /kapr/   | [kɑp’] | Kip (Lao currency) |
| /kin/    | [kɪn] | Person’s name (possibly female only) |
| /Kir/    | [kɪr, kier] | gnaw (seed, hard object) |
| /kiak/   | [kɪak’, kiekw] | he, she, it |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | elbow |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | orange, citrus (< Lao ɲɛŋ/kɪæŋ/ ‘grapefruit’) |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | cart (< Lao/Khmer) |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | cut (off) |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | egret (bird variety)— NB: Compound word /kiæŋ koʔ/ |
| /kiæŋ/   | [kɪæŋ, kien] | chop finely, mince; hack (forest) |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | floor (n.) |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | thorny bamboo variety—Compound word /ʔlɔŋ koʔ/ |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | (Lao: 岬 岬 岬) |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | every, each—NB [kɔp] (F) |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | shoe (< Lao ɲɛŋ /kɔp/ ‘shoes, boots’) |
| /koʔ/    | [kʊʔ] | dove (bird) — Onomatopoeic |
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /kət/  | [kət', kət'] | born, exist, become, have |
| /kŭn/  | [kən, kən]   | happy, pleased; trust, believe; think of (s.o.) |
| /kĭn/  | [kĭn]        | branch (of tree) |
| /kiap/ | [kĭap']      | similar, almost same |
| /kŭj/  | [kŭj]        | lie down |
| /kŭm/  | [kŭm]        | support (a family) (< Lao Ral êuy /kŭm/ ‘control and support (as a family)’) |
| /kŭn/  | [kŭn]        | papaya—NB Compound word /mak kŭn/ (< Lao Ral êuy /māk hŭn/) |
| /kur/  | [kur, kưr]   | lover, boyfriend, girlfriend |
| /kuaj/ | [kuaj, kưe]  | carry on shoulder (e.g. a sack of rice) |
| /kual/ | [kuaṭ]       | bark (dog) |
| /kuan/ | [kuan, kưn]  | large deer (like in Europe) (< Lao Ral êuy /kuan/ ‘deer’) |
| /kuan/ | [kuan]       | child, offspring (animal or person) |
| /kuaŋ/ | [kuaŋ, kưŋ]  | gibbon |
| /kuo/  | [kuo, kuo]   | reside, at, located—NB [kua] (H) |
| /kʔsk/ | [kʔsk', kʔsk'] | cough |
| /kʔśc/ | [kʔśc', kʔśc'] | copulate (animals or people) |
| /kbāŋ/ | [k tabs]     | bamboo shoot; taxon for large bamboo /phāŋ kbāŋ/. |
| /kbān/ | [kōbān]      | massage, knead |
| /kbāw/ | [kōbāw, kōbāw] | crocodile—NB [kbāw, kbai] (F) |
| /kbaʔ/ | [kōbāʔ]     | large wide metal bowl (Lao = Ral êuy /sām/) |
| /kbah/ | [kōbāh, kāmbāh] | crunch (sugarcane etc.) |
| /kboh/ | [kōbōh, kāmbōh] | bubble (v.), boil |
| /kboŋ/ | [kōbōŋ]     | wooden torch (< Lao Ral êuy /kā? bōŋ/ ‘wooden torch’) |
| /kbet/ | [kōbet', kāmbet', kōbet'] | squeeze with fingers, break up (rice) by squeezing |
| /kbiak/ | [kōbiak', kōbiek'] | carry (child) in arms on hip beetle (scarab-like) |
| /kbōŋ/ | [kōbōŋ]     | hair bun; tie hair in a bun; tops of pineapples |
| /kboć/ | [kōboć', kāmbōć'] | curled up in ball, bent over (forwards) when asleep |
| /kbot/ | [kōbot', kāmbot'] | mole (animal)—NB [kbūy] (F) |
| /kbuį/ | [kōbūį]     | fist—NB ‘carry in one hand’ (F) |

/kbuat/ | [kōbuat', kāmbuat] |
APPENDIX I: Juq Vocabulary

| /kbuɔʔ/  | [kʰbɯʔ] | bent over, folded, sleep on stomach — thick, dense |
| /kbɔt/  | [kʰbɔt, kʰmɔt, kʰbɯʔ] | blink |
| /kbreh/ | [kʰbrɛh, kʰmbrɛʔ] | green—NB [kʰceʔ] (H) |
| /kceʔ/  | [kʰceʔ, kʰjɛʔ] | innards, guts |
| /kceʔ/  | [kʰceʔ] | ready, fully ripened |
| /kceh/  | [kʰceh, kʰceh] | sneeze |
| /kcet/  | [kʰcet’, kceʔ, kʰcet’] | kill |
| /kciat/ | [kʰciat’, kʰciat’, kʰjiat’] | scrape; brush teeth |
| /kcieh/ | [kʰcieh, kʰcieh] | rhinoceros beetle |
| /kcien/ | [kʰciɛn, kʰcien] | lopsided, lean to one side; squint (one eye) |
| /kco/  | [kʰco] | crush, rub in hand (e.g. to break up clumps) |
| /kooh/  | [kʰcɔx, kʰcɔh] | spit (v.) |
| /kson/  | [kʰɔʃn, kʰɔʃn] | truthful, really, truly—NB [kʰɔcaŋ] (H) |
| /kcιaj/ | [kʰciaj] | finch, small nervous bird variety |
| /kdak/  | [kʰdak’, kʰndak’] | heat up food |
| /kdan/  | [kʰdan] | sarong (‘sin’) |
| /kdar/  | [kʰdar, kʰndar] | heel (foot)—NB [kʰnɔʔ hδəl] (F) |
| /kdɔh/  | [kʰdɔh, kʰndɔh] | variety of rice (possibly broken rice) |
| /kdɛj/  | [kʰdɛj] | middle; midland (dwellers)—NB [kʰdaj] (H) |
| /kdeŋ/  | [kʰdeŋ, kʰdeŋ] | langur (monkey) |
| /kdet/  | [kʰdɛʔ] | squeeze, pinch together; to speak abruptly/strictly (Compound word /ʔmaŋ kdet hδat/) |
| /kdiʔ/  | [kʰdiʔ] | jug (for liquid) |
| /kdiam/ | [kʰdiɛm, kʰdiɛm] | spring-onion, shallot, garlic |
| /kdiat/ | [kʰdiat’, kʰdiət’] | pinch, squeeze; squash; be pinched, be squashed (e.g. run over by a car) |
| /kdiat/ | [kʰdiat’, kʰdiət’] | wall panel, roof baton (bamboo, bark or thatch) |
| /kdɔŋ/  | [kʰdɔŋ] | hare, rabbit |
| /kdo/   | [kʰdo:, kʰndɔ] | large waterfall |
| /kdom/  | [kʰdom, kʰndom] | carry in the scoop of two hands, two handfuls (measurement—a two handed scoop or equal |

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APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/kdɔp/  [kɔdɔp’, kɔdɔp’]  to two /cʰɔŋŋ/ (s)
/kɗuʔ/  [kɔdʊʔ, kɔndʊʔ]  hornet
/kɗuɔp/  [kɔdʊɔp’]  chubby; common personal
/kɗqɔp/  [kɔdŋɔp’]  name or nick name (male or
/kɗəɬ/  [kɔdəɬ]  female)
/kɗɪŋ/  [kɔdɪŋ, kɔdɪŋ]  stamp feet (v.)
/kɗiəm/  [kɔdɨəm]  grow over, cover (e.g. weeds)
/kɗiəŋ/  [kɔdɨəŋ, kɔdɪŋ]  lid, cover (n.)
/kɗroɬ/  [kɔdɾɔɬ, kɔndɾɔɬ]  cook (v.), reheat (v.)
/kʰaɬk/  [kʰiaɬk’]  shade (v.) (with an umbrella)
/kʰoʔ/  [kʰoʔ, kʰoʔ]  back (body), lower back; top of
/kʰuаци/  [kʰuəɕ’, kʰuəɕ’]  mountain
cross over (water); cross (a
/kʰuай/  [kʰuаj, kʰuəj]  fallen log)
corral (< Khmer)
/kjaʔ/  [kʰjɑʔ, kʰjɑʔ]  spit out, vomit (v.)
knock, bash (with object), tap
/kjɔŋ/  [kʰjɔŋ, kʰjɔŋ]  (table with fingers)
/kjɔt/  [kʰjɔt’]  shellfish, snail, shell
/kjɔŋ/  [kʰjɔŋ]  wrist
/kjok/  [kʰjok’, kʰjɔk’]  lift/carry in arms against chest
/kjiaɬ/  [kʰjiaɬ, kʰjiaɬ, kʰjiaɬ]  loincloth—NB [kjoː] (F)
/kjat/  [kʰjɑt’, kʰjɑt’]  wind (n.); weather
/kjɛp/  [kʰjɛp’, kʰjɛp’]  block (a leaking vessel)
/kje/  [kʰje, kʰje, kʰje:]  centipede
/kjeh/  [kʰjɛh’, kʰjɛh]  sing and dance—NB [kje] (?)
squirt (into eye), sting (v.tr.)—NB
/kjik/  [kʰjik’, kʰjik’]  ‘sing’ (F)
call the pigs—NB [kɡuk] (F)
/kjip/  [kʰjip’]  tongs, pincers—NB Compound
/kjir/  [kʰjir, kʰjir, kʰzil]  word: /mɔm kjip/
/kjieʔ/  [kʰjieʔ, kʰjieʔ, kʰjɨt:]  shine; be immersed in light—NB
/kjoŋ/  [kʰjoŋ, kʰjoŋ]  used in compounds e.g. /kjir
/kjɔk/  [kʰjɔk’]  ?ǚŋ/ ‘firelight’, /kjir ʔtoʔ/
  ‘sunshine’
bend, distort (e.g. a spoon)
carry water (two buckets and a
  shoulder pole)
squirrel
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /kəp/    | [kəjop̂]          | hoof (horse)          |
| /kək/    | [kəjik̂]          | heavy, be weighed down |
| /kəl/    | [kl̹i]            | penis                 |
| /kəlai/  | [kəlaj]           | bullet—Compound word /kəlaj ̣en/, Ferlus records [klaj hnat]  'bullet' |
| /kəlm/   | [kl̹am]           | hundred               |
| /ka/     | [kla]            | own                   |
| /klah/   | [klah]           | spread out fingers—NB [klah] (F) |
| /klak/   | [klak̂, kla:k̂, kla:k] | stomach               |
| /klan/   | [kla:n]          | braid, plait (v.tr.) (e.g. a rope) |
| /klaŋ/   | [klan]           | eagle, hawk; generic for any large bird of prey (including fish-eating birds) |
| /klaw/   | [klaw, kla:w]    | testicles (human or animal) |
| /klōk/   | [klōk̂]          | navel, umbilical cord—NB [klōk] (F) |
| /kl̹i/    | [kl̹i]           | dig with hoe          |
| /kl̹/    | [kl̹]            | man, husband, male    |
| /k̹oi/   | [k̹oi]           | high (cleared) ground |
| /kl̹oj/  | [kl̹oj, kl̹ox, kl̹h] | give birth, excrete, come out; tooth loss; dawn, sunrise (in conjunction with 'day') |
| /k̹oak/  | [k̹oak̂]         | call someone (e.g. to come to dinner); call someone or something (e.g. by their name). |
| /kle/    | [kle]            | peeling skin (small flakes) |
| /k̹oe/   | [k̹oi]           | egg, set (eggs)       |
| /k̹ol/   | [k̹ol]           | morsel (meat)         |
| /k̹olŋ/  | [k̹olŋ, k̹olŋ̂]   | Person's name (possibly female only) |
| /k̹el/   | [kl̹i]           | fall                  |
| /k̹en/   | [kle]            | male animal (bird)    |
| /k̹elŋ/  | [kleŋ, kle:n, kle:n̂] | swamp, large lake     |
| /k̹eln/  | [k̹eŋ, k̹elŋ]    | Person's name (possibly female only) |
| /k̹ian/  | [k̹ian]          | shout, scream with joy; oink (pig), neigh (horse) |
| /k̹il/   | [k̹i]           | joint (wrist, ankle etc.) |
| /k̹ilŋ/  | [k̹ilŋ, k̹ilŋ̂]   | catfish (silurid) variety. (Lao: ɲɲ.ɲ). Compound word /kəl̹ilŋ/  |
| /k̹oʒ/   | [k̹oʒ]           | egg yolk              |
| /k̹oŋ/   | [k̹oŋ̂]          | shout from fear (v.)   |
| /k̹on/   | [k̹on]           | blow (person, wind etc.) |

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APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/kəlɔt/ [kəlɔt, kəlɔt\'] peeling skin (large flakes)
/klu:n/ [klu:n, klu:n] pen, fenced yard for keeping cattle or horses
/kluas/ [kluə:\, kluaj, kluə:\] birthmark, mole (facial), freckle
/kluaj/ kluaj summit (of mountain)
/kluoʔ/ [kluoʔ, kluoʔ] anus; rear end (any object)
/kəluok/ [kəluok\'] gate (yard/stable)
/klah/ [kla:h, klah] flow from, flowing (water)—NB [klo:h] (H)
/kəlɔw/ [kəlɔw, kəlɔw] above, upwards—NB [kəlɔw, kəlɔw, kəlɔw\'] (F); [kəlɔu] (H)
/kəlɔm/ [kəlɔm, kəlɔm] liver, brave
/kəlɔŋ/ [kəlɔŋ, kəlɔŋ] please
/kəlɔŋ ~ pəlŋ/ [kəlɔŋ, pəlŋ] west (direction) — ‘west’ (H)
/kloː/ [kloː] tiger
/kmaːj/ [kəməj, kəməj] widow, widower
/kmaːk/ [kəmək\', kəmək\'] chin, jaw
/kmal/ [kəmal] shy, embarrassed
/kman/ [kəman] large flat wooden tray for serving food
/kmar/ [kəmar] taboo ritual; forbid (v.)
/kmoː/ [kəmə:\, kmoː] year
/kmoŋ/ [kəməŋ] door
/kmɛŋ/ [kəmɛŋ, kmɛŋ] firewood—NB [kamɛŋ] (H)
/kmok/ [kəmək\', kəmək\', kəmək\'o\'] shell (coconut); skull
/kmu:\n/ [kəmuːn\] unclear meaning, part of compound /ptuar \'iar kmuan/ referring to a seven star constellation.
/kmuok/ [kəmuok\'] fog, mist, frost, snow
/knəm/ [kənəm] wood surrounding the hearth
/knən/ [kənən] miserly, person who doesn’t share
/kne/ [kəne, kne:] rat
/kniæn/ [kəniæn, kəniæn] tusks (of boar)—NB [kniæn] (F)
/kniæs/ [kəniæs, kəniæs, knie]\] nail (finger), claw
/knɔk/ [kənɔk\'] hug
/knom/ [kənom] urinate
/knuː/ [kənuː] bed—NB [knuːj] (H)
/knuo/ [kənuo, kənu:] family—NB infixed /kuo/ ‘reside’
/knuat/ [kənuat\'] knot (n.); tie a knot
/kniːk/ [kəniːk\'] mind, soul
/kniŋ/ [kəniŋ] chicken coop, cage
/kniːm/ [kəniːm] molar (tooth)
/kpə/ [kəpə] small bean variety
<p>| /k̂nem/     | [kʰnem]     | porcupine |
| /k̂nu/      | [kʰnu:]     | umbrella   |
| /k̂nuom/    | [kʰnuom, kʰn̥uom] | astringent, spicy |
| /k̂ŋ̥a/     | [kʰŋ̥aŋ̥, kʰŋ̥aŋ̥] | beautiful |
| /k̂nia/     | [kʰniə]     | ginger (Zingiber officinale Rosc.) (Lao: ມີກ) |
| /k̂p̂aw/    | [kʰp̂aw]    | medium sized sack (of rice, coffee etc.) (&lt; Lao ນ້ອຍ /kâ pāw/) |
| /k̂pawŋ/    | [kʰpawŋ, kʰpawŋ] | group of people classifier; pronoun pluraliser |
| /k̂piet/    | [kʰpiet, kʰpiet] | tick (insect) |
| /k̂pɔŋ/     | [kʰpɔŋ]     | fermented food (in a sealed container) (&lt; Lao ນ້ອຍ /kâ? pɔŋ/ 'can, tin') |
| /k̂por/     | [kʰpor]     | limestone |
| /k̂pos/     | [kʰpɔːʃ]    | stroke, smooth (one’s hair) |
| /k̂pum/     | [kʰpum, kʰpum] | cluster (coconuts, children, etc.) |
| /k̂pɔh/     | [kʰpɔh]     | half (round obj.); retarded, slow brained (slang) |
| /k̂pɔw/     | [kʰpɔw, kʰpɔw] | buffalo—NB [kəpɔw, kəpɔi] (F); [kəpɔw] (H) |
| /k̂p̂e/      | [kʰp̂eː]     | coffee (&lt; Lao ᄃ່ວ /kaː fêː/ ‘coffee’&lt; French) |
| /k̂raŋ/     | [krāŋ]      | prohibited, forbidden; prohibition, abstinence (as ordered by witchdoctor or monk) |
| /k̂raŋ/     | [krāŋ]      | stomach lining—Compound word /krāŋ hāj câk/ |
| /k̂raw/     | [krāw]      | Taxon for tree variety. E l g e l h a r t i a sp. (Juglandaceae). (Lao: ວ່າຍຂົ່) |
| /k̂raʔ/     | [krāʔ]      | old |
| /k̂rak/     | [kʰrak, kʰr̥ak] | crow |
| /k̂r̥k/     | [kr̥k̥]     | cow, ox |
| /k̂r̥ŋ/     | [kr̥ŋŋ]     | back of knife blade |
| /k̂r̥ʔ/     | [kr̥ʔ]     | three-stringed bamboo violin, fiddle (&lt; Khmer?) |
| /k̂r̥h/     | [kr̥h]     | tall tree taxon (Anacardiaceae) with little yellow fruit used for fish poison or soap. The bark is easily detached and its corrugated sheets are used for walls and roofing. Hard |
| /kre deh/     | [kreː nɗēh] | thunderbolt — Literally ‘sky split/part’ according to one informant but /kɾəm/ ‘sky’ is used now in Jruq instead of PWB *kre:‘sky’ |
| /krɛc/       | [krɛːk’, krɛːk’] | cut with scissors (&lt; /tɛc/ ‘chop through (with axe)’) |
| /krɛl/       | [kɾɛlt, k[ɛlt] | cantaloup (melon) |
| /kɾin/       | [kɾiŋ] | surround, border s.t. (with a hedge) |
| /kɾian/      | [kɾiaŋ, kɾiŋ] | black plum tree (Myrtaceae) Eugenia jambolana. (Lao: ທໍາຫ ຜ) |
| /kɾiaw/      | [kɾiaw, kɾiɛw] | tiny white fish variety ground when dried for eating. (Lao ໜໜໜູ້). Compound word /kə kɾiaw/. |
| /kɾiŋ/       | [kɾiŋ, kɾiŋ] | tribe, race, ethnic community; tribal leader, wiseman, witchdoctor |
| /krom/       | [kɾoɔm, kɾɔm, k[ɔm] | under, below, low; downstream |
| /kɾot/       | [kɾɔt] | restless, agitated, persistent lime (fruit) |
| /kruć/       | [kɾuɛc, kɾuɛc’] | carapace, turtle shell |
| /kɾuh/       | [kɾuŋ, kɾuŋ] | kind of tall grass (1.5—3 meters high) (Gramineae) Themada caudata A. Cam. (Some speakers use the term /bąt krah/). Compound word /bąt kɾuac/. |
| /kɾuać/      | [kɾuaɕ’, kɾuɛc’, kɾuɛc’] | pebbles; facial freckles |
| /kruas/      | [kɾuaɕ’, krœɕ’, kruaj] | kind of small wild bee |
| /kɾuat/      | [kɾuat] | cover s.t.; put the lid on (e.g. a teapot) sky |
| /kɾuop/      | [kɾuɔp] | coals, charcoal (&lt; rəh ‘flame’) polished rice |
| /kɾɔm/       | [kɾɔm] | taxon for a plant used for producing dye (Liliaceae) Smilax china Linn. (Lao: ວັດຂັງ ແຂວງ). Compound word |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/krìk/</td>
<td>[kʁǐk']</td>
<td>chest (body) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kriam/</td>
<td>[kɾiːm]</td>
<td>carry s.t. with two hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kriat/</td>
<td>[kɾiːt']</td>
<td>scratch (v.), claw (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksår/</td>
<td>[kɔsår, kɔsar, ksål]</td>
<td>tremble, shake (from fear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksāw/</td>
<td>[ksāw, ksʎw, kɔsʎw]</td>
<td>shake a tree branch (so fruit falls down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksam/</td>
<td>[kɔsəm]</td>
<td>large serving platter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksōk/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔk']</td>
<td>corpse, ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksòh/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔh]</td>
<td>remove, pull down someone’s sarong/pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksɔŋ/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔŋ]</td>
<td>small box, package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksɔp/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔp']</td>
<td>wrap up, wrapped; classifier for large bags of rice/coffee etc. (,&lt; Lao ໄຊ /kǎ sɔp/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kse/</td>
<td>[kɔsɛ, kɛ:]</td>
<td>string, rope, cord, wire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kset/</td>
<td>[kɔsɛt']</td>
<td>territory, field (&lt; Lao ປະສາດ /kā sēt/ &lt; Sanskrit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksi/</td>
<td>[kɔsi:]</td>
<td>corrugated iron (for roofing)—Compound /ták sāŋ ksi/ (&lt; Lao ສ້າງ /ták sāŋ kā si/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksiaw/</td>
<td>[kɔsiɛw, kɔʃiaw]</td>
<td>mole (facial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksōʔ/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔʔ, ksɔʔ]</td>
<td>prahok, rotten fish sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksōh/</td>
<td>[ksõx, kɔsõh]</td>
<td>lungs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksom/</td>
<td>[ksom, kɔsom]</td>
<td>nest—NB ‘placenta of animal’ (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksɔt/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔt']</td>
<td>grind, grate, pulverise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksɔt/</td>
<td>[kɔsɔt', kɔsɔt', ksɔt']</td>
<td>close one’s eyes—NB [kɔsɔt'] (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksuh/</td>
<td>[kɔsùh, kɔsùx, ksùx]</td>
<td>pole with small blade for cutting down fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ksir/</td>
<td>[kɔsir, kɔsìr]</td>
<td>rake (n./v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ktān/</td>
<td>[kɔtàn]</td>
<td>Katang (people/language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ktə/</td>
<td>[kɔtə:]</td>
<td>small woven basket (deep with handle) (&lt; Lao ຄ້ານ /kā tā/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ktaj/</td>
<td>[kɔtaj, kɔtaj]</td>
<td>pubic hair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/ktaw/ [kʰtaw, ktaw, kʰtəw] sugarcane (Gramineae) Saccharum officinarum L.
/kton/ [kʰton, kʰtɔ́n] weight, sinker (for fishing)
/ktəŋ/ [kʰtəŋ] mat (traditionally woven but now applies also to any sheet of material used for sitting on)
/kteh/ [kʰtɛ́h] flick away (e.g. an insect)
/ktek/ [kʰtɛ́k, kʰtɛ́k'] cockspur
/kțiŋ/ [kʰtʃiŋ] button (n.)
/ktıp/ [kʰtʃiʔ] basket, small container for sticky rice (< Lao nˋɔ́u /ká típ/)
/kṭiaŋ/ [kʰtiąŋ] wear behind the ear (e.g. flower)
/kṭiaw/ [kʰtiąw, kʰtiəw] loincloth
/ktos/ [kʰtɔ́s, kʰtɔ́j] stumble but not fall
/kṭɑʔ/ [kʰtʃiʔ] east (direction) — NB ‘east’ (H), ‘north’ (F)
/kṭam/ [kʰtəm, kʰtəm] crab — NB [kʰtəm] (Jruq: Ban Set Khot)
/kțiŋ/ [kʰtʃiŋ, kʰtʃiŋ] south (direction)
/kṭia/ [kʰtiə, kṭia] below, under; lowland plains
/kṭiəŋ/ [kʰtiəŋ] bone — NB In compounds the final velar nasal was consistently assimilated to the place of the following consonant by one older speaker, e.g. [kʰtiəŋ luat] ‘humerus bone’, [kʰtiəm prah] ‘ribs’.

/kṭuaʔ/ [kʰtuaʔ, kʰtuaʔ] Yeti, hairy human-like animal (male/female varieties) which lives in forest and eats the intestines and liver of people.

/kṭun/ [kʰtʰun, kʰtʰun, kʰtʰun] shanghai, slingshot (< Lao nˊəu /ká tʰun/)
/kwâl/ [kwâl, kuət] ball (e.g. eyeball) (< /wâl/ ‘round’)
/kwêŋ/ [kʰwêŋ, kʰwêŋ] snail shell
/kwój/ [kʰwɔ́j, kʰwɔ́j], [kʰwɔ́j] winding (road)
/kwiet/ [kʰwiet', kʰwiet', kʰwiet'] scissors (wooden)
/kʰəc/ [kʰəc'] Person’s name (male or female)
/kʰaj/ [kʰaj] moon
/kʰán/ [kʰán] if (< Lao ǹ /kʰən/ ‘conjunction: if, when’)
/kʰa/ [kʰa, kʰa] value, cost, price (< Lao ǹ /kʰə/ ‘price, value, worth’)
/kʰak/ [kʰak'] money, price
## APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /kʰan/       | [kʰan, kʰan]       | classifier for pens, pencils (<Lao iatesi /kʰān/ ‘handle:
classifier for umbrellas, vehicles, forks, spoons,
fishing lines, pipes’) |
| /kʰan/       | [kʰan, kʰan]       | frame for supporting choko vines |
| /kʰɔŋ/       | [kʰɔŋ, kʰɔŋ]       | ancestors, ancient name for Mon-Khmer/Khmer civilisation (<Khmer) |
| /kʰɔŋ/       | [kʰɔŋ]             | thing (<Lao iatesi /kʰɔŋ/ ‘article, thing, object; of, belonging to’) |
| /kʰɔŋ/       | [kʰɔŋ, kʰɔŋ]       | possessive particle (<Lao iatesi /kʰɔŋ/ ‘possess, own’; iatesi /kʰɔŋ/ ‘of, belonging to’) |
| /kʰiɛn/      | [kʰiɛn]            | write (<Lao)—NB [kʰiɛn] (H) |
| /kʰiük/      | [kʰiük]            | imprison, prison, jail (<Lao iatesi) —Compound word /tro kʰiük/ |
| /kʰūt/       | [kʰūt]             | Person’s name (male or female); possibly kind of animal |
| /kʰu/        | [kʰu]              | classifier for a pair (e.g. earrings, shoes) (<Lao iatesi /kʰu/ ‘classifier: pairs’) |
| /kʰuʔ/       | [kʰuʔ, kʰuʔ]       | bucket (<Lao iatesi /kʰuʔ/ ‘pail, bucket’) |
| /kʰej/       | [kʰej, kʰej]       | ever, accustomed to (<Lao) |
| /kʰiʔ/       | [kʰiʔ]             | think, consider (<Lao iatesi /kʰiʔ/ ‘think, figure’) |
| /kʰi/        | [kʰi]              | such as, that is (<Lao iatesi /kʰi: wai/) |
| /kʰiŋ/       | [kʰiŋ]             | thumb length (measurement) |
| /lāŋ/        | [lāŋ, lāŋ]         | get bogged (in mud) |
| /lāŋ/        | [lāŋ]              | house (classifier) (<Lao iatesi /lāŋ/) |
| /lāŋ/        | [lāŋ]              | accept, receive (<Lao iatesi /lāŋ/) |
| /lāp/        | [lāp]              | leaf; classifier for sheets of paper |
| /la/         | [la:]              | request, ask for something |
| /laʔ/        | [laʔ, laʔ]         | spit out |
APPENDIX I: Jruŋ Vocabulary

\(/\)lac\(\) [laːc\, laːc\']
taxon for: 1. **Anacardiaceae** tree—**Spondias axillaris** sp. (Lao: ທ້າຍໝູ່, ໝູ່ມາໝາກ, ທ້າຍໝູ່(ຄວາມ)). Compound word /laoŋ lac/; 2. **Agaricus** sp. fungus which grows in clusters. (Lao: ທ້າຍໝູ່). Compound word /pset lac/.

\(/\)lan\(\) [lən, lam]
million (< Lao ລາມ/ ‘one million’)

\(/\)lap\(\) [lap’]
feather (bird)

\(/\)las\(\) [laːc\, laj]
armspan (two arm lengths),
fathom (measurement)

\(/\)law\(\) [law, law]
lemur, loris — NB Unanalyseable compound word /dıŋ law/.

\(/\)loh\(\) [ləh, ləx, ləh]
final polar question particle

\(/\)loj\(\) [loj, loj], [loj]
weak (e.g. wobbly knees);
retarded, have a defect (< Lao ຝ້ອງ ləj)

\(/\)lon\(\) [lon, loŋ]
eldest child

\(/\)le ~ leʔ/ [lɛʔ, le]
Focus Particle

\(/\)leʔ/ [lɛʔ]
and (conjunction) (< Lao ລ້າສະ /leʔ/)

detach, untie (knot)

\(/\)leh\(\) [lɛc\, lɛh]
seed for planting—Compound

\(/\)len\(\) [lɛŋ]

\(/\)lıŋ\(\) [lıŋ, lıŋ]
aughty, irresponsible,
misbehaved; mischief

\(/\)lin\(\) [lin, lien, lim]
lose, disappear, be lost

\(/\)liak\(\) [liak’, liêk’]
skin (v.), peel rind

\(/\)liaŋ\(\) [liaŋ, liet]
lick lips (with tongue)

\(/\)liat\(\) [liaŋ’, liet’]
blink (eye)

\(/\)liek\(\) [liek’, liak’]
open (eye)

\(/\)lien\(\) [lien]
classifier for money (Lao Kip, American Dollars, Thai Baht, etc.) (< Lao ປາສົມ /lian/,  ປາສົມ /niam/ < Khmer)

\(/\)lien\(\) [lien]

\(/\)loj\(\) [loj]
party (< Lao ຖ້າຍ /lāŋ/)

\(/\)loj\(\) [loj]

\(/\)loc\(\) [loːc\', loːc\’]

\(/\)lom\(\) [lom]

\(/\)lom\(\) [lom]

\(/\)los\(\) [loj, loj]

\(/\)los\(\) [loj, loj]

\(/\)los\(\) [loj, loj]

\(/\)los\(\) [loj, loj]

wrong, false
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /lʊŋ/    | [lʊŋ] | unanalyseable part of compound word /lʊŋ lʊŋ/ ‘tomato’. |
| /luʔ/    | [lʊʔ, luʔ] | stillbirth, lose a baby (< Lao 挝 /lʊʔ tʰiːŋ/) |
| /luʔc/   | [luʔcʰ] | flood (n., v.) |
| /luʔh/   | [lʊx, lʊh] | clean (adj.) |
| /luʔj/   | [lʊj, lʊj] | hole (cavity) |
| /lus/    | [luʔsʰ] | angry |
| /luk/    | [luʔkʰ, luʔkʰ] | bubble, simmer, boil (liquid) |
| /luŋ/    | [luŋ, luŋ] | sauce for dipping food; to dip food into sauce |
| /luan/   | [luan] | dear, precious; youngest child/kin; common personal name (male or female) |
| /luat/   | [luatʰ] | mold (rice in hand) |
| /luoŋ/   | [luoŋ] | upper arm; humerus (bone) |
| /lən/    | [lən] | classifier for scoop nets |
| /ləj/    | [ləj, ləj] | stare (eyes) |
| /ləw/    | [ləw, ləw] | often, keep on (doing) (durative/iterative Aspect); indeed, certainly (< Lao .JLabel /ləj/ ‘often’) |
| /ləw/    | [ləw, ləw, ləw] | on top—NB [ləwʔ] (H) |
| /ləh/    | [ləh] | resound (gun); loud (sound)—NB [ləw] (F) |
| /ləŋ/    | [ləŋ] | hand (banana classifier) |
| /ləŋ/    | [ləŋ] | say, tell, inform |
| /ləŋh/   | [ləŋh] | behind, back (direction) |
| /ləp/    | [ləpʰ] | Person’s name (male or female) |
| /lɪ/     | [lɪ] | or (conjunction) (< Lao ɹɪ /lɪ:/ ‘conjunction: or’) |
| /lɪn/    | [lɪn] | swallow (v.) |
| /lɪæk/   | [lɪækʰ] | choose (< Lao ɹɪək /lɪa:k/ ‘choose’) |
| /lɪbɪt/  | [lɪbɪtʰ, lɪbɪtʰ] | bomb (< Lao ɹɪəbɪt /la bɪt:/ ‘bomb’) |
| /məm/    | [məm] | guts; brave |
| /məŋ ɹəŋ/ | [məŋ ɹəŋ, məŋ ɹəŋ] | ladder—NB Unanalyseable compound |
| /məŋ/    | [məŋ] | night |
| /mət/    | [mətʰ] | eye |
| /məw/    | [məw, məw] | enough |
| /ma/     | [ma, ma] | future, will |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/mah/ [māh] tree variety (sticky sweet bright orange fruit like pincushions) (Lao: ອາເມ /māh/)

/mak/ [māk, ma:k'] betel chew (< Lao ອາເມ /mā:k/ ‘betel nut’)

/mat/ [māt', mat'] fleshy, fluffy (rice)

/moh/ [mōh, mōx] name

/mēj/ [mēj] allow, permit, transmit, pass on (message etc.)

/meʔ/ [mēʔ, mēʔ] final emphatic expressive

/mel/ [mēt, meːt, mēl] stretched out; long (neck); level, flat; area

/mew/ [mew, meːw] cat

/mit/ [mīt'] few, small number of (people)

/miʔ/ [mīʔ] only, that’s all (usually reduplicated)

/mīh/ [mīc, mīh] aunt, uncle

/mīh/ [mīh] sky, heavens, atmosphere; large (< Nhaheun)

/mīh/ [mīh] Name of river (‘large’ < Nhaheun)

/mir/ [mir, mir] bow (hunting tool)

/miw/ [miw, miːw] Person’s name (possibly female only)

/miak/ [miak', miek'] son-in-law, daughter-in-law

/mien/ [mien, mion] clean up, tidy (v.)

/mien̥/ [mien, mion] sour spicy fruit dish—NB [mien̥] (F)

/mōŋ moj/ [mōŋ moj, mōŋ moj] gnat, small insect—Unanalyseable Compound.

/mōŋ/ [mōŋ, moŋ] clock, watch (< Lao /mōŋ/ ‘time, hour, o’clock; watch’)

/mūk/ [mūk'] kiss

/mūn/ [mūn] confused, mixed up, destroyed (< Lao /mūn/ ‘confused’)

/mūŋ/ [mūŋ] mosquito net (< Lao /mūŋ/ ‘mosquito net’)

/muh/ [mūx, mūh] nose

/muj/ [muj, muŋ] one


/mun/ [mun] pimples (< Lao /mum/)

/muŋ/ [muŋ, muŋ] want to (do), like to

/mus/ [muŋs, muj] slash and burn, clear forest for swidden

/mut/ [mut', mut'] enter; sharp; into
**APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary**

| /muan/ | [muan] | nephew, niece |
| /muər/ | [muər] | body hair (e.g. on arms) |
| /muok/ | [muok’, muək’] | hat (< Lao ມອ ສ່ /məək/ ‘hat’)—NB [muək] (H) |
| /māt/ | [māt’, mīt’] | dip, plunge (into water) (e.g. washing hair) |
| /məʔ/ | [məʔ, maʔ] | mother—NB [məʔ] (H) |
| /məm/ | [məm, məm] | iron |
| /məm/ | [məm] | give a mouthful (food to baby) |
| /mət/ | [mət’, mət, mət] | love, agree (together) |
| /min/ | [min] | ten thousand (< Lao ວ໌ /mīn/ ‘ten thousand’) |
| /mir/ | [mir, miər, miəʔ] | swidden, ricefield (dry)—NB [miər] (F) |
| /miəŋ/ | [miəŋ] | district, country, province (< Lao ວ໌ /mìəŋ/ ‘city, town, country; district’) |
| /nān/ | [nān] | only, instead (< Lao ວ໌ /nān/ ‘adverb: only’) |
| /nəw/ | [nəw] | elder sibling-in-law |
| /nəw/ | [nəw, nəw, nəw, nəw, nəw] | again, anew—NB [ʔnəw] ‘new’ (H) |
| /nə/ | [nə:] | page (< Lao ວ໌ /nə/ ‘page’) |
| /nəʔ/ | [nəʔ] | still (continuing); yet |
| /naŋ/ | [naŋ] | Miss, Mrs. (< Lao ວ໌ /naŋ/ ‘lady, woman; Miss, Mrs’) |
| /nəw/ | [nəw, nəw] | lemon (< Lao ວ໌ /nəw/ ‘lime, lemon’) |
| /nəŋ/ | [nəŋ, nəŋ] | visit |
| /nəŋ/ | [nəŋ] | look at, watch, guard |
| /nəŋ/ | [nəŋ] | cardamom (fruit is medicinal, used for nausea because it is menthol smelling) (< Lao ວ໌ /nəŋ/) |
| /nə/ | [nə:] | this, these, here (in sight and yonder) |
| /nəʔ/ | [nəʔ, ᵉnəʔ, nəʔ] | this, these, here (in sight and very close) |
| /nij/ | [nij] | swollen and red (eyes) NB—expressive, breaks word structure restrictions. |
| /niah/ | [niah] | pulverise, grind into a powder |
| /niam/ | [niam, niem, niam] | improve, well; get better (illness) |
| /nɔp/ | [nɔp’] | salute, bow (< Lao ວ໌ /nɔp/ ‘greet respectfully, bow; pray’) |
| /nɔŋ/   | [nɔŋ]   | loofah, a kind of squash (*Luffa cylindrica*, *Roehm.*) — male shirt |
| /nuam/  | [nuam]  | before, first, earlier |
| /nuar/  | [nuar, nual] | know, able |
| /nɔh/   | [nɔh, nɔn] | gourd—NB [naan] ‘gourd’ (H) |
| /nɔn/   | [nɔn]   | mound, knoll, bump in ground (< Lao ຖ້າ /nɔn/) |
| /nɔk/   | [nɔk’]  | pull, spin (cotton) |
| /nak/   | [nak’]  | difficult (< Lao ｮ� /nɔk/ ‘hard, difficult; unhappy’) |
| /nak/   | [naak’] | from, away from (cf. cak ‘from’) |
| /nam/   | [nam]   | season (< Lao ｮรม /ŋɔm/ ‘season of year; period of time; division of day into eight parts’) |
| /nɔʔ/   | [nɔʔ, nɔʔ] | barking deer (*Muntiacus muntjak* Zimmerman) |
| /nɔn/   | [nɔn]   | because of (< Lao ｮน /nɔn: wa/) |
| /nɔt/   | [nɔt’]  | smell, smoke (v.), drink alcohol |
| /nɔl/   | [nɔt, niɛt] | raw, unripe, uncooked; premature; to faint (lit. ‘die prematurely’) |
| /nieh/   | [nieh, nieç, nieh] | exit, come out (e.g. exit a house, leave a marriage etc.); give birth; remove (e.g. skin)—NB [nɔh] (H) |
| /nɔn/   | [nɔn]   | airplane, helicopter (< Lao ｮน /nɔn/ ‘motor; airplane’) |
| /nom/   | [nom, nɔm] | surrender (v.) (< Lao ｮน /ŋɔm/ ‘submit, surrender, yield’) |
| /nɔm/   | [nɔm]   | tasty, delicious |
| /nɔm/   | [nɔm, nim] | cry (v.) |
| /nuh/   | [nɔx, nɔh] | stink, smell bad (to someone) |
| /nuoʔ/  | [nɔʔ, nɔʔ] | attempt, try |
| /naj/   | [ŋaj]   | following, tomorrow |
| /na/    | [ŋa:]    | sesame (< Lao ｮ /ŋa:/ ‘sesame’) |
| /naj/   | [ŋaj, näj] | we, our, us (1PL.) |
| /nas/   | [ŋaːj, näj] | fast—NB [ŋaas] (H) |
| /nɔj/   | [ŋaj]   | moment (< Lao ｮໝ /cak nɔj/ ‘in a moment’) |
| /nɔk/   | [ŋɔk’, ŋɔk’, ŋɔk’] | sit down |
| /nɛn/   | [nɛn, nɛn, nən, nɛn] | sleep—NB [ŋɛn] (H) |
| /ŋiw/  | [ŋiw, ɲiw]     | kapok (tree) (< Lao ລັກ /ŋiːw/ ‘kapok’) |
| /ŋok/  | [ŋok', ɲgɔk']  | monkey—NB [ŋok] ‘baboon’ (F) |
| /ŋial/ | [ɲiːt, ɲiːtŋ, ɲiːtŋ] | in front, before (space) |
| /ŋup/  | [ŋuŋ, ŋuŋŋ, ɲuŋŋ] | wish to, want to, desire, need, require |
| /pāl/  | [pāt, paːt]    | direction (ie. to the left, towards the forest, on my mother’s side of the family, etc.) |
| /pār/  | [pār, paː]     | fly (v.) |
| /pāt/  | [pāt']         | set (sun), wane (moon) |
| /pāt/  | [pāt']         | wring out, squeeze; finger print (in ink), extinguish (fire) |
| /pal/  | [paːt, paːt]   | shoulder |
| /pāk/  | [pāk']         | fig variety (Moraceae) Ficus hispida L. F. var. hispida. (Lao ບິ່ນ ລັກ). Compound word /lām pāk/ |
| /poh/  | [pōh, pōk]     | spear (v.), stab |
| /pēŋ/  | [pēn, pēŋ]     | shoot—NB [pēn] (H) |
| /pe/   | [peː]          | three |
| /pe/   | [peː]          | you (plural) (2PL.) |
| /pēh/  | [pēh]          | gather, pick (with hands), pick off (dead leaves) |
| /pek/  | [pek', peːk', peːk', peːk'] | weed (v.) |
| /peŋ/  | [peŋ, peŋ]     | beat (with an object), strike with stick |
| /pet/  | [pet']         | grill, roast, toast (possibly < Lao /piːŋ/ ‘grill, barbeque, roast, toast, etc.’) |
| /pew/  | [pew, peːw']   | tree taxon (Magnoliaceae) Michelia champaca L. (Lao: ຜິ່ນ ຢ່ຍຍມ່uilderm). Compound word /lān pet/ |
| /pĩ/   | [pĩ]           | roar (of deer, tiger, elephant) |
| /pian/ | [pian, pieŋ]    | let go of hands, release hand holding |
| /piat/ | [piat', piet']  | extent of, up to (measurement) (< Lao /piːat/) |
| /pie/  | [pie, piə]     | tongue |
| /pien/ | [pien]         | paralysed, lame (< Lao ວ້າ /piə/ ‘paralyzed, lame, weak’) |
| /piet/ | [piet', piat']  | change, exchange (< Lao ອາຍ /piəm/ ‘change, exchange’) |
| /po/   | [poː]          | knife (n.) |
|        |                | thumb-length (measurement) |
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /por/ | [por, po\(\i\)] | participate, join in an activity (e.g. with cooking, singing a song) |
| /pos/ | [po\(\i\)\(\i\), po\(\i\)\(\i\)] | sweep |
| /pâk/ | [pâk\(\i\)] | Kind of bamboo sp. (Gramineae) Cephalostachyum virgatum Kurz. (Lao: ຖິກຊາກດ). Compound word /ʔləŋ pâk/. |
| /pât/ | [pât\(\i\)] | fan (v.) (e.g. the fire) |
| /pôh/ | [pôh] | split, cleave, cut in half |
| /poj/ | [poj\(\i\)] | be bruised, squashed (e.g. banana, overcooked fruit) |
| /pâm/ | [pâm] | fishtrap (long cylindrical bamboo creel) |
| /pûk/ | [pûk\(\i\)] | oil, fat, grease |
| /pual/ | [pual\(\i\)] | single cigarette—Compound word /pual hit/ ‘cigarette’. |
| /puan/ | [puan] | four |
| /puas/ | [puas\(\i\), puaj\(\i\)] | calf, foreleg—NB [puas] (H) |
| /puat/ | [puat\(\i\)] | slice with knife, cut |
| /pâw/ | [pâw, poj]\(\i\) | grapefruit (Houei Kong Loven) (Rutaceae) Citrus grandis Osbeck. (Lao: ມ້ວາກໍາ). Compound word /plâj pâw/. |
| /pâh/ | [pâh, pâh] | seven |
| /pâk/ | [pâk\(\i\)] | open (v.) |
| /pâm/ | [pâm] | success; victory, conquest—{(F) = Lao ນ້າ} |
| /pâp/ | [pâp, pâp] | valley, upward or downward slope (e.g. steep side of road) |
| /pij/ | [pij\(\i\)] | tooth |
| /pih/ | [pih, pij\(\i\)] | riverbank |
| /pir/ | [pir, pij\(\i\), pil\(\i\)] | flower—NB [pij\(\i\)] (F) |
| /pit/ | [pit\(\i\)] | after, behind; traces, prints (e.g. footprints, fingerprints, teeth marks) |
| /piaj/ | [piaj\(\i\)] | naked (< Lao ຄົ້ມ /piaj/ ‘naked, nude’) |
| /pioj/ | [pioj\(\i\)] | above, over, on top |
| /pias/ | [pias\(\i\), piaj\(\i\)] | kind of citrus fruit—(Lao: ມ້ວາ ຊ່ງ) |
| /p-soi/ | [p-soi, p-soi\(\i\)] | burp up (food), vomit |
| /p-uaç/ | [p-uaç\(\i\), p-uaç\(\i\)] | window—Compound /kmon p-uaç/ ‘window’ |
| /pceh/ | [pceh, pceh\(\i\)] | complete (v.tr.) (< ceh ‘finish’) |
| /pciam/ | [pʰciaмь, pʰciem] | feed someone, feed someone a mouthful of food as a bonding ritual |
| /pcuaj/ | [pʰcоуай, pʰcuеj] | sow (seeds) (with dibble stick); feed birds |
| /pcuar/ | [pʰcuar] | transplant rice seedlings |
| /pcuo/ | [pʰcuо] | burial preparation ritual (offerings to the coffin/home before burial) |
| /pcruop/ | [pʰcruоpь, pʰcruоpь, pʰcrupь] | wear, dress up in (clothes) |
| /pdal/ | [pʰдăл] | bend, flex (joints) |
| /pдаp/ | [pʰдăрь] | smother, extinguish a fire (with water or other means) < /dăp/ ‘cover’ |
| /pdii/ | [pʰдii:] | slow, late (< Oi/Laveh/Sapuan?) |
| /pdi/ | [pʰдi:] | compare something |
| /pdon/ | [pʰдонь] | draw back (to fire a crossbow) |
| /pdo/ | [pʰдо] | request, ask a favour |
| /pdos/ | [pʰдось] | blame someone |
| /pduh/ | [pʰдухь, pʰдуh] | burning (wood) |
| /pduk/ | [pʰдукь, pʰдукь] | carry a load, transport (v.) (e.g. a truck) |
| /pduor/ | [pʰдуorь] | undo a rope |
| /pдöl/ | [pʰдölт] | belly, stomach |
| /pдась/ | [pʰдась, pʰдась, pʰдоcь] | story, tale, traditional epic dance or narrative |
| /pдикь/ | [pʰдикь] | climb (v.tr.); stay awake (ie. ‘stay up’) |
| /pдроh/ | [pʰдроhь] | pole over fire for drying things |
| /pдримь/ | [pʰдрымь, pʰдрымь] | side-by-side |
| /pʰhаw/ | [pʰхаwь] | raise; lift onto (v.ditr.) (< /hаw/ ‘climb (v.tr.)’)) |
| /pʰhомь/ | [pʰhomь] | bathe (tr.) |
| /pjaʔ/ | [pʰjaʔ, pʰjaʔ] | y o u n g e r d i s t a n t relatives/cousins |
| /pjaʔ/ | [pʰjaть, pʰjaть] | fishing float |
| /pjoх/ | [pʰjoхь, pʰjoхь] | stretch out (legs, hand, fingers) |
| /pjoсь/ | [pʰjoсь, pʰjoсь] | sparrow variety which builds a hanging fibrous nest (bird ofPasser family) |
| /pjuol/ | [pʰjuоlь, pʰjuоlь, pʰjuоlь, pʰjuуr] | pangolin—Unanalyseable compound /pjuоlь/ ‘anteater, pangolin’ |
| /pъшь/ | [pʰъшь, pʰъшь] | set up, install, establish |
| /pъcь/ | [pʰъcь] | clean (v.tr.) |
| /pъyь/ | [pʰъyь] | dream |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/plā/ [plā]\footnote{fruit (generic); classifier for fruit, ears of corn, pots, pans, baskets, large sacks (of grain), discrete internal organs (e.g. kidneys, heart, eye) and round muscles (e.g. calf muscle).}

/plāw/ [plāw] find, discover; gather, pick up
/pla/ [pla:] blade (knife); classifier for knives and hooks (fishing instrument)
/plah/ [plāh] break (v.intr.), pop or spit (of fire)—NB [plah] ‘break’ (H)

/pəlan/ [pəlan, pəlanæ] bird variety (small)
/plɔ/ [plɔ:, plɔ:] fruit tree variety (Dillenia sp.)
(plɔː) (Lao = ສາວ ຢໍາ+)
/plɔŋ/ [plɔŋ] rambeh fruit (Pierardia motleyana) (Lao: ມ້າ+)
/plèc, plèh/ make fall, drop something
civet variety (Customs palm civet)—NB Attributive of unclear meaning, cf. Compound /sɔŋ plia?/ 'Customs palm civet'.
/pliaʔ/ [pliaʔ] bird variety (Bulbul)
/pliaw/ [pliæw, pliæw] leave, divorce
/plie/ [plie, plio] flip over, fold over (v.intr.) (e.g. a mat in the wind)
/plɔt/ [plɔt] small edible eggplant variety
(plɔː) (Lao = ສາວ ຢໍາ+)
/plo/ [plɔː, plɔ:] after, last (time/space)
/ploɔc/ [ploɔc, ploɔc, ploɔc] halfcaste
/ploh/ [plɔh, plɔh, plɔh] inflate, swell, gas (integestion), blow the khêne (pipe instrument)
/plùn/ [plùn] tadpole
/plun/ [plun, plun] betel leaf—NB [pəlua] (H)
/pəluo/ [pəluo, pəluu] young (person)
/plɔʔ/ [plɔʔ, plɔʔ] upper (e.g. top lip)
/pəlɔw/ [pəlɔw, pəlɔw] leech (land)
/plɔm/ [plɔm] spread out, lay (e.g. a mat on the ground)
/plik/ [plik, plik] blunt (knife), stubby (esp. nose)—NB [plɔp] ‘dull’ (T&A)
/plim/ [plim] reversed, wrong way, inside out (shirt); turn over (cassette)
/plih/ [plih, plix, plih] startle (v.tr.)
/pəliə/ [pəliə]
| /plioŋ/  | [pʰliɔŋ] | variety of small edible eggplant |
| /pnaŋ/  | [pʰnəŋ] | village |
| /pnaŋ/  | [pʰnəʔ] | wing |
| /pnaŋ/  | [pʰnəj] | stink, odor (bad) |
| /pneŋ/  | [pʰneŋ] | punish, ask compensation |
| /pneŋ/  | [pʰnæʔ] | (when divorcing) |
| /pneŋ/  | [pʰnæh, pʰnæj] | flesh (fruit), piece of meat |
| /pneŋ/  | [pʰnæʔ] | swollen (stomach) |
| /pneŋ/  | [pʰneŋ] | grilled bread — NB infixed *pəŋ* 'roast, grill' |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | repair (v.tr.) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | broom (< /por/ ‘help’) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | broom (< /pos/ ‘sweep’) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | a spread out pile (e.g. of coffee for drying) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | human, person—NB [pʰnuəŋ] (H) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | waist, lower back—NB [kʰnuəŋ] ‘waist’ (P); [kʰnuəŋ] ‘back’ (T&A) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | beak, bill (of bird) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | large, woven back basket with 2 straps, used for carrying firewood (Lao = สะบู่ สะบาย /kapʰa: nai/) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | labour, work in a field |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | some, half |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | disabled, diseased (< Lao สะบาย /pʰaː naiː ‘sickness, disease’) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | make someone drunk, force someone to drink alcohol |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | extract (v.tr.), remove (e.g. scoop out fried egg from pan, remove seeds from fruit, drain water from macaroni etc.) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | hungry—NB [pʰnuaj] (H) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | poison (plant/snake) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | awaken; wake up someone |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | silver, money |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | dry (season) |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | rib |
| /pnuaj/ | [pʰnuaj] | taxon for a giant leafy creeping plant which can grow up to 30 meters | *(A r a c e a e)* *Epipremnum giganteum* Schott. (Lao: สะพานด้วย). Kind of taro root used to treat |
APPENDIX I: *Jruq Vocabulary*

/prɔk/  
[prɔk']
pluck (hair)

/prɔk/  
[prɔk', prɔk']
squirrel

/preh/  
[prɛh, prɛh]
pick, dig out; chisel out

/preh/  
[prɛh, prɛh]
pluck, flick

/prih/  
[priç]
stir, mix

/pril/  
[priך, mprič]
pumpkin (Houei Kong Loven)—

/prial/  
[priæł, priěł]
NB [prial] 'mango' (H)

/prias/  
[priæç, prięç, prięj]
hailstone, hail—NB [brięl] (F)

/prien/  
[priเæn, priän]
plant taxa of unclear meaning

/prom/  
[pröm]
used for a) small hot kind of

/prom/  
[pröm]
ginger /kɲiә prias/ (Lao =

/prop/  
[prop']
/kʰa:/); Catimore coffee tree

/pros/  
[proč, proj, proj]
/kpʰɛ prias/ (smallest kind of

/prük/  
[prűk']
coffee tree)

/pruon/  
[pruon]

/pršk/  
[prăk']
instruct, teach (v.)—NB [priเæn] (F)

/prähl/  
[prähl, prăh, prăh]
reunite, join, encircle—NB

[proom] 'skirt' (P)

/Suay (people)

/cry of barking deer

/pros/  
[proč, proj, proj]
release (animal), set free

/pruhl/  
[pruhl]  
mix together, combine

/cook (rice) in a bamboo tube

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
reach; attain; fully (e.g. full

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
metaphorical extension: /ʔih

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
prahl/ 'retarded'

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
enjoy, joyful

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
also—NB Compound word

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
/priam bɔr tʌ/ 'twins'

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
banana

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
Laap (Lao dish of spiced raw

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
meat)

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
usually (< Lao ต้า ท่าบะสูบ

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
/tam tammasat/)

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
son-in-law, daughter-in-law

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
remove, change (clothes)

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
scold, curse, insult (v., n.);

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
swear, take an oath (a water

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
ritual like a christening)

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
mushroom

/prahl/  
[prahl]  
clear away (dishes)

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| /psom/ | [pʰsɔm] | combine (ingredients which still remain intact) |
| /psrāp/ | [pʰsrāp’, pʰsrāp’] | decorate |
| /ptaj/ | [pʰtaj, pʰtaj] | photograph (v.) (< Lao namese /lʰāj/ ‘take a photograph’) |
| /pteh/ | [pʰtēh, pʰtēh] | earth, ground |
| /ptieh/ | [pʰtīež, pʰtīež] | lower, take down |
| /ptoc/ | [pʰtɔc’] | finish (v.tr.) |
| /ptuij/ | [pʰtuij, pʰtuej] | elder distant relatives/cousins |
| /ptuar/ | [pʰtuar, pʰtuar, kʰtuar] | star |
| /ptuaj/ | [pʰtuaj] | place end-to-end |
| /ptuol/ | [pʰtuol] | hill, mound—Prefixed /tuol/ ‘heap, pile up’ |
| /ptul/ | [pʰtul] | float (v.tr.) |
| /ptia/ | [pʰtia] | lower (lip) |
| /pʰet/ | [pʰet’] | country, nation (< Lao namese /pǎ? tʰet/ ‘country, state’ < Pali) |
| /pʰāk/ | [pʰāk’] | vegetable (< Lao namese /fă:k/ Southern Lao: [pʰāk] ‘prefix for leguminous plants’) |
| /pʰāp/ | [pʰāp’] | /pʰāp/ ‘book’ (< Lao namese /pʰāp/ ‘book’) |
| /pʰac/ | [pʰa:c’, pʰa:c’] | sand (n.) |
| /pʰaw/ | [pʰaw] | hurry, urgent (< Lao namese /fǎ:o/ ‘hurry, press, fast, urgent’) |
| /pʰɔ ban/ | [pʰɔ: ban] | chief of village (< Lao namese /pʰɔ: /bǎ:n/ ‘village chief’) — Compound word help, assist |
| /pʰɔm/ | [pʰɔm] | dance (< Lao namese /fɔm/ ‘dance’) |
| /pʰɔn/ | [pʰɔn, fon] | rice (husked) |
| /pʰe/ | [pʰɛ] | break down (car, machine etc.) (< Lao namese /pʰɛ:/ ‘broken down (car); destroyed’) |
| /pʰe/ | [pʰɛ] | cloth (< Lao namese /pʰɛ/ ‘cloth’) |
| /pʰeʔ/ | [pʰɛʔ, pʰɛʔ] | full (sated) |
| /pʰen/ | [pʰɛn] | classifier for wall panels (< Lao namese /pʰɛn/ ‘panel, flat sheet’) |
| /pʰɛn/ | [pʰɛn] | expensive (< Lao namese /pʰɛn/ ‘expensive, dear’) |
| /pʰiʔ/ | [pʰiʔ] | false, wrong, faulty (< Lao namese /pʰiʔ/ ‘mistake, error, wrong’) |
| /pʰom/ | [pʰɔm] | fart |
| /pʰor/ | [pʰɔr, pʰɔr, pɔr] | sweat (n.) |
### APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /pʰot/ | [pʰɔtʰ] | too much (< Lao 角度来看 /pʰɔtʰ/ ‘too much, exceed’) |
| /pʰəm/ | [pʰəm] | blood; Huffman records [pʰəm] and this is also the form I recorded for the Ban Set Khot dialect. |
| /pʰin/ | [pʰin] | story, rumour (< Lao ຊມ /pʰin/ ‘story, history’) — NB [pʰin] (H) |
| /ræŋ/ | [ræŋ, ᵇræŋ] | unknown meaning. Taxon for various Fagaceae tree varieties. 1. Tree (10-20m tall) fissured bark, with nuts Lithocarpus polystachyus Rehd. (Lao: ລີ່ /hræŋ '/hراً/ ‘story, history’) — NB [pʰin] (H) |
| /ræp/ | [ræpʰ, ndræpʰ, nɾdræpʰ] | catch, get, touch; hold hands |
| /ra/ | [rəː, ndrəː] | classifier for people; tribes |
| /raʔ/ | [rəʔ, nɾraʔ] | free up, empty (v.) (e.g. to free a telephone line) |
| /rah/ | [ɾaːh, rah] | clear (speech), polite or correct speech |
| /raj/ | [ɾaj] | bad |
| /rɔʔ/ | [ɾɔʔ] | large cowbell |
| /rɔh/ | [ɾɔh, rɔŋ] | undo (knot), unravel |
| /rom/ | [ɾɔm, rəm] | granary (for rice) |
| /rɔŋ/ | [ɾɔŋ, nɾɔŋ] | ladder—Compound word: /mɑŋ/ ‘ladder’ |
| /rɛc/ | [ɾɛcʰ] | chop through (with axe) |
| /reh/ | [ɾɛcʰ, ɾɛcʰ] | fishhook—NB Ferlus records |
| /re/ | [ɾei] | swim |
| /reʔ/ | [ɾeiʔ, reʔ] | go |
| /ɾeʔ/ | [ɾeiʔ] | small variety of banana—NB |
| /rin/ | [rin, rim] | Compound word /priat reʔ/. |
| /rit/ | [ritʰ, ritʰ] | regret, feel upset about, miss |
| /riak/ | [riakʰ, riekkʰ] | ritual, tradition |
| /riap/ | [riapʰ, ɾiɛpʰ] | large net |
| /rias/ | [ɾiɛʔ, rieʔ, rieʔ, riaʔ] | count |
| | | root (n.) |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/riek/ [riek', riak'] fat (size)—NB [riak] (H)
/rień/ [rień] dizzy, dazed (e.g. when drunk)
/rięt/ [rięt] bind wood together (v.)
/röc/ [röć', nröć'] unravel, disembowel
/röh/ [röx, röq] launder, beat clothes
/roj/ [roj, roj] tell, narrate
/rüh/ [rűx, rűų, [lux] fall down (fruit); collapse (house); fall off (petals)
/ruaj/ [ruaj, ndruaj, ruej] fly (n.)
/ruas/ [rua'ç, ruaj'] elephant—NB [rušh] (F)
/ruat/ [ruat', ndruat'] buy
/ruoh/ [ruoh, ruh, ruəh] occurrence, occasion—NB [ruah] (H)
/ruot/ [ruot', ndruot'] pay a visit, drop in on the way to somewhere else
/röp/ [röp', ndröp'] good, beautiful, nice, pure etc.
/röh/ [röh, ndröh, [ah, ndrih] flame
/rën/ [rën, rën] hold, grasp, catch
/räŋ/ [ræŋ, ndraŋ, rän, ndräŋ] entertain (joke, play, kid around, tell a tale); sing—NB compound word /ʔmaŋ räŋ/ ‘to sing’
/rih/ [rîh, ndrih] happy—NB [rîh, ṭrîh] (F)
/säj/ [säj, sæj] previous, yesterday
/säj/ [säj, sæj] pay (bill) (< Lao ນກ ລ /säj/ ‘pay, spend, repay’)
/sär/ [sär, sär] bushland (small trees)
/sät/ [sät'] stretcher, palanquin (for carrying people) (< Lao ສຫ /sät vɔi/ ‘palanquin’)
/sa/ [sa:] oneself, reciprocal marker
/sa/ [sa] tea (< Lao ຳ /sæ/ ‘the tea plant (Thea chinensis Seem (Vidal).’)
/sa/ [sa] pond
/säj/ [säj, saj] put in, insert; put on bracelet (< Lao ທ发展空间 /säj/ ‘put on, put in, wear; carry’)
/sak/ [sak'] tear (v.)
/saw/ [saw, saw, səw] you (singular) (2SG.)—Length is not distinctive
/sö/ [sö] pencil (< Lao ວ /səi/ ‘pencil; stick’)
/söh/ [söh, sóy] empty (v.), remove, demolish (house)
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

| /sok/  | [sɔk̚, sɔk̚]  | elbow to finger tip (cubit measurement)  |
| /sēj/  | [sēj, sēj, sāj]  | tie back, pull back (hair)  |
| /sēt/  | [sēt̚]  | attach, fasten (e.g. tie or sew something on)  |
| /se/   | [sẽ:]  | listen; consider, try  |
| /seh/  | [sẽh, sẽh]  | horse  |
| /sel/  | [sẽl̚, sẽl̚]  | skin (fruit) (v.) (e.g. strip sugarcane with machete)  |
| /sel/  | [sẽl̚]  | wild areca fruit  |
| /sen/  | [sẽn]  | hundred thousand (< Lao ກ້າວ /sēn/ ‘one hundred thousand’)  |
| /sēŋ/  | [sẽŋ]  | level (of education) (< Lao ກ້າວ /sēŋ/ ‘take an examination’)  |
| /sīc/  | [sīc̚]  | crush (v.)  |
| /sīm/  | [sīm]  | taste, sip (v.)  |
| /si/   | [sī]  | colour classifier (< Lao ົ /sīː / ‘colour’)  |
| /sian/ | [sian, sien]  | voice, sound (< Lao າ /sian/ ‘sound, noise, voice’)  |
| /sian/ | [sian, sien]  | whistle, cut  |
| /siar/ | [sīar, sier]  | thread (flowers on string)  |
| /sie/  | [sie, siə]  | defeated (< Lao ທານ /siaː/ ‘lose, be lost’)  |
| /sieʔ/ | [sieʔ, sieʔ]  | how many?  |
| /siew/ | [siew, siəw]  | comrade, good friend (< Lao ລ /siaːw/ ‘friend, companion’)  |
| /sök/  | [sök̚]  | hair  |
| /sök/  | [sök̚]  | punch, hit with fist  |
| /sōŋ/  | [sōŋ]  | civet taxa in compound words:  |
| /sōŋ wian/ | /sōŋ wian/ ‘civet cat variety’,  |
| /sōŋ dûŋ/ | /sōŋ dûŋ/ ‘black striped weasel’,  |
| /sōŋ pliaʔ/ | /sōŋ pliaʔ/ ‘Custom’s palm civet’.  |
| /sōʔ/  | [sōʔ]  | rotten (e.g. food, branches etc.)  |
| /sɔc/  | [sɔc̚]  | last born child,  |
| /sol/  | [sɔl̚]  | youngest/smallest child  |
| /sot/  | [sɔt̚]  | slave  |
| /sûp/  | [sûp̚]  | blind  |
| /sût/  | [sût̚]  | stew (n.)  |
| /sût/  | [sût̚]  | extremely (< Lao ຖ /sût/ ‘finish, all, entire, complete’)  |
| /su/   | [suː, ūː]  | occasion, time, moment (< Lao ປ /sût/ ‘occasion; time; turn’)  |
|         |         | cabbage (< Lao < French)  |

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| /suc/  | [sutʃ, sutʃ] | sting (v.) (e.g. red ‘fire’ ants)      |
| /sut/  | [sʊt, sut]  | bee (honey)                        |
| /suaj/ | [suaj, suej] | tail                               |
| /suan/ | [sʊan, suen] | assist in emergency, aide          |
| /suon/ | [suon, suən] | garden, orchard (< Lao สวน /sūan/ ‘garden’) |
| /sɔj/  | [sɔt]       | valuable, precious (Lao ตูน); appendix (Compound word /klak sɔ̄j/). |
| /sɔʔ/  | [sɔʔ]       | first, before doing something else |
| /sɔm/  | [sɔm, sɔm]  | tired                              |
| /sɔp/  | [sɔp]       | waterlizard, monitor lizard        |
| /sän/  | [sän]       | hear                               |
| /sʔ/   | [sk]        | five                               |
| /sia/  | [sio]       | name (< Lao หิน /sii/ ‘name’)      |
| /sʔɔʔ/ | [sʔɔʔ, sʔiʔ] | believe (< Lao เชื่อ /siiː: ‘believe, trust, obey’) |
| /smʔo/ | [sʰmʔoː]    | burp (< Lao พุก /sʔiːʔ /sʔiʔ /ʔiːʔ/ ‘hiccup, hiccough’) |
| /smʔon/ | [sʰmon̚, sʰmʔon] | grapefruit (< Lao มะเขือเทศ /sóm ?oː/ ‘pomelo tree, grapefruit tree’) |
| /sra/  | [sra, sɾaː] | hour, o’clock (< Lao ตั้งเวลา /sûaː: móːn ‘hour’) |
| /sraj/ | [sraj]      | slender                            |
| /sraj/ | [sraj]      | toss cooked rice on platter to mold it |

**Tree taxon:** 1. tall tree variety *(Manglieta sp.)* (Lao: mmc แซ่จ). Compound word /ʔọŋ sraj/. 2. *(Magnoliaceae)* *Michelia champaca* L. (Lao: แซ่จ แซ่จ). (Also called /ʔọŋ pet/ by some speakers). Compound word /ʔọŋ plǎj sraj/.

| /sraŋ/ | [sraŋ] | flakes of skin, scab |
| /sɾʔ/  | [sɾʔ, sɾʔ] | pity, sympathise, feel sorry for |
/srɔh/  [srɔh]  digest, to empty the stomach (< /sɔh/ ‘empty’)

/shəh/  [ʃrẽh, sɾɛɡ]  shave (facial hair)

/sriə/  [ʃriɛt, sɾiɛt]  slide (v.), slip (v.)

/srɔk/  [sɾɔk]  pour out (liquid)

/srɔl/  [sɾɔl]  taxon of Moraceae tree variety with small yellow fruit and large hairy leaves which are used for making paper and mulching for coffee plantations. Braussonetia papyrifica (L.) Vent. (Lao: ນ້າຂື້ນ) — Compound word /ʔlọŋ sroɭ/.


/sruat/  [ʃruat]  skin (n.)

/sruat/  [ʃruat]  harvest (v.)

/srɔp/  [ʃɾɔp]  put on, wear (shoes, shirt, sarong, earrings)

/sriəj/  [ʃriɛj, sɾiɛj]  maggot, worm (in fruit)

/swit/  [ʃwiiɭ, sɯwiiɭ]  king (< Lao < Pali)

/swə/  [ʃwɔɭ, sɯwɔɭ]  choko (vine/fruit) (< Lao ປ້ອກ /sāw vāɭ/ ‘climbing plant: chayote (Sechium edule Sw. (Pakse) (Vidal).)

/tâk/  [tæk]  roof (n., v.), roofed by (e.g. a house roofed by thatch)

/tâl/  [təɭ]  level (of building), storey (n.)

/tâm/  [təm]  collide, hit oneself, crash (e.g. car)

/tâm/  [ʔtəm]  hold down, force, block (v.)

/tân/  [tən]  taxon for very tall (30-50m) tree (Dipterocarpaceae) Anisoptera costata Korth. (Lao: ການເນື່ອ). Compound word /ʔlọŋ tən/. how, reason

/tăm/  [tən]  knot (in tree)

/tât/  [tət]  cross (river)

/tâw/  [təw, tɔw]  see—NB [təw, tai] (F)

/tah/  [təh, tăh]  cut out, cut open—NB [təh] ‘cut, chop’ (H)
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/tap/ [tap] weave
/taw/ [taw] sword (< Lao- ทม /tao/ ‘sword, saber’ (< Pali))
/toh/ [tɔh, tɔŋ] repair, mend (clothes)
/ton/ [ton, tɔn] time (of day) (< Lao ที่ /ton/ ‘piece, section; episode, time’)
/toŋ/ [toŋ, toŋ] must, obliged to (< Lao ต้อง /toŋ/ ‘auxiliary: must, have to; necessary’)
/toŋ/ [toŋ] handle, tool classifier
/ťj/ [ťj, tǎj] hand, arm; arm length (measure)—NB [taj] (H)
/tɛ/ [tɛ:] but (< Lao แตะ /tɛː/ wavy)
/tet/ [tɛt’] vagina
/tɛc/ [tɛc’] sell
/tɛn/ [tɛn] bounce, wobble (breasts)
/tεh/ [tɛh, tɛč] strike, hit (stab, kick, pound, hammer)
/tem/ [tem] paint, draw (< Lao สี /tɛːm/ ‘draw, design, paint’) final expressive (“it really did!”)
/ti/ [ti:] big, large, wide—NB in highly emphatic use it is pronounced by speakers as [tʰiː].
/tih/ [tʰiː, ʔiː] cricket
/tir/ [tir, tIr, nətir] near (ie. close proximity), stuck (e.g. stick to roof of mouth)—NB [tɪ ʔiː] (F)
/tit/ [tit’, tit’] earrings
/tial/ [tiaŋ, tief] parrot
/tiat/ [tiaŋ’, tief’] descend
/tieh/ [tieh, tiah] classifier for animals, (esp. insects) or generic inanimate objects (< Lao ทอง /tɔː/ ‘classifier: animals, insects, birds, cards, clothing’)
/tier/ [tier, tiər] classifier for animals, (esp. insects) or generic inanimate objects (< Lao ทอง /tɔː/ ‘classifier: animals, insects, birds, cards, clothing’)
/to/ [tɔː] table (< Lao โตะ /tɔʔ/ ‘table, desk’)
/toʔ/ [tɔʔ, tɔʔ] all, complete, whole; finished (dead batteries)
/toč/ [tɔč’, tɔč’] breast
/toh/ [tɔx, tɔʔ] accompany, with (s.o./s.t.)—NB [tɔj] ‘follow’ (H)
/toj/ [toj, toj]
APPENDIX I: Lao Vocabulary

/túc/ [tǔc, tuᵉc] rub (hands); rinse (hands before eating)

/tūm/ [tūm] ulcer (< Lao ʔu /tūm/ ‘imple, blackhead, mosquito bite, blister’)

/tūŋ/ [tūŋ, ṭūŋ] deaf

/tu/ [tu:] chest (cabinet) (< Lao ʔu /tū:/ ‘cabinet, wardrobe; cupboard’)

/tuc/ [tuᶜ, tuᶜ] uproot, pull out—NB [tuc] (F)

/tuí/ [tuǐ, tuʰi] classifier for spices with roots (e.g. ginger); bulbs (e.g. garlic).

/tui/ [tui, tuǐ] each, every single (counting)

/tur/ [tur] cobra—Compound word /biḃu tur/ head; head of cabbage; hat classifier

/tus/ [tuᶜ, tujść] whittle (v.)

/tuac/ [tuac’, tuɛc’] pile, heap (v.tr.)

/tuol/ [tuɔ́l] plant, transplant; bury (body)

/tëp/ [tëp’] to, toward

/tăʔ/ [tăʔ] from, source of—NB [tăʔam] (H), [tăm] (F)

/tăm/ [tăm, tăm] ancient; time/occasion (in past); past, former (wife, etc.)

/tal/ [tăt] answer, reply

/tăl/ [tăl] float (intr)—NB [taol] (H)

/tam/ [tam] jar for rice wine

/tăm/ [tăm, tăm, tăm] tree trunk; tree classifier

/tiā/ [tiā] old (thing); reach a ripe old age (person) (< Lao ʔiā /tʰiā/ ‘overripe; time, occasion’)

/tiāʔ/ [tiāʔ, ṭiāʔ] down at; descend down into (e.g. fall down into a hole)

/tiāŋ/ [tiāŋ] dry in sun—NB [tiāŋ] (F)

/tiāŋ/ [tiāŋ, tiᵃ⁴ŋ] grill, roast (over fire)

/tiɔʔk/ [tiɔʔk’] throat (< /tʰik/ ‘drink (v.’)

/tiɔʔ/ [tiɔʔ] unclear meaning, part of compound /ptuar tio/ referring to a six star constellation.

/tiʔin/ [tiʔin] goitre

/tbāk/ [tʰbāk’] hang (< /bāk/ ‘carry on shoulder’)

/tbāl/ [tʰbāl] cubit, arm length

/tbōk/ [tʰbōk’] cheeks

/tbōŋ/ [tʰbōŋ, tʰbŋ] knock down
| /tbon/  | [tʰoŋ] | trough (for pigs) |
| /tbot/  | [tʰoɾtʰ] | ritual, ceremony; celebrant (e.g. mid-wife) |
| /tbēc/  | [tʰbɛc’, tɔmbɛc’, tʰbɛc’] | game, play |
| /tbic/  | [tʰbic’] | be performed, be done (e.g. ‘I want to myself to be buried/cremated’) |
| /tbuʔ/  | [tʰbuʔ] | pile up (dirt) (v.) |
| /tbuc/  | [tʰbuɾc’, tʰbuɾc’] | cover with earth, bury (in grave not in a burial hut); bury seeds when sowing |
| /tbuǎn/ | [tʰbuʔn, tʰamːbuʔn] | light a fire (v.) |
| /tbʌt/  | [tʰbʌt’] | touch (v.)—NB [kabat’] (F) |
| /tbih/  | [tʰbih, tʰbih] | bring (< /bih/ ‘come, arrive’) |
| /tbìlɛk/ | [tʰbilɛk’, tɔmːbilɛk’, tʰbilɛk’] | tease, joke around |
| /tdoŋ/  | [tʰdoŋ, tʰton] | jungle |
| /tdɔk/  | [tʰdɔk’] | walk, go by foot (< /dɔk/ ‘walk, go’) |
| /tgɔh/  | [tʰgɔh] | knock |
| /tʰha/  | [tʰha:, tʰfiː] | pottery jar (medium sized—foot length) |
| /tʰhan/ | [tʰhan, tʰhaːn] | soldier (< Lao ວັ່ບ /tʰʔaːn/ ‘soldier’) |
| /tʰhiat/ | [tʰhiat’] | miserly—NB [tʰhiet] (F) |
| /tkål/  | [tʰkɑt] | break, snap, smash |
| /tkɛj/  | [tʰkɛj, tʰkej] | right now! |
| /tkian/ | [tʰkiɛn] | lantern (< Lao ວັດ /tʰʔiɛn/ ‘lantern’) |
| /tkus/  | [tʰkʉʒ] | hump (of gaur, zebu, bull) |
| /tkuai/ | [tʰkuaj, tʰkuej] | horn (animal); pincer (rhinoceros beetle) |
| /tlat/  | [tʰlaʔt’, tʰlaʔt’] | market (< Lao ວາກ /tʔaʔ /tʰʔaʔ /lát/ ‘market’) |
| /tlɔk/  | [tʰlɔk’] | pot, kettle |
| /tlɔʔ/  | [tʰlɔʔ] | owl (bird type)—Compound word /klaŋ /lɔt/ |
| /tmān/  | [tʰmān] | pimple, boil |
| /tma/   | [tʰma:, tʰmaː] | almost, nearly |
| /tman/  | [tʰmaŋ, tʰmaːŋ] | mouth (< /ʔmaŋ/ ‘speak’) |
| /tmə/   | [tʰmə] | stone |
| /tmew/  | [tʰmɛw] | pregnant |
| /tmən/  | [tʰmən] | turtle (land) |
| /tməŋ/  | [tʰməŋ] | steal (v.); thief |
| /tmoj/  | [tʰmɔj] | guest |
| /tμuɔr/ | [tʰμuɔr, tʰμur] | group, cluster; taxon for Agaricus sp. fungus which |
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

grows in clusters (also called /pset lac/ by some speakers). (Lao: ขม่น). Compound word /pset tmuo/.

quarrel (v.)
kind of ritual (at/after childbirth)
possibly < /mšt/ 'dip, plunge'

axe
medicine

high shooting platform for hunting fish
roof, roof tile; tomb hut (for traditional burial)

boy, bachelor
day

brittle

thatch, thatch grass
mortar (bowl)

fly (v.tr.) (e.g. a kite) (< /pær/ 'fly (v.)')

extinguish (fire) (< /pät/ 'wane (moon), set (sun)')

clap, hit together (heads/hands)—NB [təpah] (H)

shoulder straps (for baskets) (< /pal/ 'shoulder')

hunt — NB [təpəŋ] (H) (< /pəŋ/ 'shoot')

alcohol

pound rice (v.)

slap (down)

nail (n.) (< Lao นAIL /təpu/)

break (tr.) (< /pləh/ 'break (v.intr.)')

show (v.tr) (e.g. show someone something)—NB [pləʔ?] (F)

destroy (< /pəh/ 'break down')

bleed, bleeding (< /pəm/ 'blood')

hornet (small, nests in trees)

six

flesh (meat)

bright (light), clear (air, water, eyes)

lead metal
APPENDIX I: Jruq Vocabulary

/trə/  [trə:]  true, correct; exact; strike (target), be struck; cheap
/trəm/  [trəm, trəm, trəm]  hole (perforation) (e.g. ear piercing, nail holes in iron, nostrils, anus, etc.)
/trɛɲ/  [trɛɲ, trɛɲ]  flat land, plain
/trɛh/  [trɛh, trɛʃ]  gnaw through (e.g. mice gnawing clothes)
/trɪk/  [trɪk]  Taxon for Guttiferae tree varieties with large edible fruit Garcinia cochinchenensis (Lour.) Choisy; Garcinia oliveri Pierre. (Lao: ລາວ ກobjc). Compound word /tʰɔŋ trɪk/.
/trɪn/  [tʰrin, trin, crin]  large fern variety with edible shoots (Lao: ລາວ ຜ້າ ກobjc). Compound word /tʰɔŋ trɪn/.
/trɪe/  [trɪe, triə, trи, tlje]  wife, woman, female
/trien/  [trιen, ⁿtren]  caterpillar, larvae (grub in ground), silkworm
/trɔŋ/  [trɔŋ, cʰrɔŋ, tʰrɔŋ]  fruit tree variety (Lao: ັ້ານ້າພາ ກobjc ກobjc) male animal (dog, insect etc.)—NB [tɾɔːŋ] (F) gaur, wild buffalo
/trɔs/  [tɾɔːs, tɾɔʃ]  road—NB [tɾɔuŋ] (H) everything, totally
/trua}/  [truaj, truej]  eggplant—NB [tɾap] (F) store (v.), keep, take away to preserve
/truŋ/  [truŋ, trueŋ]  crab variety—Compound word /ktəm tɾap/.
/trəm/  [tɾəm, tɾəm, crəm]  hornbill (bird)
/trəp/  [tɾəp', tɾəp']  otter, weasel (eats fish)
/trək/  [tɾək]  muscles, tendons
/trəp/  [tɾəp']  return (v.tr.); give back; save (money) (< /wijn/ ‘return’)
/triŋ/  [triŋ, ⁿtriŋ, triŋ]  eight—NB. Ban Set Khot Jruq: [tʰɔm] (J)
/tsəj/  [tʰsəj, tʰsəj]  poor (< Lao ວ່້ /tʰək/ ‘sorrow, miser, suffereing, poverty’ < Pali)
/tɔn/  [tʰɔn, tʰɔn]  round (ball)
/tʰəm/  [tʰəm]  final familiar interrogative particle (e.g. hey?, what do you reckon?)
APPENDIX I: Jruŋ Vocabulary

/wanŋ/ [wanŋ] Taxon for Rubiaceae plant which effuses a white powder on leaves when irritated (used for makeup by women). Wedlandia sp. (Lao: ສັດໜ້າງ, Compound word /ʔloun cang wanŋ/.

/weh/ [wēh, uēh, uēf] free of, avoid; move out of the way!

/we la/ [we: laː, veː laː] time (n.) (< Lao ລາວ /véː láː/ ‘time, moment, period, hour’ < Pali)

/weh/ [uēf, uēf] cut the grass

/wen/ [wen, ven, wem] ring (n.) (< Lao ກະຕິ /vēm/ ‘ring’), spectacles (Compound word /wen mät/ (< Lao ກະຕິ /vēm/ ‘mirror, glass, lens’)),

/wen/ [wen, ven, wem] return (v.intr),

/wip/ [uїŋ, vin, wiŋ] unanalyseable attributive for civet cat variety—Compound word /sǒŋ wian/; NB [sǔŋ vien] 'civet' (F).

/wian/ [vĩen, vien, wien] routes, directions (e.g. roads)— can be counted like a classifier.

/wür/ [vūr, vūr] intelligent
APPENDIX II

‘KOMMADAM’ SCRIPT

History of the development of the Kommadam (‘Khom’) Script.

During my field work on the Boloven Plateau with Paul Sidwell in 1998-1999, we had the good fortune to come across the Jruq indigenous script. This script was invented by Ong Kommadam and his followers and was used into the 1930s. The main function of the ‘Kom’ script was political—helping to legitimise the Kommadam’s independance movement.

However, the script was not used for mass literacy, rather only a minority of the local Jruq, Alak and other groups were literate in the ‘Khom’ script. They were sent as correspondants and spies to places as far away as Vietnam, Stung Treng (Cambodia) and possibly even northern Thailand. During my fieldwork, informants from other West Bahnaric languages such as Nhaheun, Brao/Laveh and Oi knew of the ‘Khom’ script and the legend of the Kommadam, however none had ever seen samples of the script. Burchett (1957:242-3) writes about the Kommadam:

He developed also something of a political programme, urging people to oppose the colonialists by all means; to refuse to pay taxes, refuse to be conscripted into the army or labour service. In order better to propagate his ideas and coordinate activities of widely separated tribes, Komadome developed a written language for the Lao Thenh people and established study classes among his own and allied tribes. He made alliances with other racial groups and even succeeded in winning parts of the Lao Lum over to the struggle. At one period, the French mobilised the major portion of their forces in Indo-China against Komadome, massing everything from elephants to fighter and bomber planes against him.

The French officials soon found out about the script and began to remove and destroy all documents prepared with it. The use of the script was short-lived—on September 23rd, 1936 Kommadam was shot dead, and the rebellion movement and the use of its unique script ceased. Anticipating the destruction, legend has it that a man (for some—the Kommadam himself) had the characters tattooed onto his back. Some locals in Paksong claim this man now lives as a monk in the ancient Khmer temple Wat Phu in Champassak (my investigations there in 2000 found no such person). Other locals say that on the death of the Kommadam, his sons transcribed all the characters from his tattooed back to preserve the knowledge of it before he was buried.
APPENDIX II: ‘Kommadam’ Script

In November 1998, we met the last surviving member of the Kommadam’s leadership, Mr. Bounnhong, who was introduced to us as Kommadam’s secretary. Starting when he was 20 years of age, Bounnhong (an Alak who had married a Jruq woman) was taught the script over a period of two years. During our visit, Bounnhong wrote out a copy of all the characters and their Lao transliterations, and we recorded his pronunciation of each character. Sadly, Mr Bounnhong passed away in his 80’s only a month later, and his death was widely noted. Subsequently we were approached, and shown several of Kommadam’s personal notebooks which survive under lock and key with the grand-niece of the Ong Kommadam himself—Mrs. Thongsuk. Thongsuk kindly allowed us to transcribe all of these notes, amongst which we found:

a) the list of characters and Lao transcriptions of the sounds they represent
b) lists of Jruq words written in the script with Lao translations
c) official Lao letters and poems transliterated using the Jruq script

In it words are written with two or three characters—one or two for the initial consonant symbols and one for the rime (main vowel and final consonant). A similar principle was used in Chinese rhyming dictionaries, although it is unprecedented in a fully elaborated authography, and its application indicates a sophisticated understanding of word structure. There are more than 300 characters, some clearly inspired by Thai letters. The system is versatile, and can be used to write any language of the area. I have tracked down and obtained some samples of Kommadam script which remain in French archives. Michel Ferlus (Paris) and Geoffrey Gunn (Nagasaki) kindly assisted us to obtain some photocopies of these.

**INITIAL CONSONANTS**

The characters for the word-initial consonants were developed to include both indigenous Jruq (and other Mon-Khmer) sounds plus different sounds found in Laotian (and Thai) including the addition of consonants which mark tonal differences. Interestingly, the script has distinct characters for preglottalised consonants (i.e. /ʔ+C/) versus plain consonants, which is unusual for scripts in the region.

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APPENDIX II: ‘Kommadam’ Script

For the initial Consonants, there are also distinct characters for consonant clusters which have a second element /r/ or /h/ (C₂ in Figure 3.2). For all other clusters (e.g. /pn/, /pt/, /ps/ etc.), they are represented with two or more characters. This is probably influenced by the old Lao or Thai writing system which has diacritics to indicate medial /r/ and distinct aspirated consonant symbols. As a result, the number of word-initial consonant symbols is quite large with more than 60 characters. I present a Table of them below, with Lao transliterations underneath as they were provided in the source documents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Consonant Characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p  b  ṭ  ṡ  ṭi  ṭl  ṭr  ṭl  ṭr  ṭl</td>
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<tr>
<td>y  u  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ  ṭ</td>
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<tr>
<td>t  d  ṭd  ṭr  ṭl  ṭr  ṭl  ṭl  ṭr  ṭl</td>
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<td>n  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn</td>
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<tr>
<td>c  j  cr  jr  cl  cr  jr  cl  cr  jr  cl</td>
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<tr>
<td>a  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa  ṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k  g  kr  gr  kl  kʰ  kʰ  kʰ  kʰ  kʰ  kʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>n  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn</td>
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<td>m  m  ṭm  mr  n  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn  ṭn</td>
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<td>y  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy  ṭy</td>
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**Rimes**

The Kommadam script is unusual in that it has a symbol for initial consonants, and a separate symbol for the rime (main Vowel and final Consonant). However, as noted in §3.2 and illustrated in Table 2.3, not all Vowel-final Consonant combinations are permissible in Jruq—nonetheless there are more than two hundred distinct rime characters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>ê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX II: ‘Kommadam’ Script

All phonemic diphthongs and vowel lengths are clearly distinguished, as are rimes with final /s/ and /h/ (which are phonetically very similar—[ʰ] and [h] respectively). However, one of the big problems in interpreting the characters has been that some writers have confused those with final /r/, /l/ /n/ (probably because Lao does not have final /r/ and /l/); and rimes with final /c/, /t/ are also confused (Lao does not have final /c/). As I am not able to give a complete table of rime characters at this time, I present only those for rimes with final labial and velar consonants.

Additionally, Bounnhong specified a handful of characters which are associated with the initial consonants but we do not understand their exact functions. Their transliterations into Lao, and Bounnhong’s own pronunciation of these sounds suggest distinctions in breathiness and tenseness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ວ່</th>
<th>ກ້</th>
<th>ຢໍ</th>
<th>ລໍ</th>
<th>ສໍ</th>
<th>ວໍ</th>
<th>ຟໍ</th>
<th>ັໍ</th>
<th>າໍ</th>
<th>ຶໍ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I have only found the ‘ edm’ and ‘ q’ characters used in writing Jruq words in the Kommadam’s notebook—the former is used to indicate preglottalisation before voiceless stops (i.e. /ʔt/), and the latter is used for indicating onset clusters formed with /h + C/, e.g.

- ວ໌ /ʔtuh/ ‘hearth’
- ວໍ /ʔraj/ ‘pestle’
- ວໍ /ʔkuat/ ‘back’
- ວໍ /ʔsam/ ‘to fish with rod’
- ວໍ /ʔbok/ ‘buttocks’
- ວໍ /ʔnam/ ‘house’

**Numerals**

The ‘Khon’ script includes symbols for numerals 1-10, these seem to be very much influenced by Lao (< Sanskrit). The teen numerals are formed using a ‘ ed’ symbol before the numerals 1-9, and there are also discrete symbols for the bases 100, 1000, 10,000, 100,000, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 100 | 1000 | 10,000 | 100,000 | 1,000,000 |
Appendix III contains five glossed and translated texts which I recorded in my fieldwork.

Text 1: The bombing of the Boloven, 1971 is a reflective piece by Mr. Lin, describing the two week air raid of the Pakson area in 1971 by US forces. At the time of the bombing he was only 6 years old.

Text 2: Sukiyaki is a conversation between by Miss Toi, Mr. Ee and myself. Miss Toi instructs us how she will go about organising an upcoming party, including buying food and the recipe for cooking 'Sukiyaki'. Mr. Ee and myself ask questions.

Text 3: Jruq welcoming ceremony is a monologue by Mr. Ching informing me of the details of the traditional Jruq welcoming ceremony held for special guests and first-time visitors to a village.

Text 4: Bulbul Song is a short song which Miss Toi and I created using the traditional rhyming strategy for Jruq songs. The song describes the areas and villages where the Jruq live. The theme and structure are traditional although the idea is that singers make the text up spontaneously.

Text 5: Jruq birth and funeral rites is a short monologue by Mr. Lin informing me of the various Jruq ceremonies performed at the birth of a child and for funerals. The birth ceremony is similar to the 'welcoming' ceremony where people come to touch the baby to welcome him/her into the village. Lin describes the traditional custom of building a hut for the dead (this is no longer a common practice today). Alternatives are either the Lao tradition of cremation and erection of a stone stupa (which is probably the most common practice today), or grave burial which is performed by poorer people who cannot afford to build a hut or stupa.
TEXT 1: THE BOMBING OF THE BOLOVEN, 1971

A short monologue narrative by Mr. Lin, recorded in Paksong, 29/11/1998.

1. tăm ṭe... tăm ṭaj ō kuo pak sōŋ, time(past) that time(past) 1SG. -FUT. reside Paksong
   ṭaj ō kät... na? ṭaj ō kēkēc, pe?... 1SG. -FUT. born PROGRESSIVE 1SG. -FUT. RED.-small this
   ṭaj ō kēkēc. 1SG. -FUT. RED.-small

   ‘In the past, when I lived in Paksong, when I was born. I was still little, then. I was little.’

2. ṭaj ō kuo pak sōŋ bāt ne kät bāl 1PL. -FUT. reside Paksong occasion that have war

   ‘We lived in Paksong during the time of the war.’

3. ṭōn ō bih cih kleh hnat ṭiŋ ō ṭōŋ deh airplane -FUT. come discard fall bullet NEG. -FUT cease EMPH.
   ‘The airplanes didn’t stop dropping bombs, they didn’t!’

4. ō ō klah mōn mōn (they) -FUT. flash RED.-confuse

   ‘They were exploding everywhere.’

5. ṭaj ṭiŋ ō kät bon ō kuo hāj hdāw ṭin 1PL. NEG. -FUT. have place -FUT. reside LOC. flee others
   ō kuo pak sē -FUT. reside Pakse

   ‘We didn’t have a place to stay with the others in the refugee camps in Pakse.’

6. ō ō tdāk... kūj truŋ bōr mān ne? (1PL.) -FUT. go.on.foot sleep road two night EXCL.

   ‘We went on foot and slept two nights on the road!’

7. ō ō kūj hāj břēj (1PL.) -FUT. sleep LOC. forest

   ‘We slept in the forest.’
APPENDIX III: Texts

8. brēj ?mīa O hīua? ?dehy
forest rain -FUT. wet cold

'The rain was wet and cold.'

9. O O ṇēn ṇīn kät māt nīn sām
(1PL.) -FUT. sleep cry have eye swollen tired

'We slept and cried and had sore tired eyes.'

10. O O ṭōk
(1PL.) -FUT. poor(<Lao)

'We were poor.'

11. ḷuọ dāj le O ṭīh O bīc
thing which? FOC. (1PL.) NEG. -FUT. get

'We didn't have anything at all!'

12. hṇom lāŋ O koc
house house.CL. -FUT. be.burnt

'(Our) house was burnt down.'

13. ṭūṃ O koc hṇom
fire -FUT. burn.down house

'The fire burnt our house down.'

14. ṛn O cīh ?me pēn hṇat saj
airplane -FUT. dicard person shoot gun ?

'Airplanes dropped paratroopers.'

15. ṭaj ṭīh O kät bōn kuo
1PL. NEG. -FUT. have place reside

'We didn't have a place to stay.'

16. ṭaj O hdlw
1PL. -FUT. flee

'We fled.'

17. O O bīc kuo haj pak sē
(1PL.) -FUT. able reside LOC Pakse

'(Eventually) we were able to stay in Pakse.'
APPENDIX III: Texts

18. Ø Ø kuo haj pak se saŋ kmc traw kmc (1PL.) -FUT. reside LOC Pakse five year.Q. six year.Q. 06
06
06
06

ç‘ŋ Ø Ø bic ¿juo kuo haj ne wijn until (1PL.) -FUT. get thing reside LOC. there back

bim hnam ñaw
make house new

'We stayed in Pakse for five or six years until we had things with which to build houses to live back there again.'

19. ñih kœt hnam.
NEG. EXIST house

'There were no houses.'

20. tuj hnam ñih Ø Ø ¿juo nadj each house NEG. -FUT. (have) thing inside

'Each house had nothing inside.'

21. toc Ø Ø mœn laj all (thing) -FUT. confuse definitely

'Everything was totally destroyed.'

22. muj Ø Ø kœt... ¿me ¿a me li ka one (person) -FUT. have person American

'The only people (who) had (things) were the Americans.'

23. ¿me ¿a me li ka ¿me Ø bih cih gleh hnam person American person -FUT. come discard fall gun
klah mœn mœn mœn explode RED.-confuse

'The Americans—(those) people dropped bombs and destroyed everything.'

24. ¿aj Ø roj laŋ nadj 1SG. -FUT. narrate abandon 1PL.

'I'm speaking of our losses.'

25. ¿aj na? ¿an... Ø hœmah toj jaj ¿aj bap 1SG. INCOMPLETEIVE -FUT. call reply elder.sibling 1SG. father

'I wasn't able to talk to my elder sibling or father.'
APPENDIX III: Texts

26. Ø Ø ?ba? haj pit ne?
(1SG.) -FUT. carry.on.back LOC. back EXCL.

'I was being carried on the back of him (my elder sibling)!' 

27. Ø Ø nًn le nًn haj pit
(1SG.) -FUT. sleep and sleep LOC. back

'I slept and slept on (his) back.'

28. Ø Ø knًm le knًm haj pit jaj
(1SG.) -FUT. piss and piss LOC. back elder.sibling

'I pissed and pissed down the back of my elder sibling.'

29. ?aj Ø ciaŋ ?aj Ø ciaŋ haj
1SG. -FUT. lean.to.side 1SG. -FUT. lean.to.side ITERATIVE

'I kept on falling over to the side.'

30. ?aj na? Ø Kikic ?aj tu le? traw kmọ
1SG. PROGRESSIVE -FUT. RED.-small age FOC. six year.Q.

'I was still very little, only six years old.'

31. kmọ muj bän cin kläm pha haj muj
year one thousand nine hundred seven ten one

'(It was) 1971.'

32. pỤ ti ceh bon ne... pĘk poj cиŋ
richness PERFECT place there train release so

Ø Ø bиc haj kuo win haj ne?
(1PL) -FUT. able LOC. reside back LOC. that

'The usefulness with the place (as a base camp) ended, and the trained people were released, so (we) were able to go back and live there.'

33. ?k Ø Ø bim nаw suаn ?jàŋ bim
and (1PL) -FUT. make again garden same.as make

nаw toc
again everything

'And so (we) made the gardens again just like we rebuilt everything.'

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APPENDIX III: Texts

34. ḥuo dāj ḥiḥ ō sōl lān hāp ḥiḥ kēt čak thing which? NEG. -FUT. ruined ask shirt NEG. have from

‘Anything which was not destroyed we sold for shirts, there wasn’t charity.’

35. pnuṣ ḥiṭ ra ō kēt... ḥiṭ ći ṭūn ō person many person.CL. -FUT. die many until 1SG.

 nhi ō hāgāl... pēn ḥiḥ ci NEG. -FUT. know exist (< Lao) NEG. remember

‘Many people died—so many I don’t know (the number). It isn’t known.’

36. ḥaj ḥiḥ ō hāgāl lān ḥaj ńa? ō kēkēc 1SG. NEG. -FUT. know tell 1SG. PROGRESSIVE -FUT. RED.-small

‘I don’t know because I was still little.’

37. tām ḥe hnam ḥaj hāj ḥe... ḥaj toc kbaŋ time(past) that house 1SG. LOC. there LOC. end bamboo

‘At that time, my house was over there (pointing)—at the edge of the bamboo (growth).’

38. hāj ḥe... ō tāw toc kbaŋ time(past) that (2SG.) see end bamboo

‘Over there, see, the edge of the bamboo.’

39. ḥān ne ḥaj ō ńe? kuo ńa? pnām lāk puan cet cin now 1SG. -FUT. go reside to village km. four ten nine

‘Now I live in Kilometer 49 Village.’
TEXT 2: SUKIYAKI

A conversation with Miss Toi, Mr Ee and myself about the organisation of a party and the preparation of ‘Sukiyaki’ for the meal. Miss Toi instructs us on the recipe and the ingredients to buy, while Mr. Ee and I ask questions.


1. Ee: ṭnąj wán saw ṭnąj ma re? ca ṭap ṭrep
day Saturday 1PL. FUT. go eat cooked.rice together
ban lôh
each.other Q

‘On Saturday are we going to have a dinner party?’
(Lit. Are we going to eat together on Saturday?)

2. Toi: ?ə
yes

‘Yes’

3. Ee: hmôh dâj ṭnąj mûŋ ca
WH.UNknown which? 1PL. want eat

‘What do we want to eat?’

4. Toi: Ø ma ca... ?me ruat nuar ṭne?
(1PL.) FUT. eat person buy first this

‘We’ll eat... you have to buy (the food) first!’

5. Ee: Ø ruat ṭjôo dâj
(person) buy thing which?

‘Buy what?’

6. Toi: Ø ruat ?ə... ṭjôo Ø ma ruat ne?
(person) buy yes... thing (person) FUT. buy EXCL.

‘Mmm, shopping. What will be bought, then?’

7. Toi: kêt ?ə mûŋ ne ruat bie sàŋ cêt bàn to
EXIST yes... one this buy beer five ten thousand thing.CL
sàŋ cêt bàn to
five ten thousand thing.CL.

‘Well there’s one thing to buy: beer at fifty thousand kip a (crate), that’s fifty thousand kip a (crate).’
APPENDIX III: Texts

8. Ee: to ket thing.CL crate

‘A crate’s (worth).’

9. Toi: to ket ?a... bar ne thing.CL crate yes two this

‘A crate’s (worth), yes—two of them.’

10. Toi: naj ma ruat traw krök ?a... pe cêt bän 1PL. FUT buy meat cow um three ten thousand

‘We’ll buy beef, um thirty thousand kip’s (worth).’

11. Toi: muj ki lo cêt sand ban... bar ki lo pe cêt bän one kilo ten five thousand two kilo three ten thousand

‘One kilo’s (worth) is fifteen thousand kip, two kilo’s (worth) is thirty thousand kip.’

12. PJ: pʰeg lah expensive Q

‘Is that expensive?’


‘Expensive? No, it’s not expensive.’


‘It’s very expensive!’

15. Toi: ?an ?ih pʰeg no NEG. expensive

‘No, it’s not expensive.’

16. Ee: ?an ?ih pʰeg... traw cur ?ih kat lah traw cur no NEG. expensive meat pig NEG. have Q meat pig

‘No, it’s not expensive. Pork—(do we need) pork? (Lit. ‘Pork? Is there any pork (we need)?’)

17. Toi: ?an traw krok ?a deh deh ne ?aj ma ruat no meat cow yes EXCL. EXCL. this 1SG. FUT. buy

‘No, it’s only beef, that’s all, which I’ll buy.’

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18. Toi: ʔə pʰäk ʔdiʔdi? hnie bibim... puan ne? yes leafy.vegetable RED.-many type RED.-make four EXCL.

‘Yeah, and many kinds of leafy vegetables (will) be used—four types!’

19. Toi: ?aj ma ruat klə ?iar 1SG. FUT buy egg chicken

‘I will buy chicken eggs.’

20. Ee: sieʔ klə NUM.INT. egg

‘How many eggs?’

21. Toi: ?o ?diʔ ne... saŋ klə oh many this five egg

‘Oh many—five of them.’

22. Ee: saŋ klə five egg

‘Five eggs.’

23. Toi: saŋ klə five egg

‘Five eggs.’

24. PJ: Ø ?ih ruat klə da lah (2SG.) NEG. buy egg duck Q

‘Won’t (you) buy duck eggs?’

25. Toi: ?an No

‘No.’

26. PJ: tän kat WH. have

‘Why?’

27. Toi: ?ih pəm NEG. tasty

‘(They’re) not tasty.’
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28. Toi: hán pna?... ?ih nóm
3P. stink NEG. tasty

'They stink, they're foul-tasting.'

29. Toi: ?a ruat mi waj sa kēt ruat sen... matāi ne ma yes buy noodles pack.Q. buy 100,000 decision this FUT.
bim ?in cōk ?saw make others take REQ.

'Yeah, and (I'll) buy some fine noodles—100,000 kip worth. The decision will be made (later) and others can bring (more).' (7)

30. Ee: nāj hnic ma hmāh si 1PL. type FUT. call name

'What will we call this kind (of meal)?'

31. Toi: su kōi ja kōi Sukiyaki

'Sukiyaki.'

32. Ee: bim su kōi ja kōi make Sukiyaki

'(We'll be) making Sukiyaki.'

33. Toi: ?a Ø ma bim su kōi ja kōi yes (1PL) FUT. make Sukiyaki

'Yes (we) will make Sukiyaki.'

34. Toi: kōt traw le ne? nāj (ma) ?a cōk piet kōleh have meat and that 1PL FUT. ahh take knife morsel
soj kōleh kēkēc slice morsel RED.-small

'There's the meat—we um use a paring knife to slice tiny morsels (of meat).'

35. Toi: bim ?a kēkē? kēkē? kēkēc make um RED.-little RED.-little RED.-small

'Make them um into tiny little (pieces).'

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36. Toi: ʔé biʔ ʔé cęʔ ʔé ʔaj ʔO cąk pʰąk
and soon that after that 1PL -FUT. take leafy.vegetables
ʔdiʔdiʔ hńie ʔdiʔdiʔ hńie bih psom ban
RED.-many type RED.-many type come combine other

‘And as soon as that (is finished), after that we put all the different leafy vegetables together and combine them.’

37. Ee: psom ban... ton ʔé ʔiʔ men ʔaj bus dak su kʰi
combine other time that NEG. true 1PL. boil water Suki

‘Combine them with eachother. At that stage aren’t we supposed to boil the water (for the) Suki(yaki)?’

38. Toi: ʔaʔn
no

‘No.’

39. Toi: ʔaʔn... psom ʔadʔadʔ
no combine RED.-place

‘No, (we) combine them and put them out (lay out in dining area).’

40. Toi: ʔadʔadʔ ʔa muj hńie
RED.-place one type

‘Place them (in dining area) as one (dish).’

41. Toi: ɓiʔ ʔé ʔoʔ ʔaj bąj ʔé cąk ʔa nąm pa nąm sʔiʔew
soon that yeah 1PL. LOC that take um fish.sauce soy.sauce
kuo ʔdąʔ muj hńie muj can... can muj hńie
reside place one type one plate plate one type

‘As soon as that (is done), yeah us who are there put fish sauce and soysauce into one and the same dish, the same dish.’

42. Toi: ʔeŋ kle ʔiʔar kle ʔiʔar ʔeʔ ʔaj... biʔ ʔle ʔaj
soup egg chicken egg chicken that 1PL. soon that 1PL.
ʔnięę cąk kle hoʔ ʔe hoʔ nąj ʔnięę ne hʔij
extract put egg in that in inside extract that wok?

hʔiʔ hpoŋ tpah
wok? fence hit

‘(Regarding the) soup—the eggs, those eggs, we... as soon as that we crack open the egg into that (dish), crack it open on the wok? edge.’

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43. Toi: həj təh jəm njəוץ
wok hit in.order excrete

‘On the wok, you hit it so the (egg) comes out.’

44. Toi: kət jəŋ kət məŋ
exist fire exist oil

‘There’s a fire and oil.’

45. Toi: jəŋ Ø jəŋ haj məŋ ca nəw... ce? jə person -FUT. place LOC. want eat again after that

‘People add (egg) if they want to eat more afterwards.’

46. Ee: saw Ø məŋ plah
2SG -FUT. want break

‘Do you want to break (the eggs)?’

47. Toi: Ø Ø təplah jəm həŋ
(1SG) -FUT. break for 3P.

‘(I) break it open for them.’

48. Toi: jə haj jə Ø Ø cək nəjəŋ ho? ptəŋ jə yeah LOC. that (1PL.) -FUT. take type at put.down um

təŋ səŋ təŋ njəŋ jəŋ... jə ne təbəŋ jəm kət
time hear time exit place moment that prepare for have

‘Yeah and there, (we) take it all to put down (on the floor) um when its time to listen, time to take it out of the kitchen) and set it down (in the dining room. At that time, it is ready.’

49. Toi: muj təŋ jəŋ təŋ məŋ jəŋ... jə muj can
one arrange fire arrange oil place um one plate

‘One (person) tends the fire, preparing the oil and puts it in one dish.’

50. Toi: bə? jə jəŋ cək kdiəm ne? cəŋ ne kəŋ jəŋ jə muj
can soon that 1PL. take onion that insert this roast place one

‘Soon after that we put the onions there into (the wok) to roast, and put it in a dish.’
51. Toi: cêh to ʔe nāj... bān ne ne? ma bim ca insert thing.CL. that inside others this EXCL. FUT. make eat

'Insert all those things, the others will make dinner!'

52. Toi: ʔa nuar ne? nāj ʔa... matʰi bim ne nāj ma ?a um before that 1PL. um decision make this 1PL. FUT. um cāk dak cēh tāk dak ma bus take water insert pot water FUT. boil

'Um before that, we um.... (before) the decision to do that, we will um put water into the pot and it will boil.'

53. Ee: ?ām dak lus na?
enable water boil PROGRESSIVE

'Let the water boil still?'

54. Toi: ʔan ʔaj ɬ cāk ktà tāk no 1SG. -FUT. take underneath pot

'No, I take (something?)157 from under the pot.'

55. Ee: ktà tāk
underneath pot

'Underneath the pot.'

56. Toi: ʔa ɬ ɬ kurop cāk kāp kurop tāk yes (1SG.) -FUT cover take lid cover pot

'Yes, (I) cover it, cover the pot with the lid.'

57. Toi: ɬ ɬ tāʔ ʔūn ?aʔm ʔūn ne? hān kət (1SG.) -FUT extinguish fire enable fire that 3P. have smā laj smoulder continue

'(I) extinguish the fire so that the fire keeps smouldering a little.'

157 It seems Toi omitted the Direct Object referent in this sentence by mistake—it is clearly confusing to the Addressee as in the next utterance, Ee repeats the segment which should by Jruq syntax be the Direct Object.
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58. Toi: smə laj ŭn ne?... Ø ŭh mej hăn  
smoulder continue fire that (2SG.) NEG. allow 3P.

pät Ø ŭm ŭn smə laj hăn rih  
extinguish (2SG.) get fire smoulder continue 3P. happy

smə laj  
smoulder continue

‘Keep smouldering that fire. Don’t let it go out, let it keep  
smouldering. It keeps smouldering away (happily).’

59. Toi: œ ce? ŭ e œ dak ŭ e? hăn lus ceh... ce?  
yeah after that yes water that 3P. boil PERFECT after

dak lus ŭ ej ma cök pneh tiæh pneh  
water boil that 1PL. FUT. take flesh descend flesh

‘Yes, after that, the water has finished boiling. After the water has  
boiled, we will lower in the meat.’

60. Toi: bac ceh ne koh ŭ e tiæh tiæh tïk  
PERFECTIVE that chop.finely and descend descend pot

‘After that has been chopped up finely, then (we) lower it into the  
pot.’

61. Toi: ŭh men... ŭh... aj bil... ŭ a ŭm nuar ŭ aj ŭaj  
NEG. true NEG. 1SG. forget um time(past) first 1SG. 1PL.

ne? ma bim... ce? ce? dak lus... ŭ in ne?... ŭ aj ma  
EXCL. FUT. make after after water boil others there 1PL. FUT.

cök nâm pa nâm s?iev ceh haj tïk nuar.  
take fish.sauce soy.sauce insert LOC. pot first

‘Oh that’s not true, I forgot. Um, before that, I, that is we will make...  
After the water has boiled, the others, we will put fish sauce and soy  
sauce in the pot, before (putting the meat in).’

62. Toi: cök boh ceh muj këkëc le? ŭm p̥tu ti  
take salt insert one RED.-piece and taste richness158

‘Put a little bit of salt in and taste if it is rich enough.’

63. Toi: cök pneh koh ptieh dak  
take flesh chop take.down water

‘Take the chopped meat and lower them into the water.’

158 Lao ມ້າ /p̥tuː tiː/ ‘prosperity, richness’ (< Sanskrit).
APPENDIX III: Texts

64. Toi: ce? ël kʰa côk sîm ël rôp sîm ël rôp after that mark<sup>159</sup> take taste that good taste that good

‘After that point, try a taste to see if its good, taste if its good.’

65. Toi: kʰăn ñiʻh nâm ?aj kân ne ceh cen ?ám pʰû di if NEG. tasty 1SG. think this insert cook give whom<sup>160</sup>

‘If it’s not tasty, according to my reckoning, then give (more) to that person to cook.’

66. Toi: sâm dâj Ø Ø mot ca sâm dâj Ø ñiʻh to what extent<sup>161</sup> (3P.) -FUT. love eat to what extent (3P.) NEG.
Ø mot ca sâm ?e? côk ël ne gôn côk -FUT. love eat to extent that take that this carry take
pôh kʰaŋ côk pʰâk pʰâk meat please take leafy.vegetable leafy.vegetable

‘Some like it that much, some don’t like it that much. (To suit) all measures, (they) can put in meat and vegetables as they request.’

67. Toi: côk pʰâk ël ceh haj tîšk... pʰû di låk take leafy.vegetable that insert Loc. pot whom hide<sup>162</sup>?

can ël lus... dak lus... lus le ñaj sîm nàw dish that boil water boil boil and 1PL. taste again

‘Put the greens into the pot. Put it in the pot and (once) it boils, the water boils, and we can taste it again.’

68. Toi: kʰăn ñiʻh hân nâm kēch nàw if NEG. 3P. tasty insert again

‘If it’s not tasty, put it back in again.’

69. Ee: kʰăn nâm lôh mot if tasty Q love

‘If it’s tasty will we love it?’

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<sup>159</sup> Lao ຕ່າ /lāk kʰaʔ/ ‘sign, indicator; target, aim’ (< Pali).

<sup>160</sup> Lao ກໍ້ /pʰuŋ/ ‘whom’.

<sup>161</sup> Lao ກ່ວ /sâm/ ‘what size, shape?; equal to; as large as; to what extent’.

<sup>162</sup> Possibly a Lao word ກໍ້ /lāk/ ‘hide, conceal; do stealthily’.

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70. Toi: ə mət
yes love

'Yes (you'll) love it!'

71. Toi: bi? lus dak ne? ŋaj ma neh ɓać hän cən...
soon boil water that 1PL. FUT. look PERFECTIVE 3P. cook

ɓać hän cən ptieh
PERFECTIVE 3P. cook take.down

'As soon as its boiling, that water, we will look in to see if its already
cooked. After it's cooked, take it out.'

72. PJ: ści? na ti cən
NUM.INT. minute cook

'How many minutes (til its) cooked?'

73. Toi: ə kʰən Ø Ø mun dak lus ?ən smə
oh if (2SG.) -FUT. want water boil not smoulder

loj ne? ʂaj na ti le məw
continue FOC. five minutes FOC. enough

'Oh, if you want the water to boil and (the fire) isn't smouldering
away, then five minutes is enough.'

74. Toi: sîm neh li nəm məw lak kʰə ptieh lak kʰə ca toc
taste see or tasty enough point take.down point eat all

'Taste it to see if it's tasty (or not) enough, at that point take it down,
and at that point eat it all up.'
APPENDIX III: Texts

TEXT 3: JRUQ WELCOMING CEREMONY

Mr. Ching describes the traditional Jruq ‘welcoming ceremony’ for special guests and first-time visitors to a village. Recorded in Pakson, 14/9/1999.

1. ho? ṭsw le? le bi? ne? saw Ø bih nèn ho? ?aj... at REQ. FOC. and soon that 2SG. -FUT. come visit at 1SG.

ŋaj jru?... ?aj Ø kuo ca le? ?aj ma bih kʰəŋ
1PL. Jruq 1SG. -FUT. reside eat and 1SG. FUT come thing

jru? pʰəm le?
Jruq help FOC.

‘At a request (to stay), as soon as that happens, and you come to visit me, (or) us Jruq, I stay for a meal. And I would bring some Jruq things for gifts.’

2. haj nān kʰān Ø ?manŋ rit jru? ŋaj... kʰān Ø bih
LOC. that163 if -FUT. speak rite Jruq 1PL. if -FUT. come

nèŋ ne? mu ha kʰa ma lāŋ Ø nèŋ kʰāŋ tmoj ?jāŋ
visit this chief?164 FUT. tell -FUT. visit each guest like
ne bih... tōŋ dāk thät pʰə
that come must go touch husked.rice

‘On such (occasions), if we are holding a Jruq ritual, and if you come to see it, the (chief?) will invite every guest to obligatorily attend the ‘rice touching’ ceremony.’

3. cē? ṭe bāc saw Ø cōk can pʰə cōk
after that PERFECTIVE 2SG. -FUT. take plate husked.rice take

boh... ṭe Ø dāk haj kf clip dāk haj kf clip ṭe...
salt and -FUT. walk LOC. hoof sprinkle walk LOC. hoof that
haj ne? kōt pʰə bān hmoŋ thät he?
LOC. that exist monk relative touch FOC.

‘After that, once you have taken a plate of husked rice and salt and have gone to the (sacrificed buffalo) hooves, you sprinkle it over those hooves and a local monk who is there blesses it.’

163 I am not sure why the Lao demonstrative ກາ/ŋān/ is used here.

164 Possibly from Lao ᵁːz/ mū? kʰá/ ‘chief’ (< Sanskrit).
APPENDIX III: Texts

4. le kʰŋ le? Ø that pʰe Ø that and strong FOC -FUT touch husked.rice -FUT touch pʰe kcah roj ?jǎŋ ne le?... ŋaj Ø cǎk cah husked.rice vow tell like that FOC 1PL. -FUT take vow roj ho? ne bان hмоh ?oh jaj Ø tell at that relative younger.sibling elder.sibling -FUT bɨh nʲŋ come visit

‘And if it’s well performed, that rice touching, we make vows like this. We make vows and say (blessings) to those friends/relatives who have come and visited.’


‘Like ordinary Jruq ceremonies we call the spirits of the ancestors and return.’

6. bǐ? ʔe ?me Ø kʰt haj ne? ŋaj Ø nǎh soon that person -FUT think LOC that 1PL. -FUT know kʰǎw de duaj kʰiəj ɲǎp tʰi [enter agree consequently respect]165

‘After that, people believe that we have respect (from the ancestors).’

7. tǎm ʔe tǎm dǎk ?jic dǎk jə... time(past) that time(past) walk grandmother walk grandfather ?me bāt kʰɛm that pʰe person bless ? touch husked.rice

‘In the past when the elders walked, people used to perform this ritual.’

165 Mr Lin switches into Laotian for this phrase.
APPENDIX III: Texts

8. ce? that phè ńaj Ø net tpe net tpe after touch husked.rice 1PL. -FUT drink alcohol drink alcohol
roj kcah kʰùm ?jie kʰùm ?jo tell vow look.after grandfather look.after grandfather

'After that, we drink jar wine and drink jar wine and tell vowels/blessings to the elders.'

9. ?jo dum ma tpa bim bo nën le bo nën grandfather ripe FUT. hit punch see visit and see visit
kʰè dák bih laj...
? walk come ITERATIVE

'The old men will fight and (we) come and watch them moving back and forth.'

10. klăm cĕt set t̀o ban jaj prim neph hundred ten excess hit other elder.sibling enjoy watch
jaj prim nāh elder.sibling enjoy know

'More than one hundred and ten (people) hit each other, the adults like to watch and learn.'

11. te jaj prim bih... le? dák bih tāw ban but elder.sibling enjoy come and walk come see other
?jàg ne? le? ńaj rih klâm rih klâm ne?
like that and 1PL. happy liver happy liver EXCL.

'But the elders love coming and walking over to see each other on such occasions. And we are so happy, very happy!'

12. net tpe net... net net laj ma ne... tʰe wa drink alcohol drink drink DURATIVE FUT. this but
toc ma ne net ?an nāw net complete FUT. this drink DON'T again drink

'(We) drink jar wine, drink and drink and keep drinking we will (do that). But it will be all gone that (wine), (because we) drink until we can't drink anymore.'

13. Ø Ø net ?māŋ troj tʰammada haj ne ne?
(1PL) -FUT drink speak story ordinary LOC. there FOC.

'(We) drink and tell ordinary stories at that place, we do!'
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14. bao rè saw Ø bih nén ?ám ?me muj after that 2SG. -FUT. come visit give person one

?me nah ?me kän ?me prian kuan caw person know person think person teach child grandchild

"After that when you come and visit, some people know you and will teach (you) like (you are their) child or grandchild."

15. kuan saw Ø cet ?aj kuan ?aj Ø cet saw child 2SG. -FUT love 1SG. child 1SG. -FUT love 2SG.

"Your children love me and my children love you."
TEXT 4: THE BULBUL SONG

This song was written by Miss Toi and I in the traditional Jruq rhyming pattern. The theme is also traditional—singers describe the characteristics of the Jruq villages they have travelled to, mentioning something that the village is famous for but which also rhymes with the village name. The Bulbul song (named after a local bird variety which in Jruq is called cem pliaw) was sung by Toi on xx/xx/199x. The recording I made can be heard on the following internet address:

http://www.anu.edu.au/~a108009/Loven.HTM

1.

cem pliaw hăn ə braw pʰəŋ pʰəŋ
bird bulbul 3P. -FUT. sing PHANG-PHANG

cem pliaw hăn ə braw pʰəŋ pʰən...
bird ? 3P. -FUT. sing PHOEN-PHOEN

The bulbul bird he sings ‘phang phang’, the Plang bird sings ‘phoen phoen’.

2.

ʔaj O bih pak səŋ ʔaj O riŋ cəj le wa
1SG. -FUT. come Paksong 1SG. -FUT. happy soul LE WA

ʔaj O bih pak səŋ ʔaj O riŋ cəj dəj ʔaj
1SG. -FUT. come Paksong 1SG. -FUT. happy soul DAY QOEY

‘When I’m coming to Paksong I’m happy, when I’m coming to Paksong I’m happy.’

3.

pak səŋ O bac hủŋ hiəŋ dəj wa
Paksong -FUT. PERFECTIVE splendid DAY WA

pak səŋ O bac cəlin dəj ʔaj
Paksong -FUT. PERFECTIVE prosperous DAY QOEY

‘Paksong’s (already) splendid oh yeah, Paksong’s (already) prosperous oh yeah.’

4.

ʔaj O reʔ pakse ʔaj ma ruat ʔo liəŋ
1SG. -FUT. go Pakse 1SG. FUT. buy black.iced.coffee

ʔaj O reʔ bru ciaŋ ʔaj ma ruat knôm
1SG. -FUT. come mountain Chiang 1SG. FUT. buy cakes

‘I’m going to Pakse and I’ll buy some iced coffee. I’m going to Chiang Mountain and I’ll buy some cakes.’

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5. ?aj Ø bih paksonŋ ?aj ma ruat kafe
   1SG. -FUT. come Paksong 1SG. FUT. buy coffee
   ?aj Ø bih haj ne? ?aj Ø rih cāj le wa
   1SG. -FUT. come Loc. this 1SG. -FUT. happy soul LE WA
   ‘I’m coming to Paksong and I’ll buy some coffee. I come back here
   and I’m so happy.’

6. ?aj Ø tāw mə? bap ?oh jaj
   1SG. -FUT. see mother father younger.sibling elder.sibling
   pnām njaj Ø rih kāp cāk kāp ra
   village 1PL. -FUT. happy each body each person.CL.
   ‘I spy my parents and my brothers and sisters. Every soul in our
   village is happy.’

7. paksonŋ Ø kĦŋ kćŋ dāj wa
   Paksong -FUT. beautiful really DAY WA
   paksonŋ Ø bāc huŋ hiŋ kćŋ le wa
   Paksong -FUT. PERFECTIVE splendid really LE WA
   ‘Paksong is really so beautiful. Paksong is truely splendid it is!’
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TEXT 5: JRUQ BIRTH & FUNERAL RITES

A short description by Mr. Lin of the various ways Jruq people hold funerals recorded in Paksong, 19/8/2000.

1. kat \(\overset{r}{\text{rit}}\) ime trie \(\overset{b}{\text{bic}}\) kuan
   \(\text{EXIST} \text{ rite person woman get child}\)
   'There's a ceremony for when women give birth.'

2. \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) hta \(\overset{t}{\text{tøj}}\) that kuan
   (person) -FUT. wash hand touch child
   'You wash your hands and touch the child.'

3. pmus \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) bih that kuan
   person -FUT. come touch child
   'People come to touch the child.'

4. \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) hta \(\overset{t}{\text{tøj}}\) bep hän hom
   (person) -FUT. wash hand same as 3P. bathe
   '(We) wash our hands as if he (the child) is bathing.'

5. ri \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) bim rit \(\overset{b}{\text{rik}}\) \(\overset{t}{\text{tøj}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{kččč}}\)
   and (we) -FUT. make rite tie hand RED.-small
   'And (we) perform a small hand-tying ceremony.'

6. \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) bik \(\overset{t}{\text{tøj}}\) \(\overset{\_}{\text{kččč}}\) le čk dak h?om ceh
   (we) -FUT. tie hand RED.-small and take water perfume insert
   '(We) do the small hand-tying ceremony and add perfumed water.'

7. bāŋ ra \(\overset{\_}{\text{Ø}}\) hta \(\overset{t}{\text{tøj}}\) ruat kdaŋ ruat
   some person.CL. NEG. -FUT. wash hand buy sarong buy
   \(\overset{\_}{\text{h}}\)baj \(\overset{\_}{\text{kččč}}\)
   material RED.-small
   'Some people who don't do the hand-washing part, they buy tiny sarongs or small sections of material.'
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8. Ø Ø ruat ?ăm ?me hla tbît
(3P.) -FUT. buy give person ask touch

'(They) buy them for the host of the 'touching' rite.'

9. kʰān kuan Ø kêt ?me bim rit htōp
if child -FUT. dead person make rite bury

'If a child dies, people perform a burial.'

10. kʰān pnu ntî nh Ø kêt păk re? htōp tbuc
if person NEG. -FUT. have money go bury grave

'If people don't have the money to get buried, they go and get buried in a grave.'

11. ?me Ø bim htōp htōp tōp ksăk
person -FUT. make burial hut hut ghost.of.dead

'(Otherwise) people make a burial hut.'

12. Ø Ø htōp tbuc coh ?ūp
(3P.) -FUT. plant grave ignite fire

'(Otherwise) they can get buried in a grave or cremated.'

13. Ø Ø bim coh ?ūp hâj tōp htōp huc bim
(3P.) -FUT. make ignite fire LOC. hut bury grave make
hnom kēkēc
house RED.-small

'They can cremate them at the burial ground, or bury them in a grave or make small huts.'

14. pnu ntî cah htōw tbuc
person -FUT. dig.with.spade hole.in.ground grave

'People dig graves.'

166 Lin later told me that htōp htōp and tōp ksăk are two terms used to describe the traditional Jruq funeral whereby a hole is dug in a sacred plot of forest nearby to the village. I was invited to attend such a ceremony in August 2000, and instead of burying the dead, the practice is to place logs over a deep round hole dug into a sacred plot of land in the forest (reserved for burial huts). An ornate coffin (Lao style) with the dead is placed over these logs. A tiny hut is then built around the hole and decorated with the possessions of the deceased and rice and ricewine are thrown around the hut. Over time, the logs rot and the bones of the dead then fall into the hole.
15. bāŋ ra Ø bim hmøm kēkēc ?ìn some person.CL. -FUT. make house RED.-small other ra lan bap coh kǝk ?ìn ra person.CL. tell same.as ignite corpse other person.CL. bap cah htkw htap huc same.as dig.with.spade hole bury grave

'Some people make little huts, others ask to be cremated, others dig holes to be buried in graves.'

16. kot ?jāŋ ?me dāj mûn bim EXIST like person which? want make

'It's done according to whoever wants it done.'

17. ?me Ø bim ?jāŋ ne? ?me Ø bim ?jāŋ ne? person -FUT. make like this person -FUT. make like this

'People do it like this or people do it like that.'

18. le? Ø Ø bic ?jāŋ ne? le? Ø Ø bic and (3P.) -FUT. become like this and (3P.) -FUT. become ?jāŋ ne?
like this

'And it's done like this or it's done like that.'

19. tām nuar ?me Ø ket hān Ø roj ?aj time(past) before person -FUT. die 3P. -FUT. instruct 1SG. Ø mûn têt bic htap huc li ?aj Ø mûn -FUT. want be.performed bury grave or 1SG. -FUT. want têt burial.hut

'Before a person dies (s)he says “I want it to be performed as a grave burial”, or “I want a burial hut.”'

20. k’hān Ø Ø coh tɔŋ bic bim t’à if (3P.) -FUT. ignite must be.able make Stupa167

'If they are cremated, they must be able (to afford) to make a Stupa.'

167 This is a Lao tradition—small stone (concrete) statues are placed in a graveyard with the ashes of the deceased inside/underneath.
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