HMONG AND AREAL SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Marybeth Clark

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Hmong language[1]

Hmong language (also known as Miao or Meo) belongs to the Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) language family. Wider genetic relationships are undetermined. The Hmong live in southern China and in the mountainous areas of northwest Viet Nam, Laos, northern Thailand and a small area of northeast Burma, with the greatest concentration in Guizhou province in China (almost three million, 1982 census (Schein 1986:77)).

The two major dialects of Laos and Thailand, and of refugees in the US, Australia, France and elsewhere, are White Hmong and Green Hmong,[2] the two dialects being very close. The dialect used in this paper is primarily but not exclusively that of Xieng Khouang (Laos) White Hmong.

0.2 Phonology and orthography

Lao Hmong phonology shares many features of the area: a system of tones developed in relation to devoicing and loss of consonants, aspirated-unaspirated contrasts in stops, back unrounded vowels, to name some. Hmong is also basically monosyllabic. Some features which seem not to fit so well into the immediate areal pattern are loss of all final consonants – even nasals – except velar nasal after some vowels , and a complex initial consonant system which includes post-velar stops, prenasalised stops, voiceless nasals (Jarkey hN in the orthography), and a set of laterally released consonants. There is some tone sandhi in Hmong. (For detailed discussion of Hmong phonology see Smalley 1976:87-109)

In the 1950s a romanised orthography was developed by George Barney and William Smalley in cooperation with Yves Bertrais (Smalley 1976:87-88). Their orthography was in use in Laos prior to 1975, with some publications in the orthography, and is currently used in the US, France, Australia and probably other places for newsletters and other publications. This orthography uses VV for V ng or ŋ and final consonant symbols for tones, as follows (mainly from Smalley 1976:109):

[˦˥]		[˦]	[˧˦]	[˧]	[˨]	[˩˨]	[˩˨̤]	[˨˩]
-b		-j	-v		-s	-g	-m	-d
							(breathy)	

0.3 Language contacts

Hmong has had long intensive contact with Tai, Sino-Tibetan and Austroasiatic languages and shares many phonological and grammatical features of the area. Some of the areal phonological features are mentioned in the preceding section. I am going to discuss here some grammatical characteristics whose areal nature appears to be the result of such long intensive contact. I will also discuss three grammatical features in Hmong which have quite different characteristics from the general areal patterns: noun phrase animate possessors, source phrases, and a preverbal question word.

The phenomenon of linguistic areas – geographical areas whose languages share linguistic features through contact with each other – is well attested, most notably of course in Emeneau's 'India as a linguistic area' in 1956 and many others since. The validity of areal features in mainland South-East Asia can be seen when comparing the local Austroasiatic languages with the Munda Austroasiatic languages in India and the local Austronesian languages (not used in this paper) with the Pacific island Austronesian languages. The local languages are closer in grammatical structure to their neighbours than to their more geographically distant cousins.

Besides Hmong, I have used data from the following languages, as well as having looked at others. The abbreviations in brackets are those used for non-Hmong sentence examples.

Tai languages: Central (Bangkok) Thai, Black Tai [BlkT] (northeast Thailand up into southern China), Nung (the border of northeast Viet Nam and China) (and Lao in Section 7).

Sino-Tibetan: Standard (Mandarin) Chinese [Chi].

Austroasiatic: Vietnamese [Viet];

Mon-Khmer: Khmer [Khm] (and Mon in Section 7), Mountain Mon-Khmer of Viet Nam: Sre, Chrau [Chr], Sedang [Sdng] (and Jeh and Katu in Section 4 and Bahnar in Section 7).

Except for two Tibeto-Burman Yi (Lolo) languages used in Section 7, I have not dealt with the western Sino-Tibetan languages, with any of the western Tai languages, nor with the western or far southern Austroasiatic languages.

I have used standard *pinyin* for Chinese and standard Vietnamese orthography. For Thai and Lao, including cited sentences, I have used one of the standard romanisations throughout. The orthographies used for the other languages are those used in the references cited.

0.4 Theoretical framework of discussion

Just briefly, to explain some of the terminology used in this paper, I will say something about the framework within which I will compare Hmong with the other languages. In general I will follow the notions of lexicase grammar as set forth by Stanley Starosta, particularly in his 1978, 1979, 1984a and 1984b papers. Starosta states that lexicase 'can be characterised as a non-transformational lexicalist dependency approach to case grammar' (1984b:121), in which a single grammatical representation for each sentence is generated directly out of the lexicon with no distinction between deep and surface structure. It is essentially a grammar of words (1984a:5), each one of which is marked with contextual features specifying its dependencies and possible associations with other words. Within a given sentence

> every noun-centered constituent bears a single syntactic-semantic 'case relation' such as Agent, Patient, or Correspondent to the verb or other lexical item on which it depends (1984b:122).

This case relation is to be distinguished from the case form associated with every nominal constituent. There are simple case forms such as Nominative and Accusative and there are case forms represented as complex clusters of meaningful localistic features such as 'source', 'goal', etc.

> Thus in addition to the usual function of signalling the presence of particular case relations in a sentence, case forms make an independent contribution to the total meaning of the sentence (1984b: 123).

Such complex case forms in the languages under discussion are frequently marked by prepositions or relator nouns (see Section 2.3).

The following case relations are posited in Starosta 1984a (19ff). (For detailed definitions see that source.)

> Patient, Agent, Locus (inner and outer), Correspondent (inner and outer) and Means (inner and outer).

The inner-outer distinction relates to the Patient (Theme in some models) being the perceived central participant in a state or event, the inner case relation having only the Patient in its scope while the outer case relation has the entire state or action in its scope. An inner case relation theref ̀ ̈ part of the matrix of the relevant class of verbs.

It is within this notion of case grammar that the following areal phenomena are discussed, i.e. a notion in which verbs are classified according to the case relations with which they may or must occur and every nominal constituent of a sentence has an associated case relation and a case

case form. In this framework it is unnecessary to posit different levels with ad hoc transformations, equi-NP deletions, etc.

1. BASIC SENTENCES

The sentence level characteristics discussed here are primary Subject-Verb-Object sentence order, the use of stative verbs for description, and the use of sentence-final particles. All these characteristics are well known to be common in the mainland South-East Asia area. Tibeto-Burman languages on the western fringes of this area have S-O-V order; the one Tibeto-Burman language having S-V-O order, Karen, lies on the eastern edge of this group next to Tai and Austroasiatic languages.

1.1 Subject-Verb-Object order

The primary sentence order in Hmong, as in the other languages of the immediate area, is Subject-Verb-Object (-inner Locus), inner Locus being the indirect object or locative inherent in the verb. Words are uninflected and basically monosyllabic with compounding.

Following are Hmong sentences with intransitive (Patient-subject) verbs:

1.1   *Tus   me-nyuam   quaj.*
animate being   child   cry
The child is crying.

1.2   *Kuv tuaj   os.*
I   come   Final Particle: Emphatic
I've come (to visit you). (Said upon arriving at someone's house.)

1.3   *Yag-hmo nws   mus   lawm.*
yesterday 3 Pers.Sg.   go   already
She went yesterday already.

transitive verbs with Agent subjects:

1.4   *Tus   dev tom tus   npua.*
anim. dog bite anim. pig
The dog bit the pig.

1.5   *Yaj Ntsuab yuav Lis Tswb yim hli   lawm.*
Yang Joua   get   Lee Chue eight month already
Joua Yang (girl) married Chue Lee eight months ago.

and transitive verbs with Correspondent subjects:

1.6   *Qhov-muag tsis pom kev.*
eye   not see   way
My eyes can't see to work (sew).

1.7   *Kuv muaj kwv-tij nyob rau Chicago.*
      I   have relatives stay at   Chicago
      I have relatives living in Chicago.

Note that 1.3 and 1.5 have time expressions.The location phrase *rau Chicago* in 1.7 has a Locus case relation with the verb *nyob*.

The Thai and Vietnamese sentences here each have both an intransitive verb with its Locus and a transitive verb.

1.8   *Khăw pay talàat sɯɯ plaa maa.*
Thai   3P   go   market buy fish hither
       She's going to the market to buy fish.

1.9   *Anh   Mỹ   này đến   nhà, đánh đập người cha,   người anh cô gái.*
Viet   brother Amer. this arrive house beat   person father person bro. girl
       This American young man came to the house and beat up the girl's father and brother.

1.2 Stative verbs

Adjectival/descriptive words in mainland South-East Asia are stative verbs which need no other verb to form a grammatical sentence. In Hmong, stative verbs seem rarely to occur in cut-and-dried intransitive sentences, in which they describe the state of the Patient subject, without some kind of modification or intensification. I believe this is true of the other languages as well. Here are some Hmong examples.

1.10   *Tus ncej tsev lwj   tas.*   (PXNNH:33)
       stick post house be rotten finished
       The house posts are all rotten.

1.11   *Peb twb   mus tau neesnkaum kislaus   thiab sawvdaws nkees   heev.*
       we already go   get twenty   kilometre and everybody be tired very much
       We've gone twenty kilometres and we're all very tired.

1.12   *Aub! qhov   no qab   kawg!*
       oh!   substance this be delicious very much
       Oh! This dish is delicious!

1.13   *Nqaij npuas qab   dua   nqaij nyug.*   (PXNNH:40)
       flesh pig   delicious surpassing flesh cow
       Pork tastes better than beef.

1.14   *Kuv tus kwv   siab   txij   (li) kuv.*
       I   anim. young bro. be high reaching as   I
       My brother is as tall as I am.

Stative verbs in Hmong can be intensified by following adverbs meaning 'very much', as above, or by reduplication, in which the duplicated syllable is accompanied by an extremely high sustained tone.

1.15   *Peb los   nyob tim   no   mas   **no noꞏ** kawg!*
       we   come stay   place across this and then cold cold! very much
       We've come over here to live and it's very very cold!

1.16   *Tus   poj   Hmoob Dawb tus   ntiag tsho   **xiav xiꞏa** li.*
       anim. female Hmong white strip front jacket blue   blue!   so
       That White Hmong woman's jacket trim is very very blue.

Some stative verbs in Vietnamese and Khmer:

1.17   *Ở Sàigòn chị   vẫn   **khỏe mạnh**   chứ?*
Viet   at Saigon sister still be healthy   sure
       (While) in Saigon surely you've been well?

1.18   *Kruoc nih **thom**   haəy **lqaa**   phaaŋ.*   (Huffman 1970:44)
Khm   orange this be large already be pretty also
       These oranges are large, and pretty too.

Some stative verbs tend to occur with relevant body parts, suggesting a sort of inalienable location. (For fuller discussion of this areal phenomenon see Clark forthcoming.) The reduplicated statives in 1.22 and 1.23 may occur with the high sustained tone if the speaker wishes to exaggerate the intensity.

1.19   *Kuv **zoo** **siab**   kawg.*
       I   good   liver - place of feeling and thinking very much
       I'm very happy.

1.20   *Tus   ntawd **ruam** ncauj tsis **ruam** siab.*   (Bertrais 1979:372)
       anim. that one dumb   mouth not dumb   liver
       That person is mute not dumb in the head (stupid).

1.21   *Koj **mob** plab   los   hov   ntev lawm?*
       you sick   stomach so then how much long already
       How long have you been sick?

1.22   *Kuv tus   menyuam tseem **mob mob taubhau,**   tseem tsis zoo li.*
       I   anim. child   still sick sick head   still   not good so
       My child is still very sick, she's still not recovered.

1.23   *Zuag, es   kuv paub hais tias **nyuab nyuab** koj siab kawg li nawb.*
       Youa and so I   know say that troubled troubled you liver much so sure
       Youa, I know it is a great worry to you.

1.24 *Tôi **đói** bụng rồi.*
Viet I be hungry stomach already
I'm hungry already.

1.25 *Tú slứ **chéhp áhn töng** lái.* (Saul and Wilson 1980:71)
Nung Clsf tiger sore Clsf stomach very
The tiger was very sore in his stomach.

Note that the body part location in 1.23 is modified by a possessive pronoun and in 1.25 it is classified by a classifier noun, suggesting that these body locations are not incorporated in the stative verb.

A small set of stative verbs can produce derived adverbs, as noted in these Hmong, Khmer and Vietnamese sentences.

1.26a *Txoj kev no **deb** dua txoj tod.* (Bertrais 1979:41)
length way this V: be distant surpassing length that over there
This road is farther than that one.

  b. *Peb nyob **deb** lawm.*
  we stay A: distantly already
  We live far away.

1.27 *Kuv to-taub **zoo** kawg.*
I understand A: well very much
I understand very well. (See verb *zoo* in 1.19.)

1.28a *Srəy nuh lqaa (nah).* (Huffman 1970:56)
Khm girl that V: be pretty very
That girl is (very) pretty.

  b *Srəy nuh twəə-kaa lqaa.* (Huffman 1970:56)
  girl that do work A:good
  That girl works well.

1.29 *Chị Kim học **giỏi** lắm và anh Minh cũng **giỏi**.*
Viet sister Kim study A: well very and brother Minh also V: well
Kim is a good student and Minh is good too.

1.3 Sentence final particles

What I consider to be final particles are those expressive particles which occur at the end of sentences and which are not a part of the grammatical structure of the sentence. Thus I am using the term 'particle' in what I believe to be its true sense: a functionally undefined segment of speech. However, the particle adds semantic import to the sentence, and the selection of any one of these particles is determined by the semantic implications of the sentence itself and the speaker's intention regarding these implications. These particles are used to express respect,

gentle urging, surprise, expectation, emphasis, uncertainty, questioning, etc. Frequently they fulfill the same function as English tag questions. David Thomas (D.D.Thomas 1971:180) observes that these particles 'appear to occur only in direct address'. In general, they tend to make the statement or question of the sentence less abrupt.

The sentences in 1.2 and 1.23 above employ final particles, as do the sentences here. Note that a 'final' particle is stuck into the middle of 1.31 at the end of the main clause and before the time phrase, and that in 1.32 strong reassurance is given by using three particles. Vietnamese and Nung sentences with final particles are also shown; also see the Vietnamese sentence in 1.17 above.

1.30   *Kuv tsis hnov koj hais **os.***
       I   not hear you say FP:Emphatic
       I didn't hear what you said!

1.31   *Koj ua dabtsi lawm **os***   *ob peb hnub no **na***?
       you do what   already Emphatic 2 3   day   this FP:eh?
       What have you been doing these few days?

1.32   *Thov   koj zam   txim   rau kuv **thiab**   **nawb mog.***
       request you pardon offense to I   FP:also sure   sure
       Please forgive me!

1.33   *Ngày mai anh   có   đi không? Đi **chứ.***
Viet tomorrow brother have go not   go sure
       Are you going tomorrow? Of course I'm going.

1.34   *Mʉhng páy hah   páy **lố**.*   (Saul and Wilson 1980:106)
Nung you   go   where go   Emphatic
       Wherever you are going, go!

2. THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 Classifiers

Classifier nouns abound throughout mainland East and South-East Asia. They belong to a restrictive subset of bound nouns which serve to categorise, enumerate, specify and define other nouns. For example, noncategorial nouns cannot be enumerated directly, but only through a categorial noun, or 'classifier'. In Hmong, the classifier is usually the head of the noun phrase construction in which it occurs and precedes the noun which it categorises. Thus, the non-categorial noun serves as a modifier of the classifier noun.

As shown in 2.1 the noun *menyuam* 'child' cannot be directly enumerated. Instead it occurs as an attribute to its respective clasifier noun *tus* 'animate being', which in turn can be enumerated.

2.1 *yim* **tus** *menyuam* * *yim menyuam*
    eight animate being child   eight child
    eight children   eight children

Classifiers are used extensively in Hmong to designate definiteness or specificity. (Jarkey n.d. has a detailed discussion of classifiers in Hmong.) In 2.2 both a specific dog and a specific pig are referred to and both nouns occur with the classifier *tus*. In 2.3 only the dog is specific while nonspecific 'pig' occurs without a classifier. Likewise in 2.4 and 2.5.

2.2 **Tus** *dev* *tom* **tus** *npua.*
    anim. dog bite anim. pig
    The dog bit the pig.

2.3 *ib* **tug** *dev tom npua*   (tone change due to sandhi)
    one anim. dog bite pig
    a dog who bites pigs

2.4 **Tus** *poj* *Hmoob Dawb* **tus** *ntiag tsho* *xiav xīia* *li.*
    anim. female Hmong white strip front jacket blue blue! so
    That White Hmong woman's jacket trim is very very blue.

2.5 *Pojniam Hmoob Ntsuab* **tus** *ntiag tsho* *muaj xim* *ntau* *ntau* *yam.*
    woman Hmong green strip front jacket have colour much much sort
    The jacket trim of Green Hmong women is many coloured.

Barz and Diller (1985:172) state that in mainland South-East Asia

> classifier usage is probably most developed and most sensitive to language norms in modern standard (Bangkok) Thai, followed closely by Vietnamese. Standard forms of Lao and Burmese would follow along, and finally standard Malay and Khmer.

Their study does not include Hmong, but it is clear that Hmong fits easily into the middle of areal classifier usage, perhaps alongside Vietnamese.

In Table 2.1 some Hmong classifiers of high frequency use are compared with similar classifications in Thai and Vietnamese. Many of these listed here can occur as the only noun in the noun phrase. It should be understood that there is a great deal of overlap and variation in the meanings and selectional usage of these classifiers. In general, however, they all not only serve to classify other nouns but play a major role in specificity, anaphoric reference, enumeration and, in the case of Hmong, the specificity of animate possession (as shown in 2.4 and 2.5 above and to be discussed in the succeeding section). Three of the Hmong classifiers, *tus*, *lub* and *cov,* have very high frequency in general use. This is also true of *cái* and *con* in Vietnamese. Classifiers in Thai are so numerous and varied that what is listed here is merely a suggestion of some of the more general ones in the given categories.

Table 2.1 Some general classifiers in three languages

CLASSIFICATION	HMONG	THAI	VIETNAMESE
animate being non-human animal human, person	*tus* *(leej)*	 *tua* *khon*	*con* *người*
group, bunch	*cov* [±anim] *tej*	*phûak*	*bọn, nhóm* people *bộ* set (thing) *đám* gathering
inanimate thing (general classifier)	*lub*	*an*	*cái*
stick-like thing (rigid)	*tus*	*tôn* vertical *thêŋ*	*cây*
strip (flexible)	*tus*	*sǎay*	*con*
flat length	*daim*	*phèn* rigid sheet *phǔun*	*bức, tấm*
volume, book	*phau*	*lêm*	*cuốn, quyển*
round object	*lub*	*bay, lûuk*	*quả, trái*
kind, class, sort	*yam*	*yàaŋ*	*thứ, loài*

2.2 Noun phrase order and Hmong animate possessors

In his paper on classifiers in South-East Asia, Jones (1970:2-3) points out that the languages of South-East Asia and south China fall into two general groups with respect to word order in the noun phrase. The primary group, including Vietnamese, Hmong, Chinese and eastern Tai languages, has a numeral-classifier-noun pattern. The other group, including Khmer, Thai and Lao, and Burmese, has a noun-numeral-classifier pattern. The division appears to be a northeast-southwest areal one rather than a genetic one since representatives of Mon-Khmer, Tai and Sino-Tibetan fall into both groups.

In all these languages, except Modern Chinese, descriptive attributes — whether stative verbs, other verbs, nouns, prepositional phrases or relative clauses — follow the noun which they modify. This is illustrated by the Hmong sentence in 2.6, which has a relative clause *tom neeg* following the descriptive attribute *loj* which in turn follows the attributive noun *dev,* and the

Nung sentence in 2.7, where the descriptive attribute *lŏng nhéht* modifies the classifier head noun which means 'animate being'.

2.6   *Muaj ib tug   **dev loj tom neeg.***
Hmg have one anim. dog large bite   person
      There's a large dog who bites people.

2.7   *Mɯhn áu tú   **lŏng nhéht** ma   hĕht mê̦.*   (Saul and Wilson 1980:34)
Nung he   take Clsf big   most   come make wife.
      He married the biggest woman.

In Vietnamese, Thai and Mon-Khmer languages, possessor nouns or possessive noun phrases occur as descriptive attributes, following the head noun and other descriptive as well as restrictive attributes. This is illustrated by the Vietnamese phrases in 2.8; in 2.8b the quantity *hai* is restrictive and precedes the head noun. (See Thompson 1965:123 regarding descriptive and restrictive attribution.) Note that in Vietnamese, possession may also be mediated by the word 'belonging' (which I believe to be a noun rather than a preposition).

2.8a *(chiếc) xe   **(của)**   chòng chị tôi*
Viet vehicle vehicle belonging husband sister I
      my sister's husband's car

  b *hai chiếc xe   **của**   chòng chị tôi*
    two vehicle vehicle belonging husband sister I
    my sister's husband's two cars

In Hmong, however, animate noun-phrase possessors do not follow the pattern of descriptive attribution. They occur, like numerals, as restrictive attributes. They occur before the possessed head noun, at the beginning of the noun phrase, as shown in 2.9. Most noncategorial nouns cannot be directly possessed but must be possessed via their classifier nouns, thus asserting the specificity of possession. There seems to be no meaning distinction between *koj lub tsev* and *koj tsev*. (Possessors and classifier head nouns are in bold.)

2.9   ***nws lub** hnab thoom   **kuv tus**   muam   **peb** zog*
    3P   thing bag   I   anim. being sister   we   village
    her/his bag   my sister   our village

    usually: ***koj lub** tsev*   but also: ***koj** tsev*
            you thing house   you house
            your house   your house

It seems that non-person animate possessors can precede or follow the possessed noun. However, there appears to be a qualitative difference in meaning, as indicated by the translations in 2.10, in which actual possession is expressed only when the possessor precedes the possessee. When the animal name occurs after the possessed item, it appears to be a qualification or modification of the item rather than possession per se.

2.10 ***dev tus*** *kotw*   ***nquab*** *zes*
      dog stick tail   dove   nest
      the dog's tail   the dove's nest

     kotw dev   *(lub) zes   nquab*
      tail dog   thing nest dove
      dog tail   a dove('s) nest

Figure 2.2 gives sentence examples which show the relative noun phrase order in several South-East Asian languages. Note that eastern Tai Nung and Mon-Khmer Sre have the numeral-classifier-noun order, while their southwest cousins, Bangkok Thai and Khmer, have the noun-numeral-classifier order in these straightforward enumerated noun phrases.[3] The possessor phrase in Khmer and Thai may precede as well as follow the numeral-classifier phrase (Huffman 1973:493 and Tony Diller personal communication).

Hmong possession is further illustrated in 2.11, which has dual person possession. The possessor *kuv* 'I' occurs before its possessee *tus muam* 'sister animate being', which in turn occurs before its possessee *rab* 'tool', the head of the subject noun phrase.

2.11 ***Kuv tus   muam*** *rab koob nyob pem rooj.*
      I   anim. sister tool needle be at top   table
      My sister's needle is on the table.

On the other hand, inanimate (and inalienable) 'possession', i.e. *pem rooj* 'the top of the table / the table's top' in 2.11, follows the same attribution pattern as *kotw dev* 'dog tail': possessee head noun − possessor attributive noun. It seems that, in Hmong, as opposed to the other languages in the area, there is a significant distinction between animate possession and inanimate attribution. This same sentence (2.11) in Vietnamese shows the difference in order of attributive possession:

2.12 *Cái kim   **(của)**   chị tôi ở   trên bàn.*
Viet thing needle belonging sister I   be at top table
      My sister's needle is on the table.

The sentence in 2.13 has conjoined modified noun phrases, including animate possession *(Zuag, nws)*, attribution and a relative clause *(uas yog ib puas tsibcaug duas)*.

2.13 *Kuv xav rho   **Zuag** peb lub **hnab paj-ntaub dai nyiaj** tawm thiab*
      I   want extract Youa 3   thing bag needle work hang silver out and

    nws ib   lub pajntaub   tawmlaug   xim   ntsuab daj
      3P one thing needle work cross-stitch colour green yellow

    uas   yog ib puas tsibcaug duas.
      which be one 100 fifty   dollar

I want to take out (from a collection) Youa's three silver-hanging bags and her yellow-green embroidery piece which is $150.

Table 2.2 Noun phrase order in some South-East Asian languages

Language	Possr Noun	Num.	Possee HEAD NOUN	Noun Attr	(Noun Attr)	Sttv Attr	Num.	Clsfr Noun	Det	N. of Possn	Possr Noun	Det
M-Y Hmong	*kuv* I	*peb* 3	*tug/tus* animate Clsfr	*dev* dog	*(xim)* colour (Lao)	*dub* black						*ntawd* that
AA Vietnamese		*ba* 3	*con* animate Clsfr	*chó* dog	*(màu)* colour	*đen* black			*đó* that	*của* possn	*tôi* I	
M-K: Sre		*pɛ* 3	*nəm* non-human thing Clsfr	*ʔaso* dog		*jɯʔ* black					*ʔaŋ* I	*nɛ* that
M-K: Khmer			*ckae* dog		*(pɔɔ)* colour	*kmaw* black	*bɘy* 3	*(∅)*		*rəbɑh* thing	*kñom* I	*nuh* that
Tai Thai			*mǎa* dog			*dam* black	*saam* 3	*tua* animal		*khɔ̌ɔŋ* thing	*phǒm* I	*nán* that
Nung		*slám* 3	*tú* animate Clsfr	*má* dog		*dắhm* black				*?*	*cáu* I	*té* that

those three black dogs of mine

2.3 Relative location nouns

In most of the languages of South-East Asia there is a set of locative nouns which act as relator nouns (cf. Thompson 1965:200ff). A relator noun is a bound noun; it occurs as a head noun and requires another, attributive noun by which it is inalienably possessed. It is further restricted in that it never takes classifiers or enumerators, and when occurring with a Hmong possessive phrase it precedes the possessive phrase. The relator noun serves to specify the position in space of the attributive noun relative to the speaker or hearer and to the action or state of the verb, and frequently fulfills localistic requirements of prepositions and of locus verbs in much the same way that prepositions do. In fact, some analysts consider these words to be prepositions, and it is true that, as Nerida Jarkey suggests (personal communication), they share some characteristics of both nouns and prepositions, making it difficult to absolutely categorise them as either nouns or prepositions. Many of these words, however, can take demonstrative pronouns or determiners in the place of the attributive noun, for example 2.23 and 2.24 below. For this and other reasons I am here treating these words as nouns.

Table 2.3 shows some of the most common of these nouns in Hmong, Thai, Khmer and Vietnamese.

Table 2.3 Relative Location Nouns in Some SE Asian Languages

	place inside	place outside	top	place above	bottom	place below	front before	place after, behind	middle	place at
Hmg	*hauv*	*nraum*	*saum*	*pem*	*qab*	*nram*	*(ntiag)*	*(qab)*	*nruab*	*ntawm*
Thai	*nay*	*nôok*	*bon*	*nŭa*	*lâaŋ*	*tây*	*nâa*	*lăŋ*	*klaaŋ*	*thîi*
Khm	*knoŋ*	*kraw*	*ləə*	*ləə*	*kraom*	*kraom*	*muk*	*kraoy*	*kəndaal*	
Vtn	*trong*	*ngoài*	*trên*	*dưới*	*dưới*	*trước*	*sau*	*giữa*	*(tận)*	

Some sentences will exemplify the relator use of some of these location nouns. (Also see above: *tim* 'place across' in 1.15, *pem* 'top' in 2.11 and Vietnamese *trên* 'top' in 2.12.)

2.14   *Nws cog   zaub   ntsuab rau **hauv** vaj   lawm.*
Hmg   3P   plant vegetable green   to/at inside garden already
      She planted green leafy vegetables in her garden.

2.15   *Kñom caq   mcul **knoŋ** sac.*
Khm   I   insert needle inside flesh
      I stuck a needle in her skin (for an injection).

2.16 *Kuv zaum (nyob)* **hauv** *av,   koj zaum   (nyob)* **saum** *rooj   nawb.*
Hmg I   sit   at   inside earth you sit   at   top   bench sure
I'll sit on the floor and you sit on the bench, alright?

2.17 *Tôi ngòi (ở)* **dưới** *đất   và   chị   ngòi* **trên** *ghế nhé.*
Viet I   sit   at   below earth and sister sit   top   chair alright?
I'll sit on the floor and you sit on the chair, alright?

2.18 *Waannîi nóoŋ hòklóm* **bon** *kraday* **thîi** *ta?làat.*   (Kullavanijaya 1974:29)
Thai yesterday sister fall   top   stairs   place at market
Yesterday at the market sister fell down on the steps.

2.19 *Nws tau tau mus* **nram** *Moos Loob   lawm.*
Hmg 3P   got got go   place below Luang Prabang already
She's gone down to Luang Prabang many times.

2.20 *Nó thọc   tay   (vào)* **dưới** *chiếu tìm hộp nữ-trang.*
Viet 3P   thrust hand   into   underneath mat   seek box jewellery
He stuck his hand under the mat looking for the box of jewellery.

2.21 *Lawv tuaj rau* **ntawm** *qhov-chaws no   lawm.*
Hmg they come to   place at place   this already
They've come to this address already.

The sentence in 2.22 employs a relator noun to mark an abstract location.

2.22 *Koj txhob poob-siab   txog* **ntawm** *qhov no nawb.*
Hmg you don't   be worried reaching to place of subject this sure
Don't worry about this matter, alright?

In Vietnamese and Hmong at least, these relative position nouns can occur with determiners or with deictic nouns, as in 2.23 and 2.24.

2.23 *Anh   làm gì* **trên** *ấy?*   (Nguyen V.K. 1967:910)
Viet older brother do   what top   that
What are you doing up there?

2.24 *Kuv muab ib   lub   me-me rau* **hauv no.**
Hmg I   hand one thing small to   inside this
I have enclosed a small piece here.

Most of these relative location nouns in Hmong have what I consider to be derived corresponding unbound nouns which occur alone or following other nouns and functioning as phrase-final deictic nouns or demonstrative pronouns. For most of these nouns a tone change occurs in the derivation; those nouns whose tone is low with final glottal stop (-m) – a large proportion of the relator nouns – undergo a change to low rising (and falling) tone in the unbound noun, as in *ntawd* in 2.25 (RN = relator noun, DN = deictic noun.).

2.25   ***Ntawm***   *cov   pajntaub uas   koj   xa   tuaj   rau kuv   **ntawd** ...*
RN: the place at (re) group stitchery which you send hither to I   DN: that one
Regarding (RN: topic marker) **that** (DN) needle work which you sent here to me ...

In 2.26 *tom* is a relator noun specifying the non-locative *peb* 'we' as a place, while *tod* in 2.27 is a deictic noun.

2.26   *Nws   cov   pa   ncho   tuaj   txog   **tom**   peb   thiab.*
3P   group gas smoke come reaching to place across we   also
Its gas and smoke reached us, too.

2.27   *Nws   mus   rau   lub   tsev   **tod**.*
3P   go   to   thing house that across there
She went to that house over there.

The relator noun for time, as in 2.28, has a similar derived noun with the same tone change, as in 2.29.

2.28   *Nws   nrog   Tooj   tham   **thaum**   lub   tsib   hlis   lawm.*
3P   with Tong chat   the time at extent (Clsf) five   month already
She talked with Tong in (at the time of) May.

2.29   *Peb   li   yav   hluas   **thaud**,   mas peb* ...   (Bertrais 1979:449)
we   's period of time   young   that time then then   we
As for us, that time when we were young, we...

3. LOCUS VERBS, PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

3.1 Synchronically derived prepositions

A common productive feature throughout the area is what is evidently the historical and synchronic derivation of prepositions from a certain class of verbs. These are verbs which have a distinct locus marking, and their derived prepositions mark on their nouns goal or location Locus (either inner: the Locus of the Patient, or outer: the location of the event as a whole) and in some cases Time case relations. The verb and preposition are homophonous, nearly synonymous and differ primarily in their grammatical functions in a sentence.[4]

The chart in Table 3.1 shows some of the source verbs and corresponding derived prepositions of several South-East Asian languages. All of the White Hmong derived prepositions are shown, but languages like Vietnamese and Thai have fuller sets than are shown here. The examples from the West African Benue-Kwa languages (from Ansre 1966 and Lord 1973) illustrate the typological nature of synchronically derived Locus prepositions.

The sentences in 3.1 compare the usage of a source verb and its derived preposition in Khmer, the a sentence containing the source locus verb: goal direction verb 'go to', and the b sentence containing the derived locus preposition 'to'.

3.1 a *Yəəŋ **tɨw** srok   Kmae khae kraoy.*   (Ehrmann 1972:107)
Khm   we   go   country Khmer month behind
      We're *going to* Cambodia next month.

  b *Yɔɔk qəywan nih **tɨw** bəntup.*   (Huffman 1970:138)
     take thing this   to   room
     Take these things *to* the room.

Despite Huffman's translation of *tɨw* in 3.1b, one could argue for *tɨw* being a verb in a serial verb construction, since the subject of *yɔɔk* is the transporting Agent of the Patient and could thus be considered in such an argument to be the subject of *tɨw* in a serial verb construction; similarly in the Vietnamese sentence in 3.2b. However, it would be more difficult to argue for verbs in 3.2c and 3.3, where the corresponding prepositions, both derived from verbs meaning 'return to', mark abstract goals for a certain class of verbs. If in this case they can be considered prepositions, then it is simpler and less *ad hoc* to say that in a comparable function (3.1b and 3.2b) they are also prepositions.

3.2 a *Bao-giờ chị **về**   Mỹ-tho, qua   thăm em   nghe.*
Viet   when   sister return   My-tho cross over visit young sib. listen
      When you *return to* My-tho come over and see me, all right?

  b *Xin   cho chim góp   nhạc **về**   trời.* (from Trinh-Cong-Son
     request allow bird donate music back to sky song 'Xin Cho Toi', 1966)
     Please let the birds bring music *back to* the sky.

  c *Ông ấy   nói **về**   hoàn-cảnh chính-trị tại Việt-Nam.*
     Mr.   that speak regarding situation   politics   at Viet Nam
     He spoke *about* the political situation in Viet Nam.

3.3   *Mɯhn càng **mɔ**   cáu.*   (Saul and Wilson 1980:90)
Nung 3P   speak regarding I
     He spoke *about* me.

The goal locus preposition 'reaching to, regarding', derived from the verb 'reach to, arrive at', can also in some languages mark abstract goals for a certain class of verbs:

3.4 a *Khoảng một giờ   trưa tôi **đến** nhà   chị.*
Viet   about   one   hour noon I   reach house sister
      I'll *come to* your house about 1:00 in the afternoon.

  b *Chúng tôi   nhắc **đến**   anh   luôn.*
     Plural I (Excl.) recall regarding brother often
     We often speak *about* you.

3.5 a *...xa rau qhov no   thiaj-li **txog** kuv.*
Hmg   send to   place this consequently reach   I
      Send it here and it will *reach* me.

Table 3.1 Some locus verbs and their synchronically derived prepositions in some South-East Asian languages

	return → back to	regarding	reach →	reach-ing to	give to →	(animate) to, for	put in/onto → to	into	be at →(in,on)	at	be with → with	be
M-Y Hmong			txog	regarding txog			rau	rau	nyob	nyob	nrog	nrog
Tai Thai	klàp	klàp	thěŋ	thěŋ	hây	hây			yùu	yùu		
BlkTai	mɔ	mɔ	hot⁵	hot⁵	hɯɯ³	hɯɯ³	put into sɯɯ²	sɯɯ²	?			
Nung			?		hɯ̀	hɯ̀			dụ	dụ		
AA Khmer	go to tiw	to tiw	dal	dal	qaoy, cuun	qaoy, cuun			niw	niw		
Chrau	sìq	sìq	tât	tât	an	an			u	u		
Vietn.	về	về	đến, tới	đến, tới	cho	cho			ở	ở		
S-T Chin.			dào	dào	gěi	gěi			zài	zài		
Benue-Kwa lgs (W.Afr.)	go to → to lõ, kǎ, (dйo?)				ná, fún, nò, pirí				le, wo, yè		kpɛlu	

    b *Txhob poob-siab **txog**   ntawm kuv cov   khoom*
        don't   be worried regarding place of I   group thing
        Don't worry *about* my things.

3.6 a *Ôi   ndau   gĕh K bây M **tât**   mơq ănh du mặt.*   (D.M.Thomas
Chrau morning yesterday have K and M arrive visit I   one time   1978:288)
        Yesterday morning K. and M. *came* to visit me a bit.

    b *Nanh lawân căh   **tât**   un   cô.*   (D.M.Thomas 1978:291)
        we   always remember to   grandmother grandfather
        We always remember *(to)* you.

    Goal locative prepositions can also be used in time expressions, as in 3.7 for Hmong, Khmer and Sedang and 3.18a below for Vietnamese.

3.7 a *txij   thaum ntawd   los   **txog** nimno ...*   (Heimbach 1979:377)
Hmg since time   that   come/hither until now
        from that time *until* now

    b *Rǝdǝw-kdaw kɨi pii khae-minaa **tɨw**/rǝhout   **dal**   khae-quhsǝphiǝ.*
Khm hot season be from March   to thru-out until   May
        The hot season lasts from March *to/up to* May.   (Huffman 1970:116-7)

(tɨw is derived from the verb 'to go' and dal from 'arrive at'.)

    c **trôh**   *hài   ki   me*   (Smith 1979:123)
Sdng towards day Rel. that
      · *near* that day *(trôh* from the verb 'arrive, approach')

    The transitive goal verb 'give' has an inherent benefactive feature. In many languages it has a derived preposition which can mark either goal Locus (inner) on animate nouns for a certain class of locus verbs or benefactive (outer Locus) on animate nouns for almost any verb, as shown in 3.8-3.10. If a Locus and a benefactive occur in the same sentence, as in 3.8c, the Locus occurs closer to the verb.

3.8 a *Chị ấy **cho** tôi một cái   rồi.*
Viet sister that give I   one   thing already
        She *gave* one to me already.

    b *Chị ấy sẽ trả-lời **cho** người đó trước.*
        sister that will answer to   person that before
        She'll answer *(to)* that person first.

    c *Anh   Phong bán **cho** cô ấy một chục   bánh ngọt **cho** tôi.*
        brother Phong sell to   Miss that one unit of ten cake sweet for I
        Phong sold *(to)* her ten cakes *for* me.

3.9 a   *Khǎw **hây** ŋən   chǎn.*
Thai   3P   give   money   I
    She *gave* me money.

b   *Khǎw yìp   khɔ̌ɔŋ **hây** chǎn.*
    3P   pick up thing   for   I
    She picked the thing up *for* me. (or possibly: 'picked up and gave to me.')

In the Chinese sentence in 3.10b, the prepositional phrase before a verb which does not take an animate goal is unambiguously benefactive, while the prepositional phrase before a locus verb (3.10c) has either a benefactive reading or a goal Locus reading. In Standard Chinese, prepositional phrases follow only locus verbs and are unambiguously Locus, as in 3.10d.

3.10a   *Gāo Xiáojie **gěi**   tā   qián.*
Chi   Gao Miss   give 3P   money
    Miss Gao *gave* him money.

b   *Tā **gěi** wǒ tiē - le   hěn   duō   yóupiào.*
    3P for   I   stick on - Perf. very   much   stamp
    She stuck on a lot of stamps *for* me.

c   *Tā **gěi**   wǒ sòng xìn.*
    3P for/to I   send   letter
    She sends letters *for/to* me.

d   *Tā sòng xìn   **gěi** wǒ.*
    3P send   letter to   I
    She sends letters *to* me.

The Hmong locus verb **rau** 'put into/onto' (3.11) appears to have two derived prepositions. The most common one is a goal preposition meaning 'to' which marks spatial or animate goals for goal locus verbs and benefactive for most verbs, shown in 3.11 and 3.12.

3.11   *Ua ntej **rau** dej   **rau** hauv lub   lauj-kaub, npau lawm lauj.*
Hmg   do first put   water to   inside thing pot   boil   already
    First *put* water *into* the pot and bring it to a boil.

3.12a   *Hnub no nws tawm **rau** nram   liaj   lawm.*
    day   this 3P   go out to   place below paddy   already
    She went (out and) down *to* the paddy field already today.

b   *Es   nws nqa   mus **rau** kuv.*
    and so   3P   carry away to   I
    And she brought it *to* me.

c   *Kuv thov   koj tuaj ua **rau** kuv.*
    I   request you come do for   I
    Please do it *for* me.

The second *rau* occurs as a preposition marking location phrases and seeming to mean 'right at', as in 3.13.

3.13 *Kuv muab cov khoom no cia **rau** hauv koj tsev puas tau?*
      I   to hand group goods this keep right at inside you house whether able
      Can I leave these with you to keep (for me) *in* your house?

As a main verb *rau* is fairly restricted and seems to reflect the general process of historical change from verb to preposition. It has an inherent feature of 'insertion' and occurs in sentences such as 3.11 and in the idiomatic expression 'put on shoes':

3.14 *Kuv tau **rau**   **khau.***
      Ï   got put on shoe
      I have put on my shoes.

Black Tai appears to have an active synchronic derivation between the verb 'put into/onto' and the preposition 'into, onto':

3.15a *Hau⁴ tsaŋ² **sɤɯ²** hai¹   vai⁶ bɯən¹ nɯɯŋ⁵ bɯən¹ la:i¹.*   (Fippinger
BlkT   we   then   put-into container leave month one   month more   1975:154)
       Then we put it in the storage jug and leave it for a month or more.

   b *Man⁴ thim³pɯ⁵ **sɤɯ²** nam⁶ siə¹   bau² kin¹.*   (Fippinger 1975:144)
      3P   hurl   into   water become gone not   eat
      He hurled the fruit into the water without eating it.

Synchronic derivation of a location locus preposition from the location locus verb 'be at, stay' is found in most of the languages in the area; for example:

3.16a *Kuv niam   tsis **nyob** hauv tsev.*
Hmg   I   mother not   be at   inside house
       My mother *is* not *at* home.

   b ***Nyob** hauv lawv lub vaj   muaj tsib tug   npua.*
      at   inside they area garden have five animate pig
      There are five pigs *in* their garden.

3.17a *Khǎw yaŋ **yùu** nay rooŋsǐi.*
Thai   3P   stil be at   inside mill
       She's still *at* the mill.

   b *Arúnee tham-ŋaan **yùu** thîi   Kruŋthêep.*
      Arunee   work   at   place at Bangkok
      Arunee works *in* Bangkok.

3.18a *Tôi sē   **ở**   đó   đến   cuối năm.*
Viet   I   Future be at there reaching end   year
       I'll *be* there until the end of the year.

b *Lan đễ kẹo ở trên bàn.*
Lan place candy at top table
Lan put the candy *on* the table.

Another location locus verb in Hmong, the comitative verb *nrog* 'be with', has rather limited use as a verb; it is strictly locational and does not mean 'accompany', only *'be at* some place *with* somebody', as in 3.19a. Its derived comitative preposition can occur, however, with verbs of locomotion, 3.19b, and verbs of action, 3.19c, and in addition occurs with the animate sources of certain transitive source verbs, as in 3.19d. As shown, the comitative phrase always occurs before the verb with which it has a comitative case relation.

3.19a *Koj* **nrog** *nraim peb.* (Bertrais 1979:232)
Hmg you be with steadfast we
Stay with us.

b *Kuv yuav* **nrog** *nws mus.*
I want with 3P go
I want to go *with* her.

c *Koj mus* **nrog** *kuv tus txiv noj mov*
you go with I anim. husband eat rice
You go eat *with* my husband.

d *Kuv* **nrog** *koj txais peb duas nyiaj puas tau?*
I with you borrow three dollar money whether able
May I borrow three dollars from you?

3.2 Hmong source phrases

Hmong source phrases are distinct from the source phrases of other South-East Asian languages. In Hmong there is no preposition meaning 'from'. Spatial source phrases do not have a preposition and appear internally to be location phrases.

When source phrases occur with non-terminus goal verbs (e.g. 'go, come, return, descend, ascend, run, carry, send', etc.), they must be followed by another goal verb (3.20), a goal adverb (3.21a) or a goal prepositional phrase (3.22-23). 3.21b, c and d show that without the goal adverb following the locative phrase, the location phrase is marked as goal by the goal verb *nkag* 'crawl'. In 3.21b, which does not have a direction adverb, the preferred meaning is goal because of the marking on *nkag;* however it can also be location, but never source.

3.20 *Noog ya* **hauv** *av tshoom.*
bird fly inside earth take off
The bird flew up *from the ground.*

3.21a *Nws nkag* **hauv** *txaj mus.*
3P crawl inside bedroom away
He climbed *out of the bedroom* (through the window).

b *Nws nkag **hauv txaj.***
3P   crawl inside bedroom
He went (off) / crawled *into the bedroom.*   or
He crawled (around) *inside the bedroom.*
*He crawled out of the bedroom

c *Nws nkag mus **hauv txaj.***
3P   crawl away inside bedroom
He went (off)/crawled (there) *into the bedroom.*

d *Nws nkag tuaj **hauv taxj.***
3P   crawl hither inside bedroom
He crawled (/entered) hither *into the bedroom.*

3.22   *Lub tsheb mus **ntawm Moos Loob** rau tom Xeev.*
thing vehicle go   place at Luang Prabang to   there Xieng Khouang
The bus goes *from Luang Prabang* over to Xieng Khouang.

3.23   *Lawv tshais yub   txiv **hauv vaj**   mus rau tom teb.*
they   move seedling fruit inside garden away to   there field
They're transplanting fruit seedlings *from the garden* to the orchard.

The words *mus* in 3.21a and c and *tuaj* in 3.21d are often translated as their source verbs 'go' and 'come', but that implies sequential or simultaneous action, whereas there is a single action here and the function is to indicate the direction of the motion verb *nkag* not to state an additional action. As an attribute to the main verb, its function is clearly that of an adverb. (See Section 3.3 for synchronic derivation of such adverbs.)

Source phrases with inherent source locus verbs do not require a following goal element since they acquire their source marking from the verb; compare 3.24 with 3.21 and 3.25 with 3.23.

3.24   *Nws dim **hauv txaj**   lawm.*
3P   escape inside bedroom already
He escaped *from the bedroom.*
*He escaped (in)to the bedroom.

3.25   *Nws rho   nroj **nram**   **vaj.***
3P   extract weeds place below garden
She's weeding the garden (extracting weeds *from the garden*).

The transitive source verb *txais-tau* takes an animate source:

3.26   *Kuv txais-tau   ib tsab   ntawv **ntawm kuv tus muam.***
I   receive-get one message paper place at I   anim. sister
I received a letter *from my sister.*

The animate source phrases of this class of transitive source verbs can be marked by the comitative preposition, as in 3.27. (For more detailed discussion of Hmong source phrases see Clark 1980a.)

3.27   Kuv **nrog kuv tus   muam** txais-tau ib   tsab ntawv.
I   with I   anim. sister   receive   one letter
I received a letter *from my sister.*

3.3 Synchronically derived adverbs

The same set of intransitive goal locus verbs which can produce prepositions is, on the whole, the same set which can produce adverbs which occur as attributes to locus verbs.

In the following examples, the a sentences give the intransitive locus verbs from which the locus adverbs in the b sentences are derived. The verbs in the b sentences are also inherent locus verbs whose local direction is made more specific by the attributive locus adverbs.

3.28a *Tamsim no   peb* **mus** *pem   roob   tsis tau.*
Hmg   moment this we   go   place above mountain not able
    We can't **go** up to the mountains now.

   b *Nws* **nqa** *rab txuas   mus lawm.*
    3P   carry tool brush knife away already
    He *carried* the brush knife *away.*

3.29a *Yog. Naghmo kuv tus   tub* **txog** *nram   Moos Loob   lawm.*
Hmg   be   yesterday I   anim. son reach place below Luang Prabang already
    Yes, my son *arrived* down at Luang Prabang yesterday.

   b *Koj* **tuaj txog**   *tabsis kuv twb   muab nyom txiav tag   lawm.*
    you come reaching but   I   already take   grass cut   finished already
    You've *come* (finally *got here*) but I've already finished cutting the grass.

3.30a *Chăn khəəy* **maa** *thîi-nîi lέεw.*
Thai   I   used to come here   already
    I have *come* here before.

   b *Khăw* **klàp maa** *lέεw.*   *Khăw* **klàp** *pay   lέεw.*
    3P   return hither already   3P   return   away   already
    She *came back* already.   She *went back* already. (V *pay* = 'go')

3.31a *Kee* **mɔɔk** *kənlaeŋ nih thəə qay?*   (Huffman 1970:229)
Khm   3P PL come place   this do   what
    What have they *come* for?

   b *Tuuk nuh dək tnam* **mɔɔk** *pii   kəmpuəŋ-caam.* (Huffman 1970:183)
    boat that carry tobacco hither   from Kampong Cham
    That boat is *bring*ing tobacco from Kampong Cham.

3.32a *Tôi sẽ* **về**   *Huế ăn Tết.*
Viet   I   will return Hue eat festival
    I'll *return* to Hue to celebrate the New Year.

b *Lan mua một bưu-ảnh gởi về.*
Lan buy one postcard send back
Lan bought a picture postcard to *send back (home)*.

3.33a *Lan xuống nhà bếp nấu cơm.*
Viet Lan go down house kitchen cook rice
Lan *went down* to the kitchen to cook a meal.

b *Mời cô ngồi xuống*
invite Miss sit down
Please, Miss, *sit down*.

In the Black Tai sentence in 3.34 the first *ʔoʔ²* appears to be an adverb while the second instance is clearly a verb. In hyphenating one gloss and not the other, it seems Fippinger himself (1975:153-4) wishes to make a distinction between the two.

3.34 *ʔɛ² sui¹ man⁴ ʔoʔ² siə¹, haː⁴ man⁴ ko³ bau² ʔoʔ².*
BlkT want push 3P go-out become-gone but 3P – not go out
He tried to *push* the child *off* his lap, but the child didn't *get off*.

The Hmong restricted transitive locus verb **rau** 'put into/onto', discussed above in Section 3.1, which has a very active corresponding derived locus preposition, also has an infrequently occurring corresponding locus adverb:

3.35 *No mam li npaus zaub rau.*
Hmg then break vegetable into
Then, *break* the vegetables *into* (it).

The Vietnamese transitive locus verb *cho* 'give', 3.36a, has a corresponding locus adverb, 3.36b, which has a definite benefactive meaning, in keeping with the features of the verb.

3.36a *Làm ơn cho tôi một cái đẹp hơn.*
Viet do favor give I one thing pretty be more
Please *give* me a prettier one.

b *Để tôi viết cho.* (D.H.Nguyen 1966:68)
leave I write for
Let me *write* it *for* you.

4. SYNTACTIC CAUSATIVES

4.1 Causative verbs

A syntactic causative construction is one with a transitive verb, such as 'do', 'make', 'cause', 'allow', which has an animate (usually Agent) subject and an obligatory embedded sentence. The subject of the embedded sentence is coreferential with the semantic object of the causative verb and the whole has the meaning of that object being operated on with respect to the embedded verb. The English sentences

> She ***made*** him *cry.*
> He ***caused*** her *to have an accident.*
> I'm going to ***have*** her *repair this.*

have causative verbs which take embedded sentences. Object marking on pronouns and the requirement of some causative verbs for non-finite verbs in their embedded sentences indicate that, in English, the semantic object of the causative verb is also its grammatical object and not grammatically part of the embedded sentence. However, until I find evidence to the contrary in South-East Asian languages, I will treat the semantic object of the causative verb as the grammatical subject of the embedded finite verb:

4.1	*Kuv*	*xav*	***kom***	*koj*	*tuaj*	*mus*	*nrog*	*peb*	*noj*	***peb-caug***	*thiab.*
Hmg	I	want	cause	you	come	away	with	we	eat	thirty	also

I want to *have you come eat the End-of-Year Festival with us.*

4.2 Mon-Khmer causative affixation

The English and Hmong sentences above are analytic constructions with simple causative verbs, that is, the verbs are without affixation or compounding. Syntactic (analytic) causatives appear to be spreading in mainland South-East Asia. Although most of the languages discussed here do not have affixes in their modern forms, there are presumed vestiges of affixation in many of the languages, and affixation, including causative affixes, has been common in Mon-Khmer languages. However, there is strong evidence throughout the area for a tendency to prefer syntactic rather than affixial means to express causation. It appears that affixation is no longer productive in some languages such as Khmer (Huffman 1970: 311) and Tibeto-Burman Sgaw Karen (Ratanakul 1981:156).[5]

Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of Viet Nam illustrate this tendency. Katu (Katuic, north central Viet Nam) has a very productive affix system, allowing even a double prefixal causative (Costello 1966:76):

4.2	*Ku*	***pa/ka - chet***	*anuq.*
Katu	I	Caus.- die	dog

I cause the dog to die.

4.3	*Ku*	***pa -***	***ka -***	***chet***	*mei*	*anuq.*
Katu	I	Caus.-	Caus.-	die	you	dog

I cause you to cause the dog to die.

In Chrau (Bahnaric, south central Viet Nam) 'the use of affixes is fast dying out', with some roots and affixed forms being interchangeable. Both an affixial causative and a syntactic causative are in usage. The affixed form (4.4) is a direct causative and the unaffixed form (4.5), occurring with the verb 'make, cause', is an indirect causative (D.M.Thomas 1969:90-2).

4.4 *Vơn ta -   tao   con-se.*
Chr   we   Caus.- stand child
We stand the child up.

4.5 *Vơn ôp   con-se tao.*
Chr   we   cause child   stand
We make the child stand.

Jeh (Bahnaric, mid-central Viet Nam) requires a causative verb 'do, make, cause' and a preposition with the recipient of the causative action, sometimes has an optional causative prefix and often has a resultative phrase, as in 4.6. However, the entirely syntactic causative sentence in 4.7 is preferred to the affixed causative (Gradin 1970: 16-17); note the result complement marker in the embedded sentence.

4.6 *Ěn pǐ (pa-)kachièt lòi   ěn, ěn jeng   kachièt.*   (Gradin 1970:15)
Jeh   3P do Caus.- die   to (detrimental) 3P 3P become die
(No complete translation)

4.7 *Ěn pǐ   dòh au la   nham.*   (Gradin 1970: 17)
Jeh   3P make for   I Result cry

Sedang (close to Jeh) also has both prefixal and syntactic causatives:

4.8 *Kơdrai mơ - dot   chu.*   (Smith 1979:148)
Sdng woman Caus.- stop? (Intrans.) pig
The woman stops the pig.

4.9 *Á pro eh lém.*   (Smith 1979:113)
Sdng I do   you beautiful?
I'll make you good.

In addition to active or vestigial causative prefixes and the causative verb 'make, do', Mon-Khmer languages also have a syntactic causative construction using the verb 'give', meaning 'A *let* B do something', often with a benefactive connotation:

4.10 *U heq vu   an ǎnh gǔq simơ bây S bây cô   C.*
Chr   at here people let I   stay same with S and grandfather C
They let me stay together with S. and Mr. C.   (D.M.Thomas 1978:289)

Of Khmer, Huffman (1970:311) states that there are a large number of affixed words but that these affixes are 'frozen' - verbal affixation is no longer productive in the modern language. He gives (312-315) the causative affixes and some of the derived words; following are some examples.

p-	*pkaət*	create, cause	←	*kaət*	be born
baN-	*baŋkaət*	create, give birth to	←	*kaət*	be born
	baŋriən	teach, cause to learn	←	*riən*	study, learn
-Vm-	*samlap*	kill	←	*slap*	die
	tumlĕəq	fell, overthrow	←	*tlĕəq*	fall

In Khmer syntactic causative constructions, the causative verb frequently occurs with the verb/preposition *qaoy* 'give; to,for', as in 4.11 and 4.12. The causative verb can itself be *qaoy*, as in 4.13.

4.11 ..., qaac **bəndaal** **qaoy**   slap kamiən.   (Huffman 1970:292)
Khm   have ability cause, lead to for/to/give? die   be possible
      It can even cause death (can lead to causing to die, it does happen).

4.12 *Hael-tik* **twəə** **qaoy** *kñom kliən*   *baay nah!*   (Huffman 1970:203)
Khm   swim water make for/to I   hungry for rice very much
      Swimming really makes me hungry!

4.13 *Něəq-naa miən rook-claaŋ*   *kee* **qaoy** *tiw deik tae mənĕəq qaeŋ.*
Khm   who   have contagious disease they give go   sleep by   oneself
      Whoever has a contagious disease they put in isolation.   (Huffman 1970:293)

4.3 South-East Asian syntactic causatives

The modern languages of Vietnamese, Chinese, Hmong and Tai have no verbal affixation. All causatives are what may be considered syntactic causatives. As in Khmer syntactic causatives, Thai and Vietnamese also use 'do for' and 'give' in causative expressions, sometimes the embedded sentences being introduced by prepositions:

4.14 *Pùk* **tham** **hây** *Deeŋ ramkhaan.*   (Kullavanijaya 1974:315)
Thai Pook make (for) Dang irritated
      Pook made Dang feel irritated.

4.15 *Deeŋ ca? rák Pùk* **hây** *klûmcay thammay?* (Kullavanijaya 1974:271)
Thai Dang will love Pook cause worry   why
      Why does Dang make himself restless by loving Pook?

4.16 *Nó*   **làm cho** *ba   má   lo   nghĩ nhiều.*
Viet 3P(Inferior) do   for   father mother worry think be much
      He worries his parents very much.

4.17 *Ngày mai*   *anh*   **cho** *tôi nghỉ làm   nhé!*
Viet day   tomorrow brother give I   rest to work alright?
      Let me take off from work tomorrow, alright?

The Tai Nung sentence in 4.18 uses a causative verb. Saul and Wilson's glosses imply that *ma* 'come' is the embedded verb. I suspect rather that *lohng* 'go down' is the embedded verb and *ma* is the derived directional adverb 'hither'. Such an analysis is more consistent with the usual word order patterns.

4.18 *Lẽo mệ fã chihng* **páht** *óhng cɯhn tế lohng ma.*   (Saul and Wilson
Nung then Clsf sky then   force Clsf. person that down come   1980:110)
      Then the sky forced him to come down.

The following Hmong sentences are examples with some causative verbs. Jaisser (1984:48ff and 1986:250-257) would claim that the *kom* in such sentences as 4.20, where it is not the first verb, is not a verb but a 'complementiser'. I do not recognise complementisers as a word class; complementisers may be nouns, verbs, prepositions or perhaps conjunctions. However, Jaisser could be correct in claiming that *kom* in certain structures is not a verb, although her tests for verbness discount the possibility of non-finite verbs. It may turn out in these cases that *kom* is a conjunction or a preposition which requires an embedded sentence instead of a noun phrase, in either case derived from verb *kom*. For now, I am treating all occurrences as though *kom* were the verb 'cause'.

4.19   *Lawv **kom** kuv mus kawm ntawv, **kom** kuv hais tau lus   Askiv.*
       they cause I   go   study book   cause I   speak able word English
       They make me go to school so that I'll be able to speak English.

4.20   *Kuv zoo-siab **kom** koj muab tso li ntawd saib puas   yuav muaj neeg...*
       I   happy   cause you take put as that see whether will   have person
       I'm happy to have you put it (the price) at that and see if someone

In 4.21 *kom* has an embedded stative verb and this is a causative-resultative clause.

4.21   *Koj ho pab kuv muag **kom** tag   nawb.*
       you then help I   sell   cause finished sure
       You please help me by selling all of them.

Compare 4.20 above with 4.22, which has the causative verb *cia* 'allow'. The transitive locus verbs *pub* 'give (for free, as a gift)' and *muab* 'give, hand to, take' can also be used as causatives meaning 'to allow'.

4.22   *Kuv zoo-siab **cia**   koj hloov raws   li kuv hais ped.*
       I   happy   allow you change according as I   say   there above
       I'm happy to have you change it as I said above. (in a letter)

4.23   *Nws txiv tsis **pub/muab**   nws mus.*
       3P   male not give   3P   go
       Her father won't let her go.

4.24   *Sau   ntawv mus **pub rau** kuv paub   thiab.*
       write paper away give for I   know   also
       Write a letter here to let me know.

In 4.24 *pub* can be replaced by the 'fringe' causatives *hais* 'say', *qhia* 'tell', and *teb* 'answer', or one can say simply *sau rau kuv paub* 'write for I know', which may be considered to be a causative prepositional phrase. The verb *thov* 'request' as a simple transitive verb is a source verb which takes an animate source. It more commonly occurs as a weak-force causative verb:

4.25   *(Kuv) **thov**   koj txhob xa paj-ntaub   tuaj   ntxiv lawm.*
       I   request you don't send needlework hither add to already
       {Please don't/I ask you not to} send any more needlework.

5. SERIAL VERBS

Serial verbs in the languages of South-East Asia are referred to in many papers and are discussed specifically in Li and Thompson 1973 for Chinese, in Filbeck 1975 for Thai and in Owensby 1986 for Hmong. (Also see Ratanakul 1981 (Karen).) I am going to confine my discussion of serial verbs to those serialised verbs sharing a single grammatical subject and indicating simultaneous or immediate consecutive action or state. I do not agree with Fuller (1986: 261) that serialisation involves equi-NP deletion, i.e. the assumption of a deep NP (never actually occurring) which being identical with an actually occurring NP is deleted. Rather, I assume that most secondary verbs are non-finite, so do not share the same environment as finite verbs. I do not consider causative constructions as discussed in the preceding section to contain serial verbs, nor will I discuss sentences, as Filbeck (1975:120ff) does, where the second 'verb' could be analysed as an adverb or preposition (see Section 3 above), as in 5.1 and 5.2.

5.1	*Dèk*	***tham***	***dii.***			(Filbeck 1975:113)
Thai	child	do	good			

The child is behaving well.

5.2	*Sùk*	***aw***	*naŋsĭi*	***maa***	*bâan.*	(Filbeck 1975:120)
Thai	Sook	take	book	come (hither(to)?)	house	

Sook brought the book home.

In a sense, most serial verb sentences are ambiguous, as Li and Thompson (1973:98) illustrate:

5.3	*Nĭ*	***gùi-***	*xialai*	***qĭu***	*Zhāng-sān.*
Chi	you	kneel	down	beg	Zhang-san

       a. You knelt down in order to beg Zhang-san.   (Purpose)
       b. You knelt down and then begged Zhang-san.   (Consecutive action)
       c. You knelt down begging Zhang-san.   (Simultaneous action)
       d. You knelt down and begged Zhang-san.   (Alternating action)

However I believe that, with the possible exception of purposive meaning, this is a matter of interpretive ambiguity not grammatical ambiguity.

I will show here that Hmong has the kind of serial verbs found in the Chinese sentence in 5.3 and in the Thai, Nung, Vietnamese and Khmer sentences following.

5.4	*Dèk*	***wîŋ***	***pay***	*sĭi*	*khanŏm.*	(Filbeck 1975:113)
Thai	child	run	go	buy	candy	

The child ran to buy candy.

5.5	*Dèk*	***wîŋ***	***klàp***	***pay***	*sĭi*	*khanŏm.*	(Filbeck 1975:113)
Thai	child	run	return	go	buy	candy	

The child returned running to buy candy.

Again Filbeck has analysed as a verb a word which may be possible to analyse as an adverb; that is, *klàp* might be the adverb 'back', in which case a more precise translation would be 'ran back to buy candy'. The same possibility applies for Khmer *mɔɔk* in 5.8, giving the meaning 'bring seedrice'.

5.6   *Vahng tế chỉhng* **khừhn pay kỉhn.**   (Saul and Wilson 1980:108)
Nung boy   that then   ascend go   eat
        The boy went up (the tree) to eat.

5.7   *Tôi rất **hân-hạnh   được   gặp** cô.*
Viet I   very be honoured be able to meet Miss
        I'm very happy to meet you.

5.8   *Kee* **yook** *srəw-puuc* **mɔɔk** *saap knoŋ tnaal*   (Huffman 1970:341)
Khm they take   rice seed come sow   inside seedbed
        They take seedrice and sow it in the nursery-plot.

Probably only certain stative verbs can serialise and in such cases it appears that the stative verb must be the first verb, as in the two first verbs in 5.7, and in 5.9 which has two sets of serial verbs. It may be that the last serial verb in 5.9 is a resultative verb giving the meaning '(your action) making (the sum) $20'; in which case *ua* could not be considered to be a serial verb since it would not share a grammatical subject with *muab* and *tso*.

5.9   *Kuv* **zoo-siab** *cia   neb* **muab tso ua**   *neeskaum duas.*
Hmg I   happy   allow you2 take   put make twenty   dollar
        I'll be happy for you to put it at $20.

A common verb serialisation in the area is the use of a (sometimes instrumental) transitive verb meaning 'take' (in Khmer, Thai and Hmong) or the instrumental verb 'use' (in Vietnamese, Thai and Chinese) as the initial verb, with that verb's object occurring before the serialised verb(s). This is shown in 5.8-9 and 3.29b above and in 5.10-12.

5.10 *Nws* **muab** *dej   txias* **ntxuav.**
Hmg 3P   take   water cold wash
        She washed (her face) with cold water.

5.11a *Sùk **aw** máy **maa sâaŋ** tó?.*   (Filbeck 1975:113)
Thai Sook take wood come build able
        Sook brought wood to build a table.

b *Phom   **cháy** mĩit **tàt** yâa.*   (David Bradley, pers.comm.)
   I   use   knife cut grass
        I use a knife to cut the grass. / I cut the grass with a knife.

5.12 *Zhāng-sān* **yòng** *kuàizi*   **chī-fàn.**   (Li and Thompson 1973:97)
Chi Zhang-san use   chopsticks eat (rice)
        Zhang-san eats with chopsticks.

The following sentences are more examples of serial verbs in Hmong.

5.13 *Noog **ya tsaws** hauv av lawm.*
bird fly land inside earth already
The bird {flew to/landed on} the ground.

5.14 *Kuv **rov-qab** {xa /muab} rau koj.*
I return send hand to you
I'll return it to you.

5.15 *Thiab **mus kawm** ntawv tos txoj haujlwm ntawd.*
and go study book wait length work that one
And I go to school while I'm waiting for that job.

5.16 *Wb **coj** lub kaus **kwv** tiv tshav-ntuj.*
we2 carry along thing umbrella shoulder carry avoid sunshine
We took along an umbrella (by shoulder) to protect us from the sun.

5.17 *Nws **mus coj** pojniam tsis **tsum**.* (Bertrais 1979:475)
3P go fetch wife not get
He went without success to fetch a wife.

I will not discuss here verb series in which the first (main) verb is an 'auxiliary' verb since this is a general phenomenon rather than areal. In 5.18 both *tau* and *yuav* are auxiliary verbs. Also, it would seem that serialisation with the first verb being 'want', 'know', 'help', etc., is general rather than areal. In Hmong these verbs can serialise with each other, as in 5.19, but again this is perhaps not distinctive.

5.18 *Peb **tau ncaim** nej mus **tau yuav muaj** ib lub hlis no lawm.*
we got separated youPL away got will have one extent month this already
We've been separated from you one month already.

5.19 *Peb tsis **paub pab muag** paj-ntaub nawb.*
we not know help sell needlework sure
We don't know how to help sell needlework!

6. EXISTENTIAL AND POSSESSIVE SENTENCES

Many of the languages of China and South-East Asia share a characteristic way of handling existential and possessive constructions. What appears to be the same word, 'have', is used to state both the existence of something (somewhere) and the state of something being possessed by somebody/thing else. Although the two are phonologically identical and closely related semantically, they are separate lexical items with slightly different semantic values and distinct grammatical environments.

The possessive 'have' is a transitive verb whose grammatical subject is the possessor and whose grammatical object is the possessed entity, the entity whose existence in a state is being

described by the verb 'have' and therefore stands in a Patient case relation to the verb. The existential 'have' is a subjectless verb with a Patient grammatical object and a location Locus or a Time noun phrase implied or present in discourse if not present in the same sentence.

The following sentences illustrate the areal patterns of possessive constructions (6.1-5) and existential constructions (6.6-10) for Hmong, Thai, Khmer, Vietnamese and Chinese.

6.1 *Lis Maiv* **muaj** *Tooj Pov rab txuas.*
Hmg Lee Mai have Tong Pao tool brush knife
Mai Lee has Pao Tong's knife.

6.2 *Pùk* **mii** *nɔ́ɔŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ khon.*   (Kullavanijaya 1974:139)
Thai Pook have sister two person
Pook has two sisters.

6.3 *Kñom* **miən** *prədap krup baep.*   (Huffman 1970:215)
Khm I have tool every kind
I have all kinds of tools.

6.4 *Mọi người đều* **có** *nhà ở.*
Viet every person severally have house stay
Everybody has a place to live.

6.5 *Tā* **yǒu** *sān ge háizi.*   (Li and Thompson 1981:510)
Chi 3P have three Clsf. child
S/He has three children.

6.6 *Nyob hauv lawv lub vaj* **muaj** *ib tug npua.*
Hmg at inside they area garden have one anim. pig
In their garden there's a pig.

6.7 ***Mii*** *naŋsɨi sɔ̌ɔŋ lêm bon tó?.*   (Kullavanijaya 1974:24)
Thai have book two volume top table
There are two books on the table.

6.8 *Nɨw psaa nih* **miən** *mənuh craən nah.*   (Huffman 1970:54)
Khm at market this have person be much very much
There are a lot of people at this market.

6.9 ***Có*** *một vài vấn-đề khó.*
Viet have one several topic difficult
There are a few problems.

6.10 *(Zài) chōuti-li* **yǒu** *hěn duō yóupiào.*   (Li and Thompson 1981:510)
Chi at drawer in have very much stamp
There are lots of stamps in the drawer.

Two more possessive sentences in Hmong, one with a location Locus:

6.11   *Yog kuv* **muaj** *nyiag,... tabsis yog kuv tsis* **muaj** *nyiag xwb.*
Hmg   be   I   have   money but   be   I   not   have   money only
  If I had money... but the fact is I don't have any money at all.

6.12   *Nws* **muaj** *peb   lub   ntim   hauv   nws   lub   hnab-thoom.*
Hmg   3P   have   three thing bowl   inside 3P   thing shoulderbag
  She has three bowls in her bag.

The possessor can be inanimate (according to my analysis (Clark 1982b)):

6.13   *Peb cov   paj-ntaub   uas   xa   tuaj   no* **muaj** *peb   tswv.*
Hmg   we   group needlework which send hither here have   three owner
  Our pieces of needlework sent herewith have three separate owners.

6.14   *Khùat* **mii**   *nám.*   (Kullavanijaya 1974:142)
Thai   bottle have water
  The bottle has water (in it).

6.15   *Nhà   chúng tôi ở   có   máy   lạnh.*
Viet   house Plural I   stay have machine cold
  The house we live in has an air conditioner.

The sentence in 6.16 is a simple existential sentence while the sentences in 6.17 and 6.18 have a caseless existential 'have' which, instead of an object, has an embedded sentence. This 'have' states the existence of the action or state of the embedded verb - a characteristic feature of existential verbs (e.g. both *yog's* in 6.11).

6.16   *Tim   ko   tsis* **muaj** *cov   Hmoob thiab Nplog.*
Hmg   place across there not   have   group Hmong and   Lao
  Over there, there aren't any Hmong or Lao people.

6.17   *Tejzaum* **muaj** *tubsab nyiag ib   thawv   paj-ntaub   lawm.*
Hmg   maybe   have   thief   steal one box   needlework already
  Maybe a thief stole a box of needlework.

6.18   *Đăng* **gĕh** *vu   lấy hiếp   ănh gĕh.* (D.M.Thomas 1978:264)
Chrau not   have body any persecute I   able
  There won't be anyone to persecute me.

7. YES-NO QUESTION SENTENCES

7.1 The alternative proposition pattern

Many of the languages of mainland South-East Asia share a similar device for asking yes-no questions, i.e. questions which request an affirmative or negative response rather than other information:

7.1 Is she going to Chiang-mai?   (Yes, she is. *or* No, she isn't.)
     Do you have any rice?   (Yes, I do.   No, I don't.)

Such questions tend to take the form of alternative propositions. That is, the verb put into question is stated in a positive proposition and then is opposed by a negative proposition of the same verb. One type of yes-no question in Chinese is an explicit example of the notion of alternative propositions. The sentence in 7.2 has first a positive proposition of the verb 'want', followed by a negative proposition, 'not want', of the same verb. As shown, the appropriate answer to such a question is the affirmation or negation of the verb.

7.2	*Tā*	**yào**	**bu yào**	*mǎi mǐ?*		*(Tā)*	*yào*	*(mǎi).*		*(Tā)*	*bu yào*	*(mǎi).*
Chi	3P	want	not want	buy rice		3P	want buy			3P	not want	buy
	Does she want to buy rice?					Yes, she does.				No, she doesn't.		

Christian Bauer (personal communication) says that it is possible to have a V-not-V question in the Mon language spoken in Thailand but not that spoken further west, in Burma – another indication of the areal nature of this pattern. He gives the example in 7.3, with the preverbal negative, but states that this V-not-V form is 'un-Mon' and is a recent grammatical loan. Since this question structure is also un-Tai, perhaps it is borrowed from Tibeto-Burman Yi neighbors to the north.

7.3	*Klɜŋ*	*hù?*	*klɜŋ?*
Mon	come	Neg	come
	Are you coming, or not?		

This same form, V-not-V, is permissible in Hmong, as in 7.4. Again, the response is affirmation or negation of the verb in question. A northern Hmong language, eastern Guizhou Miao as cited in Wang 1985 (70), also makes use of the V-not-V pattern, as in 7.5, in which the 'want ... or not' is presumably implied by the locutionary force of the sentence final particle rather than by the V-not-V pattern (B. Hong-Fincher (pers.comm), from the Chinese translation).

7.4	*Koj*	**mus**	**tsis**	**mus?**		*Mus*	*(nawb).*		*Tsis*	*mus.*
Hmg	you	go	not	go		go	sure		not	go
	Are you going?									

7.5	*Moŋ*[55]	**moŋ**[11]	**a**[55]	**moŋ**[11]	*nen*[35]?
Miao	you	go	not	go	SFP
	Do you want to go or not?				

However, in Xieng Khouang White Hmong this form is not very common; there is a strong preference for making a more explicit alternation by separating the positive and negative propositions with the alternative (disjunctive) 'or', as in 7.6 and 7.7. Xieng Khouang speakers differ as to whether this is a particularly emphatic expression.

7.6	*Koj*	**mus**	**los**	**tsis**	**mus?**
	you	go	or	not	go
	Are you going (or not)?				

7.7   *Neb kho   tau lawm   los   tseem tsis tau   (kho)?*
      you2 repair able already or   still   not   able repair
      Have you two been able to repair it yet?

In fact, most of the languages in the area permit the use of a full explicit positive-negative alternation with the alternative 'or': V-or-not-V, where the verbs are identical, the 'or' is the customary 'or' in either-or questions and the 'not' is the customary negative used before the first verb in negative statements as in 7.8 (from PXNNH:37).

7.8   *Tus   neeg   pluag tsis   muaj dabtsi noj tsis muaj dabtsi hnav.*
      anim. person poor not   have what eat not have what wear
      Poor people have nothing to eat and nothing to wear.

Although in Hmong the full alternating pattern V-or-not-V is quite usual and may be without particular emphasis, in other languages such a pattern does have particular emphasis. Nevertheless, it is clear that this full pattern represents an areal pattern, and it has been suggested by T'sou (n.d.) and expanded as a hypothesis by myself (Clark 1985a), that this pattern is an underlying historical pattern with different parts of the pattern dropping out of use in different languages. The evidence presented here (and especially in Clark 1985a) gives strong support to this hypothesis.

An overall view of individual language use of this areal pattern is given in Table 7.1. XX marks the more dominant patterns for given languages. More data to illustrate the various patterns in different languages follows.

When the V-not form is used in Lao and Central (Bangkok) Thai the negative undergoes a tone change. In fact, the change has become lexicalised in Central Thai long enough for the two negatives – preverbal regular negative and postverbal question marker – to be written differently in the script in accordance with the difference in pronunciation (Tony Diller, pers. comm.). Examples in the Tai languages follow, with the straight negative sentences in a and the questions in b.

7.9 a *Kháw   (ca)   mây súu   khâaw(-săan).*   (Tony Diller,p.c.)
Thai 3P   Future not   buy   rice   milled rice
      They're not going to buy rice.

    b *Kháw (ca)   súu   khâaw(-săan)   mây?*   (Tony Diller,p.c.)
      3P   Future   buy   rice   not
      Are they going to buy rice?

7.10a *Láaw bɔ̄ɔ si   pay Lŭaŋ Phābaaŋ.*
Lao   3P   not Future go   Luang Prabang
      She's not going to go to Luang Prabang.

    b *Láaw si   pay Lŭaŋ Phābaaŋ bɔɔ?*
      3P   Future go   Luang Prabang not
      Is she going to go to Luang Prabang?

Table 7.1 Utilisation of the V-or-not-V question pattern

		V or not V	V not V	V or not	V not	V or	V V
Tai	Thai	X		X	XX*	XX	
	Lao	X		?	XX*		
	Black Tai	?			XX		
	Nung			X	XX		
AA	Vietnamese	X		X	XX		
	Khmer	X		X(Neg†)	XX(Neg†)	XX	
	Chrau	?		X	XX		
M-Y	Hmong	XX	X			X	
S-T	St.Chinese	X	XX				
	Some T-B	X	XX				X

* tone difference in 'not'
† an irregular negative

7.11a ... **bau²** **mi⁴** *saŋ¹* *ka:⁴* *lɯɯ¹*   (Fippinger 1975:151)
BlkTai   not   exist anything at   all
    There's nothing there at all.

  b **Hai¹** *tuk²* *he¹* **bau²** ?   (Fippinger 1975:157)
    go   cast net not
    Have you gone fishing?

7.12a *Cáu* *sạhm* *chông* **mi** **hảhn** *mɯhn.*   (Saul and Wilson 1980:47)
Nung I   also   then   not   see   3P
    I also didn't see him.

  b *Pộ* *kẻ* **hẻht** *áhn* *hơn* **mi?**   (Saul and Wilson 1980:116)
    man old make Clsf house not
    Is uncle building a house?

In addition to the regular negative (7.13), Vietnamese has another negative 'not yet' which functions in the same way as the regular negative, as in 7.14.

7.13   *Chị* **biết** *đường đó* **không?**   *Biết.*   ***Không (biết).***
Viet   sister know road   that not   know   not   know
       Do you know that road?   Yes, I know it. No, I don't (know it).

7.14a *Anh   ấy đi chợ   **chưa** **về.***
Viet   brother that go market not yet return
       He went to the market and hasn't returned yet.

   b   *Anh   ấy đã **về**   nhà   **chưa?***   *Về   rồi.*   *Chưa   (về).*
       brother that Past return house not yet   return already   not yet return
       Has he returned home yet?   Yes, already.   Not yet.

In Chrau one of several postverbal question words is definitely a negative (also 6.18):

7.15a *Ănh **đăng conh** gŭq jŏq dông wŏq phŭng ...*   (D.M.Thomas 1978:291)
Chrau I   not   want stay long more more fear
       I don't want to stay any longer for fear ...

   b   *Pôp oh lĕt   camvŭm ănh nhai **gal đăng?***   (D.M.Thomas 1978:282)
       sibling hear word   I   speak right not
       Don't you think that's right (what I say)?

The V-not question form in Khmer is somewhat different in that the negative that occurs postverbally in yes-no questions never occurs before the verb. It does, however, occur in straightforward negative sentences, still after the verb and accompanying another negative which occurs before the verb. Huffman (1970:24) states that postverbal **tee** always has a negative connotation.

7.16a *Kñom **min trəw-kaa** kafei **tee***   (Huffman 1970:23)
Khm   I   not want   coffee Neg.
       I don't want any coffee.

   b   *Kñom kcəy   məkuu məɔk **baan tee?***   (Huffman 1970:150)
       I   borrow one pair hither able Neg.
       Could I borrow a pair?

According to T'sou (n.d.), at least two of the verb-final Tibeto-Burman languages have the V-or-not-V and the V-not-V patterns, as in 7.17 and 7.18, but what is especially interesting is that a yes-no question may be asked with only a duplication of the verb and no explicit expression of negation or alternation, shown in 7.19-20. All the Tibeto-Burman language examples are from T'sou n.d. and are Yi languages.

7.17   *Na dzu **bu no ma   bu?***
Nasu   you eat full or Neg. full
       Have you eaten fully or not?

7.18   *Na vi   **le   ma   le?***
Nasu   you elder sister come Neg. come
       Is your elder sister coming or not?

7.19   *A p'i*   *na sa*   *ti mu* **na** **na?**
Nasu mother-in-law you sweet fruit want want
      Mother-in-law, would you like some sweet fruits?

7.20   *Na ce*   *sI*   **so** **so?**
Sani you Chinese language learn learn
      Are you learning Chinese?

Tag questions – questions in which the two verbs are different – follow the respective patterns of alternation for individual languages: V^1, *or-not-*V^2 for Hmong and V^1,V^2-*not* for Vietnamese, Nung, and Khmer (and Chrau, 7.15b above). The tag verb is usually 'able' or 'correct, true'.

7.21   *Kuv* **muab** *rau koj lawm* **los tsis tau?**
Hmg I   hand   to   you already or   not got (from 'able')
      Did I give it to you already?

7.22   *Chị* **đọc** *bức*   *thơ* *này,* **được không?**
Viet sister read sheet letter this able   not
      Would you read this letter (please)?

(Without the pause (marked by the comma) this sentence would mean 'Are you able to read this letter?')

7.23   *Pộ kẻ* **hểht** *ấhn* *hơn* *sự* **mi?**   (Saul and Wilson 1980:117)
Nung man old make Clsf. house true not
      Uncle is making a house, isn't that true?

7.24   *Look* **miən** *baaŋ-pqoun buən nĕəq,* **mɛɛn tee?** (Huffman 1970:120)
Khm Mr have   siblings   four person true Neg.
      You have four brothers and sisters, right?

In Central Khmer, Central Thai, and at least southern Hmong, yes-no questions can use simply the alternative 'or' to suggest a negative proposition of the verb, with the particular emphasis indicated.

7.25   *Look* **tiw** *psaa* **rɨi?**   (Huffman 1973:501)
Khm Mr go   market or
      Are you going to the market (or someplace else)?

7.26   *Kháw* **pay** *talàat* **rɨ̌u?** (Tony Diller)
Thai 3P   go   market or
      So they're going to the market, eh?

7.27   *Koj* **pub**   *kuv xwb* **los?**
Hmg you give(as gift) I   only or
      Are you giving it just to *me*? / Are you giving it to me free?

In most Sino-Tibetan languages and the Mountain Mon-Khmer languages of Viet Nam, a typical yes-no question form is V-QuestionWord. In fact, this is the standard yes-no question form for Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages. There is some evidence to suggest that at least some of these question words are derived from negatives or possibly disjunctives.

7.2   Hmong preverbal question word

A yes-no question form most unusual in the area is the use of a question word preceding the verb which is being questioned. This form has high frequency in the White Hmong of Laos and occurs in at least two Mountain Mon-Khmer languages, Sedang and Bahnar. Smith (1979:107) gives *(a)hôm* as the regular question word for yes-no questions in Sedang. Interestingly, an affirmative answer is *hôm* 'yes'. The preverbal question word for Bahnar is *hăm* (Banker 1964:36,38).

7.28   *Eh   a hôm   hlo   rotám   me?*   (Smith 1979:107)
Sdg   you Ques.   see   boy   that
       Have you seen that boy?

Hmong *puas* 'whether' occurs only as a preverbal question word, never as a response, and appears not to be derivationally related to any other word or function. (Comparison with the Hmong dialects of Viet Nam and southwestern China may shed more light on this word.) In 7.29-30 the questions have the form Q-V; the same form is used in 7.31 as a tag question.

7.29   *Koj puas   muaj   ib   daim duab   muab rau kuv?*
Hmg   you whether have   one sheet picture hand to   I
       Do you have a picture you can give me?

7.30   *Tus   txiv   neeg   ntawd nws puas   haus   yeeb?*
       anim. male person that   3P   whether imbibe opium
       That man, does he smoke opium?

7.31   *Thov   koj   pab   nqa   los   rau kuv, puas   tau?*
       request you help carry hither to   I   whether able
       Please bring it to me, can you do that?

The Hmong preverbal question word sometimes occurs with the V-*or-not*-V pattern as Q-V-*or-not*-V, especially with the verb *tau* 'got, have been able to' (7.32). It can also occur in an indirect question, as in the second use in 7.33, where it is supplemented by V-*or-not*-V.

7.32   *Neb puas   tau muag peb cov   paj-ntaub   tag   (lawm) los tsis tau?*
       you2 whether got sell we group needlework finished already or not able
       Have you two been able to sell all our needlework (yet)?

7.33   *Koj puas   paub puas   yuav muaj neeg   yuav los tsis muaj?*
       you whether know whether will have person buy or not have
       Do you know *whether* there will be anyone who will buy (it) or not?

8. SOME OTHER GRAMMATICAL AREAL FEATURES

There are other grammatical areal features of mainland South-East Asia, a few of which I will discuss briefly: four-syllable idiomatic descriptive expressions, a verb of acquisition used as perfective aspect marker, a 'quotative' word derived from a particular kind of verb and used with other verbs of the same class to introduce a proposition, a particular type of synchronic derivation of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, and noun phrase zero anaphora.

8.1 Four-syllable idiomatic expressions

An interesting feature of these monosyllabic languages is what are called four-syllable idiomatic expressions by Liem (1970) and in Hmong *lus ua txwm* 'couplets'.[6] Such expressions as a rule have parallel first and third syllables and parallel second and fourth syllables. The parallels are in terms of same grammatical class; in addition, the first and third syllables are sometimes identical while the second and fourth are nearly always different in some way, sometimes being simply euphonious, especially the fourth syllable. The tone relationships play an important role. The whole functions as a unit, frequently as a predicate but also as subject, object, manner complement, etc. (Liem 1970, P'an and Ts'ao 1972). Following are some examples.

8.1 a *kev ntsog kev ntsuag*
Hmg way orphanhood way orphaned/widowed
   orphanhood, poverty, desolation

   b *nram ntej nram ntxov*
   (place) below before below early
   previously

   c *kav teb kav chaw*
   rule land rule place
   to rule a country

   d *khwv iab khwv daw*
   toil bitter toil salty
   arduous toil

   e *zoo xob zoo xu*   (Strecker 1980b:1)
   good Euph good Euphonious syllable
   so very beautiful

8.2 a *nuŋ^{55} nzaŋ^{55} nuŋ^{55} nzau^{12}*
Miao eat year eat year
   celebrate the New Year holidays

   b *faŋ^{55} nze^{55} faŋ^{55} mɛ^{13}*
   yellow ear yellow face
   be pale and thin

8.3 a *ăn dưa ăn muối*   (Liem 1970:7)
Viet   eat pickle eat salt
     to have a poor man's diet, to be poor

  b *đi trưa về   sớm*   (Liem 1970:58)
     go noon return early
     to go in the afternoon and return in the early morning:
     to go out often, to work hard

8.4 a *khon thâw khon kɛ̀ɛ*
Thai   person old   person old
     old person

  b *klay hŭu klay taa*
     be far ear   be far eye
     out of sight

8.5 a *pum dɤŋ pum yuəl*
Khm   not   know not   understand
     not to know

  b *dɤŋ   tuk   dɤŋ sok*
     know   suffering know happiness
     to know the hardships of life (the ups and downs)

Some four-syllable expressions have different patterns, such as the second and third rhyming pattern, shown in these Thai expressions in which all the words of each expression are of the same grammatical class:

8.6 a *mŭu hèt   pèt kày*
Thai   pork mushroom duck chicken
     foodstuffs

  b *dìit sĭi tii pàw*
     pluck rub beat blow
     to play musical instruments

  c *yép pàk   thàk rɔ́ɔy*
     sew embroider knit, etc to thread
     needlework

The use of such expressions in sentences is illustrated in 8.7, in which they are clearly idiomatic. In 8.7a the four-syllable expression replaces a subject noun phrase; in 8.7b it functions as the verb of the sentence.

8.7 a **Kev noj kev haus** *nyuaj   heev.*   (Mottin 1978:198)
Hmg   way eat   way drink be difficult very
     Life is very difficult.

b *Anh   ấy luôn **bắt   khoan bắt   nhật.***   (Long Nguyen)
Viet   brother that always require slow   require quick
He's always critical / fussy.

Tibetan, which in many respects does not fit into the southeast areal patterns, does have these four-syllable idiomatic expressions.[7] In the examples given in Hu 1986, the second and fourth syllables, rather than the first and third, are invariably identical. The Tibetan idioms appear to be used in sentences primarily as descriptive expressions.

8.2 Verb of acquisition and perfective aspect

All the languages seem to make parallel use of a verb of acquisition. As a single transitive verb it means 'get, acquire, have'. Preceding another verb or clause it has the meaning 'have the opportunity to, be able to, have the good fortune of' and following another verb it means 'able, have ability, willing (to do the action of the preceding verb)'. In Hmong it has an auxiliary function meaning 'got, Past'. In all languages it usually has a benefactive and perfective connotation, except that the Hmong simple Past is not especially benefactive. Some of these verbs are Vietnamese *được,* Thai *dậy,* Khmer *baan,* and Hmong *tau* as shown here:

8.8 a *Nws **tau**   peb tug   nyuj.*   (transitive verb)
Hmg   3P   acquire three anim. cattle
He has three cows.

b *Yog peb **tau** nyob ua ke,   mas peb **tau** sib   tham.* (benefactive with
be   we get stay   together then we get Recip. talk   complement)
If we could live together then we could (often) talk together.

c *Wb **muag   tau** ntxiv lawm.*   (secondary verb)
we2 sell   able more already
We two were able to sell some more.

d *Koj **hais** lus   Hmoob puas   **tau?***   (secondary verb)
you say   word Hmong whether able
Can you speak Hmong language?

e *Nws **tau mus** nram   Moos Loob.*   (auxiliary verb: Past)
3P   got go   place below Luang Prabang
She went to Luang Prabang.

This verb may also take a durative time phrase with perfective implications, the whole having a time case relation with a higher verb:

8.9 a *Daim paj-ntaub   no kuv xaws **tau ntev**   lawm.*
Hmg   length needlework this I   sew   get long(time) already
It took me a long time to do this piece of needlework.

b *Tôi ở   dây được ba   tháng rồi.*
Viet I   stay here get   three month already
    I've been here three months already.

c *Chị   sẽ   ở Huế được bao lâu?*
Viet sister Future at Hue get   how long (time)
    How long will you be in Hue?

8.3 Quotative word introducing a proposition

Another areal feature is what might be called a quotative word and what is basically or originally a verb meaning 'say' (e.g. 8.26b below).[8] In its quotative function it is analysed variously as a secondary verb, complementiser, preposition, conjunction, etc. It occurs after such verbs as 'say', 'tell', 'hear', 'call', 'think', 'hope', 'read' (and, in Hmong, 'be') and can be roughly translated into English as 'that'. It is always followed by a proposition. Examples are Thai *wâa*, Khmer *thaa*, Vietnamese *rằng*, and Hmong *tias* as shown in 8.10-11. Smalley (1976: 120-123) translates this word as *hais tias...* 'say saying...', *xav tias...* 'think thinking...', etc.

8.10 *Nws **hais tias** nws tsis kam   nrog peb mus.*
Hmg 3P   say   that 3P   not willing with we go
    She said that she didn't want to go with us.

8.11 ***Yog tias** koj tsis muaj mov noj li lawm, ...*   (Jaisser 1984:36)
Hmg be   that you not have rice eat anymore
    If you don't have any rice to eat anymore, ...

8.4 Transitive to intransitive lexical derivation

A common synchronic lexical derivation in the area is a transitive verb ⌐ intransitive verb derivation in which the object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the intransitive verb in an ergative-type construction, as shown in these sentences. (For more detailed discussion of this derivation see Clark and Prasithrathsint 1985: 46-49.).

8.12a *Kuv **xaws** nws ncaj   xwb.*
Hmg I   sew 3P   straight only
    I just sewed it plain (nothing fancy).

b *Nws **xaws** ncaj   xwb.*
    3P   sew   straight only
    It has only been sewed straight (just ordinary).

8.13 *Daim paj-ntaub   no **muag** lawm.*
Hmg length needlework this sell   already
    This piece of needlework has been sold already.

8.14 *Kày   tua   nán **kin** lɛ́ɛw.*   (Juntanamalaga and Diller 1983:1)
Thai chicken anim. that eat already
a. That chicken has already eaten.
b. (We,etc.) have already eaten that chicken. (The chicken has been eaten.)

8.15 *Phâa   kɔɔŋ nán **sák**   lɛ́ɛw.*   (Clark and Prasithrathsint 1983:47)
Thai cloth heap that wash already
Those clothes have already been washed.

8.16 *Nhà   đó **bán** rồi.*
Viet house that sell already
That house has been sold already.

8.17 *Chuyện này thường **nghe** ở Sàigòn.*
Viet story   this usual   hear at Saigon
This story is usually heard in Saigon.

It is possible to consider this type of sentence to be a topicalised construction. If the preverbal noun phrase Patient is a topicalised grammatical object rather than a Patient subject, the verb may not be a derived intransitive verb at all but the transitive verb with topicalised object. In fact, in most of such sentences it is possible to insert an Agent or other grammatical subject before the verb, making topicalisation of the Patient quite explicit and implying, of course, anaphoric reference and possible contrast, as in 8.18-19. (It is quite likely that all these sentences having subjects or topics with inherently transitive verbs occur only in anaphoric or pragmatically deictic contexts.)

8.18 *Daim paj-ntaub   no   kuv (twb)   muag lawm.*
Hmg length needlework this I   already sell   already
That piece of needlework I've sold already.

8.19 *Nhà   đó   tôi bán rồi.*
Viet house that I   sell already
That house I've sold already.

In Thai what might be called a topic marker may occur (8.20a). Object topicalisation can be made explicit by inserting a subject before the verb, thus disambiguating the status of the verb. In 8.20b the expected Agent occurs as subject, showing the verb to be unambiguously transitive with a topicalised Patient. What is interesting is that a coreferential Patient may occur as subject of the verb, as in 8.20c., this sentence being particularly contrastive.

8.20a *Phâa   kɔɔŋ nán (nâ)   sák lɛ́ɛw.*
Thai cloth heap that Topic wash already
Those clothes (they) have already been washed.
Those clothes (someone) has washed already.

   b   *Phâa kɔɔŋ nán (nâ)   khǎw sák   lɛ́ɛw.*
       cloth heap that Topic 3P   wash already
       Those clothes she has washed already.

   c   *Phâa kɔɔŋ nán (nâ)   man sák   lɛ́ɛw.*
       cloth heap that Topic it   wash already
       Those clothes, they have already been washed.

In the case of 8.20c, where the grammatical subject of the verb is coreferential with the topicalised noun phrase and is the semantic object of the action of the verb, the verb is clearly a derived intransitive verb in an ergative-type construction.

   In Hmong and Vietnamese there appears not to be anything that can be called a topic marker per se. (However, see Fuller 1985 for topicaliser usage.)   One way of topicalising the grammatical object is setting it off with a conjunction preceding the Agent in the case of Hmong (8.21) and preceding the verb in the case of Vietnamese (8.22), its main function being emphatic contrast and the verb of course being the underived transitive verb.

8.21   *Daim paj-ntaub   no **mas** (kuv) muag lawm.*
Hmg   length needlework this then   I   sell   already
       That piece of needlework, well I have sold it already.

8.22a *Còn   nhà   này (tôi) **thì**   mua năm ngoái.*
Viet   and as for house this I   then   buy year last (year)
       But *this* house I bought last year.

   b   *... nhưng bài   này (tôi) **lại**   viết chậm.*
       but   written piece this I   (come back) write slow
       But this piece, on the other hand, I wrote slowly.

Thus, in sentences without any explicit marking, the grammatical status of the verb is ambiguous as to whether it is the inherent transitive verb or a derived intransitive verb. However, in all languages the unmarked reading of such an unmarked sentence has an intransitive verb. Further confirmation of intransitivity is given by Prasithrathsint (Clark and Prasithrathsint 1985:49):

8.23   *Phâa bɛ́ɛp níi   **sák**   ŋâay.*
Thai   cloth type this wash   easy
       This kind of cloth washes easily.

8.5 Noun phrase zero anaphora

   Another characteristic quite common in the area, and shown here in Hmong and Vietnamese, is the omission of noun phrases where the noun phrase is specific and its identity is understood: discourse level zero anaphora (Fuller 1986:262ff for Hmong).

Within the lexicase framework it is unnecessary to posit different levels (i.e. deep and surface structures). Therefore the notion of equi-NP deletion – deletion of a coreferential NP believed to be in the deep structure but which does not occur on the surface – is meaningless. Fuller claims there is equi-NP deletion in the sentences in 8.24 (1985:79) and that they are examples of sentence-level zero anaphora (1986:261-262). However, all of the main verbs in Fuller's examples, such as *kam* 'consent, be willing to' and *sim* 'try to' in 8.24, belong to a semantic class of verbs having features which specify that the verb allows an embedded verb whose logical subject is coreferential with the subject of the main verb and may not occur.

8.24 a *Kim kam   ø qhia lus   Hmoob rau kuv.*
      Kee consent   teach word Hmong to   me
      Kee consented to teach the Hmong language to me.

   b *Nws sim ø hais   lus   Hmoob.*
     s/he try   speak word Hmong
     S/he tries to speak Hmong.

In fact, both sentences in 8.24 contain serial verbs, which by definition (Sec.5) have non-occurring coreferential subjects. I do not consider something which never occurs to be anaphoric deletion. Fuller herself does not suggest NP deletion in her discussion of serial verbs (1985:81).

As for actual zero anaphora of regularly occurring NP's, direct object omission is the most common occurrence, e.g. in Hmong:

8.25a *Kuv twb   rho   ø lawm.*
Hmg I   already extract   already
     I got *it* out already.

   b *Kuv ua ø kaum ob xuab moos.*
     I   do ten   two hour
     I made *it* in twelve hours. (It took me 12 hours to make *it*.)

   c *Nws muab dej   txias ntxuav ø.*
     3P   take   water cold wash
     He washed *it* in cold water.

Subject omission also occurs but seems to be liable to more constraints, occurring in imperative sentences, indirect speech and other specific circumstances, as in 8.26a-d. Regarding the reported speech in 8.26b the two omitted subject noun phrases would not occur in this sentence but in both cases either 'he' or 'I' is implied (Chu Lee, pers. comm.) (The speaker's next statement was, *Kuv mam pleev tshuav txhuam hniav rau nws* 'I then put on [the burn] toothpaste for him.') Also, the missing objects in both cases may not appear in any form in this structure, suggesting object-incorporated intransitive verbs: *ntxuaj dej* 'water wash' and *pleev tshuaj* 'medicine apply'.

8.26a *...ces   ∅   sau   ntawv rau peb paub   thiab   mog.*
so then   write paper for we   know also   sure
So (*you*) write a letter to let us know, alright?

 b *Kuv   thiaj li   tias ∅ tsis ntxuav dej,   ∅ pleev tshuaj   xwb.*
I   consequently say   not wash   water swab   medicine only
So I said *(he/I)* not to wash *it* in water, *(he/I)* just put on medicine.

 c *∅   Sib   ntsib   dua.*
Recip. meet more
We (Inclusive) will meet again. (a common farewell salutation)
(Subject designated by reciprocal marker)

 d *∅   Nco   txog   nej   sawvdaws.*
remember reaching youPl   everyone
I think of you all.   (in a letter)

Zero anaphora is, if anything, more common in Vietnamese than in Hmong. Object omission is of highest frequency but subject omission is also frequent in informal conversation and connected narrative:

8.27a *Tôi   mua   ∅   ở   đường Lê Lợi.*
Viet I   buy   at street Le Loi
I bought *it* in Le Loi Street.

 b *Anh   ấy   đã   làm   ∅ chưa?   ∅ làm   ∅ rồi.*
brother that Past do   not yet   do   already
Has he done *it* yet?   Yes, *he's* done *it* already.

 c *∅   có   đi   không?   Dạ,   ∅ không   đi.*
have go   not   Response   not   go
Are *you* going?   No, *I'*m not going.

 d *Chị   ấy   giặt   áo,   rồi   ∅ đi phố   mua đồ.*
sister that wash blouse and then   go streets buy   thing
She washed the clothes then *(she)* went to town to shop.

More investigation needs to be done in order to determine if such a trait is truly a distinctive areal feature or simply a typological characteristic, – or perhaps even a universal tendency.

NOTES

1 This paper is an expansion and revision of Clark 1983, which was in turn drawn from earlier papers but with additional investigation. Both for this paper and the earlier paper I am greatly indebted to Tony Diller for many linguistic consultations, as well as for much Thai data. Naturally, he cannot be held to account for my analyses of the material we discussed. Credit for helpful consultation and the same reprieve go to Nguyen Long, Nerida Jarkey, Beverly Hong-Fincher, Christian Bauer, and many others most of whom have been acknowledged in earlier papers, but especially Ton-nu Kim-Chi of Honolulu, Pranee Kullavanijaya of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok and Saveros Pou of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris.

I am forever grateful to my many Hmong friends who have helped me through conversations, letters and elicited responses. Especially helpful have been my teacher Vangkoua Cheurtong and Neng Chue Yang, Tong Vang, Youa Vang, Sai Xiong, Youa Yang and, more currently, Chu Lee.

2 I use the term 'green' for Hmoob Ntsuab (Njua) rather than 'blue', as is used by some writers, for several reasons. The colour I have been shown for this word is a bright leaf-green colour. Unlike most of the languages in the area, Hmong has separate words for green and blue. (The word *xiav* 'blue' describes the bright blue trim on White Hmong jackets and the blue-gray indigo batik of Green Hmong skirts.) Father Bertrais, who lived among the Hmong of Laos for many years, uses the term 'green' (see especially Bertrais 1978), as do Jacques Lemoine (1972), Thomas Lyman (1979) and Jean Mottin (1978), all of whom lived among the Hmong in Laos or Thailand, and Yang Dao (1976). Finally, it is the term used by the Hmong (both White and Green) I have known in Hawaii and Australia.

3 The Sre sentence was taken from Manley 1972:156-157, the Khmer sentence culled from Huffman 1970 and 1973:493 and the Nung sentence from Saul and Wilson 1980.

4 For positive arguments discussing the validity of this derivation, see Clark 1978, 1979a and b. See Jarkey 1986 for more skeptical discussion and more precise testing and distinctions among such functions in Hmong. Many specialists in Thai do not agree that these are prepositions instead of verbs, but I have taken the liberty of using comparable Thai data because it fits so neatly into the areal pattern and because I feel confident that in this data these words do function as prepositions. The fact of historical and synchronic derivation is well documented for Standard Chinese, e.g. Li and Thompson 1974.

5 Also see Gradin 1970:16, Matisoff 1976:419, Smith 1979:147, D.D.Thomas 1971:152 D.M.Thomas 1969:90.

6 These idiomatic expressions are discussed for Hmong in Johns and Strecker 1982 (examples 8.1c and d, pp.160 and 162), Mottin 1978:198ff and P'an and Ts'ao 1972 (eastern Guishou Miao examples, pp.211 and 214). Also see Ratliff 1986. Hmong examples 8.1a and b are from Heimbach 1979:459. The Thai and Khmer examples are from Nacaskul 1976:881-888.

7 I am indebted to Dr. Tissa Rajapatirana for some clarification of the Hu data.

8 See Huffman 1970 for Khmer and 1973 for Thai and Khmer, Kullavanijaya 1974 for Thai, Thompson 1965 for Vietnamese, Jaisser 1984 for White Hmong and Lyman 1974 for Green Hmong.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANSRE, Gilbert
    1966   The verbid - a caveat to 'serial verbs'. *Journal of West African Languages* 3/1:29-32.

BANKER, John E.
    1964   Transformational paradigms of Bahnar clauses. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 1:7-39.

BARZ, R.K. and A.V.N. DILLER
    1985   Classifiers and standardisation: Some South and South-East Asian comparisons. In David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics*, No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia,* 155-184. *PL,* A-67.

BERTRAIS, Yves
    1978   *The traditional marriage among the White Hmong of Thailand and Laos*. Chiangmai, Thailand: Hmong Center.
    1979   *Dictionnaire Hmong - Français.* Bangkok: Imprimerie de l'Assomption.

CLARK, Marybeth
    1970   Notes on the causative prefix in some Mon-Khmer languages. Photocopy. University of Hawaii seminar in problems in comparative Vietnamese linguistics.
    1972   Some possible grammatical areal features in Southeast Asia. Guest lecture, Southern Illinois University Center for Vietnamese Studies and Department of Linguistics.
    1974a   Passive and ergative in Vietnamese. In Nguyen Dang Liem, ed. *South-East Asian linguistic studies,* vol.1:75-88, *PL,* C-31.
    1974b   Submissive verbs as adversatives in some Asian languages. In Nguyen Dang Liem, ed. *South-East Asian linguistic studies,* vol.1:89-110, *PL,* C-31.
    1977   Ditransitive goal verbs in Vietnamese. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 6:1-38.
    1978   *Coverbs and case in Vietnamese. PL,* B-48.
    1979a   Coverbs: evidence for the derivation of prepositions from verbs: new evidence from Hmong. University of Hawaii *Working Papers in Linguistics,* 11/2:1-12.
    1979b   Synchronically derived prepositions in diachronic perspective: Some evidence from Hmong. Paper presented to the 12th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Paris.
    1980a   Source phrases in White Hmong (Laos). University of Hawaii *Working Papers in Linguistics,* 12/2:1-49.

1980b   Derivation between goal and source verbs in Hmong. University of Hawaii *Working Papers in Linguistics* 12/2:51-59.

1982a   Some auxiliary verbs in Hmong. In Bruce T. Downing and Douglas P. Olney, eds *The Hmong in the West: observations and reports,* 125-141. Papers of the 1981 Hmong Research Conference, University of Minnesota. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.

1982b   The two 'have's of Hmong. Paper presented to the 15th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Beijing.

1983   Hmong in the Mainland Southeast Asia areal picture. Research School of Pacific Studies linguistics seminar paper.

1985a   Asking questions in Hmong and other South-East Asian languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 8/2:60-67.

1985b   Becoming in Hmong - inchoation and subordination. Paper presented to the 18th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Bangkok.

1986   Reciprocity and derivation. Paper presented to the Australian Linguistic Society 86 Meetings, Adelaide.

1988   An inchoative conjunction in Hmong: Extra-sentential topic marker? International Symposium on Language and Linguistics, Bangkok.

Forth-   Where do you feel? - Stative verbs and body-part terms in Mainland Southeast Asia.
coming To appear in Hilary Chappell and William McGregor, eds *Body parts in grammar.*

CLARK, Marybeth and Amara PRASITHRATHSINT

1985   Synchronic lexical derivation in Southeast Asian languages. In Suriya Ratanakul, David Thomas and Suwilai Premsrirat, eds *Southeast Asian linguistic studies Presented to André G. Haudricourt,* 34-81. Bangkok: Mahidol University.

COSTELLO, Nancy A.

1966   Affixes in Katu. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 2:63-86.

CRISFIELD, Arthur

1970   Lao Language Lessons. Photocopy, University of Hawaii.

DILLER, Anthony V.N. and Preecha JUNTANAMALAGA

In prep. *A reference grammar of Thai.*

EMENEAU, M. B.

1956   India as a linguistic area. *Language* 32/1:3-16.

EHRMAN, Madeline (with Kem Sos)

1972   *Contemporary Cambodian.* Washington: Foreign Service Institute.

FILBECK, David

1975   A grammar of verb serialization in Thai. In Jimmy G. Harris and James R. Chamberlain, eds 1975: 112-129.

FIPPINGER, Jay W.
1975   Black Tai sentence types, A generative semantic approach. In Jimmy G. Harris and James R. Chamberlain, eds 1975:130-169.

FULLER, Judith Wheaton
1985   Topic and comment in Hmong. PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
1986   Zero anaphora and topic prominence in Hmong. In Hendricks et al, eds 1986, 261-277.

GRADIN, Dwight
1970   Preliminary report on word affixation in Jeh. Typescript, National Science Foundation.

GREGERSON, Kenneth
1979   *Predicate and argument in Rengao grammar.   Publications in Linguistics* 6.1. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

HARRIS, Jimmy G. and James R. CHAMBERLAIN, eds
1975   *Studies in Tai linguistics in honor of William J. Gedney.* Bangkok: Central Institute of English Language.

HEIMBACH, Ernest E.
1979   *White Hmong - English dictionary.* Southeast Asia Program Data Paper 75. Ithaca: Cornell University Department of Asian Studies.

HENDRICKS, Glenn L., Bruce T. DOWNING and Amos S. DEINARD, eds
1986   *The Hmong in transition.* New York: Center for Migration Studies and the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project of the University of Minnesota.

HU Shujin
1986   The duplicate four-syllable forms of A'BAB type in Tibetan language [In Chinese]. *Minzu Yuwen* 1986 No.6:34-36. Beijing: Research Institute of Nationalities.

HUFFMAN, Franklin E.
1970   *Modern Spoken Cambodian.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
1973   Thai and Cambodian - A case of syntactic borrowing? *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93/4:488-509.

JAISSER, Annie Christine
1984   Complementation in Hmong. MA thesis, San Diego State University.
1986   The morpheme "kom": a first analysis and look at embedding in Hmong. In Hendricks et al., eds 1986: 245-260.

JARKEY, Nerida
1986   Serial verbs and prepositions - Data from Hmong. ANU Faculties linguistic seminar paper.
n.d.   Unpublished material for a grammar of White Hmong.

JOHNS, Brenda and David STRECKER
1982　Aesthetic language in White Hmong. In Bruce T. Downing and Douglas P. Olney, eds *The Hmong in the West: observations and reports,* 160-169. Papers of the 1981 Hmong Research Conference, University of Minnesota. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.

JONES, R.B., Jr
1970　Classifier constructions in Southeast Asia. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90/1:1-13.

JUNTANAMALAGA, Preecha and Tony DILLER
1983　Semantic/pragmatic conflict in Thai surface syntax. Paper presented to the Australian Linguistic Society 83 Meeting, LaTrobe University, Melbourne.

KULLAVANIJAYA, Pranee
1974　Transitive verbs in Thai. PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

LEBAR, Frank M., Gerald C. HICKEY and John K. MUSGRAVE
1964　*Ethnic groups of mainland Southeast Asia.* Washington: Human Relations Area Files Press.

LEMOINE, Jacques
1972　*Un village Hmong vert du Haut Laos.* Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

LI, Charles N. and Sandra A. THOMPSON
1973　Serial verb constructions in Mandarin Chinese: Subordination or co-ordination? In Claudia Corum, T. Cedric Smith-Stark and Ann Weiser, eds. *You take the high node and I'll take the low node: papers from the Comparative Syntax Festival,* 96-103. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
1974　Co-verbs in Mandarin Chinese: verbs or prepositions? *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 2/3:257-278.
1981　*Mandarin Chinese, a functional reference grammar.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

LIEM, Nguyen Dang
1969　*Vietnamese grammar: a combined tagmemic and transformational approach. PL,* C-4.
1970　*Four-syllable idiomatic expressions in Vietnamese. PL,* D-6.

LORD, Carol
1973　Serial verbs in transition. *Studies in African Linguistics* 4/3:269-296.

LYMAN, Thomas Amis
1974　*Dictionary of Mong Njua.* The Hague: Mouton.
1979　*Grammar of Mong Njua (Green Miao).* (Distr.: E.J. Brill, London)

MANLEY, Timothy M.
  1972   *Outline of Sre structure. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* No.12. Honolulu:
          University Press of Hawaii.

MATISOFF, James A.
  1976   Lahu causative constructions. In Masayoshi Shibatani, ed. *Syntax and Semantics:
          The grammar of causative constructions,* 413-442. New York: Academic Press.

MOTTIN, Jean
  1978   *Elements de grammaire Hmong Blanc.* Bangkok: Don Bosco Press.

NACASKUL, Karnchana
  1976   Types of elaboration in some Southeast Asian languages. In Philip N. Jenner,
          Laurence C. Thompson and Stanley Starosta, eds. *Austroasiatic studies.* 873-889.
          Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No.13. Honolulu: University Press of
          Hawaii.

NGUYEN Dinh Hoa
  1957   Classifiers in Vietnamese. *Word* 13:124-152.
  1966   *Vietnamese- English dictionary.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle.

NGUYEN Van Khon
  1967   *Viet-Anh Anh-Viet tu-dien* (Vietnamese-English English-Vietnamese Dictionary).
          Saigon: Nha Sach Khai-Tri. (Distributor: Pacific Northwest Trading Co., U.S.)

OWENSBY, Laurel
  1986   Verb serialization in Hmong. In Hendricks et al., eds 1986, 237-243.

P'AN Yuan-en and TS'AO Ts'ui-yun
  1972   Four-syllable coordinate constructions in the Miao language of eastern Kweichow
          (tr. from Chinese). In Herbert C. Purnell, ed. *Miao-Yao linguistic studies,* 211-234.
          Southeast Asia Program Data Paper 88. Ithaca: Cornell University Dept of Asian
          Studies.

PXNNH: See Rooj Ntawv Hmoob.

RATANAKUL, Suriya
  1981   Transitivity and causation in Sgaw Karen. In Andrew Gonzalez and David Thomas,
          eds *Linguistics across continents: studies in honor of Richard S. Pittman,* 156-179.
          Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

RATLIFF, Martha
  1986   Two-word expressives in White Hmong. In Hendricks et al., eds 1986, 219-236.

ROOJ NTAWV HMOOB (Hmong Academy)
  1976   *Phau xyaum nyeem ntawv Hmoob* (Text for Learning to Read Hmong). Bangkok:
          Assumption Printing Press.

SAUL, Janice E. and Nancy Freiberger WILSON
    1980   *Nung grammar*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

SCHEIN, Louisa
    1986   The Miao in contemporary China: a preliminary overview. In Hendricks et al., eds 1986, 73-85.

SMALLEY, William A.
    1976   The problems of consonants and tone: Hmong (Meo,Miao). In William A. Smalley, ed. *Phonemes and orthography: language planning in ten minority languages of Thailand*, 85-123. *PL*, C-43.

SMITH, Kenneth D.
    1979   *Sedang grammar*. *PL*, B-50.

STAROSTA, Stanley
    1978   The one per Sent solution. In Werner Abraham, ed. *Valence, semantic case and grammatical relations*, 459-576. Studies in Language Companion Series 1, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
    1979   The end of phrase structure as we know it. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 11/1:59-76. University of Hawaii. (Extensively revised 1985, *L.A.U.D.T.* Series A, Paper no.147, Duisburg: U.of Duisburg.)
    1984a   *Lexicase and Japanese language processing*. Technical report no.21887, Musashino Electrical Communication Laboratory. Tokyo: Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation.
    1984b   The locus of case in South Asian languages. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 16/2:121-149. Univ. of Hawaii. (Revised 1985 in Arlene R.K. Zide, David Magier and Eric Schiller, eds. *Proceedings of the Conference on participant roles: South Asia and adjacent areas*, 211-246. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.)

STRECKER, David
    1980a   Unity and diversity in Mainland Southeast Asian languages and culture. Photocopy handout.
    1980b   Euphonious and rhyming particles in White Hmong. Photocopy note.

THOMAS, David D.
    1971   *Chrau grammar*. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* No.7. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

THOMAS, Dorothy M.
    1969   Chrau affixes. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 3:90-107.
    1978   The discourse level in Chrau. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 7:233-295.

THOMPSON, Laurence C.
    1965   *A Vietnamese grammar*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

T'SOU, Benjamin K.
  n.d.   Reduplication and reduction in Loloish question derivation. University of Hawaii linguistics seminar handout.

WANG Fu-shih
  1972   The classifier in the Wei Ning dialect of Miao language in Kweichow (tr.from Chinese). In Herbert C. Purnell, Jr, ed. *Miao-Yao linguistic studies,* 111-185. Southeast Asia Data Paper 88. Ithaca: Cornell University Dept of Asian Studies.
  1985   (ed.) 苗语简志 (*A brief survey of the Miao language).* A brief survey of the Minority Languages in China series. Beijing: Nationalities Press.

YANG Dao
  1976   *The Hmong of Laos in the vanguard of development.* U.S. Joint Publications Research Service. (Tr. from *Les Hmong du Laos Face au Developpement,* Vientiane: Siaosavath Publishers, 1975.)