CAUSE AND RESULT CLAUSES FROM THE RAMKAMHAENG
INSCRIPTION TO MODERN THAI

Stanley Starosta

Introduction

In this paper, we investigate the words used to express the meanings of cause and result obtaining between pairs of clauses in the Ramkhamhaeng manuscript, in the Ayuddhaya, Sukhothai, and Ratanakosin periods, and in modern Thai. We identify the words we consider to have such a linking function, assign a word class to each of them based on its syntactic function, characterize the semantic contribution that each makes to the text, and give a representative syntactically analyzed sentence for each class. We discuss differences between the stages, and make proposals about what changes took place to get from the earlier stage to the later stage. The framework used in the syntactic analysis for all stages is lexicase dependency grammar.

We find that cause and result clauses are linked by various syntactic mechanisms, including clause-linking verbs, adverbs, prepositions (including 'subordinating conjunctions' as a subset), and extension and non-extension nouns, used alone or in combinations.

The following connecting words have been identified in our original data set.

**Grammatical classification of cause and result words**

**Verbs: Verb + preposition**

nîañ

nîañ is the main verb of the sentence as a whole, and appears between two dependent sentences. The preceding sentence is the subject surrogate and the second is a situational source of the first; so 'S₁ comes from S₂'. The hypothesis that nîañ is a verb is supported by the fact that it is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by cãak 'from', or by a directional adverb maa 'toward speaker' followed by cãak.

1) Structural pattern:

```
          TH0200804
  S₁ nîañ  TH0200804
       V  cãak
     P  S₂
```

```markdown
S₁ nîañ
V  cãak
P  S₂
```

(*) University of Hawai`i, Pranee Kullavanijaya, Chulalongkorn University

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2) Sentential example:

```
θ*
  
  ?aakāat  rōn  màŋ
  weather  hot  come

  cāt
  very

  maa  chak  fōn  māy
  hither  From  rain  not

  tōk
  fall

  N
  Adv

N
Adv
P
V
V

'The weather is hot due to (the cause that) it does not rain.
```

Adverbs (pre-verbal)

Cīj

The adverb cīj appears between the Nominative dependent ('grammatical subject') and the root verb of the second clause of a two-clause subordinating construction. The Nom actant of the second clause is normally identical with the Nom of the preceding clause and so is commonly omitted. Syntactically, cīj indicates that the second verb is the head verb of the whole construction, even though unlike a 'complementizer' preposition, it does not occur at the boundary of either clause.

3) Structural pattern:

```
  
  S

  (NP)

  cīj

  Adv

4) Sentential example:

θ*

```

  fōn  māy  tōk  ?aakāat  cīj  rōn
  rain  not  fall  weather  then/so  hot

  N  V  N  Adv

N  V  -root  rslt

'It does not rain, therefore it is hot.'
```

The construction is typologically different from Modern Thai in that the common position for adverbs in Modern Thai is clause-final, not pre-verbal. The clause-second position in Thai is otherwise limited to negative and tense-marking adverbs, and in Khmer only to negative adverbs.

In Chinese, however (South Min kōh, Mandarin jiù), similar adverbs with almost identical functions occur in the same post-subject pre-verb position.

5) Modern Thai (θ*)

```

  fōn  māy  tōk  ?aakāat  cīj
  rain  not  fall  weather  then/so

  N  Adv  V  N  Adv  V

'It does not rain, therefore it is hot.'
```

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6) Modern Thai (Indrambarya 1994, 14a, reformatted by SS)

lèk khoay khit wâa thûkkhon câ? khôy khâw
Lek ever think that everyone will wait he
N V V P N Adv V N

'Lek once thought that everyone would wait for her.'

7) Khmer negative adverb (KM101003f, Chhany Sak-Humphry, SS reformatting)

koat min mœk mœel 'nakcumni tee
he +ngtv come see patient +ngtv
N Adv -trns -trns N Sprb

'He does not come to see the patient.'

8) Taiwanese clause-linking adverb kôh (TW2002H192, SS reformatting; h is [ʔ])

goa kôh khî patûï khôań, long khoâń bô.
I just go elsewhere seek all seek unsuccessful
'I went elsewhere to look but couldn’t find any.'

9) Taiwanese clause-linking adverb kôh (TW203541c2, SS reformatting)

í ti hakhâu kôh chin gâu thakchheh.
he at school then very clever study
'At school he’s very good at studying.'

10) Mandarin clause-linking adverb (TW203541c2, SS reformatting) &

tâ mâle wô yîdôn, wô jiû hûûjiâle.
she scold me a whack I just returned home
'After she scolded me, I just went home.'

kôh

côh has the same syntactic properties as cîng. kôh may also be preceded by a non-clausal time expression.

As mentioned above, it is similar in shape as well as in syntactic properties to South Min Chinese kôh.

11) Sentential example:

\[ \theta^h \]

---


DIGUET, E.- *éude de la langue tai précédée d'une notice sur les races des hautes régions du Tonkin*; Comprenant grammaire, méthode d'écriture tai et vocabulaires. Hanoi, F. H. Schneider, 88, 2, 192, lvp. 1895.


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**Prepositions, extension fact**

**dúay**

The extension preposition *dúay* marks its dependent $V_1$ as a subordinate clause depending on the following verb.

12) Structural pattern:

```
   V2
  / \  
V1  [P]
  |   |
P   +xtns
```

'given $V_1$, therefore $V_2$'

13) Sentential example:

```
    V2
   /  \  
V1  [P]
  |   |
P   +xtns
```

with

```
   V2
  /  \  
V1  [P]
  |   |
P   +xtns
```

'then/so not $V$

Adv

rslt

'Because there still was Phranaret, the brother, (he) did not get married...'

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'Because he loved his brother very much, so he looked after the royal activities instead.'
'Because there still was Phranaret, the brother, (he) did not get married because he loved his brother very much so he looked after the royal activities instead.' (Ayuddhaya)

phïa

The extension preposition phïa in the Sukhothai period marked the subordinate V₂ and its dependents if any as a subordinate clause, a dependent of the regent of phïa. The phïa clause could either precede or follow the main verb.

14) Structural pattern:

15) Sentential example: Θʰ

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phīa hēet wāa

The non-extension preposition phīa in the Ayuddhaya period derived from the extension phīa in the Ramkamhaeng period. However, it was semantically bleached, and required a 'complementizer noun' hēet plus hēet's 'complementizer preposition' wāa to carry meaning formerly carried by the preposition phīa alone in the Ramkamhaeng period.

17) Structural pattern:

18) Sentential example:

phīa?

The extension preposition phīa? in the Ayuddhaya and Ratanakosin periods and in modern Thai marks the subordinate V₂ as the reason for the action encoded for the main verb V₁. Like the phīa construction in the
Rakamhaeng inscription, *phr5?* could either precede or follow the main verb.

19) Structural patterns:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V}_1 \\
\text{V}_2 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V}_1 \\
\text{V}_2 \\
\end{array}
\]

'since V₂, therefore V₁'

20) Sentential examples:

**Og (Ayuddhya)**

*phr5? phráʔʔoŋ sönphráʔkrōot phráʔsríaʔsin nák ciŋ sàŋ nán*

*because he (king) be angry (name) quite then/so order that*

P N V N Adv Adv V Det

resn rslt

phit pay nay thaanŋ tham

wrong go inside way Dhamma (good deed)

V V N N N

lctn

'Because he was very angry, he then gave an order which was wrong.'

**Og (Ratanakosin)**

*nán mây pen thóot phr5? tânçay cà? háy mânút praʔphrīt dīi*

*that not be bad because intend will give man behave good*

N V V V P V V V N V V

copl resn

'the lies are not wrong-doing because they are meant to make man behave well.'

**Og (Modern Thai)**

*phr5? fôn mây tôk lāy ?aakàat ciŋ rón càt*

*because rain not fall at all weather then/so hot very*

P N V V Sprb N Adv V Adv

resn chng

'Because it does not rain, the weather is extremely warm.

**phr5? hèet**

The non-extension preposition *phr5?* in the Sukhothai and Ratanakosin periods and in Modern Thai, like the non-extension *phīa* in the Ayuddhya period, marks a subordinate *V₂* as the reason for the action encoded for the main verb *V₁*. However, as a non-extension preposition it can't take a V complement directly. The reason noun *hèet* carried the information of reason. The *hèet* takes the dependent V as a direct complement.
21) Structural pattern:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V₁</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phr5?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+xtns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+resn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

22) Sentential example:

\[ \theta^a \]

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phr5?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+resn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

\[ \theta^a \]

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phr5?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+resn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

\[ \theta^a \] (Ayuddhya)

phr5? hèet pen daŋ klāw tɛɛ nān maa phùak ciin thîi yìi nāy
because cause is as said from that hither those Chinese that live inside
prâ?thēet ?îin ciŋ ?aw bāæp sōmaakhom nān pay tāŋ khîn
countries other then/so get model society that go establish up
nāy prâ?thēet ?îin
inside countries other

'The way that the Chinese set up the secret organization originally was found only in
China. Then the Chinese living other countries followed the example of such society and
set up the society in other countries.'

phr5? hèet thîi

In modern Thai, the sentential complement of hèet is mediated by the relative noun thîi.
23) Structural pattern:

\[ V_1 \]

```
phrö?
[P ] hëet
[+xtns ]
[ N ] thii
[+resn ]
[ N ] V_2
[ ]
[+rltv ]
```

'for the reason that \( V_1 \), therefore \( V_2 \)'

24) Sentential example:

\( \theta^h \) (Modern Thai)

```
phrö? hëet thii fön mây tômek ?aakàat ciŋ röon cát
for reason that rain not fall weather then/so hot very
P N N N V V N Adv V Adv
```

rslt

'Because it does not rain, the weather is thus extremely warm/hot.'
or by the extension preposition wâa.

phrö? hëet wâa

25) Structural pattern:

\[ V_2 \]

```
phrö?
[P ] hëet
[+xtns ]
[ N ] wâa
[+resn ]
[ V ] V_1
[ ]
[+xtns ]
```

'for the reason that \( V_1 \), therefore \( V_2 \)'

26) Sentential example:

\( \theta^h \) (Modern Thai)

```
khâw mây maa pra?chum phrö? hëet wâa lûuk khâw roonphayaabaan
he not come meeting because son admitted hospital
```

'He did not come to the meeting because his son was admitted to a hospital'.

27) Sentential example:

\( \theta^h \) (Modern Thai)
'If anyone paid homage to the king, he would get worldly and heavenly treasure but he cannot get Nirvana because the King is only a common man. (not Lord Buddha).'

**phr5?chænán**

The Ayudhaya period word *phr5?chænán* is analyzed as a single word because the two parts are never separated. It appears only once in our initial data set. The source for *chænán* is a copula *chænán*. We tentatively analyze it as extension preposition introducing a subordinate sentence.
28) Structural pattern:

```
\[ V_1 \]
\[ phr\tilde{o}\tilde{c}han\tilde{a}n \]
\[ \{P\} \]
\[ \{+xtns\} \]
\[ V_2 \]
\[ 'V_1 \text{ therefore } V_2' \]
```

29) Sentential example:

\( \theta^h \)

kh\~aw p\~uay phr\tilde{o}\tilde{c}han\tilde{a}n maa kh\~aw ci\~n kl\~ap pay k\~oo

\( \text{he sick so hither he then/so return go before} \)

'He was sick, he therefore went home first.'

30) Sentential example:

\( \theta^h \) (Ayuddhya)

```
\[ \text{phr}o\text{c}han\tilde{a}n \]
\[ \text{so} \]
\[ c\tilde{a}? \]
\[ \text{P} \]
\[ kh\~aphra\~b\tilde{a}at \]
\[ \text{will} \]
\[ kh\tilde{\tilde{o}} \]
\[ \text{I} \]
\[ V \]
\[ \text{ask} \]
\[ \text{ban}kho\text{mlaa} \]
\[ \text{ph}r\tilde{a}?\tilde{o}\tilde{n} \]
\[ \text{N} \]
\[ V \]
\[ \text{goodbye} \]
\[ \text{you} \]
\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{kl}\~ap \]
\[ \text{return} \]
\[ \text{pay} \]
\[ \text{y}a\tilde{n} \]
\[ \text{n} \]
```

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phrɔ̀wâa
The extension preposition *phrɔ̀wâa* is transparently derived from the extension prepositions *phrɔ̀* and *wâa*. We think it is also a single word, like *phrɔ̀chɔnán*, because the two parts are never separated, and because Thai does not otherwise allow a sequence of two prepositions.

31) Structural pattern:

32) Sentential example:

```
TH0200803b (Modern Thai)
?aakàat rōon cât phrɔ̀wâa fôn máy tòk laêy
  weather  hot  very  because  rain  not  fall  at  all
N     V     Adv P     N   V   V     Adv?
```

**Nouns**

hèet
The Sukhothai reason noun *hèet* can be used to head a noun phrase functioning as the topic of a clause, with either a noun dependent (Sukhothai) or with no dependent (Ratanakosin). It encodes the reason for the event in the preceding clause.

33) Structural pattern:

```
```

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34) Sentential example:

\[
\text{hēet
\hspace{1cm}\text{cause}
\hspace{1cm}\text{danj}
\hspace{1cm}\text{nān}
\hspace{1cm}\text{N}
\hspace{1cm}\text{as}
\hspace{1cm}\text{that}
\hspace{1cm}\text{caus N}
\hspace{1cm}\text{+prdc Det}
\hspace{1cm}\text{ciñ]
\hspace{1cm}\text{riak}
\hspace{1cm}\text{call}
\hspace{1cm}\text{vān}
\hspace{1cm}\text{that}
\hspace{1cm}\text{panca sínkhōn}
\hspace{1cm}\text{for}
\hspace{1cm}\text{danj}
\hspace{1cm}\text{nān}
\hspace{1cm}\text{Sprb}
\hspace{1cm}\text{Adv P
\hspace{1cm}\text{five mountains P as
\hspace{1cm}\text{resn N that
\hspace{1cm}\text{Det
\hspace{1cm}\text{FP}

'Cause as such (it) is called five mountains.'

hēet

35) Structural pattern:

\[
V_1 \quad \text{hēet} \quad V_2
\]

\[
\text{[N ] V
\text{[+prdc ] V
\text{[+resn ]}
\]
\]
\]

'\text{V}_1. \text{The reason is V}_2."

36) Sentential example: (\text{Q}^b, part: Ratanakośin)

\[
\text{thān hay māy thōwīkhuun hēet mī? khuan cā? krōt cā? tīi
\text{he (king) give pay for misdeed doubly cause not should will be angry will hit
\text{N V V Adv? N Adv V V V V}
\]
\]

'...he/she was ordered to pay double; the cause: he/she should not be angry with or beat the baby.'

hēet wāa

The Sukhothai extension noun hēet with a fact complement wāa V₁ precedes a V₂ and means 'because V₁, therefore V₂'. As is normal with preposed subordinate clauses, the second clause contains a pre-verbal clause-sequence adverb, in our example kā?.
37) Structural pattern:

```
| hèet |
| N    |
| [ +resn ] | [ P ] | V₁ |
|       | [ +xtns ] | [ Adv ] |

'because V₁, (NP) then V₂'
```

38) Sentential example: (Traiphoom, Sukhothai)

```
\[ \theta^1 \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{hèet} \\
\text{reason} \\
\text{P} \\
\text{+resn} \\
\text{P} \\
\text{man} \\
\text{mī?} \\
\text{khāay} \\
\text{used to} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{?ōt} \\
\text{he} \\
\text{not} \\
\text{Ad} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{starve} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{khāaw} \\
\text{eat} \\
\text{phraw} \\
\text{noon} \\
\text{sleep} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{nay} \\
\text{in} \\
\text{klaŋ} \\
\text{inside} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{khīn} \\
\text{night} \\
\text{time} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{dinner} \\
\text{N}
\end{array}
\]

\[ \theta^2 \]

```
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{wan} \\
\text{day} \\
\text{nán} \\
\text{wind} \\
\text{kō?} \\
\text{hold} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{thii} \\
\text{so} \\
\text{Adv} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{ton} \\
\text{body} \\
\text{man} \\
\text{N} \\
\text{Det} \\
\text{his} \\
\text{cause} \\
\text{N} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Because he was not used to not eating dinner and went to bed that day he fainted.'

Tabulation of changes from the Ramkamhaeng period until Modern Thai

The three tables below display the syntactically analyzed cause/reason connectors sorted in terms of period first attested (Table 1), form (Table 2), and syntactic type (Table 3). Generalizations are made where possible about diachronic tendencies noted in the data. The following abbreviations are used:

- RKH: Ramkamhaeng
- AYDD: Ayuddhaya
- SKTH: Sukhothai
- RTK: Rama V, Ratanakosin
- MT: modern Thai

Table 1. Sorted by time period first attested
Semantic Characteristics and Historical Development.

In this section we will examine all linking words discussed in the previous sections in connection with their semantic characteristics and historical development. In order that we can identify the semantic characteristics of a linking word as a cause or result marker, we would like to give first the definitions of four semantic features: cause, result, purpose and reason.

1. *cause*

   If x cause y, x is a necessary and sufficient condition for y. If x hadn’t happened, y would not have happened, and if x happened, y had to be the result. Cause in this sense does not imply intention, but also does not exclude it.

2. *purpose*
It the purpose of x is y, it means that some animate entity A intentionally performs the action x, and A expects and wishes that performing x will bring about y.

3. result
If x causes y (sense 1), then y is the result of x.

4. reason
If x is the reason for y, it means either that
a) x causes y (sense 1) or
b) y is the purpose of x.

Cause clause markers

As can be seen from the definition, cause and result are the two sides of the same coin. The clause and result clauses must co-occur. The clause conveying a cause event is marked by any of the following cause clause markers: phïa, phïa ëëet, phr ningún, phr ningún hëëet, phr ningún hëëet wïa, ëëet, ëëet dañ nán, näñ, näñ maa cïïak and dïïåy. However, the cause clause may occur without a cause marker (see 40) below). In that case, the following result clause must carry a result clause marker. In some cases, both cause and result markers appear (see 41) below).

For example:

39) aakät rïon phr ningún fën mây tök (Modern Thai)
weather hot because rain not fall
result cause

40) fën mây tök aakät cïï rïon (Modern Thai)
rain not fall weather therefore hot
cause result

Besides, cause and result markers may co-occur at the same time.

41) phr ningún fën mây tök aakät cïï rïon
because rain not fall weather therefore hot
cause result

From the data studied, there have been, from the Sukhothai period to the modern time, numerous cause clause markers. These markers are as follows:

phïa and its related markers

In the Ramkamhaeng inscription phïa was found marking the cause clause occurring after the result clause as in:

42) phïa khûn raamkamhaen hâa khrây cay nay
result
cay læ säy laaysë thay nïi wây laaysë thay cïï mïi
result
phïa khûn phûu nän säy wây
cause
(Ramkamhaeng Inscription)
'King Ramkamhaeng has the idea of establishing this Thai Alphabet, the alphabet therefore existed. This is because the king established it.'
The sequence of cause and result clauses must be noted. Logically the sequence should be in the order of cause-result in which case a cause clause needs no marker (see example 40)) or optionally used (see example 41)) but the result clause must be marked (in the examples ciŋ is used). The result clause can precede the cause clause as in examples 39) and 42). However, here there is a difference in the use of result marker. *aakàat ciŋ rɔ̀n phrɔ̞? fɔ̀n mɔ̀y tɔk (cf. example 39)). In the Sukhothai and Ayuddhya periods, when a cause clause followed a result clause, the result clause was marked with ciŋ (see example (d)). The occurrence of ciŋ in a result clause which preceded the cause clause may probably be explained by the fact that ciŋ in the old days commonly marked a temporal sequence of events rather than a result event. In order to indicate ciŋ as a result clause, not a following event in a series of events, a cause clause was marked by phìa (See example 42)). In the Ayuddhya data, phìa could be accompanied by hèet as phìa hèet wàa as in :

43) ciŋ tāŋ cāw fāa dɔ̄k dia hāy pen thīi mohāa?upɔrɔ̄at phìa hèet wàa sɔŋ phrā?subin nǐmít daŋ nīi. (Ayuddhya Period)

'...Therefore he pronounced Prince Dokduea the crown prince. Since he had had a dream telling him to do so.'

Since phìa already has the meaning of ‘cause’, the use of hèet ‘cause’ is only a repetition. Why was it needed? It is most probable that phìa is losing its meaning as cause and is gaining the new meaning of ‘purpose’. In modern Thai phìa carries the meaning ‘for the purpose of’ as in this example: mē: tham yaan nāk phìa lūk cāa? dāy rian nàŋsīi ‘The mother works hard so that her children will be able to go to school’. It does not indicate ‘cause’ any longer. The use of hèet, a noun meaning ‘cause’ in the Ayuddhya period may well prove that phìa was beginning to shift its meaning. In other words, during its bleaching process, hèet was used in company with phìa and later replaced it. However, hèet used alone or in a phrase with daŋ nān did not survive either. While hèet daŋ nān is not used in Modern Thai, daŋ nān is used as a reason marker:

44) khāw māy chɔ̄op thɔ́: daŋ nān khāw kɔ̀ la y ca māy pay

'He does not like her therefore he is not going.'

In the late Sukhothai period, phrɔ̞? was introduced with hèet as phrɔ̞? hèet meaning ‘because’. Based on the data, we see that this marker was used until the reign of King Rama V in the Ratanakosin period. In Modern Thai, either hèet or phrɔ̞? hèet has become obsolete. phrɔ̞? hèet wàa was also found in late the Sukhothai period and has been used until now, although it is found more in formal writing along with phrɔ̞? hèet thīi which first appears in Modern Thai.

It can be concluded that for the cause clause markers, phrɔ̞? has been used from the Sukhothai period until the present time. It was found used more with other words as a non-extension preposition in the old days. In Modern Thai, phrɔ̞? is commonly used alone or with a complement beginning with wàa.

duây

In our data, duây was first found in the Ayuddhya period. It should be noted the
cause clause marked with *duay* must always precede the result clause which always carries the result marker *ciŋ*. In the Ramkamhaeng inscription, *duay* was used as a marker of a comitative case:

45) ku tō cháaŋ duay khūn sāamchon ...
'I fought on elephant back with Khun Saamchon.'

or as a manner/instrumental case:

46) ... sūan khwām kae man dūay sīi
(I) investigate the case with justice.

47) ... sānsōn thay thiŋ lāay háy rūu bun rūu tham ... dūay rūu
(He) taught all Thais to know good and bad with (his) knowledge.

It is proposed here that *dūay* as a cause clause marker is derived from *dūay* as a case marker for manner/instrumental case relation. In Modern Thai, *dūay* is used in formal writing and is found used in a phrase as a discourse marker: *dūay héaēt daŋ klāaw* (lit. 'with the aforementioned cause').

**nīañ**

*nīañ* as a marker for a cause clause is, from the data, found only in Modern Thai. It is used followed by a preposition phrase (see *nīañ* in 'Grammatical classification of cause and result words' above).

**Result Clause Markers**

From the data, there are three result cause clause markers: *ciŋ*, *kū* and *phāi?chānān*

**ciŋ**

*ciŋ* appears in all periods and has two consistent functions. *ciŋ* can be used as a marker of a temporal sequence of events and as a result clause marker. With these two functions, there seems to be a reverse in priority of the function between the Sukhothai-Ayuddhya periods and the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods. From our data, *ciŋ* in the Sukhothai and Ayuddhya periods seemed to primarily convey a temporal sequence of events. Because of this, when it was to mark a result event, a cause clause marked by a cause marker *phāia* must be used following it. (See *phāia* and its related markers above).

In the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods, *ciŋ* normally marks the result clause, although temporally it cannot be denied that a cause and a result are also in the temporal sequence of events. However, there are cases where a temporal sequence of events does not convey the result event, for example:

48) raw kin khāaw lēaŋ ciŋ pay nōn
'We ate and then we went to bed.'

Here there is no cause-result meaning conveyed. In the following sentence, the cause-result meaning is expressed:

49) fōn māy tōk aakāat ciŋ rōn
'It did not rain therefore the weather is hot.'

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If "mīa ‘when’ is put in the sentence to convey the temporal sequence, the sentence is not very acceptable:

50) ?? mīa fōn māy tōk ?aakāat ciŋ rōn
The temporal sequence of events is more acceptable with kō? as a marker:

51) mīa fōn māy tōk ?aakāat kō? rōn
‘When/Whenever it does not rain, the weather is hot.’
Because ciŋ usually marks the result clause, the following sentence is not acceptable:

52) wāa khāw pay lāæw ciŋ sıacay
‘Scolding him therefore I felt sorry.’

In sum, there seems to be a reverse in the priority of function with ciŋ in the Sukhothai-Ayuddhya periods and in the Ratanakosin and Modern Thai periods:

Ramkamhaeng-Ayuddhya: 1. temporal sequence of events marker
2. result marker

Ratanakosin-Modern Thai: 1. result marker
2. temporal sequence of events marker

kō?

Similar to ciŋ, kō? has been found from the Sukhothai period up until the present time. Also like ciŋ, it may mark a temporal sequence of events and a result event, although kō? is used more to mark the following event in a sequence of events, as can be seen from 51) above or in 52) if kō? is used instead of ciŋ, the sentence is quite acceptable: wāa khāw pay lāæw kō? sıacay. ‘After scolding him (I) felt sorry’.

phrō?chānān

phrō?chānān was found first in Ayuddhya period and has been used until now to mark a result event. From its form, it may be hypothesized that phrō?chānān is derived from a phrase: phrō? chēn nān which literally means ‘(The) cause (is) like that’. The destressing of chēn makes it become chē and turns the construction into a one unit word meaning ‘therefore’, marking a result event. It is interesting to see that with chānān after phrō?, the cause marker phrō? has transformed into a result marker.

It can be pointed out in conclusion that between cause clause markers and result clause markers, the markers for cause seem to appear first. This is because the markers for a result event: ciŋ, kō? seem to mark temporal events first. Besides, it should be noted that although there are several cause clause markers, most of them are extended from phrō? and phā. Lastly, the fact that phā has shifted to mark purpose explains the close semantic relation between cause and purpose.
REFERENCES


TIẾP CẢN NGỮ PHÁP KHMER
THEO QUAN DIỄM NGỮ NGHĨA LỒ GỊCH: PHẠM TRÙ SƠ

Pogibenko Tamara

Mặc dù trong tiếng Khmer không phải tất cả các ngữ đoạn danh từ (NP) có danh từ trùng ở vị trí nhất định đều được đánh dấu về số trong câu, nhưng các dây tác đánh dấu cũng có tính bất buộc không kèm gì trong những ngôn ngữ mà ý nghĩa về số được ngữ pháp hóa. Tuy nhiên các dây tác này được công thức hóa nhờ những từ và phù hợp hơn với cấu trúc lô gích của câu nói. Cách biểu hiện ý nghĩa về số trong tiếng Khmer khiến ta phải trở lại với các giai đoạn khi đầu của quá trình ngữ pháp hóa khi mà những biểu thức chỉ ý nghĩa về số có liên quan đến việc biểu hiện số chỉ nhiều hơn là với việc biểu hiện về lượng. Tính chất phổ quát của quá trình ngữ pháp hóa về ý nghĩa số có liên hệ với hiện tượng bí ám của ngôn ngữ tự nhiên. Đó là bản chất của tính ngữ nguyên của danh từ chung. Tính ngữ nguyên này bị che mờ đi về mặt cấu trúc trong các ngôn ngữ mà ý niệm về số được hoàn toàn ngữ pháp hóa và được thể hiện sáng rõ trong các ngôn ngữ như tiếng Khmer.

Trong tiếng Khmer chính loại hình chức năng của cách miêu tả (chẳng hạn NP có danh từ chung đúng ở vị trí trung tâm), quyết định các dây tác đánh dấu số. Các biểu thức số có tính bất buộc trong các ngữ đoạn miêu tả đánh dấu. Đây là những NP có số chỉ danh nhập những đối tượng cá biệt với diện ngôn. Như vậy, chức năng ngữ pháp của chúng có phần gắn với hơn với định ngữ và thực ra ở vị trí này chúng là động chức năng với các kiểu định ngữ khác. Trong những ngữ đoạn miêu tả đồng nhất, tức là các NP là cách gọi tên thứ hai của cùng đối tượng ấy, thì các biểu thức số lại có hiệu chỉ số. Những ngữ đoạn miêu tả có vị ngữ tính và những ngữ đoạn miêu tả không có số chỉ thì nói chung không được đánh dấu về số trong tiếng Khmer.

Những nhận tooltips ngữ nghĩa lỏ gách không chỉ một mình chúng là có thể xác định loại chức năng của NP, mà cả các nhận tooltips ngữ dụng cũng cần được chú ý đến: thái độ của người nói và mục đích của cuộc giao tiếp có thể ảnh hưởng đến sự quy thuộc "kể tham gia / kẻ không tham gia" của NP đặc biệt.

Có những trường hợp mà các nhận tooltips ngữ nghĩa lỏ gách và ngữ dụng xung khắc nhau. Tình trạng này xảy ra khi các NP có vị từ tính hoặc không quy chiếu bao chúa cả yếu tố hạn định là yếu tố chỉ rõ giá trị ngữ nghĩa vốn vẫn thường đối hỏi phải có NP quy chiếu để bổ khuyết cho nó. Những NP kiểu này bất thuộc phải được đánh dấu về ý nghĩa số; như vậy khi nhìn ở một nơi thì NP không quy chiếu được đánh dấu như là NP có quy chiếu.