

HMONG AND AREAL SOUTH-EAST ASIA

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Hmong language¹

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)

David Bradley ed., *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.11:
South-East Asian syntax, 175-230. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-77, 1989.

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 ɲ and final consonant symbols for tones, as follows (mainly from Smalley 1976:109):

[ɓ]	[ɗ]	[ɗ̥]	[ɗ̥]	[ɗ̥]	[ɗ̥]	[ɗ̥]	[ɗ̥]
-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 lexibase grammar as set forth by Stanley Starosta, particularly in his 1978, 1979, 1984a and 1984b papers. Starosta states that lexibase ‘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 therefore is a 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 *Khǎw pay talàat suu 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 nō̃ 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 xī̃a 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 Sài Gòn 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 haay lqaa phaay.* (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 *Tứ hổ chéhp áhng tởng 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 *Murhng 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, noncategorical 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-categorical 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 classifier noun *tus* ‘animate being’, which in turn can be enumerated.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 2.1 | <i>yim tus</i>
eight animate being
eight children | <i>menyuam</i>
child
eight children | * <i>yim menyuam</i>
eight child
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 xīā 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	<i>tus</i> (<i>leej</i>)	<i>tua</i> <i>khon</i>	<i>con</i> <i>người</i>
group, bunch	<i>cov</i> [\pm anim] <i>tej</i>	<i>phûak</i>	<i>bọn, nhóm</i> people <i>bộ</i> set (thing) <i>đám</i> gathering
inanimate thing (general classifier)	<i>lub</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>cái</i>
stick-like thing (rigid)	<i>tus</i>	<i>tôn</i> vertical <i>thêṅ</i>	<i>cây</i>
strip (flexible)	<i>tus</i>	<i>săay</i>	<i>con</i>
flat length	<i>daim</i>	<i>phên</i> rigid sheet <i>phũun</i>	<i>bức, tấm</i>
volume, book	<i>phau</i>	<i>lêm</i>	<i>cuốn, quyển</i>
round object	<i>lub</i>	<i>bay, lûuk</i>	<i>quả, trái</i>
kind, class, sort	<i>yam</i>	<i>yàaṅ</i>	<i>thứ, loài</i>

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 *lóng 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 *Muahn áu tú lóng nhéht ma héht mệ.* (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) chồng chị tôi*

Viet vehicle vehicle belonging husband sister I
my sister's husband's car

b *hai chiếc xe của chồng 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 noncategorical 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
<u>M-Y</u> Hmong	<i>kuv</i> I	<i>peb</i> 3	<i>tug/tus</i> animate Clsfr	<i>dev</i> dog	<i>(xim)</i> colour (Lao)	<i>dub</i> black						<i>ntawd</i> that
<u>AA</u> Vietnamese		<i>ba</i> 3	<i>con</i> animate Clsfr	<i>chó</i> dog	<i>(màu)</i> colour	<i>đen</i> black			<i>đó</i> that	<i>của</i> possn	<i>tôi</i> I	
M-K: Sre		<i>pe</i> 3	<i>nəm</i> non-human thing Clsfr	<i>?asə</i> dog		<i>jù?</i> black					<i>?aŋ</i> I	<i>ne</i> that
M-K: Khmer			<i>ckae</i> dog		<i>(pcə)</i> colour	<i>kmaw</i> black	<i>bəy</i> 3	<i>(ə)</i>		<i>rəbəh</i> thing	<i>kñom</i> I	<i>nuh</i> that
<u>Tai</u> Thai			<i>mǎa</i> dog			<i>dam</i> black	<i>saam</i> 3	<i>tua</i> animal		<i>khǒŋ</i> thing	<i>phǒm</i> I	<i>nán</i> that
Nung		<i>slám</i> 3	<i>tú</i> animate Clsfr	<i>má</i> dog		<i>đáhm</i> black				<i>?</i>	<i>cáu</i> I	<i>té</i> 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	<i>hauv</i>	<i>nraum</i>	<i>saum</i>	<i>pem</i>	<i>qab</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>(ntiag)</i>	<i>(qab)</i>	<i>nruab</i>	<i>ntawm</i>
Thai	<i>nay</i>	<i>nōok</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>nǎa</i>	<i>lāaŋ</i>	<i>tāy</i>	<i>nāa</i>	<i>lǎŋ</i>	<i>klaaŋ</i>	<i>thī</i>
Khm	<i>knog</i>	<i>kraw</i>	<i>ləə</i>	<i>ləə</i>	<i>kraom</i>	<i>kraom</i>	<i>muk</i>	<i>kraoy</i>	<i>kəndaal</i>	
Vtn	<i>trong</i>	<i>ngoài</i>	<i>trên</i>	<i>dưới</i>	<i>dưới</i>	<i>trước</i>	<i>sau</i>	<i>giữa</i>	<i>(tận)</i>	

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 knog 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 ngồi (ở) dưới đất và chị ngồi 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 *Waanníi nóong hòklóm bon kraday thîi ta?lâat.* (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 tiw srok Krae khae kraoy.* (Ehrmann 1972:107)

Khmer we go country Khmer month behind
We're *going to* Cambodia next month.

b *Yook qəywan nih tiw bəntup.* (Huffman 1970:138)

take thing this to room
Take these things *to* the room.

Despite Huffman's translation of *tiw* in 3.1b, one could argue for *tiw* being a verb in a serial verb construction, since the subject of *yook* is the transporting Agent of the Patient and could thus be considered in such an argument to be the subject of *tiw* 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 *Mưn cəng mɔ̄ cəu.* (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

	regarding return → back to	reach to →	reach- ing to	(animate) give to → to, for	put in/onto → to	at be at →(in,on)	be with → with
<u>M-Y</u> Hmong			regarding <i>txog txog</i>		<i>rau rau</i>	<i>nyob nyob</i>	<i>nrog nrog</i>
<u>Tai</u> Thai	<i>klàp klàp</i>	<i>thǔŋ thǔŋ</i>		<i>hây hây</i>		<i>yùu yùu</i>	
BlkTai		<i>hot⁵ hot⁵</i>		<i>hyu³ hyu³</i>	put into <i>syu² sym²</i>	?	
Nung	<i>mơ mơ</i>	?		<i>hừ hừ</i>		<i>dụ dụ</i>	
<u>AA</u> Khmer	go to <i>tɨw tɨw</i>		<i>dal dal</i>	<i>qaoy, cuun qaoy, cuun</i>		<i>nɨw nɨw</i>	
Chrau	<i>sĩq sĩq</i>	<i>tât tât</i>		<i>an an</i>		<i>u u</i>	
Vietn.	<i>về về</i>	<i>đến, tới đến, tới</i>		<i>cho cho</i>		<i>ở ở</i>	
<u>S-T</u> Chin.		<i>dào dào</i>		<i>gěi gěi</i>		<i>zài zài</i>	
Benue- Kwa lgs (W.Afr.)	go to → to <i>lō, kǎ, (dùo?)</i>			<i>ná, fún, nò, piri</i>		<i>le, wɔ, yè</i>	<i>kpèlú</i>

- 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 gěh K bāy M tāt mōq ănh du măt.* (D.M.Thomas 1978:288)
 Chrau morning yesterday have K and M arrive visit I one time
 Yesterday morning K. and M. *came* to visit me a bit.

- b *Nanh lawân cǎh tāt 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 *Rədaw-kdaw kii pii khae-minaa tiw/rəhout dal khae-quhsəphiə.*
 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)

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

c *trôh hăi 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 ɲən chǎn.*

Thai 3P give money I

She *gave* me money.

b *Khǎw yìp khǒɔŋ 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 hěnn 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.*
 I 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 tsəŋ² sɯ² hai¹ vai⁶ buən¹ nuŋ⁵ buən¹ 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 thim³puw⁵ sɯ² 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 thǐi Krunthēep.*
 Arunee work at place at Bangkok
 Arunee works *in* Bangkok.
- 3.18a *Tôi sẽ 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 để 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 txaj.*
 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 thī-nīi léew.*
 Thai I used to come here already
 I have *come* here before.

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

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

- b *Tuuk nuh dək tnam mook pij kəmpuəŋ-caam.* (Huffman 1970:183)
 boat that carry tobacco hither from Kampong Cham
 That boat is *bringing* 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 gửi 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 ʔɔʔ² 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* ʔɔʔ² *siə¹*, *ha.⁴* *man⁴* *kɔ³* *bau²* ʔɔʔ².
 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 *Von ta - tao con-se.*
 Chr we Caus.- stand child
 We stand the child up.

4.5 *Von 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 *Ĕn pĩ (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 *Ĕn pĩ dđh 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 *Kodrai mσ - 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 ěnh gũq simσ bãy S bãy 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-	<i>pkaət</i>	create, cause	←	<i>kaət</i>	be born
baN-	<i>baŋkaət</i>	create, give birth to	←	<i>kaət</i>	be born
	<i>baŋriən</i>	teach, cause to learn	←	<i>riən</i>	study, learn
-Vm-	<i>samlap</i>	kill	←	<i>slap</i>	die
	<i>tumlěəq</i>	fell, overthrow	←	<i>tlěəq</i>	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 kamien*. (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-claəŋ kee qaoy tiw deik tae məněəq qaəŋ*.
 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 Dəəŋ ramkhaan*. (Kullavanijaya 1974:315)
 Thai Pook make (for) Dang irritated
 Pook made Dang feel irritated.
- 4.15 *Dəəŋ ca? rák Pùk hây klúmcaŋ 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 *Ləo mē fā chihng páht óhng cūhñ té lohng ma*. (Saul and Wilson 1980:110)
 Nung then Clsf sky then force Clsf. person that down come
 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 dīi.* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai child do good
The child is behaving well.

5.2 *Sùk aw napsǎi maa bān.* (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 *Nǐ gùì- xialai qǐu 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 wīŋ pay sǐi khaǹm.* (Filbeck 1975:113)

Thai child run go buy candy
The child ran to buy candy.

5.5 *Dèk wīŋ klàp pay sǐi khaǹm.* (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 *mook* in 5.8, giving the meaning 'bring seedrice'.

5.6 *Vahng té chíhng khùhn pay kfh.* (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 mook 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 sâag tó?* (Filbeck 1975:113)
Thai Sook take wood come build able
Sook brought wood to build a table.

b *Phom chày mîit tât 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-fān.* (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 nǒng sǎng 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 hái'zì.* (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 nǎngsǐi sǎng lēm bon tǒt.* (Kullavanijaya 1974:24)
Thai have book two volume top table
There are two books on the table.
- 6.8 *Níw 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-lì yǒu hě'n 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 *Khàat 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 *Đặng gẽh vu lây hiếp ảnh gẽh.* (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 *Klɛŋ hù? klɛŋ?*
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 *Mog⁵⁵ mog¹¹ a⁵⁵ mog¹¹ nen³⁵?*
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 sǔu khâaw(-sǎan).* (Tony Diller,p.c.)
 Thai 3P Future not buy rice milled rice
 They're not going to buy rice.

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

- 7.10a *Láaw bǔu si pay Lǔaṅ Phābaaṅ.*
 Lao 3P not Future go Luang Prabang
 She's not going to go to Luang Prabang.

- b *Láaw si pay Lǔaṅ Phābaaṅ bǔu?*
 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 lɯw¹* (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 *Cấu sạhm chông mi hăhn mưhn.* (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 Chau one of several postverbal question words is definitely a negative (also 6.18):

7.15a *Ảnh đang còn gủ gở đông wở phủng ...* (D.M.Thomas 1978:291)
 Chau I not want stay long more more fear
 I don't want to stay any longer for fear ...

- b *Pôp oh lết camvũm ảnh nhai gal dăng?* (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 traw-kaa kafei tee* (Huffman 1970:23)
 Khm I not want coffee Neg.
 I don't want any coffee.

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

According to Tsou (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 Tsou 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 thư 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 héht áhn 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 baag-pqoun buən nǣəq, meən 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 rii?* (Huffman 1973:501)

Khm Mr go market or
Are you going to the market (or someplace else)?

7.26 *Kháw pay talàat rǔu?* (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 rôtám 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 euphonic, 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 *nam ntej nam ntov*
(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 Euphonic syllable
so very beautiful

8.2 a *nup⁵⁵ nzap⁵⁵ nup⁵⁵ nzau¹²*
Miao eat year eat year
celebrate the New Year holidays

b *fap⁵⁵ nze⁵⁵ fap⁵⁵ me¹³*
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 thâu khon kè*

Thai person old person old
old person

b *klay hữu klay taa*

be far ear be far eye
out of sight

8.5 a *pum đvη pum yuəl*

Khm not know not understand
not to know

b *đvη tuk đvη 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 *mũu hêt pêt kày*

Thai pork mushroom duck chicken
foodstuffs

b *điit sǐi tii pàw*

pluck rub beat blow
to play musical instruments

c *yép pàk thàk rǒoy*

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 ấ y l u ô n b ắ t k h o a n b ắ t n h ậ t. (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 *dây*, Khmer *baan*, and Hmong *tau* as shown here:

- 8.8 a Nws **tau** p e b t u g n y u j. (transitive verb)
 Hmg 3P acquire three anim. cattle
 He has three cows.
- b Yog p e b **tau** n y o b u a k e, m a s p e b **tau** s i b t h a m. (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** n t x i v l a w m. (secondary verb)
 we2 sell able more already
 We two were able to sell some more.
- d Koj **hais lus** H m o o b p u a s **tau**? (secondary verb)
 you say word Hmong whether able
 Can you speak Hmong language?
- e Nws **tau mus** n r a m M o o s L o o b. (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 p a j - n t a u b n o k u v x a w s **tau ntev** l a w m.
 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 đây 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 *wāa*, 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 \rightarrow 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 *Kây tua nán kin léew.* (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 koog nán sák léew.* (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 Sài Gòn.*
 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 koog nán (nâ) sák léew.*
 Thai cloth heap that Topic wash already
 Those clothes (they) have already been washed.
 Those clothes (someone) has washed already.

- b *Phâa kooŋ nán (ná) khăw sák léew.*
 cloth heap that Topic 3P wash already
 Those clothes she has washed already.
- c *Phâa kooŋ nán (ná) man sák léew.*
 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 bép nĩ sák nây.*
 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 ∅ qhia lus Hmoob rau kuv.*
 Kee consent teach word Hmong to me
 Kee consented to teach the Hmong language to me.
- b *Nws sim ∅ 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 ∅ lawm.*
 Hmg I already extract already
 I got *it* out already.
- b *Kuv ua ∅ 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 ∅.*
 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 \emptyset 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 \emptyset tsis ntxuav dej, \emptyset 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 \emptyset Sib ntsib dua.
 Recip. meet more
 We (Inclusive) will meet again. (a common farewell salutation)
 (Subject designated by reciprocal marker)
- d \emptyset 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 \emptyset ở đường Lê Lợi.
 Viet I buy at street Le Loi
 I bought it in Le Loi Street.
- b Anh ấy đã làm \emptyset chưa? \emptyset làm \emptyset rồi.
 brother that Past do not yet do already
 Has he done it yet? Yes, he's done it already.
- c \emptyset có đi không? Dạ, \emptyset không đi.
 have go not Response not go
 Are you going? No, I'm not going.
- d Chị ấy giặt áo, rồi \emptyset 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.

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- 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.

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