Chapter 2

Nominal Structures

This chapter provides an analysis of Kmhmu' nominal stuctures in order to provide a basis for discussion on the discourse level functions of referring expressions in later chapters. It includes a description of noun phrases and their constituents, pronouns and other nominal constructions. The grammatical description is prefaced by a literature review of some theoretical approaches to examining noun phrase structure and a brief description of the methodology used in this grammatical analysis.

2.1 Literature review

This analysis draws on the theoretical approach of Jan Rijkhoff (2002) with some insight from the work of Mark Alves (2001).

2.1.1 Rijkhoff on nominal subcategories and the structure of the NP

Rijkhoff comes from a functional grammar approach similar to Dik (1997) and follows Hengevald (1992a) in defining a noun according to its function, as a lexical item that can act as head of a noun phrase (NP). The referent of an NP is not an entity in the physical world, but rather a mental construct of that entity which exists in the minds of the speech participants (Rijkhoff 2002).

To determine noun subcategories Rijkhoff uses two systems: the first looks at the morphosyntactics of how nouns are quantified; the second at the semantic characteristics of **shape** and **homogeneity**, where **shape** refers to a referent having boundedness in the spatial dimension, and **homogeneity** to a referent having consistency throughout its substance. Rijkhoff arrives at six nominal subcategories, namely **singular object** nouns, **set** nouns, **sort** nouns, **general** nouns, **mass** nouns and **collective** nouns (Rijkhoff 2002:54). Based on Rijkhoff's subcategorisation, Kmhmu' has **sort** nouns and **mass** nouns. Sort nouns do not take plural marking, but use numerals with sortal classifiers for counting objects,

and mass nouns use mensural classifiers to indicate volume or weight. Sort nouns are characterised as [–Shape] because they cannot be enumerated without a classifier. This is a reflection of the understanding that sort nouns "...purely denote *concepts* and, for this reason, are incompatible with direct quantification." (Hundius and Kölver 1983:166). According to Foley (1997:231), classifiers "embody" or "unitise" an otherwise non-discrete and unbounded noun, thus enabling it to be quantified or modified. This function is also known as individuation. Lyons (1977:463) describes a sortal classifier as "one which individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is". A mensural classifier, according to Lyons (1977:463) is "one which individuates in terms of quantity".

Rijkhoff (2002:238) describes the NP as having a layered structure around the head noun. In the layer closest to the noun are qualifying modifiers such as adjectives, which relate purely to the inherent features of the referent. The next layer contains quantitative modifiers such as numerals and classifiers, which are concerned with external features of the referent and have scope over the noun and its qualifiers. Localising modifiers occur in the next layer, and include demonstratives, locatives, restrictive relative clauses, and possessors. These have scope over the two inner layers, and locate the referent in the world of discourse. Finally there is a discourse modifier layer which may contain markers of definiteness or specificity, and indicates whether the referent has been previously referred to in the discourse. Rijkhoff calls this **discourse deixis**. While localising modifiers indicate where a referent is located in the **world** of discourse, discourse deixis indicates where a referent is referred to in the **discourse** itself.

2.1.2 Alves and the NP in Mon-Khmer languages

In contrast to Rijkhoff's cross-linguistic approach, Alves (2001) works from a non-transformational dependency grammar theory known as Lexicase to analyse nouns in Mon-Khmer languages. In this approach there is no NP structure as such, but rather a word, such as a noun, with various other elements dependent on it. The order and types of these elements are lexically constrained. Based on syntagmatic and semantic properties, Alves arrives at the following nominal subcategories, see Table 3.

Table 3: Primary subclasses of nouns among Mon-Khmer languages
(Alves 2001:2)

SUBCATEGORY	PROPERTIES
anaphoric nouns	pronominal reference, can take a variety of modifying dependents
common nouns	open class, least grammaticalised
numeral nouns	quantifying function, has special relationship with +unit nouns
pronominal nouns	pronominal reference, cannot take possessive dependents
relator nouns	grammaticalised function, may indicate location, possession, or means
scope nouns	indicate distributive or quantitative scope (e.g. each, every)
+unit nouns	countable nouns, such as classifier nouns, measure words, or other words with a special relationship with numerals

Thus pronouns (**anaphoric nouns** and **pronominal nouns**), classifiers (**+unit nouns**), and numerals (**numeral nouns**) would all be included in Alves' subcategories of nouns. No further details or examples are given in his manuscript to further clarify the properties of these subcategories, in particular exemplifying the differences between **anaphoric nouns** and **pronominal nouns**, and the exact nature of **relator nouns**, and the possible dependents with which they may occur. Although there is limited explanation of this theory, it does offer an alternative approach to analysing Kmhmu' data, and has been helpful in describing some aspects of Kmhmu' nominal structures that do not readily fit with Rijkhoff's view of a layered NP structure.

2.2 Methodology

Grammatical analysis of the texts provided for a brief grammar sketch. The texts were then examined in more depth to determine the structures and characteristics of noun phrases, pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, and other nominal constructions, and to characterise their functions at phrase, clause and sentence levels.

2.3 Noun phrases and their constituents

As expected in an SVO language, the noun head precedes modifiers in the Kmhmu' NP. The structure of the NP can be characterised by the rule shown in (2). The noun head is optionally followed by one or more attributive modifiers, a quantifying element such as a classifier phrase, and a determiner such as a demonstrative, locative, demonstrative pronoun or indefinite pronoun.

(2) NP → N ({N, ADJ}) (ClfP) ({DEM, LOC, DEMPRO, IndPRO})

The noun head is the only obligatory element in the NP.

2.3.1 Noun heads

Kmhmu' nouns are not marked for number, case, or gender/class. Nouns may thus be characterised by their grammatical function in NPs where they act as head. Both simple and compound nouns may act as head in the NP; see (3) where the simple noun *mɔɔk* 'sister, female relative' acts as head.

(3) Orphan.014

daʔ	*joŋ*	*gəə*	*gɨˈniʔ*	*ʔah*	*maʔkin*	*ʔah*	***mɔɔk***	***mooj***	***gon***
at	father	3sgm	that_one	have	aunt	have	sister	one	Clf_people

On his father's side (there) was an aunt, (there) was a sister.

The compound noun *maak tɛɛk* 'hand grenade', literally 'fruit explode', acts as head of the NP in (4).

(4) Bear.010

ʔah	*mooj*	*mɨɨ*	*gəə*	*jɔh*	*dɨaŋ*	***maak tɛɛk***	***niʔ***
have	one	Clf_days	3sgm	DIR	take	hand_grenade	this

(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade...

Kmhmu' nouns may be divided into common nouns and proper nouns, where proper nouns may be semantically characterised as the names of people and places, and common nouns are all other nouns. Proper nouns behave syntactically like common nouns except that they do not take attributive modifiers, or quantifiers, although they may take determiners such as demonstratives or locatives. An example of an unmodified proper noun as subject in a clause is shown in (5), where a person's name *tʰit pʰɨiw* 'Thit Phiv', is

the subject of the clause *tʰit pʰiiw rip kɨˈmuul jɔ? pasaˈson gaaŋ mooj man* 'Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin'.

(5)Man_eater.042

tʰit pʰiiw	*rip*	*kɨˈmuul*	*jɔ?*	*pasaˈson*	*gaaŋ*	*mooj*	*man*
Thit Phiv	gather	money	with	people	house	one	Clf_money

Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin...

An example of a proper noun followed by a determiner is shown in (6), where the proper noun *pʰuu mɨɨt* 'Meut Mountain' is followed by the locative *n̥i?* 'here'.

(6)Bear.001

mooj	*dɨa*	*hɨˈʔih*	*ʔi?*	*bian dee*	*ʔəh*	*r̥e?*	*da?*	***pʰuu***
one	Clf_times	PRT	1pl	PST	construct	rice_field	at	mountain

mɨɨt	***n̥i?***
Meut	here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Noun heads of NPs that are denoting a specific position or part of a physical location belong to a closed sub-class of nouns. These may be an example of what Alves calls **relator nouns** (2001:2), and this term is used in this paper. An example of such a relator noun is shown in (7), where *kɨnˈdruum* 'underneath' is the head of the NP *kɨnˈdruum gaaŋ* 'underneath the house'. Perhaps this could be translated as 'the underneath of the house' or 'the house's underneath'.

(7) Man_eater.049

jɛt	*da?*	*kuŋ*	*naatɕɔɔŋ*	*baŋ*	*kʰat*	*haaw*	*baar*	*l̥aaŋ*	*seh*	*da?*
located	at	village	Na Cong	3pl	block	trap	two	Clf_traps	put_in	at

kɨnˈdruum	***gaaŋ***
underneath	house

Located at Na Cong village, they set up two traps (and) put (them) at the underneath of the house.

Relator nouns always give specific positions in relation to, or point to a part of the location denoted by the following noun. They most frequently occur as the object of the preposition *da?* 'at/on'. Semantically they provide more precise details about the location being referred to. Further examples of these nouns are seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Relator Nouns

Relator noun	Meaning	Example (Text Ref)	
jeer	side	*jeer ŋɔɔr*	'side of the road' (Tan.019)
jiaŋ	base	*jiaŋ ɻe?*	'lower end of the rice field' (Bear.010)
kluaŋ	inside	*kluaŋ hɨnˈtɯ? muh*	'inside of the nostril' (Tan.056)
kɨmˈpoŋ	head	*kɨmˈpoŋ ɻe?*	'top of the rice field' (Bear.003)
kɨnˈdruum	underneath	*kɨnˈdruum gaaŋ*	'underneath of the house' (Man-etr.047)
kɨnˈgrəŋ	midway	*kɨnˈgrəŋ briaŋ*	'midway among the others'(Man-etr.037)
liŋ	middle	*liŋ kɨrˈwɛh*	'middle of the foot' (Tan.082)
rɨpˈlap	inner side	*rɨpˈlap kiaŋˈti?*	'crook of the elbow' (Tan.080)
ɻɔh	periphery	*ɻɔh kuŋ*	'periphery of the village' (Man-etr.006)
sok	periphery	*sok mok*	'periphery of the mountain' (Orph.040)
tɨrˈdi?	centre	*tɨrˈdi? ŋɔɔr*	'centre of the road' (Man-eater.020)

2.3.2 Noun modifiers – qualifying elements

Head noun attributive modifiers include **nouns** and **adjectives**.

An example of a noun head being modified by another **noun** is shown in (8), where the noun *sɨrˈma? paˈ?aat* 'malaria' modifies the head noun *dʐia* 'microbe'.

(8)Tan.070

joŋ	*?o?*	*gɔ?*	*?ah*	***dʐia***	***sɨrˈma? paˈ?aat***	*maak*
father	1sg	so_then	have	microbe	malaria	many

...my father had many malarial parasites.

Kmhmu' **adjectives** can act as modifiers in an NP as shown in (9), where the adjective *ŋar* 'cold' modifies the head noun *ɲaam* 'period of time, season'.

(9) Bear.029

ɳɔɔŋ	*lɨˈŋiŋ*	*ɲaam*	*ni?*	***ɲaam***	***ŋar***
yet	dark	period_of_time	this	period_of_time	cold

...(it) is still dark, (at) this time (in) the cold season.

2.3.3 Quantifying elements

Following an attributive modifier(s) in the NP, a quantifying element such as a classifier phrase may occur; see (10) where the classifier phrase *haa gon* 'five people' quantifies the head noun *kɔɔn* 'child'.

(10) Man_eater.025

siˈnaa	*ʔah*	***kɔɔn***	***haa***	***gon***	*jaʔ*	*mii*	*jaʔ*	*ʔɔɔŋ*	*taʔ*	*ɲii*	*jaʔ*	*doʔ*
3du	have	child	five	Clf_people	Ms	Mi	Ms	Ong	Mr	Ñi	Ms	Do

jaʔ	*tiʔ*
Ms	Teu

Those two had five children, Ms Mi, Ms Ong, Mr Ñi, Ms Do, (and) Ms Tw.

The structure of the classifier phrase and characteristics of its elements, namely quantifiers and classifiers, are described under 2.4 Classifier phrases.

2.3.4 Determiners

The final optional element in an NP is a determiner such as a demonstrative or a locative.

Demonstratives primarily serve to locate a referent in the physical world in relation to the speaker or some other reference point. Kmhmu' demonstratives have a four-way contrast in distance combined with a three-level height contrast in the distal demonstratives. Thus the immediate proximal demonstratives indicate a referent close to a point of reference; the near proximal demonstratives a referent slightly further away, say within a metre or two; the medial demonstratives a referent some metres away; and the distal demonstratives a referent far away from a point of reference and often out of sight. The distal demonstratives are differentiated into 'over there level with a point of reference', 'over there above a point of reference', and 'over there below a point of reference'. There is also a plural demonstrative, *tʰɨrˈniʔ*, which has a sense of 'these various' entities. More research is needed to see if there are other forms such as a medial or distal plural demonstratives.

The term demonstrative as used in this study is sometimes also known as a demonstrative adjective, as it modifies the head noun in the NP, giving its location with respect to a point of reference. **Locatives** are also known as demonstrative adverbs, as they point to a place or a specific time, such as

English 'here' and 'now'. Kmhmu' locatives occupy the same position in the NP as demonstratives. The immediate proximal and medial demonstratives and locatives are morphologically related, with the locatives having a voiceless initial consonant while the demonstratives have a voiced initial consonant. Demonstratives and locatives found in this study are presented in Table 5, with examples following.

Table 5: Determiners

	Demonstratives		**Locatives**	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Space**	**Time**
Immediate Proximal 'this/here'	*ni?*	*tʰɨrˈni?*	*n̥i?* *ʔni?* *kʰii (pointing)*	*kʰɨˈni?*
Near Proximal 'that/there'	*ʔnɐ?* *kə?*			
Medial 'that there/ there'	*naaj*		*n̥aaj*	
Distal level 'over there'	*ho?*			
Distal up 'up there'	*ʔniŋ*			
Distal down 'down there'	*su?*			

In (11), the immediate proximal demonstrative *ni?* 'this' is the final element in the NP *ja? tɕimˈkin ni?* 'this woman'.

(11) Orphan.075

ja?	***tɕimˈkin***	***ni?***	*baŋ*	*law*	*məh*	*kɔɔn*	*tɕawsiˈwit*
Ms	female	this	3pl	say	be	child	king

This woman, they said (she) was the king's daughter...

The locative *n̥i?* 'here' is the final element in the NP *pʰuu miit n̥i?* 'Meut Mountain here' in (12).

(12) Bear.001

mooj	*dɨa*	*hɨˈʔɨh*	*ʔɨ?*	*bɨan dee*	*ʔəh*	*r̥e?*	*da?*	***pʰuu***
one	Clf_times	PRT	1pl	PST	construct	rice_field	at	mountain

mɨɨt	***n̥i?***
Meut	here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Indefinite pronouns may act as determiners in some NPs, see section 2.5.3 Indefinite pronouns and question words.

As well as pointing to the physical or temporal location of the noun head in the world of the speaker, determiners have other functions which go beyond the scope of the phrase or sentence in which they occur. These discourse level functions are discussed in sections 3.5 NPs with determiners in discourse and 3.10 Determiners as referring expressions in discourse.

2.3.5 Possessive phrases

A possessive phrase (PossP) is a subtype of NP, with a noun head, the possessed entity, followed by an optional possessive marker *de?* and the possessor. The possessor may be a common noun as shown in (13) where the common noun *lat* 'state' is the possessor of the head noun *lot* 'vehicle'.

(13) Tan.005

məh	***lot***	***de?***	***lat***
be	vehicle	POSS	state

...(it) was the government's vehicle...

A proper noun may also act as possesesor, as seen in (14), where *buuntʰaˈʔnɔɔm* 'Bounthanom', is the name of the company who owned the vehicle.

(14) Tan.005

məh	*lot*	***bɔriˈsat***	***buuntʰaˈʔnɔɔm***
be	vehicle	company	Bounthanom

(It) was the Buunthanoom Company's vehicle...

The possessor may be a pronoun, as shown in (15) where the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is the possessor of the head noun, *ma?* 'mother'.

(15) Orphan.004

pʰɔˈdii	***maʔ***	***gəə***	*gɔʔ*	*haan*	*pəh*
exactly	mother	3sgm	so_then	die	separate_from

...just then his mother died.

Possessors can occur with demonstratives and always precede them in the NP. In (16) the possessive pronoun *ʔiʔ* '1pl' precedes the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun *gii*.

(16) Orphan.001

daʔ	***pəˈtʰeet***	***laaw***	***ʔiʔ***	***gii***	*daʔ*	*ɲaam*	*m̥aŋ*	*pəˌtʰeetˈsaat*	*ʔiʔ*
at	country	Lao	1pl	this_one	at	period_of_time	old	nation	1pl

n̥ɔɔŋ	*tʰuk*	*ɲaak*	*ɲaam*	*jəʔ*	*lɛʔ*	*ʔam*	*daʔ*	*ʔah*
yet	poor	difficult	period_of_time	long_ago	PRT	NEG	not_yet	have

m̥əh
INDEF

In this our country of Laos in olden times, our nation was still poor long ago, (it) did not yet have anything.

2.3.6 Coordinate NPs

A coordinate NP consists of two NPs which refer to different entities and are either juxtaposed without a conjunction or joined by a coordinating conjunction. An example of a coordinate NP with no conjunction is seen in (17), where the two nouns *kɔɔn* 'child' and *joŋ* 'father' are simply juxtaposed to form a coordinate NP meaning 'the child and father'.

(17)Orphan.010

kɔɔn	***joŋ***	*tʰuk*	*ʔəh*	*tuup*	*ɲɛʔ*	*ɲɛʔ*	*jɛt*	*daʔ*	*sok*
child	father	poor	construct	hut	small	small	located	at	periphery

kuŋ	*briaŋ*
village	other_people

...the child (and) father were poor (and) built a very small hut, located at the periphery of the other people's village.

An example of a coordinate NP with a conjunction is seen in (18), where the conjunction *kap* 'with/and' joins *wɛk kut* 'flat-ended knife' and *tɨrˈnɛh* 'lighter' and *mɔʔ niʔ* 'the cross-bow'.

(18) Orphan.035

ʔɔɔr	***wɛk kut***	***kap***	***tirˈnɛh***	***kap***	***mɔʔ***	***niʔ***	*lɛʔ*	*jɔh*
lead	flat_ended_knife	with	lighter	with	cross-bow	this	and	go

(He) took the flat-ended knife and the lighter and the cross-bow and went.

Another coordinate NP construction uses a different conjunction *paʔ*. This conjunction may occur either between conjoined phrases or may precede an NP. When it occurs between two phrases it has a sense of 'with/and'. An example of *paʔ* between two phrases is seen in (19), where the NP *jaʔ dɛɛŋ* 'Ms Daeng' and *maʔ naa* 'her mother' are joined by the conjunction *paʔ*.

(19)Man_eater.007

mooj	*mɨɨ*	***jaʔ***	***dɛɛŋ***	***paʔ***	***maʔ***	***naa***	*jɔh*	*kʰɨaŋ*	*kwaaj*	*daʔ*
one	Clf_days	Ms	Daeng	with	mother	3sgf	DIR	dig	tuber	at

briʔ
forest

One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.

When *paʔ* is preposed, it has a sense of 'both'. An example of preposed *paʔ* is shown in (20), where *paʔ* precedes the dual pronoun ***sɨˈnaa*** which is in apposition to the coordinate NP *kɔɔn maʔ* 'child (and) mother'. This gives the meaning 'both of them, the child and mother'.

(20)Man_eater.031

raˈwaaj	*pok*	***paʔ***	***sɨˈnaa***	***kɔɔn***	***maʔ***	*haan*
tiger	bite	with	3du	child	mother	die

The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

2.3.7 Appositional NPs

In the texts under study, most NPs with more than just a noun, contain only one attributive modifier, or a classifier phrase or a determiner. When more extensive description or identification is required, an appositional NP may be used. This is also described in other Mon-Khmer languages (Costello 1969, Watson 1976). An appositional NP is where two adjacent NPs within a clause refer to the same entity; see (21), where the NP *gaaŋ n̥am* 'big house' is in apposition to the NP *gaaŋ dʑoŋ* 'tall house'.

(21) Man_eater.016

jɔʔ	*pɨˈsɨam*	*nɔɔ*	*jɔh*	*sih*	*room*	*jɔʔ*	*daʔ*	***gaaŋ***	***n̥am***
time_of_day	night	3pl	DIR	lie_down	unite	together	at	house	big

gaaŋ	***dʑoŋ***
house	tall

...at night they went to sleep gathered together at a big house, a tall house...

Use of an appositional construction may be the preferred pattern in Kmhmu' when an extensive description is used.

2.3.8 Complex NPs

Complex NPs contain embedded phrases or clauses as modifiers.

Another NP may be embedded as a modifier in an NP; see (22) where the embedded NP *tɨˈwiiŋ gɨˈniʔ* 'this locale' is modifying the head of the matrix NP, *gon* 'person'.

(22) Tan.030

gon	***tɨˈwiiŋ***	***gɨˈniʔ***	*tʰii*	*heŋ*	*sɨrˈməʔ*
person	locale	that_one	stingy	very	INTENS

The people (in) this area were really very stingy!

A PossP may be embedded in another PossP, see (23), where the embedded PossP *joŋ ʔoʔ* 'my father' is the possessor of the possessed head noun *maam* 'blood'.

(23)Tan.070

tɕii	*dɨaŋ*	***maam***	***joŋ***	***ʔoʔ***
IRR	take	blood	father	1sg

(They) were going to take my father's blood...

A relative clause may be embedded as a modifier in an NP. The Kmhmu' relative clause is externally headed and follows the head noun of the NP. Relative clauses may appear either with or without a relativiser. Table 6 shows Kmhmu' relativisers, according to the case role of the missing co-referent noun. Some of these relativisers have a number component and thus may be relative pronouns, e.g. *jɔʔˈgəə* (sg), *jɔʔˌsɐˈnaa* (du), *bɨiŋˈgəə* (pl). Further data is needed to establish all the possible forms of relativisers in Kmhmu'.

Table 6: Relativisers

Relativised Subject	Relativised Object	Relativised Possessor
gəə		
jɔʔˈgəə (sg)	*jɔʔ*	
jɔʔˌsɒˈnaa (du)		
bɨiŋˈgəə (pl)		
tʰii		*tʰiiˈwaa*
tɕaw gəə	*tɕaw*	

An example of a clause introduced by the relativiser *jɔʔˈgəə* with a relativised subject is shown in (24). The proper noun *jaʔ ʔɔɔn* 'Ms On' is modified by the relative clause *jɔʔˈgəə ɲaaŋ jɔh kɨnˈgrəŋ briaŋ* 'who was walking along in the middle of the other people'.

(24)Man_eater.039

hootɕ	*raˈwaaj*	*gaj*	*ter*	*jɔh*	*pok*	*jaʔ*	*ʔɔɔn*	***jɔʔˈgəə***	***ɲaaŋ***	***jɔh***
and_then	tiger	but_then	jump	DIR	bite	Ms	On	REL	walk	DIR

kɨnˈgrəŋ	***briaŋ***
middle	other_people

...and then a tiger jumped (out and) attacked Ms On who was walking along in the middle of the other people.

An example of a relative clause with no relativiser and with a relativised object is shown in (25). The head noun in the NP, *pɛɛn* 'planks', is modified by the relative clause *nɔɔ kɨnˈdam kɨnˈdam pəh ʔuun* 'they had placed down (and) set aside'.

(25)Tan.019

gɔʔ	*ʔah*	*pɛɛn*	***nɔɔ***	***kɨnˈdam***	***kɨnˈdam***	***pəh***	***ʔuun***
so_then	have	plank	3pl	place_down	place_down	separate_from	put_away

...and (there) were planks they had placed down (and) set aside...

2.4 Classifier phrases

Classifier phrases (ClfP) quantify nouns in an NP, and occur following the noun head and any attributive modifiers in the NP structure (see section 2.3 Noun phrases and their constituents). The head of a ClfP is a classifier which is

preceded by a quantifier. The structure of a Kmhmu' ClfP can be characterised by the following rule.

ClfP → QUANT CLF

An example of a classifier phrase is shown in (26), where the head of the classifier phrase *l̥aaŋ* 'classifier for traps' is quantified by the numeral *baar* 'two'. This ClfP quantifies the head noun *haaw* 'trap'.

(26)Man_eater.049

baŋ	*kʰat*	***haaw***	***baar***	***l̥aaŋ***
3pl	block	trap	two	Clf_traps

...they set up two traps...

There is some evidence to indicate that ClfPs may serve to quantify the head noun of an NP but be located separately from it within the clause. An example of this is seen in (27), where the ClfP *baar gon* 'two people' associated with the NP *tɕoon ni?* 'this thief', is located at the end of the clause.

(27)TwoThieves.002

nam	*jə?*	*nam*	*?ii*	*tan*	*n̥ɔɔŋ*	*jnɛ?*	***tɕoon***	***ni?***	*?ah*	***baar***
time	long_ago	when	HON	Tan	yet	small	thief	this	have	two

gon
Clf_people

(In) a time long ago, when Miss Tan was still small, there were these two thieves.

Costello (1969) also reports separation of the classifier phrase from the noun head in Katu. This possibility of having quantifying elements of the NP not adjacent to the rest of the NP does not fit well with Rijkhoff's layered NP structure (2002:238), and is better explained under Alves' approach (2001). Alves does not hold with an NP structure as such with integral elements, but sees nouns as lexical entities which may take certain other lexical items as dependent elements. Classifiers are understood as a subcategory of noun, a '+unit noun', which may take numerals as dependent elements (Alves 2001:2). In example (27) this would allow the classifier phrase *baar gon* 'two people' to appear separately in the clause from the NP *tɕoon ni?* 'this thief'.

2.4.1 Classifiers

Classifiers are a closed category of words which are used to individuate nouns and thus enable them to be counted or measured (Bisang 1999). Kmhmu' has what Rijkhoff describes as **sortal** classifiers and **mensural** classifiers (Rijkhoff 2002:47). **Sortal** classifiers are used with sort nouns, and generally indicate a collection of attributes such as shape. **Common sortal** classifiers are used to count discrete entities, **collective sortal** classifiers are used to count groups of entities, and **mensural** classifiers are used with mass nouns to indicate measure, such as weight or volume.

Suwilai (2002:425) lists 52 Kmhmu' classifiers, and Adams (1989) describes the Kmhmu' classifier system as being heavily influenced by borrowings from Tai languages, especially Lao. Those found in the current investigation (a total of 38) are listed in Table 7, with common sortal classifiers listed first, grouped into types according to semantic domain or basis of classification, and then collective sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers.

Table 7: Classifiers

Classifier Type		Classifier	Semantic Domain
Common sortal classifiers	bodies	*gon*	people (Lao)
		too	animals (Lao)
	structures	*l̥aaŋ*	traps
		l̥aŋ	buildings (Lao)
		l̥aŋˈgaaŋ	houses
	shape	*n̥uaj*	fruit, roundish things (Lao)
		sen	long, thin things (Lao)
	pieces, sections	*kɨrˈlɔh*	words, utterances
		pɨˈnɛɛr	segments of a whole, pieces
		ʔmɔɔn	places, pieces of land (Lao)
		blah	sides
	generic	*ʔan*	things (Lao)
	types	*nɛɛw*	types (Lao)
	time	*atʰit*	weeks (Lao)
		dʑua	hours

Classifier Type		Classifier	Semantic Domain
		kʰuap	years (Lao)
		mooŋ	hours (Lao)
		mii	days (Lao)
		nim	years
		pii	years (Lao)
		sua'mooŋ	hours (Lao)
		ʔnian	months (Lao)
	distance	*lak*	kilometres (Lao)
	money	*dolaa*	dollars (English)
		kiip	kip, Lao currency
		man	old currency, silver coins
	occurrences	*bat*	times, turns, occurrences
		dia	times, occurrences (Lao)
		tʰiaw	journeys (Lao)
	numbers	*ban*	thousands (Lao)
		rɔɔj	hundreds (Lao)
		sip	tens (Lao)
Collective sortal classifiers		*tɕu?*	groups, teams
		hir'nɔɔm	bundles
		kʰɔɔpkʰua	families (Lao)
Mensural classifiers		*daj*	bagfuls
		lit	litres, measuring liquid (English)
		paw	sackfuls, measuring grain

An example of a **common sortal classifier** is shown in (28), where the classifier for people *gon* is preceded by the numeral *haa* 'five' and used to count the number of children.

(28)Man_eater.025

si'naa	*ʔah*	***kɔɔn***	***haa***	***gon***
3du	have	child	five	Clf_people

Those two had five children...

The **collective sortal classifier** *hɨrˡnɔɔm* 'classifier for bundles' is used in example (29) to count bundles of *kɨˡmuul tʰuk* 'low grade silver'.

(29)TwoThieves.004

kɨˡmuul tʰuk	*ni?*	*ʔah*	***mooj***	***hɨrˡnɔɔm***
low_grade_silver	this	have	one	Clf_bundles

The low grade silver, (he) had one bundle.

In (30) the **mensural classifier** *daj* 'classifier for bagfuls' is used to measure the volume of *ʔom tʰɨˡlee* 'saline'.

(30)Tan's_Story.045

seh	*ʔo?*	*de?*	***ʔom tʰɨˡlee***	*tɕon*	*bian*	***hok***
put_in	1sg	get	saline	until	achieve	six

daj
Clf_bags

(They) put saline into me, until (it) reached six bagfuls.

Classifiers for types, time, distance, money, and occurrences generally occurred in classifier phrases with no head noun antecedent.

2.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include numerals and other counting or measuring words which occur with classifiers to denote the number of an object, quantity of a substance, or frequency of an event.

Non-numeral quantifiers include such words as *dʑɨm* 'every' and *gɨ?* 'many', and other quantifying words related to numerals such as *kɨnˡmooj* 'one of '. They precede the classifier in a classifier phrase. A list of the quantifiers found in this research is given in Table 8.

Table 8: Quantifiers

Quantifier	Meaning
gi?	many
dʑim	every
kin'mooj	one of
ki'baar	two of
kin'saam	three of
ʔmooj	not one

An example of a non-numeral quantifier is shown in (31), where the quantifier *dʑim* 'every' occurs in two classifier phrases in apposition, with the classifier for things *ʔan* and the classifier for types *nɛɛw*, meaning 'every thing, every type (of thing)' was there.

(31)Orphan.143

bat	*gii*	*ʔah*	*lootɕ*	***dʑim***	***ʔan***	***dʑim***	***nɛɛw***	*laʔ*	*n̥iʔ*
turn	this_one	have	totally	every	Clf_things	every	Clf_type	PRT	here

(At) this time (there) was every kind of thing here.

An example of a numeral quantifier is given in (32), where the numeral *sip'pɛɛt* 'eighteen' is the quantifier preceding the classifier for people *gon*.

(32) Man_eater.054

ra'waaj	*pok*	*hak*	*ʔam*	*haan*	***sip'pɛɛt***	***gon***
tiger	bite	nevertheless	NEG	die	eighteen	Clf_people

(Those) the tiger attacked, nevertheless (they) did not die, eighteen people.

2.5 Pronouns

In this section personal pronouns are listed, along with some interesting pronominal constructions found in Kmhmu', indefinite pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples are given from the texts under study.

2.5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Kmhmu' have a singular, dual and plural distinction, with gender differentiation in the second and third person singular forms, as shown in Table 9. There is also an unspecified form *dee*, which is neutral with regard to person, gender and number. An unspecified pronoun is reported in other Mon-Khmer languages (Watson 1964, Thomas 1978, Jiranan 1992).

Table 9: Personal Pronouns

Person	Gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
1		*ʔoʔ*	*ʔaʔ*	*ʔiʔ*
2	M	*mee*	*siˈbaa* *(siˈbɔɔ)**	*bɔɔ*
	F	*baa*		
3	M	*gəə*	*siˈnaa*	*nɔɔ* *baŋ*
	F	*naa*		
	N	*gəə*		
unspecified		*dee*		

* alternative pronunciation sometimes heard.

The typical form of the third person plural pronoun is *nɔɔ*. Use of the form *baŋ* is discussed in section 3.9 Pronouns in discourse.

The pronoun *dee* is listed in the dictionary of Suksavang et al. (1994:166) as having two senses. Firstly, it is a reflexive pronoun meaning 'self, oneself ' which 'can replace all other pronouns', and secondly, it can mean 'alone, single (unmarried)'. Suwilai (1087:33) also lists it as a reflexive pronoun. No instances in the texts under study clearly have this meaning of a reflexive pronoun, that is, of a single entity being both the subject and the object of a clause.

There are instances, particularly of possession, where the pronoun *dee* is used to signal that the possessor is the same entity as the subject in the clause. An example is shown in (33) where the young girl hides herself, *lɔh dee* 'her body'. The subject of the clause, the third person singular pronoun *naa*, is co-referent with the possessor *dee*. A similar sense is given in English by 'her own body'.

(33)Man_eater.032

naa	*dar*	*guut*	*sɔɔr*	*lɔh*	***dee***	*daʔ*	*liŋ*	*klaak*	*riˈhaaŋ*
3sgf	run	DIR	hide	body	co-referent	at	middle	clump	bamboo

...she ran in (and) hid her body in the middle of a bamboo clump.

This meaning is also described by van den Berg (1988:5) where he gives it the label 'co-referential pronoun'.

An example of the related meaning of 'alone' or 'with oneself ' is shown in example (34). The orphan is referred to initially by the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm', and then by the pronoun *dee*, which signals that the orphan went by himself.

(34)Orphan.025

bat	*gii*	***gəə***	*gɔʔ*	*jɔh*	***dee***	*lɛɛw*
turn	this_one	3sgm	so_then	go	oneself	already

So (at) this time he went (by) himself.

Other usages of the pronoun *dee* were more commonly found in this study. These include a generic meaning, a default first person meaning, and agent and event backgrounding. These and other discourse functions of *dee* are discussed in section 3.9 Pronouns in discourse. There is also a grammaticalised meaning of *dee* where it occurs in conjunction with aspectual particles in the verb phrase. This usage is not described here as it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.5.2 Pronominal constructions

A pronoun may also occur as the head in a phrase where it takes dependent elements. Alves (1997) describes such pronominal constructions as an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages, and they are reported in other Mon-Khmer languages (Wallace 1965, Costello 1969, Smith 1976, Watson 1976, Thomas 1978).

These dependent elements may be a quantifier, such as a ClfP, and/or a determiner, such as a demonstrative, and/or a relative clause. An example of a pronoun with a determiner is given in (35), where the pronoun *gəə* 3sgm, is followed by the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun *gii* to mean 'this him'.

(35) Orphan.102

ʔan	*baa*	*tɕii*	*deʔ*	***gəə***	***gii***	*ʔan*	*baa*	*gɔʔ*	*duʔ*	*brɔɔm*	*gəə*
COND	2sgf	IRR	get	3sgm	this_one	IMP	2sgf	so_then	flee	with	3sgm

sah
COMP

If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.

An example of a pronoun followed by a classifier phrase is shown in (36), where the pronoun *nɔɔ* '3pl' is followed by the classifier phrase *saam gon* 'three people', and also a relative clause *raˈwaaj hii pok mah lootɕ lɛɛw* 'the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely'.

(36)Man_eater.034

jɔh	*sɔɔk*	*m̥ə?*	*gɔ?*	*?am*	*bip*	***nɔɔ***	***saam***	***gon***	***raˈwaaj***
DIR	seek	INDEF	so_then	NEG	meet	3pl	three	Clf_people	tiger

hii	***pok***	***mah***	***lootɕ***	***lɛɛw***
PstCMPL	bite	eat	totally	already

Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.

The pronouns in (35) and (36) act as the head of the phrase. It is this type of construction that will be termed a pronoun phrase.

Pronouns may occur in coordination or in apposition to NPs. An example of a pronoun in apposition to an NP is shown in example (37), where the first person dual pronoun *?a?* is in apposition to the coordinate NP *kɔɔn joŋ* 'child (and) father)'.

(37)Tan.015

jɔh	*da?*	*hooŋmɔɔ*	***?a?***	***kɔɔn***	***joŋ***	*?ɔɔr*	*jɔ?*	*guut*	*lot*	*məh*
go	at	hospital	1du	child	father	lead	together	enter	vehicle	be

lot	*lat*	*giˈni?*	*lɛ?*
vehicle	state	that_one	PRT

Going to hospital, we (two), child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

The NP clarifies the identity of the two participants referred to by the dual pronoun.

2.5.3 Indefinite pronouns and question words

Indefinite pronouns include the words *mə?* 'whoever, someone, anyone', *m̥ə?* 'whichever, wherever, somewhere, anywhere', and *m̥əh* ' whatever, something, anything', and other compounds of which *mə?* forms the second part. These forms also function as question words with related meanings. For example the word *m̥əh* as an indefinite pronoun means 'something, anything', and as a question word means 'what?'. Indefinite pronouns and question words are shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Indefinite Pronouns and Question Words

Word	Indefinite meaning	Question Word meaning
mə?	whoever, anyone, someone	who? which?
m̥ə?	whichever, wherever, anywhere, somewhere	where?
m̥əh	whatever, anything, something	what?
gi^{l}mə?	whichever one	which one?
$^{?}$naam^{l}mə?	however much	how much?
nam^{l}mə?	whenever	when?
nɛɛw^{l}mə?	however, whatever, anyhow, somehow	how?

An example of the indefinite pronoun *m̥əh* 'whatever, something, anything' is shown in (38), where it is the object of the verb *jɛɛŋ* 'look at'.

(38)Bear.029

jɛɛŋ	***m̥əh***	*gɔ?*	*?am*	*k^{h}ak*	*o^{l}baa*
look_at	INDEF	so_then	NEG	perfect	PRT

...so whatever (one) looks at (it) is not clear, you see...

Indefinite pronouns may also act as determiners in an NP, by specifying an indefinite noun head. An example is shown in (39) where the indefinite pronoun is acting as determiner in the NP *$^{?}$mɔɔn m̥ə?* 'whichever place'.

(39)Tan.079

baŋ	*tap*	*seh*	*ʔmɔɔn*	*m̥əʔ*	*gɔʔ*	*baj*	*ləʔ*
3pl	prick	put_in	place	INDEF	so_then	NEG	good

Whichever place they inserted (the needle) was no good...

2.5.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns may function as determiners in an NP and have other functions on the discourse level as discussed in sections 3.6 NPs with determiners in discourse and 3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions in discourse. The form of demonstrative pronouns suggests that they are compounds made up of the third person singular neuter pronoun *gəə*, followed by a demonstrative. As with demonstratives (see section 2.3.4 Determiners), there is a four-way distinction of proximity, and in the distal forms a three-way distinction of elevation relative to a point of reference, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Demonstrative Pronouns

Distance/ Position	Immediate Proximal 'this one'	Near Proximal 'that one'	Medial 'that one there'	Distal level 'that one over there'	Distal above 'that one up there'	Distal below 'that one down there'
Demonstrative pronoun	*gii*	*gɨˈniʔ* *ʔaˈniʔ* (Lao)	*gɨˈnaaj*	*gɨˈhoʔ*	*gɨˈ ʔniŋ*	*gɨˈsuʔ*

2.6 *Siŋ*: Form and functions

The word *siŋ* is related to the nominalising prefix described by Suwilai (2002:lviii) and Svantesson (1983:94) as a nominaliser that may be prefixed to a verb, or occur at the beginning of a clause and nominalise the whole clause. Two entries in the dictionary of Suksavang et al. (1994:126) denote *siŋ* as a nominalising particle that precedes verbs, and also as having the meaning of 'which', the English relative pronoun.

In this study two forms of *siŋ* are found, the nominalising prefix *siŋ-* which becomes a minor syllable when attached to a verb stem, and the word *siŋ*. In some contexts the word *siŋ* seems to act as a relativiser, as shown in (40) where

it introduces the clause *kɔɔn dee law* 'their children said' which appears to modify the head noun *hɨrˈlɔʔ* 'language/words'.

(40) Orphan.173

haan	*deh*	*jɔɔr sah*	*ʔam*	*himˈɲɛŋ*	*hɨrˈlɔʔ*	***siŋ***	***kɔɔn***	***dee***	***law***
die	EMPH	because	NEG	listen	language	REL	child	co-referent	say

(They) died because (they) did not listen to the words that their children had said.[1]

Other examples do not fit this pattern. The example in (41) comes from Tan's story where she eats some guava and sees this as the trigger for another bout of fever which puts her in intensive care. In this sentence, *siŋ* introduces the clause *gaj sɨrˈmaʔ tɨrˈjɨj hmmeʔ* 'then had a fever and shivered again'. This whole clause is embedded as the nominal predicate of an equative clause with a zero subject, which is understood from context to refer to the effects of the guava. The effects of the guava was *siŋ gaj sɨrˈmaʔ tɨrˈjɨj hmmeʔ* 'having a fever and shivering again'.

(41)Tan.055

Ø	*məh*	***siŋ***	***gaj***	***sɨrˈmaʔ***	***tɨrˈjɨj̊***	***himˈmeʔ***
it	be	NMLZ	but_then	have_fever	shiver	new

Then (it) was having a fever and shivering again... OR (It) was the thing (that) then (I) had a fever and shivered again...

Thus the clause introduced by *siŋ* is a nominal, not a modifier. There is no external noun being modified here and therefore *siŋ* is not a relativiser in example (41). This leads to the hypotheses that as well as acting as a relativiser, *siŋ* is also acting either as a nominaliser to produce a nominalised clause, or it is a generic or dummy NP with a relative clause following.

Further examples of *siŋ* show a different grammatical function. Instead of introducing a relative clause or a nominal which may be an argument in a clause, *siŋ* introduces a complement clause which provides a reason or motivation for the proposition in the main clause. In (42) the clause *siŋ baa tɨr ˈnɛɛm ʔoʔ baa rak ʔoʔ* 'that you pity me, you love me' gives the motivation for the main clause *kʰɔɔphɨrˈɲɨam jɔʔ baa* '(I) thank you'. Here *siŋ* acts as a complementiser.

(42)Orphan.073

[1] The word *siŋ* is variously glossed in this paper as a relativiser (REL), a nominaliser (NMLZ) or a complementiser (COMP). This is a provisional glossing and further data is needed to confirm this analysis.

kʰɔphirˈɲiam	*jɔ?*	*baa*	***siŋ***	***baa***	***tirˈnɛɛm***	***?o?***	***baa***	***rak***	***?o?***	*ˀnaj*
thank	with	2sgf	COMP	2sgf	pity	1sg	2sgf	love	1sg	but

?o?	*tɕii*	*mah*	*?am*	*bɨan*
1sg	IRR	eat	NEG	can

Thank you that you pity me, (that) you love me, but I could not eat (this food).

From this data and other similar examples, a tentative analysis is that *siŋ* has two types of functions at clause level. The first function is either as a nominalising particle, as others assert (Svantesson 1983; Suksavang et al. 1994; Suwilai 2002), or as a dummy NP. The second function is to introduce dependent clauses, either as a relativiser or as a complementiser.

Filbeck (1991) describes a particle in Mal (also a Khmuic language) which acts as a nominaliser and a relative pronoun. He glosses it as 'that which is'. This supports the hypothesis that there are two similar functions for the word *siŋ* in Kmhmu'.

The use of *siŋ* in discourse is described in 3.12 *Siŋ* constructions in discourse.

2.7 Summary

The Kmhmu' NP consists of a noun head followed by optional attributive and/or quantitative modifiers and an optional determiner, and is characterised by the following rule.

NP → N ({N, ADJ}) (ClfP) ({DEM, LOC, DEMPRO, IndPRO})

Noun heads include common nouns, proper nouns and relator nouns. Relator nouns are a closed sub-class of nouns which denote position in relation to a location. Attributive modifiers include nouns and adjectives. Classifier phrases are quantifying modifiers. They consist of a numeral, and a sortal or mensural classifier. Determiners include demonstratives, demonstrative pronouns, locatives and indefinite pronouns.

Possessive phrases are a sub-type of NP where the noun head is followed by an optional possession marker, *de?*, the possessor, and an optional demonstrative. Typically, Kmhmu' NPs contain only one attributive modifier, or a classifier phrase or a determiner. For more extensive descriptions, appositional

constructions are used. Complex NPs contain an embedded NP, PossP or relative clause.

Personal pronouns have a singular, dual and plural distinction in number, and a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person singular forms. There is an uspecified pronoun *dee* which is not specified for person or number. Pronouns may take dependent elements, such as a classifier phrase, a demonstrative or a relative clause, to form pronoun phrases. They also occur in apposition to NPs. Indefinite pronoun forms also function as question words. Two functions are proposed for the word *siŋ*: one as a nominalising particle or a dummy NP; and the other as introducing a dependent clause, either as a relativiser or a complementiser.