

CHAPTER 4

THE CO-OCCURRENCE OF FINAL PARTICLES

4.0 Introduction

The final particles that Vientiane Lao people use in daily conversation do not always occur alone, but may also occur in groups of two or three particles. This chapter will discuss some co-occurring final particles, which include the declarative co-occurring particles, the interrogative co-occurring particles, the imperative co-occurring particles, and the exclamative co-occurring particles. While there are many theoretically possible combinations, the chapter will focus on those that are most often used in everyday speech.

4.1 Declarative co-occurring particle doublets

A declarative co-occurring particle doublet is a combination of two particles that occurs at the end of a statement. There are two broad forms: declarative particle with another declarative particle, or declarative particle with an interrogative particle.

4.1.1 Declarative particle + Declarative particle

Some declarative particles can combine with some other declarative particles to add emphasis to the statement. When two of these particles combine each other, they still keep their own meaning, and have an additional combined meaning greater than the sum of their individual meanings. The first particle has the main function of the doublet, the second one amplifies the first one.

4.1.1.1 Declarative particle /sam⁵/+ Declarative particle /de:⁷/

When the particle /sam⁵/ is used alone, it expresses criticism, as when the speaker wants to blame himself or someone else. The particle /de:⁷/ is used to show information that the addressee probably already knows.

When the particles /sam⁵/ and /de:⁷/ co-occur in a statement, they express criticism and annoyance on the part of the speaker. For example:

- (1) [Context] A woman talks to her friend about her foreign guest who doesn't eat the raw minced meat dish:

“ລາວບໍ່ກ້າກິນຂົ້າເດ.”

la:w³ bo:² ka:⁵ kin¹ sam⁵ de:⁷
 he neg. dare eat FP FP

‘He doesn't dare eat it, you know.’

4.1.1.2 Declarative particle /dɔ:k⁶/+ Declarative particle /də:⁷/

When /dɔ:k⁶/ occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show a contradiction. The particle /də:⁷/ is used to make the statement milder and more gentle.

When the particles /dɔ:k⁶/ and /də:⁷/ are combined, they are used to both express a contradiction and make the sentence more gentle, as the following example:

- (2) [Context] A doctor says to a patient's husband, who is worried about his wife's condition:

“ບໍ່ຕ້ອງເປັນຫ່ວງດອກເດີ້.”

bo:² to:ŋ⁵ pen¹ hu:ɑŋ⁵ dɔ:k⁶ də:⁷
 NEG must be worried FP FP

‘You don't have to worry.’

4.1.1.3 Declarative particle /bu³/+ Declarative particle /la²/

When /bu³/occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show that the speaker does not know the answer to a question. The particle /la²/ is used to express that the speaker wants to emphasize his statement.

When the particles /bu³/ and /la²/ co-occur, they are used to express that the speaker wants to emphasize that he does not know the answer to a question as in the following example:

(3) [Context] A girl asks her younger sister:

A. “ສິດຈຳເອື້ອຍຢູ່ໃສ, ນິດ?”

sa:⁴ da:m¹ ?wa:a¹ ju:² sa¹ nit²
pencil sister be where Nid
‘Nid, where is my pencil?’

B. “ຢູ່ໃສບຸລະ.”

ju:¹ sa¹ bu³ la²
be where FP FP
‘I don’t know where it is.’

4.1.1.4 Declarative particle /p^hun⁵/+ Declarative particle /daj³/

When /p^hun⁵/occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show that the thing that the speaker presents goes beyond the addressee’s expectation. The particle /daj³/ is used when the speaker wants the addressee to accept something as true.

When the particles /p^hun⁵/ and /daj³/ co-occur, they are used to express that the speaker wants to show off and make the addressee accept the thing he said as being true. For example:

- (4) [Context] A man says to his close friend:

“ປະຈຸບັນເຮົາໄດ້ເປັນຫົວໜ້າຂະແໜງພັ້ນໄດ້.” (Bounthanong 2000: 74)

paʔ tɕuʔ ban¹ haw³ daʔ pen¹ hu:a⁴ na:⁶ kʰa² nɛ:ŋ⁴ pʰun⁵ daʔ³
 nowadays I get be head division FP FP

‘Nowadays I am a head of division.’

4.1.1.5 Declarative particle /ju:²/+ Declarative particle /dɔ:k⁶/

When /ju:²/ occurs alone in a statement, it is used to express a mixture of possibility and lingering uncertainty. The particle /dɔ:k⁶/ is used to contradict to the addressee’s expectation.

When the particles /ju:²/ and /dɔ:k⁶/ co-occur, they are used to express a guarantee (promise) of the action that the speaker will do. For example:

- (5) [Context] A boy says to her mother after she asks him to take a bath:

“ເຮົາຊິໄປຢູ່ດອກ.”

haw³ si² paʔ ju:² dɔ:k⁶
 I will go FP FP

‘I am going indeed.’

4.1.1.6 Declarative particle /la²/+ Declarative particle /də:⁷/

When /la²/ occurs alone in a statement, it is used to emphasize the statement or make the topic that he talks about more specific. The particle /də:⁷/ is used to make the statement milder and more gentle.

When the particles /la²/ and /də:⁷/ co-occur in a statement, they are used to emphasize the sentence and make it milder and more gentle. For example:

- (6) [Context] A man says goodbye to his friend:

“ໄປກ່ອນລະເດີ.”

paŋ kɔ:n² la² dɛ:²
go before FP FP

‘Good bye.’

4.1.1.7 Declarative particle /lɛ:³/+ Declarative particle /la²/

When /lɛ:³/occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show that the speaker wants to express his opinion very strongly. The particle /la²/ is used to emphasize the statement.

When the particles /lɛ:³/ and /la²/ co-occur in a statement, they are used to emphasize the sentence and make it stronger. For example:

- (7) [Context] A woman says to her family after she finishes cooking:

“ອາຫານມັນແຂບຂະໜາດເລີຍລະ.”

ʔa:¹ ha:n¹ mu:¹ ni:¹ se:p¹ k^hɛ² na:t¹ lɛ:³ la²
food today delicious very FP FP

‘Today the food will be very delicious.’

4.1.2 Declarative particle + Interrogative particle

Some declarative particles can combine with interrogative particles. When a declarative particle co-occurs with an interrogative particle, it gives the same meaning as the single declarative particle which occur in the first position, as in 4.1.2.1. Sometimes the co-occurring particle’s meaning will change from its original meaning, as in 4.1.2.2.

4.1.2.1 Declarative particle /ti²/+ Interrogative particle /bɔʔ²/

When the particle /ti²/ is used alone, it shows that the speaker is guessing, or giving an answer that he is not quite sure about. The interrogative particle /bɔʔ²/ is used in yes-no questions.

When the particles /ti²/ and /bɔʔ²/ co-occur in a statement, they are used to express the speaker's guess like when /ti²/ is used alone in a sentence, but /ti² bɔʔ²/ is more emphatic. For example:

(8) [Context] A man asks his daughter:

A. “ມັນ ແມ່ບໍ່ໄປຕະຫລາດຫວາ?”

mu:² ni:² me:² bɔ:² paj ta² la:² wa:⁴
today mother NEG go market FP

‘Won’t your mother go to the market today?’

B. “ເພິ່ນບໍ່ໄປຕີເບາະ.”

pʰə:² bɔ:² paj t² bɔʔ²
she NEG go FP FP

‘She won’t go, I guess.’

4.1.2.2 Declarative particle /la²/+ Interrogative particle /bɔ:⁷/

When the particle /la²/ is used alone, it emphasize a statement. The interrogative particle /bɔ:⁷/ is used in yes-no questions.

When the particles /la²/ and /bɔ:⁷/ co-occur in a statement, they are used to emphasize the sentence and mean ‘of course’. For example:

(9) [Context] A man asks his daughter:

A. “ມື້ຄືນນີ້ ນອນຫລັບດີບໍ່?”

mɯː˥ kʰɯːŋ˥ ni˥˥ ɲɔːŋ˥ lap˥ di˥˥ ɓɔː˥
last night asleep good FP

‘Did you sleep well last night?’

B. “ດີລະບໍ່.”

di˥˥ la˥˥ ɓɔː˥˥
good FP FP

‘Of course, I did well.’

4.1.3 Interrogative particle + Declarative particle

Only one interrogative particle, /san⁵/, can combine with the declarative particle /dɔːk⁶/, in which the interrogative particle precedes the declarative particle.

4.1.3.1 Interrogative particle /san⁵/+ Declarative particle /dɔːk⁶/

When the particle /san⁵/ is used alone, it shows that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. The particle /dɔːk⁶/ is used to contradict to the addressee’s expectation.

When the particles /san⁵/ and /dɔːk⁶/ co-occur in a statement, they express a contradiction to the speaker’s expectation. For example:

(10) [Context] A young woman says to an old woman, who is busy dying cloth in the back of the house:

“ກະດຽວວ່າ ບໍ່ມີໃຜຢູ່ຂັ້ນດອກ.” (Outline 1999: 98)

ka˥ di˥˥ aw˥ wa˥˥ ɓɔ˥˥ mi˥˥ pʰa˥˥ ju˥˥ san˥˥ dɔːk˥˥
think that NEG have who be FP FP

‘I think that there is nobody.’

4.1.3.2 Interrogative particle /dɛ:²/+ Declarative particle /bu?³/

When /dɛ:²/occurs alone in a question, the speaker uses it when he expects the answer to include an amount of more than one. The declarative particle /bu?³/ is used to express that the speaker does not know the answer to a question that the addressee asks.

When the particles /dɛ:²/ and /bu?³/ co-occur in a declarative clause, they show that the speaker does not know the answer to a question. For example:

(11) [Context] A woman asks her friend:

A. “ບາດເປີດຮ້ານ ເຈົ້າຂີ່ຂາຍຫຍັງແດ່?”

ba:t̚ pə:t̚ ha:n̚ tɕaw̚ s̚ kʰa:f̚ naŋ⁴ dɛ:²

when open shop you will sell what FP

‘When you open the shop, what all are you going to sell?’

B. “ຈັກຂີ່ຂາຍຫຍັງແດ່ບູ.”

tɕak³ s̚ kʰa:f̚ naŋ⁴ dɛ:² bu?³

know will sell what FP FP

‘I don’t know what all I am going to sell.’

4.2 The interrogative co-occurring particle doublets

The interrogative co-occurring particle doublets are co-occurring particles which occur at the end of questions. They may co-occur as a declarative particle with an interrogative particle, an interrogative particle with declarative particle, or an interrogative particle with an interrogative particle.

4.2.1 Declarative particle + Interrogative particle

The declarative particles can combine with some other interrogative particles to make questions. When a declarative particle co-occurs with an interrogative particle, it keeps its own meaning and the interrogative particle will function to make the sentence become a question.

4.2.1.1 Declarative particle /sam⁵/+ Interrogative particle /nɔʔ³/

When the particle /sam⁵/ is used alone, it emphasizes the statement and expresses blame. The interrogative particle /nɔʔ³/ is used to ask for agreement from the addressee.

When the particles /sam⁵/ and /nɔʔ³/ co-occur in a question, they express criticism and are used to ask for agreement from the addressee. For example:

(11) [Context] A man says to his friend after finishing to see a movie:

“ບໍ່ເຫັນມ່ວນຊື່ເນາະ?”

bɔː² hen⁴ muːan² sam⁵ nɔʔ³
NEG see interesting FP FP

‘It wasn’t really interesting, was it?’

4.2.1.2 Declarative particle /dɔːk⁶/+ Interrogative particle /waː⁴/

When /dɔːk⁶/ occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show a contradiction. The particle /waː⁴/ is used for yes-no questions.

When the particles /dɔːk⁶/ and /waː⁴/ co-occur in a question, they are used to express a contradiction and create a yes-no question as the following example:

- (12) [Context] A woman asks her daughter, who pays no attention to the food before her:

“ບໍ່ກິນດອກຫວາ?”

bɔː² kin¹ dɔːk⁶ waː⁴
NEG eat FP FP

‘You’re not eating, are you?’

4.2.1.3 Declarative particle /p^hun⁵/+ Interrogative particle /waː⁴/

When /p^hun⁵/occurs alone in a statement, it is used to show that the thing that the speaker presents goes beyond his expectation. As for the particle /waː⁴/, it is used for yes-no questions.

When the particles /p^hun⁵/ and /waː⁴/ co-occur in a question, they are used to pose a question that the speaker wonders about and may indicate that the thing that the speaker asks is beyond his expectation. For example:

- (13) [Context] A man asks his close friend about his boss’s extremely large salary:

“ລາວໄດ້ເງິນເດືອນສາມລ້ານພັນຫວາ?”

laːw³ daɰ⁵ ŋən³ duːan¹ saːm⁶ laːn⁵ p^hun⁵ waː⁴
he get salary three million FP FP

‘Is his salary really three million Kip?’

4.2.1.4 Declarative particle /juː²/+ Interrogative particle /ti³/

When /juː²/occurs alone in a statement, it is used to express a mixture of possibility and lingering uncertainty. The interrogative particle /ti³/ is used to indicate that the speaker asks for confirmation or agreement from the addressee.

When the particles /ju:²/ and /ti:³/ co-occur in a question, they are used to ask for confirmation from the addressee. For example:

(14) [Context] A man stops his bicycle and approaches an old man:

“ລາວຊ້ອນທ້າຍລົດຖີບໄດ້ຢູ່ຕື້?” (Outhine 1999: 48)

luŋ³ sɔ:n³ tʰa:j³ lo² tʰi:p⁶ daŋ³ ju:³ tʰi³
uncle ride back.seat bicycle able FP FP

‘Uncle, could you ride on the back of my bicycle?’

4.2.2 Interrogative particle + Declarative particle

Some interrogative particles can combine with some declarative particles to make questions. When they co-occur in questions, the interrogative still keeps its own meaning and the declarative particle will emphasize the interrogative sentence.

4.2.2.1 Interrogative particle /bɔ:²/ + Declarative particle /bu?³/

When /bɔ:²/ occurs alone in a question, it is used for yes-no questions. The declarative particle /bu?³/ is used when the speaker does not know the answer to a question.

When the particles /bɔ:²/ and /bu?³/ co-occur in a question, they are used as a rhetorical question. For example:

(15) [Context] A man says to himself and his family who wait for a friend:

“ລາວຊິມາບໍ່ບຸ?”

la:w³ sɿ³ ma:³ bɔ:³ bu?³
he will come FP FP

‘Is he coming or not?’

4.2.2.2 Interrogative particle /wa³/ + Declarative particle /la²/

When /wa:⁴/occurs alone in a question, it is used for yes-no questions. The declarative particle /la²/ is used to emphasize the sentence.

When the particles /wa³/and /la²/ co-occur in a question, they are used as a yes-no question but stronger and more polite than a question that has only an interrogative particle /wa³/. For example:

(16) [Context] A young woman asks her friend who lose a belt.

“ບໍ່ແມ່ນຕີກນ້ຳຫວະລະ?” (Outhine 1999: 98)

bo:² me:n² tok³ nam³ wa³ la²
NEG be fall water FP FP

‘Didn’t it fall in the river?’

4.2.3 Interrogative particle + Interrogative particle

Some interrogative particles can combine with some other interrogative particles to make questions. When they co-occur, both of them keep their own meanings and they strengthen the function of one other.

4.2.3.1 Interrogative particle /san⁵/ + Interrogative particle /wa:⁴/

When /san⁵/occurs alone in a content question, it shows that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. It means something like ‘so’ in idiomatic English. The interrogative particle /wa:⁴/ is used for yes-no questions.

When the particles /san⁵/ and /wa:⁴/ co-occur in a question, they are used as a yes-no question and show that the speaker is curious about the reply from the addressee.

For example:

(17) [Context] A young woman asks an middle aged man:

“ມີບັນຫາຂັ້ນໜ້ອຍ, ອາວ?” (So, 1997: 78)

mi:³ bar² ha:⁴ san³ wa:⁴ ?a:w⁴
have problem FP FP uncle

‘So do you have any problem, Uncle?’

4.2.3.2 Interrogative particle /dɛ:²/ + Interrogative particle /kɔ?²/

When /dɛ:²/occurs alone in a question, the speaker uses it when he expects the answer to include an amount of more than one. The interrogative particle /kɔ?²/ is used to express the speaker’s doubt about the previous statement and his desire that the addressee repeats himself.

When the particles /dɛ:²/ and /kɔ?²/ co-occur in a question, they are used as a content question and both of them still have the same meaning as when they occur alone. For example:

(18) [Context] A man asks his wife about their party guests :

“ໃຜຂຶ້ນມາແດ່ເກາະ?”

p^haj¹ s¹ ma:³ dɛ:² kɔ?²
who will come FP FP

‘Who all (did you say) will come?’

4.2.3.3 Interrogative particle /bɔ:²/ + Interrogative particle /nɔ:⁷/

When /bɔ:²/occurs alone in a question, it will be used as a yes-no question. The interrogative particle /nɔ:⁷/ is used to make a mild question.

When the particles /bɔː²/ and /nɔː⁷/ co-occur in a question, they are used as a polite yes-no question. For example:

(19) [Context] A stranger asks a housewife in front of her house:

“ຂໍໂທດ, ນີ້ແມ່ນເຮືອນອາຈານບຸນມີບໍ່ນີ້?”

kʰɔː⁴ tʰɔː¹ niː⁵ mɛːn² huːaŋ³ ʔaː¹ tɕaːn¹ buːn¹ miː³ bɔː² nɔː⁷
ask pardon this be house teacher Bounmy FP FP

‘Excuse me, is this Ajarn Bounmy’s house?’

4.2.4 Imperative particle + Interrogative particle

The imperative particle /sa³/ can combine with some other interrogative particles to make questions. When it co-occurs with the interrogative particle /nɔː²/, it still keeps its own meaning and the particle /nɔː²/ will keep its meaning also and make the sentence as a question (4.2.4.1). When /sa³/ combines with the interrogative particle /bɔː⁷/, it will change the meaning and the particle /bɔː⁷/ will keep its own meaning and make the sentence as a question (4.2.4.2).

4.2.4.1 Imperative particle /sa³/+ Interrogative particle /nɔː²/

When /sa³/ occurs alone in a command, it is used to indicate a request or suggestion.

The interrogative particle /nɔː²/ is used to ask for agreement from the addressee.

When the particles /sa³/ and /nɔː²/ co-occur in a question, they are used to ask the addressee to do something. For example:

(20) [Context] A woman says to a little girl, who wants to go with her father:

“ຢູ່ກັບແມ່ສາເນາຍ?”

ju:² kap³ me:² sa³ no:²

stay with mother FP FP

‘Stay with Mom, okay?’

4.2.4.2 Imperative particle /sa³/ + Interrogative particle /bo:⁷/

When /sa³/ occurs alone in a command, it is used to indicate a request or suggestion.

As for the interrogative particle /bo:⁷/, it is used to ask yes-no questions.

When the particles /sa³/ and /bo:⁷/ co-occur in a question, they are used to show that the speaker asks himself before deciding to do something. For example:

(21) A man says to himself when he knows the price of a second hand motorcycle:

“ລາຄາຖືກປານນີ້ ຊື້ສາບັ້?”

la:³ kʰa:³ tʰu:⁶ pa:n¹ ni:⁵ sw:² sa³ bo:⁷

price cheap like this buy FP FP

‘The price is cheap like this. Shall I buy it?’

4.3 The imperative co-occurring particle doublets

The imperative co-occurring particle doublets are co-occurring particles which occur at the end of commands. They may co-occur as a declarative particle with an imperative particle, an imperative particle with a declarative particle, or an imperative particle with an imperative particle.

4.3.1 Declarative particle + Imperative particle

The only case in which a declarative particle precedes an imperative particle is the combination of /la²/ and /me:⁷/ to make commands.

4.3.1.1 Declarative particle /la²/ + Imperative particle /mɛ:⁷/

When the particle /la²/ is used alone, it is used to emphasize the statement. The imperative particle /mɛ:⁷/ is used to express an order, suggestion or urging.

When the particles /la²/ and /mɛ:⁷/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express strong urging. For example:

(22) [Context] A woman says to her daughter, who is waiting for a bus:

“ໄປລະແມ້. ລົດເມມາແລ້ວ.”

paʃ la² mɛ:⁷ loʔ me:³ ma:³ lɛ:w^ʃ
go FP FP bus come already

‘Go. A bus is coming.’

4.3.2 Imperative particle + Declarative particle

Some imperative particles can combine with declarative particles in commands. When they occur together, the imperative particle still keeps its own meaning and will make the sentence become a command.

4.3.2.1 Imperative particle /mɛ³/ + Declarative particle /wəj⁵/

When the particle /mɛ³/ is used alone, it is used to express an order, suggestion or urging. The declarative particle /wəj⁵/ is used to indicate that the speaker is slightly angry and unhappy about something.

When the particles /mɛ³/ and /wəj⁵/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express that the speaker is unhappy and urging the addressee to do something. For example:

(23) [Context] A man says to his friend, who refuse to drink a glass of beer:

“ກິນແມະເວ້ຍ.”

kin¹ mɛ³ wəj⁵

eat FP FP

‘Eat it!’

4.3.2.2 Imperative particle /lo:t⁵/ + Declarative particle /lɛ:w⁶/

When the particle /lo:t⁵/ is used alone, it is used to encourage or urge the addressee to do something. The declarative particle /lɛ:w⁶/ is used to produce an emphatic statement of opinion.

When the particles /lo:t⁵/ and /lɛ:w⁶/ co-occur in a command, they are used to urge or strongly encourage the addressee to do something, as the following example:

(24) [Context] A man says to a young man:

“ຖ້າມີຫຍັງບໍ່ສະບາຍໃຈ ກໍເວົ້າໂລດແຫລ້ວ.” (Bounseun 2000: 154)

t^ha:⁶ mi:³ ɲaŋ⁴ bɔ:² sɔ̌ ba:¹ tɕaj¹ kɔ:¹ waw⁵ lo:t⁵ lɛ:w⁶

if have what NEG happy then say FP FP

‘If there is anything about which you are unhappy, please tell me.’

4.3.3 Imperative particle + Imperative particle

Some imperative particles can combine with some other imperative particles to make commands. When they occur together, each particle will keep its own independent meaning.

4.3.3.1 Imperative particle /sa³/ + Imperative particle /t^hɔ²/

When the particle /sa³/ is used alone, it is used to indicate a request or suggestion.

The imperative particle /t^hɔ²/ is used to show persuasion or a request.

When the particles /sa³/ and /t^hɔ²/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express a request and urge a certain action. For example:

(25) [Context] A woman says to her husband:

“ໄປນອນສາເທາະ ເດີກແລ້ວ.”

paɲ na:n³ sa³ t^hɔ² dək³ lɛ:w³
go sleep FP FP late already

‘Come on, let’s go to sleep. It is late already.’

4.3.3.2 Imperative particle /sa³/ + Imperative particle /du³/

When the particle /sa³/ is used alone, it is used to indicate a request or suggestion.

The imperative particle /du³/ is used to express an order or request.

When the particles /sa³/ and /du³/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express a strong request. For example:

(26) A customer says to the woman trader:

“ຫລຸດໃຫ້ຂ້ອຍສາດ.”

ɲaw³ haɲ³ k^hɔɲ³ sa³ du³
take give I FP FP

‘Please give me a discount.’

4.3.3.3 Imperative particle /dɛ:²/ + Imperative particle /də:⁷/

The particle /dɛ:²/ is used to indicate an order or a request. The imperative particle /də:⁷/ is used to express a gentle order.

When the particles /dɛ:²/ and /də:⁷/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express a very gentle order. For example:

(27) [Context] A woman says to a little boy:

“ບາດໃຫຍ່ຂຶ້ນແລ້ວ ຢ່າລືມໄປຢາມປ້າອ້ອຍແດ່ເດີ້.” (Sengmany, 2000: 27)

ba:t¹ na:f² k^hu:n⁶ lɛ:w¹ ja:² lu:m³ pa:f¹ ja:m¹ pa:⁵ ?v:⁷
 when big up already PRHB forget go visit aunt Oi

dɛ:² də:⁷
 FP FP

‘When you grow up, don’t forget to visit me [Aunt Oi].’

4.3.3.4 Imperative particle /dɛ:²/ + Imperative particle /t^hɔ?²/

The particle /dɛ:²/ is used to indicate an order or a request. The imperative particle /t^hɔ?²/ is used to express persuasion.

When the particles /dɛ:²/ and /t^hɔ?²/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express a strong request or pleading. For example:

(28) [Context] A woman says to her ex-husband :

“ອະໄພໃຫ້ນ້ອງແດ່ເທາະ.” (Bounseun 2000: 86)

?a² p^ha:f¹ ha:f¹ na:v¹ dɛ:² t^hɔ?²
 forgive to sister FP FP

‘Please forgive me.’

4.3.3.5 Imperative particle /t^hɔʔ²/ + Imperative particle /mɛ:⁷/

The particle /t^hɔʔ²/ is used to indicate persuasion or a request. The imperative particle /mɛ:⁷/ is used to express an order, suggestion or urging.

When the particles /t^hɔʔ²/ and /mɛ:⁷/ co-occur in a command, the sound of /t^hɔʔ²/ will become /t^ha²/¹⁸ and they are used to express a strong suggestion. For example:

(29) [Context] An old man says to his grandson, who holds a small box:

“ໄຂອອກເບິ່ງຫຼະແມ້.” (Bounseun 2000: 105)

k^haʃ ʔɔ:k⁶ bəŋ² t^ha² mɛ:⁷
open out look FP FP

‘Open it and look at it.’

4.3.3.6 Imperative particle /lo:t⁵/ + Imperative particle /də:⁷/

The particle /lo:t⁵/ is used to support or encourage the addressee to do something.

The imperative particle /də:⁷/ is used to express a gentle order or encouragement.

When the particles /lo:t⁵/ and /də:⁷/ co-occur in a command, they are used to express emphatic encouragement. For example:

(30) [Context] A man says to his friend, who visits his family:

“ຕາມສະບາຍໂລດເດີ້.”

ta:m¹ sɑ²ba:j lo:t⁵ də:⁷
as comfortable FP FP

‘Make yourself at home.’

¹⁸ Only occurs with /mɛ:⁷/

4.4 Exclamative co-occurring particle doublet: Exclamative particle /de:⁷/ + Exclamative particle /no:⁷/

The exclamative co-occurring particle doublets are co-occurring particles which occur at the end of exclamations. They only co-occur as an exclamative particle with another exclamative particle. There is only one possible exclamative co-occurring doublet /de:⁷/+/no:⁷/. The particle /de:⁷/ is used to express the speaker's feelings. The particle /no:⁷/ is used to show the speaker's astonishment or surprise at someone or something. When these two particles co-occur in an exclamation, they are used to show the speaker's feeling and astonishment at someone or something as the following example:

(31) [Context] A girl sings out when she meets her friend's small dog:

“ຈ້ງແມ່ນເປັນຕາຮັກເດັ່ນ!”

tɕaŋ² mɛ:n² pen¹ ta:¹ hak² de:⁷ no:⁷
so be lovable FP FP

‘What a lovable [dog this is]!’

4.5 Declarative co-occurring particle triplets

The declarative particle triplets occur in the last position of a statement. They are composed of an interrogative particle followed by two declarative particles.

4.5.1 Interrogative particle /bo:²/ + Declarative particle /bu³/ + Declarative particle /la²/

The interrogative /bo:²/ indicates a yes-no question. The declarative particle /bu³/ is used to indicate that the speaker does not know the answer to the question asked by

the addressee. The declarative particle /la²/ is used to emphasize the sentence. When the particle triplet /bɔ:²/+/bu³/+/la²/ occurs in a statement, it indicates that the speaker does not know the answer to a question.

(32) [Context] A young woman asks her friend:

A. “ອ້າຍຄຳຊີໄປນຳພວກເຮົາບໍ່?”

ʔa:ʃ³ kʰa:m³ sɿ³ paʃ³ nam³ pʰu:ak³ haw³ bɔ:²
brother Kham will go with we FP

‘Will Brother Kham go with us?’

B. “ລາວຊີໄປບໍ່ບຸລະ.”

law³ sɿ³ paʃ³ bɔ:² bu³ la²
he will go FP FP FP

‘I don’t know he will go or not.’

4.5.2 Interrogative particle /dɛ:²/ + Declarative particle /bu³/ + Declarative particle /la²/

The interrogative particle /dɛ:²/ indicates that the speaker expects the answer to include an amount of more than one. The declarative particle /bu³/ is used to indicate that the speaker does not know the answer to the question asks by the addressee. And the declarative particle /la²/ is used to emphasize the sentence. When these three particles occur in a statement, they indicate that the speaker does not know the detailed answer to a question.

(33) [Context] A woman counts the number of textbooks and asks her daughter:

A. “ມີໃຜແດ່ ຊິເອົາ?”

miː˥ pʰaj˥ deː˥ sɿ˥ ʔaw˥
have who FP will take

‘Who all will take them?’

B. “ມີໃຜແດ່ບຸລະ, ມີອີ່ນ ລູກຊິໄປຖາມໃຫ້ເດີ.”

miː˥ pʰaj˥ deː˥ bu˥ la˥ muː˥ ʔwːn˥ luːk˥ sɿ˥ tʰaːm˥ haj˥ de˥
have who FP FP FP tomorrow child will ask for FP

‘I don’t know who all [will buy]. I am going to ask for you tomorrow.’

4.6 Interrogative co-occurring particle triplets

The interrogative particle triplet occurs in the last position of a question. It may involve a declarative particle with two interrogative particles, but it more often consists of two interrogative particles with a declarative particle.

4.6.1 Declarative particle /dɔk³/ + Interrogative particle /wa³/ + Interrogative particle /san⁵/

There is only one interrogative particle triplet that is formed by a declarative particle with two interrogative particles: declarative particle /dɔk³/ + interrogative particle /wa³/ + interrogative particle /san⁵/. The particle /dɔk³/ is used to express a contradiction. The particle /waː³/ is used for yes-no questions, and the particle /san⁵/ is used to show that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. When these three particles co-occur, they are used to express as a rhetorical question. They always occur with the negative /boː²/.

(34) [Context] A man says out after hearing the patient's condition from his friend:

“ຊິບໍ່ຕາຍຖ້ິມລ້າວອກຫວະຊັ້ນ?” (Dokket, 1988: 7)

sr² bɔ:² ta:¹ tʰim⁶ la:⁵ dɔk³ wɑ³ san⁵
will NEG die waste free FP FP FP

‘So he will just die for nothing, won’t he?’

4.6.2 Two Interrogative particles + Declarative particle

Some particle triplets occur in questions and contain two interrogative particles followed by a declarative particle. Each particle has a different function and they work independently. The three examples that are shown here include an interrogative particle with the interrogative particle /san⁵/ and the declarative particle /na²/.

4.6.2.1 Interrogative particle /ti³/ + Interrogative particle /san⁵/ + Declarative particle /na²/

When the interrogative particle /ti³/ occurs alone in questions, it is used as a yes-no question and to show that the speaker asks for confirmation from the addressee. The interrogative particle /san⁵/ is used in content questions and to show that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. The declarative particle /na²/ is used to show a contradiction with the addressee's opinion. When /na²/ occurs after /ti³/+/san⁵/, it emphasizes the question. The particle triplet /ti³/+/san⁵/+/na²/ forms a yes-no question and expresses curiosity about the addressee's answer, as the following example:

(35) [Context] A man asks his wife to go out with him but she does not prepare anything, then he says to her:

A. “ບໍ່ໄປຕີຊັ້ນນະ?”

boː² paj tɿ sanˠ naː²
NEG go FP FP FP

‘So you won’t go, will you?’

B. “ໄປລະບໍ, ຖ້າບິດດງວເດີ.”

paj laː² boː˧ tʰaː˧ buːtˠ diːawˠ deː˧
go FP FP wait a moment FP

‘Yes, I will go. Please wait a moment.’

4.6.2.2 Interrogative particle /de³/ + Interrogative /san⁵/ +

Declarative particle /na²/

When the interrogative particle /de³/ occurs in questions, it is used as a follow-on question. The interrogative particle /san⁵/ is used in content questions and to show that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. The declarative particle /na²/ is used to show a contradiction with the addressee’s opinion. When /na²/ occurs after /de³/+/san⁵/, it emphasizes the question. The particle triplet /de³/+/san⁵/+/na²/ forms a strong follow-on question. For example:

(36) [Context] A small girl says to her older sister:

“ມື້ອື່ນໂຮງຮຽນນິດພັກ. ໂຮງຮຽນເອື້ອຍນ້ອຍເດຊັ້ນນ່າ ໄດ້ພັກຄືກັນຫວາ?”

mɯːʔ ʔɯːn˥ hoːŋ˥ hiːaŋ˥ nit˥ pʰak˥ hoːŋ˥ hiːaŋ˥ ʔɯːaŋ˥ noːŋ˥ de˥
tomorrow school Nid stop school sister Noi FP

saŋ˥ na˥ daŋ˥ pʰak˥ kʰuːʔ kan˥ waː˥
FP FP get stop also FP

‘Tomorrow I will have a holiday. Do you have one too?’

4.6.2.3 Interrogative particle /bɔː²/ + Interrogative particle /saŋ⁵/ + Declarative particle /na²/

When the interrogative particle /bɔː²/ occurs alone in questions, it is used as a yes-no question. The interrogative particle /saŋ⁵/ is used in content questions and to show that the speaker has no idea how to decide something and has to ask for ideas from the addressee. As for the declarative particle /na²/, it is used to show a contradiction with the addressee’s opinion. When /na²/ occurs after /bɔː²/+/saŋ⁵/, it emphasizes the question. The particle triplet /bɔː²/+/saŋ⁵/+/na²/ combines to yield the same meaning as /bɔː²/, but with greater strength.

(37) [Context] A man asks an old woman about her husband, who has a pain in the leg:

“ເພິ່ນຊິໄປໄດ້ບໍ່ຊັ້ນນ່າ?”

pʰaŋ˥ sɿ˥ paŋ˥ daŋ˥ bɔː² saŋ⁵ na²
he will go able FP FP FP

‘In that case then, can he go?’

4.7 Imperative co-occurring particle triplets

The imperative particle triplets occur in the last position of a command. They are combined from two imperative particles with a declarative particle, or from three imperative particles.

4.7.1 Two Imperative particles + Declarative particle

There are some imperative particle triplets, which are formed by from two imperative particles followed by a declarative particle.

4.7.1.1 Imperative particle /sa³/ + Imperative particle /ti³/ +

Declarative particle /la²/

The imperative particle /sa³/ is used to express a request or suggestion. The imperative particle /ti³/ indicates that the speaker is urging the addressee to do something, while the declarative particle /la²/ is used to emphasize the sentence and soften the command. When these three particles co-occur in a command, they express a firm but gentle suggestion.

(38) [Context] A woman says to her daughter:

“ຂ້ງວໄປສາຕີ້ລະ. ຈັກໜ້ອຍບໍ່ທັນໂຮງຮຽນໄດ້.”

k^hi:aw^l paj sa³ ti³ la² tɕak³ nɔ:^l bɔ:² t^han³ ho:^lŋ³ hi:an³ da^l
 hurry go FP FP FP moment NEG in.time school FP

‘Hurry up, in a moment you won’t be in time for school.’

4.7.1.2 Imperative particle /dɛ:²/ + Imperative particle /ti³/ +

Declarative particle /la²/

The imperative particle /dɛ:²/ is used to show an order or a request. When it co-occurs with the imperative particle /ti³/ and the declarative particle /la²/, these three co-occurring particles show a request with a mild command.

- (39) [Context] A customer says to a noodle seller when he sees the meat not well scalded:

“ລວກສຸກໆແດ່ຕີ້ລະ.”

lu:ak¹ su:k³ su:k³ dɛ:² ti³ la²
scald well done FP FP FP

‘Scald it well.’

4.7.1.3 Imperative particle /dɛ:²/ + Imperative particle /ti³/ +

Declarative particle /wəj⁵/

When the imperative co-occurring particles /dɛ:²/+/ti³/ co-occur with the declarative particle /wəj⁵/, which expresses annoyance, they indicate that the speaker is displeased with something and wants the addressee to correct the situation.

- (40) [Context] An old man says to his grandson:

“ເວົ້າແຮງໆແດ່ຕີ້ເວົ້ຍ, ບໍ່ໄດ້ຍິນນ່າ.”

waw¹ hɛ:ŋ³ hɛ:ŋ³ dɛ:² ti³ wəj⁵ bə:² daŋ¹ niŋ³ na:⁷
speak loud loud FP FP FP NEG hear FP

‘Speak louder, I didn’t hear you.’

4.7.1.4 Imperative particle /dɛ:²/ + Imperative particle /mɛ³/ +

Declarative particle /la²/

The imperative particle /mɛ³/, which is used to show an order, occurs between the imperative particle /dɛ:²/ and the declarative particle /la²/. When these three particles co-occur in a command, they are used to indicate a request with a mild order.

(41) [Context] A noodle seller says to her servant:

“ເອົາຜັກກັບໄປໃຫ້ລາວແດ່ແມະລະ.”

ɾaw¹ p^hak³ kap³ paj¹ haj¹ law³ dɛ:² mɛ³ la²
take vegetable with go give he FP FP FP

‘Take a vegetable [plate] to him.’

4.7.1.5 Imperative particle /t^hɔ?²/ + Imperative particle /mɛ³/ +

Declarative particle /la²/

When the particle /t^hɔ?²/ occurs with other particles, its form changes to /t^ha²/, which is used to express persuasion or a request. When it co-occurs with /mɛ³/+ /la²/, the resulting particle triplet is used to indicate mild persuasion with a sense of urging.

(42) [Context] An woman says to her daughter at the table:

“ນ້ຳເສີຍເຮັດຫຍັງ? ກິນທະແມ້ລະ.”

naŋ⁴ sə:¹ het² naŋ⁴ kin¹ t^ha² mɛ³ la²
sit quiet do what eat FP FP FP

‘Why do you sit quietly? Eat it.’

4.7.2 Three Imperative particles

Some imperative particle triplets are formed by the combination of three imperative particles.

4.7.2.1 Imperative particle /sa³/ + Imperative particle /t^hɔ²/ + Imperative particle /na:⁷/

The imperative particle /sa³/ is used to express a request. The imperative particle /t^hɔ²/ expresses persuasion, and the final imperative particle /na:⁷/ is used to urge the addressee. When these three particles co-occur in a command, they are used to show a strong request.

(43) [Context] A woman trader tries to request a customer buying her goods:

“ເອົາສາເທາະນ່າ ບໍ່ແພງດອກ.”

?aw' sa³ t^hɔ² na:⁷ bɔ:² p^hɛ:⁷ dɔ:k⁶
take FP FP FP NEG expensive FP

‘Please buy it, it’s not really expensive.’

4.7.2.2 Imperative particle /lɛ:³/ + Imperative particle /lo:t²/ + Imperative particle /dɛ:⁷/

The imperative particle /lɛ:³/ shows that the speaker urges the addressee to do something. The imperative particle /lo:t²/ is used to encourage the addressee to do something. The imperative particle /dɛ:⁷/ is used to encourage or invite the addressee to do something. When these three imperative particles co-occur in a command, they are used to show gentle encouragement with a mild urging.

(44) [Context] A man says to his guest:

“ກິນເລີຍໂລດເດີ້ ບໍ່ຕ້ອງເກງໃຈ.”

kin¹ lə:¹ lo:¹ də:¹ bə:² tɔ:¹ ke:¹ tɕaj¹
eat FP FP FP NEG must fear heart

‘Please eat. Make yourself at home.’

4.7 Summary

Some final particles in Vientiane Lao can occur in groups of two or three particles that are called co-occurring particle doublets and co-occurring particle triplets, respectively. Co-occurring particle doublets include declarative co-occurring particles, interrogative co-occurring particles, imperative co-occurring particles, and exclamative co-occurring particles. The possible co-occurrence patterns of final particle doublets in Vientiane Lao is shown in the Table 8. As for co-occurring particle triplets, they consist of declarative co-occurring particles triplets, interrogative co-occurring particles triplets, and imperative co-occurring particles triplets. The possible co-occurrence patterns for Lao Vientiane particle triplets is considerably more limited than those of Lao Vientiane particle doublets.

Table 8. The possible co-occurrence of final particles in
Vientiane Lao

FP 2 \ FP 1	kɔʔ ²	kɔ: ⁷	sa ³	san ⁵	jə: ⁷	du ³	de ³	də ³	daj ³	dɔk ²
kɔʔ ²										
sa ³					I	I	I	I		
sam ⁵			D				D		D	D
san ⁵										D
du ³										
de ³										
dɛ: ²	Q			Q		I	Q, I	I		
də ³										
daj ³										
dɔk ²								D		
ti ³										
tua ²										
tʰɔʔ ²										
na ²										
buʔ ³							D			
bɔʔ ²				Q			Q			
pʰun ⁵										
mɛ ³										
ju: ²		D					D	D	D	
laʔ ²							D	D	D	
lə:j ³								I	I	
lɛʔ ²								D	D	
lɛ:w ⁶										
lo:t ⁵						I		I		
wa ³				Q						

FP 1 = the first particle

D = declarative particle doublet

I = imperative particle doublet

FP 2 = the second particle

Q = interrogative particle doublet

E = exclamative particle doublet

Table 8. The possible co-occurrence of final particles in
Vientiane Lao (Continued)

FP 1 \ FP 2	ti ³	tua ²	t ^h ɔʔ ²	t ^h ɔ:n ⁵	na ²	nɔʔ ³	nɔ: ⁷	buʔ ³	bɔʔ ²	bɔ: ⁷
kɔʔ ²										
sa ³	I		I	I	I	Q				Q
sam ⁵	D	D			D	Q	D		Q	
san ⁵		D			Q				Q	
du ³										
de ³						Q	Q, E			
dɛ: ²	I	I	I	I	I	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q
də ³										
daj ³						D	D			
dɔk ²	D				D	Q				
ti ³						Q			D	
tua ²						Q			Q	
t ^h ɔʔ ²					I	Q				
na ²										
buʔ ³					D	Q				
bɔʔ ²						Q	Q	D, Q		
p ^h un ⁵	D	D			D	Q			Q	Q
mɛ ³										
ju: ²	Q	Q			D	Q			Q	Q
la ²	D				D	D	D		Q	D
lɛ:j ³	I	I	I		I	Q			Q	Q
lɛʔ ²										
lɛ:w ⁶										
lo:t ⁵	I	I	I		I	Q			Q	Q
wa ³										

FP 1 = the first particle

D = declarative particle doublet

I = imperative particle doublet

FP 2 = the second particle

Q = interrogative particle doublet

E = exclamative particle doublet

Table 8. The possible co-occurrence of final particles in
Vientiane Lao (Continued)

FP 1 \ FP 2	paj ³	mɛ ³	ju: ²	la ²	lɛʔ ²	lɛ:w ⁶	lo:t ⁵	ua ³	wəj ³	hw ³
kɔʔ ²									Q	Q
sa ³	I	I								
sam ⁵									D	
san ⁵								Q		
du ³				I						
de ³				Q						Q
dɛ: ²	I	I		Q					Q, I	Q
də ³				I						
daj ³									D, I	
dɔk ²	D								D	
ti ³				I					I	
tua ²				D					D	
tʰɔʔ ²	I	I							I	
na ²									D, I	
buʔ ³				D	D				D	
bɔʔ ²				Q				Q	Q	Q
p ^h un ⁵				D	D			Q	D	
mɛ ³				I					I	
ju: ²								Q	D	
la ²		I						Q	D	
lɛ:j ³		I		D	D		I	Q	D	
lɛʔ ²									D	
lɛ:w ⁶									D	
lo:t ⁵		I		I	I	I		Q	I	
wa ³				Q						Q

FP 1 = the first particle

D = declarative particle doublet

I = imperative particle doublet

FP 2 = the second particle

Q = interrogative particle doublet

E = exclamative particle doublet