

Chapter 2

Khmu grammar sketch

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to briefly introduce in some basic grammatical features of the Khmu language (namely constituent order and modification in noun and verb phrase) and then to address some relevant grammatical issues in this paper, which co-occur with (right-dislocated) repetition structures, namely evidentials and adverbs as well as reduplication and elaborate expressions.

The data about the constituent order was collected by elicitation from Tan, a Khmu woman in her late twenties, on 28. September 2004. Additionally, data was collected for this thesis from Bunthay in December 2006. The non-elicited material comes from Suwilai (1987).

2.2 Constituent order

According to Suwilai (1987:47), the basic word order in Khmu is SVO. The constituents of a clause consist of an optional subject in a noun phrase, an obligatory predicate in a verb phrase, and an optional object. The object position can be realized by a direct or indirect object, a sentential complement, a locative (or another oblique). The peripheral adverbials and initial and final particles are optional.

The clause structure, extended from Suwilai, can be outlined as:

Cl -> (PRT) (SUBJ_{NP}) VP (OBJ_{NP}/ COMP/ LOC) (ADV) (PRT).¹⁴
(Verbal particles belonging to the verb phrase are not included here.)

Here is an example of the basic word order that contains most of the clausal constituents. It comes from the 'Poor' text:

¹⁴ '/' means either or.

(4) Poor.202

Pho di ge go' bak pnwr nèèv nê' lè'.
enough good he then ride wing like.that then
ADJ ADJ 3MSG CN V N TAM EMPH

[PRT] [SUBJ] [VP] [O] [ADV] [PRT]

Alright, he then rode the wings like this.

According to Suwilai (1987:47), Khmu has five basic clause types, namely existive, equative, intransitive, semi-transitive, and transitive. The nuclear segments of these clause types differ from each other. In the following, they are presented briefly.

2.2.1 Existive clause

The clause structure of an existive clause $CL_{EXIST} \rightarrow (V) COMP$ consists of an optional verb in a verb phrase and an obligatory complement in a noun phrase or clause (and normally an obligatory locative peripheral). The verb *ah* 'have/ there is' characterizes an existive clause, even though it may be omitted (cf. Suwilai 1987:47).

(5) Poor.077

Ah gôn pntôk h'iar pnmah swang iik.
have person slaughter chicken feed pig also
V N V N V N ADV

[V] [COMP_{cl}] [ADV]

There is somebody who slaughtered a chicken (and) fed the pigs, too.

In example (5), the complement (following the verb *ah* 'have') consists of a whole clause, which is followed by a final adverb.

2.2.2 Equative clause

The clause structure of an equative clause $CL_{EQUAT} \rightarrow S (V) COMP$ consists of an obligatory subject in a noun phrase, an optional verb in a verb phrase, and an obligatory complement in the form of a noun phrase or clause. The verb (copula) *meh* 'to be' characterizes an equative clause, even though it may be omitted (cf. Suwilai 1987:49).

(6) Poor.060

Ńoon va dé meh gôn thuk gôn rôôk h'w'.
because that self be person poor person poor right
CAUS APL REFL V N ADJ N ADJ TVF

[SUBJ] [V] [COMP_{NP}]

Because oneself is a poor poor guy, right.

In example (6), the complement segment is a noun phrase.

2.2.3 Semi-transitive clause

The clause structure of a semi-transitive clause $CL_{SEMITR} \rightarrow (SUBJ) V LOC$ consists of an optional subject in a noun phrase, an obligatory verb in a verb phrase, and an obligatory locative usually in a prepositional phrase (place names may also be stated in a noun phrase without a preposition) (cf. Suwilai 1987:51).

(7) Poor.010

Yat tit da' gaang tloot.
stay attached.to at house always
V V LOC N ADV

[VP] [PP_{LOC}]

Staying attached to the house always.

In (7) the locative is represented by the prepositional phrase *da' gaang* 'at the house'. The predicate is realized by the serial verb phrase *yat tit* 'stay.attached.to'.

2.2.4 Intransitive clause

The clause structure of an intransitive clause $CL_{INTR} \rightarrow (SUBJ) V$ consists of an optional subject in a noun phrase and an obligatory verb in a verb phrase (cf. Suwilai 1987:51).

(8) Poor.004

Jé' kap ya' ni' thuk thuk.
grandchild with grandmother there poor poor
N CN N DET ADJ ADJ

[NP_{SUBJ}] [VP]
The grandchild and (its) grandmother there (they were) very poor.

The verb phrase of this intransitive clause is represented by the two adjacent verbal adjectives. Adjectives are treated as a kind of verb in this thesis.

2.2.5 Transitive clause

The clause structure of a transitive clause CL_{TR} -> (SUBJ) V O consists of an optional subject in a noun phrase, an obligatory verb in a verb phrase, and an obligatory object [direct and/or indirect object] as a noun phrase or a clause (cf. Suwilai 1987:57).

(9) Poor.126

Ô' ci phaàn sba.
I will kill you two
1SG FUT V 2DL

[SUBJ]/[VP]/[DO]
'I will kill you.'

This verb phrase consists of the temporal marker *ci* (FUT) and the head verb *phaàn* 'kill'. The direct object (DO) is realized by the personal pronoun *sba* (2DL).

In the following example (10), the object slot is occupied by an indirect object (IO).

(10) Poor.176

ô' ci ñoom an mé dé' lôôc bat gi.'
I will surrender give you to completely time this
1SG FUT V V 2MSG IO ADV TAM DEM

[SUBJ] [VP] [IO]
'...I will surrender (her) for you totally then.'

Here, the direct object (DO) is in ellipsis.

The following example (11) shows the order of direct and indirect object in a typical clause.

(11) Poor.173

Mé dwang rngkô' an ô' be' mè.
you take rice give I eat ok
2MSG V N BEN 1SG V EMPH

[SUBJ] [V] [DO] [IO_{CL}] [PRT]

You take rice for me to eat, ok.

The indirect object follows the direct object. Here, the indirect object construction omits the final indirect object marker *dé'* (IO). Instead the indirect object construction is linked to the verb *be'* 'eat' in an IO clause.

A similar sentence, which however omits the whole indirect object construction *an ... dé'* is seen in example (12).

(12) Poor.182

Mé sook h'iar ô' be' mè.
you look.for chicken I eat ok
2MSG V N 1SG V EMPH

[SUBJ] [V] [DO] [IO_{CL}] [PRT]

'...You look for a chicken for me to eat, ok.'

2.3 Modified Noun Phrases

The goal of this section is to present a relatively complete noun phrase statement expressed by phrase structure rules.

In the following examples the modifier follows the head noun, with the latter always occurring first in the noun phrase.

2.3.1 Modified by another noun (Nominal compound)

(13) a. (Suwilai 1987:30) b. (Suwilai 1987:30)

kdông	h'iar	kung	kmhmu'
egg	chicken	village	Khmu
N _{HEAD}	N _{MOD}	N _{HEAD}	N _{MOD}
'Chicken egg'		'Khmu village'	

The modifier noun N_{MOD}, being a general noun as in (a) or a proper noun as in (b) usually follows the head noun N_{HEAD} and generates a nominal compound. A compound is "a word that is formed from two or more different words" (Payne 1997:92).

2.3.2 Modified by a genitive possessive noun

(14) (Suwilai 1987:30)

ma'	Hang
mother	male.name
N _{HEAD}	NP _{POSS}
'Hang's mother'	

The possessor N_{POSS}, being a proper name, follows the possessive (head noun N_{HEAD}). This can be expressed by the phrase structure rule: NP → N (NP_{POSS}).

2.3.3 Modified by a possessive pronoun

(15) (Suwilai 1987:30)

gaang ô'
house my
N_{HEAD} PRN_{POSS}
'My house'

The possessor pronoun PRN_{POSS} follows the possessive (head noun). This can be expressed by the phrase structure rule: NP -> N (NP_{POSS}).

2.3.4 Modified by an adjective

(16) a. (Suwilai 1987:30) b. (Suwilai 1987:30)

<i>koon ñè'</i>	<i>gôn le'</i>
<i>child little</i>	<i>man good</i>
<i>N ADJ</i>	<i>N ADJ</i>
<i>'little child'</i>	<i>'good man'</i>

The adjective follows the noun, which is captured by the PS-rule: NP -> N (ADJ).

2.3.5 Modified by a demonstrative

(17) a. (elicited) b. (elicited)

<i>tô' gi</i>	<i>tô' bwng gi</i>
<i>table this</i>	<i>table PL those</i>
<i>N DEM</i>	<i>N PL DEM</i>
<i>'this table'</i>	<i>'those tables'</i>

The demonstrative follows the noun in (a) and its plural marker in (b). In a noun phrase the noun occurs in initial position; as in NP -> N (PL) (DEM).

2.3.6 Modified by a numeral

(18) a. (elicited)

b. (elicited)

<i>sndén</i>	<i>môôy nuay</i>	<i>Tô'</i>	<i>pé' nuay</i>
<i>chair</i>	<i>one CLSF</i>	<i>Table</i>	<i>three CLSF</i>
<i>N_{HEAD}</i>	<i>NUM CLSF</i>	<i>N_{HEAD}</i>	<i>NUM CLSF</i>
<i>'one chair'</i>		<i>'three tables'</i>	

The numeral and classifier occurs after the head noun, as in NP -> N (NUM (CLF)). According to Suwilai (1987:30), the numeral is followed optionally by the classifier.

2.4 Extended modified noun phrases

2.4.1 Modified NP and possessive pronoun

(19) (Suwilai 1987:30)

<i>koon</i>	<i>ñè'</i>	<i>ô'</i>
<i>child</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>my</i>
<i>N_{HEAD}</i>	<i>ADJ</i>	<i>IPOSS</i>
<i>'my little child'</i>		

The possessive pronoun follows the adjective of the modified noun phrase. This example combines two previous rules into NP -> N (ADJ) (NP_{POSS}).

2.4.2 Modified NP and demonstrative

(20) a. (Suwilai 1987:31)

b. (elicited)

<i>koon</i>	<i>ñè'</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>tô'</i>	<i>ñè'</i>	<i>bwng</i>	<i>gi</i>
<i>child</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>table</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>those</i>
<i>N_{HEAD}</i>	<i>ADJ</i>	<i>DEM</i>	<i>N_{HEAD}</i>	<i>ADJ</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>DEM</i>
<i>'this little child'</i>			<i>'those little tables'</i>			

The demonstrative appears after the modified noun phrase. The noun phrase may be modified by an adjective in (a) or a plural marker in (b).

Again, this example combines two PS-rules into NP -> N (MOD) (PL) (DEM).

2.4.3 Modified NP and relative clauses

(21) (Suwilai 1987:31)

Koon ñè' ô' nam bak thraak.
Child little my who ride buffalo
N_{HEAD} ADJ 1POSS REL V N
'My little child who is riding a buffalo.'

The relative clause in (22) is introduced by the relative pronoun (REL) *nam* and modifies the already modified head noun.

(22) a. (elicited)

Sngmah thi hét lèèv.
meal which prepare already
N_{HEAD} REL V TEMP
'The meal which is prepared already.'

b. (elicited)

Sngmah hét lèèv.
meal prepare already
N_{HEAD} V TEMP
'The meal which is prepared already.'

Example (23a), which includes the relative pronoun (REL) *thi*, sounds unnatural. Khmu speakers would rather use the sentence in example (23b) without the relative pronoun.

The relative clause (RC) modifies the (already modified) head noun. The PS-rule in these examples is: NP -> N (ADJ) (NP_{POSS}) (RC).

2.4.4 Modified NP in a locative phrase

(23) (Suwilai 1987:31)

koon ñè' da' gaang
child little at home
N_{HEAD} ADJ PREP N
'the little child [is] at home'

Example (24) represents a locative sentence (S -> NP PP) with the verb being omitted. The prepositional phrase occurs after the modified noun phrase, according to the PS-rule S -> NP PP.

2.4.5 Modified NP and number phrase

(24) (Suwilai 1987:31)

koon ñè' móôy gôn
child little one CLSF
N_{HEAD} ADJ NUM CLSF
 'one little child'

The number phrase further modifies the noun phrase: NP -> N (ADJ) (NUM) (CLF).

a (elicited)

h'iar bwng gni' baar tó
chicken PL these two CLSF
 (26) *N_{HEAD} PL DEM NUM CLSF*
 'these two chicken'

b (elicited)

h'iar baar tó bwng gni'
chicken two CLSF PL these
N_{HEAD} NUM CLSF PL DEM
 'these two chicken'

The number phrase (plus optional classifier) usually appears after the modified noun phrase as in (26a). But with a demonstrative it can also be placed before the demonstrative as in (26b), which sounds, according to my informant Tan, more natural (cf. also example (27) below).

The PS-rule is then: N -> N (NUM) (CLSF) (PL) (DEM).

(26) (Suwilai 1987:36)

No pé' gôn gnaay
3PL three person those
N_{HEAD} NUM CLSF DEM
 'those three people'

Suwilai (1987:36) refers to (27) as pronoun phrase NP_{PRON}, as the head of the noun phrase is a pronoun. It is followed by a numeral plus classifier and a final demonstrative according to the PS-rule N -> NP_{PRON} (NUM) (CLSF) (DEM).

2.4.6 Noun phrase structure summary

In the following, the various noun phrase structure rules are collapsed into a single statement of possible NPs. The head noun can be either a pronoun or a common noun.

NP -> N (ADJ) (NP_{POSS}) (NUM) (CLSF) (PL) (DEM) (RC).

A complete noun phrase may be a single noun or pronoun, a single demonstrative, a pronoun plus demonstrative, a numeral plus demonstrative, or a classifier plus demonstrative.

In the data there are several occurrences of headless NP's, which are presented in the following table. They are marked as right-dislocated repetition (RDR) if they are in that respective position of a sentence.

#	NP structure	Example	RDR
P.007	NP -> NUM CLSF	120 pi. 120 year 120 CLSF	RDR
P.023	NP -> DEM	Gi een va ya' ni' lav lav kaal this call that grandmother there say say before DEM V APL N DET V V LOC ploh. plainly ADV This means that grandmother there told (it), told it before plainly.	Not RDR
P.114	NP -> N _{PRON} DEM	Sna ni' those.two that 3DL DEM	Not RDR
P.114	NP -> NUM DEM	mđôy ni' one that NUM DEM	Not RDR
P.119	NP -> N _{PRON}	Sna bay neeng ci tềng the two of them anymore know will make 3DL TAM V FUT V leey sna. continue those.two V 3DL They did not know anymore what to do further, they.	RDR
B.066	NP -> ADJ NUM CLSF	gřeng tool mđông. half six o'clock ADJ NUM CLSF	RDR
FT.007	NP -> NUM CLSF	cét tula. seven October NUM CLSF	RDR

Table 3: Headless noun phrases in the collected narratives.

2.5 Modified Verb Phrases

2.5.1 Verb phrase constituents

According to Suwilai (1987:40), the verb phrase consists of one (or more) obligatory main verbs which can be preceded by one or more pre-verbs (PREV), one or more preverbal adverbs (ADV), one or more aspect particles (ASP), and one or more modal particles (MOD). The main verb(s) may be followed by one or more post-verbal adverbs (ADV).

The constituent order of these modifying segments in the verb phrase is as follows:

VP -> (MOD/ FUT) (NEG) (ASP) (ADV) (PREV/ FUT) V (NEG) (ASP) (ADV).

2.5.1.1 Pre-verbs

Pre-verbs modify the meaning of the verb and can usually also occur as main verbs. They include verbs like *yat* 'stay', *yoh* 'go', *root* 'arrive', *cu* 'hurt', *gu* 'love to', and *thwwk* 'being right' (cf. Suwilai 1987:41). When these pre-verbs are followed by a main verb, they can have a different meaning (cf. the following table).

verb	meaning as main verb	Pre-verb + verb	meaning as pre-verb
yat	'stay'	yat eh 'still doing'	'still' (being persistent in doing something)
yoh	'go'	yoh rēc 'going for a visit'	being in a state of doing something
root	'arrive'	root bwp 'happen to meet'	experiencing something
cu'	'hurt'	cu' wak 'want to drink'	'be anxious to, want to'
gu'	'like'	gu' yoh 'enjoy going'	'enjoy'
thwwk	'being right'	thwwk piñ 'being shot'	'undergo an unpleasant experience' (passive-like construction)

Table 4: Main verb versus pre-verb meaning

(27) (Suwilai 1987:42)

Ge root bwp mar.
He arrive meet snake
3SG PREV V_{HEAD} O
'He happened to meet a snake.'

The meaning of the pre-verb *root* 'arrive' in (28) changes to 'happen to' when it is followed by the main verb *bwp* 'meet'. The pre-verb *root* introduces the mode of the action.

2.5.1.2 Preverbal Adverbs

A preverbal adverb (ADV) occurs before the pre-verb and the main verb.

(28) Poor.141

Pho di hnggooy coop coop yoh.
enough good slowly spy.on spy.on go
ADJ ADJ ADJ V V V

ADV [PREV] V

Alright, (I) went slowly crouching on tiptoes.

In example (29), *hnggooy* 'slowly' precedes the pre-verb (PREV) and the main verb (V).

2.5.1.3 Post-verbal Adverbs

The post-verbal adverb (ADV) takes the very last position in the verb phrase. This can be seen in the following example from the 'Poor' text:

(29) Poor.019

yoh hmaan 'moon gi tétkhaat.
go bury place this absolutely
V V N DEM ADV

'... go bury (her) (at) this place absolutely.'

The post-verbal adverb *tétkhaat* in (30) occurs clause-final. It even follows the noun phrase (a locative without preposition) which is situated after the verb phrase.

2.5.1.4 Aspect markers

Aspect markers occur either preverbal before the preverbal adverb and the pre-verb; or post-verbal after the main verb and before the post-verbal adverb.

The preverbal aspect marker *geey* 'used to' is seen in the following example (31).

(30) (Suwilai 1987:44)

Na geey puum plé'.
She used.to chew betel.nut
 3FSG PERF V N
She used to chew betel nut.'

The perfective aspect marker *geey* is situated preverbal.

Examples for post-verbal aspect markers can be seen in the following sentences.

(31) a. (elicited)

b. (Suwilai 1987:68)

Ge yat bwan.
He stay can
 3SG V_{HEAD} ABL
'He can stay.'

Ó' be' hôôc.
I eat already
 1SG V_{HEAD} COMPL
'I have already eaten.'

The abilitative marker *bwan* 'can' in (32a) and the completive marker *hôôc* 'already' in (32b) are post-verbal aspect markers occurring after the head verb.

Suwilai (1987:43) also refers to the preverbal progressive marker (PROG) *hnoong/kmlang* 'still' and the preverbal completive marker (COMPL) *ha* 'just' as aspect markers.

2.5.1.5 Negation

The negation slot (NEG) in the verb phrase is situated before the aspect marker either preverbal or post-verbal. For a more detailed discussion, see below in section (2.5.2).

2.5.1.6 Modal particles

Modal particles (MOD) are situated at the first preverbal position in the verb phrase, just following the subject. They include *tang* 'certainly', *lè* 'then', *gaay* 'happen to', *mak* 'might', *tông* 'must', and *go* 'also' (Suwilai 1987:44f).

(32) (Suwilai 1987:45)

Ô' go' yoh.

I also go

1SG MOD V

'I also go.'

In (32), the modal particle *go* 'then' occurs before the verb.

Additionally, the temporal marker *ci* (FUT) also takes the place of the modal slot in the verb phrase as it precedes the negation slot. This is seen in example (34).

(33) Poor.153

Ge ci am be' khung ay.

he will not eat ashamed right

3MSG FUT NEG V ADJ TVF

He will not eat (either), ashamed, right.

The temporal marker *ci* (FUT) precedes the negation marker *am* and follows the subject *ge* (3MSG). However, if there is a matrix verb involved, the temporal marker can precede the embedded verb of the verb phrase, as seen in the following example (35).

(34) Poor.157

Pho di ge am neeng ci tèeng.

enough good he not know will make

ADJ ADJ 3MSG NEG V FUT V

Alright, he did not know what to do.

In (35), the temporal marker *ci* precedes the embedded verb *tèeng* 'do'.

2.5.2 Negation modifying the verb phrase

2.5.2.1 Simple negation

The negative particle *am* precedes the head verb *meh* 'be', as seen in (36).

(35) (cf. Suwilai 1987:43)

Ô' am meh jè'.
 I not be Thai
 ISG NEG V N
 'I am not Thai.'

2.5.2.2 Negation of sentential adverbs (aspect markers)

(36) (cf. Suwilai 1987:68)

No be' am bwan.
 They eat not can
 S V_{HEAD} NEG ABL
 'They can't eat.'

When there is a pre-or post-verbal aspect marker like the abilitative marker *bwan* 'can', the negation of the verb phrase is accomplished by negating the aspect marker. In example (37), the negated aspect marker follows the head verb.

(37) Poor.006¹⁵

Gaay am bwan dé yoh kung am bat] kung hnam kung vah] am da' guuñ
 return not can self go village not time] village big village large] not.yet see
 V NEG ABL REFL V N NEG TAM] N ADJ N ADJ TAM V
 am bat] kung hnam kung vah.
 not time] village big village large
 NEG TAM] N ADJ N ADJ

(The grandchild) could never visit a village, (one of these) big and large villages, (it) has never seen (something like that), a big and large village.

In this sentence, there are two different strategies of negation: The negation of the abilitative marker *bwan* 'can' by the fixed negation construction *am bwan dé* 'never' (which is not interpreted literally) preceding the head verb in the first clause and the simple negation by the negation construction *am da'* 'not yet' preceding the head verb in the second clause.

¹⁵ Note: The square brackets show chunk delimitation as an assist to the reader.

2.5.2.3 Negative imperatives (prohibition)

In prohibitive clauses, the negative particles *ha' da'* precede the head verb. Examples (39a) and (39b) illustrate this phenomenon.

(38) a. (elicited)

Ha' da' wak.
do.not smoke
NEG V_{HEAD}
'Do not smoke!'

b. (elicited)

Ha' da' srô.'
do.not talk
NEG V_{HEAD}
'Do not talk!'

2.6 Evidentials and adverbs

Evidentiality as the 'linguistic coding of epistemology' (Chafe and Nichols 1986) refers to the relative certainty of truth in the mind of the speaker. Evidentials (or evidential/ epistemic adverbs¹⁶) then reflect how information is evaluated (cf. Payne 1997:251). In Khmu, the evidential system is not linked to verb morphology in combination with other tense/ aspect/ mode markers (TAM) (cf. Payne 1997:252). Therefore, I refer to evidentials in Khmu as adverbs. An adverb (or adverbial clause) is not an argument of a clause but still modifies a verb phrase or a whole clause, as it "simply adds some information to the proposition" (Payne 1997:316f).

The evidentials observed in Khmu discourse are affirmative adverbs, which back up a certain statement made before. They are often marked in the texts as TVF (truth-value focus) and are translated in English by e.g. 'right'.

Apart from evidentials (affirmative adverbs), the majority of adverbs observed in Khmu texts are emphatic adverbs (which are meant to reinforce or emphasize the meaning of the referent). Furthermore, there are temporal, manner, and conditional adverbials, other adverbs representing aspect information like continuous and completive aspect, and general connectors, which are here not treated in depth.

The adverbs, which are involved in Khmu right-dislocated repetition structures, are basically emphatic adverbs and affirmative adverbs (evidentials), which need to be discriminated from other similar adverbs. Especially the distinction between temporal and emphatic or affirmative adverbs is

¹⁶ According to Payne (1997:69), adverbs are a 'catch-all' category. On the clause or discourse level, their semantic scope can be relevant "to entire clauses or larger units rather than simply to phrases." Evidential adverbs "indicate the source of the information" (e.g., hearsay, first-hand, second-hand information), whereas epistemic adverbs "indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause" (Payne 1997:70).

crucial, as some emphatic and affirmative adverbs entail the structure of a temporal adverb, but their actual secondary meaning within a RDR structure is emphatic or affirmative. For example, in Table 5 below, both, the affirmative adverb *ay bat gi* 'right' and the emphatic adverb *ni' lèèv bat gi* 'then' involve the temporal adverbial *bat gi* 'at this time', whose primary meaning is a temporal meaning.

In the following tables the different kinds of adverbs are categorized according to their position in the clause (and their function as right-dislocation marker (RDM), which is explained below).

Affirmative and emphatic adverbs as right-dislocation markers (RDM) in quasi clause final position				
Adverb	Gloss	Right-dislocation marker	Function	Reference
<i>ay bat gi</i>	'right'	RDM	AFFIRM	P.145/ P.150
<i>ay bat ni'</i>	'right'	RDM	AFFIRM	P.143
<i>bat gi</i>	'then'	RDM	EMPH	(P.013)/ P.135/ P.139
<i>ni' lèèv bat gi</i>	'then'	RDM	EMPH	P.187
<i>i'</i>	'yes'	RDM	EMPH	P.137
<i>ni ne^</i>	'like.this'	RDM	EMPH	P.021/ P.148
<i>leey</i>	'continuously'	RDM	EMPH	P.119

Table 5: Affirmative and emphatic adverbs as right-dislocation markers

Table 5 includes only affirmative and emphatic adverbs, which are involved in a right-dislocated repetition structure. They serve as right-dislocation markers (RDM) and are positioned between the original clause and the repeated right-dislocated repetition structure at the end of the sentence. Therefore they are labeled as being positioned in 'quasi clause final position'.

Affirmative and emphatic adverbs in clause final position (not being RDM)			
ay	'right'	AFFIRM	P.034/ P.153
ay hni'	'right'	AFFIRM	P.065
la'ay	'right'	AFFIRM	P.017
h'w'	'right'	AFFIRM	P.038/ P.060/ P.136/ P.220
nah	'right'	AFFIRM	P.093
ay	'indeed'	EMPH/ AFFIRM	P.101/ P.205/ P.213
la'ay bat gi	'indeed'	EMPH/ AFFIRM	P.100
la'ay	'indeed'	EMPH/ AFFIRM	P.156
bat gi	'then'	EMPH	P.104/ P.166/ P.176
lèèv	'then'	EMPH	P.164/ P.167
lèèv bat gi	'then'	EMPH	P.026/ P.112
la' bat gi	'then'	EMPH	P.121
kdéh	'then'	EMPH	P.146
déh	'then'	EMPH	P.038/ P.069
nah	'then'	EMPH	P.138/ P.217
nê	'you.see'	EMPH	P.040/ P.154
nê	'then'	EMPH	P.052/ P.061/ P.164
ni nê	'like.this'	EMPH	P.048/ P.103/ P.116/ P.147/ P.154...
lav nê	'say.like.this'	EMPH	P.051
ni oh	'like.this'	EMPH	P.059/ P.156/ P.214
ni lè'	'like.this'	EMPH	P.005/ P.028 + eeh/ P.034/ P.037
lè'	'then'	EMPH	P.022/ P.031/ P.045/ P.095/ P.111...
leey	'indeed'	EMPH	P.088/ P.164

Table 6: Affirmative and emphatic adverbs in clause final position

Affirmative and emphatic adverbs in clause final position (cf. Table 6) do not serve as a right-dislocation marker (RDM), as a RDM is positioned in between the original clause and the right-dislocated repetition structure.

Clause final temporal and manner adverbials and other (not emphatic or affirmative) adverbs			
lèèv	'already'	TEMP	P.018/ P.025/ P.034/ P.038/ P.054...
hóôc lèèv	'finished already'	TEMP	P.201/ P.203
floot	'always'	TEMP	P.003/ P.010/ P.011/ (P.087)
leey	'continuously'	CONT	P.148/ P.221
hóôc	'finished'	COMPL	P.152/ P.178/ P.185/ P.212
tétkhaat	'absolutely'	MAN	P.019

Table 7: Other clause final adverbs

The adverbials and adverbs in clause final position (Table 7) keep their primary meaning. They do not serve as right-dislocation markers (RDM) and they do not have a secondary emphatic or affirmative meaning.

The following Table 8 is a residue. The adverbials, adverbs and connectors are neither in a clause final position, nor do they serve as a right-dislocation marker (RDM).

Non-clause final emphatic and affirmative adverbs, temporal, manner, and conditional adverbials, other adverbs and connectors				
lè'	'then'	Variable posit.	EMPH	P.014/ P.049/ P.081...
ne'	'then'	Left-dislocated	EMPH	P.007
ni'	'there'	Variable posit.	EMPH	P.022
la'ay	'right'	Variable posit.	AFFIRM	P.156
ay	'right'	Variable posit.	AFFIRM	P.092/ P.094
h'w'	'right'	Variable posit.	AFFIRM	P.136/ P.138
bat gi	'at.this.time'	Clause initial	TEMP	P.187/ P.189...
		Clause pre-final	TEMP	P.052 + EMPH (ne')
bat ni'	'at.this.time'	Clause-initial	TEMP	P.083/P.136/ P.144/P.150...
phaylang	'after'	Clause-initial	TEMP	P.025/ P.146
hoôc	'finally'	Clause-initial	TEMP	P.040/ P.044
leey (bat gi)	'continuously'	Clause pre-final	CONT	P.203
bang een	'accidentally'	Clause-initial	MAN	P.046
bang een	'accidentally'	Variable posit.	MAN	P.169
phiang	'only'	Variable posit.	MAN	P.199
loôc (bat gi)	'completely'	Clause pre-final	MAN	P.176
sm'mut (an)	'supposing if'	Clause initial	COND	P.176
pho di	'alright'	Clause initial	CN	P.069/ P.074/ P.141
go'	'then'	Variable posit.	CN	P.013
lè' go'	'and.then/so'	Variable posit.	CN	P.013/ P.050/ P.083

Table 8: Adverbs in various clause positions

2.6.1 Affirmative and emphatic adverbs as right-dislocation markers (RDM)

Affirmative as well as emphatic adverbs function in Khmu discourse as right-dislocation markers (RDM) and occur also in clause-final position. A right-dislocation marker (RDM) is the adverb between the original clause and the repeated lexical items in right-dislocated position in a sentence. Regarding the function of affirmative and emphatic adverbs as right-dislocation marker (RDM), example (40) serves as an illustration.

(39) Poor.187

Bat gi ge go' hnoong yaam ni' lèèv bat gi yaam.
time this he then still cry there already time this cry
TAM DEM 3MSG CN ADV V DET COMPL TAM DEM V

At this time, he then was still crying, then, crying.

Example (40) shows that the emphatic adverb phrase *ni' lèèv bat gi* 'then' is positioned in between of the verb *yaam* 'cry' and its repetition. The clause in front of the emphatic adverb *ni' lèèv bat gi* is a complete clause in itself, but the right-dislocated verb in repetition still belongs to the whole sentence. Therefore *ni' lèèv bat gi* serves as a right-dislocation marker (RDM).

2.6.2 Affirmative versus emphatic adverbs

The categorization of an adverb as affirmative or emphatic is sometimes not clear-cut. However, adverbs which consist of *ay* 'right' in any form are usually considered as affirmative true-value focus (TVF) adverbs and are translated as 'right' (or 'indeed'). Emphatic adverbs are translated with 'then'. In the following two examples (41) and (42), the right-dislocation marker (RDM, highlighted) differs by including or excluding the element *ay* 'right', respectively.

(40) Poor.145

Meh me' go' siat ay bat gi siat.
be who then jealous right time this jealous
V QP CN ADJ TVF TAM DEM ADJ

Everybody then was jealous, right, was jealous.

(41) Poor.139

Yoh guuñ gaang thran bat gi thran.
go see house terrified time this terrified
V V N ADJ TAM DEM ADJ

Going and seeing the house, terrified, then, terrified.

The free translation of *ay bat gi* as 'right' (being an affirmative adverb) in (41) and *bat gi* as 'then' (being an emphatic adverb) in (42) is tentative and demands for further research. The

distinction is based on my intuition when listening to the intonation of the respective examples and the contextual flow of the story.

The following example in (43) though provides some evidence that *ay bat ni'* can be understood as affirmative adverb, as the preceding affirmative adverb '*nè* 'right' sets the affirmative mode of understanding that sentence.

(42) Poor.143

Pa'	ge	'nè	khwang	khwang	blia	ay	bat	ni'	khwang	khwang	blia.
not	he	right	clothes	clothes	beautiful	right	time	there	clothes	clothes	beautiful
NEG	3MSG	TVF	N	N	ADJ	TVF	TAM	DET	N	N	ADJ

(It is) not him, isn't it, (he wore) very beautiful clothes, right, very beautiful clothes.

2.6.3 Temporal versus emphatic adverbs

The categorization of *bat gi* 'then' and its derivatives as emphatic as opposed to their lexically inherited temporal meaning ('at this time') needs some explanation. If *bat gi* as well as the lexically related *bat ni'* occur clause-initial, the adverbs keep their lexical meaning of 'at this time'. However, either in connection with different other elements, or in clause-final position, the adverbs *bat gi/ bat ni'* may lose their primary temporal meaning and bear a secondary emphatic or affirmative meaning, translated as 'then' or 'right' or 'indeed', which meaning is retrieved from the textual context. This meaning extension is argued for on the base of adverb cluster patterns seen with the affirmative clusters *ay bat gi* and *ay bat ni'*, as well as with the emphatic clusters *ni' lèèv bat gi*, *lèèv bat gi*, *la' bat gi*, and *la'ay bat gi* (see below). Even though in some cases, a temporal meaning could also be imagined, the force of the adverb cluster patterns is used for the more emphatic or affirmative meaning. For instance, the following example from the base text "Poor becomes rich" shows some of the fuzziness about the issue.

(43) Poor.187

Bat	gi	ge	go'	hnoong	yaam	ni'	lèèv	bat	gi	yaam.
time	this	he	then	still	cry	there	already	time	this	cry
TAM	DEM	3MSG	CN	ADV	V	DET	COMPL	TAM	DEM	V

At this time, he then was still crying, then, crying.

In (44) we have on the whole three temporal references, *bat gi* 'at.this.time', *hnoong* 'still' and *ni' lèèv bat gi* 'then'. The intonation contour of the emphatic cluster *ni' lèèv bat gi* gives clear evidence (by falling fundamental pitch and a pause at the left border of the cluster but not in between the cluster) that it is to be treated as a unit. Hence, one can infer, that the temporal element *bat gi* within

the emphatic cluster is not copied from the sentence initial temporal element *bat gi* and used as a right-dislocated element after *ni' lèèv*, but instead that the element *bat gi* actually belongs to the greater emphatic cluster *ni' lèèv bat gi*. If the repeated *bat gi* had a temporal interpretation then it would imply a new, inchoative state and not an ongoing state as *hnoong* 'still' provides in the main clause.

In contrast, in example (45) below, *bat gi* keeps its temporal meaning, because the intonation contour makes clear, that *le' lèèv*, *bat gi*, and *nê'* are separate semantic units, and there is not something like the cluster *lèèv bat gi*, which would have emphatic meaning.

(44) Poor.052

Ge	thèèk	am	le'	kwang	iik	kwang	thèèk;	ô	le'	lèèv	bat		
he	measure	not	good	dig	again	dig	measure	oh	good	already	time		
3MSG	V		NEG	ADJ	V		ADV	V		EMPH	ADJ	COMPL	TAM

gi nê'.
this then
DEM EMPH

He measured, not good, digging again, digging, measuring; oh, already good at this time, isn't it.

A similar example, where *bat gi* may keep its temporal meaning is (46).

(45) Poor.013

Ya'	ni'	go'	o	maak	nwm	maak	pi	lè' go'	thav	lè'	bat	gi	
grandmother	there	then	oh	many	year	many	year	and then	old	then	time	this	
N		DET	CN	TVF	ADJ	N	ADJ	N	CN	ADJ	EMPH	TAM	DEM

thav.
old
ADJ

The grandmother there then: Oh, many, many years, and so, old (is she) then, at this stage, old.

The intonation contour makes it clear, that the emphatic adverb *lè'* 'then' and the temporal adverb *bat gi* 'at this time' are separated from each other and do not form a combined emphatic adverb. Hence, since *lè'* 'then' is an emphatic adverb already, it is probable, that the following adverb *bat gi* keeps its original temporal meaning. In summary, whenever *bat gi* or any combination of it occur clause final, it loses its primary temporary meaning and bears emphatic meaning.

2.7 Reduplication and elaborate expressions

In Khmu oral discourse reduplication is widespread. According to Suwilai (1987:27f), reduplication has both grammatical as well as stylistic functions. Payne (1997:30) defines [grammatical] reduplication as referring to the repetition of a piece of a root or the whole root. Hence, reduplication is a broader concept than mere lexical repetition. It includes word-level reduplication (which is lexical repetition), partial phonological reduplication (which is only repetition of a part of a word), and phrasal reduplication (which refers to the repetition of phrases). Finally, elaborate expressions which involve both repetition and semantic (stylistic) reiteration are discussed.

2.7.1 Word-level reduplication

On the one hand, there is simple word-level reduplication resulting from repetition of words or word classes like verbs, adjectives, adverbial elements, or nouns (cf. Suwilai 1987:27).

In the following, there are two examples from the base text "Poor becomes rich":

(46) Poor.004

Jé'	kap	ya'	ni'	thuk	thuk.
grandchild	with	grandmother	there	poor	poor
N	CN	N	DET	ADJ	ADJ

The grandchild and (its) grandmother there (they were) very poor.

The adjective *thuk* 'poor' is repeated for intensification in order to express that the respective people are 'very poor'.

In (48) the temporal adverbial *ñaam ye* 'long ago' is repeated in order to prolong the duration. This creates the meaning 'long long ago'.

(47) Poor.002

ñaam	ye'	ñaam	ye'	ah	jé'	kap	ya'	yat	broom	yo'.
time	long. ago	time	long. ago	have	grandchild	with	grandmother	stay	together	with
TNS	TNS	TNS	TNS	V	N	CN	N	V	PREP	REF

Long long ago, there was a grandchild with (its) grandmother staying together.

2.7.2 Partial (stylistic) reduplication

Another form of reduplication is partial phonological reduplication, which refers to the reduplication of a part of a word. In (49) the final expression *jiam* does not bear any meaning but starts with the same consonant as *jè'*. This creates a phonologically similar word, which, however, conveys no lexical meaning and results in an effect of purely stylistic elaboration.

(48) Suwilai (1987:28)

ah jè' ah jiam
have Thai have Ø
Having Thai people

2.7.3 Phrasal reduplication

Additionally, there is reduplication of phrases or clauses (Suwilai 1987:118f). The following two examples (50) and (51) from the base text "Poor becomes rich" include successions of clauses with repeated phrases.

(49) Poor.022

An	ya'	haan	bwp	lè'	an	jé'	ni'	moot	cme'	tuk	tuar
if	grandmother	die	meet	and	give	grandchild	there	take	string	tie	neck
COND	N	V	V	CN	BEN	N	DET	V	N	V	N

ya'	hahaha	tuk	tuar	ya'	tmbrih	tuk	tuar	ya'	tmbrih.
grandmother	laughing	tie	neck	grandmother	drag	tie	neck	grandmother	drag
N	SW	V	N	N	V	V	N	N	V

When grandmother encounters to die, and (then it is the task of the) grandchild there to take a string, tying grandmother's neck, (laughter), tying grandmother's neck (and) drag (her), tying grandmother's neck (and) drag (her).

The repeated clause *tuk tuar ya'* 'tying grandmother's neck' is reduplicated and extended by *tmbrih* '(and) drag (her)' in the two repeated final clauses.

In (50) the highlighted sections show clause succession of reiterated clauses that include the repetition of lexical items like 'taking', 'tearing', 'grasping', 'grandmother', 'cutting', 'dragging', 'going', and 'one.by.one'.

(50) Poor.034

Bah	pmgi	lèèv	ge	go'	dwang	khrwang	téc	lè'	cap	ya'	kôh
daytime	tomorrow	already	he	then	take	things	tear	and	grasp	grandmother	cut
ADJ	TNS	COMPL	3MSG	CN	V	N	V	CN	V	N	V
tuar	ya'	téc	tmbrih	tmbrih	ya'	ni'	lè'	haha			
neck	grandmother	tear	drag	drag	grandmother	there	then	sb.laughing	-	sb.laughing	
N	N	V	V	V	N	DET	EMPH	SW	-	SW	
kôh	téc	go'	am	an	téc	ay	tmbrih	déér	déér	déér	déér
cut	tear	then	not	give	tear	right	drag	one.by.one	one.by.one	one.by.one	one.by.one
V	V	CN	NEG	V	V	TVF	V	INST	INST	INST	INST
déér	déér	déér	yoh	lèèv.	Yoh.						
one.by.one	one.by.one	one.by.one	go	already	go						
INST	INST	INST	V	COMPL	V						

Daytime of the following day already, he then took the things, tearing (it) and grasping grandmother, cutting grandmother's neck, tearing (it), dragging, dragging grandmother there like this, (laughter), cutting, tearing, but not to tear (completely), right, dragging, one two, one two, etc. and going. Going.

In summary, there is word-level reduplication, partial (stylistic) reduplication, and phrasal reduplication. This thesis focuses on repetition structures that have reduplication structures which involve word-level repetition and phrasal repetition.

2.7.4 Elaborate expressions

Other repetition structures are elaborate expressions of four syllables¹⁷, which are used commonly in Khmu discourse and which are an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages. Elaborate expressions include repetition as well as semantic reiteration of lexical items. Suwilai (1987:119f) provides a description of elaborate expressions in Khmu:

They are constructions in which the first and third or second and fourth syllables are identical. ... [They] consist of a pair of clauses in which one of the segments of the first clause, either a noun or a verb, is repeated as a segment in the second clause. The meanings of another segment of the two clauses are similar or related. They may refer to things of the same kind, things that normally occur together or

¹⁷ Or four words (cf. the following examples from the 'Poor' text in P.079: *pmah swang pmah hmeh* 'feed pigs feed what', which consists of six syllables, and in P.012: *eh hrna eh hré* 'work in the rice fields work in the mountain fields', which consists of five syllables).

because such things occur in such a sequence or because a certain euphonic effect is achieved by adhering to that order. The first item usually has the main meaning. These words are mainly nouns occurring as objects while the verbs are always the repeated segments. The second syllable does not really have a meaning of its own but exerts the effect of stylistic elaboration.

In the base text "Poor becomes rich" there are a multitude of elaborate expressions, from which two representative examples are selected:

(51) Poor.005

Sng	pho	di	jé'	ni'	tèla	mw	yoh	sook	mah	sook	wak	da'	bri'
thing	enough	good	grandchild	there	every	day	go	look.for	eat	look.for	drink	at	forest
N	ADJ	ADJ	N	DET	ADJ	N	V	V	V	V	V	LOC	N

da'	ray	ni'	lě.
at	field	there	then
LOC	N	DET	EMPH

All right, the grandchild there, every day, the grandchild went searching to eat, searching to drink in the forest (and) the field like that.

In the sentence in (52) there are two elaborate expressions. The overall meaning of the first pair of clauses (*sook mah sook wak*) is 'looking for food' (or for any kind of 'nourishment', being the hypernym of eating and drinking). The first segment of the first clause, the verb *sook* 'looking.for', is repeated as the first segment of the second clause. The meanings of the two other segments of the two clauses, *mah* 'eat' and *wak* 'drink', are related as they normally occur together. In this example, the second item (*mah* 'eat' and *wak* 'drink') carries the main meaning (nourishment), whereas the first item (*sook* 'look.for') is repeated without changing any meaning and exerts the effect of stylistic elaboration.

The overall meaning of the second pair of clauses (*da' bri' da' ray*) is 'in the outskirts' with the first segment of the first clause, the preposition *da'* 'in/ at', repeated as the first segment of the second clause. The meanings of the two other segments of the two clauses, *bri'* 'forest' and *ray* 'field', are related as they normally occur together and imply the hypernym of the whole combination. In this example, the respective second item (*bri'* 'forest' and *ray* 'field') bears the main meaning, whereas the first item (*da'* 'at') is repeated and exerts the effect of stylistic elaboration.

For the purpose of this thesis, which deals with repetition structures, I discount the repetition and reduplication structures which establish an elaborate expression and consider them as a whole. However, for one single occurrence in Poor.003, cf. example (53) below, where the right-dislocation

structure *yat da' bri' da' ray* is an elaborate expression. Unusually, the first part of the elaborate expression '*yat da' bri'*' is repeated from the very beginning of the sentence.

(52) Poor.003

Yat	da'	bri'	jé'	bo'	ya'	tloot	hahaha	yat	da'	bri'	da'	ray.
stay	at	forest	grandchild	carry	grandmother	always	laughing	stay	at	forest	at	field
V	LOC	N	N	V	N	ADV	SW	V	LOC	N	LOC	N

In the forest, the grandchild carried the grandmother all the time, (laughter) in the forest (and) the field.

2.8 Summary

The grammar sketch showed that the basic word order in Khmu is SVO. The clause structure can be outlined as the following:

Cl -> (PRT) (SUBJ_{NP}) VP (OBJ_{NP}/ COMPL/ LOC) (ADV) (PRT).

There is an optional subject, an obligatory verb and an optional object. The object position can be realized by a direct or indirect object, a sentential complement, or a locative (or another oblique).

The peripheral adverbials and initial and final particles are optional.

A noun phrase in Khmu has the following structure:

NP -> N (ADJ) (NP_{POSS}) (NUM) (CLSF) (PL) (DEM) (RC).

A complete noun phrase may be a single noun or pronoun, a single demonstrative, a pronoun plus demonstrative, a numeral plus demonstrative, or a classifier plus demonstrative.

A verb phrase in Khmu has the following structure:

VP -> (MOD/ FUT) (NEG) (ASP) (ADV) (PREV/ FUT) V (NEG) (ASP) (ADV).

The verb phrase consists of the obligatory verb(s) which can be preceded by pre-verbs (PREV), preverbal adverbs (ADV), aspect particles (ASP), and modal particles (MOD). The main verb(s) may be followed by post-verbal adverbs (ADV).

In Khmu discourse, there is word-level reduplication (including elaborate expressions), partial (stylistic) reduplication, and phrasal reduplication. Since this thesis focuses on repetition structures, only the kinds of reduplication structures which involve lexical repetition are of real interest, i.e. word-level repetition and phrasal repetition.

Having presented the Khmu clause structure as well as the constituent order of modified noun and verb phrases, we are now able to discriminate a sentence in Khmu. Doing so is an essential

prerequisite for defining a right-dislocated repetition structure with its intervening elements like evidentials and adverbs, which often serve as right-dislocation markers.

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