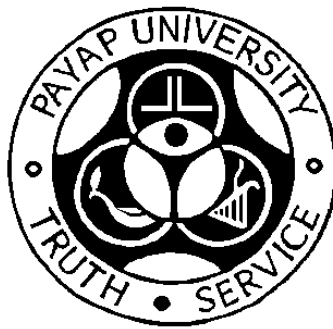# Nominal Structure in Tai Khamti

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Research Paper #312

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Abstract

This paper is a descriptive account of the nominal structure of Tai Khamti, a language of Northwest Myanmar and Northeast India (Assam and Arunachal Pradesh areas). Khamti is a Daic language, specifically Kadai, Kam-Tai, Tai, Southwestern, Northwest branch. The analysis is based upon both elicited grammatical structures as well as a collection of texts of various genres (first and third person narratives, expository, legend, and processual accounts). These were recorded and transcribed from five fluent speakers of Khamti.

This grammatical analysis divides the nominal structure into two major parts, simple modification and complex modification using the relative clause. After first establishing and categorizing the noun word class the majority of the paper focuses on noun modification.

The most significant results in the analysis is a definite determiner that is iconically abstracted from the demonstrative and a relative marker that is abstracted from a generic classifier. The relative, numeral-classifier and indefinite constructs all share similar functional behavior providing motivation for this relative marker. Of special note also is the use of adjectives and indefinite structures that position themselves between the head noun and its modifying relative clause.

Finally, after establishing nominal structure it is very briefly shown how it can be marked for different arguments in the sentence. This will lend itself nicely to the next level of grammatical description of the clause. Future research will show that this Tai-Kadai language will function like Tibeto-Burman languages in its argument marking. Specifically, it will be demonstrated that Khamti operates with a Tibeto-Burman-like 'anti-ergative' marking system as outlined gernerally in Dryer (1986) and specifcally in LaPolla(1992).

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

(follows Leipzig except where an asterisk)

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
CAUS	causitive
CLF	classifier
CONJ*	conjunction
DU	dual
EMPH	emphasis
EXCL	exclusive
INCL	inclusive
IRR	irrealis
LOC	location
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PRT	particle
PAST*	past
PAST.RECENT*	past recent
PERF*	perfect
PL	plural
POLITE*	polite
PROG	progressive
QF*	quotation formula
REL	relativizer
SUBJ*	subject
TAG*	tag question

1.0 Introduction and preliminaries[*]

Tai Khamti (henceforth, Khamti) is a language of Northwest Myanmar whose heartland is considered to be the Putao area. Currently there are about 50 Khamti villages in India and 70 villages in western Myanamar as well as many Khamti people in urban settings. The total population is estimated at 200,000 people.[1] Khamti is a Daic language, specifically Kadai, Kam-Tai, Tai, Southwestern, Northwest with the closest language affinities to Phake, Aiton, Khamyang and Ahom (Diller 1992 and Wilaiwan 1998:421).

Linguistically Khamti, as part of Dai share the following general characteristics. They all have 1) tone with every syllable and very little tone sandhi, 2) modifiers are postposed, 3) clause structure is verb medial (although for Khamti alone the more pervasive word order is SOV), and 4) morphemes are largely monosyllabic (Manson 2005:20; Edmonson and Solnit 1997:7-11).

This paper addresses the structure of the Khamti nominal[2] with specific attention given to the definite marking, as an extrapolation of the demonstrative, as it relates to the development of quantification and numeracy. Typologically speaking it is not uncommon for a demonstrative to grammaticalize to a definite marking but in Khamti this phenomena seems especially prevalent. Likewise, when talking about quantifying and counting there is a semantic link to definiteness of the nominal. The nominal is discussed as a simple and complex structure. Simple structure includes basic descriptive modification while complex structure includes compound nominals, apposition and nominals modified by a relative clause.

2.0 Nouns

Nouns in Khamti are here divided into common and proper nouns. Common nouns also display a prolific process of compounding. This along with a set of pronouns is each described in turn.

2.1 Common noun

In Khamti common nouns can be marked for plural. They are also grouped into classes with each class categorized by its own classifier. These classifier-noun constructions are mostly used for counting.

2.1.1 Singular and plural

A noun in Khamti can be pluralized with the 'PL' *nai¹khau*. While I suggest that this plurality is an optional marking device following most Tai langauges, for Khamti the evidence is much stronger to support an obligatory marking. Some examples are shown in 1) - 3).

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[*] I would like to thank Larin Adams for reviewing this paper.
[1] This is a self reported village census by the literature committee for Khamti. They are currently deploying a basic literacy program for a small subset of these villages. The village and population count comes from the head of the Khamti literacy committee who has done extensive travel and preliminary demographic compilation in the last five years.
[2] The term nominal used in this paper is synonymous with the traditional term noun phrase. I am using nominal because this paper also includes a discussion of the word class, noun, which subsumes the word structure process of noun compounding.

1)

kuun⁴pai³taang⁴ nai¹khau kaw¹ pai³   nii³nii³ uu.
travelor   PL   also move_about well   PRT.indic

'Travelors also move about safely.'

2)

phat   laak   yau¹kii⁴ laak   nai¹khau siim²   thukthuk.
chop_down fence_post after_this fence_post PL   sharpen_to_point ready

'After chopping down fence posts sharpen fence posts to a point so they are ready to use.'

3)

yau¹kii⁴ an³   khian⁴ laak   nai¹ yaa¹   taang⁴tuak nai¹khau mai² haeu²poo⁴ mau
after_this thing most   strange this as_for intersection PL   OBJ in_order_to NEG

tuang²   kan³   nai¹ taang⁴khookaaikan²neeu nai¹khau nai¹mauau³kii⁴
stumble PROG this overpass   PL   or

taang⁴lamnin³pai³naeu⁴nin³ nai¹khau kaw¹ aantaan hiit   wai¹ sii   pai³   kaa
underpass   PL   also many   make keep CONJ move_about go

pai³   maa⁴ nai¹ piuu   luung tee¹   tee¹   nam.
move_about come this happy big   really really PRT.indic

'And now a most strange thing, in order for intersections to not get mixed up (they) keep making many overpasses or underpasses to move about really happily along.'

In 1) and 2) the nouns 'travelor' *kuun⁴pai³taang⁴* and 'fence_post' *laak* are marked for plural. 'Fence post' actually occurs twice in 2). The first time it has no plural marking the second occurence does. Each of the three nouns in 3), 'intersection' *taang⁴tuak,* 'overpass' *taang⁴khookaaikan²neeu* and 'underpass' *taang⁴lamnin³naeu⁴nin³,* bears its own individual plural marker.

There are three more examples in 4) - 6) below. In these examples the nouns 'corn' *khau²phaa¹*, 'minute' *miniit* and 'trader' *pkaa¹* each carry a plural marker.

4)

kan²neeu phai⁴ mai² khau²phaa¹ an³   puak yau¹ nai¹khau uam uu.
above   fire   LOC corn   REL   shuck finish PL   roast PRT.indic

'Above the fire corn that is shucked is roasting.'

5)

nam¹ uak kaa nai¹ seung laa   khan   atuat¹   haa² miniit leeung³ khau
water out go this only   PRT.stylistic approx approximately five minute one   PL

kii³seung laa   kau³ tsun³ maa⁴.
only   PRT.stylistic 1SG clear PERF

'Water came out for about 5 minutes until it had cleared.'

6)

pa^1		kaa	sii	$taang^4$	luung	an^3	$peeun^3$		$pkaa^1$	khau	pai^3
carry_on_back		go	CONJ	road	big	REL	other_person		trader	PL	move_about

mai	theung	kii^4	him^4	$taang^4$	mai^2	au^3	$nuan^4$	wai^1	sii		$phaa^2$	huum
pass_by	reach	when	beside	road	LOC	make	sleep	keep	CONJ		blanket	cover

$haeu^2$		yau^1.
for_someone		PAST

'He carried it away and when he got to the big road where other traders pass by freely he let that body lie down (as if sleeping) and covered (it) with a blanket.'

Notice additionally that in 4) there is a relative clause modifying the head noun 'corn'. The 'PL' follows the entire modified structure. The 'PL' is, in fact, an outer boundary marker of the entire nominal no matter how complex the internal structure. That is, the 'PL' (if there is one) is the outermost layer of the nominal. See 3.3.5 for more discussion on relative clause modification.

In 5) *khau* is the abbreviated form of *nai¹khau*. *Khau* also is the 3PL pronoun. It seems to be semantically motivated (i.e., non-arbitrary) that the 3PL pronoun also more generically stands for plurality. Finally, in 6) the noun, 'trader' *pkaa¹* is pluralized using the abbreviated *khau* and it is also embedded in the larger relativized nominal, 'the big road where other traders pass by freely' *taang⁴ luung an³ peeun³ pkaa¹ pai³*. The head noun of the entire nominal is the singular *road* thus the absence of a plural word on the outer boundary of the phrase.

2.1.2 Classification of nouns

Each noun belongs to a sub-group or class of nouns. This numeral-classifier construction is very common in Southeast Asian languages. Tai languages especially are replete with rich classifier systems. Standard Thai, for example, has well over fifty classifiers (Inglis 2003).

Each classifier groups its set of nouns based primarily on some semantic feature or group of features, i.e. flat-thing, globular-thing, pointed-thing, etc. The nouns that are found in a given classified set often display a rich prototypical semantic structure (i.e., semantically related and overlapping senses with motivated semantic links to more and more deviant or extended members of the category). This prototype structure goes well beyond the scope of this paper but consult Inglis (2003) for examples from Standard Thai that display this complex prototypical structure.

For Khamti the general, all-purpose or generic classifier is *an³*. It could be used as a default classifier for any noun. Because it is semantically general, i.e., bears no semantic feature, there might be iconic motivation in its use in grammar. The grammatical uses are seen in marking all three deictics (this, that near you and that over there), its use as a relative clause marker, and its use in identifying adjectives or adjectival type constructions (which is not at all unrelated to relative clause structures). Table 1 lists all the classifiers that have been collected to date, their semantic features, and the prototypical nouns they classify (along with a few non-prototypical examples).

Head	CLSF	Feature
king	paa^4	royal
woman	koo^1	human
grate	an^3	generic
log	luun^2	small-long
corn	khuan^1	cylindrical
river_bank	paa^2	expanse
shore_line	paa^2	expanse
people	koo^1	human
bag	huee	pot-like
tree	tuun^2	tree-like
curry	phan^4	kind
bus	lam^4	vehicle
pole	liam^2	big-long
watermelon	luk^1	globular
elephant	too^3	legged
string	phuut	roll
village	maan^2	village
snake hole	paang^3	hole

Table 1 Khamti Classifiers

2.1.3 Compounding of nouns (verbs)

Southeast Asian languages, for the most part, have minimal morphology. Compounding, however, is in abundance. In Table 2 below, some examples of observed compounding are shown for Khamti.

Compound	Meaning	N	N	V	N	V	Prep	N
phuu^2 laak^1	'thief'	**one_who**		steals				
taang^4 khoo kaai kan^{2}neeu	'overpasses'	**road**	bridge	connect			above	
taang^4 lam nin^3 pai^3 naeu^4 nin^3	'underpasses'	**road**		dive	ground	move	into	ground
phuu^2 seu^1	'shoppers'	**one-who**		buys				
kuun^4 meeung^4	'citizen'	**person**	nation					
kaa^4 luung	'pickup'	**vehicle**		big				
kaa^4 uan	'motorcycle'	**vehicle**		small				
mung^3 nuu^3	'to spy'			**stare**		look_at		
tsaeu^3 lai^4 kaa	'to backslide'	**heart**		change		go		
tsaeu^3 lai^4 maa^4	'to repent'	**heart**		change		come		

Table 2 Khamti Compound Nouns (verbs)

A compound noun is formed with a noun as the first component of the compound followed by a series of nouns and verbs. A compound noun is to be distinguished from a descriptive noun phrase in that there is a distinct, brief nominal meaning like with the Khamti nouns, 'motorcyle' and 'pickup' in Table 2. The final three examples in Table 2 are not nouns but verbs. The verb *spy* is formed with a verb as the leading component of the compound. The final two examples are more like idioms than compounds employing *heart* as the leading component. This 'heart compound' is common in Tai languages in expressing strong emotions and can be used for nouns, verbs or adjectives.

2.2 Proper noun

Proper nouns are the names of people and places. People have words prefixed to their names especially if it is someone who is of higher status in society. This prefix is gender specific and can be used in a pronominal sense as a free standing morpheme through extended discourse. The prefix for Miss and Mr are expressed as *naang^4* and *tsaai^3* respectively. A respectful prefix for Mr (literally, 'lord') used to address a higher status male is *tsau^2* or *tsau^2 nuai*.

Sons and daughters are each assigned a prefix that postions them in the birth order up to twenty-six or twenty-eight children, male and female inclusive. These prefixes are commonly used within the home and among extended relatives. In Table 3 I have included the list up to twenty children inclusive.

Birth Order	Male	Female
first	*aai^2*	*ye^2*
second	*nyii^3*	*ii*
third	*saam* (lit. three)	*aam^3*
fourth	*sii* (lit. four)	*ai*
fifth	*ngoo^1*	*oo^2*
sixth	*nguuk^1*	*tsuut*
seventh	*tsiit* (lit. seven)	*iit*
eighth	*piat* (lit. eight)	*iat*
ninth	*kau^2* (lit. nine)	*at*
tenth	*sip* (lit. ten)	*ut*

Table 3 Birth order prefixes

Traditionally it was common to have very large families with several wives. These days, for the most part, the families are much smaller with only three or four children. In either case, this set of birth order nouns are used as proper nouns.

2.3 Pronoun

Khamti, like most Tai languages, has a rich pronominal system that exploits a complicated social network of relationships and kinship. The basic system is shown in Table 4. (For demonstrative pronouns see 3.2.1 below).

	SG	DUAL		PL	
		INCL	EXCL	INCL	EXCL
1	kau^3 'I'	haa^4 'me and you'	$hang^4kheeu$ 'me and him/her'	hau^4 'we all'	tuu^3 'we (not you)'
2	$maeu^4$ 'you'	$suangkheeu$ 'you two'		suu 'you all'	
3	man^4 's/he, it'	$suangkhaa$ 'those two'		$khau$ 'they'	

Table 4 Pronominal system

Khamti pronouns exhibit a tripartite (singular, dual and plural) system. In the first person dual and plural there is a further binary division of inclusive and exclusive. The forms in Table 4 are used for subjects while objects use the same pronominal form with an object postpositional marker mai^2.

3.0 Noun Phrases

Since there is no true distinction between singular, plural and mass nouns in Khamti any noun can also act as a minimal noun phrase. The nominal structure of Khamti is described here as simple nominal and complex nominal and shows how Khamti expands the nominal in a variety of modifications.

3.1 Constituency

Khamti nominals are head initial with modifiers normally postpositional to the head noun. Tai languages, being isolating, display no morphological marking on either the head or dependent structure. Nominals can be quite complex in Khamti bearing a significant amount of the semantic load of a given sentence and the remaining sections of this paper are devoted to its basic description.

3.2 Simple noun phrase

The simple noun phrase is labeled as such in that it carries the basic information of nominal structure such as reference to speech act participants or context (i.e., deictics), definiteness, relative and absolute quantity, and basic descriptive expansion. Each of these are exemplified below.

3.2.1 Demonstratives

Khamti demonstratives are shown in Table 5. There is a three-way deictic distinction of near, approximate and distal proximities to the speaker.

	SG	PL
near	*an³nai̯¹* this 'this'	*an³nai̯¹ nai¹khau* this PL 'these'
approximate	*amaeu⁴nai¹* that_by_you 'that near you'	*amaeu⁴ nai¹khau* that_by_you PL 'those by you'
distal	*an³puunnai¹* that_over_there 'that over there'	*an³puunnai¹ ̯ nai¹khau* that_over_there PL 'those over there'

Table 5 Demonstratives

These proximities are also pluralized using the same plural word found for common nouns (2.1.1). In Table 5 the proximities act as demonstratives while in Table 6 below they act as noun modifiers.

heeun⁴ an³nai¹ house this 'this house'	heeun⁴ an³nai̯¹ nai¹khau house this PL 'these houses'
heeun̯⁴an³puunnai¹ house that_over_there 'that house over there'	heeun̯⁴an³puunnai¹ nai¹khau house that_over_there PL 'those houses over there'

Table 6 Plural demonstratives modifiers

3.2.2 Determiners

Khamti optionally marks definite and indefinite nouns. A single noun can stand by itself in a nominal. This is shown in 7) through 10).

7)

nang³hoo muang iak taang sii tuk¹ uu.
nose pierce yoke put_on CONJ swat PRT.indic

'(He) pierced (its) nose, put on a yoke and swatted (it).'

8)

tuk¹ kii⁴ khiittlaap waa³ ee³iap nuu.
swat when frog say croak QF

'When (he) swatted, the frog said, "croak [eei up]".'

9)

tsau²heeun⁴ waa³ sau nguak ngaap¹ khaa³ mai² phuk wai¹ ta¹ nsii.
home_owner say post corner porch peg LOC tie_up keep PRT.imper QF

'The host said, "Tie it up on the peg post".'

10)

meeu³ nai¹ khiit khaai⁴ man⁴ mai² kai tuat sii au³taai³ yau¹.
when this frog water_buffalo 3SG OBJ chicken peck CONJ kill PAST

'Meanwhile, a chicken pecked and killed his buffalo frog.'

In 7) - 10) the noun is unmarked for definiteness or indefiniteness. This is understood from the context. In 7) 'nose' *nang³hoo* is the noun that is the object of the verb 'pierce' *muang*. In 8) the definite noun 'frog' *khiittlaap* is unmarked for definiteness but is understood as definite because it is a participant that has already been introduced in the text. In 9) the definite noun 'peg post' *sau nguak ngaap¹ khaa³* is by context a grounded location common to speaker (the host) and hearer (the travelor) in the text. They both know which specific post is being identified in the speech act. And in 10) the indefinite noun 'chicken' *kai* is unmarked but is indefinite because it is being introduced as a participant for the first time.

However, Khamti also uses an indefinite construction employing a classifier followed by the numeral 'one' *leeung³*. When the numeral 'one' precedes the classifier it is being used to count one of the object being referenced and classified. This is common in Tai languages (Inglis 2003). The marked indefinite construction is shown in 11) - 13) while 14) and 15) together show a counting of one specific item.

11)

meeu³nan¹ aai² mak man¹khuum nnai¹ kuun⁴maau koo¹ leeung³
a_long_time_ago first.son fruit kind_of_fruit this bachelor CLF.human one

yang⁴ uu.
there_is PRT.indic

'A long time ago there was a bachelor named Ay Mak Munkhuum.'

12)

meeu³nan¹ maan² phaangkhai nsii maan² tai⁴ maan² luung maan² leeung³
a_long_time_ago village Phangkhai QF village Tai village big village one

yang⁴ uu.
there_is PRT.indic

'A long time ago there was a large Tai village called Phankhai.'

13)

tiang³liik an³ leeung³ mai² thaanphai⁴ nai¹khau ngai⁴ phun⁴ luun²
long_iron CLF.one one LOC charcoal PL and log CLF.small_long

leeung³ suun⁴ wai¹ uu.
one inch_in keep PRT.indic

'Coals and a log are inched into an iron grate (fire in the grate).'

The examples in 11) and 12) describe the setting of stories introducing the main participant 'a bachelor' *kuun⁴maau* in 11) and describing the village of the setting 'a large Tai village called Phankhai' *maan² phaangkhai nsii maan² tai⁴ maan² luung maan² leeung* in 12). In 13) there are two indefinite nouns 'a log' *phun⁴* and 'an iron grate' *tiang³liik* which are used in the description of a picture that the informant was looking at.

In 14) there is a question asking how many children the informant has. The question word 'how many' *kii* provides the slot in the clause where a counting numeral should go. The answer to the question in 15) shows the numeral 'one' *leeung³* as the answer to how many children. If the numeral 'one' was used following the classifier the answer would be equivalent to 'I have a child'. This is also a common way to answer the question if there is just one of something.

14)

maeu⁴ mai² luk¹ kii   koo¹   nai   yang⁴ nai.
2SG   LOC child how_many CLF.human PRT.question be_at PRT.question

'How many children do you have?'

15)

kau³ mai² luk¹ leeung³ koo¹   yang⁴ uu.
1SG LOC child one   CLF.human be_at PRT.indic

'I have one child.'

In Khamti there is also a construction for definite nouns. It employs the marker *nai¹*. This definite marker is reduced from the demonstrative paradigm *an³nai¹* from Table 5 in section 3.2.1 above. I claim that this is an iconic generalization process. The reduction in form from *an³nai¹* to *nai¹* correlates to the generalization process of moving from a specific deictic reference (i.e., a specific reference grounded with speech act participants like 'this') to a more abstract non-deictic reference of definiteness (i.e., a more general reference grounded with speech act participants like 'the'). This claim is corroborated by Dryer (to appear) when he speaks of the demonstrative being used in many languages where English would use a definite article.

16)

mee an³nai¹ man⁴ tsau²naai³ him⁴ khuuntaang⁴ mai² nang³ sii uu.
mother this 3SG oneself beside road LOC sit -ing PRT.indic

'This lady, by herself, is sitting beside the road.'

17)

moo² an³nai¹ yaa¹ phai⁴ mau pau uukaw¹ tang² khau² phak nai¹
pot this EMPH fire NEG make_fire even_though cook enter curry this

uu nsii.
PRT.indic QF

'"Even though there was no fire this pot can cook the rice curry", he thought.'

18)

psaau nai^{1} kaw^{1} khantaeu^{4} phmaau man^{4} um pai theung sii ngau^{2} tuun^{2}
girl this also think_that boy 3SG NEG yet reach CONJ foot_of_tree tree

mnang mai^{2} nang^{3}.
Manang LOC sit

'The girl also, thinking that her boy had not yet arrived, sat down at the foot of the Manang tree.'

19)

suangkhaa mee luk^{1} waai suai puak^{1} kii^{4} phmaau nai^{1} kaw^{1} luai^{4} luai^{4} kii^{3}
2DU   mother child cane pull again when boy   this also slowly slowly untie

sii puaihaeu^{2} uu.
CONJ freely   PRT.indic

'When those two, mother and child, pulled the cane back again, the boy also very slowly and freely unrolled (it).'

In 16) and 17) above are examples where the full demonstrative 'this' *an^{3}nai^{1}* is used. In 16) the informant is talking about a specific lady in a picture. The example in 17) comes from a story where a man thinks that a pot can cook rice all on its own without a fire. He is thinking about a specific pot, i.e., the one that is cooking by itself. In contrast, in 18) 'the girl' *psaau nai^{1}* is more general in referencing a participant of the story that has already been introduced. Likewise, in 19) 'the boy' *phmaau nai^{1}* is only identifying a participant that has already been introduced.

20)

kau^{3} piin^{3} pseeu nai^{1} man^{4} tuang^{4} yau^{1}.
1SG is   witch this 3SG   know PAST

"He knows now I am this witch."

21)

tii^{4} tee^{1}tee^{1}seungwaa^{3} phuang^{4} nai^{1} laa   thuap khaw   maa^{4} sii
finished really   wave this PRT.stylistic kick PRT.astonish PERF CONJ

'Then this wave had really kicked (me) about.'

However, in 20) and 21) neither a specific nominal nor a more general definite nominal is being portrayed. Rather something in between the specific 'this' and the more general 'the' is a general emphasis. In 20) the girl is saying to herself that her boyfriend knows NOW that she is a witch. The emphasis is on recent disclosure of this fact in the storyline. And in 21) the speaker is not pointing out to us, the hearer of his story, a wave that we both already know about but rather another wave that has not been previously identified in the story. The storyteller is emphasizing a wave that was causing danger to himself.

That this is a definite marker and not a subject marker or topic marker is shown from the fact that it also occurs with object, oblique and location in 22) - 24) below.

22)

ngai⁴sii	haanai¹	yaa¹	nuuk¹	khluuwak	nai¹	mai²	naai³	kiip	sii	meeu⁴
then	now	EMPH	bird	Khluwak	this	OBJ	itself	gather_up	CONJ	return_home

maan²	puak¹	yau¹.
village	again	PAST

'Now (he) picked up the Khluwak bird (itself) and returned to the village again.'

23)

huang¹taai³uu	nai¹	mai²	man⁴	sik¹	moo²	an³	man⁴tsau²	tuai	muap	nai¹
screach	this	OBL	3SG	shard	pot	REL	3SG-POLITE	strike	break	this

kiip	sii
gather_up	CONJ

'At the screech, he picked up a shard that he had broken and '

24)

knaeu⁴	paang³	nai¹	mai²	paai³	miap	kai	nsii.
in	big_hole	this	LOC	flee	hide	PRT.expect	QF

"...must be hiding in the hole."

In 22) 'the Khluwak bird' *nuuk¹ khluuwak nai¹* is the object of the verb 'gather up' *kiip*. It is being marked as definite because it is the bird he just killed in the previous clause. In 23) the oblique at the screech' *huang¹taai³uu nai¹ mai²* is referring to the screech that the bird made in the previous clause. It is an oblique marked for definiteness. And in 24) 'in the hole' *kanaeu⁴ paang³ nai¹* is a location marked as definite. It is the hole that the speaker is looking at while talking to the hearer. The hole has already been introduced and is an active part of the story here grounded with the speaker and hearer in the text.

3.2.3 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers are discussed together because they follow the same structure. Both require an immediate numeral-classifier constiuent for their instantiation. Numeral-classifier structures are predominant in Southeast Asian languages performing a two-fold duty. They categorize the world of concrete objects and they form the head in quantifying or counting these objects. Inglis (2003) provides a detailed cognitive analysis of numeral-classifier constructions in Southeast Asia using data from Standard Thai.

For Khamti the examples in 25) - 28) show absolute quantification while 29) - 32) show relative quanitification.

25)

kuun⁴	saam	koo¹	kaw¹	sau⁴	uu.
person	three	CLF.human	also	stand	PRT.indic

'There are also three people standing around.'

26)

taai²	kaa⁴	paa²	leeung³	naeu⁴	mai²	tuun²mai²		luung	suang	tuun²	yang⁴
near	vehicle	side	one	in	LOC	tree		big	two	CLF.tree	there_is

uu.
PRT.indic

'Around to one side of the bus are two big trees.'

27)

khau²phaa¹	an³	uam	yau¹	yaa¹	saam	khuan¹	naai³	nam	yang⁴	nai¹.
corn	REL	roast	already	SUBJ	three	CLF.cylinder	only	EMPH	there_is	this

'As for the roasted corn that is done there are only three of them.'

28)

ngai⁴sii	buk	dam	traanam	kisaa	mi	nsii.	saam	an³	nai¹	naeu⁴	tsaeu³	mai²
then	to	god	gratitude	finished	I	QF	three	CLF.one	this	in	heart	LOC

khaeu³tsaeu³ khaw
think   PRT.astonish

"Gratitude to God, I worship." [a Pali mantra] I chanted over and over. The three things in (my) heart I thought (Buddha, Scripture, monks)."

In 25) the absolute numeral 'three' *saam* modifies the head noun 'person' *kuun⁴*. In 26) 'two' *suang* modifies 'tree' *tuun²*. In 27) the head noun 'corn' *khau²phaa¹* is counted by the numeral-classifier 'three of them' *saam khuan¹*. For counting, the structure is a head noun followed by a numeral-classifier constituent. The evidence for numeral-classifier as an intregal constituent is presented in Inglis (2003). For Khamti some evidence of the integrity of the numeral-classifier is shown in 26) where the adjective 'big' *luung* comes between the head noun and numeral-classifier. As a matter of fact an adjective never occurs between a numeral and its classifier. Additional evidence is found in 28) where the numeral-classifier 'three CLF.one' *saam an³* has no head noun. The head noun is implied because it is the very familiar Pali mantra of Buddha, Scripture and monks.

In 28) - 31) relative quantification follows the same structure as absolute quantification with the relative quanitifier occupying the position of the numeral.

29)

wai¹	kaa	waai	tang⁴	phuut	poo⁴	sut	kaw¹	huu⁴	mau	teuk¹	nai²	nsii.
keep	go	cane	all	CLF.roll	enough	end	also	small_hole	NEG	end	can	QF

'(They) kept pushing all of the roll of cane to the end, (and) thought, "this small hole doesn't end."'

30)

taang^4 kuu^3 an^3 mai^2 phai^4 kai^2 wai^1 sii an^3 tiituang^{2}tiitam^3
road   each CLF.thing OBJ light make_electric_lit keep CONJ reason accidently

kaw^1 um^3 yang^4.
also not there_is

'After evening also (they) keep each road lit up so there is no reason for an accident.'

31)

kuu^3 tii^3 mai^2 seu^1 nai^2 uu phak kuu^3 phan^4 yang^4 uu.
each place LOC buy can is curry each kind   there_is PRT.indic

'At each place there is each kind of curry that (you) can buy.'

32)

phoo   liakliak yau^{1}kii^4 khau^{2}kaa^2 tsaa^1 naa^4 taang^3 leeung^3
harrow very_fine after_this paddy_for_sowing for   paddy_field section_of_field one

khau^{2}peeuk piang^3 suang puung^4 tuung^3 saeu tuung^3
rice_seedling per   two   21_kilo_measure exact_measure put_in exact_measure

thuee^{4}laa   sii   huang^3 nam^1 mai^2 kaa tsee^3 wai^1 uu.
burlap_sack CONJ channel water LOC go submerge keep PRT.indic

'After finely harrowing sow the paddy in the paddy section of the field, one seedling per tin (21 kilo), putting in the exact amount (into) burlap sacksand submerging (them) down in the water.'

In 29) the quanitifier-classifier constituent 'all CLF.roll' quantifies the head noun 'cane' *waai*. In 30) the head noun 'road' *taang^4* is quantified by the quantifier-classifier constituent 'each CLF.thing' *kuu^3 an^3*. In 31) 'each kind' *kuu^3 phan^4* quantifies 'curry' *phak*. The classifier 'kind' *phan^4* in 31) acts more like a measure term. A measure term is a kind of classifier in SE Asian languages that instead of classifying a noun based on a feature or physical quality classifies it based on a quantity of the item being classified. I agree with Manson when he talks of two kinds of nouns in Southeast Asian typology, individuated and unindividuated, comparable to a mass - count distinction (Manson 2007). He claims the unindividuated nouns are classified with a measure term while an individuated noun is classified by a numeral-classifier. This is equivalent to the English *She drank three cups of water* where *cups* measure the amount of water consumed. Inglis (2003) provides a cognitive analysis of measure terms for Standard Thai. The term 'kind' *phan^4* in 31) isn't quite a measure term per se as it doesn't specify a quantity. But neither is it a classifier in the strict sense of classifying objects based on a feature or physical quality. It is more of a variety of a given object. The example in 32) shows the measure term 'tin (21 kilo)' *puung^4* acting as the classifier for the unidividuated noun 'rice seedling' *khau^{2}peeuk*.

3.2.4 Adjectival modification

Both adjectives and verbs use the relativizer *an^3* in modifying a noun adjectivally and as a relative clause. The relativizer derives from the generic classifier *an^3* (2.1.2 above). Given the nature of a classifier it is highly motivated to grammaticalize to a relativizer. The inherent conceptualization of a classifier is a thing with a specific shape or feature. Likewise a relativizer is a general thing relating a specific object to an action.

This relativizer is also used to mark adjectives. The examples 33) -35) show adjectival modificaton with the 'REL' *an³* while 36) - 39) show the modification without a relativizer.

33)
paa³sanjee¹ nnai¹ pun⁴   kan²naeu⁴ nam¹ an³   nam¹ leeuk¹ mai² kan²naeu⁴
eel   this   over_there inside   water REL water deep   LOC inside

huu⁴   kan²naeu⁴ tham² mai² naai³ nam   uu tsaang³ nai¹.
small_hole inside   cave   LOC only   EMPH live able_to this

'Out there in the water that is deep water eels are only able to live in holes and caves.'

34)
ngai⁴kii⁴ man⁴ paa³sanjee¹ an³   uan   amaeu⁴ mai² suai⁴   khuat
then   3SG   eel   REL little that   OBJ pull-out PRT.immediately

'After this he can quickly pull and drag that small eel away.'

35)
lhaanai¹ wan⁴ leeung³ yaa¹   paa³sanjee¹ an³   yaeu amaeu⁴ uakmaa⁴ sii   meu⁴
now   day   one   EMPH eel   REL big   that   come_out CONJ hand

man⁴ mai² kap¹ khuat   yau¹.
3SG   OBJ bite   PRT.surprise PAST

'Now one day the biggest eel you ever saw came out and immediately bit his hand.'

In 33) the head noun 'water' *nam¹* is being modified with 'deep water' *nam¹leeuk¹*. In 34) and 35) 'little' *uan* and 'big' *luung* modify 'eel' *paa³sanjee¹* respectively and these are examples where they use the relativizer to modify the noun. But in 36) below the adjective 'big' *luung* modifies 'rooster' *kai aai²phuu²* without using a relativizer. Here the relativizer is used as a classifier to express 'the one that is most big' from among all the big roosters. This is an example of an appositional nominal (3.3.3). The hosts captured and gave the man 'a big rooster, one that is most big' *an³ khian⁴ yaeu*. Examples 37) and 38) also show the adjective 'big' *luung* and 'new' *maeu* being used to modify 'wave' *phuang⁴* and 'boat' *heeu⁴* respectively without an intervening relativizer. I have concluded that there are two ways in Khamti to adjectivally modify a noun, with and without the relativizer. The examples without using a relativizer are more prevalent in spoken Khamti.

In 39) 'city' *meeung⁴* is modified by 'big Thai kingdom' *mee³ naeu⁴ngam⁴ thai⁴*. In 40) the noun 'chicken' *kai* is modifying 'feather' *khuun*. Finally, in 41) the noun 'snake' *nguu⁴* along with the adjective 'old' *kau* are consecutively used to modify 'hole' *paang³*.

36)
tsau²heeun⁴ khau kaw¹ kai   aai²phuu² luung an³   khian⁴ yaeu nai¹ siau²
home_owner 3PL also chicken rooster   big   CLF.one most   big   this   capture

haeu² yau¹.
give   PAST

'The hosts also captured and gave (the man) the biggest rooster among them.'

37)

ktsuu⁴ laa phuang⁴ luung mai² nai² umthaang¹ nai¹sii
at_the_same_time PRT.stylistic wave big OBL can perhaps and_immediately

kaap khaam² khaw.
not_hesitate pass_over PRT.astonish

'At the same time perhaps (I could pass with) a big wave and immediately cross over.'

38)

niaa⁴kaw¹niaa⁴an³ heeu⁴ maeu ngai⁴.
at_the_time boat new and

'at the time (I had) a new boat.'

39)

meeung⁴ chiang⁴mai nnai¹ piin³ meeung⁴ mee³ naeu⁴ngam⁴ thai⁴ nam.
city Chiangmai this is city big kingdom Thai PRT.indic

'The city of Chiangmai is a big city in the country of Thailand.'

40)

suup ptaai³ mai² khuun kai yiam⁴ wai¹ uu.
mouth dead_person LOC feather chicken stuff keep PRT.indic

'He stuffed up the feathers into the dead person's mouth.'

41)

tai² him⁴ ngau² tuun² mnang mai² paang³ nguu⁴ kau paang³ leeung³
near beside foot_of_tree tree Manang LOC big_hole snake old CLF.big_hole one

kaw¹ yang⁴ uu.
also there_is PRT.indic

'Near the foot of the Manang tree there was an old snake hole.'

The examples in 42) and 43) are the ones in my text corpus that show extensive modification. In 42) the clause 'called Phangkhai' *phaangkhai nsii* modifies 'village' *maan²* along with the noun 'Tai' *tai⁴* and the adjective 'big' *luung*. Each of these three individual modifications has its own explicit use of the same head noun 'village' *maan²*. This entire modification then receives an indefinite marking. The structure looks like this, 'village called Phangkhai, Tai village, big village, a village'.

42)

meeu³nan¹ maan² phaangkhai nsii maan² tai⁴ maan² luung maan² leeung³
a_long_time_ago village Phangkhai QF village Tai village big village one

yang⁴ uu.
there_is PRT.indic

'A long time ago there was a large Tai village called Phankhai.'

43)

kumhoo	man⁴	yaa¹	niang³	phcc	phcc	sii	tuang	maang⁴	maang⁴	mai²	phmaau
head	3SG	EMPH	red	bright	bright	CONJ	bare	very	very	OBJ	boy

man⁴	luk¹	kneeu	tuun²	mnang	mai²	kuum²	sii	nuu³	uu.
3SG	from	above	tree	Manang	LOC	bow_head	CONJ	look	PRT.indic

'It was her bright red and extremely bare head that her boy from up in the Manang tree craned his neck [bowed his head] and watched.'

The example in 43) is a nominal headed by 'her head' *kumhoo man⁴*. It is then modified with 'bright bright red and very very bare' *niang³ phcc phcc sii tuang maang⁴ maang⁴*. Reduplication often signals an adverb. This nominal is then marked as a direct object of the verb 'watch' *nuu³*.

3.3 Complex noun phrase

The complex noun phrase includes genitive, apposition and conjoined nominals. Basic relative clauses are also introduced here and are considered complex because of the embedding of clauses to modify the nominal. Each of these are exemplified below.

3.3.1 Attributive Possessive

An attributive possessive construction is also known as a genitive (Dryer to appear) or a determiner construction (Langacker 2000:174). Heine (1997:143) uses attributive possessive to more accurately distinguish it from a possessive that is predicated at the clause level in such examples as *They have two dogs*. I will follow Heine thereby clarifying it against clausal processes and staying clear of a Eurocentric idea of a genitive case. The function is to attribute to the possessee (i.e., possessed noun) some modification indicating ownership or a Langacker-like dominionship (2000:173). In Khamti the attibutive possessive is formed by a possessed noun and a juxtaposed postpositional possessor.

Basic examples in Khamti are shown in 44) - 46).

44)

suang⁴	keeu³	man⁴	mai²	khiittlaap	too³	leeung³	khau²	sii	suan³	uu	suu
basket	salt	3SG	LOC	frog	CLF.animal	one	enter	CONJ	hide	stay	PROG

nam.
PRT.indic

'In his salt basket, a frog had entered and was hiding.'

45)

suup	ptaai³	mai²	khuun	kai	yiam⁴	wai¹	uu.
mouth	dead_person	LOC	feather	chicken	stuff	keep	PRT.indic

'He stuffed up the feathers into the dead person's mouth.'

46)

amuu⁴	kau³	yaa¹	kuu³	meeu³	pan	sii	yuan⁴kiin³	naai³nam.
work	1SG	EMPH	each	day	turn_around	CONJ	beg	just

"my work each day is to just go about and beg."

In 44) the possessed noun 'salt basket' *suang⁴ keeu³* is possessed by the possessor '3SG' *man⁴* to become 'his salt basket' *suang⁴ keeu³ man⁴*. In 45) the possessed noun 'mouth' *suup* is possessed by the possessor 'dead person' *ptaai³* to be 'dead person's mouth' *suup ptai³*. And in 46) the possessed noun is 'work' *amuu⁴* which is possessed by '1SG' *kau³* to be 'my work' *amuu⁴ kau³*.

Attributive possessives in Khamti also use an optional possessive marker (GEN) *khuang*. The GEN is never used when a pronoun is the possessor as shown in 47) and 48). The example in 49) shows that when the possessor is a proper noun it optionally takes the GEN.

47)

psaau	man⁴
girl	3SG

'his girlfriend'

48) *

psaau	khuang	man⁴
girl	GEN	3SG

*'his girlfriend'

49)

heeun⁴	khuang	paul	heeun⁴	paul
house	GEN	Paul /	house	Paul

'Paul's house'

50)

heeun⁴	uaa⁴	khuang	paul
house	father	GEN	Paul

'Paul's father's house'

51) *

heeun⁴	uaa⁴	khuang	man⁴
house	father	GEN	3SG

*'his father's house'

The examples in 50) and 51) above show that if the GEN is used the possessor must be a proper noun and not a pronoun.

Examples 52) - 54) are elicited attributive possessive constructions that include an adjective within the construction. For attributive possessive constructions to include an adjective it must be relativized.

52)

heeun⁴	koo¹	an³	niang³	nai¹
house	person	REL	red	this

'the man's red house' [the man's house that it red]

53) *

heeun⁴	koo¹	niang³	nai¹
house	person	red	this

*'the man's red house

54) *

heeun⁴	an³	niang³	koo¹	nai¹
house	REL	red	person	this

*'the man's red house'

Examples 52) and 53) show that in the attributive possessive 'the man's red house' *heeun⁴ koo¹ an³ niang³ nai¹* it is ungrammatical to have the adjective 'red' *niang³* without it being relativized as in 52). Finally, in 54) the relativized adjective must occur after the possessor.

3.3.2 Prepositional modification

Prepositional modification is a head noun which receives modification by a prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase in Khamti can both preceed and follow the noun head. Furthermore, the prepositional phrase is always headed by a preposition.   In 55) the prepositon 'above' *kan²neeu* heads the prepositional 'above the fire' *kan²neeu phai⁴ mai²* which modifies the head noun 'corn' *khau²phaa¹*. It is identifying a set of corn that is specifically located above the fire versus another set of corn that is located in a basket on the ground. This prepositional also carries an emphatic marker further identifying the specific corn that is located above the fire. Finally, this prepositional is marked with the location marker.

55)

kan²neeu	phai⁴	mai²	yaa¹	khau²phaa¹	an³	puak	yau¹	nai¹khau	uam	uu.
above	fire	LOC	EMPH	corn	REL	shuck	finish	PL	roast	PRT.indic

'The corn above the fire [emph] that is shucked is roasting.'

In contrast to 55) the example in 56) is a preposition that follows the head that carries no location marker. The head noun 'surface' *phiuu* is modified by the prepositionl 'above the topsoil' *kan²neeu ngaeu³*. The entire modified noun then receives a definite marking *nai¹*.

56)

ngai⁴sii	phiuu	kan²neeu	ngaeu³	nai¹	tsuanleeung³	naang²
then	surface	above	top_soil	this	a_little	dryer_surface

'Then when the surface above the topsoil is a little dryer,'

The example in 57) is a postpositional. The head noun 'other people' *peeun³* is modified by the prepositional 'above (the water)' *kan²neeu* . The participant in 57) is located completely under the water and needing to cry for help. The entire modified construction is then marked by the 'PL' *nai¹khau* followed by an 'OBL' *mai²* marking which identifies a recipient of the 'crying out' *iau*.

57)

man⁴	suai⁴	mau	pee¹	kii⁴	peeun³	kuun⁴	an³	kan²neeu	nai¹khau	mai²
3SG	pull-out	NEG	defeat	when	other_person	person	REL	above	PL	OBL

kaw¹	man⁴	iau	um³	nai²	yau¹.
also	3SG	cry_out	NEG	can	PAST

'When he was unable to defeat it he was also unable to cry out to other people above (the water).'

The example in 58) is a marked postpositonal. The head noun is 'eel' *paa³sanjee¹* and is modified by the prepositional 'in fish' *naeu⁴ paa³ mai²*. This prepositional modifies the head noun 'eel' by making it a subset of all fish for comparison in the quality of taste and strength. This prepositional is headed by the preposition 'in' *naeu⁴* and the 'OBL' *mai²* here marks only the

prepositional not the entire nominal because the nominal itself is a subject in an equative clause and not an oblique.

58)

paa^{3}sanjee^1 nnai^1 naeu^4 paa^3 mai^2 an^3 khian^4 kiin^{3}nii^3 paa^3 an^3 khian^4
eel　　　　　this　in　fish　OBL　CLF.one　most　delicious　fish　CLF.one　most

hiang^4 sang^4 nam.
strong　　　PRT.indic

'Eel of all the fish is the most delicious; the fish that has the most strength.'

3.3.3 Appositives

An appositive construction is a complex nominal where the head noun receives a second more specific noun as a kind of nominal modifier. This is shown in the data in 59) - 62). The examples 59) and 60) are elicited while examples 61) and 62) are from a text corpus.

59)

tai^{4}koo^1 kau^3 paul
friend　1SG　Paul

'my friend, Paul'

60)

mayram　meetsau^{2}heeun^4 man^4
MayRam　wife　　　　　3SG

'Mayram, his wife'

In 59) the head noun 'my friend' *tai^4 kau^3* is further specified by a second proper noun 'Paul' *paul*. The second noun specifies further who the head noun is. This entire appositional is then able to occupy a single nominal function in a clause. In 60) the head noun is the proper noun 'Mayram' *mayram* juxtaposed to a second noun 'his wife' *meetsau^{2}heeun^4 man^4* that further specifies who *Mayram* is married to. Together these two nouns function as a single nominal.

61)

suangkhaa mee　luk^1 waai suai puak^1 kii^4 phmaau nai^1 kaw^1 luai^4 luai^4 kii^3
2DU　　　mother child cane pull again when boy　this also slowly slowly untie

sii　puaihaeu^2 uu.
CONJ freely　PRT.indic

'When those two, mother and child, pulled the cane back again, the boy also very slowly and freely unrolled (it).'

62)

ngai^{4}sii tsau^2 sthee^4 yaa^1 phung　ngoo^4 man^4 khau yaa^2 mau im kiin^3 sii
then　　owner boss　SUBJ group_of cow　3SG PL　grass NEG fill eat　CONJ

tsau^{3}mpiuu uukaw^1　khaeu^{3}tsaa^1 maunii^3 sii　uu　kaa nam.
unhappy　even_though anger　　bad　　CONJ stay go PRT.indic

'Even though the boss, his herd of cows not getting enough to eat, was unhappy, getting angry was not good so (he) went on (as if nothing happened).'

In 61) the nominal is headed by '2DU' *suangkhaa* pronoun juxtaposed to two more nouns 'mother child' *mee luk¹*. The second and third nouns further specify who the two individuals are in the 2DU. This appositional is the subject of 'pull' *suai*. And in 62) the head noun is 'boss' *tsau² stheee⁴*. Juxtaposed to this head noun is a full clause 'his herd of cows not getting enough to eat' *phung ngoo⁴ man⁴ khau yaa² mau im kiin³* which further specifies the first noun 'boss' and why it is he is the subject of being *unhappy*. It is because his cows are not getting enough to eat structurally woven into the head noun appositionally.

3.3.4 Conjoined

A conjoined nominal (or a compound) is a complex construction in that it employs two or more nouns and (rarely) an intervening conjunction. This is shown in 62) - 65) below.

In 62) below the nominal is conjoined with the nouns 'ear holes' *huu⁴ huu*, 'eye sockets' *huu⁴ taa³* and 'mouth' *suup*. Each of these nouns are the locations where water came out. In 63) the nominal is conjoined with the two nouns 'five days' *haa² wan⁴* and 'ten days' *sip wan⁴*. It is implied that it is either one or the other quanities of days. Either one of these quantities is the time that transpired in order to use up the eels.

62)

lhaanai¹	hin	mai²	taang	sii	hoo	nai¹	taau³		khaw	kii⁴	yaa¹
now	stone	LOC	place	CONJ	head	this	upside_down		PRT.astonish	when	EMPH

laa		luk¹	huu⁴		huu	huu⁴taa³		suup	mai²	laa		nam¹	uak
PRT.stylistic		from	small_hole		ear	center_of_eye		mouth	LOC	PRT.stylistic		water	out

kaa
go

'Now (I was) upside down on a stone and from my ears, the center of my eyes (and) mouth water came out and,'

63)

nang	nai¹	nkan³	sii	man⁴	sii	haa²	wan⁴	sip	wan⁴	nai¹khau
like_this	this	same_as	CONJ	3SG	CONJ	five	day	10	day	PL

kaakhuatkii⁴yaa¹	paa³sanjee¹	an³	uan	nai¹khau	muut	kaa	yau¹.
go_non_stop	eel	REL	little	PL	all_gone	away	PAST

'He went like this for five days (or) ten days non-stop (until) the little eels were all gone.'

64)

taang⁴khookaaikan²neeu	nai¹khau	nai¹mauau³kii⁴	taang⁴lamnin³pai³naeu⁴nin³	nai¹khau
overpass	PL	or	underpass	PL

kaw¹	aantaan	hiit	wai¹	sii
also	many	make	keep	CONJ

'(They) keep making many overpasses or underpasses.'

65)

 mak nai^{1}khau phakseeu^2 nai^{1}khau ksang khaeu^3 kiin^3 meeu^{3}laeu^3 khaeu^3 kiin^3
 fruit PL vegetable PL   whatever want eat whenever want eat

 nkaw^1 nai^2 uu.
 whenever can PRT.indic

 'You can eat whatever fruit (or) vegetables whenever you want to.'

  The example in 64) is a conjoined nominal acting as an object of 'make' *hiit*. The two nouns 'overpasses' *taang^{4}khookaaikan^{2}neeu* and 'underpasses' *taang^{4}lamnin^{3}pai^{3}naeu^{4}nin^3* are conjoined with the conjunction 'or' *nai^{1}mauau^{3}kii^4*. One or the other of these two nouns are being made in order to move about freely.

3.3.5 Relative clause modification

Nominals that are modified by a relative clause are complex because the modification is usually a full clause rather than just a noun or adjective. Here I will only discuss the relative clause as it pertains to the modification of a head noun. I will take up the topic of relative clause again in a subsequent discussion of clausal structure (to appear). In that discussion I will describe how various roles (theme, benefactor, location, etc.) of the Khamti clause can be relativized. The data in 66) - 68) however, show basic relative clause modifiers.

66)

 pa^1 kaa sii taang^4 luung an^3 peeun^3 pkaa^1 khau pai^3
 carry_on_back go CONJ road big REL other_person trader PL move_about

 mai theung kii^4 him^4 taang^4 mai^2 au^3 nuan^4 wai^1 sii phaa^2 huum
 pass_by reach when beside road LOC make sleep keep CONJ blanket cover

 haeu^2 yau^1.
 for_someone PAST

 'He carried it away and when he got to the road where other traders pass by he let that body lie down (as if sleeping) and covered (it) with a blanket.'

67)

 kaa^4 luung an^{3}nai^1 yaa^1 kaa^4 an^3 paai^3 meeung^4 tii kai^3 nam.
 vehicle big this SUBJ vehicle REL movement city IRR far PRT.indic

 'This big bus is a bus that will travel far from the city.'

68)

 nai^{1}nkaw^1 an^3 mau pai uam kaw^1 kan^{2}lang mai^2 taai^2 man^4 tsau^2 mai^2 tang^4
 but   REL NEG yet roast also behind LOC near 3SG owner LOC full

 aang yang^4 ik uu.
 basin there_is more PRT.indic

 'But near her there is a basin with more (corn) that is not yet roasted.'

69)

an³nai¹	kii⁴	yaa¹	pung	an³	tai⁴koo¹	kau³	siau²	paa³sanjee¹	sii	man⁴	taai³
this	when	EMPH	story	REL	friend	1SG	capture	eel		CONJ	3SG	dead

kaa	nai¹	nam.
away	this	PRT.indic

'This is the story that my friend experienced catching eel and he died.'

In 66) the head noun 'big road' *taang⁴ luung* is modified by the clause 'where other traders pass by' *an³ peeun³ pkaa¹ khau pai³ mai*. The modifying clause is marked by an optional relativizer 'REL'. The relativizer is invariant and grammaticalized from the all-purpose classifier (see 2.1.2 above). In 67) the head noun 'bus' *kaa⁴ luung* is modified by the clause 'will travel far from the city' *an³ paai³ meeung⁴ tii kai³* and marked with REL. In 68) the head noun is implied from the previous sentence. Here it is 'corn' *an³ khau²phaa¹*. The modifying clause is 'not yet roasted' *an³ mau pai uam* and is marked by REL. In 69) the head noun is 'story' *pung* modified by the clause 'my friend captured eel and died' *an³ tai⁴koo¹ kau³ siau² paa³sanjee¹ sii man⁴ taai³ kaa nai¹*. This clause is marked with REL and the entire nominal is marked definite. This is the closing line of the story of catching eel and so this nominal refers back to this story therefore it is marked definite.

The examples 70) and 71) both differ slightly in the modified clause from the examples above. In 70) the head noun 'person' *kuun⁴* is modified by the clause 'riding a boat' *heeu⁴ mai² khii*. But here the head noun itself carries an indefinite construction (3.2.2) immediately postposed to the head noun. The relative clause follows the indefinite construction. Within the relative clause 'boat' *heeu⁴* is marked as the object of 'ride' *khii*. The same structure is found in 71). The head noun 'girl' *psaau* is modified by the clause (here a single verb) 'weave' *too⁴huk*. Again, an indefinite construction intervenes between the head noun and its relative clause.

70)

ngai⁴nai¹	mai²	seung	nuu³	pun²	nuu³	mai²	kii⁴	yaa¹	tee¹tee¹seungwaa³	kuun⁴
and_so	here	only	look	there	look	here	if	EMPH	really	person

koo¹	leeung³	heeu⁴	mai²	khii	sii
CLF.human	one	boat	OBJ	ride	CONJ

'And so here I could only look here and there for a person riding a boat.'

71)

maan²	mai²	theung	kaa	kii⁴	heeun⁴	leeung³	mai²	psaau	koo¹	leeung³	too⁴huk
village	LOC	reach	go	when	house	one	LOC	girl	CLF.human	one	weave

mai²	han	uu.
OBJ	see	PRT.indic

'And when he reached the village he saw a girl weaving at a house.'

The relative clause in both 70) and 71) is unmarked. This is quite possibly due to the intervening indefinite construction. Since the REL is grammaticalized from a classifier it is can be acting as a quasi-classifier as much as a relativizer. And since the indefinite construction is a

type of numeral-classifier itself means that the indefinite is acting here both as an indefinite and as a relativizer.

Example 72) is the most internally complex relative structure that I have in my text corpus.

72)

huang¹taai³uu		nai¹	mai²	man⁴	sik¹	moo²	an³	man⁴tsau²	tuai	muap	nai¹
screach		this	OBL	3SG	shard	pot	REL	3SG-POL	strike	break	this

kiip	sii	nuuk¹	khluuwak	mai²	nguam	sii	sing⁴	khuat	kii⁴
gather_up	CONJ	bird	Khluwak	LOC	peep	CONJ	throw	cause_ruin	when

hoo	khat	kaa	yau¹
head	sever	go	PAST

'At this screech, he picked up a pot shard that he had brokenby striking it and peeped to the bird and when he threw (it), hit the bird's neck and severed its head.'

In 72) the head noun 'pot shard' *sik¹ moo²* is modified by the complex clause 'he had broken by striking it' *an³ man⁴tsau² tuai muap nai¹*. The modifying clause is marked REL. Internal to the relative clause is an overt 3SG and a serial verb *strike break*. This serial structure is a sequential activity. First he struck the pot causing it to break. The resultant shards of this pot is what is 'gathered up' *kiip*. Finally, the entire nominal is marked definite with *nai¹*.

3.4 A noun phrase position chart

The ordering of elements in a Khanti nominal is summarized in chart form in Table 7.

HEAD	MODIFICATION			INDET	MODIFICATION				INSTANTIATION		
N	POS, GEN	CLF-N	CLF -ADJ	CLF-INDEF	REL CL	ADV	ADJ	PRT	DEM, DEF, PL, NUM-CLF	MKR SUBJ, OBJ, OBL	PRT EMPH

Table 7 Khamti nominal positional chart

The only obligatory element in a nominal is the noun in the noun head (bolded). Every other element is optional. This noun head can have an immediate possessor marked or unmarked with a GEN. Following the noun head (possessed) is a series of adjectival slots with CLF-ADJ/N constructs as fillers. In these CLF-ADJ/N constructs the actual classifier is optional. If the nominal is marked indefinite this will immediately follow the adjectival series. The relative clause as a modifier of the nominal follows an indefinite slot. Adverbs of intensity (i.e. very, strongly), other adjectives (mostly color), particles of emphasis all immediately postpose the modifying relative clause. The entire nominal is concluded with either a demonstrative, definite or plural marker. It is important to realize that all three of these are similar semantically as instantiating markers. Tis entire nominal can then be optionally marked as a subject, object or oblique. Finally, a particle of emphasis can follow the sentential position marker.

4.0 Summary

In this section I want to summarize the description of the Tai Khamti nominal. The nominal is headed by a noun that is optionally marked for plurality. Nouns are grouped into classes based on some feature or quality and marked by a classifier carrying that feature or quality. Khamti optionally marks definite and indefinite nouns and a single noun can stand by itself as a nominal. The definite marker is grammaticalized from the demonstrative construction. Modification of the head noun can be accomplished in a variety of ways. First there is simple adjectival modification using adjective, nouns and verbs. Then there is atrributive possessive modification employing a possessive marker. Also, there is a prepositional modification structure where a prepositional phrase is used to modify a head noun. Finally, there is the relative clause marked by a REL used a modifyer of the noun. These topics have been taken up in turn in this paper.

Of special note is the definite marker and relativizer. I claim that the definite is a grammaticalized structure from the demonstrative pronoun set. The relativizer has also been grammticalized from the classifier construction and in some instances still acts like a quasi-classifier construction.

5.0 References

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Appendix A Khamti phonemic summary and transcription scheme

		Phoneme Consonant Initials			
IPA	**Examples**	**Gloss**	**Transcription**		**Notes**
p	pat⁷¹	week	p	pat¹	All stops unreleased syllable final.
	paa³	fish		paa³	
t	tuun²	tree	t	tuun²	
	taa³	eye		taa³	
k	kiin³	to eat	k	kiin³	
	kuu³	each		kuu³	
ʔ	ʔan³	thing	ʔ	an³	The ʔ is not really phonemic, but orthographically present.
	ʔuak⁷	outside		uak	
pʰ	pʰak⁷	vegetable	p	phak	The *ee* is very rare.
	pʰee²	to destroy		phee²	
tʰ	tʰɯŋ	to arrive	th	theung	eu = ɯ; eeu = ɯɯ
	tʰoo	bean		thoo	
kʰ	kʰuak⁷	cup	kh	khuak	au = aw syllable final, following orthography.
	kʰau²	rice		khau²	
s	saau⁴	female	s	saau⁴	
	sii	and		sii	
h	hiit⁷	do	h	hiit	
	haa²	five		haa²	
ts	tsit⁷	seven	ts	tsit	
	tsaɯɯ³	heart		tsaeu³	aeu = aɯɯ
m	mak⁷	fruit	m	mak	
	maa	dog		maa	
n	nuk⁷	bird	n	nuk	
	nuu	mouse		nuu	
nʲ	nʲaa⁴	to meet	nj	njaa⁴	nj is very rare.
	nʲaŋ²	waist		njang²	
ŋ	ŋoo⁴	cow	ng	ngoo⁴	ng = ŋ
	ŋuu⁴	snake		nguu⁴	
l	luk⁷¹	child	l	luk¹	
	luaŋ³	about		luang³	
r	pʰraa⁴	God	r	phraa⁴	Different orth r medially.
	raak⁷	passion		raak	
w	waa³	to say	w	waa³	
	waap⁷³	to grasp		waap³	
y	yaa²	grass	y	yaa²	
	yaak⁷¹	difficult		yaak¹	

Phoneme Consonant Finals

IPA	Examples	Gloss		Transcription	Notes
p˺	sip˺	ten	p	sip	All stops unreleased syllable final.
	waap˺³	to grasp		waap³	
t˺	pat˺	to cut	t	pat	
	hiat˺¹	to dry up		hiat	
k˺	haak˺¹	to love	k	haak	
	luk˺¹	from		luk¹	
m	im³	full	m	im³	
	luum	wind		luum	
n	tin³	foot	n	tin³	
	kuun⁴	person		kuun⁴	
ŋ	liŋ³	monkey	ng	ling³	
	muaŋ⁴	hour		muang⁴	
u	kʰau²	rice	u	khau²	
	yaau	long		yaau	

Tonemes

IPA	Examples	Gloss		Transcription	Notes
low ¹	koo¹	clsf-person	¹	koo¹	
	haaŋ¹	to need		haang¹	
rise ²	maan²	village	²	maan²	
	lian²	to play		lian²	
mid ³	naai³	alone	³	naai³	A syllable final i remains i instead of y because of orthography.
	taai³	to die		taai³	
fall ⁴	kaa⁴	car	⁴	kaa⁴	
	hɨɨn⁴	house		heeun⁴	
hi default	kai	chicken		kai	
	la	IMP		la	

	Phoneme Vowels Open Syllables				
IPA	**Examples**	**Gloss**		**Transcription**	**Notes**
a	la	IMP	a	la	
	ta	IMP		ta	
aa	maa	dog	aa	maa	
	kaa	to go		kaa	
iaa	kiaa	Q yes/no	iaa	kiaa	This is borrowed from Burmese.
	kʰiaa⁴	garbage		khiaa⁴	
uaa	ʔuaa⁴	father	uaa	uaa⁴	Very rare. Probably borrowed. Only one example.
ii	kii	how many	ii	kii	
	tii³	place		tii³	
ai	kai	chicken	ai	kai	
	pai	yet		pai	
aai	naai³	alone	aai	naai³	
	haai	to lose s.t.		haai	
uai	tsuai³	to help	uai	tsuai³	
	huai	oyster		huai	
u	sᵊlu	close by	u	slu	slu = sa lu; a very light ə occurs.
	aʔmu	careless		amu	
uu	muu	pig	uu	muu	
	huu	ear		huu	
iu	kʰiu⁴	sickle	iu	kiu⁴	
	piu	happy		piu	
au	kau³	I	au	kau³	
	ʔau³	to take		au³	
aau	kʰaau	white	aau	khaau	
	naau	cold		naau	
iau	miau²	cat	iau	miau²	
	piau³	to scatter		piau³	
e	tse¹	breast	e	tse¹	
	pe¹	child's sleep		pe¹	
ee	mee⁴	to fix	ee	mee⁴	
	tsee	various		tsee	
uei	kuei	banana	uei	kuei	
	muei	ice		muei	
εε	nεε	and you?	ea	nea	This sound is extremely rare. The ea transcription is a little weird, but unavoidable
	pεε	to fly		pea	

		Phoneme Vowels Open Syllables (continued)			
IPA	**Examples**	**Gloss**		**Transcription**	**Notes**
oo	koo¹	clsf-person	oo	koo¹	There are no examples of a short o.
	tsoo¹	spoon		tsoo¹	
ɔ	kaw¹	also	aw	kaw¹	
	ʔaw⁴	Q yes/no		aw⁴	
ʉ	tsʉ³	name	eu	tseu³	eu = ʉ
	mʉ⁴	hand		meu⁴	
ʉʉ	mʉʉ⁴	to return home	eeu	meeu⁴	eeu = ʉʉ
	nʉʉ¹	meat		neeu¹	
aʉʉ	maʉʉ⁴	you	aeu	maeu⁴	
	haʉʉ²	to give		haeu²	

		Phoneme Vowels Closed Syllables			
IPA	**Examples**	**Gloss**		**Transcription**	**Notes**
i	sip˥	ten	i	sip	
	ʔik˥	more		ik	
ii	piin³	is	ii	piin³	
	miit˥	knife		miit	
ia	lian²	to play	ia	lian²	
	piat˥	eight		piat	
a	mak˥	fruit	a	mak	
	han	to see		han	
aa	kaat˥	to bite	aa	kaat	
	kʰaan¹	stupid		khaan¹	
ʉ	lʉk˥	to choose	eu	leuk˥	eu = ʉ
	nʉt˥	blood		neut˥	
ʉʉ	lʉʉŋ	one	eeu	leeuŋ	eeu = ʉʉ
	kʰʉʉk˥	burdened		kheeuk	
u	luk˥¹	from	u	luk¹	
	yuŋ²	confused		yung²	
uu	muuk˥	cloud	uu	muuk	
	kuun⁴	person		kuun⁴	
ua	muaŋ⁴	hour	ua	muang⁴	
	ʔuak˥	outside		uak	

Nominal Structure in Tai Khamti

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