

Chapter 2

Lexical Categories

This chapter presents the tests and their application for determining lexical categories in Man Noi Plang. The criteria for defining each word class are primarily grammatical, not semantic. First, nouns are discussed in 2.1. Then verbs are taken up in 2.2. Prepositions, quantifiers, and modals are discussed in 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, respectively. Finally, conjunctions, negators, emphasis markers, interjections, mood markers, and politeness markers are discussed in 2.6 through 2.11.

2.1 Nouns

Nouns can be identified using two tests, one of which identifies a necessary property of nouns and the second of which identifies a common (though not necessary) property of nouns. Test one is that nouns always function as heads of noun phrases. Noun phrases, in turn, usually function as subjects or objects (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 7). Test two is modification: nouns in Man Noi Plang can be modified by various types of noun phrases (Dryer 2007b: 151).

2.1.1 Nouns as heads of noun phrases

Example (1) illustrates the noun *k^ha* 'road' functioning as the head of the subject noun phrase (NP). Example (2) illustrates two nouns functioning as heads of object NPs. The head of the object NP of the first clause is *pap* 'book' and the head of the object NP of the second clause is *pi* 'pen'. The subjects of each of the clauses in (2) are left implicit.

(1) Trip.008

ma	k ^h a	kɔm	ka	lu
oh!	road	very	top.cont	bad
EXCL	N	ADV	MKR	Vst

Oh! The road was very bad.

(2) Church.036

t^hɣk pap t^hɣk pi
take **book** take **pen**
V N V N

"Take a book, take a pen."⁵

In the previous example, the NPs were objects of a verb; they can also function as objects of prepositions, as in (3) where *maja* 'grandmother' is the head of the object NP of the preposition *tam* 'with'. In (4) *k^hep* 'shoe' is the head of the object NP of the preposition *ta* 'by'.

(3) Trip.033

kacuh ε ti tam maja ?ε
talk 1pl main.part **with** **grandmother** 1pl
V CLI MKR PREP N PRO

We talked with my grandmother.⁶

(4) Trip.068

k^hut ka ti ta k^hep a katak
rub top.cont main.part **by** **shoe** RF sore
V MKR MKR PREP N PRT N

It was rubbed by his shoe, a sore.⁷

2.1.2 Noun modification

Nouns can also be identified by other phrases. Nouns in Man Noi Plang can be modified by genitive constructions, demonstratives, quantifiers, classifier phrases, and other noun phrases, although only genitive modification will be discussed here.⁸

Nouns can be marked for possession by other nouns. In (5) the noun *ma* 'mother' and the noun *kum* 'father' are individually modified by the genitive pronoun ?ε '1pl'.

⁵*pap* 'book' is a loan word from Dai. *pi* 'pen' is a loan word from Mandarin.

⁶Although the first person plural pronoun is used, it is not co-referential with the pronoun '1pl' earlier in the sentence. The second occurrence of '1pl' refers to the speaker and her family (who are not with her at this time). In Plang culture, family members and family-oriented things (i.e., the family's house or family members) are always referred to with plural genitive pronouns. However, for the sake of clarity, these family-oriented plural pronouns will be given singular interpretations in the free translation. Also, *maja* 'grandmother' is a loan word from Dai.

⁷*k^hep* 'shoe' is a loan word from Dai.

⁸For a discussion of modifiers in the NP, see 4.1.3.

(5) Trip.011

ma	ʔe	kum	ʔe	ke	cw	mok
mother	1pl	father	1pl	3pl	also	exist
N	PRO	N	PRO	PRO	ADV	V

My mother and my father were also there.⁹

2.1.3 Subclasses of nouns

There are several subclasses of nouns including pronouns, localizer nouns, and nominalized verbs. It is helpful to distinguish these classes of nouns because some of them have more restricted distributions than common nouns.

2.1.3.1 Pronouns

Personal and genitive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative and indefinite pronouns, and reflexive pronouns are discussed in sections 2.1.3.1.1 through 2.1.3.1.4. Personal pronouns are the largest category. Personal pronouns in Plang have different distributional properties from nouns. These properties are discussed in Chapter 6.

2.1.3.1.1 Personal/genitive pronouns

Table 1 lists the personal pronouns in Man Noi Plang. They are classified by number and person.¹⁰ Number distinctions are singular, dual, and plural. The third dual and the second dual are also used to refer to a female who has had children.¹¹ Person distinctions are first, second, and third. There are several other forms of the first singular pronoun and the first plural pronoun, but the differences appear to be phonologically conditioned. The set of personal pronouns doubles as genitive pronouns. Following the table are examples of each pronoun functioning as NPs.

⁹ For a discussion of the appositional pronoun *ke* ‘3pl’, see 6.1.2.

¹⁰ Pang Pung Plang also has an inclusive/exclusive distinction (Suknaphasawat 2007, m.s.), which is not present in Man Noi Plang.

¹¹ Suknaphasawat notes the same phenomenon in Pang Pung Plang. He comments, “a female who has a child (being a mother) is referred to in the second person singular and third person singular with the regular dual pronoun” (14).

Table 1: Personal/genitive pronouns in Man Noi Plang

	singular	dual	plural
First	<i>ʔu</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>ʔe</i>
Second	<i>mi</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pe</i>
Third	<i>ʔɤn</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ke</i>

The first person singular pronoun *ʔu* is functioning as the subject NP in (6). It is marked by the main participant marker *ti*.¹²

(6) Trip.005

ʔu ti hɤi ciao tianhua fei a
1sg main.part go pay telephone bill RF
PRO MKR V V N N PRT

I went to pay the telephone bill.¹³

The first person dual *ʔa*, which is used by the speaker to refer to him or herself plus one other person, is illustrated twice in (7).

(7) Brothers.040

lat ʔa hɤi patimat mi lat ʔa hɤi k^hɔ ti cɪm
be.about.to **1du** go serve 2sg be.about.to **1du** go ask main.part get
AUX **PRO** V V PRO AUX **PRO** V V MKR V

watkɔŋ tam mi
special.knowledge with 2sg
N PREP PRO

"We are about to go serve you and we are about to go request to get the special knowledge with you."

The first person plural *ʔe*, which is used by the speaker to refer to him or herself and more than one other person, is illustrated in (8).

(8) Trip.032

sakpai ʔe jaŋ som
afternoon **1pl** not.yet eat
N **PRO** ADV V

That afternoon, we hadn't eaten yet.

The second person singular is *mi*. In (9) its referent is the vocative NP *ciao ʔu cai ʔu* 'my lord, my man'.

¹² See 6.3.1 for a discussion of this particle.

¹³ *tianhua* 'telephone' and *fei* 'bill' are loan words from Mandarin.

(9) Brothers.075

lat ka la no ciao ?u cai ?u mi lat ti pun ?a
 after that 3du say that lord 1sg man 1sg 2sg after that main.part get 1du
 CONJ PRO V DEM N PRO N PRO PRO CONJ MKR V PRO

la px kana
 obl.arg.mkr things what
 PREP N INTG

After that she said that, "My lord, my man, after that what things did you get [for] us?"¹⁴
 The second person dual *pa* is illustrated in (10).

(10) Brothers.050

pa taj lei mei eo ja eo jun eo kon eo
 2du hortative again return look.for home look.for village look.for child look.for
 PRO MKR ADV V V N V N V N V

kamum ti
 wife main.part
 N MKR

"You two again return and look for [your] house, look for [your] village, look for [your] children, look for your wife."

The second person plural *pe* is illustrated in (11).

(11) Brothers.065

pe taj ko ti kakxt kuun
 2pl hortative wait main.part meet father
 PRO MKR V MKR V N

"You wait and meet [your] father."

The third person singular *?ɲn* is functioning as the subject NP in (12).

(12) Trip.086

lei ?ɲn la ti kui pu tam ima ka
 then 3sg say main.part have friend with Ima 3du
 CONJ PRO V MKR V N PREP Nprop PRO

She said she made friends with Ima.

The third person dual pronoun *ka* is functioning as the subject NP in (13).

¹⁴ *ciao* 'lord' is a loan word from Dai.

(13) Brothers.033

ka kə lat tɻ hɻi pə ni ɕɻt
 3du then after that *** go way this finished
 PRO CONJ CONJ PRT V N DEM V

They [two friends] then after that went this way - [they] were done [discussing with their wives]. The third person dual, rather than the third person singular, is always used to refer to a female who has had children. The third person dual pronoun *ka* is referring to a singular female with children in (14).

(14) Trip.091

ka pam ka katɔŋ pam u cum ka
 3du chew 3du head chew 1sg foot top.cont
 PRO V CLI N V CLI N MKR

She chewed on the head, I chewed on the feet.

The third person plural *kɛ* is illustrated in (15) where it is functioning as the subject NP.

(15) Church.061

lat kɛ la jɻ ni mu pu mi tɻn
 after that 3pl say do this where friend 2sg also
 CONJ PRO V V PRO INTG N PRO ADV

After that they said this, "So where [is] your friend?"

As previously mentioned, personal pronouns also function as genitive pronouns. An example of a genitive pronoun is illustrated in (16). The pronoun *?ɛ* '1pl' is the genitive and *na* 'house' is the head of the NP.

(16) Trip.018

tapuh ka lei it juŋ na ?ɛ
 night top.cont then sleep at home 1pl
 N MKR CONJ V PREP N PRO

As for night, then we slept at my home.

2.1.3.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns in Man Noi Plang: *ni* 'this, these;' *no* 'that, those;' and *tɛ* 'that over there, those over there'.¹⁵ The proximal

¹⁵ The proximal demonstrative also has the form *en* 'this' and the distal demonstrative also has the forms *nɔn* 'that' or *ɔn* 'that'. Further study is needed to determine the distribution of these different phonological realizations.

demonstrative pronoun *ni* ‘this, these’ is functioning as the object argument in (17). In the context of the story, the two brothers Aihonam and Ailanam have been studying the special knowledge so that they will know how to worship properly. This sentence signals the end of their time studying.

(17) Brothers.046

ka pɔ ni cɔt
 3du *** **this** finished
 PRO *** **DEM** V

They finished this [study].

In (18) the distal demonstrative pronoun *no* ‘that, those’ is functioning as the object of the preposition *k^ha* ‘at’. The remote demonstrative *te* is functioning as the subject NP in (19).

(18) Data.063

ja ?u mok k^ha no
 home 1sg exist at **that**
 N PRO V PREP **DEM**

My house is there.

(19) Data.026

te kui kupi
REM have fruit
DEM V N

That [place] over there has fruit.

2.1.3.1.3 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns

Plang interrogative and indefinite pronouns are the same set. The pronoun *kana* ‘what’ is functioning interrogatively in (20). Another pronoun *jamuj* ‘when’ is functioning interrogatively in (21). The interrogative pronoun in each example is what signals that the utterance is a content question.

(20) Data.011

mi jɔ kana
 2sg do **what**
 PRO V **INTG**

What did you do?

(21) Data.012

ʔɿn iŋ jamuŋ
3sg come **when**
PRO V INTG

When will he come?

In (22) *kana* ‘what’ means ‘whatever’ in the clause “whatever we wanted to do.” In context it is functioning as an indefinite pronoun. Example (23) illustrates the pronoun *sumnɿn* ‘whoever’ functioning as an indefinite pronoun. In the context the speaker is not asking a question.

(22) Trip.017

ʔɛ la jɿ **kana** maŋ pɿt hai ka jɿ ta
1pl would do **whatever** not fundamentally good.easy top.cont do ***
PRO AUX V **INDEF** NEG ADV V MKR V PRT

Whatever we would do, it was fundamentally not easy to do.

(23) Church.022

sumnɿn la ʔɿn ti ɿc'
whoever say 3sg main.part finish
INDEF V PRO MKR V

Whoever, he speaks; then finished.

2.1.3.1.4 Reflexive/emphatic pronoun

The pronoun *mum* ‘self’ combines with personal pronouns to give a reflexive meaning. In (24) the clause is made reflexive by the presence of *mum* ‘self’ at the end of the sentence. In (25) the clause is given a reflexive meaning by the presence of *mum mum* ‘self self’. More study is needed to determine what the significance of the doubling is.

(24) Data.106

ʔɿn sɿmɿk ti **mum**
3sg hide main.part **self**
PRO V MKR **PRO**

He hides himself.

(25) Data.108

ʔɿn	ti	nɔk	ɿn	ti	mum	mum
3sg	main.part	see	3sg	main.part	self	self
PRO	MKR	V	CLI	MKR	PRO	PRO

She looks at herself.

The pronoun *mum* ‘self’ can also show contrast. In (26) it contrasts the personal pronoun *ʔɿn* ‘3sg’ with the alternative.

(26) Data.008

ʔɿn	ciaŋ	ɟɿ	mum
3sg	able	do	self
PRO	MOD	V	PRO

She can do it herself.¹⁶

2.1.3.2 Localizer nouns

Localizer nouns are words that are often prepositions in other languages. The subclass of localizer nouns can be the object of a preposition and the head of a possessive phrase. In (27) the localizer noun *tuk* ‘front’ is the object of the preposition *k^ha* ‘at’. The localizer noun *ceŋ* ‘side’ in (28) is the object of the preposition *juŋ* ‘at’. It is also the head of the possessive phrase *ceŋ ʔɿn* ‘her side’.

(27) Data.030

mok	ɿn	k ^h a	tuk
exist	3sg	at	front
V	CLI	PREP	LZN

He is at the front.¹⁷

(28) Data.029

ʔɿn	mok	ɿn	juŋ	ceŋ	ʔɿn
3sg	sit	3sg	at	side	3sg
PRO	V	CLI	PREP	LZN	PRO

He is sitting beside her.¹⁸

¹⁶ *ciaŋ* ‘able’ is a loan word from Dai.

¹⁷ For a discussion of *ɿn* ‘3sg’ without the glottal stop, see 6.2.

¹⁸ *ceŋ* ‘side’ is a loan word from Dai.

2.1.3.3 Nominalized verbs

Verbs can be nominalized by the nominalizer *ku*. In (29) the verb *la* ‘say’ is nominalized by *ku* to mean “words.” In (30) two verbs *cui* ‘know’ and *jog* ‘know [how to do something]’ are nominalized by *ku*.

(29) Brothers.112

juŋ	hun	ti	un	jaŋ	ku	la	parasi	la	ɣn	nɔ
seem	***	main.part	not	be.same.as	nominalizer	say	Parasi	say	3sg	that
V	***	MKR	NEG	V	PRT	V	Nprop	V	CLI	DEM

"[He] seems like it is not the same as Parasi's words" he said that.

(30) Brothers.020

?a	pun	ti	cim	ku	cui	ku	jog	cim	pun	ti
1du	attained	main.part	get	nominalizer	know	nominalizer	know	get	can	main.part
PRO	ASP	MKR	V	PRT	V	PRT	V	V	MOD	MKR

lat	watkɔŋ
be.about.to	special.knowledge
AUX	N

"We will be about to get knowledge and ability and can get the special knowledge."

2.2 Verbs

There are two tests for verbs in Man Noi Plang. Test one is that verbs can function as heads of verb phrases (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9), which is discussed in 2.2.1. Test two is that they can also be specified for aspect, mood, and polarity (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9). Only one of these specifications, polarity, will be discussed in 2.2.2.¹⁹ Subclasses of verbs are discussed in 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Verbs as heads of verb phrases

Distributional properties such as serving as heads of verb phrases set verbs apart from other words classes (Payne 1997: 47). Example (31) demonstrates the verb *lih* ‘go down’ functioning as the head of the VP. Example (32) demonstrates the verb *pet* ‘kill’ functioning as the head of the VP.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the verb phrase and its operators, see 4.2.

(31) Trip.066

kɔi lih ɛ
 slowly **go.down** 1pl
 ADV V CLI

We went down slowly.

(32) Trip.104

ka cuu lei pet ?ɛ la ɛh a
 3du also then **kill** 1pl obl.arg.mkr chicken RF
 PRO ADV CONJ V PRO PREP N PRT

She also killed us a chicken.

2.2.2 Polarity

Schachter and Shopen (2007: 10) include polarity as a verb specification because “polarity marking distinguishes affirmative from negative.” In (33) the verb *ɾ* ‘agree’ is negated by the negative particle *maŋ* ‘not’. A different negator is used in (34): *un* ‘not’ is negating the verb *kaŋet* ‘listen’.²⁰

(33) Trip.101

maŋ ka ɾ tɾ
not 3du **agree** ***
 NEG PRO V PRT

She didn't agree.

(34) Brothers.032

?ɾn kɔ un kaŋet ka
 3sg then **not** **listen** 3du
 PRO CONJ NEG V PRO

He then did not listen to her.

2.2.3 Verb subclasses

Words that are often adjectives in other languages have been identified as attributive verbs in Plang. They pass both tests for verbs: they can be specified (for polarity, in this case) and they can function as predicates on their own like other verbs. In (35) the attributive verb *hɔn* ‘big’ is negated by *maŋ* ‘not’. In (36) the same attributive verb *hɔn* ‘big’ is functioning as the predicate. Therefore, attributive words in Plang are classified as verbs.

²⁰ For a discussion of the different negators in Plang, see 2.7.

(35) VP.031

ʔɤn maŋ ʔɤn hɔn
 3sg not 3sg big
 PRO NEG PRO Vst

He is not big.

(36) VP.030

ʔɤn hɔn
 3sg big
 PRO Vst

He is big.

However, attributive verbs have behaviors that are not characteristic of other types of verbs. For example, comparative and superlative forms are formed when degree adverbs modify attributive verbs. In (37) the degree adverb *lat* ‘more than’ is modifying the attributive verb *hɔn* ‘big’ to achieve the comparative meaning ‘bigger’. The superlative is illustrated in (38) where the degree adverb *k^hen* ‘most’ is modifying *hɔn* ‘big’.

(37) Data.056

fak	en	na	hɔn	ka	lat	tianhua
cup	this	topicl	big	top.cont	more.than	telephone
N	DEM	PRT	Vst	MKR	DEG	N

This cup is bigger than the telephone.

(38) Data.057

en	na	k ^h en	hɔn
this	topicl	most	big
DEM	PRT	DEG	Vst

This is the biggest.

2.3 Prepositions

Six prepositions have been discovered thus far in Plang. Functionally, prepositions “convey some information about the referent of the phrasal constituent [preposition plus the NP] that is not expressed by the noun itself” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 34). The prepositions are listed in Table 2 with their meanings. Following the table, an example of each preposition is given.

Table 2: Prepositions in Man Noi Plang

Preposition	Gloss
<i>cum</i>	‘from’
<i>juŋ</i>	‘at’
<i>k^ha</i>	‘at’
<i>la</i>	‘oblique argument marker’
<i>ta</i>	‘by’ or ‘to’
<i>tam</i>	‘with’

The preposition *cum* ‘from’ in (39) is the head of the prepositional phrase *cum ve* ‘from work’, where it indicates the previous location of the subject of the clause.

(39) Trip.012

kompɣ huɪt kɛ cum vet ti
 just.then arrive 3pl **from** **work** main.part
 ADV Vmot CLI **PREP** N MKR

They had just arrived from work.²¹

The preposition *juŋ* ‘at’ in (40) is the head of the prepositional phrase *juŋ na ʔɛ* ‘at my home’.

(40) Trip.009

huɪt ɛ juŋ na ʔɛ mɔ lakak^hau ti ta pai jɣ nɔ
 arrive 1pl **at** **home** 1pl just.then about one hour after do that
 Vmot CLI **PREP** N **PRO** CONJ ADV NUM CLF ADV V PRO

We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.²²

The preposition *k^ha* is a Dai loan word, which explains why there are two prepositions that mean ‘at’. *k^ha* ‘at’ in (41) heads the prepositional phrase *k^ha tuk* ‘at the front’.

(41) Data.030

mok ʔɣn k^ha tuk
 sit 3sg **at** **front**
 V PRO **PREP** LZN

He is at the front.

Although both *k^ha* and *juŋ* both mean ‘at’, their distribution is different. *k^ha* is used with all localizer nouns except *cæŋ* ‘side’, which prefers *juŋ*. *juŋ* is also used

²¹ *vet* ‘work’ is a loan word from Dai.

²² *ta* ‘hour’ is a loan word from Dai.

with nouns that are more prototypical locations (i.e., ‘home’, ‘church’, ‘China’, ‘village’). For example, in (42) *k^ha* ‘at’ is unacceptable with the location *ja ?e* ‘my house’. Conversely, in (43) the preposition *juŋ* ‘at’ is unacceptable with the localizer noun *tuk* ‘front’.

(42) Data.133

*huut ε k^ha ja ?e mo lakak^hau ti ta pai jɛ no
 arrive 1pl at home 1pl then about main.part hour after do that
 V CLI PREP N PRO CONJ ADV MKR N ADV V DEM

(Intended: We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.)

(43) Data.134

*mok ɣn juŋ tuk
 exist 3sg at front
 V CLI PREP LZN

(Intended: He is at the front.)

The preposition *la* heads oblique argument phrases. In (44) *la* is marking *eh* ‘chicken’ as the oblique argument of the verb *pet* ‘kill’. The object *?e* ‘1pl’ comes closest to the verb, before the oblique argument. In (45) *la* is marking the oblique argument of the verb *ka* ‘give’, which is *kukakut* ‘gift’. Again, the object *ma ke* ‘their mother’ occurs before the oblique argument.

(44) Trip.090

iumpən ke cu pet ?e la eh a
 Iumpən 3pl also kill 1pl obl.arg.mkr chicken RF
 Nprop PRO ADV V PRO PREP N PRT

Iumpən also killed us a chicken.

(45) Data.040

?ɣn ka ma ke la kukakut
 3sg give mother 3pl obl.arg.mkr gift
 PRO V N PRO PREP N

He gave their mother a gift.

Even if the object argument is only implied, the oblique argument marker *la* is still used in some cases. In (46) Iumpən is giving a phone call to the speaker and the people with her. The object argument is not made explicit, but the oblique argument marker *la* is used before the argument ‘telephone [call]’ to make the

sentence clearer.²³ According to native speakers, the sentence is not acceptable without the oblique argument marker, as evidenced in (47).

(46) Trip.070

hunt ε juŋ k^ha hən mə iumpan ka ta kei la tianhua
 arrive 1pl at road big then Iumpan give hit to obl.arg.mkr telephone
 Vmot CLI PREP N Vst CONJ Nprop V V PREP PREP N

When we arrived at the big road, Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call].²⁴

(47) Data.102

*hunt ε juŋ k^ha hən mə iumpan ka ta kei tianhua
 arrive 1pl at road big then Iumpan give hit to telephone
 V CLI PREP N Vst CONJ Nprop V V PREP N

(Intended: When we arrived at the big road, then Iumpan gave [us] a telephone [call].)

The preposition *ta* 'by' in (48) is the head of the prepositional phrase *ta k^hep* 'by [his] shoe'. It is indicating the instrument which caused the rubbing. *ta* more frequently means 'to', as in (49) where it is heading the prepositional phrase *ta ka* 'to them'. In this case, it indicates the addressee of the verb *la* 'say'.

(48) Trip.068

k^hut ka ti ta k^hep a katak
 rub top.cont main.part by shoe RF sore
 V MKR MKR PREP N PRT N

It was rubbed by his shoe, a sore.

(49) Brothers.037

pa lat p^haijət k^haokan pɣ kana la ɣn no ta ka
 2du be.about.to declare situation things what say 3sg that to 3du
 PRO AUX V N N INDEF V CLI DEM PREP PRO

"You two are about to declare the situation - what things [you want]," he said that to them.

The preposition *tam* 'with' in (50) is the head of the prepositional phrase *tam maja ε* 'with our grandmother'. It indicates association.

²³ The words and structure *ta kei* 'hit to' are loan words from Mandarin.

²⁴ *ta* 'hit', *kei* 'give', and *tianhua* 'telephone' are loan words from Mandarin.

(50) Trip.033

kacuh	ε	ti	tam	maja	ʔε
talk	1pl	main.part	with	grandmother	1pl
V	CLI	MKR	PREP	N	PRO

We talked with my grandmother.

2.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are identified by their distribution: they occur after nouns in NPs and before nouns in temporal phrases with a time classifier. Semantically, they “indicate quantity or scope” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 37). In (51) the Plang numeral *lai* ‘two’ modifies the noun *pu* ‘friend’. The quantifier *hun* ‘many’ is modifying the noun *lik* ‘pig’ in (52).

(51) Church.050

on	mə	muh	ʔɯn	miti	pen	ʔɯn	pu	ʔtu	on	mə	miti	len
then	then	name	3sg	Midi	be	3sg	friend	1sg	then	then	Midi	again
CONJ	CONJ	V	PRO	Nprop	COP	PRO	N	PRO	CONJ	CONJ	Nprop	ADV

ti	kui	pu	lai
main.part	have	friend	two
MKR	V	N	NUM

Then the one named Midi, [who] is my friend, at that time she had two other friends.

(52) NP.004

lik	hun	ʔtu	som	ka
pig	many	1sg	eat	top.cont
N	QUAN	PRO	V	MKR

My many pigs are eating.

The distribution of quantifiers is different in time phrases: the quantifier precedes the noun. The numeral *ti* ‘one’ modifies the noun *ta* ‘hour’ in (53). In (54) the quantifier *cum* ‘every’ is modifying the proper noun *fiŋc^hiwu* ‘Friday’.

(53) Data.090

huit	ε	juŋ	ja	ʔε	mə	lakak ^h au	ti	ta	pai	ju	no
arrive	1pl	at	home	1pl	then	about	one	hour	after	do	that
V	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	CONJ	ADV	NUM	N	ADV	V	DEM

We arrived at my home about one hour later, do that.²⁵

²⁵ *ta* ‘hour’ is a loan word from Dai.

(54) Data.017

ʔε ti cum ʃiŋc^hiwu la ʔε hvi məŋhai
 1pl main.part every Friday IRR 1pl go Menghai
 PRO MKR QUAN Nprop PRT PRO V Nprop

Every Friday we go to Menghai.²⁶

Numerals are not a distinct category from quantifiers because they cannot co-occur with quantifiers. The construction in (55) is ungrammatical. The quantifier *hun* ‘many’ cannot co-occur with the numeral *pɔn* ‘five’ in the NP.

(55) NP.013

*ja p^hɔn hun mok ka juŋ mannoi
 home five many exist top.cont at Man.Noi
 N NUM QUAN V MKR PREP Nprop

(Intended: Many five houses are in Man Noi.)

Plang people use both Plang numerals and Dai numerals for 1-10. The Plang numerals are given in Table 3. Dai numerals are used for all numerals above ten.

Table 3: Plang Numerals 1-10

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>kuti, ti</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>loi</i>	<i>pun</i>	<i>p^hɔn</i>	<i>leh</i>	<i>haleh</i>	<i>hɔŋti</i>	<i>satm</i>	<i>kui</i>

2.4.1.1 Classifiers

Only two classifiers have been identified in Plang at this time. Classifiers occur with quantifiers in a classifier phrase. The classifier *cu* ‘group’ is illustrated in (56) where it is the head of the classifier phrase *pun cu* ‘four groups’. The word *cu* ‘group’ is not a noun because the modifier *pun* ‘four’ does not pattern like a quantifier in an NP, i.e., it does not follow the noun. Further evidence for classifiers is given in (57). The classifier *cum* ‘set’ is the head of the classifier phrase *ti cum* ‘one set’, which is modifying the noun *fehphoh* ‘clothes’.

²⁶ *siŋc^hiwu* ‘Friday’ and *məŋhai* ‘Menghai’ are loan words from Mandarin.

(56) Church.009

taŋ	ɣc'	ti	saka	ke	ʔe	pun	cu
all	complete	main.part	separate	3pl	1pl	four	group
ADV	V	MKR	V	PRO	PRO	NUM	N

All of us - they divided us [into] four groups.²⁷

(57) Grammar.006

ma	ʔe	ka	tɕi	ka	ʔu	la	fehphoh	ti	cum
mother	1pl	give	buy	give	1sg	obl.arg.mkr	clothes	one	set
N	PRO	V	V	V	PRO	PREP	N	NUM	CLF

My mom bought me a set of clothes.

2.5 Modals

The function of modality is to express information about the speaker’s attitude or the agent’s relationship to a proposition (Kroeger 2005: 147). The agent-oriented modal *ciaŋ* ‘able’ is illustrated in (58). The modal expresses that the agent has the ability to serve. *pun* ‘can’ in (59) is also an agent-oriented modal with a similar meaning. It conveys the relationship between the agent and the verb: the agent has the ability to *cim* ‘get’ the *watkəŋ* ‘special knowledge’.

(58) Brothers.022

kamuŋ	aihonam	non	ka	kah	hak	ka	pɕi	k ^h ai	cat
wife	Aihonam	just.then	3du	emphasis.marker	because	3du	person	really	***
N	Nprop	ADV	PRO	PRT	CONJ	PRO	N	ADV	***

ciaŋ	patimat	kəm	ka	la	nə	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ciao	ʔu	cai	ʔu	kala
able	serve	very	3du	say	that	agree	agree	agree	lord	1sg	man	1sg	no
MOD	V	ADV	PRO	V	DEM	V	V	V	N	PRO	N	PRO	NEG

kujo
matter
N

Aihonam's wife she just now, because she *** [was] a person [who was] very able to serve, she spoke that, "Okay, okay, okay, my lord, my man, no problem."

(59) Brothers.020

ʔa	pun	ti	cim	ku	cui	ku	joŋ	cim	pun	ti
1du	attained	main.part	get	nominalizer	know	nominalizer	know	get	can	main.part
PRO	ASP	MKR	V	PRT	V	PRT	V	V	MOD	MKR

²⁷ *cu* ‘group’ is a loan word from Mandarin.

lat watkoŋ
 be.about.to special.knowledge
 AUX N

"We will be about to get knowledge and ability and can get the special knowledge."

2.6 Conjunctions

There are eight morphemes in the text that seem to be conjunctions. The function of these conjunctions is to connect clauses, phrases, or words in discourse. Each conjunction and its tentative gloss have been provided in Table 4. Many of their individual meanings are the same at this point. Further study is required. Following the table, an example of each conjunction in text is provided.

Table 4: Conjunctions in Man Noi Plang

Conjunction	Gloss
<i>am</i>	'or'
<i>hak</i>	'however, but'
<i>ko</i>	'then'
<i>kom</i>	'then'
<i>lat</i>	'after that'
<i>lei</i>	'then'
<i>mɔ</i>	'then'
<i>ɔn</i>	'then'

The coordinating conjunction *am* 'or' occurs in (60). *am* 'or' coordinates the verb *mei* 'ready' with the negative adverb *jaŋ* 'not yet'.

(60) Data.096

mi mei mi ti am jaŋ
 2sg prepare 2sg anaphoric or not.yet
 PRO V PRO PRO CONJ ADV

Are you ready to go or not yet?

The conjunction *hak* 'however' in (62) connects this utterance with the previous discourse, which is illustrated in (61). It introduces new information that is contrary to expectation. In the context of these examples, the outburst in (61) is the first evidence that the speaker is not a good person. The speaker's bad character proves to be an integral part of the story. It is possible that *hak* is actually a contrafactual modality particle. More study of this particle is needed.

(61) Brothers.028

pun	ke	kana	ka	la	ka	no	ka	ti	kah
get	whore	whatever	3du	say	3du	that	3du	main.part	emphasis.marker
V	N	INDEF	PRO	V	CLI	DEM	PRO	MKR	PRT

"Get a prostitute - whatever!" she said that, she [did].

(62) Brothers.029

hak	ka	k ^h ai	pet	mui
however	3du	very	temper	bad
CONJ	PRO	ADV	N	Vst

However she [had] a very bad temperament.

kə 'then' may be an areal feature both phonetically and functionally. Somsonge (1992) discusses the particle *kA?* 'well,...; so then; also' in oral Kui²⁸ narrative and notes that some of the functions are similar to the Thai temporal sequence marker *kə̀*. Further study is needed to determine whether the Plang particle *kə* 'then' has all of the functions Kui *kA?* and Thai *kə̀* have. The Plang *kə* 'then' occurs in (63). It connects the circumstance in the first clause, *ka ciaŋ patimat kasat pa* 'if they are able to serve [following] after you', with the result in the second clause, *kə mut* 'after you then [they will] change'.

(63) Brothers.057

ka	ciaŋ	patimat	kasat	pa	kə	mut
3du	able	serve	after	2du	then	change
PRO	MOD	V	ADV	PRO	CONJ	V

"[If] they [the wives] are able to serve [following] after you, then [they will] change."

The conjunction *kə̀m* 'then' is illustrated in (65). It chronologically connects Ailanam's statement in (64) with his wife's response in (65).

(64) Brothers.026

ailanam	la	ɣn	ti	lat	ka	a	hvi	ɛə	ti	hamhen
Ailanam	say	3sg	main.part	be.about.to	give	1du	go	look.for	main.part	study
Nprop	V	CLI	MKR	AUX	V	CLI	V	V	MKR	V

ti	lat	watkəŋ
main.part	be.about.to	special.knowledge
MKR	AUX	N

Ailanam, he said, "We [the two brothers] are about to go and look for and will study the special knowledge."²⁹

²⁸ Kui is a Mon-Khmer language of the Katuic branch.

²⁹ The root *hen* 'study' is a loan word from Dai.

(65) Brothers.027

ka kɔm ka jɔ ti ni hɔi hɔi hɔi
3du then 3du do main.part this go go go
PRO CONJ PRO V MKR DEM V V V

She then did this, "Go! Go! Go!"

The conjunction *lat* 'after that', which is illustrated in (67), connects the discourse in (66) with the events that follow. *lat* 'after that' usually signals the beginning of a new event chronologically.

(66) Brothers.046

ka pɔ ni cɔt
3du *** this finished
PRO *** DEM V

They finished this [study].

(67) Brothers.047

lat ʔn ti la nɔ ta ka lei ti en na pa
after that 3sg main.part say that to 3du again main.part this topic.con 2du
CONJ PRO MKR V DEM PREP PRO ADV MKR DEM MKR PRO
kɔ lei ti hɔi pun ti hamben ta ʔu
then again main.part go can main.part study to 1sg
CONJ ADV MKR V MOD MKR V PREP PRO

After that he [Parasi] said that to them again, "In this way you then again can go and study with me."

The conjunction *lei* 'then' connects the utterance in (69) to the previous discourse, which is illustrated in (68).³⁰ It is a simple chronological connector that moves the action of the story along.

(68) Trip.015

mɔ a mɔ lei cɔt ε som ti mɔ lat ʔε hɔi
then RF then then finished 1pl eat main.part then after that 1pl go
CONJ PRT CONJ CONJ V CLI V MKR CONJ CONJ PRO V
ε ti kaɕuh ti
look.for main.part talk main.part
V MKR V MKR

And then after we finished eating then after that we went looking for [people] to talk to.

³⁰ Example (68) also contains the conjunction *lei* 'then'; it connects the utterance to the preceding discourse.

(69) Trip.018

tapuh ka lei it juŋ ja ʔε
 night top.cont **then** sleep at home 1pl
 N MKR **CONJ** V PREP N PRO

As for night, then we slept at my home.

Another conjunction, *mɔ* ‘then’, is illustrated in (71). It is chronologically connecting the utterance with the previous event, which is illustrated in (70).

(70) Trip.009

huut ε juŋ ja ʔε mɔ lakak^hau ti ta pai jɣ nɔ
 arrive 1pl at home 1pl just.then about one hour after do that
 Vmot CLI PREP N PRO CONJ ADV NUM CLF ADV V PRO

We arrived at my home after one o'clock, about like that.

(71) Trip.010

a mɔ ca ε ti som
 RF **then** cook 1pl main.part eat
 PRT **CONJ** V CLI MKR V

And then we cooked a meal.

The final conjunction *ɔn* ‘then’ is illustrated in (73) where it is connecting the utterance with the previous discourse. The previous discourse is illustrated in (72). It chronologically moves the events along.

(72) Brothers.049

kasa na ti pa kɔ lei lih εɔ ti sɣt ti
 next.day topiclzr main.part 2du then again go.down look.for main.part grab main.part
 ADV PRT MKR PRO CONJ ADV V V MKR V MKR

lat sai la ɣn nɔ
 be.about.to sand say 3sg that
 AUX N V CLI DEM

"Tomorrow also you then again are about to go down and look for and get sand," he said that.³¹

(73) Brothers.054

ɔn a ka kɔ lat ti kasa lei ti kah
then RF 3du then after that main.part next.day again main.part emphasis.marker
CONJ PRT PRO CONJ CONJ MKR ADV ADV MKR PRT

³¹ *sai* ‘sand’ is a loan word from Dai.

lih	sxt	ti	lat	sai	lei	ij	somməŋsomma	ti
go.down	grab	main.part	***	sand	again	go.back	appease	main.part
V	V	MKR	***	N	ADV	V	V	MKR

Then they, then after that the next day again, went down and got sand and again went back to appease.

2.7 Negators

Negators change the polarity of a proposition. There are four different negators in Plang: two general negators and two negative imperatives. One of the general negators *un* is illustrated in (74) where it is negating the verb *kaŋet* 'listen'. The negator *maŋ* 'not' is also acceptable in this sentence. This is illustrated in (75).

(74) Brothers.032

ʔɣn	kə	un	kaŋet	ka
3sg	then	not	listen	3du
PRO	CONJ	NEG	V	PRO

He then did not listen to her.

(75) Data.068

ʔɣn	kə	maŋ	kaŋet	ka
3sg	then	not	listen	3du
PRO	CONJ	NEG	V	PRO

He then did not listen to her.

Although the two general negators are often interchangeable, there are examples where they are not. In (76) the negator *maŋ* 'not' is negating the verb *lih* 'go down'. However, as evidenced by (77), the negator *un* 'not' is unacceptable here.

(76) Data.001

maŋ	ʔɛ	kəi	lih
not	1pl	slowly	go.down
NEG	PRO	ADV	V

We did not go down slowly.

(77) Data.101

*un	ʔɛ	kəi	lih
not	1pl	slowly	go.down
NEG	PRO	ADV	V

(Intended: We did not go down slowly.)

There are two imperative negators, *toŋ* and *am*. *toŋ* 'do not' is illustrated in (78) where it is modifying the verb *hɣi* 'go'. The other negative imperative *am* is also

acceptable in this sentence; this is demonstrated in (79). In (80) *am* ‘do not’ is modifying the verb *en* ‘eat’. Although the negative imperative *toŋ* ‘do not’ is marginally acceptable in this sentence, as illustrated in (81), native speakers prefer *am* ‘do not’ here.

(78) VP.013

toŋ hxi
do.not go
V V

Don't go!

(79) VP.049

am hxi
do.not go
V V

Don't go!

(80) VP.014

am en
do.not eat
V V

Don't eat [that]!

(81) VP.060

?*toŋ en
do.not eat
V V

Don't eat [that]!

2.8 Emphasis marker

One emphasis marker has been identified in Plang. It occurs at the end of a clause and gives emphasis to the whole utterance. In (82) *kah* ‘emphasis marker’ is emphasizing the situation of having a lot of wealth. *kah* ‘emphasis marker’ can also emphasize the emotion of the speaker, as in (83).

(82) Brothers.090

kə	ka	ti	pen	ku	kan	kəm	rumruŋ	nə	kah
then	3du	main.part	be	change	situation	many	wealth	that	emphasis.marker
CONJ	PRO	MKR	COP	V	N	ADV	N	DEM	PRT

Then they became in that situation of [having] much wealth.

(83) Brothers.028

pun ke kana ka la ka no ka ti kah
 get whore whatever 3du say 3du that 3du main.part **emphasis.marker**
 V N INDEF PRO V CLI DEM PRO MKR **PRT**

"Get a prostitute - whatever!" she said that, she [did].

2.9 Interjections

Interjections are grammatically independent of phrases or clauses. They express the emotion of the speaker. Six interjections have been identified in Plang. They are listed with their meanings in Table 5. Following the table are examples of each interjection.

Table 5: Interjections in Man Noi Plang

Interjection	Gloss
<i>ai</i>	(emphasis?)
<i>alo</i>	'oh no'
<i>u</i>	'hey'
<i>ma</i>	'oh' (emphasis)
<i>ci</i>	'hey'
<i>o</i>	'oh' (surprise)

The verbal particle *ai* only appears in the Brothers text; therefore it may be part of the speaker's idiolect.³² It may express the speaker's emotion about the proposition or add emphasis. More study needs to be done to see if it appears in other texts and if so, what it means. In (84) *ai* follows the verb *ɾc* 'complete', which is functioning adverbially here.

(84) Brothers.059

kana ka u ta pa ɾc ai la ɾn on
 all.of.them give 1sg to 2du complete *** say 3sg that
 INDEF V CLI PREP PRO V **PRT** V CLI DEM

"All of them - I have given [them] to you completely," he said that.

The interjection *alo* 'oh no' is illustrated in (85). It indicates surprise and dismay on the part of the speaker.

³² The LRP suggested that it is the way the storyteller says *a*, which is a modal particle that reduces the force of an utterance.

(85) Brothers.109

lat ʔɤn huut juŋ cɛŋ juŋ ke la ɤn nɔ alɔ la ɤn nɔ
after that 3sg arrive at side village 3pl say 3sg that **oh.no** say 3sg that
CONJ PRO V PREP LZN N PRO V CLI DEM **EXCL** V CLI DEM

After that he arrived beside their village and he said that, "Oh no!" he said that.

The interjection *u* 'hey' occurs in (86). It is used to get someone's attention or to begin a new topic.

(86) Brothers.007

lat ʔɤn ti la nɔ ailanam u pukɔ mi mɔŋ jaŋ
after that 3sg main.part say that Ailanam **hey** friend 2sg feel be.same.as
CONJ PRO MKR V DEM Nprop **EXCL** N PRO V V

ku
nominalizer
PRT

After that he said this - Ailanam, "Hey, friend, are you feeling the same as what I am saying?"

ɔi 'hey' occurs in (87). It is used to catch the attention of the hearer.

(87) Brothers.039

lat ka la nɔ parasi ɔi maŋ ʔa kan kui kan kana
after that 3du say that Parasi **hey** not 1du situation have situation whatever
CONJ PRO V DEM Nprop **PRT** NEG PRO N V N INDEF

After that they said that, "Parasi, hey, we - a situation - do not have any situation whatsoever."

The interjection *ma* 'oh!' occurs in (88). It expresses emotion on the part of the speaker.

(88) Trip.008

ma k^ha kɔm ka lu
oh! road very top.cont bad
EXCL N ADV MKR Vst

Oh! The road was very bad.

The interjection *ɔ* 'oh' occurs in (89). It expresses surprise on the part of the speaker.

(89) Church.053

ʔu ti ve ɔ la u jɤ ni miti miti
1sg main.part turn **oh** say 1sg do this Midi Midi
PRO MKR V **EXCL** V CLI V PRO Nprop Nprop

I turned - "Oh," I said this, "Midi! Midi!"

2.10 Mood markers

There are three mood markers in Plang.³³ Mood markers indicate the purpose of the speaker in speaking (Kroeger 2005: 163). The question marker *ka* is used at the end of polar questions to indicate interrogative mood.³⁴ In (90) the question marker *ka* occurs at the end of the question *haipah mi* 'are you healthy?' Another example of a question with the question marker *ka* is illustrated in (91) where it occurs after the question *?a la hxi* 'are we going?'

(90) Trip.029

maja	?ε	la	jɾ	ti	ni	haipah	mi	ka
grandmother	1pl	say	do	main.part	this	healthy	2sg	question.mkr
N	PRO	V	V	MKR	DEM	Vst	PRO	PRT

My grandmother said this, "Are you healthy?"

(91) Data.020

?a	la	hxi	ka
1du	IRR	go	question.mkr
PRO	PRT	V	PRT

Are we going?

Plang has a hortative mood marker, which is a subcategory of the imperative mood. It softens a command. In (92) the hortative mood marker *taŋ* softens the husband's command to his wife to prepare him for a journey. In (93) the hortative mood marker *taŋ* is used with *?ε* '1pl' to exhort the congregation at church to come back next week and study with the speaker.

(92) Brothers.017

pa	taŋ	haŋhen	?tu
2du	hortative	prepare	1sg
PRO	MRK	V	PRO

"You prepare me."

³³ There are four moods in Plang: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and hortatory. The declarative mood and imperative mood do not have any specific markers, so they are not discussed here.

³⁴ Paulsen (1996: 61) reports that Kontoi Plang also uses the particle *ka* to mark yes/no questions.

(93) Church.046

mə	ʔɛ	taŋ	hən	
then	1pl	hortative	study	
CONJ	PRO	MKR	V	

"Then let's study."

The particle *a* seems to reduce the forcefulness of a proposition. This particle occurs in Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1981) where it gives a sense of reduced forcefulness. It is possible that Plang adopted this particle from Mandarin or that this particle is an areal feature. In (94) the particle *a* softens the command *mai ti um* 'write and remember'. In (95) it reduces the forcefulness of the contrast clause.

(94) Church.037

ka	pe	mai	ti	uŋ	a
give	2pl	write	main.part	remember	RF
V	PRO	V	MKR	V	PRT

"[I] will have you write and remember."

(95) Trip.074

siaohə	kʏ	pək	ʏn	juŋ	katʰək	ʔɛ	ti	pək	a	kʰa	katəŋ
Xiao.He	***	ride	3sg	at	truck.bed	1pl	main.part	ride	RF	in	head
Nprop	V	V	CLI	PREP	N	PRO	MKR	V	PRT	PREP	N

Xiao He rode in the truck bed, we rode in the cab.³⁵

2.11 Politeness marker

In (96) *lɿ* does not have an English equivalent, so the translation 'please' is only an approximation. As a politeness marker, it shows deference to the person addressed (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 59). According to native speakers, it is often used when someone arrives from a long arduous journey.

(96) Brothers.070

ʔʏn	ai	lu	kuŋ	ʔɛ	koi	lɿ	koi	lɿ
3sg	***	arrive	father	1pl	slowly	polite	slowly	polite
PRO	PRT	V	N	PRO	ADV	PRT	ADV	PRT

"He arrived! Our father! Slowly, please - slowly, please!"

³⁵ *siaohə* 'Xiao He' is a Mandarin name.