

Sapuan (Səpuar)

Pascale Jacq & Paul Sidwell

Languages of the World/Materials 302

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Abbreviations

3p.	third person
3ps.	third person singular
cf.	compare to
Cl.	classifier
Cop.	copular
Dem.	demonstrative
Dem.f.	demonstrative, feminine
Dem.m.	demonstrative, masculine
Emp.	emphatic
Fut.	future tense
Imp.	imperative
Neg.	negator
Q.	question (yes/no)
y.bro.	younger brother
y.sib.	younger sibling

Sapuan (Səpuar)

1. Introduction

Sapuan is an endangered Mon-Khmer language spoken in Attapeu Province of the Lao PDR. The language has less than 1000 speakers—all but a handful reside in the village Ban Sapuan, which is located on the east bank of the Se Kong river, approximately 40 kms north of Attapeu city, just by the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The Sapuan, who call themselves and their language /səpuar/, practice wet rice cultivation in their isolated hamlet. There is currently no road access, nor is there electric power, telephone and little motorised equipment. All contact and trade with the outside world is by dugout canoe via the meandering Se Kong river.

Part of the village hugs the river bank, while the rest is spread over five square kilometres of paddy fields, framed by low hills, and dominated from the east by the foothills of the Annamite Chain and the west by the spectacular Boloven Plateau.

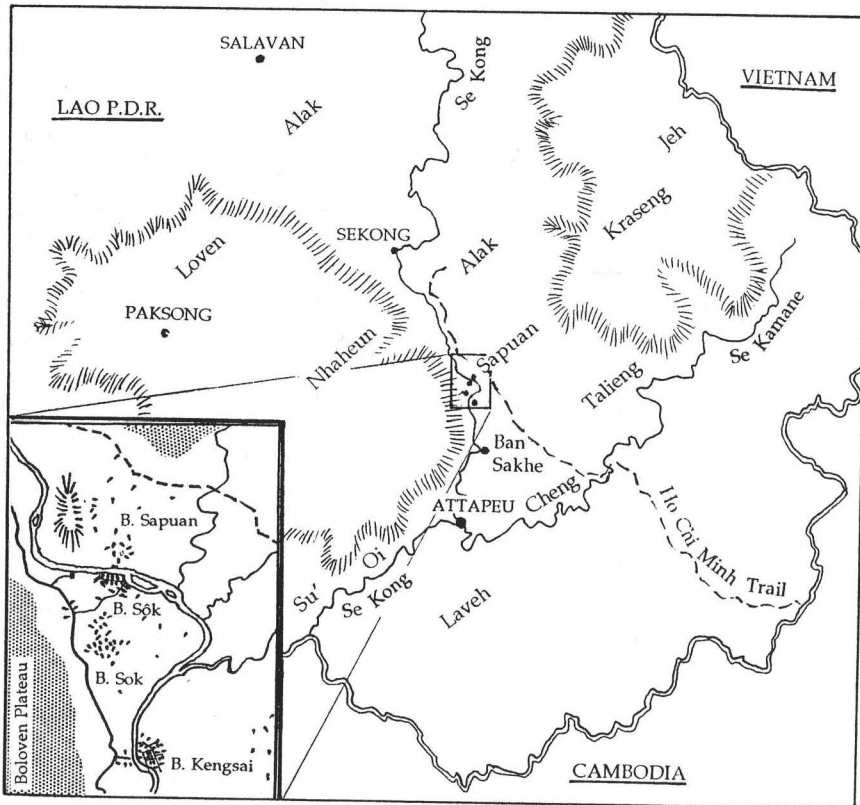
The relative isolation of the Sapuan is coming to an end as the 21st century dawns—from the village one can already see a line of high voltage transmission towers from the enormous Se Pian Hydroelectric Project climbing 900 metres up the escarpment of the plateau. The villagers know that they must adapt to this new world, and ultimately assimilate to Lao society to survive. On their own initiative they have begun to build a magnificent Buddhist *Wat*, which they hope will attract tourists and impress the local Laos.

In 1998 we were fortunate enough to meet a Sapuan speaker in Attapeu city, and subsequently we were invited to visit Ban Sapuan as guests of the village chiefs. During our visit we were able to make some recordings of Sapuan speech and folk music, and observe their traditional culture.

On the opposite bank of the Sekong lie two other villages—Ban Sôk (also spelled Sork, Sawk) and Ban Sok. Most sources list a language Sork or Sawk, which is presumed to be close to Sapuan. We are able to report that Ban Sôk is actually a Lao

village! However, the nearby Ban Sok ([sɔk]) is Bahnaric, and our Sapuan hosts stated that Sok *is* intelligible with Sapuan.

We were not the first linguists to visit Ban Sapuan. Earlier this century the Thai scholar Phraya Prachakij-karacak visited the same area, and his recordings were recently translated into English and published with commentary by David Thomas and Sophana Srichampa (1995). This data consists of a few hundred Sapuan words, seven sentences, and two paragraphs of discussion. Phraya's data is very valuable, even though he used a Thai derived transcription system which does not reliably record some sounds, particularly glottals, liquids and palatals, especially in the word final position. Thanks to our direct observation of the language, we are able to interpret Phraya's forms correctly, and incorporate them into this study.



Map of Se Kong river valley.

Insert shows Ban Sapuan, Ban Ban Sôk, Ban Sok and Ban Kengsai.
Other neighbouring Bahnaric languages indicated.

2. Classification

Sapuan is self evidently a West-Bahnaric (WB) language—however, the extent of the WB grouping, and its internal genetic structure, has not been seriously investigated as yet. Thomas & Srichampa offered the following tentative classification based upon "A comparison of the distinctive vocabulary or distinctive forms of words" (1995:306) (note: spellings according to original)

West Bahnaric

Northwestern

Nyaheun (Yaheun, Nhahon)

Loven (Boriwen, Boloven)

West Central

Sork (Sawk)

Sapuan

"Ta-oy"

Su' (?)

Southern

Laveh (Rawe)

Brao Krung

Palau

Su' (?)

Central

Cheng (Jeng)

Oi

Northeastern (North Bahnaric?)

Kraseng

Trieng

However, the above groupings could be attributed to undetected lexical borrowings, hence the classification may be simply geographical rather than genetic. Therefore we decided to investigate the problem. Unfortunately the historical phonology is not helpful for determining the classification, especially as the WB languages are very close phonologically. This being the case, the only tool available is lexicostatistics.

The results of our lexicostatistical survey are presented below in the lexicostatistical matrix. This is based on the Swadesh 100 list for all WB languages for which we have sufficient data, plus other Bahnaric languages which have been linked to WB at various times. Special attention was given to identifying and removing loans, and only cognates which could be justified by historical phonology were counted (see Jacq & Sidwell forthcoming).

The matrix reveals some interesting results. The most important is that a clear sub-grouping is established of WB languages sharing between 68% and 78% of basic lexicon. The languages are Brao, Laveh, Cheng, Oi, Loven, Nhaheun and Sapuan—these can be considered West-Bahnaric Proper (WBP). It is possible to relate Trieng to WBP, as it shares at least 51% basic lexicon with these languages. The Trieng data

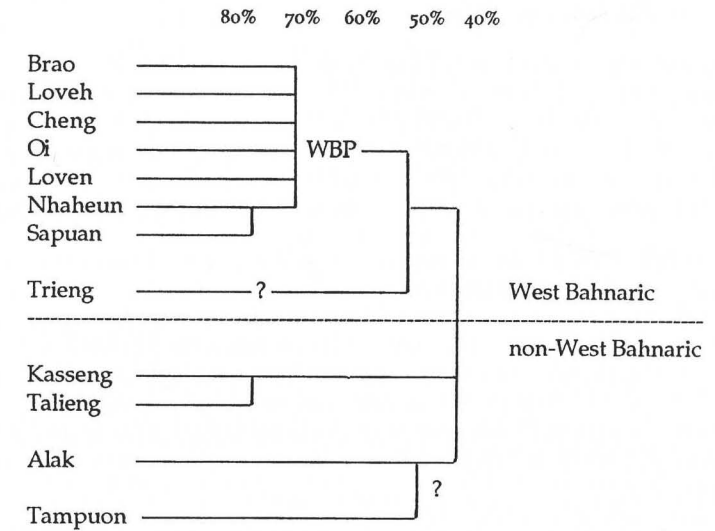
is problematic because we have only one wordlist—it was collected by Carolyn Miller (1988) from a refugee in a camp in Thailand who came from the Saravane area—we have no other data to compare it to. According to this list Trieng shares rather high cognate percentages with Loven and Nhaheun, which may best be explained as reflecting contact loans (the latter two languages are spoken on the Boloven Plateau as far north as Saravane). However, without data from other speakers to confirm one way or another, the possibility exists that Trieng is not especially related to WBP, and the figures above reflect the speech of one man which has been affected by special circumstances. The other languages treated above show no more affinity to WBP than they do to North Bahnaric or South Bahnaric.

Lexicostatistical matrix of West Bahnaric and some other languages:

	Bra	Lvh	Che	Oi	Lvn	Nha	Sap	Tri	Tal	Kas	Alak	Tam
Brao		75	74	70	71	70	71	56	49	51	48	48
Lovoh	75		72	71	68	70	74	59	49	51	48	46
Cheng	74	72		74	68	73	73	51	47	49	48	41
Oi	70	71	74		71	72	69	51	43	45	43	42
Loven	71	68	68	71		76	72	66	53	57	51	48
Nhaheun	70	70	73	72	76		78	61	52	52	51	48
Sapuan	71	74	73	69	72	78		55	47	51	48	43
Trieng	56	59	51	51	66	61	55		51	48	42	37
Talieng	49	49	47	43	53	52	47	51		76	45	39
Kasseng	51	51	49	45	57	52	51	48	76		43	40
Alak	48	48	48	43	51	51	48	42	45	43		52
Tampuon	48	46	41	42	48	48	43	37	39	40	52	

Among the WBP languages some further sub-grouping can be suggested. Significantly Sapuan and Nhaheun show 78% of common basic vocabulary, yet Sapuan is spoken on the valley floor on the east bank of the Se Kong, while Nhaheun is spoken on the Boloven Plateau to the west of the Se Kong river. Interestingly Nhaheun oral history records that they originally migrated to the plateau from the area of Ban Sork and Ban Sapuan (Nhaheun has subsequently innovated a number of sound changes which give it a distinctive character from all other WB languages, see Ferlus 1971, 1998). The 76% figure for Loven and Nhaheun may be best explained as resulting from the history of contact between those two languages on the plateau. Contact may also be the reason behind the somewhat higher cognate densities shared by Cheng and Oi, and Brao and Lovoh.

With the above considerations in mind, we can suggest the following *Stammbaum*:



The inclusion of Trieng in West Bahnaric is very problematic, and should be investigated further. The true positions of the non-West Bahnaric languages needs to be determined by comparison to the entirety of Bahnaric.



View of Ban Sapuan looking southwest from the Ho Chi Minh Trail (by Jacq)

3 Phonetics/Phonology

3.1 Phonological Word

The phonological word in Sapuan is typically Mon-Khmer, having so-called "sesquisyllabic" structure (for a recent discussion see Haiman 1998). Words can be monosyllabic or disyllabic. The simplest words are unaffixed roots with the structure CV(C), which we call *mainsyllables*. This structure can be augmented with the addition of an unstressed additional syllable, which may or may not be a prefix, and we call these *minorsyllables*. Roots may also be infixes, and reanalysed as disyllables.

Minorsyllables consist, phonemically, of consonants only. However the phonotaxis licences only certain consonant clusters, and thus an epenthetic vowel is inserted after the first consonant of a word which would otherwise have an unacceptable cluster. The timbre of this vowel varies with the articulation of adjacent consonants, but has no significant value, its only role is a 'housekeeping' one, and we write it as /ə/ throughout. Normally it is unstressed and short, although in careful speech, for example when exemplifying a word for the benefit of the hapless fieldworker, the minorsyllable vowel may be given some increased length and stress, e.g. [ka:dam] = /kədām/ 'crab'.

Typically of a Bahnaric language, clusters of rising sonority are tolerated, most frequently of stop + liquid and stop + /h/, so usually there is no noticable vowel epenthesis, although it is observed sometimes even in these environments. This being the case, various scholars, especially those connected with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), adopt an approach that would treat such words as /kɔ/ 'husband' and /pɛ/ 'husked rice' as monosyllables with complex onsets—however, our observations of native speaker intuitions lead us to adopt the general principle that the mainsyllable is maximally CV(C) at the (morpho-)phonemic level, and to treat the initial consonant of words in the last two examples as being underlyingly disyllabic, but monosyllabified according to the surface phonotaxis.

The general poverty of morphology means that there is little in the way of morphophonemics in Sapuan. One alternation we did observe is typical of Bahnaric—a mainsyllable initial /r/ fortitions to [dr] if it is preceded by [n]. e.g. [cəndrāj] 'comb' is phonemically /cənrāj/. This phenomenon even occurs across word boundaries, e.g. [ʔin drɛ? lew] 'she's already gone' which phonemically is /ʔin rɛ? lew/. Smith (1979) describes the same process in Sedang. In fact, we observed that word initial /r/ often tends to be pronounced a bit 'pre-stopped', such as [ʔr] or [dr] anyway, and this is something we observe with other WB languages as well.

According to our model, words may consist of one or two syllables, either of which may be open or closed. Mainsyllables are obligatorily stressed and must contain phonemic vowels. Minorsyllables have a syllable peak which may be realised as an unstressed vowel according to language specific rules. Minorsyllables are

constructed from a reduced set of consonants compared to the inventory available for mainsyllables. The structural possibilities, with examples, are as follows:

CV	ca	'eat'
C - CV	khɔ	'chop'
Cə - CV	kəpi	'buffalo'
CəC - CV	kəse	'angry'
CVC	bar	'two'
C - CVC	tham	'eight'
Cə - CVC	pənr	'wing'
CəC - CVC	kərdiaŋ	'bone'

3.2 Consonants

3.2.1 Mainsyllable Initials

The Sapuan mainsyllable initial consonants are represented as follows:

	labial	dental	alveopal.	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		c	k	ʔ
voiced stops	b	d		ɟ	g	
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
resonants	v	l	r	j		
fricatives			s			h

The mainsyllable initial inventory has a number of features which are somewhat unusual and need to be discussed.

1) We recorded no preglottalised segments, nor did Phraya. This is significant, as most Bahnaric languages have at least a series of glottalised stops or nasals or both. It appears that Sapuan has historically merged preglottalised segments with plain ones in all cases. This change has a precedent in South Bahnaric generally, where it appears that preglottalisation was also lost in all environments, although it was later reintroduced, frequently via borrowings from Vietnamese (Sidwell forthcoming). Sapuan is not under direct Vietnamese influence, but it is heavily influenced by Lao, which does not have preglottalisation.

2) We have chosen to represent the labial resonant as /v/ because the articulation tends to be labio-dental rather than bilabial. This may be conditioned by the influence of labiodental approximant of Lao which in IPA is properly represented as [ʋ].

3) The fricative /s/ varies in articulation from dental to alveopalatal, sometimes with a somewhat retroflexed character. This variation in the articulation of the coronal fricative is normal in Bahnaric, for example Thomas (1971:35) says of the corresponding sound in Chrau (South Bahnaric) “/s/ is a sibilant, varying from dental to palatal.” Phraya’s recording is phonetic, rather than phonemic, so he records some words with initial *s* e.g. *sək* ‘hair’, *səj* ‘rotten’ and others with *c^h* e.g. *c^hut* ‘honey’, *c^həj* ‘five’, *c^hε?* ‘horse’ when it is absolutely clear that in such cases the initial is the same /s/ phoneme.

3.2.2 Mainsyllable Terminals

The Sapuan mainsyllable terminals are represented as follows:

	labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
resonants	w	r	j		
fricatives			x		h

The mainsyllable terminals can be interpreted as corresponding to the mainsyllable initials without contrastive voicing. Some points require comment:

- 1) The resonant /w/ is definitely bilabial, rather than labiodental. Phonemic /w/ does not occur after rounded vowels, but these may be pronounced with a [w] off-glide in open syllables.
- 2) Terminal /r/ is sometimes pronounced as a retroflex lateral, and sometimes as the trilled [r] or approximant [ɹ]. We found in our fieldwork, that these sounds are in free variation, although the retroflex lateral sound is predominantly found after the /a/ vowel, e.g. [pənǎ] /pənǎr/ ‘wing’, [səpuar ~ səpuə] /səpuar/ ‘Sapuan’. We recorded one exception to this—the word for ‘two’ was consistently pronounced [bar] rather than [bal]. We quizzed our informants whether words with [a], [ǎ] could be pronounced with [ar, ǎr] instead, and they considered these acceptable.
- 3) The palatal fricative /x/ is only very lightly pronounced, and we found that we had to test some minimal pairs (e.g. /ruaj/ ‘fly’ vs. /ruax/ ‘elephant’; /tuh/ ‘ashes’ vs. /tux/ ‘head’) many times with our Sapuan informants before we were confident to transcribe [x]. This sound is equivalent to the terminal which is normally written *jh* or *ih* by SIL scholars working with Mon-Khmer languages. We have found it convenient to use the *x* symbol as we are disinclined to using a digraph.
- 4) Terminal stops are unreleased and can be difficult to distinguish—in particular an inexperienced ear may confuse /c/ with /t/, /k/ of /ʔ/. We note that in Phraya’s list many words are recorded with terminal [t] when we clearly heard [c]. We are

confident that in these cases we have transcribed the forms correctly because before palatal terminals the mainsyllable vowels tend to glide to [i], so that, for example, /toc/ ‘all, finished’ sounds like [toⁱt] or [toⁱʔ] (this effect also accounts for the tendency among fieldworkers to transcribe the palatal fricative as [jh]).

3.2.3 Minorsyllable Consonants

The Sapuan minorsyllable consonants are restricted to two series of stops, and a single series of continuents only:

	labial	dental	alveopal.	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		c	k	ʔ
voiced stops	b	d		ɟ	g	
continents	m	n, l	r	s		

The minorsyllable terminals in native words appear to be restricted to /n/ and /r/—these are infixes which obligatorily occur after the first consonant of a word. There is also an influx of Lao borrowings which are often pronounced with two or three full syllables, such as the name of the provincial capital Attapeu [ʔătăpi], but in this study we concentrate on the phonology of the native Sapuan vocabulary.

Various collocational restrictions apply to the minorsyllable initials and mainsyllable initials. The most important of these is that two consonants of the same place and manner of articulation should not occur in sequence, with or without an intervening [ə]. This restriction may be relaxed for expressive language. Another feature is that it appears that voicing is only contrastive before mainsyllable initial continuents—stops tend to assimilate the voice of the following stop. Note that Phraya tends to record sequences of voiced stops, but we have standardised the minorsyllable stops to voiceless in this environment. For example, Phraya records *bəde?* for /pədəh/ ‘earth’—[p] and [b] do not contrast before /d/; note further that neither source records, for example, words with [bət-]. On the other hand the contrast is secure before continuents, e.g. /blaj/ ‘thread’ vs. /plāj/ ‘fruit’.

It is possible that minorsyllable initials /m/ and /n/ are in complementary distribution. There is a strong tendency for nasals to assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. If there is only one underlying nasal, we cautiously suggest that the value is /m/ on the basis of the example /mənūj/ ‘mar’. However, if there are two nasals, forms with an initial sequence /nəm-/ would be possible, although we have not (yet) recorded any. Presently the data is too thin to decide the matter clearly, and we continue to distinguish labial and dental nasals in minorsyllables.

We list the collocations of monoconsonantal minorsyllables and mainsyllable initials in our data below. There are many gaps reflecting the lack of data, but we feel that it

is still useful to present what we have recorded because it illustrates the collocational restrictions and the occurrence of the minorsyllable vowel.

pl	bl					kl	gl	həl	ʔəl		ml
pr	br	tr	dr	cr	ɟr	kr		hər	ʔər		ndr
ph		th			ɟh	kh					
pəm	bəm	təm		cəm		kəm			səm		ləm
pən	bən			cən		kən			sən		mən
									səɟ		
pəŋ	bəŋ	təŋ							səŋ	rəŋ	
		təp				kəp			səp		
						kəb				rəb	ləb
pət						kət	hət				nt
pəd						kəd			səd		
						kəɟ					
				cək							
pəs						kəs					
		təv				kəv					
						kəj					
				cəʔ							

* Note that the sequence [ndr] reflects /nr/ phonemically.

3.3 Vowels (mainsyllables)

In order to check the phonemic status of the vowels recorded in our data we have plotted the collocations of vowels and terminals into the matrix below. Similar matrices were prepared for Chrau by Thomas (1971) and by Blood for Mnong (Blood 1976). However, before examining the table a number of points need to be discussed.

The first point is that the data at our disposal are rather limited—the matrix is prepared on the basis of the lexicon of 520 words which is given in this volume. We would have preferred to use a list of at least a thousand words for greater confidence, but circumstances have limited the amount of data we have been able to collect until now.

The Sapuan vowel inventory resembles closely those of other Bahnaric languages, particularly West Bahnaric. Also, because of the strong influence of Lao (speakers code-switched frequently between Lao and Sapuan during our visit) some vowels are recorded which are typical of Lao but are usually absent or less frequent in Bahnaric languages which are not under Lao influence.

The matrix is divided horizontally with long vowels above and short vowels below. However, the treatment of vowel length is a little problematic. Firstly, we are

presently of the opinion that it is the long vowels which are the phonemically unmarked set. This might seem a little odd, especially to scholars who are not specialists in these languages, but it accords with our own observations. Firstly, words with long vowels are more numerous than those with short; secondly, speakers seem to have considerable licence to pronounce these vowels pretty much as long or as short as they like, according to the circumstances of the moment, whereas vowels which are phonemically short must be pronounced short at all times. Therefore we treat the vowel system as having two sets of vowels—a normal, unmarked set which we unsatisfactorily call 'long' and a set which is clearly marked for length which we call 'short'.

Next, the reader needs to be aware that in some environments the length contrast is neutralised—before glottals [ʔ, h] there is no length distinction, although vowels tend to be pronounced somewhat short; in open rimes (with zero terminal) there is also no distinctive length, and all vowels tend to be pronounced long.

Matrix of Sapuan rime collocations (note that some fields are shaded — these reflect gaps which are systematic or otherwise significant):

	p	m	w	t	n	r	c	ɟ	j	x	k	ŋ	ʔ	h	ø
ia	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x		x	x
i	x	x	x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x
e		x		x	x						x	x	x		x
ɛ			x	x			x		x			x			
ia		x		x	x	x			x			x	x	x	x
i		x		x	x				x			x	x	x	x
ə	x	x		x	x				x			x	x	x	
a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
ua				x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x			x
u		x						x	x	x			x	x	x
o	x	x		x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
ɔ	x	x		x	x	x					x	x	x	x	x
ĩ		x		x	x		x					x			
ẽ	x		x	x	x							x			
ě			x	x			x		x			x			
ĩ		x		x								x	x		
ǝ	x											x			
ǎ	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x			
ũ				x	x			x	x	x	x	x			
õ	x	x				x		x	x	x	x	x			
õ	x	x			x						x	x			

Because we treat the 'long' vowels as unmarked, we have decided to depart from strict IPA principles, and not mark these vowels with a semi-colon (:), but to leave

them unmarked. We write phonemically short vowels with a haček. Note that because the phonetically short vowels which precede glottals do not have phonemic length we do not write them with the haček. These conventions for indicating vowel length are similar to those used by most SIL scholars who were working on Bahnaric languages in the 60s and 70s.¹

There are three diphthongs: /ia, ia, ua/. Phonetically the second element is conditioned by both the first element and the terminal consonant, so that, for example, /ia/ varies phonetically from [ia] to [iɛ] to [ie] etc. We have not represented this variation in the matrix.

A number of patterns are evident from the matrix, although none of these suggest that a radical reanalysis of the vowel system is required.

Back vowels [u] and [ua] may be in complementary distribution. [ua] does not occur before labials or glottals; [u] does not occur before dentals or velars; however, they do appear to contrast before palatals and zero. It seems odd to us that [u] may be absent before dentals, it may reflect an accident of the data, and we treat [ua] and [u] as separate phonemes. Significantly, [ũ] has a similar distribution to [ua], and it is our impression that in Bahnaric languages generally diphthongs tend to pattern like the short vowels.

Both [ǎ] and [ĩ] are very scarce in our data. Note also that most of the examples of [ĩ] are from Phraya's list, and it is perhaps significant that Phraya does not record [ǎ] at all as a mainsyllable vowel—it is possible therefore that [ǎ] and [ĩ] are really the same phoneme. Unfortunately we have not yet tested this problem in the field, and we cannot decide the issue with the present data, so we treat both sounds provisionally as separate phonemes.

For the present we treat Sapuan as having the following phonemic vowels:

ĩ	ĩ	ũ	i	ĩ	u	ia	ia	ua
ě	ǎ	ǒ	e	ə	o			
ě	ǎ	ǔ	ɛ	a	ɔ			

¹ Smith's Sedang orthography, and Thomas' Chrau orthographies are based upon Vietnamese conventions, with some modifications to cope with the differences in sound systems. Interestingly Vietnamese has 9 long and 2 short vowels—short /a/ is written ă, and short /ə/ is written â (Nguyễn 1997:22).

4 Grammar

Sapuan is typologically a normal Mainland Southeast Asian language. Today it is an *isolating* language with only remnants of a more elaborate morphological system. The syntax is *left-headed*, such that modifiers typically follow their head within a phrase. The basic word order is SVO. The grammar of Sapuan shows the effects of centuries of contact with Lao, which is a Tai/Kadai language, unrelated to Mon-Khmer. In this chapter we present an analysis of the grammatical phenomena we recorded.

4.1 Word Classes

The Sapuan lexicon can be analysed in terms of two large open classes, *nominals* and *verbals*, and some closed sets of grammatical words.

The open class of *nominals* includes nouns, pronouns, kin terms and adjectives. The syntactic distinction between nouns and adjectives is that nouns cannot modify adjectives, whereas both nouns and adjectives can modify nouns. For example, below one can see this illustrated in possessive constructions:

doc tɔŋ so?
point tool crossbow
'The tip of an arrow.'

səm tih ʔǎj pɛ lǎŋ
house big I 3 house.CL.
'Three big houses of mine.'

We discuss pronouns and kin terms in detail in a separate section below (4.4).

For *verbals* we distinguish two major classes: common verbs and adverbs. Of the common verbs a subset are used as modals indicating such categories as desire, need or obligation, etc. e.g.

ʔǎj ɲon dɔk ndrɛŋ
I want go together
'I want to come too.'

ʔǎj tɔŋ pǎŋ ɲuj
I must shoot deer
'I have to go hunting.'

ʔāj mət ʔok dak plāj braw
 I love drink water fruit coconut
 'I love drinking coconut milk.'

It appears that modals are not used to indicate ability—it is enough to use the main verb by itself:

ʔāj re dak
 I swim water
 'I am swimming / I can swim.'

However, one can indicate inability with the modal /təlh/:

ʔāj təlh blək
 I cannot speak
 'I cannot speak (the language) / I don't know how to say it.'

The use of an 'able' verb like /dāw/ in the modal position indicates past tense, modelled on Lao syntax (see discussion of tense in section 4.7).

Just as nouns can modify nouns, verbs can modify verbs, and in this way create serial verb constructions:

ʔāj ʔāj ma dök tia küntəp
 tomorrow I Fut. go away Bangkok
 'Tomorrow I will go (away) to Bangkok.'

me cök dāj ʔin ja pə bān
 3p. take catch 3ps. Cop. father village
 'They chose him to be village chief.'

me dök ʔŋ
 3p. go stand up
 'He stood up.'

Verbs, and noun phrases, can also be further modified by adverbs, which typically follow the verb/verb complex. Mon-Khmer languages are well known for having substantial vocabulary of adverbials, often called *expressives* or *descriptives*, which can have sound-symbolic and onomatopoeic forms. In our brief visit to Ban Sapuan we did not actively elicit such vocabulary, as we concentrated on the core vocabulary and grammar, so we cannot treat these in detail here. Examples we did record include:

mia tʔ tʔ mia klāj klāj
 rain little bit/drizzle rain a lot/heavily
 'drizzling a little bit' 'rain pouring down'

We also noted some interjections. Typical of the linguistic area Sapuan speakers use:

/ʔə/ for 'yes' and general agreement/acknowledgement.

/ʔɔ/ 'oh!' indicates mild surprise/disappointment.

/nəʔ/ is a sentence final emphatic particle, e.g.

ləvəŋ li to ja dak kōp nəʔ
 beware Imp. anim.Cl. crocodile bite Emp.
 'Watch out! The crocodiles will bite!'

The closed word classes (grammatical words) are dealt with in separate sections which describe the different grammatical sub-systems of the language. These follow the discussion of sentence types below (4.3).

4.2 Morphology

Sapuan retains only vestiges of the Mon-Khmer morphological system of prefixation and infixation which is presumed to descend from Proto-Austroasiatic (see Haiman 1998 for a recent discussion re Khmer). While we have observed considerable productive affixation in other WB languages, particularly Loven and Nhaheun, we found very little productivity in Sapuan. However, various words recognisably show typical WB affixes, such as prefixes /pə-/ /tə-/ /kə-/ and infix /ə-/. However, the semantics are now confused in many cases. Here are some examples from our wordlist:

pədik 'rise, go up'	cf. dīk 'climb'
pətiah 'go down'	cf. tiah 'downward, downstream'
təkuan (Phraya trəkuan) 'baby'	cf. kuan 'child'
trəmuh 'meet, greet (to face)'	cf. muh 'nose'
trəkət (Phraya trəkət) 'moonlit'	cf. cəkət 'moon'
trəŋu (Phraya trəŋuu) 'face'	cf. təŋu 'temple, forehead'
kərtih (Phraya krətii) 'big'	cf. tih 'big, large'
kəpuat (Phraya kəpuat) 'pinch'	cf. təpuat 'itch'
jrōŋ 'tall'	cf. ʔŋ 'stand up'

Note the nominalising infix /ən-/:

pənār 'wing'	cf. pār 'to fly'
cana 'food'	cf. ca 'eat'

And /ən-/marking reciprocity:

pənəm 'hit each other'	cf. bəm 'punch, hit'
------------------------	----------------------

Apparently the old morphological causative has given way to a periphrastic causative using /präj/ e.g.

ʔäj präj dām bəm bāk dēj
I cause Dam hit Mr. Deng
'I made Dam hit Mr. Deng.'

The following suggest a directional morpheme /sə-/:

səŋaj 'far'
səma 'right (side)'
səʔiaw 'left (side)'

4.3 Syntax

Sapuan has very strict word order requiring Subject Verb Object (SVO). Speakers have considerable licence to delete arguments and verbs pragmatically so that effectively the minimum sentence is one word. Typical of the Southeast Asian linguistics area the language is *left-headed* in its syntax.

4.3.1 Intransitive Clauses

Normally there is no distinction between *attributive* and *predicative* adjectival phrases—modifiers must always follow the head:

ʔiar tih
chicken large
'A big chicken / the chicken is large'

sāj caʔ ʔin ʔin
you beautiful much much
'You're very beautiful.'

ʔin ɲrōŋ
3ps. tall
'He/it is tall.'

ʔoh ʔe bōk dām
y.sib. Dem.m Mr. Dam
'He is Mr. Dam.'

In contrast, *existential* clauses behave like transitives in that the thing "which exists" must follow the 'get, have' verb /bīc/ but these are intransitive (or *phoney transitives*)

because the thing which exists is clearly the subject and there is no object/patient in such clauses:

da sūk səpuar bīc təm ləŋ
where village Sapuan have trunk wood
'At Ban Sapuan there are trees.'

There is also a copula /ja/ which we recorded in the following existential constructions:

ʔin ja pə bān
3ps. Cop. father village
'He is the village chief.'

mε cōk dāj ʔin ja pə bān
3p. take catch 3ps. Cop. father village
'They chose him to be the village chief.'

ta ja ʔisāj
Neg. Cop. problem
'Nothing to worry about.'

In a possessive constructions /bīc/ can be used like a regular transitive verb:

sāj bīc kuan tham ra
you have child 8 person Cl.
'You have eight children.'

mε bīc mu ʔin ra
3p. have friend many person Cl.
'He has many friends.'

Very common in speech are *phoney* transitive clauses with transitive verbs, such as for describing instruments or making comparatives. The subjects of these clauses are not true transitive subjects as they have no agentive role, e.g.:

ʔərāj jaʔ ceh
pestle pound rice (unhusked)
'It's a pestle, for pounding rice.'

taʔ brūx kraʔ
resemble person old
'(He) looks like an old person.'

nāj sūk nε dām ɲrōŋ kua mu
in village Dem. Dam tall more.than friend
'In this village, Dam is taller than his friends.'

Simple intransitives use proto-typical 'intransitive' verbs such as /klihat/ 'to fall', /dɔk/ 'go', /kua/ 'sit' which have only one core argument: the subject, e.g.

măk braw klihat
fruit coconut fall
'The coconut's fallen.'

?ăj ma dɔk pəmij
I Fut. go swidden
'I will go to the rice field.'

?ăj ma tiah hom dak
I Fut. downward bathe water
'I will go down to bathe.'

4.3.2 Transitive Clauses

In transitive clauses objects/patients/recipients normally follow the verb:

?ăj blɔk mǎŋ səpuar
I speak language Sapuan
'I speak Sapuan language.'

?ăj mət (?ok) dak măk braw
I love (drink) water fruit coconut
'I love (drinking) coconut milk.'

?ăj ɲoŋ ca trǎm cǎk dǎm
I want eat meat body red
'I want to eat beef.'

It is possible to vary the position of the object for pragmatic reasons such as focusing/topicalisation. However the SV order is strictly maintained:

ɔ di mu ?ăm na? ?ăj
dog that friend give yet I
'(That's) the dog my friend gave me.'

The fronted noun phrase must be followed by the complementiser /di/ 'that, which', otherwise the above sentence would carry the meaning 'My friend's dog gave (it-referent unknown) to me'.

In ditransitive constructions the indirect object comes last:

mɛ ?ăm tɔŋ so? na? ?ɔh kb
3p. give tool crossbow yet y.sib. man
'He gave the arrow to the man.'

?ăj ?ăm phǎp na? bǎk dǎm ?ăm na? bə?
I give book yet Mr. Dam give yet father
'I gave the book to Dam to give to his father.'

In general Sapuan speech, most core arguments in a sentence, if unambiguous or previously mentioned, may be omitted from the construction. The most commonly left out arguments are /?ăj/ 'I' in intransitive constructions, or /sǎj/ 'you' in transitive constructions as the speaker is unambiguously addressing the hearer. In the following examples (from our recordings) the missing arguments are underlined in the translations.

jǔm poc
tasty very
'This coconut milk is very tasty!'

cet mət ɲak poc
love love difficult very
'I love speaking Sapuan, but it's very difficult'

?ăj bih jam
I come visit
'I have come to visit you.'

ta blɔk lh
Neg. speak Q.
'You can't speak Sapuan, right?'

ɔ cɔk lh cɔk vjŋ
oh take Q. take return
'Oh, are you taking it? Take it back!.'

4.3.3 Compound Sentences

Coordinating conjunctions are not normally used, so compound sentences are simply formed by conjoining clauses, as in the following examples:

ɲak pɔc kəɗaj
difficult very okay
'Sapuan language is very difficult, but that's okay.'

dām lɔŋ pɛŋ dɛŋ pɔn
Dam try sing Deng dance
'Dam will sing and Deng will dance.'

bāk dām pəŋuat dɔk pǎŋ ɲuj
Mr. Dam hungry go shoot deer
'Mr. Dam is hungry so he goes to shoot deer.'

dām cǐ? ho? miar lɛw ma bih ho? sūk
Dam return towards ricefield already Fut. come towards village
'Dam returned to the field but he will come back to the village later.'

dɔk vǎj tɔ dǎj miɑj tɔ nǎn
go fast more can tired more only
'The faster you go, the more tired you get.'

dām dɔk ho? nok ʔin dɔk ho? pəmij
Dam go towards out 3ps. go towards swidden
'Dam went outside to his swidden.'

dɛŋ bɪc kuan ʔin ra ʔin bɪc kvǎn sūk
Deng have child many person.Cl. 3ps. have happy
'Deng has many children so he is happy.'

In the last example note that /ʔin/ 'third person singular' refers to 'Deng' the subject of the first clause. The normal process of ellipsis does not occur here, otherwise the sentence would translate as "Deng has many happy children".

Showing the strong influence of Lao syntax, speakers do use Lao conjunctions on occasions to create compound sentences. Compare:

dām dɔk ho? bri ma pǎŋ ɲuj
Dam go towards forest Fut. shoot deer
'Dam does to the forest (in order) to shoot deer.'

dām pǎŋ ɲuj phia bɪc cəna ca
Dam shoot deer in.order have food eat
'Dam shoots deer in order to have food to eat.'

4.3.4 Complex Sentences

The construction of complex sentences appears to be modelled on Lao syntax. Subordinate clauses are introduced with the complementiser /tǎj/ 'see' which parallels the Lao use of /va/ 'say'. e.g.

mɛ vǎw na? (ʔǎj) tǎj klɔ dɔk tia küntɛp
3p. say yet (I) see man go away Bangkok
'He told me that the man went to Bangkok.'

mɛ vǎw tǎj bɔk dām
3p. say see Mr. Dam
'They call him Mr. Dam (They say that he is Mr. Dam).'

ʔǎj nɛm tǎj ʔɔ? ʔɛ ɲrɔŋ
I look see eld.bro. Dem.m tall
'I see that that man/brother is tall.'

And /tǎj/ can be used as a regular transitive verb:

ʔǎj tǎj ʔɔ? ʔɛ ɲrɔŋ
I see eld.bro. Dem.m tall
'I see that tall man/brother.'

In the following example the subordinate clause is the object of /ceh/ 'to request':

ʔin cɛh dɪk təm mǎk braw
3ps. request climb trunk fruit coconut
'She's asking if she can climb the coconut tree.'

4.3.5 Reflexives & Reciprocals

For reciprocal actions in Sapuan one uses verbs with specifically reciprocal meanings. In the following example the verb /pənəm/ 'hit each other' is derived from /bəm/ 'punch' by infixation (note also the use of the Lao /kǎp/ 'with, together'):

ʔǎj kǎp bāk dām pənəm
I with Mr. Dam hit.each.other
'Dam and I hit each other.'

There are no specific reflexive morphemes, instead reflexive action is indicated by repetition of the agent:

ʔǎj vǎt ʔǎj ʔǎj dah ʔǎj
I hit.with.obj I I slap I
'I hit myself (with something).' 'I slapped myself.'

4.3.6 Negation

Any verb or verb complex can be negated with the negative particle /ta/ before it, e.g.

?āj ta tāj kb
I Neg. see man
'I didn't see the man.'

?āj ta ɲoɲ tāj kb
I Neg. want see man
'I don't want to see the man.'

me? bə? ta mət ?āj
mother father Neg. love I
'My parents don't love me.'

?āj ta ɲoɲ ca plāj māk braw
I Neg. want eat fruit fruit coconut
'I don't want to eat coconut.'

?āj ta dək
I Neg. go
'I'm not going.'

?āj ta dāw dək
I Neg. able go
'I can't go.'
*'I can't walk.'

But for behaviour which is innate to humans or animals such as walking and speaking, such actions cannot be simply negated with /ta/. Instead the /təlh/ 'cannot' (in the sense of lacking the ability/skill/facility etc.) is used as a modal before the verb. We suspect that the /təlh/ modal is formed by the fusion of the negator /ta/ and the question particle /lh/. e.g.

?āj təlh bək māj law
I cannot speak language Lao
'I don't know how to speak Lao.'

?āj təlh dək
I cannot go
'I can't walk.'

?in təlh re dak
3ps. cannot swim water
'He can't swim.'

4.3.7 Interrogatives

Sapuan has a simple way of generating interrogatives by adding question particles to any declarative sentence type. Sapuan speakers frequently use the sentence final particles (which form a subgroup of interrogatives). The sentence final question particles /lh/ and /la/ have the simple function of changing the declarative into a yes/no question. In answering this type of question, one repeats the verb used in the question, adding the negative prefix /ta/ to imply any negative connotation. Examples are:

ta bək lh
Neg. speak Q.
'(You) can't speak (Sapuan), right?'

?ə cək lh cək vɪɲ
oh take Q. take return
'Oh, are (you) taking (it)? Take (it) back!'

kua niam la
sit good Q.
'Are you well?'

cəɲ puar lew na? ?ən cəɲ la
eat rice (cooked) already yet ? eat Q.
'(I've) eaten already, (you) haven't eaten yet, have you?'

There are some other interrogatives, and these may occur in fairly free word order, and may be reduplicated. One in high frequency is /ɲaj/, which has a broad semantic field of 'what/which/who' determined by the information being requested. It appears most often in sentence final position, although we did record it in initial position on one occasion.

?in təɲāj sāj bəm ɲaj
3ps. day you do what
'What are you doing today?'

?in təɲāj sāj cəɲ ɲaj
3ps. day you eat what
'What did you eat today?'

ɲoɲ taɲa ɲaj
want ask what
'What do you want to ask?'

sāj ma dək kəp ɲaj
you Fut. go with who
'Who will you go with?'

kua sūk ŋaj
sit village which
'Where do you live?'

sāj kua di da ŋaj
you sit that where who
'Who do you live with?'

ŋaj dōk ho? pəmiŋ
who go towards swidden
'Who went to the field?'

There are several forms for eliciting 'where?' which may be combined or reduplicated, and were found in sentence-initial, post-subject, or sentence-final positions. They are /da/, /dāw/ and /da?/.

da sāj ma dōk
where you Fut. go
'Where are you going?'

dām da da ma dōk
Dam where where Fut. go
'Where is Dam going?'

sāj kua dāw dāw
you sit where where
'Where are you?'

sāj kua da? dāw
you sit where where
'Where are you?'

sāj kua da? da?
you sit where where
'Where are you?'

Only one form for 'when' /ŋām/ was recorded (in reduplication) occurring in sentence final position.

sāj bih ŋām ŋām
you come when when
'When did you come?'

4.3.8 Requests, Imperatives, Warnings

One can give a polite command/suggestion with the intensifier /ʔin/ 'much/many' after the verb:

ŋet ʔin
drink much
'Drink up! / Drink some more!'

For orders and requests addressed directly to relatives and friends one can just use the appropriate verb:

ʔo cōk ləh cōk vjŋ
oh take Q. take return
'Oh, are (you) taking (it)? Take (it) back!'

To imply a strict order rather than just a request, one can include the addressee's name:

dōk ho? pəmiŋ dām
go towards swidden Dam
'Go to the ricefield, Dam!'

A prohibitive sense is conveyed with the /ŋəŋ/ 'stop' word:

ŋəŋ dīt māk kliah
stop much fruit fall
'Stop! Lots of fruit is falling.'

ʔə ŋəŋ laj set toc lew
yes stop many too.much complete already
'Yeah, stop! There's already too much.'

Warnings are formed with a phrase final imperative particle /li/:

ləvǎŋ li to ja dak kōp nə?
beware Imp. anim.Cl. crocodile bite Emp.
'Watch out! The crocodiles will bite!'

4.4 Pronouns/Demonstratives & Kin Terms

In this section we discuss the pronouns and kin terms together because it is not really appropriate to separate them. In normal speech one can refer to oneself and others by the appropriate kin term or with an invariable pronoun, and it is an effect of our elicitation of data that we collected many sentences with pronouns. In Sapuan one can use pronouns or kinterms or ellipsis for all arguments. The first and second person pronouns are as follows:

	singular	plural
1st person	ʔäj	mu ɲa
2nd person	säj	mu säj

Note the common /äj/ rimes for both the 1st and 2nd persons—this is clearly an analogical levelling, which also occurs in other WB languages. For Oi we recorded [ʔäj] and [säj] respectively. Loven appears to preserve the original pattern with [ʔäj] and [säw] (where the [w] is from [l]).

The plurals are compound forms with the /mu/ plural marker. The 2nd person form is transparent, but the origin of the /ɲa/ in the first person is obscure.

The situation is different for third person reference—There is no distinction between third person pronouns and demonstratives, i.e. the same form is used for he/she/it/this etc. Also, unlike the 1st and 2nd persons which are unmarked in the singular, 3rd person forms are less marked for the plural. There appear to be two distinct systems syntactically—there are forms which are used alone (free demonstratives), and there are some which must be used in combination with kinterms or demonstratives to convey the meaning (bound demonstratives).

There are two free demonstratives:

ʔin 3ps. (he/she/it; this; those non-humans)

mɛ 3p. (humans, unmarked for number)

/ʔin/ is used for animates and inanimates (including intangibles):

ʔin ɲröŋ
3ps. tall
'He/she/it is tall.'

ʔin təŋäj to? het
3ps. day hot very
'Today is very hot.'

/mɛ/ is a 'generic' 3rd person pronoun for humans which does not have inherent number or gender:

mɛ pa kuan dök ho? pāk se
3p. take child go towards Pakse
'They/he/she took the child to Pakse.'

mɛ bɪc trāw ra mɛ jəm
3p. have 6 person.Cl. 3p. happy
'There are six people, they are happy.'

mɛ dök ho? pəmiŋ mɛ bəm ɲäj
3p. go towards swidden 3p. do what?
'They went to the ricefield, what are they doing?'

Note also that /mɛ/ also combines with some kin terms to derive impersonal forms (no longer a demonstrative meaning, but regular nouns):

mɛ klɔ 'man'
mɛ tria 'woman'
mɛ brɔh 'girl'

The use of bound demonstratives gives more 'emphatic' or 'focused' meaning rather than a diectic distinction (in contrast to the free demonstratives—the distinction does not nicely match the difference between 'this' and 'that' in English).

There are two constructions—the first is marked for number (singular), while the second is not.

For the first type, one uses /ʔɛ/ (male/neuter) or /ʔi/ (female) after the appropriate nominal, which can be a noun, a kin term or the /ʔin/ demonstrative:

la ʔin ʔɛ na? keke? kua tə? səm
ʔ 3ps. Dem.m. yet small sit at house
'And he's (a son of mine) there. An even younger one is at home.'

ʔɔh ʔi ja? cɛh
y. sib. Dem.f. pound rice
'That girl, she is pounding rice.'

klɔ ʔɛ sök kəhäm
man Dem.m. hair black
'That man with the black hair.'

ɔ ʔɛ suaŋ kəhäm
dog Dem.m. tail black
'That dog with the black tail.'

For the second type of construction with bound demonstratives one places /ne/ after the noun phrase, kin term, or the special pronoun /hǎn/ 'he' (from Vietnamese hǎn 'he/she/it') which we only recorded in this construction.

bɔʔ	hǎn	ne	si	bɔk	det
father	he	Dem.	name	Mr.	Det

'That's her father, his name is Mr. Det.'

nǎj	sūk	ne	dǎm	ɣrɔŋ	kua	mu
in	village	Dem.	Dam	tall	more.than	friend

'In this village, Dam is taller than his friends.'

tria	pu	tih	bar	ne	naʔ	rian
woman	most	big	2	Dem.	profession	study

'The two elder girls are students.'

One can also use /ʔənǎn/ (a direct loan from Lao /ʔǎn-nǎn/ 'classifier-that')—it does not require any other nominal:

ʔənǎn	ʔet	ʔi	si	taŋi
that	name	Dem.f.	name	Tangi

'That one there, her name is Tangi.'

In addition to the above pronouns/demonstratives, we were also offered the following forms:

car	'they two'
veh	'they three'

However, we are not absolutely sure that these are the correct meanings. There seems to have recently been a general loss of dual forms, and inclusive/exclusive distinctions in WB languages. Some older individual speakers remember various forms, but they are often confused about them, so it probably unsafe to draw conclusions about /car/ and /veh/ at this time. It may be significant that /veh/ resembles the 'you plural' in Loven /peh/ and Loveh /ve/. Perhaps Sapuan /veh/ was historically the 2nd person plural, but was replaced by the analytical /mu sǎj/?

The Sapuan kin terms are typically West Bahnaric. We collected the following:

bəʔ	'father'	səkāj	'father-in-law'
meʔ	'mother'	səki	'mother-in-law'
maʔ	'mother (vocative)'		
ʔɔʔ	'elder brother, young man'	mih	'uncle, aunt'
ʔeʔ	'elder sister'	dǎm	'bachelor'
ʔɔh	'younger sibling'	brɔh	'unmarried girl'
kuan	'child (son/daughter)'	kəmǎn	'daughter-in-law'
cǎw	'grandchild, nephew, niece'	pəsǎw	'son-in-law'
tɔ	'husband'	ʔ	'grandfather (paternal)'
klb	'husband'	ʔeh	'grandmother (paternal)'
tria, tri	'wife'		

We also heard the following term of address (with two varying pronunciations) which indicates respect:

bǎk, bɔk 'Mister/Miss, etc.'

4.5 Numerals, Quantification & Classifiers

Counting is by the decimal system typical of Mon-Khmer languages of the area. The Sapuan numerals are as follows:

muj	1	trǎw	6	(muj) klām	100
bar	2	pah	7	(muj) phǎn	1000
pe	3	tham	8		
puan	4	čǎn	9		
səŋ	5	(muj) ʔit	10		

While /ʔit/ itself is 'ten', speakers normally say /muj ʔit/ 'one ten' such that the number of tens is always specified, and the same applies for hundreds and thousands. Note that we heard speakers use the Lao form for '1000' /phǎn/ rather than the Khmer /ban/ which we have heard used by speakers of other WB languages.

Other numerals are formed as follows:

ʔit muj	11	bar ʔit	20	pe ʔit	30
ʔit bar	12	bar ʔit muj	21	pe ʔit muj	31
		bar ʔit bar	22	pe ʔit bar	32

Numeral classifiers are used for countable objects whenever the number is specified. With mass nouns or uncountables the word order is similar to that used in English, and the name for the amount or the container must be specified, e.g.

puan cōk dak
4 cup water
'4 cups of water.'

səŋ tōŋ puar
5 sack rice
'5 sacks of rice.'

With countables the name of the counted thing comes first, followed by the numeral, then the classifier. Note that any other modifiers must come immediately after the noun, but before the numeral, e.g.

səm bar lǎŋ
house 2 house.Cl.
'2 houses.'

səm tih bar lǎŋ
house big 2 house.Cl.
'2 big houses.'

Fractional amounts less than one have the same order:

təŋǎj muj ndrăc
day 1 half
'Half of a day.'

Note that the number of 'halves' have to be specified. When the amount is a number plus a fraction (i.e. two and a half) the noun is framed by a box construction:

bar təŋǎj muj ndrăc
2 day 1 half
'Two and a half days.'

We did not record many classifiers, although we did observe that Sapuan speakers tend to use both Sapuan and Lao classifiers interchangeably. We heard the following used:

lǎŋ	'houses'	cem	'birds'	khon	'people' (< Lao)
pōm	'animals'	lɔŋ	'plants, firewood'	ra	'people'
săt	'animals' (< Lao)	təm	'trees'	dak	'liquids'
to	'animals' (< Lao)	plāj	'fruits'	tɔŋ	'tools'
tri	'fish'	măk	'fruits' (< Lao)		

At times speakers would double up both Sapuan and Lao classifiers, so that, for example, we heard coconuts (/braw/) variously referred to as:

plāj braw
măk braw
plāj măk braw

But never:

*măk plāj braw

Apparently speakers are analysing Lao collocations of classifier + noun as unitary forms which they nativise with the addition of Sapuan classifiers.

Other quantifiers, such as 'all', 'much/many', 'few', 'a little bit' etc., occupy the same positions as number + classifier for countables, but do not require classifiers, especially as they can be used for abstract uncountable nouns such as 'rain' e.g.

brux dīt bəm viak lh
person many do work Q.
'Are there many people who work (with/like you)?'

mia ?in
rain much
'A lot of rain.'

muj kle?
one bit
'A little bit.'

ɲɔŋ dīt măk kiah ?ə ɲɔŋ laj set toc lew
stop many fruit fall yes stop many too.much complete already
'Stop! Lots of fruit is falling. Yeah, stop! There's already too much (fruit).'

kuan keke? kua tə? səm
child small sit at house
'A small child is at home.'

Ordinals have no special forms, but we can see the ordinal meanings conveyed in the following text where a Sapuan man is explaining his acquisition of languages:

muj mǎŋ səpuar
1 language Sapuan
'My first language is Sapuan.'

bar mǎŋ law
2 language Lao
'My second language is Lao.'

pə mǎŋ ʔǎŋgít
 3 language English
 'My third language is English.'

Sapuan also has /ləp/ 'every' which was recorded in the following utterance:

ʔǎj trəmuh kb ləp təŋǎj
 I meet man every day
 'I meet him every day.'

Comparatives and Superlatives are formed with adverbs /kua/ 'more than' (a direct borrowing from Lao) and /pu/ 'most':

tria pu tih bar nɛ naʔ rian
 woman most large 2 Dem. profession study
 'The two elder daughters are students.'

dǎm ɾrɔŋ kua dɛŋ
 Dam tall more.than Deng
 'Dam is taller than Deng.'

4.6 Location & Direction

In Sapuan both the motion and location are indicated with a verb, such as:

dɔk 'go/walk'
 bih 'arrive'
 ciʔ 'return'
 kua 'be located at/reside/sit'
 cɔk 'take/bring'

These can then be further modified by another verb such as:

tiah 'descend/downward/downstream'
 dɛk 'climb/upward/upstream'
 viŋ 'return'

And further modified by adverbs of direction/location:

hoʔ 'towards'
 naʔ 'yet; towards'
 nok 'outside'
 tia 'away'
 təʔ 'at, in'
 da 'at, where'

tɔʔ 'over there, yonder'
 tɔʔ tɔʔ 'far away over there'
 ndrɛŋ 'together/in company'

For example:

ʔin dɔk hoʔ pək se
 3ps. go towards Pakse
 'He went to Pakse.'

ŋǎj ʔǎj ma dɔk tiah küntɛp
 tomorrow I Fut. go downward Bangkok
 'Tomorrow I will leave for Bangkok.'

la ʔin ʔɛ naʔ kekeʔ kua təʔ səm
 ? 3ps. Dem.m yet small sit at house
 'And he's (a son of mine) there. An even younger one is at home.'

ʔaj kəmɔm klich təʔ dak
 I fear fall in water
 'I'm afraid to fall into the water.'

bəʔ səj kuj da ʔu
 father you sleep at hammock
 'Your father is asleep in the hammock.'

ʔin kua tɔʔ küntɛp
 3ps. sit dist.there Bangkok
 'He is in Bangkok.'

The word /naʔ/ 'yet; towards' can be used in several senses. It is often used in reported speech to signal the direction of the information, or in a benefactive sense:

mɛ ʔǎm tɔŋ soʔ naʔ ʔɔh kb
 3p. give tool crossbow towards y.bro. man
 'He gave the arrow to the man.'

ɔ di mu ʔǎm naʔ ʔǎj
 dog that friend give towards I
 'The dog my friend gave me.'

mɛ vǎw naʔ ʔǎj təj kb dɔk tia küntɛp
 3p. say towards I see man go away Bangkok
 'He told me that the man went to Bangkok.'

The cardinal directions are as follows:

	nǎŋ	
	N	
təŋǎj luc	W	E
		təŋǎj jia?
	S	
	kět	

East and west are transparently 'sunrise' /təŋǎj jia?/ and 'sunset' /təŋǎj luc/. The 'north' is from a West Bahnaric locative reflected in Brao *nǎŋ* 'on, at', Nyaheun *nǎŋ?εε* 'down low', although the semantic development is not clear. The form for 'south' is possibly from Lao /khêet/ "paddy, countryside".

4.7 Time, Tense & Aspect

Temporal phrases which set the time of an event for the addressee, occur typically in clause initial position:

sǎj	təŋǎj	?aj	ja?	cεh
past	day	I	pound	rice

'Yesterday, I pounded rice.'

kəmɔ	sǎj	?ǎj	bəm	səm	nǎw
year	past	I	do	house	new

'Last year I rebuilt my house.'

We also noted, perhaps iconically, future marked in sentence final position, e.g.

?ǎj	bih	jēm jam	kəmɔ	fɪŋ
I	come	visit	year	follow

'I will come to visit next year.'

There are other temporal markers which occur between the subject noun phrase and the main verb. These are *tense* and *aspect* markers. The future tense particle /ma/ occurs directly before the verb phrase.

?ǎj	ma	dǎk	nǎŋ	kl
I	Fut.	go	visit	man

'I will go and see the man.'

There is an aspect marker /kǎm lǎŋ/ signalling 'continuous' action:

?ǎj	kǎm lǎŋ	dǎk
I	continuous	go

'I'm going slowly/I'm still going.'

mε	kǎm lǎŋ	blɔk
3p.	continuous	speak

'The man is speaking.'

The word /na?/ 'yet; towards' is similarly used before the verb to indicate something not completed, but does not necessarily imply a continuing action. So therefore it can suggest past or future, e.g.

?ǎj	na?	dǎk
I	yet	go

'I didn't go/I'm yet to go.'

Sapuan also has the word /?ən/ (which may infact be /?in/ 'more') which is used with the /na?/ 'yet, towards' irrealis marker. This appears to indicate irrealis but with a sense of near future action, e.g.

?ǎj	na?	?ən	dǎk
I	yet	?	go

'I haven't gone yet.'

cɔŋ	puar	lɛw	na?	?ən	cɔŋ	la
eat	rice (cooked)	already	yet	?	eat	Q.

'(I've) eaten already, (you) haven't eaten yet, have you?'

For past/completiveness we recorded the use of /dǎw/ 'where; can'. This has a syntactic parallel in Lao with /dǎj/ 'can':

?ǎj	dǎw	dǎk	?ătǎpi
I	where/can	go	Attapeu

'I went to Attapeu.'

5 Texts

5.1 Conversation with a family in Attapeu

A: ʔin təŋǎj da sǎj ma dǔk
3ps. day where you Fut. go
'Where are you going today?'

B: ʔǎj ma dǔk bəm viak
I Fut. go do work
'I'm going to work.'

A: sǎj ma bəm viak ŋaj
you Fut. do work what
'What kind of work will you do?'

B: ʔǎj bəm viak brūx bəm səm
I do work person make house
'I work as a builder.'

A: brūx dīt bəm viak lh
person many do work Q.
'Are there many people who work (with/like you)?'

B: bīc brūx pah ra
exist person 7 person.Cl.
'There are seven people.'

A: sǎj bīc kuan lh
you have child Q.
'Do you have children?'

B: ʔə ʔǎj bīc kuan trāw ra
yes I have child 6 person.Cl.
'Yes, I have six children.'

B: muj ra cǔk kb ləw
1 person.Cl. take husband already
'One of my daughters has a husband already.'

B: tria pu tih bar ne naʔ rian
woman most big 2 Dem. profession study
'The two elder girls are students.'

B: la ʔin ʔe naʔ kekeʔ kua təʔ səm
? 3ps. Dem.m yet small sit at house
'And he's (a son of mine) there. An even younger one is at home.'

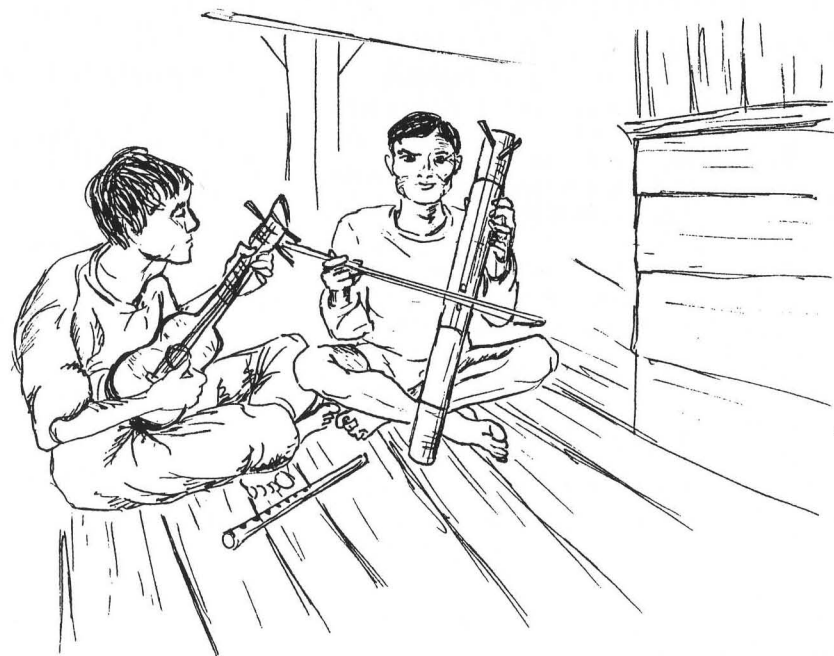
B: ʔanǎn ʔet ʔi si taji
that name Dem.f. name Tangi
'That one, her name is Tangi.'

B: ʔet ʔi taji
name Dem.f. Tangi
'She's called Tangi.'

B: boʔ hǎn ne si bǔk det
father he Dem. name Mr Det
'(Her) father, his name is Mr. Det.'

B: ʔə rəʔ ləw ʔin kəmaw rəʔ ləw
oh leave already 3ps. embarrass leave already
'Oh gone already! She's embarrassed, she's gone.'

B: ʔin kəmaw ʔin rəʔ ləw
3ps. embarrass 3ps. leave already
'She's embarrassed, she's gone.'



Sapuan musicians (by Jacq)

5.2 *Swimming with the Crocodiles*

A: da sāj ma dǝk
 where you Fut. go
 'Where are you going?'

B: ʔāj ma dǝk dak mənāj
 I Fut. go water river
 'I'm going to the river.'

A: sāj ma rɛʔ dǝŋ tri lh
 you Fut. leave catch fish Q.
 'Are you going to go fishing?'

B: ʔāj ma dǝk rɛ dak
 I Fut. go swim water
 'I'm going to go swimming.'

A: sāj ma dǝk kǎp ŋaj
 you Fut. go with who
 'Who are you going with?'

A: ʔāj ŋoŋ dǝk ndrɛŋ
 I want go together
 'I want to come too.'

B: sāj tǝlh rɛ dak
 you cannot swim water
 'But you can't swim!'

A: ʔāj ma tiah hom dak
 I Fut. down bathe water
 'I will go down to bathe.'

A: ʔāj kəmǝm bǝc ja dak
 I scared have crocodile
 'I'm scared that there are crocodiles.'

C: lǝwǎŋ lǝ to ja dak kǝp nɛʔ
 beware Imp. anim.Cl. crocodile bite Emp.
 'Watch out! The crocodiles will bite!'

6 Lexicon

6.1 Sapuan Lexicon (sorted by initial consonants)

The following is a consolidated list of Sapuan vocabulary from our field notes in 1998 and Phraya Prachakij-karacak's 1919 field notes (republished and translated in 1995 by Thomas & Srichampa). We were able to check most of the latter lexicon with the Sapuan speakers, hence we are able to interpret Phraya's forms. We include Phraya's forms in brackets where we did not record the form or where they varied from our recordings. Many of these discrepancies are due to Phraya's attempt at representing Sapuan sounds with Thai script (such as final /c/ represented as ค /t/), or misprints/misreadings of the Thai script e.g.

คัย /daj/ 'month' is a misprint of คัย /kʰaj/

บ ลู /buul/ 'leg' is a misprint of บ ลู /bluu/

น าย /pʰaaj/ 'gong' a misprint of น าย /tʰaj/

ʔaw (Phraya ʔáaw)	'clothes'
ʔāj	'I, me'
ʔǎŋit	'English' (<Lao)
ʔǎm, ciʔ ʔǎm (Phraya ʔǎm)	'give, deliver'
ʔǎtǎpi	'Attapeu' (<Lao)
ʔeʔ (Phraya ʔee)	'elder sister'
ʔet	'name, to be called'
ʔi	'she (female demonstrative)'
ʔiar (Phraya ʔiar)	'chicken'
ʔiar ju	'hen'
ʔiar klɛŋ	'rooster'
ʔik	'again' (<Lao)
ʔisǎŋ	'problem' (<Lao)
ʔin	'this, she, he, it'
ʔo	'oh! (exclamation of mild surprise)'
ʔoʔ (Phraya ʔʔʔ)	'elder brother'
ʔoh (Phraya ʔʔʔ)	'younger sibling'
ʔok (Phraya ʔók)	'drink, suck up'
ʔu	'hammock (<Lao)'
ʔum (duak) (Phraya ʔuum dúak)	'row, to paddle'
ʔǔŋ (Phraya ʔrun)	'fire'
ʔǔŋ ca	'cooking fire'
ʔə	'yes, general agreement'

ʔəlux	'dust'
ʔən	'?'
ʔənǎn	'that one there'
ʔərǎj	'mortar'
ʔe	'he, it, that (male demonstrative)'
ʔin (Phraya <i>taj ʔiin</i>)	'many, much, more'
baʔ (Phraya <i>baʔ</i>)	'carry hanging'
bar (Phraya <i>baan</i>)	'two'
bǎk, bǎk	'Mister, Miss'
bǎn	'village' (< Lao)
bih (Phraya <i>biʔ</i>)	'snake'
bic (Phraya <i>bit</i>)	'have, get; exist'
bicsiwit	'live (v.)' (< Lao)
bit (Phraya <i>bit</i>)	'turn'
bij	'full'
blaj (Phraya <i>plaaʔ</i>)	'thread'
blaʔ (Phraya <i>blaay</i>)	'insipid'
blǎk (Phraya <i>blǎk</i>)	'speak'
blu	'thigh'
blu puax (Phraya <i>buul</i>)	'leg'
boʔ	'father'
bɔh	'question particle' (< Lao)
bɔh (Phraya <i>bɔʔ</i>)	'salt'
bɔk (Phraya <i>buak</i>)	'white'
braw; (plǎj) mǎk braw	'coconut'
bri (Phraya <i>prii</i>)	'forest'
bri mia (Phraya <i>məə</i>)	'rain'
brūx jaʔ jəw	'pestle'
bu	'drunk'
buar	'lip, edge'
buar brūn	'mouth'
bəʔ (Phraya <i>bəə</i>)	'father'
bəm	'do, make'
bəm	'punch'
bəm ɲaj (Phraya <i>bəəm ɲaaʔ</i>)	'why' (< 'do what')
bənuj (Phraya <i>bənuʔ</i>)	'person'
bəɲǎm	'cold, cool'
bərūx	'person'

bih (Phraya <i>biʔ</i>)	'come'
biʔ (Phraya <i>bii</i>)	'evening, late morning'
bit	'fall and break (v.int.)'
ca	'eat, chew'
ca mak (Phraya <i>caa mǎak</i>)	'chew betel'
cah pǎdeh (Phraya <i>cǎʔ bǎdeʔ</i>)	'dig (earth)'
caʔ, caʔ ləw	'good, beautiful'
car	'they, dual'
candrǎj	'comb'
cǎj	'louse'
cǎk (Phraya <i>caʔk</i>)	'body; flesh'
cǎk dak	'crocodile' (< 'body water')
cǎk dǎm (Phraya <i>cʰdǎm</i>)	'cow'
cǎw (Phraya <i>caw</i>)	'grandchild, nephew, niece'
cǎw blǎj	'fox, wild dog'
ceh (Phraya <i>cəʔ</i>)	'sneeze'
cem (Phraya <i>ceem</i>)	'bird'
cən dǎj (Phraya <i>ciin dǎj</i>)	'straight'
cət (Phraya <i>cet</i>)	'pierce'
ciay (Phraya <i>ciay</i>)	'lean (v.)' (< N. Khmer <i>ciəj</i> ?)
cin (Phraya <i>ciin</i>)	'nine'
cit (Phraya <i>ciʔ</i>)	'astringent'
cɔ	'dog'
cɔk (Phraya <i>cɔk</i>)	'early morning'
cɔj (Phraya <i>cɔj</i>)	'eat (rice)'
cɔk	'glass, cup' (< Lao)
cɔk (Phraya <i>cɔk</i>)	'take, receive'
cɔk dǎj	'chose' (< 'take catch')
crej (Phraya <i>creej</i>)	'sing'
crij (Phraya <i>crij</i>)	'beeswax'
cuʔ	'lie on (ground—animals only)'
cəʔaw	'laugh'
cəʔək (Phraya <i>cəʔək</i>)	'happy'
cədək (Phraya <i>jədaak</i>)	'wet'
cəkǎw (Phraya <i>jəkaw</i>)	'bear'
cəkət (Phraya <i>jəkət</i>)	'moon'
cəmɾɔh (Phraya <i>cəmɾɔʔ</i>)	'brook'
cəna	'food, meal' (< ca 'eat')

ceh	'request permission'
ceh (Phraya <i>ce?</i>)	'rice (unhusked)'
cī?	'return'
cī? (Phraya <i>cī?</i>)	'fight, war'
da	'where; located'
dah	'slap (with hand)'
dak	'water'
dak həm (Phraya <i>daakhəm</i>)	'well (n.)' (< 'good water')
dak mənāj (Phraya <i>daakmanaj</i>)	'river'
dak mət (Phraya <i>daakmət</i>)	'dew'
dāj	'able' (< Lao)
dām	'bachelor'
dāj (Phraya <i>daj</i>)	'bitter'
dāj	'catch fish'
dāw	'able, get; past tense'
den (Phraya <i>deen</i>)	'hold'
dēn (Phraya <i>den</i>)	'soft'
di	'that, which'
diap (Phraya <i>diap</i>)	'near'
do? (Phraya <i>dó?</i>)	'long'
doc	'tip of arrow'
dōk (Phraya <i>dōk</i>)	'walk, go'
dōj sūk	'rabbit' (< 'village hare')
duak	'boat'
dūk (Phraya <i>duk</i>)	'know'
dəp (Phraya <i>dəp</i>)	'low, short, under'
dēc	'mosquito (small type)'
dia?	'vomit'
dīm (Phraya <i>dīm</i>)	'red, yellow'
dīk	'climb'
dīj (Phraya <i>dij</i>)	'hear'
gliw	'water leech'
hap (Phraya <i>haap</i>)	'yawn'
hār (Phraya <i>ham</i>)	'peppery'
hək (Phraya <i>hək</i>)	'spear'
ho? (Phraya <i>hoo</i>)	'towards'
hom dak (Phraya <i>hoom daak</i>)	'bathe'
həlu (Phraya <i>həluu</i>)	'stop'

hərək (Phraya <i>hərək</i>)	'neck'
hətəh (Phraya <i>həté?</i>)	'cold'
het	'very'
ja	'copula'
ja dak (Phraya <i>jaa daak</i>)	'crocodile'
ja hit (Phraya <i>jāhit</i>)	'smoke tobacco'
ja?	'pound (v.)'
ja? ceh (Phraya <i>jəcē</i>)	'pound rice'
jam, jəm jam	'visit' (< Lao)
jaŋ jāŋ	'if, how'
jāj ma tāj	'because'
je? (Phraya <i>je?</i>)	'noon'
jot (Phraya <i>jot</i>)	'dance'
jo	'paternal grandfather'
jōm	'happy'
jōŋ (Phraya <i>jəŋ</i>)	'stand up'
jua? (Phraya <i>jūa</i>)	'sour'
jua? sūt (Phraya <i>daak c^hut</i>)	'honey'
ji? (Phraya <i>ji?</i>)	'sick, hurt'
jiŋ (Phraya <i>jiŋ</i>)	'gold' (< Lao)
jīŋ (Phraya <i>jij</i>)	'foot'
jīt (Phraya <i>cit</i>)	'ten'
jīt klām (Phraya <i>cit klam</i>)	'thousand'
jīt dak (Phraya <i>jit daak</i>)	'dip up water'
joək ?əj (Phraya <i>joək ?əj</i>)	'hiccup'
joŋ (Phraya <i>jəŋ</i>)	'tall', Phraya also glosses as 'on'
juan (Phraya <i>juan</i>)	'send'
juj (Phraya <i>juj</i>)	'deer'
jəhat (Phraya <i>jəhaat</i>)	'lick'
jəhəm (Phraya <i>jəhəm</i>)	'breathe, heart'
jəh (Phraya <i>je, jee</i>)	'paternal grandmother'
jer priat	'banana flower'
kām lāj	'continuous aspect marker' (< Lao)
kāp	'with, and' (< Lao)
kāp (Phraya <i>kap</i>)	'bite'
ke (Phraya <i>kēe</i>)	'salty'
kēt (Phraya <i>ket</i>)	'south'
kha loŋ	'leaf'

khäj (Phraya <i>daj</i>)	'month' (Phraya form is a misprint)
khäk lew	'good' (< Thai)
khian piŋ (Phraya <i>k^hian piŋ</i>)	'bare one's teeth'
khɔ	'chop'
khɔ (Phraya <i>k^hɔ</i>)	'request' (< Lao)
khɔm ʔɯŋ	'blow on the fire'
khɔr (Phraya <i>k^hɔr</i>)	'scratch'
khɔn	'person cl.' (< Lao)
khɔŋ (Phraya <i>k^hɔŋ</i>)	'hard'
kläm	'goitre'
kikiʔ	'very small thing/bit'
kiat	'frog'
kiaŋ mɔŋ	'cheeks'
klak (Phraya <i>klaak</i>)	'stomach'
klak klüŋ	'cigarette paper, smoking leaf'
kläj (Phraya <i>klaj</i>)	'brass'
kläŋ kläŋ	'heavily, very much (rain pouring)'
kliah	'fall'
klɔ	'husband, man'
kleʔ	'bit, piece' (< leʔ 'short')
kli (Phraya <i>kliä</i>)	'tiger'
kɔh (Phraya <i>kɔʔ</i>)	'cut'
kɔŋ (Phraya <i>kɔŋ</i>)	'gong' (< Lao)
kɔŋ (Phraya <i>kɔŋ</i>)	'mountain'
kom (Phraya <i>koom</i>)	'bend'
köp	'bite'
kre liap (Phraya <i>k^hälɛ liap</i>)	'lightning'
krim kre (Phraya <i>k^hrim k^hɛɛ</i>)	'thunder'
kraʔ (Phraya <i>mnuj kraʔ</i>)	'old person'
kroj (Phraya <i>kroo</i>)	'mousedeer'
kre	'rat'
kre deʔ (Phraya <i>k^hɛɛ deʔ</i>)	'thunderbolt'
kriat (Phraya <i>kriat</i>)	'scratch'
krik (Phraya <i>krik</i>)	'chest'
krim (Phraya <i>k^hrim</i>)	'sky'
kua	'more than' (< Lao)
kua (Phraya <i>kua, kuu</i>)	'sit, located'
kuan	'child'

kuh (Phraya <i>kuʔ</i>)	'back'
kuj (Phraya <i>kij</i>)	'sleep, lie down'
kün trük (Phraya <i>kuntrük</i>)	'termite'
küntëp	'Bangkok' (< Thai)
küŋ kaʔ (Phraya <i>küŋkaʔ</i>)	'spider'
kvän sük	'happy, lucky' (< Lao)
kəʔɔk (Phraya <i>kəʔɔk</i>)	'cough'
kəbɔʔ (Phraya <i>kəbɔʔ</i>)	'embrace'
kəcët	'kill'
kədəj	'okay, easy' (< Lao)
kədəm	'crab'
kəhäŋ	'black'
kəj (Phraya <i>kəj</i>)	'few, little'
kəjaʔ	'grass, thatch'
kəjɔʔ (Phraya <i>kəjɔʔ</i>)	'run'
kəju (Phraya <i>kajjuu</i>)	'wind'
kələw (Phraya <i>kələw</i>)	'call'
kələ	'egg'
kəm (Phraya <i>kəm</i>)	'think'
kəmaw	'embarrassed, shy'
kəmäm, kəmöm	'fear'
kəmän (Phraya <i>kəman</i>)	'daughter-in-law'
kəmə (Phraya <i>kəmə</i>)	'year'
kəndiaw	'mat for sleeping/sitting on'
kəniah (ti) (Phraya <i>kənia</i>)	'nail (finger)'
kəjɔh (Phraya <i>kajɔh</i>)	'spit (v.)'
kəpuat (Phraya <i>kəpuat</i>)	'pinch'
kəpi (Phraya <i>kəpii</i>)	'buffalo'
kərdiaŋ (Phraya <i>kərdiaŋ</i>)	'bone'
kərsɛ (Phraya <i>kəc^hɛɛ</i>)	'angry'
kərtih (Phraya <i>kərtii</i>)	'big'
kətua (Phraya <i>kətua</i>)	'slave'
kətən (Phraya <i>kətən</i>)	'take out'
kəʔ (Phraya <i>kəʔ</i>)	'small'
kekeʔ	'small bit/thing'
kih ŋiŋ lɔŋ	'flower, type of'
kʔak (Phraya <i>kʔaak</i>)	'crow'
lə	'question marker'

laj	'many' (< Lao)
law	'Lao'
läŋ	'house classifier'
lip mat (Phraya <i>lip mat</i>)	'close eyes'
lɔŋ	'tree, wood, plant classifier'
lɔŋ	'try, attempt' (< Lao)
lɔŋ ʔǔŋ	'firewood'
luat (Phraya <i>luat</i>)	'arm'
läp	'every, each'
ləbɔk (Phraya <i>ləbɔk</i>)	'cheek'
ləmäŋ (Phraya <i>ləmaŋ</i>)	'meat, game'
ləvǎŋ	'beware!' (< Lao)
leʔ	'and' (< Lao)
leʔ	'short'
lew , lew lew	'already' (< Lao)
li	'imperative particle'
lin (Phraya <i>lin</i>)	'swallow'
ma	'future marker'
maʔ (Phraya <i>maʔ</i>)	'mother'
man (Phraya <i>maan</i>)	'iron'
maŋ (Phraya <i>maŋ</i>)	'language'
mǎj (Phraya <i>mǎj</i>)	'silk' (< Lao)
mǎk	'fruit classifier' (< Lao)
mǎk juaʔ	'lemon, citrus'
mǎk mi	'jackfruit' (< Lao)
mǎt	'eye'
mǎ[t] mat	'very'
mǎŋ	'night'
meʔ	'mother'
mih	'uncle, aunt'
mu	'friend' (< Lao)
mu ɲa	'we'
mu säj	'you, pl.; they'
mua (Phraya <i>mua</i>)	'false'
muax	'mosquito'
muh (Phraya <i>muʔ</i>)	'nose'
muj klām (Phraya <i>mklam</i>)	'hundred'
muj phǎn	'thousand' (< Lao)

muj (Phraya <i>muj</i>)	'one'
mük	'smell something'
mǎliāŋ (Phraya <i>mǎliāŋ</i>)	'yellow'
mənüj nǎw (Phraya <i>mənuj nǎw</i>)	'young man' (< 'new person')
mət, mət	'like, love'
mɛ	'third person pronoun'
mɛ brɔh	'young woman, girl'
mɛ dak	'lake'
men (Phraya <i>mɛɛn</i>)	'true' (< Lao)
mět	'meter' (< Lao < French)
měw	'cat'
mia	'rain'
miaj (Phraya <i>miaj</i>)	'tired' (< Lao)
miar (Phraya <i>miar</i>)	'paddy field'
naʔ rian (Phraya <i>naʔ rian</i>)	'student' (< Lao /nak hian/)
naʔ [bɨc] (Phraya <i>nəbit</i>)	'still (have)'
nǎj	'inside' (< Lao)
nǎn	'only' (< Lao)
nǎŋ	'visit'
ndrǎc	'half'
ndrɛŋ	'together'
niam	'good, healthy'
niam həm (Phraya <i>niam həəm</i>)	'glad'
niv	'monkey'
nok	'out(side)'
nǔp (Phraya <i>nɔp</i>)	'pay respect, bow' (< Lao)
ntək (Phraya <i>tək</i>)	'turtle'
nuj	'worm'
nəʔ	'final emphatic particle'
nɛ (Phraya <i>nɛɛ</i>)	'this, that (general demonstrative)'
nɛm	'look, see'
nǎŋ (Phraya <i>nǎŋ</i>)	'north'
ɲak (Phraya <i>ɲak</i>)	'difficult' (< Lao)
ɲǎm ɲǎm	'when, what time'
ɲɛn	'bat'
ɲim	'tasty'
ɲɔŋ (Phraya <i>ɲɔŋ</i>)	'stop, do not, slow(ly)'
ɲuj dak	'mist'

ɲuj ʔǔɲ	'smoke (n.)'
ɲək (Phraya ʒək)	'pig'
ɲet	'drink alcohol'
ɲiam (Phraya ʒiam)	'cry, weep'
ɲaj (Phraya ʒaaj, p ^h uu tɔjaaj)	'what?, who?'
ɲǎj	'tomorrow'
ɲam (Phraya ʒaam)	'sweet'
ɲǎn (Phraya ʒan)	'sleep'
ɲkǎw	'plough'
ɲɔɲ (Phraya ʒuan bit)	'desire/want'
ɲən (Phraya ʒəən)	'silver' (< Lao)
ɲε? (Phraya ʒε?)	'pot, ricepot'
ɲiaj	'think'
pa	'bring, accompany'
pah (Phraya pa?)	'seven'
pam	'fish trap'
pǎk se	'Pakse'
pǎɲ	'shoot'
pǎr	'fly(v.)'
pǎt (Phraya baat)	'grass'
pǎw	'shoulder'
pǎw [brǔx]	'blow (on a person)'
phǎp	'book' (< Lao)
phen	'sing' (< Lao)
phon	'dance' (< Lao)
phe (Phraya p ^h εε)	'husked rice'
phe?	'full, sated'
phia	'in order to' (< Lao)
pi	'flute' (< Lao)
piat (Phraya piat)	'knife'
piat (Phraya piat)	'tongue'
plah mǎt (Phraya pla? mat)	'open eyes'
plǎj (Phraya plǎj lɔɲ)	'fruit classifier'
plǎj mǎk hǔɲ	'papaya' (< Lao)
plǎj priat	'banana'
pɔ bǎn	'village chief' (< Lao)
pɔm	'animals cl.'
pɔɲ	'mud' (< Lao)

poc	'very (much)'
pra	'big knife'
pra kho	'machete'
prǎj	'cause'
priaw	'hail'
prom (Phraya proom)	'gong, type of'
pu	'most (superlative)'
pu ʔənsia	'bamboo'
puan	'four'
puar (Phraya pua)	'cooked rice'
puax (Phraya pua)	'calf (of leg)'
pūk (Phraya puk)	'oil'
pəbiaw	'tamarind'
pədəh (Phraya bədə?)	'earth, ground'
pədək (Phraya bədik)	'rise, go up' (< dik 'climb')
pədəm (Phraya bədim)	'jungle'
pəhaac (Phraya bəhaat)	'pebble, sand'
pəmiɲ (Phraya prəmiɲ)	'swidden field'
pənǎr	'wing'
pənəm	'fight (reciprocal)' (< bəm 'punch')
pəɲuat	'hungry'
pəsǎw (Phraya pəsaw)	'son-in-law' (< cǎw 'grandchild, nephew, niece')
pətiah (Phraya bədia)	'go down' (< tiah 'downstream, downward')
pətuar	'star'
pə	'three'
pət	'duck'
piar lɔɲ (Phraya pia lɔɲ)	'flower'
pǐɲ	'tooth'
ra (Phraya ra)	'person classifier'
raj (Phraya ráaj)	'bad' (< Thai/Lao?)
rǎj (Phraya raj)	'wake up'
rǎp (Phraya rap)	'catch'
rǎɲ	'house post'
ret (Phraya reet)	'rhinoceros'
riam (Phraya riam)	'spade'
rop	'horizontal main house beams'
ruaj	'fly(insect)'

ruax (Phraya <i>ruaʃ</i>)	'elephant'
rəbāw (Phraya <i>rəbaw</i>)	'elbow'
rədak	'wet'
rəŋom (Phraya <i>rəŋoom</i>)	'moonless'
rɛ	'rattan'
rɛ dak (Phraya <i>rɛ dak</i>)	'swim'
rɛʔ	'leave'
riam (Phraya <i>riam</i>)	'belch'
sǎj	'past, previous'
sǎj taŋǎj	'yesterday' (< 'past day')
sǎj	'you, sg.'
sǎŋ (Phraya <i>səŋ</i>)	'dry'
sāt	'animal' (< Lao)
set	'too much'
siaw (Phraya <i>siaw</i>)	'friend' (< Lao)
skiw (Phraya <i>skiw</i>)	'eyebrow'
skɔr (Phraya <i>skɔr</i>)	'drum'
snat (Phraya <i>cʰnaat</i>)	'gun'
snɔp (Phraya <i>snɔp</i>)	'cloth'
sɔʔ (Phraya <i>sɔʔ</i>)	'rotten'
sɔk (Phraya <i>sɔk</i>)	'hair'
sɔk juak (Phraya <i>sɔk juak</i>)	'cloud'
sɔk mua (Phraya <i>sɔk mua</i>)	'body hair'
sɔk sɔʔ ko	'grey hair'
soʔ	'crossbow'
spũŋ (Phraya <i>spuŋ</i>)	'swamp'
suaj	'tail'
suat (Phraya <i>cʰuat</i>)	'skin'
sūk	'village'
sūt	'bee'
sʔaw (Phraya <i>sʔaaw</i>)	'soup, curry'
səʔiaw (Phraya <i>cʰəʔiaw</i>)	'left (side)'
səʔɔm (Phraya <i>səʔɔm</i>)	'fragrant'
sədiəŋ ʔǎk dak	'rainbow'
səduj ruax	'scorpion'
səkǎj (Phraya <i>səkaj</i>)	'father-in-law'
səki (Phraya <i>səki</i>)	'mother-in-law'
səm	'house'

səma (Phraya <i>cʰamaa</i>)	'right (side)'
səmoc (Phraya <i>cʰamoot</i>)	'ant'
səpɔr	'roof'
səŋ (Phraya <i>cʰəŋ</i>)	'five'
səŋaj (Phraya <i>cʰəŋaj</i>)	'far'
səpuar	'Sapuan (people/language)'
seh (Phraya <i>cʰɛʔ</i>)	'horse'
si (Phraya <i>sɿ</i>)	'name' (< Lao)
ta	'negative'
ta bɿc (Phraya <i>təbit</i>)	'not have'
ta caʔ (Phraya <i>ta caʔ</i>)	'not good'
taləŋ	'lake' (< Lao)
taŋ kədaŋ (Phraya <i>taankədaŋ</i>)	'weave'
taw (Phraya <i>taaw</i>)	'sword'
taʔ	'resemble'
taʔiah (Phraya <i>təʔəj</i>)	'chin'
tǎj	'see, meet; complementiser'
tǎk ʔəhəm (Phraya <i>tək ʔəhəm</i>)	'alarmed'
tǎw (Phraya <i>taw</i>)	'breasts' (< Lao)
ten (Phraya <i>teen</i>)	'shoot' (< Viet. <i>tên</i> 'arrow')
təc (Phraya <i>tək</i>)	'trade'
thaj (Phraya <i>pʰaj</i>)	'gong, type of' (Phraya form has a typo)
tham	'eight'
thɔŋ dɛŋ (Phraya <i>tʰɔŋ dɛŋ</i>)	'copper' (< Lao)
ti	'hand'
tih	'large, big'
tiah	'downward, downstream, descend'
tij	'next, following (year)'
tɔ	'more (increase)'
tɔ (Phraya <i>tɔ</i>)	'husband'
tɔʔ tɔʔ	'a little bit (rain drizzling)'
tɔʔ tɔʔ	'over there'
tɔŋ	'packet, container, sack' (< Lao)
tɔŋ	'must' (< Lao)
tɔŋ	'tool, arrow'
tɔŋ ʔǎr (Phraya <i>tɔŋ ʔǎr</i>)	'crossbow'
to	'animal classifier' (< Lao)
toʔ (Phraya <i>tɔʔ</i>)	'hot; sunlight'

toʔ həte (Phraya <i>dóʔ həteɛ</i>)	'ill'
toc (Phraya <i>tóot</i>)	'all, finished, complete, no more'
tor (Phraya <i>toor</i>)	'smelly'
toj	'accompany, with'
trak (Phraya <i>traak, traat</i>)	'carry on pole', Phraya also glosses as 'lead' and <i>traat</i> 'carry on pole' is a misprint.
trak dak	'carry water'
trām	'dry'
trām	'medicine'
trān	'meat'
trǎw	'six'
trēt (Phraya <i>tret</i>)	'seat'
tria, tri (Phraya <i>tria</i>)	'wife, woman'
trɔ	'correct'
trɔp	'eggplant'
truaj (kənŭn) (Phraya <i>truaj</i>)	'road, way'
trən (Phraya <i>træn</i>)	'plain (geog.)'
tri	'fish'
tuaj (Phraya <i>tuaj</i>)	'waist'
tuan	'from'
tuaj (Phraya <i>tuaj</i>)	'jar'
tuh	'ashes'
tux (Phraya <i>tuj</i>)	'head'
təkǎw (Phraya <i>təkaw</i>)	'knee'
təkuaj	'horn'
təkuan (Phraya <i>trəkuan</i>)	'baby' (< kuan 'child')
tələh (Phraya <i>taləh</i>)	'unable, cannot, don't know how'
təm (Phraya <i>təm lɔŋ</i>)	'tree trunk; tree classifier'
təm (Phraya <i>təm</i>)	'snatch'
təmǎŋ (Phraya <i>təməŋ</i>)	'ache'
təmɔ (Phraya <i>təmɔɔ</i>)	'stone'
təmɔ kədar (Phraya <i>təmɔ kədaal</i>)	'earth, ground'
təmia (Phraya <i>təmia</i>)	'axe'
təpǎŋ ti	'palm (hand)'
təpit (Phraya <i>trəpit</i>)	'ear'
təpuac jŋ	'toe'
təpuac ti (Phraya <i>təpuat</i>)	'finger'
təpuat (Phraya <i>təpuat</i>)	'itch'

tərkət (Phraya <i>trəkət</i>)	'moonlit'
tərmuh	'meet, greet (to face)'
təŋu (Phraya <i>trəŋuu</i>)	'face'
təvǎŋ (Phraya <i>təvəŋ</i>)	'plant (v.)'
təvǎr	'pestle'
təʔ	'in, at'
təŋa	'ask'
təŋǎc (Phraya <i>təŋaat</i>)	'thatch'
təŋǎj (Phraya <i>təŋaj, ŋaj</i>)	'sun, day, today'
təŋǎj ciəŋ (Phraya <i>təŋaaj ciəŋ</i>)	'afternoon' ('sun lean')
təŋǎj jiaʔ (Phraya <i>təŋaj jia</i>)	'east'
təŋǎj luc (Phraya <i>təŋaj lut</i>)	'west'
təŋu	'temple, forehead'
tia	'away'
vǎj vǎj (Phraya <i>vaj</i>)	'fast' (< Lao)
vət	'hit (with object in hand)'
vǎw (Phraya <i>wǎw</i>)	'say, speak, tell' (< Lao)
viak (Phraya <i>wiak</i>)	'work' (< Lao)
vian (Phraya <i>wian</i>)	'rotate'
vŋ, vŋɲ (Phraya <i>wiŋ</i>)	'return, come'
vɯɲ	'forget'
vəh	'they (three people)?'

6.2 Semantic Index

Below we present an English finderlist for the Sapuan lexicon.

able (< Lao) — <i>dāj</i>	bee — <i>sūt</i>
able, get; past tense — <i>dāw</i>	beeswax — <i>crīŋ</i>
ache — <i>tamāj</i>	belch — <i>riam</i>
accompany, with — <i>toj</i>	bend — <i>kəm</i>
afternoon — <i>təŋāj cīaj</i>	beware (< Lao) — <i>ləvāj</i>
again (< Lao) — <i>ʔik</i>	big — <i>kərtih</i>
alarmed — <i>tāk jəhəm</i>	bird — <i>cem</i>
all, finished, complete — <i>toc</i>	bit, piece (< lɛ? 'short') — <i>hɛ?</i>
already (< Lao) — <i>lɛw (lɛw)</i>	bite — <i>kāp</i>
and (< Lao) — <i>lɛ?</i>	bite — <i>kəp</i>
angry — <i>kəse</i>	bitter — <i>dāj</i>
animal cl. — <i>pəm</i>	black — <i>kəhəm</i>
animal cl. — <i>to</i>	blow (on a person) — <i>pāw [brūx]</i>
animal (< Lao) — <i>sāt</i>	blow on the fire — <i>khəm ʔū jɪ</i>
ant — <i>səmoc</i>	boat — <i>duak</i>
arm — <i>luat</i>	body hair — <i>sək mua</i>
ashes — <i>tuh</i>	body, flesh — <i>cāk</i>
ask — <i>taja</i>	bone — <i>kərdīaj</i>
astringent — <i>cīt</i>	book (< Lao) — <i>phăp</i>
Attapeu — <i>ʔătăpi</i>	brass — <i>klāj</i>
away — <i>tia</i>	breasts (< Lao) — <i>tāw</i>
axe — <i>təmia</i>	breathe, heart — <i>jəhəm</i>
baby — <i>təkuan</i>	bring, accompany — <i>pa</i>
bachelor — <i>dăm</i>	brook — <i>cəm rəh</i>
back — <i>kuh</i>	buffalo — <i>kəpi</i>
bad (< Thai/Lao?) — <i>raj</i>	calf (of leg) — <i>puax</i>
bamboo — <i>pu ʔənsia</i>	call — <i>kəlāw</i>
banana flower — <i>jer priat</i>	carry hanging — <i>ba?</i>
banana — <i>plāj priat</i>	carry on pole — <i>trak</i>
Bangkok (< Thai) — <i>küntəp</i>	carry water — <i>trak dak</i>
bare one's teeth — <i>khian piŋ</i>	cat — <i>məw</i>
bat — <i>jen</i>	catch fish — <i>dāj</i>
bathe — <i>hom dak</i>	catch — <i>răp</i>
bear — <i>cəkāw</i>	cause — <i>prāj</i>
because — <i>jāj ma tăj</i>	cheek — <i>ləbək</i>

cheeks — <i>kīaj məŋ</i>	daughter-in-law — <i>kəmăn</i>
chest — <i>krik</i>	deer — <i>juj</i>
chew betel — <i>ca mak</i>	desire/want — <i>yo jɪ</i>
chicken — <i>ʔiar</i>	dew — <i>dak mət</i>
chief of village (< Lao) — <i>po bān</i>	difficult (< Lao) — <i>niak</i>
child — <i>kuan</i>	dig (earth) — <i>cah pədeh</i>
chin — <i>ta?iah</i>	dip up water — <i>jīt dak</i>
chop — <i>khə</i>	do, make — <i>bəm</i>
chose — <i>cək dāj</i>	dog — <i>cə</i>
cigarette paper/leaf — <i>klakkūŋ</i>	downward, descend — <i>tiah</i>
climb — <i>dik</i>	drink alcohol — <i>jet</i>
close eyes — <i>lip mat</i>	drink, suck up — <i>ʔək</i>
cloth — <i>səp</i>	drum — <i>skər</i>
clothes — <i>ʔaw</i>	drunk — <i>bu</i>
cloud — <i>sək juak</i>	dry — <i>sāj</i>
coconut — <i>braw; plāj māk braw</i>	dry — <i>trām</i>
cold — <i>həteh</i>	duck — <i>pēt</i>
cold, cool — <i>bəŋəm</i>	dust — <i>ʔalux</i>
comb — <i>candrāj</i>	ear — <i>təpit</i>
come — <i>bih</i>	early morning — <i>cək</i>
continuing (< Lao) — <i>kām lāj</i>	earth, ground — <i>pədəh</i>
cooked rice — <i>puar</i>	earth, ground — <i>təmə kədar</i>
cooking fire — <i>ʔū jɪ ca</i>	east — <i>təŋāj jia?</i>
copper (< Lao) — <i>thəŋ deŋ</i>	eat (rice) — <i>cəŋ</i>
copula — <i>ja</i>	eat, chew — <i>ca</i>
correct — <i>trə</i>	egg — <i>kəle</i>
cough — <i>kə?ək</i>	eggplant — <i>trəp</i>
cow — <i>cək dīm</i>	eight — <i>tham</i>
crab — <i>kədām</i>	elbow — <i>rəbāw</i>
crocodile — <i>cək dak</i>	elder brother — <i>ʔə?</i>
crocodile — <i>ja dak</i>	elder sister — <i>ʔe?</i>
crossbow — <i>so?</i>	elephant — <i>ruax</i>
crossbow — <i>təŋ jər</i>	embarrassed, shy — <i>kəməw</i>
crow — <i>k?ək</i>	embrace — <i>kəbə?</i>
cry, weep — <i>jiām</i>	emphatic particle — <i>nə?</i>
cut — <i>kə?</i>	English (< Lao) — <i>ʔəŋjīt</i>
dance (< Lao) — <i>phən</i>	evening, late morning — <i>bi?</i>
dance — <i>joŋ</i>	every, each — <i>ləp</i>

eye — <i>măt</i>	from — <i>tuan</i>
eyebrow — <i>skiuw</i>	fruit classifier (< Lao) — <i>măk</i>
face — <i>trəju</i>	fruit classifier — <i>plăj</i>
fall and break — <i>bit</i>	full — <i>bij</i>
fall — <i>kiah</i>	full, sated — <i>phɛ?</i>
false — <i>mua</i>	future marker — <i>ma</i>
far — <i>səjjaj</i>	give, deliver — [ci?] ?əm
fast (< Lao) — <i>văj văj</i>	glad — <i>niam hăm</i>
father — <i>bɔ?</i>	glass, cup (< Lao) — <i>cək</i>
father — <i>bə?</i>	go down — <i>patiah</i>
father-in-law — <i>səkăj</i>	go up, rise — <i>pəđik</i>
fear — <i>kəmăm , kəməm</i>	goitre — <i>kələm</i>
few, little — <i>kəj</i>	gold (< Lao) — <i>jiay</i>
fight (< bəm 'punch') — <i>pənəm</i>	gong (< Lao) — <i>koj</i>
fight, war — <i>ci?</i>	gong, type of — <i>prom</i>
finger — <i>təpuac ti</i>	gong, type of — <i>thaj</i>
fire — ? <i>ũj</i>	good (< Thai) — <i>khăk lɛw</i>
firewood — <i>lɔj ?ũj</i>	good, beautiful — <i>ca?, ca? lɛw</i>
fish trap — <i>pam</i>	good, healthy — <i>niam</i>
fish — <i>tri</i>	grandchild, nephew, niece — <i>căw</i>
five — <i>səj</i>	grass — <i>păt</i>
flesh; animal — <i>căk</i>	grass, thatch — <i>kəja?</i>
flower — <i>piar lɔj</i>	grey hair — <i>sək so? ko</i>
flower, type of — <i>kăh tɨj lɔj</i>	gun — <i>snat</i>
flute (< Lao) — <i>pi</i>	hail — <i>priaw</i>
fly(insect) — <i>ruaj</i>	hair — <i>sək</i>
fly(v.) — <i>păr</i>	half — <i>nưăc</i>
following, next (year) — <i>tɨj</i>	hammock (< Lao) — ? <i>u</i>
food, meal — <i>cəna</i>	hand — <i>ti</i>
foot — <i>jiŋ</i>	happy — <i>cə?ək</i>
forest — <i>bri</i>	happy — <i>jəm</i>
forget — <i>vu j</i>	happy, lucky (< Lao) — <i>kwăn sũk</i>
four — <i>puan</i>	hard — <i>khôj</i>
fox, wild dog — <i>căw blôj</i>	have, get, exist — <i>bic</i>
fragrant — <i>sə?əm</i>	pay respect, bow (< Lao) — <i>nôp</i>
friend (< Lao) — <i>mu</i>	he, it, that — ? <i>ɛ</i>
friend (< Lao) — <i>siaw</i>	head — <i>tux</i>
frog — <i>kiat</i>	hear — <i>điŋ</i>

heavily, much (rain) — <i>kăj kăj</i>	language — <i>maŋ</i>
hen — ? <i>iar ju</i>	Lao — <i>law</i>
hiccup — <i>ɲk ?əj</i>	large, big — <i>tih</i>
hit (with object in hand) — <i>văt</i>	last, previous — <i>săj</i>
hold — <i>den</i>	laugh — <i>ca? aw</i>
honey — <i>jua? sũt</i>	leaf — <i>kha lɔj</i>
horizontal beams — <i>rop</i>	lean (v.) — <i>ciaj</i>
horn — <i>təkuaj</i>	leave — <i>re?</i>
horse — <i>sɛh</i>	leech (water) — <i>gliw</i>
hot; sunlight — <i>to?</i>	left (side) — <i>sə? iaw</i>
house cl. — <i>lăj</i>	leg — <i>blu puax</i>
house post — <i>răj</i>	lemon, citrus — <i>măk jua?</i>
house — <i>səm</i>	lick — <i>phat</i>
hundred — <i>muŋ klăm</i>	lie on (ground) — <i>cu?</i>
hungry — <i>pəjuat</i>	lightning — <i>krɛ liap</i>
husband — <i>tɔ</i>	like, love — <i>mət , mət</i>
husband, man — <i>klɔ</i>	lip, edge — <i>buar</i>
husked rice — <i>phɛ</i>	little bit (rain drizzling) — <i>tɔ? tɔ?</i>
I, me — ? <i>ăj</i>	live (v.) (< Lao) — <i>bic siwít</i>
if, how — <i>jay jăj</i>	located, where — <i>da</i>
ill — <i>to? hətɛ</i>	long — <i>do?</i>
imperative particle — <i>li</i>	look, see — <i>nɛm</i>
in order to (< Lao) — <i>phia</i>	louse — <i>căj</i>
in, at — <i>tə?</i>	low, short, under — <i>dəp</i>
inside (< Lao) — <i>năj</i>	machete — <i>pra klu</i>
insipid — <i>blaj</i>	male title: mister — <i>băk</i>
iron — <i>man</i>	man (young), brother — ? <i>ɲk</i>
itch — <i>təpuat</i>	many (< Lao) — <i>laj</i>
jackfruit (< Lao) — <i>măk mi</i>	many, much, more — ? <i>in</i>
jar — <i>tuaŋ</i>	mat — <i>kəndiaw</i>
jungle — <i>pəđim</i>	meat — <i>trăn</i>
kill — <i>kəcɛt</i>	meat, game — <i>ləmăj</i>
knee — <i>təkăw</i>	medicine — <i>trăm</i>
knife (big) — <i>pra</i>	meet, greet (to face) — <i>trəmuh</i>
knife — <i>piat</i>	meter (< Lao < French) — <i>mět</i>
know — <i>dũk</i>	mist — <i>juŋ dak</i>
lake (< Lao) — <i>talěj</i>	Mister, Miss, etc. — <i>băk , bək</i>
lake — <i>mɛ dak</i>	monkey — <i>niw</i>

month — *khǎj*
 moon — *cəkət*
 moon(lit) — *trəkət*
 moonless — *rəjəm*
 more than (< Lao) — *kua*
 more — *tɔ*
 mortar — *ʔərǎj*
 mosquito (small type) — *děc*
 mosquito — *muax*
 most — *pu*
 mother — *maʔ*
 mother — *meʔ*
 mother-in-law — *səki*
 mountain — *kɔj*
 mosedeer — *kroj*
 mouth — *buar*
 mouth — *buar brɯn*
 mud (< Lao) — *pɔj*
 must (< Lao) — *tɔj*
 nail (finger) — *kəniah ti*
 name (< Lao) — *si*
 name, to be called — *ʔet*
 near — *diap*
 neck — *hərək*
 negative — *ta*
 night — *mǎj*
 nine — *cɯn*
 noon — *jeʔ*
 north — *nǎj*
 nose — *muh*
 not good — *ta caʔ*
 not have — *ta bɯc*
 oh! — *ʔɔ*
 oil — *pɯk*
 okay, easy (< Lao) — *kədaɲ*
 old person — *kraʔ*
 one — *muɲ*
 only (< Lao) — *nǎn*
 open eyes — *plah mǎt*
 outside — *nək*
 over there — *tɔʔ tɔʔ*
 packet, container, sack (< Lao) — *tɔj*
 paddy field — *miar*
 Pakse — *pək se*
 palm (hand) — *təpǎj ti*
 papaya (< Lao) — *plǎj mǎk hɯj*
 past, previous — *sǎj*
 paternal grandfather — *ɔ*
 paternal grandmother — *ɲeh*
 pay respect, bow (< Lao) — *nɔp*
 pebble, sand — *pəhaac*
 peppery — *hǎr*
 person cl. (< Lao) — *khɔn*
 person cl. — *ra*
 person — *bəmɯj*
 person — *bərɯx*
 pestle — *brɯx jaʔ ɲɛw*
 pestle — *təvǎr*
 pierce — *cět*
 pig — *ɲək*
 pinch — *kəpuat*
 plain (geog.) — *trən*
 plant (v.) — *təvǎj*
 plough — *ɲkǎw*
 pot, ricepot — *ɲeʔ*
 pound rice — *jaʔ cɛh*
 pound (v.) — *jaʔ*
 problem (< Lao) — *ʔisǎj*
 punch — *bəm*
 question particle (< Lao) — *bɔh*
 question particle — *la, ləh*
 rabbit (< 'village hare') — *dɔj sɯk*
 rain — *bri mia*
 rain — *mia*
 rainbow — *sədiaɲ ʔək dak*
 rat — *krɛ*

rattan — *rɛ*
 red, yellow — *dəm*
 request permission — *cɛh*
 request (< Lao) — *khɔ*
 resemble — *taʔ*
 return — *cɯʔ*
 return, come — *vɯj, vɯɲ*
 rhinoceros — *ret*
 rice (unhusked) — *cɛh*
 right (side) — *səma*
 river — *dak mənǎj*
 road, way — *truay (truay kəmɯn)*
 roof — *sə ɲɔr*
 rooster — *ʔiar klɛj*
 rotate — *vian*
 rotten — *sɔʔ*
 row, to paddle — *ʔum (duak)*
 run — *kəjɔʔ*
 salt — *bəh*
 salty — *ke[h]*
 Sapuan — *səpuar*
 say, speak, tell (< Lao) — *vǎw*
 scared — *kəmɔm*
 scorpion — *səduj ruax*
 scratch — *khɔr*
 scratch — *kriat*
 seat — *trɛt*
 see, meet; complementiser — *tǎj*
 send — *ɲuan*
 seven — *pah*
 she — *ʔi*
 shoot (< Viet. tên 'arrow') — *ten*
 shoot — *pǎɲ*
 short — *leʔ*
 shoulder — *pǎw*
 sick, hurt — *ɲiʔ*
 silk (< Lao) — *mǎj*
 silver (< Lao) — *ɲən*
 sing (< Lao) — *phɛj*
 sing — *crej*
 sit, located — *kua*
 six — *trǎw*
 skin — *suat*
 sky — *kɯm*
 slap (with hand) — *dah*
 slave — *kətua*
 sleep — *ɲǎn*
 sleep, lie down — *kuj*
 small (very)/little bit — *kikiʔ*
 small thing/bit — *kəkɛʔ*
 small — *kɛʔ (kəkɛʔ)*
 smell something — *mɯk*
 smelly — *tor*
 smoke (n.) — *ɲuj ʔɯɲ*
 smoke tobacco — *ja hit*
 snake — *bih*
 snatch — *təm*
 sneeze — *cɛh*
 soft — *dɛn*
 son-in-law — *pəsǎw*
 soup, curry — *sʔaw*
 sour — *ɲuaʔ*
 south — *kět*
 spade — *riam*
 speak — *blək*
 spear — *hək*
 spider — *kɯj kaʔ*
 spit (v.) — *kəɲh*
 stand up — *ɲj*
 star — *pətuar*
 still (have) — *naʔ [bɯc]*
 stomach — *klak*
 stone — *təmɔ*
 stop — *halu*
 stop, don't — *ɲuj*
 straight — *cɛn dǎj*

student — <i>naʔ rian</i>	together — <i>ndrɛ̃ɲ</i>
sun, day, today — <i>təjǎj</i>	tomorrow — <i>ɲǎj</i>
swallow — <i>lin</i>	tongue — <i>piat</i>
swamp — <i>spúŋ</i>	too much — <i>set</i>
sweet — <i>ɲam</i>	tool, arrow — <i>tɔŋ</i>
swidden field — <i>pəmiŋ</i>	tooth — <i>pǎj</i>
swim — <i>rɛ dak</i>	towards (downhill) — <i>tiah</i>
sword — <i>taw</i>	towards — <i>hoʔ</i>
tail — <i>suaj</i>	trade — <i>tɛc</i>
take out — <i>kətan</i>	tree, trunk — <i>təm</i>
take, receive — <i>cɔk</i>	tree, wood, plant classifier — <i>lɔŋ</i>
tall — <i>ɲɔŋ</i>	true (< Lao) — <i>mɛn</i>
tamarind — <i>pəbiaw</i>	try, attempt (< Lao) — <i>lɔŋ</i>
tasty — <i>ɲim</i>	turn — <i>bít</i>
temple, forehead — <i>təju</i>	turtle — <i>ntək</i>
ten — <i>ɲít</i>	two — <i>bar</i>
termite — <i>kǎn trük</i>	unable, don't know — <i>tə lɔh</i>
that there (< Lao) — <i>ʔənǎn</i>	uncle, aunt — <i>mih</i>
that, which — <i>di</i>	very (much) — <i>poc</i>
thatch — <i>təjǎc</i>	very — <i>het</i>
they, dual — <i>car</i>	very — <i>mǎ[t] mat</i>
they, pl. (three people?) — <i>veh</i>	village (< Lao) — <i>bǎn</i>
thigh — <i>blu</i>	village — <i>sük</i>
think — <i>kəm</i>	visit (< Lao) — <i>jam, jɛm jam</i>
think — <i>ɲiaj</i>	visit — <i>nǎj</i>
third person pronoun — <i>mɛ</i>	vomit — <i>diəʔ</i>
this, she, he, it — <i>ʔin</i>	waist — <i>tuaj</i>
this, that — <i>nɛ</i>	wake up — <i>rǎj</i>
thousand (< Lao) — <i>muŋ phǎn</i>	walk, go — <i>dɔk</i>
thousand — <i>ɲít klǎm</i>	water — <i>dak</i>
thread — <i>blaj</i>	we — <i>mu ɲa</i>
three — <i>pɛ</i>	we — <i>mu ʔa ɲ</i>
thunder — <i>kɛm krɛ</i>	weave — <i>tə ɲ kədaŋ</i>
thunderbolt — <i>krɛ deʔ</i>	well (n.) — <i>dak həm</i>
tiger — <i>kí</i>	west — <i>təjǎj luc</i>
tip of arrow — <i>doc</i>	wet — <i>cədak</i>
tired (< Lao) — <i>miaj</i>	wet — <i>rədak</i>
toe — <i>təpuac ɲj</i>	what, who — <i>ɲaj</i>

when, what time — <i>ɲǎm ɲǎm</i>
where; located — <i>da</i>
white — <i>bək</i>
why — <i>bəm ɲaj</i>
wife, woman — <i>tria, tri</i>
wind — <i>kəju</i>
wing — <i>pənǎr</i>
with, and (< Lao) — <i>kǎp</i>
work (< Lao) — <i>viak</i>
worm — <i>nuj</i>
yawn — <i>hap</i>
year — <i>kəmɔ</i>
yellow — <i>məliay</i>
yes — <i>ʔə</i>
yesterday — <i>sǎj təjǎj</i>
you, pl.; they — <i>mu sǎj</i>
you, sg. — <i>sǎj</i>
young man — <i>məmúŋ nəw</i>
young woman, girl — <i>mɛ brɔh</i>
younger sibling — <i>ʔh</i>

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