CHAPTER FOUR

VERBS AND MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN LAO

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4.1. INTRODUCTION

The following Lao sentence shows six verbs in a row, in a single prosodically integrated unit, with no inflection or explicit marking of the grammatical relationship between them.[1]

(1)	*caw*^{4}	*lòòng*^{2}	*mèè*^{4}	*qaw*^{3}	*paj*^{3}	*hêt*^{1}	*kin*^{3}	*beng*^{1}
	2SG	try.out	PCL	take	go	make	eat	look

'You go ahead and take (them) and try cooking (them)!'(38.12)

This sentence – the words of a merchant giving a sales pitch for her sausages – is no mere 'string of verbs'. Such sequences in Lao can be analysed in terms of nested (usually binary) relationships. In example (1), a left-headed complement-taking adverbial *lòòng*^{2} 'try out' combines with a right-marking adverbial *beng*^{1} 'look' in bracketing a complex verb phrase consisting of a 'disposal' construction expressing focus on manipulation of an object (with the combination *qaw*^{3}*-hêt*^{1} 'take (and) do/make'), incorporating *paj*^{3} 'go' as an inner directional particle, in a purposive clause chain with *kin*^{3} 'eat'. The surface string of six contiguous verbs in (1) is highly structured, yet there is little if any surface indication of such structure in the language.

As in the grammar of Tai languages generally, almost every problem in Lao clausal grammar demands an understanding of the range of possible relationships between verbs or verb phrases in unmarked sequences. Tai languages are strongly isolating, and provide little overt marking of the grammatical associations between words in syntactic combinations. The aim of this chapter is to portray the kind of grammatical structure one finds at the heart of a typical Tai language, by describing the wide and varied range of structures which may underlie any given 'V1-V2' sequence in one sample language, namely, Lao.[2] The structures vary in a number of ways, including the specific semantic relation between verbs, and the status as 'head' of either V1, V2, both, or neither. A range of grammatical and semantic tests can help to establish the range of covert categories.

Table 4.1-1 lists a range of distinct grammatical relationships underlying unmarked V1-V2 sequences. Each of the constructions is discussed in this chapter. Each of the strings in the 'Example' column is a possible independent surface utterance, with the meaning given in the 'Meaning' column.

The chapter is structured as follows. I begin in Section 4.2 with some observations about the defining properties of verbs in Lao along with a semantic sub-classification of verbs. In Section 4.3, I turn to problems in argument structure, and conditions for variation in surface realization of arguments. There is heavy use of argument ellipsis as well as movement, both

1 See appendix for information on the language and the source of text examples, along with a list of abbreviations used in interlinear glosses.

2 I use 'V1-V2' to refer to such sequences generally, and I intend for 'V' to be vague as to the distinction between 'verb' and 'verb phrase'.

TABLE 4.1-1: SOME V1-V2 SEQUENCES WITH DIFFERENT UNDERLYING STRUCTURES

Construction	Example	Gloss	Meaning
Pre-V asp-mod marking	*kheej^{2} paj^{3}*	'accustomed' 'go'	'(S/he) has (ever) been/gone.'
Post-V asp-mod marking	*paj^{3} lèèw^{4}*	'go' 'finish'	'(S/he) has gone.'
'Despatch' 3-place constr.	*qaw^{3} haj^{5}*	'take' 'give'	'(S/he) gave (it) to (him/her).'
'Disposal' constr.	*qaw^{3} thim^{5}*	'take' 'discard'	'(S/he) threw (it) out.'
Complex motion	*long^{2} paj^{3}*	'descend' 'go'	'(S/he) went down.'
Rsltv, simple, same-subj	*tok^{2} taaj^{3}*	'fall' 'die'	'(S/he) fell and died.'
Rsltv, simple, diff-subj	*ñing^{2} taaj^{3}*	'shoot' 'die'	'(S/he) shot (it) dead.'
Advbl compl., r-head stv.	*kin^{3} kêng^{1}*	'eat' 'adept'	'(S/he)'s good at eating.'
Advbl compl., r-head actv	*nang^{2} lin^{5}*	'sit' 'play'	'(S/he)'s sitting for fun.'
Advbl compl. l-head	*faaw^{4} khian^{3}*	'hurry' 'write'	'(S/he) wrote (it) in a hurry.'
Advbl compd., l-mrking	*lak^{1} kin^{3}*	'steal' 'eat'	'(S/he) secretly ate (it).'
Advbl compd., r-marking	*khaap^{4} qaw^{3}*	'mouth.grab' 'take'	'(S/he) took (it) away in mouth.'
Causative, simple	*haj^{5} paj^{3}*	'give' 'go'	'(S/he) let (him/her) go.'
Causative, complex	*sang^{1}-haj^{5} paj^{3}*	'order-give' 'go'	'(S/he) ordered (him/her) to go.'
Compl, contrl, same-subj	*jaak^{5} paj^{3}*	'want' 'go'	'(S/he) wants to go.'
Compl, contrl, diff-subj	*hên^{3} maa^{2}*	'see' 'come'	'(S/he) saw (him/her) come.'
	jaak^{5} haj^{5} maa^{2}	'want' 'give' 'come'	'(S/he) wants (him/her) to come.'
Compl, non-control	*khit^{1} vaa^{1} paj^{3}*	'think' 'say' 'go'	'(S/he) thinks (he has) gone.'
Verb chain	*paj^{3} maa^{2} ...*	'come' 'go' ...	'(S/he) came and went and....'
	maa^{2} hian^{2}	'come' 'study'	'(S/he) came to study.'
Verb compound	*nii^{3} paq^{2}*	'flee' 'abandon'	'(S/he) abandoned (him/her).'
Oblique	*hêt^{1} nam^{2}*	'do' 'accompany'	'(S/he) did (it) with (him/her).'
	hêt^{1} haj^{5}	'do' 'give'	'(S/he) did (it) for (him/her).'

conditioned by discourse-sensitive information structure factors. This interacts with versatility in lexical valency and transitivity. Also discussed here are fundamental grammatical problems of how arguments are added and subtracted from clauses where necessary. Section 4.4 forms the body of the chapter, presenting a range of different kinds of underlying form that an unmarked V1-V2 sequence can conceivably have (as listed in Figure 4.3.4.1-1). Section 4.4.5 summarizes and concludes.

4.2. VERBS, VERB CLASSES, ASPECT-MODALITY MARKING

The term 'verb' is used for members of the class of words accessible to a defined set of grammatical markings and processes associated with words denoting semantically prototypical actions/events (e.g. *tii*^{3} 'hit', *lèèn*^{1} 'run'). This category in Lao includes words denoting not only actions and events, but also words denoting concepts confined to a distinct 'adjective' class in some languages (e.g. *suung*^{3} '(be) tall', *dèèng*^{3} '(be) red').
Canonical main verbs such as *tii*^{3} 'hit', *vaw*^{4} 'say', or *hên*^{3} 'see' in simple clauses have the following definitive properties:

- may be directly marked (preverbally) by aspect-modality elements such as
  - negator *bòò*^{1}
  - irrealis markers *si*^{0} and *ca*^{0}
  - attainment marker *daj*^{0}
  - progressive markers *kamlang*^{2} and *phuam*^{2}
- may be used alone in affirmative responses to polar questions ('yes-answers')
- may (in combination with their complements) form nominal modifiers in combination with the relativizer *thii*^{1};
- may be nominalized using either of the nominalizers *kaan*^{3} or *khuam*^{2}.

The differential accessibility of Lao verbs to more subtle grammatical possibilities may be used as a basis for sub-categorization of the verb class, along the lines of traditional logical/aspectual classes such as *state*, *activity*, *achievement*, *accomplishment*, and *semelfactive* (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979, Smith 1997).[3] Table 4.2-1 outlines some formal properties of the main logical/aspectual verb subclasses (with the addition of a category 'gradable states', corresponding in functional terms roughly with adjectives in English):

TABLE 4.2-1: FIVE LAO VERB CATEGORIES BASED ON LOGICAL/ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS

	1. 'VP at t' entails 'sth. hpnd at t'?	2. 'VP-PFV' entails 'VP now'?	3. 'prog-VP' entails 'VP-PFV'?	4. 'begin to V' grammatical?	5. 'almost V' ambiguous?	6. reduplication grammatical?
Achievement *('meet sb.')*	+	–	–	–	–	–
Accomplishment *('build a house')*	+	–	–	+	+	–
Semelfactive *('knock sth.')*	+	–	–	–	–	–
Activity *('walk')*	+	–	+	+	–	–
State *('have sth.')*	–	+	–	–	–	–
Gradable state *('be tall')*	–	+	–	+	–	+

3 Note that these semantic classes as applied to Lao do not neatly match those established for English. The subtleties are beyond the scope of our discussion.

Notes: - In column 4, iterative readings are not included.

- The ambiguity referred to in column 5 is that of English *He almost built a house* – i.e. it could mean that almost *finished* or that he almost *began*.

- The reduplication referred to in column 6 is one of two types, in which stress is on the second element only.

While it has often been noted that aspect/modality distinctions in languages such as Lao need not be explicitly marked, there are nevertheless many options for explicit aspect/modality marking. Most of them are preverbal. Such 'left aspect-modality marking' almost always occurs only once per clause. It does not usually appear on a lower verb of a tight complement construction, since the aspect-modality properties of a tightly subordinated lower clause are determined by the matrix verb and the semantics of the particular type of complementation involved.[4] Lower clauses of loose complement constructions (e.g. speech and cognition complements) may take left aspect-modality marking independently of the main complement verb. In some types of serialization, such as verb compounding or chaining, again no such marking may appear on any non-initial verb. However, right-headed resultative and adverbial V1-V2 constructions are equivocal in this respect – i.e. they can take aspect-modality marking on either V1 or V2 (but not both). See §4.4.2, below, for further discussion.

4.3. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE IN SINGLE-VERB CLAUSES

I now raise some preliminary issues concerning the realization of arguments in simple Lao clauses (i.e. clauses with only one verb), including widespread ellipsis of arguments, the role of information structure features such as topic and focus in determining constituent order, and lexically specified patterns in transitivity and valency of verbs.

4.3.1. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is the normal form of anaphora for referents which are contextually retrievable (i.e. known and active or semi-active; Chafe 1994). It is just one of a number of factors contributing to difficulties in decisively analysing surface strings in Lao. Lean expressions of the following kind are typical Lao sentences:

(2) *ñaaw*^{2}
long
'(It was) long.' (891.2)

(3) *lùùm*^{2}
forget
'(I have) forgotten (it).' (1354.9)

(4) *hên*^{3}
see
'(I) saw (it).' (3.8)

4 An occasional exception concerns irrealis markers *si*^{0} and *ca*^{0} on lower verb complements of future-oriented or irrealis verbs like *jaak*^{5} 'want', and *tòòng*^{4}*.kaan*^{3} 'require'. Thus: *man*^{2} *jaak*^{5} (*ca*^{0}) *paj*^{3} [3SG want (IRR) go] 'He wants to go' vs. *man*^{2} *ca*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} [3SG IRR want go] 'He will want to go'.

In each case, referents of the ellipsed arguments are active in the discourse context, and as the free translations show, zero anaphors correspond to pronominal anaphors in languages like English.

While the *option* of ellipsis is widespread, there are situations in which it is obligatory. For example, same-subject control complement constructions (as in *want* complement constructions, see §4.4.9.1.1 on page 163) stipulate that the lower complement subject (coreferential with the matrix subject) cannot be overtly expressed. In other cases, by contrast, ellipsis is ruled out. For example, a relativized-upon argument to which a relative clause is attached must be phonologically realized:

(5)	*khòòj*^{5}	*hên*^{3}	**(maa*^{3}*)*	*(thii*^{1}*)*	*kin*^{3}	*kaj*^{1}	*caw*^{4}
	1SG	see	dog	REL	eat	chicken	2SG

'I saw the dog which ate your chicken(s).'

There is no syntactic control of ellipsis across conjoined clauses in Lao, in contrast to languages like English or Dyirbal which have 'pivot' type grammatical relations. In English, the following examples unambiguously describe bizarre situations:

(6) *He dropped the melon and burst.*

(7) *The schoolmaster spanked the little boy and ran home crying to his mother.*

Analogous expressions in Lao are ambiguous, since the ellipsed second clause subject may be coreferential with either the subject or object of the first clause. They are thus given the pragmatically most expected meaning. The strongly preferred readings of these two examples in Lao would be the pragmatically obvious ones (i.e. '...and it [the melon] burst...', '...and he [the boy] ran home...').

Ellipsis is in general completely open to pragmatic interpretation, as the following example (after Foley and Van Valin 1984: 194) shows.

(8)	*tam*^{3}	*khuaj*^{2}	*taaj*^{3}
	crash.into	buffalo	die

i.'(S/he) crashed into a buffalo and died.'
ii. '(S/he) crashed into a buffalo and it died.'
iii. '(S/he) crashed into a buffalo and (the car) died (i.e. stalled).'

However, in a small number of complement constructions (most notably involving the verb *jaak*^{5} 'want') there is syntactic control of coreference under obligatory ellipsis. In these cases, the complement clause subject must be ellipsed, and must be coreferential with the main clause subject:

(9)	*laaw*^{2}	*jaak*^{5}	*khaa*^{5}	*kaj*^{1}
	3SG	want	kill	chicken

'S/he wants to kill a chicken.'

(10)	**laaw*^{2}	*jaak*^{5}	*caw*^{4}	*khaa*^{5}	*kaj*^{1}
	3SG	want	2SG	kill	chicken

(S/he wants you to kill a chicken.)

If a different subject is to be expressed in the lower clause of a *want* construction, the verb *haj*^{5} 'give' is used to signal that the subject of the complement is non-coreferential with the main subject (and the lower subject then may or may not be ellipsed):

(11) *laaw*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *haj*^{5} *(caw*^{4}*)* *khaa*^{5} *kaj*^{1}
3SG want give 2SG kill chicken
'S/he wants (you) to kill a chicken.'

The ubiquity and freedom of nominal ellipsis in Lao discourse makes it difficult (for both grammarian and child) to be sure about underlying patterns of argument structure. Seemingly simple questions such as whether a verb is transitive or intransitive are complex here, and increase in complexity when we look at the great versatility of verbs in their patterns of transitivity and valency.

4.3.2. Transitivity and valency

Almost no Lao verb is restricted to a single argument structure construction. Most Lao verbs may appear with either one or two arguments (i.e. they are 'ambitransitive'; Dixon 1994).[5] Given that nominal ellipsis is so common, one ideally has to distinguish between cases in which an argument is 'there' but ellipsed, and cases in which it is simply 'not there' (cf. Mosel 1991). The distinction hinges on contextual retrievability of an absent argument as specifically known (or not) to both speaker and listener, and assumed by each to be known to the other. (In practice, this means that the distinction is often unverifiable.)

Rather than simply classifying Lao verbs as 'transitive', 'intransitive' and 'ambitransitive' of various sub-types, it is more useful to list a number of important argument structure constructions and classify verbs according to their accessibility to these constructions. We first list three constructions involving just one noun phrase:[6]

(12) *Resultant state intransitive construction* $\mathbf{S}^{\mathrm{TH/PAT}}$**-V**
Agent-controlled verbs, usually telic, with patient/theme as subject and where agent is unexpressed and not contextually retrievable (e.g. *kaang*^{3} 'to be hoisted', *pia*^{3} 'to be platted', *tom*^{4} 'to be boiled').

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5 For present purposes, an 'argument' is a syntactic-semantic entity, defined as a participant which is contextually retrievable and referential, and which corresponds to and elaborates a participant specified in the semantics of a relational element such as a verb. An argument need not have surface realisation (e.g. in Lao it may be ellipsed), and a surface nominal expression need not be an argument (e.g. it may be incorporated and thus non-referential; e.g. fox in John went fox-hunting). A 'participant' is any entity which the semantics of a verb or a whole sentence specifies as being involved. Thus, the sentence John painted his house has two arguments ('John' and 'his house') but at least three participants (i.e. one must understand that 'paint' is also involved).

6 Abbreviations in this sections are as follows. 'A' denotes arguments treated grammatically like prototypical agents, 'O' denotes arguments treated grammatically like prototypical patients, and 'S' denotes the single argument of an intransitive clause (after Dixon 1994). A and O are defined by language-specific formal grammatical behaviour, with reference to semantic prototypes ('someone who does something to something', 'something to which something is done'). S is a different kind of entity—semantics do not enter into the definition of S at all. Abbreviations for semantic roles are AGT (agent), TH (theme), PAT (patient), EXP (experiencer), EFF (effector), MVR (mover).

(13) *Stative-inchoative intransitive construction* S^{TH}-V
Expresses the meaning 'S is in (or enters into) state V'; these are typical 'adjectives' (e.g. *laaj*^{2} 'striped', *hòòn*^{4} 'hot', *dii*^{3} 'good'); inchoative reading is rare, encouraged by irrealis or progressive marking.

(14) *Active intransitive construction* $S^{AGT/TH}$-V
Meaning: 'S does V'; includes typical active intransitives (e.g. *caam*^{3} 'sneeze', *lèèn*^{1} 'run', *san*^{1} 'shake').

These three one-place constructions may be differentiated in terms of a range of grammatical distinctions, as summarized in Table 4.3.2-1:[7]

TABLE 4.3.2-1: GRAMMATICAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THREE ONE-PLACE CONSTRUCTIONS

Test	**Res-state-intr**	**Stv-incho-intr**	**Actv-intr**
Meaning	'S is in (or enters into) state V (because something is done to it)'	'S is in (or enters into) state V (not because anything is done to it)'	i. 'S does V' ii. 'V happens to S (not because anything is done to it)'
Reading of *bò*^{0}- negation	n/a *(introduces trackable agent, thus no longer intransitive)*	i. 'will not enter state' ii. 'is not in state'	i. 'will not happen' ii. 'is not happening'
Reading of *bò*^{0}-*daj*^{0}- negation	'not-in-state-now' (='has not been V-ed')	i. 'did not enter state' ii. 'was not in state'	i. 'did not happen'
Transitive counterpart?	Transitive, S = A	Caused-state, S = O	no
Reading of progressive *kamlang*^{2}-	n/a *(introduces trackable agent, thus no longer intransitive)*	'entering state now'; or 'temporarily in state'	'happening now'
Reading of perfective *lèèw*^{4}	i. 'in state now' ii. 'already entering into state now'	i. 'in state now' ii. 'already entering into state now'	'happening now' *(endpoint – e.g. of motion verbs – not entailed)*

Now, compare these three one-place constructions with five two-place constructions:

(15) *Transitive construction* $A^{AGT/EFF}$-V-$O^{PAT/TH}$

Expresses the meaning 'A does V to O (which causes O to be in some state)' (e.g. *tom*^{4} 'boil', *pia*^{3} 'plat', *khaa*^{5} 'kill', *puk*^{2} 'waken').

(16 *External possessor construction* $A^{POSS'R}$-V-$O^{POSS'D}$
Expresses the meaning 'The O of A is V'; includes many expressions of referring to body parts and bodily processes (e.g. *tèèk*^{5} 'be broken (e.g. of one's hair ends)').

7 Space restrictions in this chapter prevent detailed discussion of the points made in Table 4.3.2-1 and Table 4.3.2-2.

(17) *Experiencer subject construction* $\mathbf{A}^{\mathrm{EXP}}$-**V**-$\mathbf{O}^{\mathrm{TH}}$

Expresses the meaning 'A has the experience of V due to the stimulus of O'; includes 'applied stimulus' expressions (e.g. *sèèp*^{4} '(find something) delicious', *nak*^{2} '(find something) heavy', *tùùn*^{1} 'be startled (by something)').

(18) *Caused state construction* $\mathbf{A}^{\mathrm{EFF}}$-**V**-$\mathbf{O}^{\mathrm{TH}}$

Expresses the meaning 'A causes O to be in state V' (e.g. *laaj*^{2} '((cause to) become) striped', *dam*^{3} '((cause to) become) black', *hòòn*^{4} '((cause to) become) hot'). (These are usually not agentive – exceptions include *qun*^{1} 'warm (something) up'.)

(19) *Applied effector construction* $\mathbf{A}^{\mathrm{TH}}$-**V**-$\mathbf{O}^{\mathrm{EFF}}$

Expresses the meaning 'A is in state V because of O'; includes (e.g. *vaan*^{3} 'be sweet (because of something)', *phêt*^{2} 'be spicy (because of something)', *taaj*^{3} 'die (from something)').

Notice that external possessor construction, the experiencer subject construction, and the applied effector construction can show some overlap. In many external possessor constructions the A is an experiencer, but in these cases the O is a *locus* not an *effector*. While the subject of the following two examples – *khòòj*^{5} 'I' – is an experiencer, in (20) the O argument is not the cause of the itch, while in (21) it is.

(20)

khòòj^{5}	*khan*^{2}	*khaa*^{3}
1SG	itch	leg

'I have an itch in my leg'; 'My leg's itchy.' (external possessor)

(21)

khòòj^{5}	*khan*^{2}	*song*^{5}	*nii*^{4}
1SG	itch	pants	DEM.GEN

'I am itchy (from) these pants.' (applied effector)

External possessor constructions can take applied effector arguments:

(22)

khòòj^{5}	*khan*^{2}	*khaa*^{3}	*song*^{5}	*nii*^{4}
1SG	itch	leg	pants	DEM.GEN

'I am itchy (in) my leg (from) these pants.'

(23)

man^{2}	*lùam*^{5}	*taa*^{3}	*còò*^{4}	*tholathat*^{1}
3SG	glary	eye	screen	television

'S/he's glary (in) the eyes (from) the television screen.'

In these two examples, the body parts *khaa*^{3} 'leg' and *taa*^{3} 'eye' are loci of experience in external possessor constructions, each then taking applied effector arguments which refer to the cause of the experience in the possessed body part (*song*^{5} *nii*^{4} 'these pants' and *còò*^{4} *tholathat*^{1} 'television screen', respectively).

Some grammatical distinctions between the five constructions are summarized in Table 4.3.2-2:

TABLE 4.3.2-2: GRAMMATICAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN FIVE TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTIONS

Test	**Transitive**	**Ext-pssr**	**Exp-subj**	**Causd-st**	**Appl-eff**
Meaning	'A does (V) to O; causes O to be in certain state'	'A's O is V'	'A feels something (V) because of O'	'Because of A, O enters and/or is in state V'	'because of O, A enters and/or is in state V'
Reading of *bò⁰*- negation	'A doesn't V O'	'A's O isn't V'	'A's O isn't V'	'A doesn't/ won't V'	'A isn't in state V bcs. of O'
Reading of *bò⁰-daj⁰*- negation	'A hasn't / didn't V O'	"	"	'A hasn't V-ed'	"
Intransitive counterpart?	Res-state-intr. O as S	i. with 'A's O' as S ii. %A as S	stative-inch. intransitive, O as S (often with 'I' as understood A)	stative-inch. intransitive, O as S	stative-inch. intransitive, A as S
***A hêt¹-haj⁵ O V* paraphrase OK?**	%	no	no	yes	no
***O hêt¹-haj⁵ A V* paraphrase OK?**	no	no	yes	no	yes
O trackable as *ø*?	yes	no	yes	% *(often A is V also)*	no
O trackable as pronoun?	yes	no	yes	%	no
Reading of progressive *kamlang²*-	doing it now	happening now	feeling it now	becoming V now	becoming V now
Reading of perfective *-lèèw⁴*	not doing it now, O now in state V	O now in state V	feeling it now	in state V now, nothing happening	in state V now, nothing happening

Almost every verb can appear in more than one of these constructions, and this provides speakers with many possibilities for manipulating argument structure in discourse without the use of morphological marking. For example, suppression of an agent or effector can often be achieved by use of the intransitive construction:

(24) *khòòj*^{5} *pia*^{3} *phom*^{3} *phen*^{1}
1SG plat hair 3SG
'I platted her hair.'

(25) *phom*^{3} *phen*^{1} *pia*^{3}
hair 3SG plat
'Her hair is/was platted.'

To add a causer argument to a stative-intransitive verb, speakers may use the caused state construction:

(26) *kon*^{4} *mòò*^{5} *laaj*^{2}
bottom pot striped
'The bottom of the pot is striped.'

(27) *phaa*^{5} *nan*^{4} *ca*^{0} *laaj*^{2} *kon*^{4} *mòò*^{5}
cloth DEM.NONPROX IRR striped bottom pot
'That cloth will cause there to be lines on the bottom of the pot.' (attested)

An effector can be added to a stative-inchoative intransitive clause by the applied effector construction:

(28) *kapaw*^{3} *nii*^{4} *nak*^{2}
bag DEM.GEN heavy
'This bag is heavy.'

(29) *kapaw*^{3} *nii*^{4} *nak*^{2} *kòòng*^{4}
bag DEM.GEN heavy camera
'This bag is heavy (from the) camera (in it).'

Some verbs are quite restricted in their accessibility to different constructions, such as intransitives like *tèèk*^{5} 'break' and *for*^{2} 'boil'. *Tèèk*^{5} 'break' only appears in the intransitive and external possessor constructions:

(30) *paaj*^{3} *phom*^{3} *tèèk*^{5}
tip hair break
'The tips of the hairs are/have broken.'

(31) *phom*^{3} *tèèk*^{5} *paaj*^{3}
hair break tip
'The hairs (have) broken (their) tips.'

To add a causer to an expression involving *tèèk*^{5} 'break', one cannot simply use the verb in the transitive construction (*à la* English *break*), but must use a syntactic causative construction (as described in §4.4.8, below). There are many verbs of breaking in Lao which are more semantically specific than *tèèk*^{5} 'break', and which do occur in the transitive construction (often involving *tèèk*^{5} 'break' as an intransitive resultative V2; cf. §4.4.6.2 on page 134).

In the case of *fot*^{2} 'boil$_{INTR}$', only the intransitive construction is available:

(32) *nam*^{4} *nii*^{4} *fot*^{2}
water DEM.GEN boil
'This water is (now) boiling.'

To add a causer to the clause, a different lexical item is selected, namely *tom*^{4} 'boil$_{TR}$':

(33) **khòòj*^{5} *fot*^{2} *nam*^{4} *nii*^{4}
1SG boil$_{INTR}$ water DEM.GEN
(I boiled this water.)

(34) *khòòj*^{5} *tom*^{4} *nam*^{4} *nii*^{4}
1SG boil$_{TR}$ water DEM.GEN
'I boiled this water.'

In turn, *tom*^{4} 'boil$_{TR}$' itself may be used in the stative-inchoative intransitive construction, but with a different meaning to its counterpart *fot*^{2} 'boil$_{INTR}$' in (32) – i.e. where there is a focus on resultant state rather than on an ongoing event:

(35) *nam*^{4} *nii*^{4} *tom*^{4}
water DEM.GEN boil$_{TR}$
'This water is boiled.' (Probably not boiling now.)

Another verb which may not appear in the transitive construction is *tùùn*^{1} 'awaken', shown here in the intransitive construction and experiencer subject construction, respectively:

(36) *khòòj*^{5} *tùùn*^{1}
1SG awaken
'I woke up/got a start.'

(37) *khòòj*^{5} *tùùn*^{1} *caw*^{4}
1SG awaken 2SG
'I got a start/surprise (from) you.'

With this verb, expression of a causer in subject position requires a syntactic causative such as *hêt¹-haj⁵* [make-give] 'cause' (38), otherwise one may select a different verb, namely *puk²* 'waken', which is accessible to the transitive construction (39):

(38) *caw⁴* *hêt¹-haj⁵* *khòòj⁵* *tùùn¹*
2SG make-give 1SG awaken
'You caused me to wake up (i.e. woke me up unintentionally).'

(39) *caw⁴* *puk²* *khòòj⁵*
2SG waken 1SG
'You woke me up (intentionally).'

By contrast with these more restricted verbs, a few verbs are highly versatile. Consider the following examples involving *nak²* 'heavy':

(40) *kapaw³* *nii⁴* *nak²*
bag DEM.GEN heavy
'This bag is heavy.' (Stative-inchoative intransitive construction)

(41) *khòòj⁵* *nak²* *tiin³*
1SG heavy feet
'My feet are heavy.' (External possessor construction)

(42) *khòòj⁵* *nak²* *sùa⁴*
1SG heavy jacket
'I'm heavy from the jacket.' (Applied effector construction)[8]

(43) *kapaw³* *nii⁴* *nak²* *kòòng⁴*
bag DEM.GEN heavy camera
'The bag is heavy from the camera (inside it).' (Applied effector construction)

(44) *khòòj⁵* *nak²* *kapaw³* *nii⁴*
1SG heavy bag DEM.GEN
'I find this bag heavy.' (Experiencer subject construction)

Context determines what the precise semantic relations between arguments are. With the ever-present possibility of ellipsis, multiple interpretations become even more likely. Just to give one example, *khòòj⁵ nak²* [1SG heavy] could be an intransitive construction meaning 'I'm

8 This sentence could be used, for example, when weighing oneself while wearing a heavy jacket.

heavy' or an experiencer subject construction meaning 'I'm finding (it) heavy' (i.e. where O is ellipsed and retrievable in the context).

The use of these different constructions with certain labile verbs gives the impression that different verbs have different 'derivational properties'. For example, consider the following two caused state constructions with stative verbs *mùaj*^{1} 'tired' and *baw*^{3} 'light' each taking two arguments:

(45) *bik*^{2} *qan*^{0}*-nii*^{4} *mùaj*^{1} *mùù*^{2}*khòòj*^{5}
pen CLF-DEM.GEN tired hand 1SG
'This pen tires my hand.'

(46) *keep*^{5} *khuu*^{1} *nii*^{4} *baw*^{3} *tiin*^{3}
shoe pair DEM.GEN light foot
'This pair of shoes is light (on) the foot.'

In intransitive constructions involving these two verbs, the mapping of arguments is not the same. In the case of *mùaj*^{1} 'tired', for example, the O of the caused state construction becomes the S of the intransitive construction, while for *baw*^{3} 'light' transitive, the new S argument is the erstwhile *A*:

(47) *mùù*^{2} *khòòj*^{5} *mùaj*^{1}
hand 1SG tired
'My hand is tired.'

(48) *keep*^{5} *khuu*^{1} *nii*^{4} *baw*^{3}
shoe pair DEM.GEN light
'This pair of shoes is light.'

Finally, there are verbs which lack strong asymmetry in the semantic role of arguments, resulting either in single sequences having two different truth-conditional interpretations (49), or a single truth-conditional situation being describable by sequences of opposite ordering (50a, b, where the difference in order is related to an information structure distinction):

(49) *man*^{2} *bang*^{3} *hùan*
3SG block.from.view house
i. 'He's blocked from view by the house'.
ii. 'He's blocking the house from view.'

(50) (a) *sùa*^{4} *nii*^{4} *tit*^{3} *nam*^{0}*-mùk*^{2}
shirt DEM.GEN touch/attach CT.LIQUID-ink
'This shirt has got ink on it.'

(b) *nam*^{0}*-mùk*^{2} *tit*^{2} *sùa*^{4} *nii*^{4}
CT.LIQUID-ink touch/attach shirt DEM.GEN
'Ink has got on this shirt.'

The alternative argument structure frames for single verbs described in this section are familiar cases of 'ambitransitivity' or 'dual transitivity' (Dixon 1991: 286ff, 1994). A notable aspect of the Lao verbal lexicon is its versatility in this regard, found across Tai languages in general. In keeping with the typological profile of these languages, there is no overt morphological marking of the alternatives. Some have claimed that the alternative argument structure frames are 'derived' by 'zero morphemes' (Clark and Prasithratsint 1985). A simpler (although perhaps not significantly different) solution is to describe the verbs as being accessible to more than one argument structure construction, as suggested here.

The details of verbal argument structure and grammatical relations in Lao cannot be explored further in this context, as this section is intended to cover preliminaries to our examination of multiple verbs in combination.

4.3.3. Formal mechanisms for valency-changing

The previous section described a number of alternative constructions which allow speakers to manipulate the valency of verbs without formal morphological marking. There are also limited formal mechanisms for valency-changing derivation, and these all involve multiple verb constructions.[9] They will each be discussed in detail in §4.4, below. §4.4.8 describes causative constructions which use complement-taking verbs to add causers or effectors to simple clauses. The most common verbs are *haj*^{5} 'give', *hêt*^{1} 'make/do', and *qaw*^{3} 'take', each of which often appear in compound combinations with other causative or resultative verbs. There is also a so-called 'passive' construction involving the verb *thùùk*^{5} 'strike' as a complement-taking predicate, whose subject is coreferential with an argument (usually but not always O) of the lower predicate. See §4.4.9.4 on page 171, for details.

4.3.4. Constituent structure and information structure: subject, topic, focus

Lao is a strongly head-initial language, in which verbs precede objects, prepositions precede noun phrases, possesseds precede possessors, heads of relative clauses come first, and nominal heads precede modifiers. Most Tai languages are like this, but many Northern Tai and Kadai languages have some head-final patterns in the noun phrase (especially with relativization) apparently under influence of Sinitic languages (Gedney 1989: 122, Wang and Zheng 1993, Long and Zheng 1998). In only a few cases does the head apparently come to the right (for example, as a modal meaning 'can', *daj*^{4} is postverbal; Enfield 2002a: Ch. 3).

At the core of the Lao clause is a simple right-branching NP VP structure, realized as either A-V-O, or S-V. Here are some examples:

(51) *saam*^{3} *khon*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
three person die
'Three people died.' (11.9)

(52) *khaw*^{3} *khon*^{3} *khon*^{2}
3PL transport person
'They transported people.' (686.1)

9 Note that Lao, like other Tai languages, lacks morphological causativity. By contrast, many of the Mon-Khmer languages with which Tai languages have been in extensive contact over the last 2000 years or more do have morphological causativisation (involving prefixes and/or infixes). Influence in this regard has been from Tai to Mon-Khmer rather than the other way around. For example, Kmhmu has apparently developed syntactic causatives on the model of Thai (Suwilai 1987: 25ff), while Thai has no productive causative morphology.

(53) *kuu*[3] *jaan*[4] *mùng*[2]
1SG afraid 2SG
'I was afraid of you.' (1274.6)

(54) *phu*[0]*-pên*[3]*-mia*[2] *khòòng*[3] *thaaw*[4] *nan*[4] *hên*[3] *qavaj*[2]*ñavaq*[1]
person-be-wife of young.man DEM.NONPROX see organ
khòòng[3] *faaj*[1] *coon*[3]
of side bandit
'That young man's wife saw the bandit's organ (i.e. genitals).' (889.11)

While these examples show the 'unmarked' constituent order, there are many ways to vary the formal structuring of a single set of predicate-argument relations to express distinctions in information structure (Lambrecht 1994). Outside the clausal core there are robust outer slots into which arguments may be placed for discourse-related purposes.

Lao is a 'topic-prominent' language, a fact with significant consequences in the grammar (Li and Thompson 1976; see below).[10] I do not claim, however, that Lao lacks a grammatical relation 'subject'. Some processes are sensitive to the grouping of S and A arguments (for example the coreference constraint under 'want' complements mentioned in §4.3.1, above), and the basis of these, I regard 'subject' as an established (but not necessarily central) notion in Lao grammar.[11]

The following subsections describe possible permutations and markings of the clause and sentence related to distinctions in information structure.

4.3.4.1. *Sites for 'movement' – left and right position*

The simple subject-predicate strings shown in (52-54), above, are ideal examples of A-V-O structure, but such examples are in rare in discourse. Beyond the core, the Lao clause contains a topic-like *left position* (LP) and an afterthought-like *right position* (RP). These are common sites for non-default placement of core nominals as well as verbs and verb phrases.[12]

(LEFT POSITION) · SUBJ · AM-[V (OBJ)]-AM FINAL.PARTICLES · (RIGHT POSITION)

FIGURE 4.3.4.1-1: CONSTITUENTS OF THE LAO CLAUSE, IN ORDER

For example:

(55) *qaa*[3]*haan*[3] *lèèng*[2] */ caw*[4] *si*[0] *saj*[1] *mak*[0]*-phêt*[1] *qiik*[5] *vaa*[3] *\mùù*[4] *nii*[4]
food evening 2SG IRR put CT.FRUIT-chilli more PCL day DEM.GEN
'Dinner, are you going to put chilli in (it) again, today?'

Note firstly that the object cannot be abandoned in position as a result of movement of other elements of the verb phrase:

10 'Topic-prominence' should not be construed as a 'type' on a par with 'subject-prominence'. LaPolla (1997) has rightly pointed out that while 'subject-prominence' arises from a set of structural constraints, 'topic-prominence' such as that famously found in Modern Standard Chinese arises from plain lack of constraints rather than from constraints of a different kind.

11 I also find it convenient to refer to 'object' — there is evidence of a verb phrase in Lao, such that nothing can be inserted between the verb and its immediate complement (the 'object').

12 In Figure 4.3.4.1-1, 'AM' refers to aspect-modality marking, deliberately left vague here—in fact there are a number of 'AM' slots; see §4.4.2, below for further discussion of aspect-modality marking.

(56) *si⁰ saj¹ / caw⁴ mak⁰-phêt¹ qiik⁵ vaa³ \mùù⁴ nii⁴
IRR put 2SG CT.FRUIT-chilli more PCL day DEM.GEN
(Will put in, you chilli again, today?)

Similarly, V cannot be removed leaving its left aspect-modality marking in place:

(57) *saj¹ /caw⁴ si⁰ mak⁰-phêt¹ qiik⁵ vaa³ \mùù⁴ nii⁴
put 2SG IRR CT.FRUIT-chilli more PCL day DEM.GEN
(Put in, are you going to chilli again, today?)

In other words, if V moves, its object and aspect-modality markings move with it. The object, however, can be moved on its own into other positions, as required:

(58) mak⁰-phêt¹ /caw⁴ si⁰ saj¹ qiik⁵ vaa³ \mùù⁴ nii⁴
CT.FRUIT-chilli 2SG IRR put more PCL day DEM.GEN
'Chilli, are you going to put (some) in again, today?'

Due to the ubiquity of nominal ellipsis and the possibility for expression of either subject or object arguments in both left position and right position, naturally occurring sentences often cannot be removed from their original context without confusion arising as to the basic predicate-argument relationships being expressed. Consider the following examples:[13]

(59) Surface sequence: V NP NP
Underlying structure: [t_A V O] \RP$_A$

qaw³ mia² \ haw² ni⁰
take wife 1SG TPC.PCL
'Took a wife, I (did),' (375.2)

(60) Surface sequence: NP NP V
Underlying structure: LP$_O$ / [A V t_O]

lot¹ / haw² la⁰ bɔ̀⁰ mii²
vehicle 1SG PCL NEG have
'A car, I didn't have.' (371.1)

13 The notations 't' and 'ø' are used in these examples for convenience. They both mark sites in which a nominal could be expressed—and would be expressed in a 'pragmatically neutral' context—but is not. I use 'ø' to signify the default syntactic position of a trackable argument which is not phonologically realized anywhere in the sentence, and 't' to signify the default syntactic position of an argument which does appear in the sentence, but in a pragmatically more marked position (i.e. left position or right position). The terms 'deletion' and 'movement' are handy metaphors in this context. '/' marks the border between left position and the main clause, '\' marks the border between the main clause and right position. These generally correspond to intonational cues in speech (especially '\', which is accompanied by significant lowering of intensity and pitch).

(61) Surface sequence: V NP
Underlying structure: [t_S V] \ RP_S

taaj^3 *lèèw*^{4} *\phòò*^{1} *han*^{0}
die PFV father TPC.PCL
'(He)'d be dead, the father.' (177.6)

In each case, the 't' slot could include an overt argument, coreferential with the argument subscripted. Compare the following to (61):[14]

(62) Surface sequence: NP V NP
Underlying structure: [NP_i V] \ RP_i

phen^1 *taaj*^{3} *lèèw*^{4} *\phòò*^{1} *han*^{0}
3SG die PFV father TPC.PCL
'He'd be dead, the father.'

The combination of ellipsis and movement may create structural ambiguity (again, the 't' slot could be filled), such as the following in which the sentence-initial noun phrase could be interpreted as either an A in subject position, or an O in left-position:

(63) Surfacesequence: NPV_{tr}
Underlying structure i.: $LP_O/[ø_AVt_O]$
Underlying structure ii.: $[AVø_O]$

phuak^4 *juu*^{1} *nam*^{2} *thaang*^{2} *ka*^{0} *qaw*^{3}
group be.at accompany road FOC.PCL take
i. 'Those$_i$ along the road, (they$_j$) took ø$_i$.' (actual reading, 654.10)
ii. 'Those along the road took (them/it).' (possible reading)

In the next example, remarkable in showing surface OVA order in what is basically an AVO language, we can infer from the presence of the postverbphrasal particle *dêj*^{2} (which forms a right border to the core of the clause; cf. Figure 4.3.4.1-1 above), that the nominal *phu*^{0}*-saaw*^{3} 'girl(s)' is in Right Position (i.e. is postposed, and not in a pragmatically neutral position in the verb phrase).

(64) Surfacesequence: NPVtrPCLNP
Underlyingstructurei.: $LP_O/[t_AVt_OPCL]\backslash RP_A$
Underlyingstructureii.: $[AVt_OPCL]\backslash RP_O$

tamluat^5*/mak*^{1} *dêj*^{2} \ *phu*^{0}*-saaw*^{3} *tòòn*^{3} *nan*^{4}
police like PCL girls time DEM.NONPROX
i. 'Police$_i$, (they$_j$) liked (them$_i$) you know, the girls$_j$ back then.' (actual reading, 375.4)
ii. 'Police liked (them) you know, the girls back then.'

14 Note that there are 'binding' restrictions here, with respect to relative placement of pronouns and coreferential NPs — thus, **phòò*^{1} *taaj*^{3} *lèèw*^{4}, *phen*^{1} (The father'd be dead, he).

A third parameter, namely 'dual transitivity' due to accessibility of a verb to both transitive and intransitive constructions (cf. §4.3.2, above), intersects with these constituent order options to create even further surface ambiguity. In the following examples of 'NP V' sequences, the sentence-initial noun phrase may be taken as either (i) an S, (ii) an A in subject position, with O ellipsed, or (iii) an O in left position, with A ellipsed (cf. Chao 1968: 72, 701 on the same alternation in Modern Standard Chinese):

(65) Surface sequence: NPV
Underlying structure i.: [S_OV]
Underlying structure ii.: [AV$ø_O$]
Underlying structure iii.: LP_O/[$ø_A$Vt_O]

(a) *kaj*^{1} *kin*^{3} *lèèw*^{4}
chicken eat PFV
i. 'The chicken has been eaten.'
ii. 'The chicken has eaten (it).'
iii. 'The chicken, (they) have eaten.'

(b) *khèèw*^{5} *bò*^{0} *than*^{2} *mii*^{2}
tooth NEG be.on.time have/there.is
i. 'There were not yet any teeth.' (possible reading)
ii. 'The teeth didn't yet have (it/them).' (possible reading)
iii. 'Teeth, (it/they) didn't yet have.' (actual reading, 853.8)

These are typical examples of the context-dependency of Lao grammar. There are no overt, surface means for disambiguation in examples such as (63-65). Such vagueness causes few problems in real use, since it is usually clear to interlocutors, given features of the semantic/pragmatic context, just which discourse participants are involved, and in what ways. The structures underlying the alternative analyses described here can be diagnosed by various syntactic tests such as insertion of overt arguments, and reversal of 'movement' to check if semantics are significantly altered.

4.3.4.2. *The focus particle ka*^{0}

An important element of the Lao clause is the focus particle *ka*^{0}, appearing immediately before the main verb phrase (including its left aspect-modality marking), and immediately after the sentential subject.[15] It is a sentence-level marker, and cannot appear inside clauses which are tightly subordinated, such as relative clauses or controlled complement clauses. The grammatical constraints on *ka*^{0} make it useful in diagnosing certain structural relationships in multi-verb constructions, as will become clear later in the chapter. The following examples are typical:

15 The *ka*^{0} slot (between subject and predicate) is a common site for hesitation/pausing, and *ka*^{0} itself is often prosodically extended (as *kaa*; cf. Tagalog *sa*, Himmelmann 2002). It may also appear as *kò*^{0}/*kòò*^{l}, although less commonly (despite the fact that it is always written in the Lao orthography as if it should be pronounced *kòò*^{l}).

(66) *man²* *ka⁰* *bò⁰* *mèèn¹* *phii³* *dêj²*
3SG FOC.PCL NEG be spirit PCL
'And so she was not a spirit, you know.' (198.10)

(67) *tèè¹* *khòòj⁵* *ka⁰* *bò⁰* *cùù¹* *khak¹* *paan³-daj³*
but 1SG FOC.PCL NEG remember clear extent-which
'But I can't remember very clearly.' (247.9)

(68) *lèèw⁴* *hòòt⁴* *mùù⁴-maj¹-mùù⁴-lun¹* *haw²* *ka⁰* *si⁰* *ma⁰* *thaam³*
PFV reach day-new-day-after 1SG FOC.PCL IRR come ask
qiik⁵ *vaa¹-san⁴*
more say-thus
'"And so when it comes to the new day [i.e. tomorrow], then I will come and ask further", he said.' (142.10)

I describe *ka⁰* as having a 'focussing' function, but this is not supported by a resolved analysis and should be considered a working description. The precise meaning of *ka⁰* is elusive, and it clearly has a function associated with discourse-oriented notions such as 'givenness', 'contrastiveness' and 'focus' (Chafe 1994, Lambrecht 1994). It makes reference to prior discourse or assumed information, and requires that what immediately precedes it be given. Thus, for example, when it directly marks a subject entity (such as the pronominal subjects in (66-68)), that entity cannot be an interrogative pronoun (see (73-74), §4.4.1.6, below).

The import of *ka⁰* often emerges in English translations as 'so/then' (see (68), above) or 'too/also':

(69) *khan²* *mùng²* *paj³* *kuu³* *ka⁰* *paj³*
if 2SG go 1SG FOC.PCL go
'If you go, then I go.'

(70) *qaaj⁴* *khòòj⁵* *suup⁵* *jaa³* *khòòj⁵* *ka⁰* *suup⁵* *jaa³*
O.BRO 1SG smoke medicine 1SG FOC.PCL smoke medicine
'My brother smokes; I smoke, too.'

In sentences isolated from context, the import of *ka⁰* can be entirely untranslatable. (For example, I am unable to render into English the subtle 'focussing' meaning of *ka⁰* in (67).)

I use the term 'focus particle' for *ka⁰* throughout this work, and it is beyond the scope of this study to say more than this about exactly what it means.[16] The important point for our purposes is that *ka⁰* has particular properties with respect to the clause and the sentence and

16 This element has analogues in virtually all the surrounding languages, and the problem of describing it has vexed scholars. The matter deserves further attention, in Lao, and across the mainland Southeast Asia area.

the verb phrase, and is useful in grammatical tests for diagnosing some (covert) features of clausal organization. See §4.4.1.6, below.

That *ka*^{0} is a pre-VP marker (in constituent structure terms) is demonstrated by the fact that it cannot appear between left position and subject. In a simple transitive sentence with the object fronted, in left position, *ka*^{0} must appear between the subject (if expressed) and the verb, not after the topicalized first noun phrase (thus the ungrammaticality of (71b)):

(71) (a) *pa*^{0}*-dèèk*^{5} *(khòòj*^{5}*)* *ka*^{0} *kin*^{3}
CT.FISH-jugged.fish (1SG) FOC.PCL eat
'Jugged fish, (I) eat.'

(b) **pa*^{0}*-dèèk*^{5} *ka*^{0} *hòòj*^{5} *kin*^{3}
CT.FISH-jugged.fish FOC.PCL 1SG eat

A significant function of *ka*^{0} is in marking off clausal topics from the predications that follow and scope over them, with a result often translationally equivalent to the English 'for to' construction:

(72) *haw*^{2} *ca*^{0} *patisêêt*^{5} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *pên*^{3} *kaan*^{3}*-som*^{3}*khùan*^{2}
1SG IRR refuse FOC.PCL NEG be NSR-appropriate
'For me to refuse would not be appropriate.' (85.6)

A clue to the 'focussing' semantic function of *ka*^{0} emerges from its interaction with the pronoun *phaj*^{3} which may normally either mean 'who' (in a WH-question), or 'whoever/anyone' (in a declarative sentence). The following example, without *ka*^{0}, is ambiguous:

(73) *phaj*^{3} *bò*^{0} *kin*^{3} *siin*^{4} *dip*^{2}
who/anyone NEG eat meat raw
i. 'Who doesn't eat raw meat?'
ii. 'No-one eats raw meat.' (i.e. 'Anyone/everyone doesn't eat raw meat.')

Insertion of *ka*^{0} after the subject *phaj*^{3} 'who/anyone' disallows the interrogative reading 'who?' (by its requirement that the preceding constituent be 'given'), forcing the declarative (73ii) reading:

(74) *phaj*^{3} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *kin*^{3} *siin*^{4} *dip*^{2}
who/anyone FOC.PCL NEG eat meat raw
'No-one at all eats raw meat.' (i.e. 'Anyone/everyone doesn't eat raw meat.')
(NOT: 'Who doesn't eat raw meat?')

That *ka*^{0} is a sentence-level marker is further supported by the fact that it cannot appear in a clause which has been relativized, and which therefore functions as a modifier in a noun phrase:

(75) *khòòj*^{5} *bò*^{0} *mak*^{1} [*phaj*^{3} [(**ka*^{0}) *kin*^{3} *siin*^{4} *dip*^{2}]$_{\text{REL.CLS.}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$
1SG NEG like who/anyone (FOC.PCL) eat meat raw
'I don't like anyone who eats raw meat.'

The predication in the relative clause does not say anything on the sentence level at all. What is being said in this sentence is said by the main verb *bò*^{0} *mak*^{1} [NEG like] 'don't like', and accordingly, just before this verb (including its left aspect-modality marking) is the only place where *ka*^{0} could be inserted in (75).

4.3.4.3. *Disposal constructions*

The 'disposal construction' (see §4.4.4, below for details) can be regarded as a syntactic permutation available for two-argument predicates whose transitivity (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) is high. More specifically, the construction is a permutation available only to two-argument clauses which constitute 'Transitive constructions', as described in §4.3.2, above. Thus, example (76a), describing a controlled agentive event in which the object argument is highly affected, is accessible to the 'disposal' alternation (76b). Example (77a), by contrast, describes a situation in which there is no action, in which the subject is not a controller or agent, and in which the object is not affected. Accordingly, the 'disposal' alternation is not available (77b):

(76) (a) *kuu*^{3} *khaa*^{5} *paa*^{3}
1SG kill fish
'I kill (the) fish.'

(b) *kuu*^{3} *qaw*^{3} *paa*^{3} *ma*^{0} *khaa*^{5}
1SG take fish come kill
'I kill (the) fish.' (= 'I take (the) fish and kill (it/them).')

(77) (a) *kuu*^{3} *khiw*^{3} *paa*^{3}
1SG smelly fish
'I find (the) fish smelly.'

(b) **kuu*^{3} *qaw*^{3} *paa*^{3} *ma*^{0} *khiw*^{3}
1SG take fish come smelly
(I take the fish and find (it/them) smelly.)

Conditions for use of the disposal construction are related to information structure, but the facts are not yet clearly understood. (See §4.4.4, below, for further discussion; also Enfield 2002b: 23-25.)

4.3.5. Summary

This concludes our preliminary discussion of argument structure properties of basic (i.e. single-verb) clauses in Lao. Lao clauses are characterized by widespread ellipsis of retrievable arguments, widespread ambitransitivity of verbs, with a range of different variations in possibilities for alternation of semantic role of arguments, and widespread possibility for movement of arguments into pragmatically sensitive extra-clausal positions. The combination of these three features of Lao clause structure results in many situations in which the

fundamentals of predicate-argument relations cannot be read off from the surface form of Lao sentences, but must be resolved by reference to contextual information. We now turn to the domain of multi-verb constructions, in which the scope for structural ambiguity becomes even greater.

4.4. MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

To understand how Lao speakers package information in clauses, including management of arguments in various roles and levels of functional, structural and informational status in the clause, as well as subordination and coordination of predicates, one has to understand multi-verb constructions. The same goes for any Tai language. In investigating the most basic issues of grammatical relations and argument structure in Lao, one immediately comes across unmarked V1-V2 sequences, and these conceal a great many structural distinctions (cf. Table 4.1-1 above). This section, making up the body of this chapter, describes a range of the most important structural categories of multi-verb constructions.[17]

4.4.1. Headship, 'main verb properties', and constituency tests

Lao speakers do not use case-marking or cross-referencing morphology, and seldom explicitly mark relationships of subordination (e.g. as speakers of other languages might do by infinitive verb forms or the like). There are few simple ways for grammarians to work out which element is the 'head' in compounds or complex predicates, and in addition there are ambiguities with respect to the distinction between coordinate and subordinate relationships between verb phrases which appear in surface sequence. Figuring out how various verbs are related in various kinds of unmarked multi-verb sequences dominates the task of describing Lao grammar. In this section, we consider some phenomena helpful in devising tests for discovering these relations.

In the rest of this section, I outline headship properties as defined by the following aspects of grammatical behaviour:

i. Grammatical features of canonical main verbs
ii. Clause separability
iii. Yes-answers
iv. Ellipsibility of object complements (in main and relative clauses)
v. Insertability of left aspect-modality marking
vi. Insertability of the focus particle *ka*^{0}

These are the topics of the following sub-sections.

4.4.1.1. *Grammatical features of canonical main verbs*

In assessing the respective roles of different verbs in multi-verb sequences, the question arises as to whether either of the two verbs is more or less accessible than the other to the normal grammatical features of main verbs. As discussed in §4.2, the class of verbs in Lao consists of words which may take: (a) direct negation with prefixed *bòò*^{1}/*bò*^{0}, (b) direct irrealis marking with prefixed *si*^{0}, (c) marking of attainment with prefixed *daj*^{4}/*daj*^{0}, (d) marking of currently relevant state with postverbal *lèèw*^{4} (among other possibilities of aspect-modality marking). Another property of verbs in Lao is that they may be used as nominal attributives in noun

17 Note that in referring to 'multi-verb constructions', I restrict this in general to sequences which normally form prosodically integrated units. Also, I do not use the term 'serial verb construction', although many of the constructions discussed here might be referred to by that term. The term 'serial verb construction' has been used in a range of ways in the literature (cf. Lord 1993, Durie 1997, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006), and may be too suggestive of certain specific types of construction which form only a subset of the broader set of expressions described in this chapter.

phrases (comparable to adjectives, gerundive attributives and relative clauses in other languages; cf. *khon*^{2} *suung*^{3} [person tall] 'tall person', *khon*^{2} *lèèn*^{1} [person run] 'running person', *khon*^{2} *paj*^{3} [person go] 'person (who) goes'), and in this role may be linked overtly to the modified noun by the relativizer *thii*^{1}. Verbs in secondary or subordinate function often are not accessible to some or all of these properties.

4.4.1.2. *Clause separability of multi-verb constructions*

A multi-verb construction shows *clause separability* if it can be paraphrased with insertion of overt marking which forces a reading of the verbs as each belonging to an independent clause, and where this causes no significant change in the basic semantic relationship between those verbs (although, of course, certain pragmatic effects may arise).

One way to clause-separate a multi-verb construction is to insert between verbs a marked pause, and/or an adverbial expression such as *lang*^{3}*-caak*^{5} *nan*^{4} 'after that', *nòòk*^{4}*-caak*^{5} *nan*^{4} 'apart from that; as well as that', *phùa*^{1} 'in order to', or *lùù*^{3}*-vaa*^{1} 'or'. Another is to insert the clause-linker *lèka*^{0} 'and then' (a reduced form of the perfective *lèèw*^{4} 'finish' in combination with the VP-marking focus particle *ka*^{0}; see §4.3.4.2, above; §4.4.1.6, below). In general (although not exclusively), the perfective *lèèw*^{4} 'finish' marks the previous clause, and the focus particle *ka*^{0} refers to the coming clause, whose subject being coreferential with that of the previous clause, and being tracked across these clauses, is naturally ellipsed. The result is that *lèka*^{0} routinely signals (but does not entail) consecutivity and subject coreferentiality between conjoined clauses. Other functions of *lèka*^{0} include distributive enumeration of actions which are not necessarily performed consecutively (cf. §4.4.10.1, below).[18] While these various ways of clause-separating multiple verbs in a single construction alter the semantic content of the original string, what is important for clause-separability as a grammatical test is whether or not the insertion upsets the basic semantic relation between verbs.

Thus, the sequence 'return come study' in (78a) – not subordinating, apart from iconic temporal sequence – is clause-separable, as shown by the acceptability (with negligible change in semantic relationship between V1 and V2) of (78b) and (78c):

(78) (a) *kap*^{2}*-khùùn*^{2} *maa*^{2} *tòò*^{1} *pathêêt*^{4} *hian*^{2}
back-return come continue country study
'(They came) back to (their) country to continue (their) studies.' (1202.2)

(b) *kap*^{2}*-khùùn*^{2} *maa*^{2} *pathêêt*^{4} *phùa*^{1} *hian*^{2} *tòò*^{1}
back-return come country in.order.to study continue
'(They came) back to (their) country in order to continue (their) studies.' (= (78a))

(c) *kap*^{2}*-khùùn*^{2} *maa*^{2} *tòò*^{1} *pathêêt*^{4} *lèka*^{0} *hian*^{2}
back-return come continue country CLNK study
'(They came) back to (their) country and (they) continued (their) studies.' (= (78a))

In contrast, (79a) – a subordinating complement construction – is *non* clause-separable, as shown by the significant change of semantic relationship between V1 and V2 in the clause-separated permutations (79b) and (79c):

18 Note that there are other linkers which seem at first glance very similar to *lèka*^{0} (such as *la*^{0}, *lèèw*^{4}, and *loot*^{4}), but which certainly play subtly different functions in linking clauses in discourse. The issues are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

(79) (a) *phuak*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *man*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *baan*^{4}
group 1SG see 3SG shoot village
'We saw them bomb the village.' (1157.7)

(b) *phuak*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *man*^{2} - *nòòk*^{4} *caak*^{5} *nan*^{4} *man*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *baan*^{4}
group 1SG see 3SG out from that 3SG shoot village
'We saw them – as well as that, they bombed the village.' (≠(79a))

(c) *phuak*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *man*^{2} *lèka*^{0} *ñing*^{2} *baan*^{4}
group 1SG see 3SG CLNK shoot village
'We saw them and then bombed the village.' (≠(79a))

Clause-separability as a grammatical test reveals differences in relationships between verbs in multi-verb constructions. In general, verb combinations involving relationships of subordination are not clause-separable.

4.4.1.3. *The yes-answer*

Polar questions in Lao are formed by taking a declarative sentence and adding one of a set of interrogative sentence-final particles, the most general or default being *bòò*^{3} (related to the negative *bòò*^{1}/*bò*^{0}):

(80) *caw*^{4} *si*^{0} *paj*^{3} *talaat*^{5} *bòò*^{3}
2SG IRR go market PCL(Q)
'Will you go to the market?'

One way of yes-answering a polar question is to use an affirmative particle such as the very polite *dooj*^{3}, the standard polite *caw*^{4}, or the informal *qee*^{4}/*qee*^{5}. Another common method of affirmative answer is to repeat some portion of the question, typically the main verb alone:

(81) (*khòòj*^{5}) (*si*^{0}) *paj*^{3} (*talaat*^{5}) (**bòò*^{3})
1SG IRR go market PCL(Q)
'(Yes, I will) go (to the market).'

Thus, as a yes-answer to (80), *paj*^{3} 'go' could appear alone or in combination with any of the other elements in the question (apart from the interrogative particle itself). The important thing here with respect to the yes-answer as a test for main-verbhood is that in answering (80) by means of repetition of some portion of the question, the main verb *paj*^{3} 'go' is necessary and sufficient as a yes-answer. Also importantly, preverbal aspect-modality markers such as irrealis *si*^{0}, preverbal *daj*^{0}, and inner directional particles, can never appear alone.

The following complement construction shows the verb *suup*^{5} 'suck/smoke' subordinate to the main complement-taking predicate *haam*^{5} 'to forbid':

(82) *khaw*^{3} *haam*^{5} *suup*^{5}
3PL forbid smoke
'They forbid (people) to smoke (it).' (117.10)

A question is formed by adding the interrogative particle *bòò*^{3}:

(83) *khaw*^{3} *haam*^{5} *suup*^{5} *bòò*^{3}
3PL forbid smoke PCL(Q)
'Do they forbid (people) to smoke (it)?'

Only the matrix verb *haam*^{5} 'forbid' can appear alone as a yes-answer here:

(84) *haam*^{5}
forbid
'(Yes, they) forbid (people to smoke it).'

On the other hand, in the case of 'want' complement constructions, the usual yes-answer includes both the matrix verb *jaak*^{5} 'want' and its equi complement verb:

(85) Q: *caw*^{4} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *bòò*^{3}
2SG want go PCL(Q)
'Do you want to go?'

Ai: *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3}
want go
'(Yes, I) want to go.'

However, it is also possible to answer the question using either the main verb *jaak*^{5} 'want' alone:

(85) Aii *jaak*^{5}
want
'(Yes, I) want (to go).'

or the equi complement alone:

(85) Aiii *paj*^{3}
go
'(Yes, I want to) go.' (or – '(Yes, I'll) go.')

The difference between these two replies is that (85)Aiii is arguably not a straight answer to (85)Q (i.e. in that it does not directly respond to the sentence-meaning of the question – cf. English *I'll go* as an answer to *Do you want to go?*).

Other complement-taking predicates which are borderline between full complement-taking verbs and preverbal aspect-modality markers similarly show varying yes-answer properties. A notable example is *kheej*^{2} 'accustomed to, have ever', which allows 'V1', 'V2', or 'V1-V2' as yes-answers to a question 'V1-V2?', but differs from *jaak*^{5} 'want' in that the preferred yes-answer is V1 alone (rather than 'V1-V2'):

(86) Q: *caw*^{4} *kheej*^{2} *paj*^{3} *bòò*^{3}
2SG ever go PCL(Q)
'Have you ever been?'

Ai: *kheej*^{2}
ever
'(Yes, I have) ever (been).' (preferred)

Aii: *kheej*^{2} *paj*^{3}
ever go
'(Yes, I have) ever been.'

Aiii: *paj*^{3}
go
'(Yes, I have ever) been.' (or – '(Yes, I) go.')

Again, it is arguable whether *paj*^{3} 'go' in (86Aiii) is a straight answer (i.e. a direct response to the sentence-meaning of the original question). Otherwise, it is unclear what the communicative difference between these responses is.

In contrast, for right-headed adverbial complement constructions (§4.4.6.3, below), yes-answer status is unequivocally with V2:

(87) Q: *caw*^{4} *paj*^{3} *viang*^{2}*-can*^{3} *muan*^{1} *bòò*^{3}
2SG go Vientiane fun PCL(Q)
Did you have fun going to Vientiane?'

Ai: *muan*^{1}
fun
'(Yes, I had) fun.'

Aii: **paj*^{3}
go
((Yes, I) went.)

(88) Q: *faaj*^{1} *viang*^{2}*-can*^{3} *sanaq*^{1} *dii*^{3} *bòò*^{3}
side Vientiane win good PCL(Q)
'(Would it be) good (if) the Vientiane side won?'

Ai: *dii*^{3}
good
'(Yes, it would be) good.'

Aii: **sanaq*^{1}
win
((Yes, it would) win.)

Compare these with cases in which the verbs in sequence are coordinated/compounded – as in the synonym compound (89) (cf. §4.4.10.2, below), or the left-marking adverbial compound (90) (cf. §4.4.6.4.1, below) – and cannot be separated in a minimal straight yes-answer:

(89) Q: *man*^{2} *nii*^{3}*-paq*^{2} *naang*^{2} *qan*^{0}*-nii*^{4} *bòò*^{3}
3SG flee-abandon young.woman CLF-DEM.GEN PCL(Q)
'Did he abandon that young woman?'

Ai. *nii*^{3}*-paq*^{2}
flee-abandon
'(Yes, he) abandoned (her).'

(90) Q: *lak*^{1}*-khaam*^{5} *saaj*^{2}*-dèèn*^{3} *bòò*^{3}
steal-cross border PCL(Q)
'(Did they) secretly cross the border?'

A: *lak*^{1}*-khaam*^{5}
steal-cross
'(Yes, they) secretly crossed (it).'

In sum, three types of yes-answer behaviour can be determined for a given V1-V2 combination:

TABLE 4.4.1.3-1: THREE TYPES OF V1-V2 COMBINATION, BY YES-ANSWER BEHAVIOUR.

Preferred yes-answer	**V1**	**V2**	**V1-V2**
Examples	Cognitive complements 'see', 'forget', 'hear', and phase complements such as 'begin' and 'cease'.	Complement structures with adverbials or resultatives in V2 position.	Verb compounds (coordinative and adverbial).

4.4.1.4. *Ellipsibility of object complements*

4.4.1.4.1. *Ellipsibility of object complements in main clauses*

As already mentioned, ellipsis of nominal complements is normal and widespread in Lao. Any main verb in a simple clause can be expressed without accompanying phonological material referring to its arguments (cf. examples (2-4), above):

(91) *kuu*^{3} *kin*^{3} *maak*^{5} *nii*^{4} *tèè*^{1} *mùng*^{2} *bò*^{0} *kin*^{3} *ø*
1SG eat fruit DEM.GEN but 2SG NEG eat
'I eat this fruit, but you don't eat (it).'

Also, many (but not all) verb-prepositions – i.e. verbs marking non-core participants – may ellipse their complements:

(92) *mùng*^{2} *paj*^{3}, *kuu*^{3} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *nam*^{2} ø
2SG go 1SG want go accompany
'(If) you go, I want to go with (you).'

It is less clear whether the verb phrase or sentence complements of complement-taking main verbs can in general be ellipsed, and in many cases it would seem impossible:

(93) ??*mùng*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *tèè*^{1} *kuu*^{3} *bò*^{0} *jaak*^{5} ø
2SG want go but 1SG NEG want
('You want to go, but I don't want to.')

Clearly, however, main complement-taking predicates cannot normally be ellipsed. Thus, the following example does not mean 'You want to go, but I don't want to' (i.e. where *jaak*^{5} 'want' is ellipsed from the second clause):

(94) *mùng*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *tèè*^{1} *kuu*^{3} *bò*^{0} *paj*^{3}
2SG want go but 1SG NEG go
'You want to go, but I'm not going.'

Moreover, the effect cannot be achieved by removing the whole verb complex (i.e. *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} 'want to go') under identity with that of the previous clause:

(95) **mùng*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *tèè*^{1} *kuu*^{3} *bò*^{0}
2SG want go but 1SG NEG
(You want to go but I not.)

(96) **mùng*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3} *tèè*^{1} *bò*^{0} *kuu*^{3}
2SG want go but NEG 1SG
(You want to go but not me.)

4.4.1.4.2. *Ellipsibility of object complements in relativization*

An exception to the general rule in Lao that any noun phrase can be ellipsed under contextual retrievability is the requirement that in a relative clause some phonological material corresponding to the argument being relativized upon must appear (i.e. as the nominal modified by the relative clause).[19] Consider the following examples, showing a simple transitive clause in (97a), and in (97b) this clause relativized, in object function, with the erstwhile subject as head (using *khon*^{2} 'person'):[20]

19 Occasional exceptions are noted, but these are not really relative clauses, rather sentences in left/right position, with ellipsed subjects. I heard and noted the following example (Oudom Xay, September 1999): *tok*^{2} *vang*^{0}-*kii*^{4} *ni*^{0}, *caw*^{4} *kêp*^{2} *lèèw*^{4} *vaa*^{3} [fall just.now, 2SG collect PFV PCL] 'Did you pick up (the thing that) fell just now?', in which the string *tok*^{2} *vang*^{0}-*kii*^{4} *ni*^{0} 'fell just now' could be mistaken for a relative clause with no head noun being modified. However, unlike a regular (headed) relative clause, it cannot appear with this meaning in a core argument slot: **caw*^{4} *kêp*^{2} *tok*^{2} *vang*^{0}-*kii*^{4} *ni*^{0} *lèw*^{0}-*vaa*^{3} (Did you collect what fell just now?). I suggest that a more faithful translation of the original example would be '(It) fell just now, did you pick (it) up?'.

20 Note that (97b) is in fact a multi-verb sequence, with the verbs *hên*^{3} 'see' and *mak*^{1} 'like' adjacent. Such sequences are not discussed further in this chapter.

(97) (a) *qi⁰-dam³* *mak¹* *bak⁰-dèèng³*
CLF.FEM-D. like CLF.MASC-D.
'Dam likes Deng.'

(b) *kuu³* *hên³* **(khon²)* *mak¹* *bak⁰-dèèng³*
1SG see person like CLF.MASC-D.
'I saw the person who likes Deng.'

These examples, showing that a relative clause cannot appear without an explicit nominal head to modify, involve a simple transitive verb *mak¹* 'like'. Now we consider relative clauses derived from clauses containing multi-verb constructions, and the question arises as to whether one or the other verb can be ellipsed. The possibilities are different for different constructions.

For example, the following head-final adverbial construction includes the verb *muan¹* 'enjoyable' in V2 position:

(98) *laaw²* *lin⁵* *kitaa³* *muan¹*
3SG play guitar enjoyable
'S/he plays guitar nicely (i.e. her playing sounds good).'

While the adverbial V2 *muan¹* 'enjoyable' is head for yes-answer purposes, it cannot stand alone in a relative clause and retain its adverbial function. Instead, if it appears alone (as in (99b, 100b), below), it is taken for a main verb (in this case 'adjective') in itself:

(99) (a) *khòòj⁵* *hên³* [*khon²* *lin⁵* *kitaa³* *muan¹*]
1SG see person play guitar enjoyable
'I saw the person who plays guitar nicely.'

(b) *khòòj⁵* *hên³* *muan¹*] [*khon²*
1SG see enjoyable person
'I saw the enjoyable/fun person.' (not entailed by (99a))

(100) (a) *khòòj⁵* *hên³* [*kitaa³* *lin⁵* *muan¹*]
1SG see guitar play enjoyable
'I saw the guitar that is enjoyable to play.'

(b) *khòòj⁵* *hên³* [*kitaa³* *muan¹*]
1SG see guitar enjoyable
'I saw the enjoyable/fun guitar.' (not entailed by (100a))

In contrast, V2 complements of left-head complement-taking predicates such as *haam⁵* 'forbid' or *huu⁴* 'know' are optional in relative clauses:

(101) (a) *khòòj⁵* *haam⁵* *suup⁵* *jaa³* *hên³* *khon²*
1SG forbid smoke medicine see person
'I saw the person who forbade (you) to smoke.'

(b) *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *haam*^{5}
1SG see person forbid
'I saw the person who forbade (you).' (entailed by (101a))

(102) (a) *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *huu*^{4} *vaa*^{1} *caw*^{4} *juu*^{1} *han*^{5}
1SG see person know COMP 2SG be.at there
'I saw the person who knows you were there.'

(b) *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *huu*^{4}
1SG see person know
'I saw the person who knows.' (entailed by (102a))

In sum, while a relative clause must attach to a nominal head, there is a logical possibility in the case of multi-verb constructions that one of the verbs can be omitted. Left- and right-headed V1-V2 structures behave differently with respect to this possibility, due to the contrasting status of V1, and V2, respectively, as head.

4.4.1.5. *Insertability of left aspect-modality marking*

Certain aspect-modality marking appears immediately before the verb, a fact which allows for distinction between certain types of multi-verb construction. Thus, in a V1-V2 sequence, we may ask whether an aspect-modality marking such as *bò*^{0} 'NEG' or *sì*^{0} 'IRR' appears before V1, V2, either, or neither. For example, in the case of verb compounds (§4.4.10.2, below), no marking of V2 is possible (103), while in resultative constructions (§4.4.6.2, below) it is usually possible for either V1 or V2 to be directly marked (104):

(103) (a) *man*^{2} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *nii*^{3}-*paq*^{2}
3SG NEG ACHV flee-abandon
'He didn't abandon (her).'

(b) *man*^{2} *nii*^{3} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *paq*^{2}
3SG flee NEG ACHV abandon
(NOT: 'He didn't abandon (her).')
Possible reading: 'He fled, he didn't abandon (her).'

(104) (a) *man*^{2} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *piing*^{4} *suk*^{2}
3SG NEG ACHV grill cooked
'It did not, by grilling, get cooked.'

(b) *man*^{2} *piing*^{4} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *suk*^{2}
3SG grill NEG ACHV cooked
'It, by grilling, did not get cooked.'

4.4.1.6. *Insertability of focus particle ka⁰*

In §4.3.4.2, above, we encountered the focus particle *ka⁰*. We now consider how it is useful in understanding grammatical properties of different multi-verb constructions. We begin with tight complementation structures (see §4.4.9, below, for discussion of different complement types), a permissive and a causative, respectively:

(105) *phen¹ bò⁰ haj⁵ ø paj³*
3SG NEG give go
'He wouldn't let (me) go.'

(106) *baang³-thùa¹ ø hêt¹ kèèw⁴ tèèk⁵*
some-occasion do/make glass break
'Sometimes (I) might break a glass.'

The following text examples show *ka⁰* appearing immediately after the main subject slot of these constructions:

(107) *phen¹ ka⁰ bò⁰ haj⁵ ø paj³*
3SG FOC.PCL NEG give go
'So, he wouldn't let (me) go.' (332.2)

(108) *baang³-thùa¹ ø ka⁰ hêt¹ kèèw⁴ tèèk⁵*
some-occasion FOC.PCL do/make glass break
'So, sometimes (I) might break a glass.' (1001.9)

If *ka⁰* appeared after the lower subject slot in these examples (i.e. before *paj³* 'go' and *tèèk⁵* 'break', respectively), the embedded complement readings would not be possible at all. Thus, with *ka⁰* after the lower subject slot, marked by '*ø*' in (107), as follows, the verb *paj³* 'go' and its subject would no longer be embedded under *haj⁵* 'give/make/let', but as the translations reveal, the two verbs would belong to distinct clauses (note that further readings are possible, as indicated by '...'):

(107') *phen¹ bò⁰ haj⁵ ø ka⁰ paj³*
3SG NEG give FOC.PCL go
i. '(So, even if) they don't give (it to me), (I'll) go (anyway).'
ii. '(If) they don't give (it to me), (so then I'll) go.'

The verbs *haj⁵* 'give' and *paj³* 'go' are interpreted in (107') as heads of separate clauses, coordinated. *Paj³* 'go' functions as an independent verbal head, with the result that *haj⁵* 'give' is not interpreted in its causative complement-taking sense 'give/make/let', and instead is interpreted as a regular main verb, literally, 'give'. The overall expression, with two separate clauses, may then take on a conditional meaning (arising from the need to interpret a relevant link between the juxtaposed clauses).

Similarly, to take example (108) and move the focus particle *ka⁰* to the point immediately before V2 would again disallow a reading in which the lower clause (i.e. *kèèw⁴ tèèk⁵* ['glass break']) were subordinate to the higher verb *hêt¹* 'do/make', and would instead force a biclausal coordination reading (again, readings other than (i) and (ii) are possible):

(108') *baang³-thùa¹* *ø hêt¹* *kèèw⁴* *ka⁰* *tèèk⁵*
some-occasion do/make glass FOC.PCL break
i. 'Sometimes (I) might make a glass, and (it) will (also) break.'
ii. 'Sometimes (when) (I) do (it), the glasses (also) break.'

Insertion of *ka⁰* before V2 in the preceding examples causes a radical change in interpretation, depending on the nature of the relationship between V1 and V2. In other cases, however, there is more than one option for *ka⁰*-insertion. Consider the following two right-marking adverbial constructions (cf. §4.4.6.3- 4.4.6.4, below):

(109) (a) *laaw²* *tèèm⁴* *huup⁴* *lin⁵*
3SG paint picture play
'S/he paints pictures for fun.'

(b) *laaw²* *tèèm⁴* *huup⁴* *kêng¹*
3SG paint picture adept
'S/he's good at painting pictures.'

These naturally both allow insertion of *ka⁰* immediately after the main subject *laaw²* 's/he', marking off the whole verb sequence in each case as a predication about the focussed initial nominal:

(110) (a) *laaw²* *ka⁰* *tèèm⁴* *huup⁴* *lin⁵*
3SG FOC.PCL paint picture play
'S/he also paints pictures for fun.'

(b) *laaw²* *ka⁰* *tèèm⁴* *huup⁴* *kêng¹*
3SG FOC.PCL paint picture adept
'S/he's also good at painting pictures.'

However, only (109b) allows insertion of *ka⁰* before V2:

(111) (a) **laaw²* *tèèm⁴* *huup⁴* *ka⁰* *lin⁵*
3SG paint picture FOC.PCL play
(S/he also paints pictures for fun.)

(b) laaw² tèèm⁴ huup⁴ ka⁰ kêng¹
3SG paint picture FOC.PCL adept
'S/he'salsogoodatpaintingpictures.'

The issue here is how the post-*ka⁰* verb in a construction such as (111b) (here, it is *kêng¹* 'adept') relates semantically to what precedes it, e.g. whether the main subject has a semantic role with respect to V2, and if so, what role it is. In (109-111), *kêng¹* 'adept' is a gradable state verb ('adjective'), which may be construed in this case as either predicating a property of the main subject 's/he', or (adverbially) of a whole predication 'S/he paints pictures'.

The unacceptability of (111a) suggests that *lin⁵* 'play' in (109a) does not have the same outer scope as *kêng¹* 'adept', and belongs in an inner clause layer, where it directly marks the

verb phrase only, not the subject alone, and not the sentence as a whole. This distinction between the behaviour of (109a) and (109b) relates to a distinction between compounding versus complementation in right-headed adverbial constructions, and active versus stative aspectual structure of an adverbial V2 head (compare stative *kêng*^{1} 'adept' versus active *lin*^{5} 'play'). See §4.4.6.3- 4.4.6.4, below, for further discussion.

The focus particle *ka*^{0} belongs in a post-subject/pre-VP slot *on the sentence level.* It cannot appear in the post-subject/pre-VP slot of an embedded clause, or a relative clause (as noted in §4.3.4.2, above). That it can appear before certain V2 resultative/adverbials suggests that the latter can be structurally main-predicate like, more so than the verbs in their sentential 'subjects'. This structural distinction is helpful in working out distinctions between various types of V1-V2 sequences.

4.4.1.7. *Comment*

This finishes our preview of various structural tests which help to distinguish between different types of V1-V2 strings. The remainder of §4.4 is concerned with describing the various V1-V2 constructions, and the grammatical distinctions between them. (See Table 4.5.2-1, at the end of the chapter, for a summary of the constructions.)

4.4.2. Deverbal aspect/modality marking

A number of regular verbs have secondary roles as aspect-modality markers. Whether one takes this to mean that they are polysemous (have multiple meanings, i.e. as a verb in one context and an aspect-modality marker in another context), or monosemous (have single abstract meanings applicable in all their uses), or subject to derivational processes (marked by a zero morpheme), they are nonetheless relevant to our theme in that they present us with sequences of more than one lexical item identifiable as a 'verb' together in a single clause.

Most aspectual/modals appear immediately before the verb, and some appear after the object. (Only a few – e.g. *daj*^{4} 'acquire, attain, can', *than*^{2} 'be on time, (not) yet' – may appear either before or after the verb, and in each case their meaning is different in the two positions.) The relative order, roughly speaking, of the preverbal aspect/modality categories to be discussed here is as follows ('ASP/MOD' are less restricted aspect-modality slots; this figure is an expansion of 'AM-[V (OBJ)]-AM' in Figure 4.3.4.1-1, above):

ASP/MOD · IRR · NEG · ASP/MOD · *daj*^{0} · DIR.PCL · [VERB (OBJ)] · ASP/MOD

FIGURE 4.4.2-1: ELEMENTS OF THE LAO VERB PHRASE, IN ORDER

The Lao clause shows a tight bond between the verb and its immediate complement, and there is no syntactic slot available for intervening material. Many aspectual/modals are transparently related to existing verbs, and as such are of transitional or grammaticalising status (e.g. from complement-taking main verbs to simple preverbal markers).

There are also some non-deverbal aspect-modality markers, which we now preview. Two preverbal irrealis markers *si*^{0} and *ca*^{0} are mutually substitutable, the occasional difference being stylistic, or associated with idiomatic combinations with other grammatical elements (e.g. the complex relativizer *thii*^{2}-*ca*^{0}; cf. ungrammatical **thii*^{2}-*si*^{0}).[21] These commonly have the effect of marking future tense, as follows:

21 Speakers of neighbouring Thai use *ca*^{0} alone for much the same range of functions as *ca*^{0} and *si*^{0} together in Lao. This, like other uses more idiomatic in Thai, sometimes carries a more formal feel in Lao—correspondingly, *si*^{0} is considered 'more Lao'.

(112) *phò^{0}-tuu^{4}* *si^{0}* *fang^{2}*
grandfather IRR listen
'I[grandfather]'ll listen.' (50.3)

(113) *lèèw^{4}* *mùù^{4}* *nii^{4}* *si^{0}* *vaw^{4}* *qan^{0}* *kaw^{1}* *han^{5}* *lèq^{5}*
PFV day DEM.GEN IRR speak CLF old TPC.PCL PCL
'And so today (I)'ll tell the old one (i.e. the old story).' (35.5)

They may also have a 'relative future tense' function, i.e. marking temporal posteriority, but not necessarily with respect to the speech event itself:

(114) *mù^{0}-vaan^{1}* *nii^{4}* *khòòj^{5}* *si^{0}* *paj^{3}* *talaat^{5}* *tèè^{1}* *bò^{0}* *mii^{2}* *vêlaa^{2}*
yesterday DEM.GEN 1SG IRR go market but NEG have time
'Yesterday, I was going to go to the market, but I didn't have time.'

A subjunctive/conditional meaning is also common:

(115) *si^{0}* *khap^{2}* *lot^{1}* *ka^{0}* *bò^{0}* *tòòng^{4}* *kin^{3}* *law^{5}*
IRR drive vehicle FOC.PCL NEG must consume liquor
'(If you)'re going to drive, (you) needn't drink liquor.'

Another non-deverbal left-marking aspectual/modal is the negation marker *bòò^{1}/bò^{0}*. It follows irrealis marking (*si^{0}/ca^{0}*), as in the following two examples:

(116) baang^{3}-thii^{2} man^{2} ka^{0} si^{0} bò^{0} mòq^{2} paan^{3}-daj^{3}
maybe 3SG FOC.PCL IRR NEG appropriate extent-which
'Maybe it wouldn't be very appropriate [i.e. to have too many chickens, when making a chicken coop].' (20.9)

(117) *khòòj^{5}* *si^{0}* *bò^{0}* *hian^{2}* *nangsùù^{3}* *tòò^{1}* *qiik^{5}*
1SG IRR NEG study writing connect more
'I wasn't going to study any further.' (608.14)

In the following sections, we look at deverbal aspect-modality markers, and we consider their relation to full verb functions. We begin with those which appear before the verb.

4.4.2.1. *Preverbal deverbal aspectual/modals*

Most left aspectual/modals are related to verbs in complement-taking functions. The relative ordering of these is fairly fixed, with most coming after the irrealis 'IRR' and negation 'NEG' slots in Figure 4.4.2-1.

A number of aspectual/modals may appear directly after negation, some idiomatically restricted to negated contexts only. For example, *suu^{1}* and *khòòj^{1}* must always be negated (yielding *bò^{0}-suu^{1}-V* 'not tending to V' and *bò^{0}-khòòj^{1}-V* 'not particularly V'):

(118) *ngen^{2}* */khaw^{3}* *bò^{0}* *suu^{1}* *daj^{0}* *saj^{4}* *laaj^{3}*
money 3PL NEG tend.to ACHV use much
'Money, they didn't tend to use much (then).' (246.14)

(119) *khòòj*^{5} *bò*^{0} *khòòj*^{1} *mii*^{2}
1SG NEG particularly have
'I haven't particularly had (money).' (638.1)

These are surely related to the verbs *khòòj*^{1} 'gradual' and *suu*^{1} 'reach, towards'.

Another example of deverbal left aspect-modality marking which only appears with negation is *than*^{2}, which as a main verb means 'be on time for (something)', and as a preverbal aspectual/modal means 'yet' (but always explicitly negated, as *bò*^{0} *than*^{2} meaning 'not yet'):

(120) *tòòn*^{3} *nan*^{4} *qisalaq*^{2} *bò*^{0} *than*^{2} *mii*^{2} *ñang*^{3} *dêj*^{2}
time that I. NEG yet have anything PCL
'At that time, the Issara (freedom fighters) didn't yet have anything, you know.' (411.13)

A left aspectual/modal which appears in the post-negation slot, but which does not require negation, is *tòòng*^{4}, meaning 'must' (and as a main verb meaning 'touch, strike'):

(121) *tòòng*^{4} *haj*^{5} *laaw*^{2} *khit*^{0} *khak*^{0}*-khak*^{1} *khian*^{3} *vaj*^{4} *sakòòn*^{1}
must give 3SG think RDP-clear write fix.in.place PCL
'(We) have to get him to think hard about it, and write some (stories) down.' (211.3)

(122) *qan*^{0} *nii*^{4} *ni*^{0} *bò*^{0} *tòòng*^{4} *qaw*^{3} *ma*^{0}
thing DEM.GEN TPC.PCL NEG must take DIR.PCL(come)
peet^{5} *juu*^{1} *pathêêt*^{4} *laaw*^{2}
open be.at country Lao
'This (recording) here, you needn't bring (it and) play (it) in Laos.' (642.13)

It is possible to combine *tòòng*^{4} as an aspectual/modal with *tòòng*^{4} as a main verb:

(123) *bò*^{0} *tòng*^{4} *tòòng*^{4} *dee*^{4}
NEG must touch PCL
'There's no need to touch (it)!'

Immediately before the main verb, and after all other left aspect-modality marking, the directional particles *paj*^{0} 'go' and *ma*^{0} 'come' may appear (cf. full verbs *paj*^{3} 'go' and *maa*^{2} 'come'). These denote directionality of the action – literally or figuratively – with respect to the subject. These 'inner directionals' are always unstressed and atonal in this position:

(124) *haw*^{2} *phu*^{0}*-nùng*^{1} *veej*^{4} *si*^{0} *paj*^{0} *sòòj*^{1} *kan*^{3}
1SG CLF.PERSON-one PCL IRR DIR.PCL(go) help RCP
'I alone will go and help them.' (165.16)

(125) *lèèw⁴* *hòòt⁴* *mùù⁴-maj¹-mùù⁴-lun²* *haw²* *ka⁰* *si⁰* *ma⁰*
PFV reach day-new-day-after 1SG FOC.PCL IRR DIR.PCL(come)

thaam³ *qiik⁵* *vaa¹-san⁴*
ask more say-thus

'"And so when it comes to the new day, I will come and ask further", (he) said.' (142.11)

As a left aspectual/modal, *daj⁴*, elsewhere a main verb meaning 'come to have', has a slot of its own, after post-negation aspectual/modals, and before inner directionals. It has a meaning glossed here as 'ACHV' (with interpretations ranging from 'achievement' to 'must' to 'get to' to 'manage to'; cf. Enfield 2003: Chapter 3):

(126) *tòò¹* *paj³* *nii⁴* *si⁰* *daj⁰* *sanee³* *law¹* *nithaan²*
connect go DEM.GEN IRR ACHV introduce tell tale

lùang¹ *sin³saj²*
story S.

'Now, (I must) introduce the tale of Sinsay.' (152.6)

(127) *haw²* *bò⁰* *daj⁰* *kin³* *khaw⁵* *dêj²*
1SG NEG ACHV eat rice PCL

'I didn't (get to) eat, you know.' (390.13)

(128) *khian³* *qan⁰-nan⁴* *phen¹* *vaj⁴* *vaa¹* *si⁰* *bò⁰* *daj⁰* *maa²*
write CLF-DEM.NONPROX 3SG keep say IRR NEG ACHV come

'(I) write a whatdoyoucallit [lit. a "that thing"] (to) them, telling (them I) won't (be able to) come (back).' (551.5)

(129) *tamluat⁵* *bò⁰* *than²* *daj⁰* *maa²* *tòòn³* *nan⁴*
police NEG on.time ACHV come time DEM.NONPROX

'The police hadn't yet arrived at that time.' (3.13)

(130) *haw²* *ka⁰* *daj⁰* *paj³* *fang²*
1SG FOC.PCL ACHV go listen

'I did (get to) go and listen.' (368.13)

Examples in this section have shown that a main verb may be left-marked by a string of morphemes with aspectual and/or modal function, in a reasonably fixed order (as specified in Figure 4.4.2-1). Only those morphemes that fill the irrealis and negation slots are not deverbal (i.e. they are the only ones not transparently related to full verbs).

The greater verbiness of the pre-irrealis and post-negation aspect-modality slots shows up in stress/intonation patterns. These elements normally take stress. The *daj⁰* and directional slots are seldom if ever stressed, and negation also is usually not. However, if negation appears with a left aspectual/modal (apart from 'irrealis'), the modal takes stress, and the negative marker goes unstressed. Pre-irrealis aspectual/modals are also usually stressed.[22]

Note that elements which go in the more verby pre-irrealis and post-negation slots tend

22 Intonation is an important component of the grammar of Lao, about which little is yet known.

also to be more freely movable around the verb complex. Thus, some post-negation aspectual/modals may appear after *daj*^{0}, as in the following example, derived from (118) above (repeated below example (131) for convenience):

(131) *ngen*^{2}/ *khaw*^{3} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *suu*^{1} *saj*^{4} *laaj*^{3}
money 3PL NEG ACHV tend.to use much
'Money, they didn't tend to use much (then).'

(118) *ngen*^{2}/ *khaw*^{3} *bò*^{0} *suu*^{1} *daj*^{0} *saj*^{4} *laaj*^{3}
money 3PL NEG tend.to ACHV use much
'Money, they didn't tend to use much (then).' (246.14)

There is apparently no difference in meaning between these two examples. Some pre-irrealis aspectual/modals, being adverbial in nature, may appear sentence-initially (i.e. before the subject), as the following examples of *kùap*^{5} 'almost' illustrate:

(132) *kùap*^{5} *khòòj*^{5} *lom*^{4}
almost 1SG fall.over
'I almost fell over.'

(133) *khòòj*^{5} *kùap*^{5} *lom*^{4}
1SG almost fall.over
'I almost fell over.'

Note that placement of the focus marker *ka*^{0} is always before *all* the left aspectual/modals described here (see examples (116), (125), and (130), above). In every example discussed so far in this section, *ka*^{0} is insertable immediately before the leftmost verbal marker. Given the known properties of *ka*^{0} (cf. §4.3.4.2, §4.4.1.6, above) we may conclude from this that the first left aspectual/modal is the leftmost element of the sentence-level verb phrase.

Examples with all the slots in the verb complex shown in Figure 4.4.2-1 filled are rare. None occur in my corpus, but the following constructed example is considered by informants to be a natural sounding sentence:

(134) *laaw*^{2} *khùù*^{2} *sí*^{0} *bò*^{0} *khòòj*^{1} *daj*^{0} *paj*^{3} *kin*^{3}
3SG probably IRR NEG particularly ACHV DIR.PCL(GO) consume
kafêê^{2} *lèèw*^{4}
coffee PF
'S/he probably doesn't tend to get to go and drink coffee anymore.'

These and other details of the internal complexities of preverbal aspect-modality marking need not be discussed further here. We now consider their relevance to the topic of this chapter, namely their status as 'verbs' in surface strings involving other verbs.

4.4.2.2. *Preverbal aspectual/modals or complement-taking predicates?*

Given that certain preverbal aspectual-modals double as verbs, then in certain apparent V1-V2 strings, the V1 element may be interpreted as either a complement-taking predicate with a V2 verbal complement, or as a left aspect-modality marker of the right

often difficult to make a decisive analysis one way or the other, since the path of grammaticalization is from complement-taking predicate to preverbal marker, with accompanying semantic change. It is not always possible to say when a V1 element has become 'grammatical' and is no longer 'lexical', but there are illustrative cases in which the V1 element is clearly polysemous, with one aspectual-modal meaning and one full verb meaning. We consider the two examples of *mak*^{1} 'like, tend to' and *jaak*^{5} 'want, somewhat'.

4.4.2.2.1. *mak*^{1} *'like, tend to'*

As a complement-taking predicate, *mak*^{1} means 'like to', as illustrated in the following examples:

(135) *bò*^{0} *mak*^{1} *hêt*^{1} *ka*^{0} *taam*^{3} *caw*^{4}
NEG like do/work FOC.PCL follow 2SG
'(If you) didn't like working, then that was up to you.' (773.11)

(136) *tèè*^{1} *vaa*^{1} *khòòj*^{5} *mak*^{1} *paj*^{3} *beng*^{1} *paj*^{3} *som*^{2}
but COMP 1SG like go look go spectate
'But I like to go and watch, to spectate.' (282.12)

Elsewhere, *mak*^{1} functions as an aspectual/modal, referring to something 'tending to' happen. The next two examples have non-desirable predications in the lower verb phrases — 'catching disease', and 'getting arrested' – showing clearly that these are not things the main subject literally 'likes':

(137) *man*^{2} *ka*^{0} *si*^{0} *hêt*^{1} *haj*^{5} *kaj*^{1} *haw*^{2} *han*^{0} *bò*^{0}
3SG FOC.PCL IRR make give chicken 1SG TPC.PCL NEG
mak^{1} *tit*^{2} *phañaat*^{4}
like attach disease
'It will cause those chickens of ours not to tend to catch disease.' (14.9)

(138) *phu*^{0}*-ñing*^{2} *nùng*^{1} *sakeet*^{5} *vêlaa*^{2} *nan*^{4} *han*^{0} *mak*^{1} *ca*^{0}
person-female wear skirt time DEM.NONPROX TPC.PCL like IRR
thùùk^{5} *cap*^{2}
suffer catch
'Women who wore skirts at that time would tend to get arrested.' (281.9)

Note that in (137), *mak*^{1} appears in the post-negation slot, while in (138) it is in the pre-irrealis slot (cf. Figure 4.4.2-1, above). This reveals a structural distinction, which may need to be further explored. Consider the following contrasts, involving the same alternations with other preverbal aspectual/modals *qaat*^{5}*-ca*^{0} 'might' and *naa*^{5}*-ca*^{0} 'should':[23]

23 It seems here that *ca*^{0} and the aspectual-modal form a unit, with the effect that NEG and IRR can occur in the non-canonical order, as in the (b) examples.

(139) (a) *qaat*^{5} *ca*^{0} *bò*^{0} *paj*^{3}
Might IRR NEG go
'might not go'

(b) *bò*^{0} *qaat*^{5} *ca*^{0} *paj*^{3}
NEG might IRR go
'not likely to go'

(140) (a) *naa*^{5} *ca*^{0} *bò*^{0} *hêt*^{1}
should IRR NEG do
'should not do it' (or: 'should have not done it')

(b) *bò*^{0} *naa*^{5} *ca*^{0} *hêt*^{1}
NEG should IRR do
'shouldn't do it' (or: 'should not have done it')

That preverbal *mak*^{1} is polysemous is decisively demonstrated by the following jocular expression, in which one of the meanings of *mak*^{1} is asserted, and one meaning is negated:

(141) *khòòj*^{5} *mak*^{1} *lùùm*^{2} *tèè*^{1} *khòòj*^{5} *bò*^{0} *mak*^{1} *lùùm*^{2}
1SG tend forget but 1SG NEG like forget
'I tend to forget (things), but I don't like to forget things.'

Some examples show bridging contexts in which both readings are possible (i.e. they are communicatively equivalent):

(142) *suan*^{1}*-laaj*^{3} *kaan*^{3}*-hêt*^{1} *khòòk*^{4} *kaj*^{1} *ni*^{0} *khaw*^{3} *mak*^{1}
part-much NSR-make coop chicken TPC.PCL 3PL like
hêt^{1} *juu*^{1} *bòòn*^{1} *suung*^{3}
make be.at place high
'Mostly, (in) making chicken coops, they like?/tend? to make them in high places.' (13.8)

(143) *khaw*^{3} *mak*^{1} *khaaj*^{3} *tòòn*^{3} *saw*^{4} *naa*^{3}
3PL like sell time early.morning PCL
'They like?/tend? to sell (stuff) in the early morning, you know.' (220.8)

In its complement-taking predicate usage, *mak*^{1} is a main verb, as demonstrated by the fact that a 'like to' interpretation is forced when *mak*^{1} is used as a yes-answer:

(144) Q: *khaw*^{3} *mak*^{1} *khaaj*^{3} *tòòn*^{3} *saw*^{4} *bòò*^{3}
3PL like sell time early.morning PCL(Q)
'Do they like?/tend? to sell (stuff) in the early morning?'

A: *mak*^{1}
like
'Yes, they like to.' (NOT: 'Yes, they tend to'.)

Similarly, if the clausal object of *mak*^{1} is postposed, in right position, *mak*^{1} is left on its own, and again may only be interpreted as a main verb, meaning 'like to':

(145) *mak*^{1} *dêj*^{2} \ *khaaj*^{3} *tòòn*^{3} *saw*^{4}
like PCL sell time early.morning
'They like it, you know – selling in the early morning.'
(NOT: 'They tend to...')

In both cases, if *mak*^{1} and the following verb (phrase) were not separated, the ambiguity between 'tend to V' and 'like to V' would remain. Compare the following examples to (144A) and (145), respectively:

(146) *mak*^{1} *khaaj*^{3}
like sell
i.'(Yes,they)tendtosell(them).'
ii. '(Yes, they) like to sell (them).'

(147) *mak*^{1} *khaaj*^{3} *dêj*^{2} \ *tòòn*^{3} *saw*^{4}
like sell PCL time morning
i. '(They) like selling, you know, in the morning.'
ii. '(They) tend to sell, you know, in the morning.'

4.4.2.2.2. *jaak*^{5} *'want, somewhat'*

Now consider *jaak*^{5} 'want', which in V1 position may be interpreted as a complement-taking predicate 'want to', or as a preverbal modal/adverbial marker 'somewhat', as the ambiguity of the following example demonstrates:

(148) *khon*^{2} *hùan*^{2} *nii*^{4} *jaak*^{5} *kêng*^{1}
people house DEM.GEN want adept
i. 'People of this house are somewhat clever.'
ii. 'The people of this house want to be clever.'

In the following examples, *jaak*^{5} 'want' receives the aspect-modality interpretation 'somewhat' (note that in all cases the lower verbs are stative):

(149) *diaw.nii*^{4} *ka*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *thaw*^{5} *nòòj*^{5}*-nùng*^{1} *lèèw*^{4}
now FOC.PCL want be.aged small-one PFV
'Now (they) tend to be a little bit aged already.' (767.4)
(NOT: 'Now they want to be a little bit aged already.')

(150) *jaak*^{5} *kham*^{1}*-mùùt*^{4} *dèè*^{1} *lèèw*^{4} *san.na*^{0}
want twilight-dark PCL PFV PCL
'It had already become twilight-ish and somewhat dark.' (941.5)
(NOT: 'It already wanted to become twilight and dark.')

(151) *hêt*^{1} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *dii*^{3} *paan-daj*^{3}
make FOC.PCL NEG want good extent-which
'It was not very well made.' (932.10)
(NOT: 'It didn't want to be well made.')

(152) *jaak*^{5} *qòòn*^{1} *hèèng*^{2} *lèèw*^{4} *sùa*^{3} *na*^{0}
want weak strength PFV tiger PCL
'(He) was somewhat weak already, the tiger.' (938.3)
(NOT: '(He) wanted to be weak already, the tiger.')

In these cases, *jaak*^{5} alone as a yes-answer would not be acceptable, and the complement of *jaak*^{5} could not be postposed into right position leaving *jaak*^{5} on its own as a main verb. The following ungrammatical examples are modelled on (149) and (150), above:

(153) **diaw.nit*^{4} *ka*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *lèèw*^{4} *dêj*^{2} \ *thaw*^{5} *nòòj*^{5}*-nùng*^{1}
now FOC.PCL want PFV PCL be.aged small-one
Does not mean: 'Now (they) tend to be already – a little bit aged.'

(Interpretable if *jaak*^{5} is taken as a simple main verb 'to be hungry', and the two verbs head separate clauses: 'Now (they)'re hungry – (they)'re a bit old.')

(154) **jaak*^{5} *lèèw*^{4} *san.na*^{0} \ *kham*^{1}*-mùùt*^{4} *dèè*^{1}
want PFV PCL twilight-dark PCL
Does not mean: 'It had already somewhat become – twilight and dark.'
(Interpretable as: '(I'm) hungry – it's getting late.')

If a [*jaak*^{5} + complement] expression is rephrased with the complement moved into right position (as in (153) and (154)), the verb *jaak*^{5} on its own cannot be interpreted as an aspect-modality marker. The only available interpretation in these cases is to regard *jaak*^{5} as playing yet another role, i.e. acting as a separate main verb 'to be hungry (for something)'.

Note finally that we can make explicit the contrast between these two senses of *jaak*^{5} due to the combinatoric constraint whereby the aspect-modality sense 'somewhat' only appears with stative verb complements. The following examples show that while *jaak*^{5} is ambiguous with a stative verb such as *suung*^{3} 'tall' (as in (155)), the 'somewhat' meaning is not available when the complement of *jaak*^{5} is a *non*-stative verb such as *paj*^{3} 'go' (as in (155)):

(155) *laaw*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *suung*^{3}
3SG want tall
i.'S/hewantstobetall.'
ii. 'S/he is somewhat tall.'

(156) *laaw*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *paj*^{3}
3SG want go
'S/he wants to go.'
(NOT: 'S/he somewhat goes.')

4.4.2.2.3. *Summary*

We have observed in this section the close relationship between preverbal aspect-modality marking and head-initial complementation structures. The distinction between the two is demonstrated by grammatical effects associated with differences in headedness. For a V1-V2 combination, two possibilities are that (a) V1 is head, taking subordinate V2 as a complement, or (b) that V2 is head, modified aspectually/modally by the preceding V1. These are obviously beginning and end points on a path of reanalysis in grammatical change (Harris and Campbell 1995: 61ff). This section has shown that for some combinations of verbs these patterns compete, producing semantic (and subsequent behavioural) distinctions.

4.4.2.3. *Postverbal aspectual/modals*

Postverbal aspect-modality marking is different in nature to the preverbal marking observed in the previous section. Right aspectual/modals include both some unstressed morphemes (e.g. *la*^{0}/*le*^{0} 'PFV'), as well as some fully stressed and main verb-like elements (e.g. *lèèw*^{4} 'PFV', *daj*^{4} 'can', *than*^{2} 'on time', and others which may be impossible to distinguish from resultative/adverbials), and a number of non-deverbal adverbial/aspectual morphemes (e.g. *qiik*^{5} 'more', and other right-compounding adverbials). Postverbal aspect-modality marking seldom intervenes between verb phrases. Most postverbal aspect-modality markers behave grammatically like resultative V2s (§4.4.6.2, below; cf. Enfield 2003: 117ff).

4.4.2.4. *Postverbal aspectual/modals or right-head resultative/adverbials?*

Other sections in this chapter provide details on resultative constructions and adverbial constructions, in which the clausal head is the resultative/adverbial V2 (cf. §4.4.6, below). Certain V2 elements have taken on aspectual modal functions, becoming distinct in meaning, while more or less retaining the grammatical behaviour of the resultative/adverbial V2 elements. The following example shows the verb *daj*^{4} in V2 position, ambiguous as to a modal reading 'can' and a resultative verb reading 'succeed':

(157) *sêng*^{3} *daj*^{4}
sit.exam can/succeed
i. '(I) can sit the exam.' (V2 as modal)
ii. '(I) passed the exam.' (V2 as verb)

Sections §4.4.6.2- 4.4.6.4, below, give further details on resultative and adverbial expressions. We now turn to multi-verb constructions for the expression of three-participant events.

4.4.3. 'Despatch' expressions for hosting three arguments in a single clause

Some verbs describe events which involve three participants (e.g. transfer verbs like *haj*^{5} 'give' and placement verbs like *saj*^{1} 'put').[24] There are three basic strategies in Lao for associating three participants with a single verb in a clausal predication, namely (1) zero anaphora (i.e. simply omitting explicit reference to one or more participants, as in *I gave John* when it is understood in the context that 'the money' is the theme), (2) using the Left Position

24 This section is based on Enfield (forthcoming), and the issues are covered in more detail there.

to host a third argument (as in *The money, I gave John*), and (3) incorporation of a theme argument with the verb (*I money-gave John*). See Enfield (forthcoming) for details.

Most commonly, however, when a verb describes an event in which three participants are involved, an additional verb will share the work of hosting three arguments in a single clause. The basic pattern is as follows:

(158) NP_{AGENT} — V1 — NP_{THEME} — V2 — NP_{GOAL}

where V2 is a verb of 'despatch' (i.e. expressing some kind of transfer or placement), and V1 may be either a despatch verb or a 'handling' verb (i.e. a verb describing the way in which something is handled, usually *qaw*^{3} 'take in hand', but also including verbs such as *ñok*^{1} 'lift' and *cap*^{2} 'grab'). The two variations on this basic pattern are accordingly termed the 'handling-despatch' and 'despatch-despatch' patterns.

The 'handling-despatch' construction typically describes transfer or placement (i.e. where the verb specifying three participants is a 'give' or 'put' verb, as V2).

(159) 'Handling-despatch' construction
NP_{SOURCE} — $V_{HANDLING}$ — NP_{THEME} — $V_{DESPATCH}$ — NP_{GOAL}

The following examples all feature *qaw*^{3} 'take' as the handling verb, with three-participant despatch verbs in V2 position (*vaj*^{4} 'put/place/fix', *song*^{1} 'send', *haj*^{5} 'give' and *saj*^{1} 'put/put in', respectively).

(160) *qaw*^{3} *kiaw*^{1} *vaj*^{4}
take cutter place/fix
'(S/he) put the cutter away.' (929.1)

(161) *qaw*^{3} *vèèn*^{1}*-taa*^{3} *ma*^{0} *song*^{1} *cêk*^{2} *khùùn*^{2}
take mirror-eye('spectacles') DIR.PCL(come) send chinaman return
'(He) took the spectacles back to the Chinaman.' (57.8)

(162) *qaw*^{3} *ngaaw*^{4} *maa*^{2} *haj*^{5} *qaaj*^{4} *nèè*^{1}
take sword DIR.PCL(come) give O.BRO PCL
'Please give me the sword.' (891.15)

(163) *tamlaa*$^{2}_{i}$ *khaw*^{3} *ka*^{0} *qaw*^{3} *ø*$_{i}$ *maa*^{2} *saj*^{1} *thong*^{3}*-sùa*^{5}
recipe 3PL FOC.PCL take come put bag-shirt
'The recipe, he put in his shirt pocket.' (40.10)[25]

The next examples feature different handling verbs (*ñok*^{1} 'lift', *hòòp*^{5} 'carry in the arms', and *nam*^{2} 'lead, take with', respectively) in V1 handling-verb position:

(164) *dang*^{3} *faj*^{2} *lèka*^{0} *saj*^{1} *taw*^{4}*-faj*^{2} *mòò*^{5}*-kèèng*^{3} *ñaj*^{1} *ñok*^{1}
light fire CLNK put stove-fire pot-soup big lift
'(He) lit the fire, and then put the big soup pot on the stove.' (925.7)

25 This example shows fronting of the theme *tam'aa*^{2} 'recip '

(165) *bak²* *ñak¹* *kum³phan²* *hòòp⁵* *phuu²* *pên³* *nuaj¹*
CLF.MASC ogre K. carry.in.arms mountain be CLF

ma⁰ *thim⁵* *saj¹* *ø*
DIR.PCL(come) discard put

'The ogre Kumphan carried the mountain whole (and) dropped it (on that place).' (201.6)

(166) *ca⁰* *tòòng⁴* *nam²* *saan³* *nii⁴* *haj⁵* *sêê³naa².qaa³maat⁴*
IRR must lead official.letter DEM.GEN give military.forces
'(We) will have to take this official letter to the military forces.' (89.11)

In the 'despatch-despatch' construction, both V1 and V2 are three-participant verbs, both expressing some kind of 'giving', 'transfer', or 'placement':

(167) 'Despatch-despatch' construction
NP_{SOURCE} — $V_{DESPATCH}$ — NP_{THEME} — $V_{DESPATCH}$ — NP_{GOAL}

The second despatch verb is normally *haj⁵* 'give' or *saj¹* 'put', with the first verb expressing a more specific notion of 'despatch', such as *mòòp⁴* 'hand over' or *song¹* 'send' in the following examples:

(168) *phon³* *thii²-sut²ø* *ka⁰* *mòòp⁴* *mùang²* *haj⁵* *sin²saj²*
result at-extreme FOC.PCL hand.over kingdom give S.
'The final result (was that he) handed over the kingdom to Sinxay.' (205.10)

(169) *khòòj⁵* *si⁰* *song¹* *lot¹-cak²* *haj⁵* *phòò¹*
1SG IRR send CT.VEHICLE-motorcycle give father
'I'm going to deliver the motorcycle to Dad.'

Verbs of 'communication' such as *vaw⁴* 'say', *law¹* 'relate, tell', and *saaj³* 'screen (e.g. a film)' allow addition of a final verb of 'reception' (typically *fang²* 'listen' or *beng¹* 'look') to the two-verb structure sketched in (158) using the simple despatch verb *haj⁵* 'give' in V2 position as follows:[26]

(170) 'Communication-despatch-reception' construction
NP_{SOURCE}—$V_{COMMUNICATION}$—NP_{THEME}—$V_{DESPATCH}$('give')—NP_{GOAL}—$V_{RECEPTION}$

Here are some examples:

(171) *khòòj⁵* *daj⁰* *vaw⁴ø* *haj⁵* *caw⁴* *fang²* *nòòj⁵-nùng¹* *mèèn¹* *bòò³*
1SG ACHV say give 2SG listen a.little be.so PCL
'I did tell you (this joke) a little, right?' (35.2)

26 This type of construction is found across languages of mainland Southeast Asia, including Vietnamese, Khmer, and Cantonese (cf. e.g. Matthews and Yip 1994: 138).

(172) *khòò*^{3} *haj*^{5} *vaw*^{4} *ø* *haj*^{5} *qaaj*^{4} *fang*^{2}
request give say give O.BRO listen
'Please tell (it) to me.' (199.12)

(173) *man*^{2} *saaj*^{3} *nang*^{3} *haj*^{5} *kuu*^{3} *beng*^{1}
3SG screen movie give 1SG look
'S/he screened a movie (for) me (to) watch.'

Similar constructions to those we have seen so far in this section are also used for descriptions of three-participant events in which no single verb specifies three participants. The following examples illustrate the structure in (158), where V1 is *qaw*^{3} 'take', and the theme argument is an instrument:

(174) *qaw*^{3} *nèèw*^{2}*-visaa*^{2} *maj*^{1} *ma*^{0} *khèèng*^{1}*khan*^{3} *kap*^{2} *haw*^{2} *na*^{0}
take manner-plan new DIR.PCL(come) compete with 1SG PCL
'They will fight us with a new strategy, you know.' (150.3)

(175) *bèèp*^{5} *ø* *qaw*^{3} *hua*^{3}*-laan*^{4} *son*^{2} *kan*^{3}
style take head-bald make.collide RCP
'...(in the) manner (of) butting each other with bald heads.' (72.6)

(176) *man*^{2} *qaw*^{3} *sòòn*^{3} *ma*^{0} *cam*^{4} *kacèè*^{3} *fong*^{4} *leej*^{2}
3SG take arrow DIR.PCL(come) ram lock come.apart altogether
'He broke the lock apart with an arrow.' (176.17)
(i.e. 'He took an arrow and rammed the lock – it came apart completely.')

The following examples also illustrate the structure in (158), where V1 is *qaw*^{3} 'take', but in these cases the theme argument is a causee:[27]

(177) *qaw*^{3} *siang*^{2}*-miang*^{5} *ma*^{0} *suaj*^{1}
take S.M. DIR.PCL(come) help
'(He would) get Siang-Miang to (come and) help (him).' (93.16)

(178) *qaw*^{3} *khon*^{2} *paj*^{0} *khut*^{1} *hêt*^{1} *khòòng*^{2}*.mùang*^{3}
take people DIR.PCL(go) dig make canal
'They got the people to dig the canals.' (267.9)

27 In the first two of these examples it is conceivable that the theme arguments are 'instruments', but I think this would be metaphorical—the idea of an 'instrument' (at least as a semantic role in grammatical constructions) should not be stretched to include entities which are not 'things'

(179) *qaw*^{3} *pasaason*^{2} *paj*^{0} *hian*^{2} *juu*^{1} *vat*^{1} *naa*^{3} *lèka*^{0}
take common.person DIR.PCL(go) study be.at temple PCL CLNK

qaw^{3} *khon*^{2} *paj*^{0} *sòòn*^{3}
take person DIR.PCL(go) teach

'They got the common people to (go and) study at the temples, you know, and they got people to (go and) teach them.' (255.1)

See also sections below (§4.4.8) for further description of causative constructions.

4.4.4. Disposal constructions

So-called 'disposal constructions'[28] take the same basic form as 'despatch' constructions examined in the previous section, but the difference is that the addition of a second verb does not bring an extra participant into the clause (Enfield 2002b: 23-25).

Here are three examples of the disposal construction:

(180) *phen*^{1} *ka*^{0} *qaw*^{3} *to*^{0}*-nii*^{4} *paj*^{3} *hian*^{2} *khùù*^{2}*-kan*^{3}
3SG FOC.PCL take CLF-DEM.GEN DIR.PCL(go) study same-RCP
'They also did study this.' (270.6)

(181) [*saj*^{5}*-kòòk*^{5} *nii*^{4}]$_{i}$ *caw*^{4} *qaw*^{3} *ø*$_{i}$ *paj*^{3} *cùùn*^{3}
sausage DEM.GEN 2SG take DIR.PCL(go) fry
'These sausages... you go and fry.' (39.10)

(182) *pasaason*^{2} *qaw*^{3} *vithañuq*^{1} *ma*^{0} *fang*^{2}
common.person take radio DIR.PCL(come) listen
'The people would listen to radios.' (233.6)

In the third example, the noun phrase *vithañuq*^{1} 'radio' is patient/object of both the preceding, and following, verbs. The example describes the same event as the following, in which only one verb appears:

(183) *pasaason*^{2} *fang*^{2} *vithañuq*^{1}
common.person listen radio
'The people would listen to radios.'

A notable feature of these constructions is their inclusion of a directional particle (either *ma*^{0} 'come' or *paj*^{0} 'go') before V2. Does the directional verb particle attach to the preceding verb phrase, or to V2? The two directionals are not symmetrical in their semantics: *ma*^{0} 'come' is less suggestive of literal motion on the figure's part, and instead suggests merely self-directed action, while *paj*^{0} 'go' is more suggestive of real motion on the figure's part. Compare the following two examples:

28 The term 'disposal construction' is one of a number of equivalent terms (including also 'pretransitive' construction) which have arisen mostly in the study of Sinitic languages (Li and Thompson 1981: Chapter 15, Matthews and Yip 1994: 144), and other Southeast Asian languages such as Lue (Jagacinski 1987) and Bouyei (Zhou 2000). These terms are far from ideal, however.

(184) *qaw*^{3} *khanom*^{3} *ma*^{0} *kin*^{1}
take sweet DIR.PCL(come) eat
'(S/he) picked up the sweets to eat.' (or: '(S/he) picked up the sweets and ate (them).')

(185) *qaw*^{3} *khanom*^{3} *paj*^{0} *kin*^{3}
take sweet DIR.PCL(go) eat
'(S/he) picked up the sweets to go and eat.' (or: '(S/he) picked up the sweets and went and ate (them).')

I am unable to specify the exact conditions under which a structure like (182) is preferred to one like (183). While other 'take'- and related constructions function to add an extra argument to a clause (Enfield 2002b, forthcoming; §4.4.3, above), this 'disposal' or 'pretransitive' construction has no such function. Although there are two transitive verbs in (182), there remain only two arguments, both shared by the two verbs. The function of the construction clearly relates to information structure distinctions, but this is not yet well understood for Lao (Enfield 2002b: 23-25).[29]

4.4.5. Complex motion expressions

Expression of complex motion events involves a number of complexities which pose challenges to the capacity of the clause to package information (Talmy 1985, 2000). I have investigated the expression of complex motion in Lao using video stimuli, including a set of schematic animations (Bohnemeyer and Caelen 1999) and a set of video clips with real actors (van Staden et al 2001). These stimuli were designed to manipulate a number of parameters of potential linguistic importance including number and type of non-figure objects in a motion scene, variation of manner and path combinations, and number of separate vector changes in a single motion scene.

4.4.5.1. *Consecutive vector motion*

One way in which a motion event may be complex is due to a mover changing direction of motion a number of times. Description of such 'multi-vector' events demands separation of each vector description into distinct clauses, and thus does not make use of the kind of tight V1-V2 strings which are the focus of this chapter. 'Consecutivising' constructions separate out *parts* of a complex motion event (e.g. different vectors, *temporally distinct*, and not of the same kind). Basically, these are clause-chains (see §4.4.10.1, below), which remain clause-separable by partition into distinct intonation units, with or without morphological material such as conjunctive particles.

One of the scenes in the set of animated stimuli (Bohnemeyer and Caelen 1999) shows a complex path in which a moving figure (a red ball) sitting at the bottom of a tall blue container rolls to the side of the container, up the inside wall to the top, across the rim of the container wall, and down the outside to the outer base of the container, then continuing along the ground going away from the base of the container, to a small green pyramid, rolling finally up the side of the pyramid and coming to a halt at its peak. The following spontaneous description of this scene shows each separate clause (separated by '–') expressing one distinct vector at a time (note that a number of the vectors in the scene are not included in the description at all):

29 See research on this problem in other Tai-Kadai languages Lue (Jagacinski 1987) and Bouyei (Zhou 2000), as well as Sinitic languages (Chao 1968, Li and Thompson 1981, Matthews and Yip 1994).

(186) *sii³-dèèng³* *king⁴* *khùn⁵* *paj³* *paaj³* *sii³-thalêê²* – *king⁴*
colour-red roll ascend go tip colour-sea roll

long² *maa²* phùùn⁴ din³ - lèèw⁴ long² paj³ haa³
descend come floor ground PFV descend go seek

sii³-khiaw³ - khùn⁵ còòm³ *sii³-khiaw³*
colour-green ascend peak colour-green

'The red thing rolls up to the tip of the sea-coloured thing – (it) comes rolling down to – the ground – then (it) goes down towards the green thing – (and) goes up to the peak (of) – the green thing.'

The aspects of this example most relevant for present purposes are contained within single clause units. These are the manner-path-direction constructions in which combinations of manner and path of motion and/or presence of multiple non-figure objects are expressed by more than one verb together in a single clause. We now turn to these.

4.4.5.2. *Manner-path-direction constructions*

In events with a single motion vector, three distinct facets of motion can be distinguished, namely *manner* (i.e. by what action the motion is conducted, e.g. 'walk', 'roll', 'fly'), *path* (i.e. with respect to spatial coordinates intrinsic to the non-figure entities in the scene, e.g. 'ascend/up', 'enter/into', 'cross/across') and *direction* (i.e. with respect to some relative deictic anchor, e.g. 'go/away', 'come/here').

1	2		3	4
FIG mover	**verb of MANNER**		**verb of PATH**	**verb of DIRECTION**
	DOZENS OF VERBS:		10 VERBS:	3 VERBS:
	lèèn¹, 'run' *ñaang¹* 'walk' *king⁴* 'roll' *lùan¹* 'slide' *tên⁴* 'jump' *lòòj²* 'float' *etc. ...*	*khii¹* 'ride' *bin³* 'fly' *khaan²* 'crawl' *taj¹* 'creep' *com¹* 'sink' *doot⁵* 'leap' *etc. ...*	*khùn⁵* 'ascend' *long²* 'descend' *khaw⁵* 'enter' *qòòk⁵* 'exit' *khaam⁵* 'cross.over' *lòòt⁴* 'cross.under' *taam³* 'follow' *phaan¹* 'pass' *liap⁴* 'go along edge' *qòòm⁴* 'go around'	*paj³* 'go' *mùa²* 'return' *maa²* 'come'

FIGURE 4.4.5.2-1: SLOTS IN THE 'MANNER-PATH-DIRECTION CONSTRUCTION'

Two representative examples of this construction can be found in the first two clauses of (186), above:

(187) (a) *king*^{4} *khùn*^{5} *paj*^{3}
roll ascend go

(b) *king*^{4} *long*^{2} *maa*^{2}
roll descend come
'...roll down coming...'

It is impossible to reflect in the English translation the fact that the three elements are each unmarked verbs of similar status.[30]

Due to the fact that these constructions express 'overlay' of multiple facets of motion in a single 'happening', they are not clause-separable. Thus, while the three verbs in (188), below, describe simultaneous and overlaid facets of a single event, the insertion of the linking particle *lèka*^{0} in subsequent examples (189) and (190) encourages an interpretation by which the different verbs express temporally separated events, where the resulting meaning is very different to the non clause-separated example:

(188) *man*^{2} *ñaang*^{1} *qòòk*^{5} *paj*^{3}
3SG walk exit go
'He walked out away.'

(189) *man*^{2} *ñaang*^{1} *lèka*^{0} *qòòk*^{5} *paj*^{3}
3SG walk CLNK exit go
'He walked and went out away.'

(190) *man*^{2} *ñaang*^{1} *lèka*^{0} *qòòk*^{5} *lèka*^{0} *paj*^{3}
3SG walk CLNK exit CLNK go
'He walked and went out and went.'

4.4.5.3. *Multi-participant motion events*

The 'path' and 'direction' verbs in the manner-path-direction construction may take complements referring to non-figure participants. These can be simple nominals or oblique phrases headed by 'deverbal prepositions' such as *haa*^{3} 'seek'/'towards', *theng*^{3} 'reach'/'to', *hòòt*^{4} 'reach'/'to', or *caak*^{5} 'leave'/'from'. By the term 'non-figure participants' I mean the participants in a motion event which have semantic roles such as 'source', 'goal', 'path', etc. (e.g. *house* in *He ran from/to/past the house*; Jackendoff 1983, Talmy 2000).

The following examples, based on example (188), above, show the addition of non-figure participants – in the first case as simple nominals (*khòòj*^{4} 'hill' and *hùan*^{2} 'house'), and in the second case as adjuncts headed by deverbal prepositions (*taam*^{3} *thaang*^{3} [follow path] 'along the path' and *haa*^{3} *hùan*^{2} [seek house] 'towards the house'):

(191) *man*^{2} *ñaang*^{1} *khùn*^{5} *khòòj*^{4} *paj*^{3} *hùan*^{2}
3SG walk ascend hill go house
'He walked up the hill away to (his) house.'

30 Thus, Lao and similar languages do not fit Talmy's (1985, 2000) popular typology which assumes a clear distinction between 'verb' and 'satellite' in a clause.

(192) *man²* *ñaang¹* *khùn⁵* *taam³* *thaang²* *paj³* *haa³* *hùan²*
3SG walk ascend follow path go seek house
'He walked up along the path towards (his) house.'

Descriptions of complex motion events can combine these manner-path-direction constructions with chains of deverbal adjuncts (see §4.4.7, below). The following example is one speaker's description of an animated scene in which motion of a red figure along a single vector is accompanied by the presence of numerous non-figure objects (a blue 'source', a yellow 'path', a red 'via', and a green 'goal'):

(193) *sii³-dèèng³* *king⁴* *qòòk⁵* *caak⁵* *sii³-faa⁴* – *taam³* *sên⁵*
colour-red roll exit from colour-blue follow line

sii³-lùang³ *kaaj³* *sii³-dèèng³* *maa²* *haa³* *sii³-khiaw³*
colour-yellow pass colour-red come seek colour-green

'The red thing rolls out from the blue thing – (and) follows the yellow line, passing the red thing, coming towards the green thing.' (B5)

4.4.6. Secondary predication constructions

Secondary predication constructions are V1-V2 constructions in which one of the verbs (in most cases V2) makes a secondary predication in addition to that of the main verb phrase. There are three semantic subtypes: resultative, adverbial, and depictive, with subtypes of each. In contrast to the constructions we have seen so far, negation (by the negative marker *bò⁰*) may appear on *V2* in many of these constructions, and indeed usually does.[31]

Semantically, I make the following distinctions among secondary predications:[32]

Resultative:
The secondary verb expresses something that happens or is the case *because* the primary predication happens or is the case. Typical examples are *She licked the platter clean* and *He broke it in half*.

Adverbial:
The secondary verb says something about the *manner* of the primary predication, as in *He ate fast* and *She spoke hesitantly*.

Depictive:
The secondary verb expresses an incidental and transient state of one of the participants in a primary predication. There is no connection of cause, result, or manner between the two predications. Stock examples are *She ate the fish raw* and *He gave the lecture nude*.

The following examples, differing only with respect to the identity of the verb in second position, illustrate the three types, respectively:

(194) *man²* *kin³* *paa³* *nii⁴* *met²*
3SG eat fish DEM.GEN finished
'S/he ate this fish up.'

31 With respect to a V1-V2 string, I refer to negation of V1 as initial negation, and negation of V2 as medial negation—when either pattern is possible, there is a corresponding semantic distinction.

32 These three categories are not always neatly separable from each other. Also, while I describe these distinctions as 'semantic', some of the meaning referred in these three categories may be derived from pragmatic implicature. I leave this question open for further exploration in another context.

(195) *man*^{2} *kin*^{3} *paa*^{3} *nii*^{4} *vaj*^{2}
3SG eat fish DEM.GEN fast
'S/he ate this fish fast.'

(196) *man*^{2} *kin*^{3} *paa*^{3} *nii*^{4} *dip*^{2}
3SG eat fish DEM.GEN raw
'S/he ate this fish raw.'

The following subsections survey these three subtypes of descriptive complement construction, and also include some semantically related, but grammatically distinct, constructions (namely, left-headed constructions described in §4.4.6.3.4 and §4.4.6.4.1). First, however, a note on a general aspectual property of these constructions.

4.4.6.1. *Potential/actual ambiguity in descriptive complement constructions*

In the absence of explicit marking, descriptive complement constructions may be ambiguous as to whether they predicate the actuality of the descriptive V2 being realized with respect to a given V1 (e.g. when referring to a particular occasion of a certain event having a certain result), or predicating the *potential* for the descriptive V2 to be realized with respect to the given V1. Thus, the following example of a resultative construction has two interpretations (the first of which was intended in the original context):

(197) *baang*^{3} *khon*^{2} *ka*^{0} *paj*^{3}$_{V1}$ *vit*^{2}$_{V2}$
some people FOC.PCL go avoid/escape

baang^{3} *khon*^{2} *ka*^{0} *paj*^{3}$_{V1}$ *bò*^{0} *vit*^{2}$_{V2}$
some people FOC.PCL go NEG avoid/escape

i. 'Some people made it through, some people didn't make it through.' (755.3)

ii. 'Some people would/can make it through, some people wouldn't/can't make it through.'

The (ii) interpretation expresses the *potential* for a particular event (here 'going') to enable and actually result in, a second event (here 'escaping'). This is expressible as an 'if-then' inference: 'Some people, if they went, would make it through; some people, if they went, wouldn't make it through.' I use the term *non-finite* to refer to cases in which the V2 element is not asserted (Enfield 2003: 100).

This is a typical example of semantic and/or pragmatic effects cohering around a grammatical structure of simple V1-V2 juxtaposition, or 'associative organization' (Diller 1988, Bisang 1991, 1996). Thus, due to the high level of pragmatic dependency in Lao grammar, a modal meaning may emerge naturally out of this resultative V1-V2 structure.[33]

In certain sections below, it will be convenient to disregard 'potential' or non-finite readings of these constructions.

33 Enfield (2003: 125-128) shows that this 'actual'/'potential' opening licences a path in semantic change of the verb *daj*^{4} 'succeed' in V2 position, to mean 'can', related to both the general lack of morphological expression of relationships among predicates in combination, and the heavy reliance on context in determining relationships among expressions with 'associative' organisation.

4.4.6.2. *Resultative constructions*

Resultative constructions are phonologically tight (i.e. they naturally fall under single intonation units), consisting of a verb (phrase) V1, followed by a verb V2 which predicates a result of V1. No morphology encodes the resultative relationship between verbs:[34]

(198) *laaw*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *nok*^{1} *taaj*^{3}
3SG shoot bird die
'S/he shot a bird dead.'

(199) *caw*^{4} *qat*^{2} *patuu*^{3} *nèn*^{5} *bòò*^{3}
2SG close door tight PCL(Q)
'Did you close the door tight?'

(200) *laaw*^{2} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
3SG leap bridge die
'S/he leapt from a bridge and died.'

The yes-answer properties of examples (198-200) are not unequivocal, and if either verb is available alone as a yes-answer, it is usually V2. This is a marked contrast with left-headed complement structures such as those described in §4.4.6.3.4, below. In examples (198-200), it is less obvious which of the two verbs is head, and V2 seems more likely. This is perhaps an odd fact for an otherwise strongly head-initial language.

We now consider some general facts about the semantics of resultative constructions, before going on to discuss some sub-types.

4.4.6.2.1. *Semantics of cause-result expressions: lexicalization versus syntax*

Many events or situations which we want to put into words seem conceptually unitary, yet involve distinct subcomponents. Imagine a man killing a duckling by cutting its neck open. It is natural to think of this as a unitary scene, and describe it with simple grammar, such as the following single-verb transitive clause:

(201) *He killed a duckling.*

But this event can easily be thought of as having more than one component – (a) the man cuts a duckling's neck open; (b) the duckling dies (or becomes no longer alive). While the verb *kill* does not specify *what* the agent does, it does contain in its semantic structure reference to these two separate sub-events: 'the man did something to the duckling, and because of this, after this, it was not alive any more'. This single-verb two-component expression can be represented as $[p_{\text{EVENT}}+q_{\text{RESULT}}]$, with a single set of square brackets representing the single verb form (i.e. *kill*), and the sign '+' representing the relation of cause specified in the verb's internal semantics.

In Lao, as in other languages with widespread use of multi-verb constructions, it is common to explicitly spell out the multi-component structure of events, as follows:

(202) *man*^{2} *paat*^{5} *khòò*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
3SG slice neck die
'He killed (it) by slicing (its) neck.' ('He sliced (its) neck (and it) died.')

34 Throughout this section, the discussion is restricted to 'finite' construals of resultative constructions (i.e. in which V1 and V2 are interpreted as having been attained; cf. §4.4.6.1, above).

The separate expression of those event components by two different verbs can be represented as [p_{EVENT}]+[q_{RESULT}], each component in its own set of square brackets (representing two separate verb forms).

A large class of such conceptually unitary yet multi-component event descriptions may (on semantic grounds) be termed *resultative*, because they predicate a relationship of *result* between sub-components (as in our example 'cut-neck-and-then-because-of-this-be-dead').[35] As just shown, semantically resultative expressions sometimes contain *explicit* reference to more than one event component (*He pounded it flat*), while sometimes the event components are still phonologically separate but bound in morphology (*He flatt-en-ed it*), or are hidden away in the semantics of a single verb (*He squashed it*).

4.4.6.2.2. *Same-subject resultatives*

In same-subject resultatives, the logical subjects of V1 and resultative V2, subscripted for convenience in the following examples, are coreferential (see also (197), above):

(203) *ñang*^{2} *daj*^{0} *kin*$^{3}{}_{\text{V1}}$ *qiim*$^{1}{}_{\text{V2}}$ *juu*^{1}
still ACHV eat satiated PCL
'One still could eat one's fill (at that time).' (741.1)

We may note three important properties displayed by these constructions. First, V1 may appear with its own direct object complement, showing that the first element is a VP and not just a V (using as our example the V1-V2 combination *kin*^{3} *qiim*^{1} 'eat be.satiated' from example (203)):

(204) *khòòj*^{5} *kin*^{3} *mak*^{0}*-muang*^{1} *qiim*^{1} *lèèw*^{4}
1SG eat CT.FRUIT-mango full PFV
'I've eaten my fill of mangoes.'

Second, V2 may be directly negated:

(205) *khòòj*^{5} *kin*^{3} *mak*^{0}*-muang*^{1} *bò*^{0} *qiim*^{1}
1SG eat CT.FRUIT-mango NEG full
'I've not (yet) eaten my fill of mangoes.'

Third, with the medial negation shown in (205), V1 is entailed. Thus, (205) entails 'I've eaten mangoes'. Schematically (assuming a finite reading):

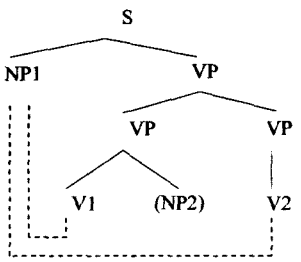
(206) [$_{\text{V1}}$ *bò*^{0} $_{\text{V2}}$] '$_{\text{V1}}$-NEG-$_{\text{V2}}$' entails [$_{\text{V1}}$ *lèèw*^{4}] '$_{\text{V1}}$ PFV'.

Same-subject resultatives are like VP chains (§4.4.10.1., below) with subject of V2 ellipsed under coreference with that of V1, and with further tightness due to the semantic relationship between V1 and V2. V2 is not simply conceptually associated or temporally connected to V1, but has a more specific relation of condition or consequence. (Unlike these resultative constructions, sequential or distributive VP chains may not be medially negated; cf. 4.4.10.1., below.)

These facts suggest the following constituent structure analysis of same-subject resultatives (dotted line connects verbs with their common subject):

35 It is possible that the Lao resultative constructions do not mean 'V1 happened, and then because of this V2 happened', but something more along the lines of 'V1 happened; V2 happened; V2 happened (or could happen) because V1 happened before this'. Of course, it is also possible that the element of causation is pragmatically inferred. Further work is necessary to clarify the matter.

(207)



The two verbs have the same subject, as demonstrated by the following entailment property of these structures:

(208) NP1-V1-NP2-V2 *entails* NP1-V1-NP2 and NP1-V2

Thus, (204) [1SG eat mango full] entails both [1SG eat mango] and [1SG full] (with a close temporal connection implied by the fact that V2 is caused by V1).

In further support of this analysis, note that these constructions are clause-separable, like VP chains (§4.4.10.1, below). Compare (204) with the following:

(209) *khòòj^{5}* *kin^{3}* *mak^{0}-muang^{1}* *naa^{3}* – *khòòj^{5}* *qiim^{1}* *lèèw^{4}*
1SG eat CT.FRUIT-mango PCL – 1SG full PFV
'Hey, I ate mangoes – I'm full.'

(210) *khòòj^{5}* *kin^{3}* *mak^{0}-muang^{1}* *lèka^{0}* *qiim^{1}* *lèèw^{4}*
1SG eat CT.FRUIT-mango CLNK full PFV
'I ate mangoes and (so I'm) full.'

Consider now insertability of the focus particle *ka^{0}*, which may appear in one of two places. First, as would be expected, it may appear marking the highest VP in (207), between matrix subject and predicate (cf. (205)):

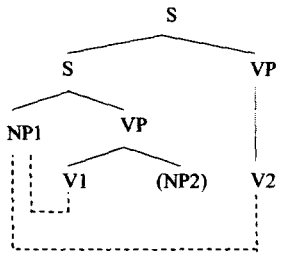
(211) *khòòj^{5}* *ka^{0}* *kin^{3}* *mak^{0}-muang^{1}* *bò^{0}* *qiim^{1}*
1SG FOC.PCL eat CT.FRUIT-mango NEG full
'*I*'ve also not (yet) eaten my fill of mangoes.'

However, a second possibility is for *ka^{0}* to appear immediately before the resultative V2 (and any accompanying aspect-modality marking such as negation):

(212) *khòòj^{5}* *kin^{3}* *mak^{0}-muang^{1}* *ka^{0}* *bò^{0}* *qiim^{1}*
1SG eat CT.FRUIT-mango FOC.PCL NEG full
'I don't/didn't even get full from eating *mangoes*.'

This second possibility supports an analysis in which the resultative V2 is a higher predication about the whole of what precedes it – i.e. with an alternative constituent structure to (207) above, in which V2 is head of the highest sentential VP, and what precedes it is a kind of sentential subject:

(213)



In relativization of the main subject of a different-subject resultative construction, the initial verb must be overtly mentioned. Consider the following different-subject resultative (214), and its relativized form (215) with both VPs present:

(214) *man*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *nok*^{1} *taaj*^{3}
3SG shoot bird die
'He shot the bird dead.'

(215) *kuu*^{3} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *nok*^{1} *taaj*^{3}
1SG see person shoot bird die
'I saw the person who shot the bird dead.'

The first VP is not omissable without changing the meaning:

(216) *kuu*^{3} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
1SG see person die
'I saw the person who died' (not entailed by (215))

The situation for a same-subject resultative, in which the main subject is necessarily also the subject of the second verb (cf. (208), above), is different. Here is a same-subject resultative (217), and in (218) the full construction in a relative clause:

(217) *man*^{2} *tok*^{2} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
3SG fall bridge die
'He fell off the bridge and died.'

(218) *kuu*^{3} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *tok*^{2} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
1SG see person fall bridge die
'I saw the person who fell off the bridge and died.'

In this case, the first VP *is* omissable from the relative clause:

(219) *kuu*^{3} *hên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
1SG see person die
'I saw the person who died' (entailed by (218))

This is because the same-subject resultative pattern entails NP1-V2.

4.4.6.2.3. *Projected resultatives*

'Accomplishment' verbs have been described by Dowty as having a structure in which an activity leads to and causes a change of state (Dowty 1979: 91ff; cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984: 38). The similar but distinct class of *projected accomplishment* verbs (e.g. *samak*^{1} 'apply.for', *haa*^{3}*/sòòk*^{4} 'look for', *hian*^{2} 'study', *sòòp*^{5}*/sêng*^{3} 'sit an exam', *fang*^{2} 'listen'), also refer to an activity leading up to a resultant event or change of state, but instead of entailing the successful result of that ensuing event, the entailment is that in undertaking the activity, the subject's *purpose* is to achieve that result. (Cf. Quine's 'intentional object verbs', 1960: 219-22.) For example, the aim entailed by 'seeking' is 'finding', of 'sitting an exam' is 'passing an exam', of 'listening' to someone is 'understanding' what they are saying. But unlike true accomplishments, none of 'seek', 'sit an exam', nor 'listen' entail those projected results.

Compare entailments of accomplishments with those of projected accomplishments:

(220) Accomplishment

'knit a scarf'
entails ACTIVITY 'knit'
entails PURPOSE 'want there to be a scarf'
entails RESULT 'birth of scarf'
(i.e. change of state from 'there is not a scarf' to 'there is a scarf')

(221) Projected accomplishment

'look for a scarf'
entails ACTIVITY 'look for scarf'
entails PURPOSE 'want to find scarf'
IDEAL RESULT of activity is achievement of purpose 'find scarf'
(i.e. change of state from 'do not have scarf' to 'have scarf')
does not entail 'find scarf'

In a projected resultative construction, a projected accomplishment verb in V1 position makes reference to an *intended* result, and the realization of this result is expressed by the resultative V2:

(222)

man^{2}	*haa*^{3}	*kacèè*^{3}	*hên*^{3}	*lèèw*^{4}
3SG	seek	key	see	PFV

'He's found the key.'

Here, *haa*^{3} 'seek' projects – and does not entail – a result such as 'seeing' or 'encountering' or 'finding' something. Its internal structure may be expressed as '[p_{EVENT}-'seek'(>q_{RESULT}-'find')]' (cf. Table 4.4.6.2.5-1, below). Addition of the separate verb *hên*^{3} 'see' as a resultative V2 overtly expresses the projected result '(>q)'. The overall structure is '[p_{EVENT}-'seek'(>q_{RESULT}-'find')]+[q_{RESULT}-'see']'.

In these projected resultative constructions, medial negation is permissible, whereby V1 is entailed (once again, assuming a finite reading):

(223) *man*^{2} *haa*^{3} *kacèè*^{3} *bò*^{0} *hên*^{3}
3SG seek key NEG see
'He hasn't found (or: can't find) the key.'

Example (223) entails that he has looked for the key.

4.4.6.2.4. *Reiterative resultatives*

As discussed in §4.4.6.2.1, above, sometimes the complexity of multi-component resultative events is encompassed in the semantics of a single verb:

(224) *man*^{2} *khaa*^{5} *pêt*^{2} *to*^{0} *nan*^{4}
3SG kill duck CLF DEM.NONPROX
'He killed that duck.'

The verb *khaa*^{5} 'kill' contains a complex structure [p_{EVENT}+q_{RESULT}] (specifically, ['do something to x']$_{\text{EVENT}}$ + ['x is not alive any more']$_{\text{RESULT}}$]).

A similar resultative event can be explicitly spelt out in Lao with a multi-verb resultative construction:

(225) *man*^{2} *tii*^{3} *pêt*^{2} *to*^{0} *nan*^{4} *taaj*^{3}
3SG hit duck CLF DEM.NONPROX die
'He hit that duck dead.'

Here, the subcomponents [p_{EVENT}] and [q_{RESULT}] are separately lexicalized, and the resultative relationship emerges from the construction itself.

It is possible for these two options to combine, in a construction I call the 'reiterative resultative construction', of the form '[p+q]+[q]':

(226) *man*^{2} *khaa*^{5} *pêt*^{2} *to*^{0} *nan*^{4} *taaj*^{3}
3SG kill duck CLF DEM.NONPROX die
'He killed that duck dead.'

In this example, a single RESULT event component – 'die' – is specified twice. It appears first in the internal semantic structure of *khaa*^{5} 'kill', and is then explicitly reiterated by *taaj*^{3} 'die' in resultative V2 function, as follows:

(227) ['do something to x']$_{\text{EVENT}}$+['x is not alive any more']$_{\text{RESULT}}$]+['x is dead']$_{\text{RESULT}}$]

More abstractly, the structure of a reiterative resultative construction is as follows:

(228) [p_{EVENT}+$q_{\text{RESULT}i}$]+[$q_{\text{RESULT}i}$]

While for regular and projected resultatives V1 is entailed under medial negation (see (206), §4.4.6.2.2, above), in the case of V1-V2 'reiterative resultative' combinations, medial negation is acceptable, but V1 is not entailed:

(229) (a) *khaa*^{5} *taaj*^{3}
kill die
'(I) killed (it) dead.'

(b) *khaa*^{5} *bò*^{0} *taaj*^{3}
kill NEG die
'I couldn't/can't/didn't kill it.' (NOT: I killed it but/and it didn't die.)

(230) (a) *paj*^{3} *theng*^{3}
go reach
'(He) reached (there).'

(b) *paj*^{3} *bò*^{0} *theng*^{3}
go NEG reach
'(He) couldn't/can't/didn't didn't reach there.' (NOT: He went there but/and didn't reach there.)

The medially negated example (229b) does not entail V1. One possibility is that *khaa*^{5} 'kill' may in fact differ from its English translation in not entailing that the undergoer dies. However, it is difficult, if possible at all, to paraphrase example (229b), in the manner of regular resultatives, as '(I) killed it, (but) it didn't die'. The V1-V2 example (229a) is not a straightforward resultative construction, because V1 *khaa*^{5} 'kill' already contains the result 'die' (the meaning of V2) in its semantics. In contrast, the V1 elements of simple resultatives do not contain results in their semantics, and those of projected resultative constructions do contain reference to a result, but do not *entail* that result.

Like resultatives in general, these reiterative resultatives lend themselves easily to potential readings (e.g. (229b) as '(It) can't be killed dead', (230a) as 'It can be reached'; see §4.4.6.1, above).

4.4.6.2.5. *Summary*

The last few sections have illustrated some ways in which semantic structures expressed in lexicon and syntax may co-occur and interact. Three types of resultative construction are recognized, defined by the internal semantics of V1. These are illustrated in Table 4.4.6.2.5-1:

TABLE 4.4.6.2.5-1: THREE TYPES OF RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTION, ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF V1

	Expression	**Semantic structure**	**Example**	**Semantic structure of example**
	Simple verb	[*p*]	*hit*	['hit']
a.	Simple resultative construction	[*p*]+[*q*]	*hit-die ('kill')*	['hit']+['dies']
	Resultative verb	[*p*+*q*]	*kill*	['do-something-to' + 'dies']
b.	Reiterative resultative construction	[*p*+*q*]+[*q*]	*kill-die ('kill dead')*	['do-something-to' + 'dies']+['dies']
	Projected accomplishment verb	[*p*(>*q*)]	*seek*	['seek'(>'find')]
c.	Projected resultative construction	[*p*(>*q*)]+[*q*]	*seek-find*	['seek '(>'find')]+['acquire']

Notation: '(>q)' *means 'with the purpose of having* q *happen', not entailing* q

'[ ]' *represents a single verb form*

'+' *represents a resultative relationship between semantic components.*

4.4.6.3. *Adverbial complementation*

Adverbial complementation, either left- or right-marking, shows relatively loose syntactic organization. In adverbial complementation of the right-marking type, an adverbial V2 follows a main VP, whereby headship properties are split between V1 and V2. In adverbial complementation of the left-marking type, certain verbs (for example *faaw*^{4} 'hurry' and *lòòng*^{2} 'try out') behave grammatically like control complement-taking predicates (cf. §4.4.9.1, below), but have adverbial scope (in semantic terms) over their subordinate predicates. Adverbial complement constructions of the right-marking type allow either initial or medial negation, as well as initial or medial insertion of the focus particle *ka*^{0}. This choice appears to be associated with two alternative underlying structures (just as shown for resultatives, above).

4.4.6.3.1. *Right-headed stative adverbial complementation*

In right-headed stative adverbial complement constructions, V2 is a stative verb with semantic scope over preceding material, making a predication – some evaluation of manner or style – about the phrase headed by V1. An example involves the (gradable stative) verb *kêng*^{1} 'adept, clever, good at things', given as a main verb in the following example:

(231) *laan*^{3} *caw*^{4} *ni*^{0} *man*^{2} *bò*^{0} *kêng*^{1} *bò*^{0}
nephew/niece 2SG TPC.PCL 3SG NEG adept PCL(Q)
'Is your nephew not adept?' (178.6)

In the following examples, *kêng*^{1} 'adept' appears immediately after a verb phrase over which it has adverbial scope, giving the meaning 'does VP well, is good at VP':

(232) *son*^{2} *kêng*^{1} \ *faaj*^{1} *son*^{2}
fight adept side fight
'(They) fought well, the fighting team.' (72.6)

(233) *kin*^{3} *kêng*^{1}
eat adept
'(Geese) are good at eating (vegetables).' (216.5)

(234) *haaj*^{4} *kêng*^{1} *juu*^{1}
angry adept PCL
'(She's) good at being angry.' (999.11)

(235) *khòòj*^{5} *lom*^{2} *kêng*^{1}
1SG speak adept
'I'm good at talking.' (1100.12)

In each case, the focus particle *ka*^{0} may be inserted in either of two different positions: immediately before the right-marking adverbial *kêng*^{1} 'adept', or between main subject and predicate (i.e. after the subject noun phrase, and before V1). Compare the following, based on (235):

(236) (a) *khòòj*^{5} *ka*^{0} *lom*^{2} *kêng*^{1}
1SG FOC.PCL speak adept
'*I'm* also good at talking.'

(b) *khòòj*^{5} *lom*^{2} *ka*^{0} *kêng*^{1}
1SG speak FOC.PCL adept
'I'm also good at *talking*.'

Further, it is *kêng*^{1} 'adept' which is head for yes-answer purposes:

(237) Q: *khòòj*^{5} *lom*^{2} *kêng*^{1} *bòò*^{3}
1SG speak adept PCL(Q)
'Am I good at talking?'

A: (*lom*^{2}) *kêng*^{1}
speak adept
'(Yes, you're) good at (talking).'

Now let us consider *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult', shown here as a main verb (in a relative clause):

(238) *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *soo*^{2}*viat*^{4} *ka*^{0} *pên*^{3} *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *thii*^{1} *ñaak*^{4}
language Soviet FOC.PCL be language REL difficult
'Russian is a language which is difficult.'
(1349.12)

The following examples show *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' as head of a right-marking adverbial complement construction:

(239) *nam*^{0}-*man*^{2} *ni*^{0} *haa*^{3} *ñaak*^{4} *dêj*^{2}
CT.LIQUID-oily TPC.PCL seek difficult PCL
'Oil was hard to find, you know.' (311.2)

(240) *puuk*^{5} *ñaak*^{4}
plant difficult
'(They) are difficult to cultivate.' (1041.9)

(241) *man*^{2} *kêp*^{2} *ñaak*^{4}
3SG gather difficult
'It [coffee] is difficult to harvest.' (1047.2)

(242) *lot*^{1} *paj*^{3} *ñaak*^{4}
vehicle go difficult
'It's difficult for cars to go (there).' (1060.7)

Different right-marking adverbial complements show different negation tendencies, such that speakers find negation preferable on V1 for some verb-adverb combinations, and on V2 for others. (It seems that the nature of the V2 adverb can condition these judgements.) Negation of example (242), for instance, is more idiomatic medially than initially (for the meaning given in the free translation):

(243) *lot*^{1} *paj*^{3} *bò*^{0} *ñaak*^{4}
vehicle go NEG difficult
'It's not difficult for cars to go (there).'

(244) *lot*^{1} *bò*^{0} *paj*^{3} *ñaak*^{4}
vehicle NEG go difficult
'It's not difficult for cars to go (there).' (less idiomatic than (243))

On the other hand, the combination *cêp*^{2} *nak*^{2} [be.hurt heavy] 'seriously hurt/ill', in the following example, is more naturally negated initially:

(245) *bò*^{0} *cêp*^{2} *nak*^{2}
NEG hurt heavy
'(They) weren't seriously hurt.' (2.7)

Clearly, the scope of adverbial modification by V2 (*nak*^{2} 'heavy') is different in (245) to that of V2 (*ñaak*^{4} 'difficult') in (242-243). A paraphrase into English along the lines given for the preceding examples with *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' would not be felicitous – i.e. *nak*^{2} 'heavy' modifies *cêp*^{2} 'hurt/ill' only, and a translation 'For them to be injured would be heavy' is unacceptable. This difference may account for the fact that medial negation in this example is unidiomatic, similar in awkwardness to the English translation given:

(246) *?cêp*^{2} *bò*^{0} *nak*^{2}
hurt NEG heavy
'(They were) hurt not seriously.'

Medial negation would be natural with some intonational distancing between V1 and V2, such that they would no longer be in a tight single-unit construction:

(247) *cêp*^{2} – *bò*^{0} *nak*^{2}
hurt NEG heavy
'They were hurt – not seriously.'

Consider another example of initial negation, this time with the noun phrase object of V1 present between the two verbs:

(248) *khan*^{2} *khòòj*^{5} *bò*^{0} *kam*^{3} *bêêk*^{5} *cam*^{3} *laq*^{1}
if 1SG NEG clasp brake reach.limit PCL
'Had I not put on (the) brake hard...' (788.2)

There may well be semantic reasons for some combinations to prefer initial negation. For example, it may be observed that with the right-marking adverbial *khak*^{1} 'clearly', a range of cognition/perception verbs almost always take left negation (e.g. *bò*^{0} *cùù*^{1} *khak*^{1} [NEG remember clear] 'can't remember clearly', *bò*^{0} *hên*^{3} *khak*^{1} [NEG see clear] 'can't see clearly', *bò*^{0} *daj*^{4}*.ñin*^{2} *khak*^{1} [NEG hear clear] 'can't hear clearly', *bò*^{0} *huu*^{4} *khak*^{1} [NEG know clear] 'don't know clearly').

Grammatical behaviour of right-headed stative adverbial complement constructions (exactly as for same-subject resultative constructions; §4.4.6.2.2., above) suggests that these right-headed structures have more than one underlying constituent structure analysis.

Consider the following expression – not a tight adverbial construction – involving *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' in a main-verb function:

(249) *vaw*^{4} *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *qang*^{3}*kit*^{2} *man*^{2} *ka*^{0} *ñaak*^{4}
speak language English 3SG FOC.PCL difficult
'Speaking English, it's difficult!'

Here, the stative adverbial *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' is immediately preceded by the focus particle *ka*^{0}. The predication over which it has scope is *vaw*^{4} *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *qang*^{3}*kit*^{2} 'speak English', which is referred to by the third-person pronominal subject *man*^{2}. The following structure may be posited for (249):

(249') [*vaw*^{4} *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *qang*^{3}*kit*^{2}]$_{LP,i}$ [*man*^{2}$_{SUBJ,i}$ *ka*^{0} <*ñaak*^{4}>$_{VP}$]
speak language English 3SG FOC.PCL difficult
'Speaking English, it's difficult!'

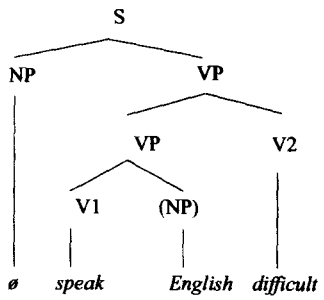
In (249'), the verb *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' is the main verb of a simple clause whose subject is *man*^{2} 'it'. This subject is coreferential with a verb phrase occupying the topic-like left position. The adverbial interpretation of the overall predication emerges pragmatically from semantic relations between the particular predicates involved (i.e. 'speak' and 'difficult').

The right-headed stative adverbial complement construction provides a way to express the same idea with tighter grammatical cohesion, as follows:

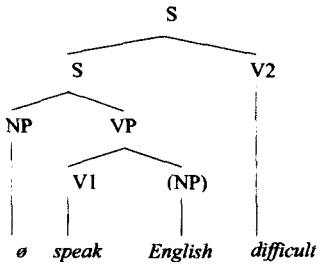
(250) *vaw*^{4} *phaa*^{2}*saa*^{3} *qang*^{3}*kit*^{2} *ñaak*^{4}
speak language English difficult
'Speaking English is difficult.' (or: 'It's difficult to speak English.')

Now, consider what kind of grammatical structure is entailed by this tighter adverbial construction. Recall the alternative constituent structures suggested for resultative constructions ((207) and (213), above), closely related to the right-headed adverbial constructions discussed here. The following are alternative analyses of (250) (using only the direct English glosses, for convenience), along the same lines:

(251) (a)



(b)



What arguments may be used to select one or other of these possible structures for right-headed adverbial complement structures?

First, irrealis marking (the preverbal *si*^{0}) on V1 has scope over both verbs:

(252) *khaw*^{5} *thaang*^{2} *nii*^{4} *man*^{2} *ka*^{0} *si*^{0} *khaw*^{5} *ñaak*^{4} *lèq*^{5}
enter way DEM.GEN 3SG FOC.PCL IRR enter difficult PCL
'Coming in this way, it would be difficult for it [a tiger] to enter.' (933.12)

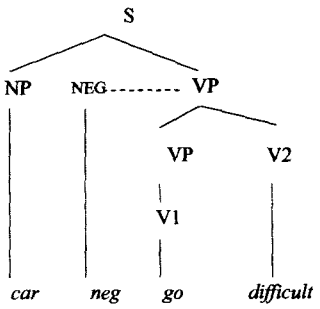
In this example, initial irrealis marking on *khaw*^{5} *ñaak*^{4} [enter difficult] 'difficult to enter' results in an interpretation that it *would be* (or in another context *will be*) difficult for the tiger to enter (i.e. both the 'entering' and the 'difficulty' are situated, by *si*^{0}, in the future or the irrealis mode). If scope of aspect-modality marking is a function of constituent structure organization, then (251a) is the likely structure underlying (252), since the aspect-modality prefix *si*^{0} would attach to the highest level VP, which dominates both V1 and V2.

The next issue is negation. As already noted, with right-headed stative adverbial complements, as with resultative constructions generally, negation is possible either preceding V1, or preceding V2. Negation properties of right-headed stative adverbial complement constructions, discussed in §4.4.6.3.1., above, are revealing. The following sentence (repeated from (244) above) is ambiguous, which may be taken as resulting from ambiguous scope of modification by the adverb, and diagnostic of alternative constituent structures:

(253) *lot*^{1} *bò*^{0} *paj*^{3} *ñaak*^{4}
car NEG go difficult
i. 'For cars it is/would not be difficult to go (there).'
ii. 'For cars not to go (there) is/would be difficult.'

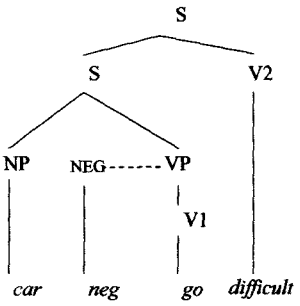
The (253i) reading has *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' scoping over *paj*^{3} 'go' only, with the resultant adverbial construction – meaning 'difficult to go' – under the scope of negation. For this I suggest a constituent structure like (251a) in which negation attaches to the highest VP, such that adverbial modification is complete within the scope of negation. Thus, the (253i) reading suggests the following structure:

(254)



The (253ii) reading, however, has negation scoping over *paj*^{3} 'go' only, with *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' scoping over this negated predicate. If these scope distinctions emerge from differences in constituent structure, we may assume that the (253ii) interpretation has a structure along the lines of (251b), as follows:

(255)



This analysis is supported by the fact that insertion of the focus particle *ka*^{0} before *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' *forces* the (253ii) reading (and is indeed the most idiomatic way of expressing the meaning given in (253ii)). I suggest that it does this by preventing V1 and V2 from having a single dominant VP node whose all-in-one-go negation could otherwise result in the (253i) reading:

(256) *lot*^{1} *bò*^{0} *paj*^{3} *ka*^{0} *ñaak*^{4}
car NEG go FOC.PCL difficult
'For cars not to go (there) would (also) be difficult.'
(NOT: 'For cars it's not difficult to go (there).')

Consider now a verb – *dii*^{3} 'good' – which due to its semantics does not have the same possibility as, say, *ñaak*^{4} 'difficult' to vary in adverbial scope, and accordingly shows different behaviour in its role as a right-headed stative adverbial complement V2. *Dii*^{3} 'good' is a gradable stative verb which can be used to comment adverbially on a whole predication ('It is good that S'). The following structure, with the focus particle *ka*^{0} directly marking *bò*^{0} *dii*^{3} 'no good' and putting V2 'good' alone into the highest VP node (*à la* (251), above), is allowed:

(257) *khaw*^{3} *kin*^{3} *mak*^{0}*-muang*^{1} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *dii*^{3}
3PL eat CT.FRUIT-mango FOC.PCL NEG good
'It's (also) no good that s/he eats mangoes [or: ate the mangoes].'

However, *dii*^{3} 'good' does not function adverbially at a lower level, and cannot be used with a meaning akin to English 'well'. (Other verbs and constructions are used for this.) The following example is ungrammatical because the focus particle *ka*^{0} forces a reading in which 'eat mangoes' combines with 'good' under a single highest VP node (i.e. barring *dii*^{3} 'good' from having its required sentential scope):

(258) **khaw*^{3} *ka*^{0} *kin*^{3} *mak*^{0}*-muang*^{1} *bò*^{0} *dii*^{3}
3PL FOC.PCL eat CT.FRUIT-mango NEG good
(S/he also ate (the) mangoes no good.)

The constituent structure alternatives shown in (251) (cf. (207) and (213), above) account for the variant grammatical behaviours of both adverbial and resultative constructions shown here.

4.4.6.3.2. *Comparison with resultative constructions*

Now, let us compare these properties of right-headed stative adverbial complement constructions with same-subject resultative constructions such as the following, repeated with original number from above:

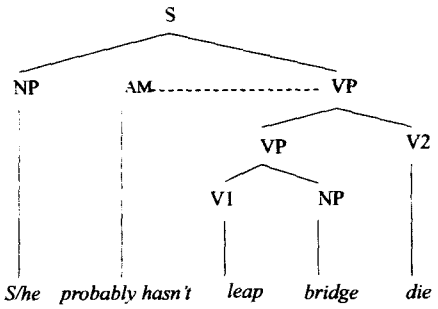
(200) *laaw*^{2} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
3SG leap bridge die
'S/he leapt from a bridge and died.'

In the next example (259), verb-initial aspect-modality marking (e.g. the string *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} 'probably hasn't') on V1 *doot*^{5} 'leap' results in an ambiguity parallel to that of the English translation, namely that while *taaj*^{3} 'die' is clearly under the scope of the aspect-modality marking (i.e. entailing that 's/he probably hasn't died'), *doot*^{5} 'leap' may or may not be:

(259) *laaw*^{2} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
3SG like IRR NEG ACHV leap bridge die
'S/he probably hasn't leapt from a/the bridge and died.'

In other words, (259) entails nothing about whether a 'leaping from the bridge' event has occurred. It is ambiguous between 'S/he leapt off the bridge, but probably didn't die from it' and 'It's probably not the case that s/he leapt off the bridge (to her death)'. That this aspect-modality marking scopes specifically over V2 supports the claim that V2 is head. (Also, only *taaj*^{3} 'die' is necessary and sufficient as a yes-answer.) For this construction, I suggest a structure like that in (251a), above, where the right-most V is head, as follows:

(260)



Accordingly, the interpretation with this structure only allows insertion of the focus marker *ka*^{0} immediately after the main subject, and not in the position before V2:

(261) *laaw*^{2} *ka*^{0} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *taaj*^{3}
3SG FOC.PCL like IRR NEG ACHV leap bridge die
'S/he (too) probably hasn't leapt from the bridge and died.'

(262) **laaw*^{2} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *ka*^{0} *taaj*^{3}
3SG like IRR NEG ACHV leap bridge FOC.PCL die
(S/he probably hasn't leapt from the bridge and then died.)

Now, compare (259) to the following, in which the same aspect-modality marking appears not on V1, but on V2:

(263) *laaw*^{2} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *taaj*^{3}
3SG leap bridge like IRR NEG ACHV die
'(When) s/he jumped off the bridge, s/he probably didn't die.'
(Also: 'If s/he were to jump off the bridge, she probably wouldn't die.')

This has a kind of topic-comment style, such that the translation could also be 'Speaking of her leaping off the bridge, she probably didn't/wouldn't die'. In contrast to (259), this suggests a constituent structure like (251b), as follows:

Accordingly, the focus particle *ka*^{0} is insertable before V2 (and its attendant aspect-modality marking):

(264) *laaw*^{2} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *ka*^{0} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *taaj*^{3}
3SG leap bridge FOC.PCL like IRR NEG ACHV die
'(When) s/he jumped from the bridge, s/he probably didn't die.'
(also: '(Even if) s/he jumped off the bridge, s/he probably wouldn't die.')

Furthermore, the subject *laaw*^{2} 's/he' may be repeated before V2, as follows:

(265) *laaw*^{2} *doot*^{5} *khua*^{3} *laaw*^{2} *khùù*^{2} *si*^{0} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *taaj*^{3}
3SG leap bridge 3SG like IRR NEG ACHV die
'S/he jumped off the bridge, s/he probably hasn't died.'

This, indeed, is ruled out by the structure shown in (259-260), above:

(266) **laaw²* *khùù²* *si⁰* *bò⁰* *daj⁰* *doot⁵* *khua³* *laaw²* *taaj³*
3SG like IRR NEG ACHV leap bridge 3SG die
(S/he probably hasn't jumped off the bridge and then she died.)

4.4.6.3.3. *Right-headed active adverbial complementation*

Another type of right-headed adverbial complementation involves an *active* verb – such as *lin⁵* 'play' – in V2 position, as shown in the following example:

(267) *man²* *qaan¹* *pùm⁴* *lin⁵*
3SG read book play
'He's reading a book for fun.'

These constructions contrast grammatically with right-headed stative adverbial complementation in that they allow neither medial negation nor insertion between V1 and V2 of the focus particle *ka⁰* (§4.4.1.6, above):

(268) **man²* *qaan¹* *pùm⁴* *bò⁰* *lin⁵*
3SG read book NEG play
(He's not reading a book for fun; He's reading a book not for fun.)

(269) **man²* *qaan¹* *pùm⁴* *ka⁰* *lin⁵*
3SG read book FOC.PCL play
(He's reading a book for fun.)

Right-headed active adverbial complementation is not especially productive, with fewer verbs available to fulfil the role performed by *lin⁵* 'play' in (267).

4.4.6.3.4. *Left-headed adverbial complementation*

Some verbs may appear as V1 complement-taking predicates with a semantically adverbial function, behaving grammatically like same-subject complement constructions (§4.4.9.1.1, below). Consider the following uses of the otherwise intransitive active verb *faaw⁴* 'to hurry':

(270) *faaw⁴* *khian³* *nangsùù³* *teen³*
hurry write letter announce
'(They) hurriedly wrote a letter of announcement.' (86.7)

(271) *faaw⁴* *ñap²* *saphaw³* *khaw⁵* *maa²*
hurry shift.across boat enter come
'(They) hurriedly shifted their boats across in (to the shore).' (134.13)

(272) *faaw⁴* *lèèn¹* *kap²* *khùùn²*
hurry run return go.back
'They hurriedly ran back.' (148.11)

The initial verb *faaw*^{4} 'hurry' is head of the expression, and may appear alone as a yes-answer. Other properties of adverbial complementation are not observed, since the headedness is opposite to that which we have seen so far.

4.4.6.4. *Adverbial compounds*

In contrast to these adverbial complement constructions (both left- and right-headed), multi-verb adverbial *compounds* are syntactically more tightly bound, allowing in the medial position neither negation nor insertion of the focus particle *ka*^{0}. Neither verb alone appears to be grammatical head. Adverbial compounds may be either left-marking (mostly expressing posture and manner) or right-marking (mostly expressing manner and purpose).

4.4.6.4.1. *Left-marking adverbial compounds*

In left-marking adverbial compounds, neither verb may appear alone as a yes-answer, and no material such as negation, focus marking, or aspect-modality marking may appear in the slot between the adverbial and the following VP. An example involves the verb *lak*^{1} 'steal', which appears as a regular transitive verb in the following example:

(273) *haw*^{2} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{0} *lak*^{1} *ñang*^{3} *phaj*^{3} *naa*^{2}
1SG NEG ACHV steal anything anyone PCL
'Hey, I didn't steal anything of anyone's!' (674.6)

In the next three examples, *lak*^{1} 'steal' appears in V1 position of a V1-V2 left-marking adverbial compound, giving the meaning 'secretly/stealthily V2':

(274) *fang*^{2} *ka*^{0} *daj*^{4} *juu*^{1} *tèè*^{1} *tòòng*^{4}*.daj*^{0} *lak*^{1} *fang*^{2}
listen FOC.PCL can PCL but must steal listen
'One could listen to (the radio), but one had to listen secretly.' (233.4)

(275) *lak*^{1} *khaam*^{5} *saaj*^{2}*-dèèn*^{3}
steal cross border
'...crossed the border secretly.' (1227.1)

(276) *jaan*^{4} *khaw*^{3} *paj*^{3} *lak*^{1} *tii*^{3}
afraid 3SG DIR.PCL(go) steal hit
'(They) were afraid (he) would secretly attack.' (148.13)

Using (276) as an example, we may show that medial negation in this kind of adverbial construction is ungrammatical (277), and that clause separation by the linker *lèka*^{0} changes the semantic relation between the verbs, ruling out an adverbial reading, and forcing a simple transitive-verb reading for *lak*^{1} 'steal', with the two verbs predicating separate events (278):

(277) **jaan*^{4} *khaw*^{3} *paj*^{3} *lak*^{1} *bò*^{0} *tii*^{3}
afraid 3SG DIR.PCL(go) steal NEG hit
((They) were afraid (he) would secretly not attack.(?))

(278) *jaan*^{4} *khaw*^{3} *paj*^{3} *lak*^{1} *lèka*^{0} *tii*^{3}
afraid 3PL DIR.PCL(go) steal CLNK hit
'They were afraid he would steal (it) and attack.'

In examples (274-276), *lak*^{1} 'steal' by itself does not have headship properties at all (in particular it cannot appear alone as a yes-answer), and it seems instead that the V1-V2 compound as a whole is the head of the expression.

While this contrasts with the less restricted behaviour of left-marking adverbial complementation (e.g. involving *faaw*^{4} 'hurry'; see §4.4.6.3.4., above), *semantically* it is hard to tell in what way the modification is different. It is notable that the adverbial complement-taking predicate *faaw*^{4} 'hurry' is not essentially a transitive verb – appearing either as a complement-taking predicate, or an intransitive verb – while the adverbial compounding verb *lak*^{1} 'steal' is common as a transitive verb. The only behavioural difference between left-headed complementation and left-marking adverbial compounds seems to be that left-headed complement V1s (such as *faaw*^{4} 'hurry') can appear alone as yes-answers.

A productive area of left-marking adverbial compounding involves posture verbs such as *nòòn*^{2} 'lie', *jùùn*^{3} 'stand', and *nang*^{1} 'sit' in V1 position (see Enfield 2002b, 2004):[36]

(279) *mè*^{0}*-paa*^{4} *nan*^{4} *laaw*^{2} *ka*^{0} *nang*^{1} *khaaj*^{3}
CT.MOTHER-aunty DEM.NONPROX 3SG FOC.PCL sit sell
saj^{5}*-kòòk*^{5} *juu*^{1}
sausage PCL
'So that aunty, she sat selling sausages.' (38.3)

(280) *nang*^{1} *lom*^{2} *kan*^{3} *lin*^{5} *juu*^{1} *naj*^{2} *paa*^{1}
sit chat RCP play be.at in forest
'We'd sit and chat together for fun in the forest.' (1080.9)

(281) *laaw*^{2} *ka*^{0} *paj*^{3} *jùùn*^{3} *lòò*^{2}*-thaa*^{5} *lot*^{1}*.mèè*^{2} *juu*^{1}
3SG FOC.PCL DIR.PCL(go) stand wait CT.VEHICLE-bus PCL
'Sohewentandstoodwaitingforthebus.' (40.11)

Another productive area of left-marking adverbial compounding involves regular combination of a set of activity verbs with the reciprocal particle *kan*^{3}, forming a complex V1 adverbial element:

(282) *phaa*^{2}*-kan*^{3} *V* 'V together' (*phaa*^{2} 'to lead someone along in doing something')
e.g. *phaa*^{2}*-kan*^{3} *khù*
lead.along-RCP ascend
'(They) went up (the bank) together.' (80.7)

(283) *sòòj*^{1}*-kan*^{3} *V* 'help each other to V' (*sòòj*^{1} 'help')
e.g. *khaw*^{3} *sòòj*^{1}*-kan*^{3} *tèèng*^{1} *kin*^{3}
3PL help-RCP prepare eat
'They helped each other to prepare the meal.'

36 Note that if both verbs in such a construction are postural, then either order is possible. Thus, compare *mùùn*^{2} *taa*^{3} *nòòn*^{2} [open eye lie/sleep] with *nòòn*^{2} *mùùn*^{2} *taa*^{3} [lie/sleep open eye], both of which mean 'sleep with one's eyes open'.

(284) *ñaat⁴-kan³ V* 'compete with each other in V-ing' (*ñaat⁴* 'snatch something away, fight over something')

e.g.	*khaw³*	*ñaat⁴-kan³*	*kin³*	*khaw⁵*
	3PL	snatch-RCP	eat	rice

'Theyfoughtwitheachothertoeatthemeal.'

Note that the left-marking adverbial element marks the whole VP which follows it, not just the following verb (i.e. the structure is $[V1_{ADVERBIAL}]$-[V2-NP], rather than $[V1_{ADVERBIAL}$-V2]-[NP]). This is clear from the pattern of entailment of these sentences:

(285) NP1 V1 V2 NP2 → NP1 V2 NP2
(≠ NP1 V1 NP2)

Thus, the following left-marking adverbial compound construction entails 'I watched television', and does not entail 'I lay down on the television'.

(286) *khòòj⁵ nòòn² beng¹ thoo²lathat¹*
1SG lie watch television
'I watched television lying down'

4.4.6.4.2. *Right-marking adverbial compounding*

In right-marking adverbial compounding, V2 is a semantically general active verb whose meaning is subsumed by a V1 element with more specific semantics. The following examples show *qaw³* 'take' in V2 position, and in each case, V1 can be interpreted as a more semantically specific way of 'taking/getting' something (i.e. *lòòk⁴* 'peel off', *cap²* 'grab, catch', *khaap⁴* 'take/carry in the mouth'), with direct translations along the lines of 'take by V1-ing':

(287) *...lòòk⁴ qaw³ nang³...*
peel.off take hide
'...(they) peeled off the (tiger's) hide...' (944.7)

(288) *naang² nan⁴ ka⁰ lèèn¹ paj³ cap² qaw³ ngaaw⁴ thii¹ tok² juu¹*
girl that FOC.PCL run go grab take sword REL fall be.at
taam³ deen¹
along ground

'The girl ran off, and grabbed the sword which had fallen on the ground.' (892.1)

(289) *hên³ maa³ to⁰ nùng¹ khaap⁴ qaw³ saj⁵-kòòk⁵ laaw² lèèn¹*
see dog CLF one carry.in.mouth take sausage 3SG run
paj³ lèèw⁴
go PFV

'(He) saw a dog running away, carrying his sausages in its mouth.' (41.10)

In these examples, V1 and V2 combine as effectively a single verb, taking a single set of core arguments, and neither *ka*^{0}-insertion nor medial negation between these verbs is allowed, as shown by the following ungrammatical examples (based on example (287)):

(290) *...*lòòk*^{4} *ka*^{0} *qaw*^{3} *nang*^{3}...
peel.off FOC.PCL take hide
(...(they) also peeled off the (tiger's) hide...)

(291) *...*lòòk*^{4} *bò*^{0} *qaw*^{3} *nang*^{3}...
peel.off NEG take hide
(...(they) peeled not off the (tiger's) hide...)

In these examples, it is as if the V2 element classifies V1 (as an instance of 'taking'), in analogous fashion to the relationship between nominal classifiers and the nouns to which they correspond.

4.4.6.5. *Depictive secondary predication*

Depictive secondary predication involves an adjunct or similar non-core element which describes a property of one core participant in a clause, which holds at the same time as the main predication, but where that property is independent of the main predication (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann in press). Stock examples from English include *He served the fish raw* and *He left the party nude*, where the adjectives *raw* and *nude* supply information about the state of one core argument of the clause during the time at which the main clause action takes place. There is a range of ways in which depictive secondary predications can be expressed in Lao, and these mostly involve multi-verb expressions. I mention just two basic strategies here (see Enfield forthcoming b for detailed discussion).

First, a depictive secondary predication may be made by V2, as in the following example:

(292) *man*^{2} *kin*^{3} *siin*^{4} *nii*^{4} *dip*^{2}
3SG eat meat DEM.GEN raw
'S/he eats this meat raw.'

The crucial point here is that the secondary predicate *dip*^{2} 'raw' appears outside the noun phrase to which it refers (which has its right border at the demonstrative determiner *nii*^{4}), and thus is not a regular modifier, but instead performs the depictive function described at the start of this section, making an assertion about the state of the direct object argument (*siin*^{4} 'meat') during the time at which the main predicate action takes place (i.e. when it is eaten).

In other cases, it is V1 which performs the depictive function, such as in the case of verbs of posture and wearing. Here are two examples of V1 depictive expressions:

(293) *man*^{2} *nang*^{1} *qaan*^{1} *pùm*^{4}
3SG sit read book
'He sat reading a book.' (or: 'He read a book sitting.')

(294) *man*^{2} *maw*^{2} *maa*^{2} *hùan*^{2}
3SG drunk come house
'He came home drunk.'

These have been described above, under the rubric of left-marking adverbial compounds (§4.4.6.4.1, above). The following section describes another construction which can perform a secondary predication, but which has other functions too.

4.4.6.6. *Adverbial/depictive/resultative adjuncts marked by pên³ 'be'*

The copula verb *pên³* 'be' can combine with a nominal complement to form a descriptive complement adjunct, with a range of semantic functions. The following example shows the numeral classifier *nuaj¹* (used with nouns referring to round things and assembled 'units', including mountains) as the complement of *pên³*, in an adjunct to the verb phrase *hòòp⁵ phuu²* 'carry a mountain':

(295)	*bak²*	*ñak¹*	*kumphan²*	*hòòp⁵*	*phuu²*	*pên³*	*nuaj¹*
	CT.MASC	ogre	K.	carry.in.arms	mountain	be	CLF

'The Ogre Kumphan carried the mountain whole.' (201)

In example (295), *nuaj¹* is a classifier used for mountains, and the complete phrase *pên³ nuaj¹* is a depictive adjunct meaning 'whole' or 'as a unit'. The use of sortal classifiers in *pên³*-adjuncts with the meaning 'whole, as a unit' is productive. The following two examples have similarly depictive semantics (in that the adjuncts describe the form or state of the main clause complement at the time of the main verb event taking place, without relations of manner or cause being predicated):

(296)	*khaw³*	*kin³*	*siin⁴*	*pên³*	*tòòn¹*
	3PL	eat	meat	be	chunk

'They ate (the) meat in chunks.'

(297)	*man²*	*hèèng⁵*	*lè⁰*	*kèq²*	*qòòk⁵*	*pên³*	*phèèn¹*	*cia⁴*
	3SG	dry	PCL	scrape/peel	exit	be	CLF.SHEET	paper

'(When) it's dry, then peel it off in/as paper sheets.' (113)

Other examples involving *pên³*-adjuncts have resultative meaning, where the predication in the adjunct results from, and is true *after*, the V1 predication. The adjuncts in the following four examples express the physical form of the nominal complement of V1 which results from the event described in V1, due to physical transformation or modification (298-299), a transformation in status or social role (300), or coming into existence (301):

(298)	*ma⁰*	*paat⁵*	*pên³*	*sii¹*	*liam¹*
	DIR.PCL(come)	slice	be	four	sides

'Bring (the wood and) cut (it) into four sided (pieces).' (114)

(299)	*liaw³*	*beng¹*	*sùak⁴*	*khanaat⁵*	*nii⁴*	*pùaj¹*	*pên³*	*phong³*
	turn	look	rope	size	DEM.GEN	dissolved	be	powder

'(They) turned (and) looked (and saw) a rope of such size dissolved into powder.' (133)

(300)	*phen¹*	*leej²*	*haj⁵*	*buat⁵*	*pên³*	*phaq¹*
	3SG	then	give	ordain	be	monk

'Then he had (me) ordained (as) a monk.' (321)

(301) *can³thaa²* *mè⁰-khaw⁴* *keet⁵* *luuk⁴* *pên³* *sat²*
C. CT.MOTHER-queen born child be animal
'Chantha the queen gave birth to children (in the form of) animals.' (153)

Further cases are comparable to 'predicative complements' (cf. English *John considers me a friend*):

(302) *kuu³* *thùù³* *khon²* *nii⁴* *pên³* *qaaj⁴*
1SG regard person DEM.GEN be O.BRO
?'I regard this person (as a) brother.'

In this last example, unlike the examples we have seen so far in this section, the *pên³*-adjunct is not omissable without changing the meaning of the main verb. In the construction shown in example (302), the meaning of *thùù³* is 'regard, consider'. If the *pên³*-adjunct were removed, the meaning would become 'hold, carry', and the sentence would mean 'I carried this person' (cf. English *I regarded John a friend* versus *I regarded John*).

4.4.6.7. *Temporal, quantifying, extent, and manner complements marked by daj⁴ 'acquire'*

The verb *daj⁴* 'acquire, come to have' has a range of functions in combination with other verbs (Enfield 2003: Chapter 3). One of its regular duties is to link clauses with adverbial complements of various different semantic types. These complements may express a period of time since the main predication has been the case:

(303) *qaw³* *paj³* *daj⁴* *sòòng³-saam³* *mùù⁴* *ni.lèq⁵*
take go 'acquire' two-three day PCL
'(They) had taken (the child) away for two or three days.' (965.6)

They may include a numeral classifier phrase expressing the extent to which the main predication is achieved:

(304) *puuk⁵* *phoon²* *khùn⁵* *daj⁴* *cêt²* *nuaj¹*
plant hillock ascend 'acquire' seven CLF
'(They) planted up seven hillocks.' (112.6)

(305) *laaw²* *kin³* *khaw⁵* *daj⁴* *sòòng³* *thuaj⁵* *lèèw⁴*
3SG eat rice 'acquire' two bowl PFV
'S/he has (already) eaten two bowls of rice.'

They may include a gradable stative verb expressing the extent or manner to which the main predication is achieved:

(306) *haw²* *hêt¹* *daj⁴* *nòòj⁴* *tam⁰-tam¹*
1SG make 'acquire' small low-RDP
'I built (the house) small, quite low.' (90.9)

(307) *sùang*^{1} *bò*^{0} *daj*^{4} *kaj*^{3}
conceal NEG 'acquire' far
'(They) hid (him) not far away.' (183.1)

(308) *com*^{1} *thòòng*^{1}*.khùn*^{5}*.caj*^{3} *daj*^{4} *lian*^{1}*.laj*^{3} *kua*^{1} *muu*^{1}
mutter 'by-heart' 'acquire' flowing more.than peer
'(I) could/would mutter (the chants) by heart more fluently than the others.'(321.2)

(309) *man*^{2} *lèèn*^{1} *daj*^{4} *vaj*^{2}
3SG run 'acquire' fast
'S/he runs fast.'

These constructions are discussed in detail in Enfield (2003: 133-140).

4.4.7. Oblique phrases/adjunction

In Lao, translational equivalents of English prepositional phrases are basically verb phrases which, rather than being coordinated with other verb phrases (as in the verb phrase chains discussed in §4.4.10.1, below; cf. also the motion expressions discussed in §4.4.5.3, above), are adjoined to the main predicate. In this position, they perform the usual functions of prepositional phrases in other languages, namely to add non-core arguments – such as locatives, comitatives, benefactives, and the like – to clauses.

Lao has two kinds of 'preposition' type elements, denominal and deverbal. Denominal prepositions appear elsewhere as regular nouns, and these include locatives such as *naa*^{5} 'face, in front of', *lang*^{3} 'back, behind', *khaang*^{5} 'side, beside'. Denominal prepositions express stative relations of location, and can also express more abstract relations (e.g. *lùang*^{1} 'matter, story' as a preposition meaning 'about'). Relevant to this chapter are deverbal prepositions, which appear elsewhere as main verbs, including *khaw*^{5} 'enter, into', *nam*^{2} 'accompany, with', and *haj*^{5} 'give, for' (Durie 1988). Verbs 'become' deverbal prepositions when they appear in a certain grammatical slot. Clark and Prasithrathsint (1985; cf. Clark 1989: 192) have described this transformation of verb to preposition in Southeast Asian languages as 'zero derivation', marked not by morphological material but by syntactic position.[37] Deverbal prepositions cannot take overt subject arguments, are not clause-separable, and cannot be given aspect-modality marking separately from the main verb. Let us now consider their properties in some more detail.

Deverbal prepositional phrases (in square brackets in the following examples) appear after the main clause:

(310) *laj*^{1} *ñaat*^{4} *qaw*^{3} *tòòn*^{1} *siin*^{4} [*nam*^{2} *maa*^{3}]
chase grab take lump meat with/from dog
'(She) chased (the dog) to grab the lump of meat from the dog.' (911.5)

(311) *khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} [*nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}]
if 1SG be.at accompany CT.MOTHER-old
'If we live with mother-in-law...' (392.4)

37 There are problems with the 'synchronic derivation' analysis (à la Clark and Prasithrathsint 1985). because such an analysis assumes firstly that the verb meaning is the primary one, and secondly that some kind of real-time active derivation underlies the deverbal preposition uses.

A deverbal preposition marks arguments which are both semantically and syntactically peripheral. Importantly, the notion embodied in the preposition is not predicated as an event (or, as Harrison 1992 puts it, is 'atemporalized' or 'not temporally profiled'). Rather, it provides a way of adding an argument to the core of a clause (in the sense of Foley and Van Valin, 1984, 1985). A deverbal preposition cannot be marked by an overt clause linking particle (such as the clause coordinating particle *lèka*^{0}, or subordinating particles like *phùa*^{1} 'in order to'), since the preposition is not at the core of any clause, subordinate or otherwise. The following examples, based on (311), force separate clausehood on the two verbs, and the basic meaning of the V1-V2 sequence is completely changed:

(312) *khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *lèka*^{0} *nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}
if 1SG be.at CLNK accompany CT.MOTHER-old
'If we stay, and then accompany mother-in-law...'
(*'If we stay and then with mother-in-law...')

(313) *khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *phùa*^{1} *nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}
if 1SG be.at in.order.to accompany CT.MOTHER-old
'If we stay in order to accompany mother-in-law...'
(*'If we stay in order to with mother-in-law...')

Note also that while various aspect-modality markers may appear on the main verb *juu*^{1} 'be (somewhere)' in example (311), they may not appear on the deverbal preposition *nam*^{2} 'with'. This is consistent with their 'oblique' status; i.e. their adjunction to the main VP constituent. The following examples show that preverbal aspect-modality markers (the experiential marker *kheej*^{2} and the irrealis marker *ca*^{0}) cannot occur adjacent to verbs in 'preposition' function:[38]

(314) (a) *khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *kheej*^{2} *juu*^{1} *nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}
if 1SG EXP be.at accompany CT.MOTHER-old
'If we ever lived with mother-in-law...'

(b) **khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *kheej*^{2} *nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}
if 1SG be.at EXP accompany CT.MOTHER-old
(If we lived ever with mother-in-law...)

(315) (a) khan^{2} haw^{2} ca^{0} juu^{1} nam^{2} mè^{0}-thaw^{5}
if 1SG IRR be.at accompany CT.MOTHER-old
'If we were to live with mother-in-law...'

(b) **khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *ca*^{0} *nam*^{2} *mè*^{0}*-thaw*^{5}
if 1SG be.at IRR accompany CT.MOTHER-old
(If we were to live with mother-in-law...)

38 Matthews and Yip (1994: 60-61) show that coverbs in Cantonese (analogous to what I refer to here as 'deverbal prepositions') may take aspectual/modal marking. Lao and nearby languages do not allow such patterns at all. An important difference is that placement of the coverb phrase in Cantonese is preferred before the main verb.

The non-core status of the deverbal preposition is also evident in its phonological weakness, being normally de-stressed, and atonal. Indeed, stress alone can distinguish between a verb's function as either a main verb or an adjoined preposition. An example concerns the verb *juu*^{1}, meaning either 'be/live somewhere' (as a main verb) or 'at' (as a deverbal preposition). In the following examples, the status of *saw*^{2} 'cease' as either an intransitive verb 'stop (e.g. for the night)', or a same-subject control complement verb 'cease', corresponds to a distinction between the two meanings of *juu*^{1} (where stress is marked by '"):

(316) (a) *ca*^{0} *"saw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *'vang*^{2}*-'viang*^{2}
IRR stop be.at V.
'We'll stop at Vang Viang.'(171.4)

(b) *ca*^{0} *'saw*^{2} *'juu*^{1} *'vang*^{2}*-'viang*^{2}
IRR stop be.at V.
'We'll stop living in Vang Viang.'

In example (316a), the deverbal preposition *juu*^{1} 'at' is de-stressed, and the whole example has a single peak (on *saw*^{2} 'stop'). To get the (316b) reading, *juu*^{1} 'live' would bear tone and take full stress, and there would be two intonation peaks, on *saw*^{2} 'stop', and *juu*^{1} 'be/live somewhere', respectively.

Despite the restricted verb properties of deverbal prepositions, they nevertheless remain fundamentally verbs. Thus, most deverbal prepositions, like regular verbs, allow ellipsis of their nominal complements:

(317) *khan*^{2} *haw*^{2} *juu*^{1} *nam*^{2} *ø*
if 1SG be.at accompany
'If we live with (her)...'

(318) *khaw*^{3} *ñaang*^{1} *khaam*^{5} *(thanon*^{3}*)* *lèèw*^{4}
3PL walk cross (street) finish
'S/he has walked across (the street) already.'

An exception is *caak*^{5} 'separate from, from', which does not allow ellipsis of the complement:[39]

(319) *khaw*^{3} *qòòk*^{5} *caak*^{5} **(hùan*^{2}*)* *lèèw*^{4}
3PL exit from house finish
'S/he has come out of the house.'

The following examples show more than one deverbal prepositional phrase adjoining a single core clause (the second example showing the same preposition – *haj*^{5} 'give, for' – used twice):

39 *Caak*^{5} differs from other deverbal prepositions in that in its role as a verb it is both rare and semantically specific, meaning 'depart/separate from someone or something with likely lasting separation' (e.g. when leaving home to move to another village).

(320) *phen*^{1} *kin*^{3} *khaw*^{5} *juu*^{1} *talaat*^{5} *nam*^{2} *khòòj*^{5}
3SG eat rice be.at market with 1SG
'He ate (rice) at the market with me.'

(321) *sêt*^{1} *toq*^{2} *haj*^{5} *luuk*^{4} *haj*^{5} *khòòj*^{5} *nèè*^{1}
wipe table give child give 1SG PCL
'Wipe the table for (my) child for me,would you?'

A final point to note is that it seems impossible in some cases to distinguish a deverbal preposition construction from a directional serial verb construction (cf. §4.4.5.2, above; also, example (318), earlier in this section). The square-bracketed strings in the following examples could be analysed either as deverbal prepositions or as components of serial verb constructions in which path, manner, and/or direction are overlaid as facets of a single event:

(322) *kap*^{2} *[khùùn*^{2}*]* *paj*^{3} *haa*^{3} *sùa*^{3}
go.back return go seek tiger
'(We'll) go back and look for the tiger.' (855.3)

(323) *nam*^{4} *nan*^{4} *fong*^{4} *[khùn*^{5} *mùa*^{2} *hòòt*^{4}*]* *bòòn*^{1}
water DEM.NONPROX splash ascend go reach place
lang^{3}*khaa*^{2} *phun*^{4} *lèq*^{5}
roof yonder PCL
'That water splashed up all the way onto the roof.' (937.10)

It is not clear whether a distinction should be made, and it may be that these two analyses amount to essentially the same thing.

4.4.8. Causative constructions

In Lao, as in any language, notions of causation are expressed in a range of ways. The one typologically common strategy which is not found in Lao (nor in Tai languages generally) is morphological causativization.[40] Causation may be expressed lexically, in verbs containing a notion of 'cause' in their internal semantics (e.g. *khaa*^{5} 'kill'; including at least the semantic components 'do', 'because' and 'die'), as well as by selection of different argument structure constructions involving the same verb, allowing transitivity alternations which differ as to the presence or absence of a 'causer' in the argument structure:

(324) *kafêê*^{2} *nan*^{4} *qun*^{1}
coffee DEM.NONPROX warm
'That coffee is warm.'

(325) *phen*^{2} *qun*^{1} *kafêê*^{2} *nan*^{4}
3SG heat coffee DEM.NONPROX
'He warmed that coffee.'

40 Indeed, this property of Tai languages has apparently contributed, via areal diffusion, to a demise of morphological strategies in Mon-Khmer languages (e.g. Khmer and Khmu, Enfield 2003: 54-55; cf. Suwilai 1987: 25ff, Clark 1989: 200-202).

Note that this strategy is not available for all comparable verbs. Compare *hòòn*^{4} 'hot', which does not enter into the 'caused state' construction (cf. §4.3.2, above):

(326) *kafêê*^{2} *nan*^{4} *hòòn*^{4}
coffee DEM.NONPROX hot
'That coffee is hot.'

(327) **phen*^{2} *hòòn*^{4} *kafêê*^{2} *nan*^{4}
3SG hot coffee DEM.NONPROX
(He heated that coffee.)

For *hòòn*^{4} 'hot', only a periphrastic strategy is available for expressing controlled/intentional causation:

(328) *man*^{2} *hêt*^{1} *(haj*^{5}*)* *kafêê*^{2} *hòòn*^{4}
3SG make give coffee hot
'He made the coffee hot.'

This periphrastic strategy is relevant in the present context, as it involves no overt marking of the relationship between the main causative verb and its complement. There are three productive causative complement constructions, involving the verbs *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' and *haj*^{5} 'give', along with some variations involving verbs with more specific semantics. We now survey the main types.[41]

4.4.8.1. *Causative constructions in haj*^{5} *'give'*

The verb *haj*^{5} 'give' is widespread in descriptions of interpersonal causation, translatable in different contexts with English causative verbs *have*, *let*, *make*, and *get*:

(329) *man*^{2} *haj*^{5} *nòòj*^{4} *paj*^{3} *talaat*^{5}
3SG give N. go market
'He had/let/made/got Noi (to) go to the market.'

The idea common to these various translations is that the causer (i.e. the main subject) does or says something (usually *to* the causee – i.e. the lower clause subject), because of which the causee does something – in addition, the main subject knew that as a result of his action, the complement event would happen. This is compatible with a wide range of kinds of interpersonal causation including 'allowing', 'forcing', and 'ordering' – in each case, the complement event happens because of what the main subject has done (or said), and this is under the control of the main subject, in the sense that s/he is aware that the complement event will happen as a result of his or her action (cf. Wierzbicka's 2002: 171-177 analysis of German *lassen*). Accordingly, these constructions only involve animate arguments, and thus cannot be used to express equivalents of, say, *The wind made the door close* or *Pepper makes me sneeze*.

4.4.8.2. *Causative constructions in hêt*^{1} *'do/make'*

The verb *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' is used as a main verb in a causative construction with more restricted use than constructions involving *haj*^{5} 'give':

41 The present description of the semantic content of these three basic syntactic causative constructions, and the distinctions between them, is preliminary. Further work is required to establish a comprehensive account.

(330) *man*^{2} *hêt*^{1} *kèèw*^{4} *tèèk*^{5}
3SG do/make glass break
'He broke the glass.'

This example would be a typical description of a situation in which somebody has bumped or dropped the glass, and as a result it has fallen and broken. In this case, the main subject does something (usually *to* the 'causee' participant), and because of that the complement event occurs. An important difference between this and the *haj*^{5} 'give' construction is that here the complement event must specify something that happens *to* the lower clause subject (not something that the lower clause subject *does*). Hence, it cannot be used in the kinds of interpersonal causation typical of the *haj*^{5} 'give' construction:

(331) **man*^{2} *hêt*^{1} *nòòj*^{4} *paj*^{3} *talaat*^{5}
3SG do/make N. go market
(He made? Noi (to) go to the market.)

The *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' causative construction is never used with an animate causee (and, indeed, never with an inanimate causer).

4.4.8.3. *Causative constructions in hêt*^{1}*-haj*^{5} *'make-give'*

The verbs *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' and *haj*^{5} 'give' are combined in a third common syntactic causative construction:

(332) *man*^{2} *hêt*^{1}*-haj*^{5} *kèèw*^{4} *tèèk*^{5}
3SG make-give glass break
'He caused the glass to break.'

(333) *man*^{2} *hêt*^{1}*-haj*^{5} *kuu*^{3} *met*^{2} *ngen*^{2} *laaj*^{3}
3SG make-give 1SG finish money much
'He caused me to lose a lot of money.'

The meaning of this construction is more general than that of the previous two types, similar in meaning to the *haj*^{5} 'give' construction, but apparently lacking the component of main subject control (i.e. it is not necessarily the case the main subject was aware that his or her action would result in the complement event occurring). An important difference between this and the previous two constructions is that there seems to be a specification that what the main subject does is not done *to* the lower subject. Further, there is no restriction with regard to animacy of the causer and causee arguments.

4.4.8.4. *Other verbs as causative complement-taking predicates*

Verbs of more specific meaning than *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' and *haj*^{5} 'give' can be used as complement-taking predicates with causative meaning:

(334) *laaw*^{2} *phaa*^{2}*/khii*^{1}*/suaj*^{1} *maa*^{4} *têη*^{4} *khaam*^{5} *hua*^{4}
3SG lead/ride/help horse jump cross.over fence
'He led/rode/helped the horse to jump over the fence.'

Many verbs combine obligatorily with *haj*^{5} 'give' (in the same slot as *hêt*^{1} 'do/make' in the *hêt*^{1}*-haj*^{5} 'make-give' construction), as shown for *bangkhap*^{1} 'force' in the following example:

(335) *laaw*^{2} *bangkhap*^{1} **(haj*^{5}*)* *maa*^{4} *têⁿ*^{4} *khaam*^{5} *hua*^{4}
3SG force give horse jump cross.over fence
'He forced the horse to jump over the fence.'

The next example shows *haam*^{5} 'forbid' in this structure, with the added feature of obligatory negation on *haj*^{5} 'give', due to the nature of the causation expressed (i.e. 'causing something not to happen'):

(336) *laaw*^{2} *haam*^{5} **(bɔ̀*^{0} *haj*^{5}*)* *maa*^{4} *têⁿ*^{4} *khaam*^{5} *hua*^{4}
3SG forbid NEG give horse jump cross.over fence
'He forbade the horse to jump over the fence.'

Structures such as these are discussed further in §4.4.9.1, below, on control complementation structures.

4.4.8.5. *Other periphrastic strategies for expressing causation*

For completeness, I now briefly mention three more strategies for description of causation in Lao, although they are not cases of 'multi-verb constructions' in the sense pursued in this chapter (cf. Enfield 2002c).

Suppose that a situation of 'being cold' causes a person to 'shiver'. This could be expressed by a *hêt*^{1}*-haj*^{5} 'make-give' construction, as described in §4.4.8.3, above:

(337) *khuam*^{2}*-naaw*^{3} *hêt*^{1} *haj*^{5} *laaw*^{2} *san*^{1}
NSR-cold do/make give 3SG shiver
'The cold is making him shiver.'

Three alternatives for expressing this causative relation are as follows. First, the preposition-like element *con*^{3} 'until' (not a verb) can host an adverbial/resultative complement which describes a situation or event that the main event gives rise to:

(338) *laaw*^{2} *naaw*^{3} *con*^{3} *san*^{1}
3SG cold until shiver
'He is (so) cold that he is shivering.'

Second, the two causally connected situations – 'cold' and 'shivering' – can be expressed in separate clauses and linked by *ñɔ̀ɔ̀n*^{4} 'because' (which precedes the logical protasis; i.e. the causing event):

(339) *laaw*^{2} *san*^{1} *ñɔ̀ɔ̀n*^{4} *laaw*^{2} *naaw*^{3}
3SG cold because 3SG shiver
'He is shivering because he is cold.'

Third, the two distinct clauses can be linked by marking the logical apodosis (i.e. the *caused* event) with *kɔ̀ɔ̀*^{1}, elsewhere a verb meaning 'construct, create':[42]

42 The element *kɔ̀ɔ̀*^{1} here takes full stress, and is distinct from the focus particle *ka*^{0}, discussed in §4.3.4.2. and §4.4.1.6., above.

(340) *laaw*^{2} *naaw*^{3} *kòò*^{1} *laaw*^{3} *si*^{0} *san*^{1}
3SG cold create 3SG IRR shiver
'He is cold, that's why he is shivering.'

4.4.9. Complementation

There are a number of basic categories of complementation in Lao, and in none of them is the relationship between the main and subordinate predicate morphological marked in an overt way. In each case, V1 is the clausal head, and accordingly has certain associated grammatical properties (e.g. typically functioning as a yes-answer). A basic division is between 'control' and 'non-control' complements, referring to the extent to which the temporal or argument structure properties of the complement-taking predicate will determine those of the lower predicate.

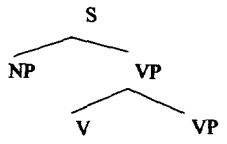
4.4.9.1. *Control complementation*

In control complementation, there is control by the main verb of argument coreference as well as temporal relation across the two predicates. The two patterns discussed here are same-subject, and different-subject, respectively.

4.4.9.1.1. *Same-subject control complements*

In same-subject control complements, the matrix verb specifies a verb phrase as its complement, where the subject of the subordinate verb phrase (a) must be understood as coreferential with the main subject, and (b) cannot overtly appear immediately prior to the lower verb. I suggest a constituent structure for this construction as follows:

(341)



One piece of evidence for this right-branching structure in which the main verb takes a VP complement is that the complement of a same-subject control complement verb such as *jaak*^{5} 'want to' can be a complex verb phrase, such as a complement construction, a compound verb, or a verb phrase chain. This suggests that the complement of the main V is an expandable VP, and not, say, a V and an NP in a flat structure (i.e., [NP_{SUBJ} <V_{SSCC} V NP>]). Here are some examples of same-subject control complement constructions using the main verb *jaak*^{5} 'want', with various kinds of complex VP complements (in square brackets), including a *haj*^{5} 'give' causative construction:

(342) *bò*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *[haj*^{5} *nòòng*^{4} *qòòk*^{5} *caak*^{5} *vang*^{2}*]*
NEG want give Y.SIB exit from palace
'I don't want you to leave the palace.' (160.8)

a distributive clause chain:

(343) *jaak*^{5} *[qòòk*^{5} *paj*^{3} *som*^{2} *suan*^{3} *paj*^{3} *qaap*^{5} *nam*^{4}*]*
want exit go appreciate garden go bathe water
'She wanted to go out and appreciate the garden, and bathe.' (159.9)

a cognition complement with overt complementizer:

(344) *khaw*^{3} *jaak*^{5} *fang*^{2} *phòq*^{1} *khaw*^{3} *jaak*^{5} *[huu*^{4} *vaa*^{1}
3PL want listen because 3PL want know COMP
sathaan^{3}*akaan*^{3} *man*^{2} *pian*^{1}*-pèèng*^{3} *paj*^{3} *jaang*^{1}*-daj*^{3}*]*
situation 3SG change-fix go way-which
'They wanted to listen (to the radio) because they wanted to know how the situation had changed.' (234.1)

a complex 'disposal' construction:

(345) *muu*^{1} *haw*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *[ñok*^{1}*-qaw*^{3} *lùang*^{1} *nithaan*^{2} *siang*^{2}*-miang*^{5}
group 1SG want lift-take story tale S.M.
ma^{0} *lom*^{2}*]*
DIR.PCL(come) discuss
'We want to raise the story of Siang Miang for discussion.' (67.1)

or a right-headed adverbial/resultative construction:

(346) *mii*^{2} *laang*^{2} *qan*^{3} *man*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *saj*^{4} *haw*^{2} *lùù*^{3} *jaak*^{5}
there.is some CLF 3SG want use 1SG or want
[khom^{1} *haw*^{2} *long*^{2}*]*
press 1SG descend
'There are some things (with regard to which) they [i.e. women] want to "use" ['take advantage of'] us or want to oppress us.' (581.10)

Same-subject control complement verbs include typical equi verbs like *jaak*^{5} 'want' and various other verbs (many of which include 'want' in their internal semantics), such as *sòòk*^{4} 'look to', *còòp*^{5} 'stalk in order to', *haan*^{3} 'dare to' (=*kaa*^{4} 'dare to'; cf. example (366), below), *ñòòm*^{2} 'agree to', *lùùm*^{2} 'forget to', as well as phase complements like *leem*^{1} 'begin to'.[43] These are illustrated in the following examples:

(347) *bò*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *caaj*^{1} *ngen*^{2}
NEG want pay money
'(He) didn't want to pay.' (814.12)

(348) *sòòk*^{4} *ñing*^{2} *nok*^{1} *ñing*^{2} *nuu*^{3}
look.for shoot bird shoot rat
'(We'd) look to shoot birds and rats.' (1172.4)

43 These verbs can take different-subject subordinate clauses only if *haj*^{5} 'give' is used to mark the switch of reference (cf. §4.3.1, above).

(349) *còòp*^{5} *baaj*^{1} *tèè*^{1} *haang*^{3} *maa*^{4}
stalk stroke only tail horse
'All (they) do is look to stroke horse's tails.' (103.12)[44]

(350) *khòòj*^{5} *bò*^{0} *haan*^{3} *hêt*^{1} *ñang*^{3}
1SG NEG dare do anything
'I didn't dare to do anything.' (1189.3)

(351) *maa*^{3} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *ñòòm*^{2} *vaang*^{2}
dog FOC.PCL NEG yield release
'The dog wouldn't yield to release (the sausages).' (42.4)

(352) *khòòj*^{5} *lùùm*^{2} *law*^{1} *suu*^{1} *caw*^{4} *fang*^{2}
1SG forget tell reach 2SG listen
'I forgot to tell you.' (1240.3)

(353) *khòòj*^{5} *leem*^{1} *huu*^{4}*-cak*^{2} *mia*^{2} *khòòj*^{5}
1SG begin know wife 1SG
'I began to get to know my wife (at that time).' (1224.7)

In general, separate marking of aspect-modality cannot appear in the lower complement of these constructions, but some future-oriented verbs such as *jaak*^{5} 'want' occasionally allow preverbal marking of the lower verb by either of the irrealis particles *si*^{0}- or *ca*^{0}- (e.g. *man*^{2} *jaak*^{5} *ca*^{0} *paj*^{3} [3SG want IRR go] 'S/he wants to go').

4.4.9.1.2. *Different-subject control complements*

In different-subject control complement constructions, the matrix verb takes a sentential complement whose subject may or may not be ellipsed. The complement cannot be given independent aspectual-modal marking, and its subject, if ellipsed, cannot be coreferential with the main subject.[45] Usually, aspectual-modal marking cannot appear at all in the lower clause – for example, in a structure like *Someone saw John send the letter*, the lower clause *John send the letter* occurs at the same time as the main event of someone seeing it. Thus. tense of the lower verb remains controlled by that of the upper verb. However, certain

44 This sentence is a jocular remark about balding men who grow their hair long at the back.

45 In cases where upper and lower subjects are coreferential (e.g. when one sees oneself do something in a mirror, or help oneself do something in a dream), a logophoric pronoun *qêêng*^{3} (usually preceded by the classifier *too*^{3} 'body, self', or an appropriate pronoun) can be used as the higher-clause-object/lower-clause-subject, as in the following example:

lèèw^{4} *khon*^{2} *laaw*^{2} *ni*^{0} *si*^{0} *song*^{1} *to*^{0}*-qêêng*^{3} *paj*^{3} *qùt*^{2}*-hiiw*^{3}
PFV person Lao TPC.PCL IRR send CLF-self go starve-be.hungry
nam^{2} *khaw*^{3} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *jaak*^{5} *hêt*^{1} *nòq*^{1}
accompany 3PL FOC.PCL NEG want do PCL

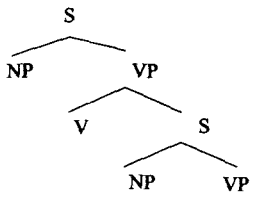
'And so for Lao people to send their own (i.e. 'themselves') to go and starve with them is not something they want to do, right?' (1348.7)

aspectual marking (such as the progressive marker *kamlang*^{2}) is occasionally possible.

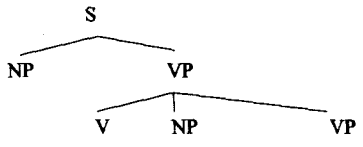
The relationship between upper and lower predicates in different-subject control complement constructions is tight, such that the lower clause is strongly dependent on the main verb. V2 cannot appear as a yes-answer, nor, importantly, is internal insertion of the focus particle *ka*^{0} (i.e. between the lower subject and predicate) possible. These facts both indicate that the lower verb does not head an independent verb phrase.

The following two structures show possible constituent structure analyses of these types of constructions:

(354) (a)



(b)



The structure in (354a) appears to be appropriate for describing different-subject control complement constructions in which the upper verb clearly takes the lower clause as a whole complement, as in direct perception-of-event complements like those of *hên*^{3} 'see' or *daj*^{4}*.ñin*^{2} 'hear', such as the following (the sentential complement is given in square brackets):

(355)	*laaw*^{2}	*daj*^{0}	*ma*^{0}	*hên*^{3}	*[phò*^{0}*-luung*^{2}	*phu*^{0}*-nùng*^{1}
	3SG	ACHV	DIR.PCL(come)	see	CT.FATHER-uncle	CLF.PERSON-one
	saj^{1}	*vèèn*^{1}*-taa*^{3}	*qaan*^{1}	*nang*^{0}*sùù*^{3}*]*		
	put.on	spectacles	read	writing		

'He saw an old man put on glasses to read.' (52.8)

(356)	*phuak*^{4}	*khòòj*^{5}	*hên*^{3}	*[man*^{2}	*ñing*^{2}	*baan*^{4}*]*
	group	1SG	see	3SG	shoot	village

'We saw them bomb the village.' (1157.7)

WH-questions may be formed from these constructions by substituting *ñang*^{3} 'what' for the whole lower NP-VP structure. Thus, (356) could be an answer to the following:

(357)	*phuak*^{4}	*caw*^{4}	*hên*^{3}	*ñang*^{3}
	group	2SG	see	what

'What did you see?'

Note, however, that the complement clause cannot be freely moved into left position or right position in the same way that noun phrases and other less tightly dependent constituents can be.

A yes-answer to a polar question formed from (356) would simply be the matrix verb *hên*^{3} [see] '(I) saw (it)', showing that this is the head with respect to the whole construction.

I describe constructions of the form shown in (354a) as S-COMP different-subject contro60l complement constructions. Note that one difference between these and the 'flat' different-subject control complement constructions we are about to discuss is that S-COMP different-subject complement clauses tend not to allow their subjects to be ellipsed.

Other different-subject control complement constructions are better analysed as having the structure in (354b). I refer to these as 'flat' different-subject control complement constructions, due to the main verb phrase being flat with respect to the relatedness of the upper verb and lower verb phrase, namely that they appear as constituent structure sisters. One important point about this structure is that it directly reflects the ambiguity of the lower noun phrase as either object of the upper verb, or subject of the lower verb, or, better, simultaneously both. A typical instance involves *haj*^{5} 'give' in its causative function (see §4.4.8.1, above):

(358) *haj*^{5} *to*^{0}*-mên*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
give CT.CREATURE-louse die
'...to make the lice die.' (1185.11)

Unlike the S-COMP different-subject control complement construction described above, here the lower subject and predicate cannot be replaced in a WH-question by *ñang*^{3} 'what?':

(359) *haj*^{5} *ñang*^{3}
give what
(≠'to do/cause what?')

Another difference, again related to contrasting headship properties emerging from different constituent structures, concerns the kind of yes-answer which would be elicited by a polar question based on a flat different-subject control complement construction. Thus, with reference to (358), neither *haj*^{5} 'give' (the matrix causative verb), nor *taaj*^{3} 'die' (the lower verb) would suffice as a yes-answer on its own, suggesting that neither is an unequivocal head of the overall expression:

(360) Q: *haj*^{5} *to*^{0}*-mên*^{2} *taaj*^{3} *bòò*^{3}
give CT.CREATURE-louse die PCL(Q)
'to make the lice die?'

A: *haj*^{5} *taaj*^{3}
give die
'(Yes,) to make (them) die.'

Flat different-subject control complement verbs typically include verbs of causation such as *haj*^{5} 'give', *hêt*^{1} 'make', *haam*^{5} 'forbid', and *suaj*^{1} 'help', as shown, respectively, in the following examples (cf. §4.4.8., above):

(361) *phen*^{1} *ka*^{0} *bò*^{0} *haj*^{5} *paj*^{3}
3SG FOC.PCL NEG give go
'He wouldn't let (me) go.' (332.2)

(362) *baang*^{3}*-thùa*^{1} *ka*^{0} *hêt*^{1} *kèèw*^{4} *tèèk*^{5}
some-occasion FOC.PCL make glass break
'Sometimes (I) might break a glass.' (1001.9)

(363) *khaw*^{3} *haam*^{5} *suup*^{5}
3PL forbid smoke
'They forbid (people) to smoke (it).' (117.10)

(364) *Khòòj*^{5} *paj*^{3} *suaj*^{1} *mè*^{0}*-tuu*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hêt*^{1} *viak*^{4}
1SG go help CT.MOTHER-grandparent 1SG do work
'I went to help my grandmother to work.' (1073.5)

Also, note that the lower VP can be structurally complex. In the following example, the main different-subject control complement verb is *haj*^{5} 'give', the lower subject is *khon*^{2} 'person', and the lower VP (in square brackets) is a 'disposal' construction involving *qaw*^{3} 'take' (§4.4.4., above):

(365) *haj*^{5} *khon*^{2} *[maa*^{2} *qaw*^{3} *khùang*^{1} *thaj*^{2}*-haw*^{2} *ni*^{0}
give person come take stuff people-1PL FOC.PCL
paj^{3} *tom*^{4}*]*
DIR.PCL(go) boil
'(They'd) get someone to come and take our clothes and boil them.' (1185.7)

Semantically, these involve causation, whereby the 'object' of the first verb is affected by action of the main subject, and as a result of that main subject action, the first verb 'object' is the lower verb 'subject' with respect to the lower VP. (This particular example (365) would have a constituent structure along the lines of $[NP_1<V\ NP_2\ (V\ NP_3\ VP)_{VP}>_{VP}]$, where NP_2 *khon*^{2} 'person' is the main 'causee', and is the 'subject' of the action predicated in the lower complex clause.)

Finally, note that the two kinds of complement construction described in this section and the previous one may be combined in single complex clauses. The following example shows a flat different-subject control complement (in square brackets) subordinate to a same-subject control complement verb (with the whole same-subject control complement construction in angle brackets), such that the whole sentence has a structure along the lines of $(NP<V_{SSCC}[V_{DSCC}\ NP\ VP]_{VP}>_{VP})$:

(366) *thaang*^{2} *khan*^{5} *theng*^{2} *ka*^{0} *<bò*^{0} *kaa*^{4} *[khom*^{1}*-hêng*^{3} *ø-*$_{US}$ *long*^{2}*]>*
way level upon FOC.PCL NEG dare oppress descend
'The upper administration <didn't dare [to force (us) to come down]>.' (592.1)

4.4.9.2. *Non-controlled complementation*

A final class of complements, involving verbs of speech and cognition, and usually marked with an overt complementizer *vaa*^{1} 'say', is loosely subordinating, whereby the lower clause retains many of the properties of an independent sentence. The structure of such sentences resembles that of (354a), proposed for S-COMP different-subject control complement constructions described in §4.4.9.1.2, above – namely where the whole lower clause is properly a complement of the main verb.

Here are some examples of non-controlled complementation, involving verbs of speech and cognition *bòòk*^{5} 'tell', *haaj*^{4} 'berate', *khùt*^{1} 'think', *huu*^{4} 'know', and *jaan*^{4} 'afraid'.

respectively, all requiring that the complement be overtly marked by *vaa*^{1} 'say' in its role as a complementizer:[46]

(367) *naj*^{2} *vêlaa*^{2} *nan*^{4} *siang*^{2}*-miang*^{5} *bòòk*^{5} *vaa*^{1} *sùak*^{4}
in time DEM.NONPROX S.-M. tell COMP rope
sii^{1} *sên*^{5} *haj*^{5} *dùng*^{3} *khêng*^{1} *samee*^{3} *kan*^{3}
four CLF give pull tightly.stretched evenly RCP
'At that time, Siang Miang told them that the four ropes were to be pulled to an even tightness.' (125.1)

(368) *haaj*^{4} *vaa*^{1} *qaw*^{3} *ñon*^{2} *vaan*^{1} *qan*^{0}*-nii*^{4}
berate COMP take aeroplane scatter CLF-DEM.GEN
'(He) was angry [i.e. 'berated me'] that I took an aeroplane and scattered these (flowers).' (551.13)

(369) *khùt*^{1} *vaa*^{1} *man*^{2} *taaj*^{3} *lèèw*^{4}
think COMP 3SG die PFV
'(He) thought that it had died.' (187.7)

(370) *Khaw*^{3} *ñang*^{2} *bò*^{0} *huu*^{4} *vaa*^{1} *sì*^{0} *song*^{1} *paj*^{3} *bòòn*^{1} *daj*^{3}
3PL still NEG know COMP IRR send go place which
'They didn't yet know where they'd send (us).' (1171.3)

(371) *jaan*^{4} *vaa*^{1} *khòòng*^{3} *haw*^{2} *ni*^{0} *hên*^{3}
afraid COMP of 1SG TPC.PCL see
'(We're) worried our (man) will see (him).' (121.1)

Let us now consider some grammatical properties of these constructions, with reference to the following example, whose main complement-taking verb is *laaj*^{2}*-ngaan*^{2} 'report':

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46 The roles of *vaa*^{1} 'say' are many and varied, but further discussion is beyond the present scope. Note that *vaa*^{1} is common as a main complement-taking predicate in itself, meaning 'utter', 'say':

(a) *muu*^{1} *vaa*^{1} *qooj*^{4} *jaan*^{4} *man*^{2} *taaj*^{3} *lèèw*^{4}
group say INTJ afraid 3SG die PFV
'The others said, 'Oh, we suspect it's dead!'.' (186.1)

(b) *phuak*^{4} *ñuan*^{2} *vaa*^{1} *caw*^{4}*-naaj*^{2} *phen*^{1} *pòòj*^{1} *kuu*^{3} *loot*^{4}
group Vietnamese say authorities 3SG release 1SG right.away
'The Vietnamese said 'The authorities let me/us go right away'.' (506.14)

(372) *man²* *laaj²-ngaan²* *vaa¹* *khon²* *baan⁴* *nii⁴* *ñaaj⁴* *paj³*
3SG report COMP person village DEM.GEN move go

juu¹ *baan⁴* *nan⁴*
be.at village DEM.NONPROX

'(They) reported that the people of this village had moved to that village.' (1158.4)

First, (372) fails the clause separability test, since the lower predicate is dependent on the upper predicate in a particular way. The whole sentence is not simply an assertion of the two clauses, and in particular the lower clause is not entailed – thus, (372) does not entail that 'the people of this village had moved to that village', since this describes an event which constitutes the content of someone's report, and is not an *assertion* of that event. Example (372) merely entails that someone reported something. Second, due to the relative grammatical independence of the lower clause, insertion of the focus marker *ka⁰* is possible either between the higher subject and matrix predicate (i.e. immediately after *man²* 'it'), or inside the complement, between the lower subject and its predicate (i.e. immediately after the subject *khon² baan⁴ nii⁴* 'people of this village').

(373) *man²* *laaj²-ngaan²* *vaa¹* *khon²* *baan⁴* *nii⁴* *ka⁰* *ñaaj⁴*
3SG report COMP person village DEM.GEN FOC.PCL move

paj³ *juu¹* *baan⁴* *nan⁴*
go be.at village DEM.NONPROX

'They reported that the people of this village also moved to that village.'

Third, in this kind of construction, the aspect-modality marking on the lower verb phrase is independent of the aspect-modality properties of the matrix verb. Thus, the following example, inserting complex aspect-modality marking (cf. Figure 4.4.2-1 above) on the lower verb of (372), is grammatical (cf. also (370), above):

(374) *man²* *laaj²-ngaan²* *vaa¹* *khon²* *baan⁴* *nii⁴* *khùù²* *si⁰*
3SG report COMP person village DEM.GEN probably IRR

bò⁰ *than²* *daj⁰* *ñaaj⁴* *paj³* *juu¹* *baan⁴* *nan⁴*
NEG yet ACHV move go be.at village DEM.NONPROX

'They reported that the people of this village have probably not yet moved to that village.'

Finally, the whole lower clause, including or not including the complementizer *vaa¹*, may be replaced by *ñang³* 'what?' in a WH-question, as follows:

(375) *man²* *laaj²-ngaan²* *(vaa¹)* *ñang³*
3SG report COMP what
'What did he report?'

4.4.9.3. *Verbs appearing in both controlled and non-controlled complementation*

Some complement-taking predicates, like *hên³* 'see' or *daj⁴.ñin²* 'hear', may act either as S-COMP different-subject complement verbs (without overt complement marking, cf.

§4.4.9.1.2, above) or may head non-controlling constructions whose lower complements are overtly marked (by *vaa*^{1}). Compare the (a) and (b) examples in the following pairs:

(376) (a) *phuak*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *man*^{2} *ñing*^{2} *baan*^{4}
group 1SG see 3SG shoot village
'We saw them shoot (i.e. bomb) the village.' (1157.7)

(b) *phuak*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *hên*^{3} *vaa*^{1} *man*^{2} *(si*^{0}*)* *ñing*^{2} *baan*^{4}
group 1SG see COMP 3SG IRR shoot village
'We saw that they shot (i.e. bombed) the village.'

(377) (a) *laaw*^{2} *daj*^{0}*.ñin*^{2} *caw*^{4} *khaa*^{5} *man*^{2}
3SG hear 2SG kill 3SG
'S/he heard you kill it.'

(b) *laaw*^{2} *daj*^{0}*.ñin*^{2} *vaa*^{1} *caw*^{4} *(si*^{0}*)* *khaa*^{5} *man*^{2}
3SG hear COMP 2SG IRR kill 3SG
'S/he heard that you killed it (/will kill it).'

In the (a) examples, the complement must be read as co-temporal with the main verb. Thus, for example, in (376a) the 'seeing' and the 'bombing' happened at the same time. However, in the (b) examples, in which the lower clause is separated from the main verb by the complementizer *vaa*^{1}, the lower verb is not temporally dependent on the main verb, as shown by the possibility of inserting independent aspect-modality marking on the lower verb. There is a difference in evidential status between the (a) and (b) examples, such that in the (a) examples the main subject has had direct perceptual access to the event predicated in the lower clause, whereas in the (b) examples the subject infers the truth of the lower clause predication, either by visual evidence of the results (376b), or by hearsay (377b).

4.4.9.4. *So-called 'passive': the undergoer complement construction*

A final type of complement construction is the 'undergoer complement construction', marked by the verb *thùùk*^{5} 'strike, come into contact with', which has traditionally been regarded as a 'passive' marker. Cross-linguistically, the term 'passive' normally refers to a construction type in a language with an S/A pivot ('subject') with the syntactic function of removing an 'A' from a transitive clause, and putting the 'O' into intransitive subject (S) position, often allowing the erstwhile A to be expressed in an oblique phrase (Foley and Van Valin 1985, Dixon 1994, inter alia). Motivations for having such a construction in a 'subject-prominent' language relate to argument management in discourse, providing speakers with a way to background A arguments, foreground O arguments, and otherwise manipulate grammatical relations where strict constraints on functional structure apply (e.g. due to control of cross-clausal co-reference of ellipsed arguments). In Lao, however, there is little need for a dedicated passive construction, since the functions just discussed are taken care of by ellipsis, freedom of pragmatically-determined argument movement, and great versatility in verb argument structure (cf. §4.3, above). Co-reference of ellipsed subjects in conjoined clauses is not under strict syntactic control (i.e. Lao has no 'pivot').

Let us then consider what the so-called passive marked by *thùùk*^{5} 'strike' actually does. First, the following examples show *thùùk*^{5} as a transitive verb meaning 'strike, come into contact with':

(378) *khòòj*^{5} *thùùk*^{5} *toq*^{2}
1SG strike table
'I bumped into the table.'

(379) *nang*^{3} *to*^{0} *nii*^{4} *thùùk*^{5} *nam*^{4} *man*^{2} *bò*^{0} *mii*^{2} *khun*^{2}*naphaap*^{4}
hide CLF DEM.GEN strike water 3SG NEG have quality
'(If) this hide comes into contact with water, it doesn't have (the) quality [to stay in tact].' (131.9)

(380) *phuak*^{4} *khèèng*^{1} *phuak*^{4} *ñang*^{3} *ni*^{0} *thùùk*^{5} *ka*^{0} *daj*^{4}
group lower.leg group whatever TPC.PCL strike FOC.PCL can
'It's okay for (the ball) to come into contact with the lower leg and whatever.' (289.10)

The 'contact' meaning of *thùùk*^{5} may be extended beyond literal physical contact, as the following examples show:

(381) *bò*^{0} *khùan*^{2} *thùùk*^{5} *laat*^{4}*sakaan*^{3}
NEG should strike royal.service
'(They) shouldn't be selected for royal service.' (104.5)

(382) *thùùk*^{5} *khòò*^{5}*-haa*^{3} *vaa*^{1} *pên*^{3} *khon*^{2} *bò*^{0} *dii*^{3}
strike accusation COMP be person NEG good
'(You'd) get an accusation that you were a bad person.' (232.7)

The next set of examples show *thùùk*^{5} in the context in which it is most likely to be labeled as a 'passive' marker. In these cases, it takes a verb phrase or sentence complement, where the subject of *thùùk*^{5} is coreferential with the *object* of the lower complement:

(383) *qaat*^{5} *ca*^{0} *thùùk*^{5} *cap*^{2} *ka*^{0} *pên*^{3} *daj*^{4}
might IRR suffer catch FOC.PCL be can
'It was possible that (you) might even get caught.' (273.1)

(384) *ka*^{0} *thùùk*^{5} *khaw*^{3} *ñing*^{2} *taaj*^{3}
FOC.PCL suffer 3PL shoot die
'(And then they'd) get shot dead by them.' (755.5)

(385) *phu*^{0}*-thii*^{1}*-sòòng*^{3} *paj*^{3} *ka*^{0} *thùùk*^{5} *paa*^{3} *kin*^{3}
CLF.PERSON-ORD-two go FOC.PCL suffer fish eat
'The second person went, and he (also) got eaten by fish.' (969.3)

(386) *caw*^{4} *ca*^{0} *thùùk*^{5} *pòòj*^{1} *tua*^{3} *naj*^{2} *mùa*^{1} *daj*^{3}
2SG IRR suffer release body in time which
'When would you be released?' (273.8)

It is easy to see why one might label these examples as 'passive'. If we view *thùùk*^{5} as simply a grammatical marker here, its function would seem to be to put an O argument (a patient) of the verb it marks into main subject position (cf. the English translations). However, not all uses of *thùùk*^{5} as a complement-taking predicate follow this pattern. The following examples show *thùùk*^{5} taking same-subject VP complements, meaning that it 'fell to' the subject to do something; the subject had to do something:

(387) *thùùk⁵ nêê²lathêêt⁴ paj³ han⁰*
suffer exile go PCL
'(He) was exiled.' (155.2)

(388) *nèè¹-nòòn²* *haw²* *tòòng⁴* *thùùk⁵* *son²*
definitely 1SG must suffer fight
'I will definitely have to fight.' (i.e. 'Definitely I must be made to fight'.) (98.9)

These are clearly not 'passive' by any description (since the main subject is subject, not object, of the lower verb), but they are indeed 'adversative' in meaning.

Further, in the next three examples, the main subject of *thùùk⁵* is not an argument of the lower clause at all, but a *possessor* of an argument of the lower clause (in a rather more abstract sense in the second and third examples):

(389) *thùùk⁵* *ñak¹* *hak²* *khèèn³* *hak²* *khaa³* *qiik⁵*
suffer troll snap arm snap leg more
'(They) got (their) arms, and (their) legs too, snapped by a troll.' (974.13)

(390) *lùù³* *vaa¹* *thùùk⁵* *phu⁰-khon²* *lom⁴* *taaj³* *sia³* *haaj³*
or COMP strike CLF.PERSON-person fall die lose disappear
'...or (if you) suffer anyone (of your people) falling over and dying...' (125.13)

(391) *phen¹* *thùùk⁵* *phua³* *paj⁰* *nòòn²* *kap²* *phu⁰-saaw³*
3SG strike/suffer husband go sleep with CLF.PERSON-girl
'She suffered her husband sleeping with (another) girl.'
(or: 'She was slept-with-another-girl by her husband.')

Thus, while *thùùk⁵* in one of its common functions seems analogous in grammatical function to a 'passive' marker, it is not a passive marker in the usual sense. The main subject may correspond to subject or object or even neither argument of the lower clause. The relationship between simple transitive sentences and undergoer complement constructions marked by *thùùk⁵* is not a simple one of syntactic permutation, but involves addition of specific semantic content (meaning essentially 'have a (usually adverse) experience of VP, not by one's choice or control').

4.4.10. Coordinating constructions

4.4.10.1. *Verb (phrase) chaining*

A verb (phrase) chain is a string of verb phrases with no overt linking morphology, usually with a single understood subject, which may or may not be overtly expressed. The following examples are typical (chained verb phrases are each square-bracketed):

(392) *paj³* [*cap² nok¹*] [*cap² nuu³*] [*cap² puu³*] [*cap² paa³*] [*ma⁰* *kin³*]
go catch bird catch rat catch crab catch fish DIR.PCL(come) eat
'(We'd) go and catch birds, and rats, and crabs and fish to eat.' (1172.6)

(393) *khan²* *phu⁰-daj³* *dùù⁴* *paj³* [*qaap⁵* *nam⁴*] [*sak¹* *khùang¹*]
if CLF.PERSON-any naughty go bathe water wash clothes
'If anyone was naughty and went to bathe or wash their clothes...' (1189.13)

(394) [*kap*^{2}-*khùùn*^{2} *maa*^{2} *pathêêt*^{4}] [*hian*^{2} *tòò*^{1}]
go.back-return come country study continue
'(They) returned to their country (to) continue (their) studies.' (1202.2)

Different semantic relationships between clauses may hold. In (392) and (393), the chained clauses are in a parallel or distributive relationship – there is no dependence among the bracketed verb phrases in terms of temporal, consequential, conditional, causative, or purposive relation. In (394), however, there is a purposive relationship between the two clauses, such that the second VP describes the purpose of the first VP, and the truth of the whole sentence entails the truth of the first VP, but not necessarily the second (i.e. it only means that 'the purpose of the first VP was the second VP'). These different kinds of semantic relationships can be hierarchically combined in a single sentence, as follows:

(395) [<*tùk*^{2} *hèè*^{3}> <*haa*^{3} *hòòj*^{3}>]...[<*saj*^{1} *mòòng*^{2}> <*haa*^{3} *paa*^{3}>]
cast fish.net seek shells put fish.net seek fish
'We'd cast *hèè*^{3} nets for shells, and put out *mòòng*^{2} nets for fish.' (1066.1)

The two constituents in square brackets are VPs in parallel. Both of these complex VPs consist of two chained VPs (in angled brackets), where the second VP describes the intended purpose of the first.

A second kind of relationship between chained verb phrases is a 'sequential' one – i.e. where the events listed in the chain are understood to happen one after the other. In clause chains where the actions predicated are to be interpreted as distinctly separated events, this separation is often overtly marked by the clause linker *lèka*^{0} (see §4.4.1.2, above), which is almost always followed by a zero anaphor coreferential with the subject of the previous clause. In the following example, *ø*'s refer to *tamluat*^{5} 'police', and other ellipsed arguments are unmarked:

(396) *khan*^{2} [*tamluat*^{5} *hên*^{3}] *han*^{0} [*ø* *qaw*^{3} *paj*^{3}] [*ø* *kêp*^{2}
if police see TPC.PCL take go collect
paj^{3}] *lèka*^{0} [*ø* *pap*^{2}-*maj*^{3}] *lèka*^{0} [*ø* *pòòj*^{1} *ma*^{0}
go CLNK fine CLNK release DIR.PCL(come)
kin^{3} *law*^{5} *khùù*^{2} *kaw*^{1}]
consume liquor like old
'If the police see (them), (they) would take (them) away, pick (them) up, and then fine (them), and then release (them) to come and carry on drinking like before.' (1294.4)

Here, the linker *lèka*^{0} overtly partitions the string of verb phrases into the three separate events of (i) 'police taking them, picking them up', (ii) 'police fining them', and (iii) 'police releasing them to carry on drinking'. Here is another example, with numerous chained clauses (all with subject ellipsed), and just one overt linking of clauses using *lèka*^{0}:

(397) [*kap*^{2} *maa*^{2}] [*ma*^{0} *laang*^{4} *tiin*^{3}][*laang*^{4} *mùù*^{2}]
return come DIR.PCL(come) wash foot wash hand
[*qanaa*^{2}*maj*^{2}] *lèka*^{0} [*khùn*^{5} *tiang*^{3}] [*tii*^{3} *kalèèng*^{1}] [*nòòn*^{2}]
clean.up CLNK ascend bed hit bell sleep
'(We'd) come back and wash (our) feet, (and) wash (our) hands, clean up, and then get into bed, (when they'd) ring the bell (for us) to go to sleep.' (1242.8)

Here, the first chain ['return' + 'wash hands' + 'wash feet' + 'clean up'] shows no overt marking between VPs. These actions are habitually linked together in a normal daily complex event (given the context of boarding school life for children), and so are conceptually unitary, relatively speaking. This complex (but monoclausal) chain is then connected by the clause linker *lèka*^{0} to another unmarked chain of VPs, ['get into bed' + 'hit the bell' + 'sleep'], again a series of action habitually linked in the daily flow of events, although not necessarily normally directly linked to those of the first chain.[47]

Such strings are typical in narratives. The following example is illustrative, from one speaker's elicited description of a series of events acted out in a video stimulus designed to explore the cross-linguistic packaging of complex series of events (van Staden et al. 2001). The clause linker *lèka*^{0} (shown in boldface) occurs seven times:

(398)	*phu*^{0}*-saaj*^{2}	*khon*^{2}	*nii*^{4}	*nòòn*^{2}*-lap*^{2}*/*	*juu*^{1}	*la*^{0}	*laaw*^{2}
	CLF-male	CLF	DEM.GEN	lie-sleep	be.at	PCL	3SG
	ka^{0}*/*	*huu*^{4}*.mùa*^{1}	*khùn*^{5}	*maa*^{2}*/*	*sii*^{3}	*taa*^{3}	***lèka***^{0}*/*
	FOC.PCL	become.conscious	ascend	come	rub	eye	CLNK
	luk^{1}	*khùn*^{5}*/*	*nang*^{1}	*juu*^{1}	***lèka***^{0}	*hêt/*	*jiat*^{5}*/*
	arise	ascend	sit	be.at	CLNK	do	stretch.out
	qèèw^{3}*/*	*jiat*^{5}*-khaan*^{4}*/*	***lèka***^{0}	*kaw*^{3}	*hua*^{3}	***lèka***^{0}*/*	*luk*^{1}
	lower.back	stretch.oneself	CLNK	scratch	head	CLNK	arise
	ñaang^{1}	*paj*^{3}	*cap*^{2}	*qaw*^{3}	*saam*^{2}*/*	*ñaang*^{1}	*paj*^{3}
	walk	go	grab	take	bowl	walk	go
	qaw^{3}	*nam*^{4}	*juu*^{1}	*kakhuq*^{1}***/lèka***^{0}	*thêêk*^{5}	*nam*^{4}	*saj*^{1}
	take	water	be.at	bucket CLNK	pour.out	water	put
	saam^{2}*/*	***lèka***^{0}	*thùù*^{3}	*saam*^{2}	*kap*^{2}	*khùùn*^{2}	*maa*^{2}
	bowl	CLNK	carry	bowl	go.back	return	come

'This man is sleeping – and then he – wakes up – rubs (his) eyes and then – gets up – sits there and then does – stretches – his back – stretches (him)self – and then scratches (his) head and then – gets up (and) walks (to) get a bowl – and then walks (to) get water in a bucket – and then pours the water into the bowl – and then carries the bowl back.' [NV137 05.086]

4.4.10.2. *Verb compounds*

Two or more verbs can be compounded, resulting in what is effectively a single verb, with a single subject and a single object. These usually involve a pair of near synonyms. This may be interpreted as lexical compounding or syntactic coordination of verbs under V', under VP.

Here are a few examples, with the compound verb in square brackets (in the third example the clause is relativized):

47 Notably, the subject of *tii*^{3} *kalèèng*^{1} 'ring the bell' is non-coreferential with the subject of the prior and subsequent verb phrases, *khùn*^{5} *tiang*^{3} 'get into bed', and *nòòn*^{2} 'lie down/sleep', respectively. This is an exception to the rather strong tendency for verb phrases in such series to have coreferential subjects.

(399) *man*^{2} *ka*^{0} [*nii*^{3} *paq*^{2}] *naang*^{2} *qan*^{0}-*nii*^{4}
3SG FOC.PCL flee abandon young.woman CLF-DEM.GEN
'He ran away from and abandoned that girl.' (903.11)

(400) *baat*^{5} [*phop*^{1} *hên*^{3}] *tòòn*^{3} *nan*^{4} *khòòj*^{5} *jaak*^{5} *mùa*^{2}
moment meet see time DEM.NONPROX 1SG want return
'When (I) met (them) at that time, I wanted to go back.' (1175.13)

(401) *phuak*^{4} *thii*^{1}-*vaa*^{1} [*pun*^{4} *cii*^{4} *khaa*^{5}] *khaw*^{3}
group REL-COMP hold.up stick.up kill 3PL
'those who hold up and stick up and urder people' (824.3)

In each of these cases, the verbs in compound are clause-separable. Semantically, they involve simple synonymic reiteration (as in (399), (400)). Thus, a verb compound V1-V2 entails both V1 and V2.

4.5. CONCLUSION

4.5.1. Ambiguity and complexity

The very wide range of possible relationships between verbs and/or verb phrases in Lao means that many decontextualized surface sequences are ambiguous. Consider the following example, in which *haj*^{5} 'give' has three possible structural and semantic roles (as full verb in a verb phrase string, as subordinate verb in a purposive complement, and as deverbal preposition with benefactive meaning):

(402) *laaw*^{2} *nùng*^{1} *khaw*^{5} *haj*^{5} *khòòj*^{5}
3SG steam rice give 1SG
i. 'S/he steamed rice (and then) gave (it) to me.'
ii. 'S/he steamed rice to give me.'
iii. 'S/he steamed rice for me.' (either 'for my benefit', or 'on my behalf')

The (i) and (ii) readings in (402) may be forced with overt marking by the clause-coordinating marker *lèka*^{0} and the subordinating marker *phùa*^{1} 'in order to', respectively:

(403) *laaw*^{2} *nùng*^{1} *khaw*^{5} *lèka*^{0} *haj*^{5} *khòòj*^{5}
3SG steam rice CLNK give 1SG
i. 'S/he steamed rice and then gave (it) to me.'
ii. (*S/he steamed rice to give me.)
iii. (*S/he steamed rice for me.)

(404) *laaw*^{2} *nùng*^{1} *khaw*^{5} *phùa*^{1} *haj*^{5} *khòòj*^{5}
3SG steam rice in.order.to give 1SG
i. (*S/he steamed rice (and then) gave (it) to me.)
ii. 'S/he steamed rice to give me.'
iii. (*She steamed rice for me.)[48]

48 Clearly, the reading in (i) allows 'She steamed rice for me', if we only consider the benefactive reading of this English gloss. What is important here is that (404) cannot permit the usual broader reading of the benefactive *haj*^{5} in Lao, namely the one that includes 'on my behalf'.

Such ambiguities are common, but are easily resolved by the constraints of grammatical and/or pragmatic context.

The many different patterns reviewed in this chapter may be nested together to form more complex constructions. Consider the following example, taken from (398), above, showing four verbs in sequence:

(405) *ñaang^{1}* *paj^{3}* *qaw^{3}* *nam^{4}* *juu^{1}* *kakhuq^{1}*
walk go take water be.at bucket
'(He) walks (to) get water in a bucket.'

Here, *ñaang^{1}* 'walk' and *paj^{3}* 'go' form a 'manner-direction' motion construction, where their respective motion semantics are overlaid facets of a single event. As a unit, these combine with *qaw^{3}* 'take' in a verb phrase chain. Finally, the verb *juu^{1}* 'be at' serves as a 'prepositional' marker, hosting the oblique nominal *kakhuq^{1}* 'bucket' as a modifier of the object argument of *qaw^{3}* 'take', namely *nam^{4}* 'water'.
Here is another example, with five verbs in sequence:

(406) *bò^{0}* *jaak^{5}* *haj^{5}* *nii^{3}* *kaj^{3}* *caak^{5}* *phòò^{1}-mèè^{1}*
NEG want give flee far separate.from father-mother
'(They) don't want (their children) to go far from (their) parents.' (295.10)

The verb *jaak^{5}* 'want' is here a same-subject control complement verb. In the complement clause, *haj^{5}* 'give' is performing a switch-reference function to accommodate the different subject in the lower verb. The central verb of the lower complement is *nii^{3}* 'flee', followed by *kaj^{3}* 'far' as a right-marking (adverbial/resultative) descriptive complement, and finally with *caak^{5}* 'separate.from, from' as a deverbal preposition heading the adjunct meaning 'from (their) parents'.

Finally, recall the example with six verbs in sequence described at the opening of this chapter, repeated here:

(1) *caw^{4}* *lòòng^{2}* *qaw^{3}* *paj^{3}* *hêt^{1}* *kin^{3}* *beng^{1}* *mèè^{4}*
2SG try.out take go make eat look PCL
'You go ahead and take (them) and try cooking (them)!' (38.12)

The verb *lòòng^{2}* 'try out' acts here as a left-marking complement-taking adverb, and combines with *beng^{1}* 'look', a right-marking adverbial, to bracket a four-verb phrase containing a 'disposal' construction (*qaw^{3} hêt^{1}* 'take (and) do/make'), with *paj^{3}* 'go' as a directional particle, and forming purposive clause chain with *kin^{3}* 'eat'.

While the details of possibilities for combining the range of constructions described throughout §4.4 are complex and not yet well understood, the examples just discussed should give a sense of the way in which surface strings of verbs are not mere 'strings of verbs', but hierarchically structured (usually binary) nestings of V1-V2 constructions. (See Table 4.1-1, above, and Table 5.4.2-1, below, for summary of the available constructions, as described in this chapter.)

4.5.2. Summary

This chapter has surveyed a significant portion of the complex clausal grammar of Lao, exemplifying the kind of system one can expect to find in a Tai language. Notable if not amazing is the great variety of complex syntactic-semantic configurations which can underlie a sequence of verbs or verb phrases lacking overt marking of their interrelationship. A no doubt rich topic for further research concerns the combinatorial productivity of each of these constructions, an issue requiring particular attention to their semantics.

Table 4.5.2-1 summarizes a range of distinguishing features of the different constructions surveyed in §4.4, above.

TABLE 4.5.2-1: GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES DISTINGUISHING A RANGE OF LAO V1-V2 STRUCTURES

	Yes-answer head?	Clause-separable?	Which V omissible in r relative clause?	Medial negation OK?	With medial negation, V1 entailed?	*Ka* insertable w/o majo r semantic change?
Left aspect-modality markers, deverbal (§4.4.2)	*V2*	*no*	*V1*	*%*	*no*	*no*
'Despatch' 3-place expressions (§4.4.3)	*V2*	*%*	*V1*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
'Disposal' constructions (§4.4.4)	*V2*	*%*	*V1*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Manner-path-direction constructions (§4.4.5.2)	*V1-V2-V3*	*no*	*neither*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Different subject resultatives (§4.4.6.2)	*V2*	*yes*	*%V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
Same-subject resultatives (§4.4.6.2.2)	*V2*	*yes*	*%V1*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
Projected resultatives (§4.4.6.2.3)	*V2*	*yes*	*%*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
Reiterative resultatives (§4.4.6.2.4)	*V1*	*%yes*	*%*	*yes*	*no*	*yes*
Right-headed stative adverbial complements (§4.4.6.3.1)	*V2*	*no*	*V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
Right-headed active adverbial complements (§4.4.6.3.3)	*V1-V2*	*no*	*neither*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Left-headed adverbial complements (§4.4.6.3.4)	*V1*	*%*	*%V2*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Left-marking adverbial compounds (§4.4.6.4.1)	*V1-V2*	*no*	*neither*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Right-marking adverbial compounds (§4.4.6.4.2)	*V1-V2*	*no*	*either*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Depictive complement constructions (§4.4.6.5)	*V1*	*no*	*V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
pên^{3}-adjunct constructions (§4.4.6.6)	*V1*	*no*	*V2*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
daj^{4}-complement constructions (§4.4.6.7)	*V1 or V2*	*no*	*V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*yes*
Oblique phrase constructions (§4.4.7)	*V1*	*no*	*V2*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
'Give', 'make', 'make-give' causative constructions (§4.4.8.1-4.4.8.3)	*V1-V2*	*no*	*neither*	*yes*	*yes*	*no*
Control complements, same-subject (§4.4.9.1.1)	*V1*	*no*	*%V2*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Control complements, different subject (§4.4.9.1.2)	*V1*	*no*	*V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*no*
Non-control complements (§4.4.9.2)	*V1*	*no*	*V2*	*yes*	*yes*	*no*
VP chains (§4.4.10.1)	*V1-V2*	*yes*	*neither*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*
Verb compounds (§4.4.10.2)	*V1-V2*	*%*	*neither*	*no*	*n/a*	*no*

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NOTE

The main research and writing of this chapter was done between 1998 and 2001. Since this chapter was completed, several publications have appeared which treat related issues in detail, and which provide further information on the situation of languages and linguistics of Laos:

Enfield, N. J. (2002) 'How to define "Lao", "Thai", and "Isan" language? A view from linguistic science'. *Tai Culture* 7.1: 62-67.

Enfield, N. J. (2003) 'Demonstratives in space and interaction: data from Lao speakers and implications for semantic analysis', *Language* 79.1: 82-117.

Enfield, N. J. (2004a) 'Adjectives in Lao' in *Adjective classes: a cross-linguistic typology*, edited by R. M. W. Dixon and A. Y. Aikhenvald, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 323-347.

Enfield, N. J. (2004b) 'Nominal classification in Lao: a sketch', *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* (Special Issue on Nominal Classification, edited by A. K. Aikhenvald) 57.2/3: 117-143.

Enfield, N. J. (2006a) 'Lao body part terms', *Language Sciences* 28.2/3: 181-200.

Enfield, N. J. (2006b) 'Laos - Language situation', in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, 2nd Edition*, edited by Keith Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Volume 6, 698-700.

Enfield, N. J. (in press, 2007) 'Lao separation verbs and the logic of linguistic event categorization', *Cognitive Linguistics*.

Enfield, N. J. (in press, 2007) 'Lao linguistics in the 20th century and since', In *Nouvelles recherches sur le Laos*, edited by Yves Goudineau and Michel Lorrillard, Paris, Vientien : Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient, collection 'Etudes thématiques'.

Enfield, N. J. (in press, 2007) 'Language and culture in Laos: an agenda for research', *Proceedings of 1st International Conference on Lao Studies*, DeKalb, Illinois.

APPENDIX

Lao is the national language of Laos, spoken by over four million people there (Enfield 1999). Dialects of Lao are also spoken by a minority in Northeast Cambodia, and a large minority (at least ten million) in Northeast Thailand (i.e. in areas bordering lowland Laos). There are also scattered Lao-speaking villages in Western Cambodia and Central and Eastern Thailand. The dialects spoken in Thailand are currently undergoing rapid change under the influence of central Thai (Diller 1988, 1991; for Thai influence on Lao in Laos, see Enfield 1999).

Many examples provided in this paper are from a corpus of spontaneous spoken language collected in Laos in 1996-1997. This corpus contains several hours of material, on a range of

topics and styles (procedural descriptions, jokes, informal conversation, myths, fables, life-story narratives), from a range of speakers (both male and female, ages from teenage to octogenarian). Examples from this corpus have a reference number in brackets after the English translation. A number of examples are taken from recordings made in September – October 2000 and July 2001, using semi-experimental materials – these are noted as they appear. Remaining examples are constructed and/or elicited, and checked with native speaker consultants.

Abbreviations used in glosses are as follows:

1/2/3^{1st}/^{2nd}/^{3rd}	person pronoun	NONPROX	non-proximal
ACHV	achievement	NSR	nominalizer
CLF	classifier	O.BRO	older brother
CLNK	clause linker	ORD	ordinator
COMP	complementizer	PCL	particle
CT	class term	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIR	directional	PROG	progressive
EXPR	expressive	Q	question
FEM	feminine	RCP	reciprocal
FOC	focus	RDP	reduplication
GEN	general	REL	relativizer
IRR	irrealis	SG	singular
MASC	masculine	TPC	topic
NEG	negation	Y.SIB	younger sibling

Small caps are used for grammatical morphemes, italics for emphasis and mentions, single capital letter with period (e.g. D.) for gloss of proper names, period between morphemes to indicate semantically unanalysable morphology. The symbols *(*x*) and (**x*) indicate that the example is ungrammatical if *x* is excluded, and included, respectively. Note that in interlinear glossing in this chapter I do not mark distinctions between pronouns used at different 'levels' of speech, since it is irrelevant to the topic at hand. Thus, among first person singular pronouns, both *kuu*^{3} and *khòòj*^{5} are glossed as '1SG', despite the distinction in social level between the two forms (*kuu*^{3} being the bare form for 'I', *khòòj*^{5} being a general polite form; Enfield 2002a: 147-149).

There is no standard romanization of Lao. The system used in this chapter (like the Lao orthography itself) does not feature sentence-based punctuation such as capital letters and periods. This is primarily to index their spoken (not written) source. Examples are transcribed according to the following conventions:

Consonants					Vowels			Tones
b	*d*				*i*	*u*		1./32/
p	*t*	*c*	*k*	*q*(glottalstop)		*ù*(unrounded)		2./35/
ph	*th*		*kh*		*ê*	*e*	*o*	3./13/
m	*n*	*ñ*	*ng*					4./51/
f	*s*		*h*		*è*	*a*	*ò*	5./31/
w	*l*	*j*						0./unstressed/

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