PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR SKETCH OF YOY

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ABSTRACT

PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR SKETCH OF YOY

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Yoy is an endangered language of Thailand and Laos. The language belongs to the Tai-Kadai language family; however it has not yet been determined exactly which branch the language belongs to. Yoy has not been studied before and very limited resources are available regarding the classification of this language. The main objective of this thesis is to present a phonological description of Yoy by analyzing a set of 1,000 lexical items from selected speakers of the language. It also presents the grammar sketch which includes a description of word structure and syntactic structure of the language. The sketch structure of the grammar partially follows the outline of the language description from *Grammar of Lao* by Enfield.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1	first
2	second
3	third
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ACHV	achievement
ADJ	adjective
AGREE	agree with the speaker
ANIM	animate
ASP	aspect
B	bare
C	consonant
C.LINK	clause linker
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CONFM	confirmation
COP	copula
CONT	continuous
CT	class term
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner

DIST	distal
EPIS	epistemic modality
EXP	experienced
EXTDIST	extra distal
F	feminine
FO	formal
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HUM	human
IDEO	ideophone
INDF	indefinite
INFM	information
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MED	middle
MOD	modifier
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOUN	noun
OBLIG	obligative
OPT	optional
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PL	plural

PLED	pleading
PLR	polar
PO	polite
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
Q	question marker
RDP	reduplication
REL	relativizer
S	singular argument of canonical intransitive verb
SG	singular
T	tone
T.LINK	topic linker
UNKN	unknown
V	verb
WEAK	weak argument

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The preservation of an endangered language has numerous qualitative purposes. To study and protect an endangered language not only maintains linguistic ability, but also provides language rights. Language is a vehicle for human thought and enables the expression of identity and ideas (Sengupta, 2009). Hale et al. (1992) state that the loss of one language equals the loss of cultural and intellectual diversity. Whalen (2004) states that every day, many languages are in danger of disappearing without any record or documentation. The rate of language extinction has reached a point where it is now greater than any previous era. Since language serves a multitude of functions, I conclude that language is not simply for communication purposes; language symbolizes identity of entire groups or populations. Therefore, many linguists spend years studying, documenting and preserving indigenous languages around the world.

The Yoy language is now in the critical endangered state due to a rapid language shift, which may eventually lead to complete language loss. In 2014, I had a chance to observe one of the schools in the Yoy village. This school is the primary educational center for development of Yoy children from kindergarten to secondary level. The 6 years of primary and secondary school here follow the government standard of Thailand. The language in which the courses are taught in school is Standard Thai. Parents do not want their children to speak Lao or Yoy. The school system in the village also discourages the children from speaking Yoy amongst themselves. If the children want to continue in higher education, they need to be fluent in Standard Thai. One of the speakers who is 39 years old said that when he was a child he spoke Yoy as his first language but when he first started his school year, he was required to speak either Lao or Thai in order to

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communicate and learn. His Yoy is now mixed which resulted in diminished fluency compared to those two main languages.

Diller, Edmondson, and Luo (2008) mention that most of the children who speak Tai-Kadai languages tend to abandon their mother tongue; so the geographical and cultural reach of this language family is in great danger. Diller et al. also suggest that researchers should encourage local people to preserve their own language, including help from authorities, such as local institutions and government.

From numerous social pressures mentioned above, Yoy utilization is in a stage of rapid decline. However, changes in language occur differently depending on person, place and time. I found that in the village, there exists a lot of variation in the Yoy language. In the younger generation, the speakers have undergone change faster than the older generation, namely, they have adopted other dominant languages in lieu of Yoy, their native language. The Yoy language in Akat Amnuay district where I did this research is divided into many different dialects. In the village, there are smaller sections of houses that are divided according to the location. These small sections of houses appear to have different dialects. As reported by speakers, the most traditional dialect is the one that contains a very slow articulation that is primarily spoken by elderly people and some of the middle-aged villagers. The young people in the village tend to use a dialect characterized by rapid articulation and mixed with Lao and Standard Thai.

### 1.1 Yoy Origin and Its Location

Yoy (spelled *'yüey'* by Seidenfaden [1967], and *'yooy'* by Chamberlain [1972]) originated in Guangxi, China. Chinese called the Yoys 'Srong' while Vietnamese called them 'Doy'. However, people in the village call themselves /yo:i/ or /ɲo:i/. According to a historical manuscript in the village, Yoys migrated from China to Lao during the war of 'Juang' in the

period of 1890-1919 due to agricultural reasons. As of today, according to the *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig, 2015), there are fewer than 6,000 Yoy speakers – 5,000 of which live in Thailand and another 1,000 in Laos.

The Yoy population in Thailand is gathered in two different villages, Wanonniwet and Akat Amnuay, in the province of Sakonnakorn, located in the northeastern part of the country. Sakonnakorn province boasts a diversity of languages; Tai Yai, Nyaw, Phuthai and several more minority languages reside in the same area as Yoy. These languages share some basic language characteristics and similarities, allowing rudimentary mutual understanding. However, according to the locals, some groups have difficulty understanding each other. Yoy has not attracted many researchers in the past simply because it has been overshadowed by other minority languages, including two major dominant languages, Standard Thai and Lao.

In this particular study, I will present new facts and analysis from fieldwork on an endangered language that has never been previously described. According to the *Ethnologue* (Simons & Fennig, 2015), the Yoy language belongs to Northern branch of the Tai-Kadai language family, which is the same branch as Saek, Tai Mean and Zhuang. However, Pitiyawat (2009) classified Yoy as part of Southwestern Tai-Kadai branch that contains Thai, Lao, Shan and Black Tai, for example. Since there are no scholarly texts or former studies of this language, the data analysis of this research is solely based on information gathered from the Yoy speakers. It is my aim that this research will help categorize this language into the Tai-Kadai language family tree, and it will be added as one of the world's sample languages.
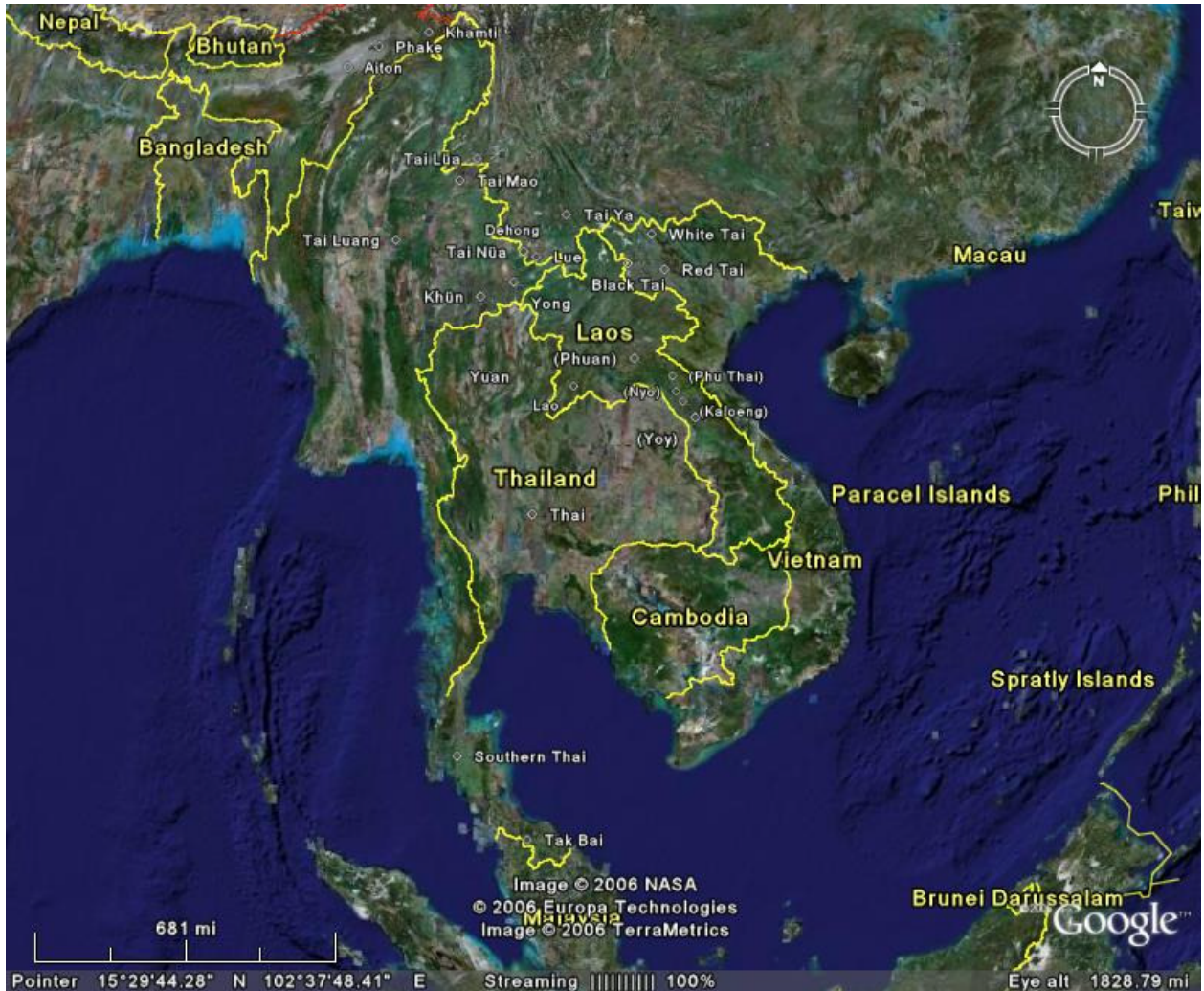
FIGURE 1. Map of the Yoy village.

The figure below shows the Tai-Kadai language family tree. This tree is from the *Tai-Kadai Languages* (Diller et. al., 2008) where it is described as "a tentative diagram for reference" (p.7).

```
                              TAI-KADAI
                                  |
Kam-Tai                       Hlai (Li)                    Kra
(Zhuang-Dong)                     |                         (Geyang)
                              Baoding
                              Tongshi
                              Yuanmen
                              Heitu

Kam-Sui          Lakjia       Tai (Zhuang-Tai)
                 Be
                 
Kam                                       (Southwestern)   Gelao
Sui                                       Lue (Dai)        Lachi
Maonan                                    Thai             Laha
Mulam (Mulao)    (Northern)   (Central)   So. Thai         Buyang
Then             Bouyei       S. Zhuang   Lanna            En
Mak              N. Zhuang    Nùng        Lao              Qabiao
Chadong          Yai          Tày         Black,White,
...              Saek         ...         Red Tai
                 Mène                     Phu Tai
                 ...                      Shan
                                          Dehong
                                          Khamti
                                          Phake, Aiton
                                          (Ahom)
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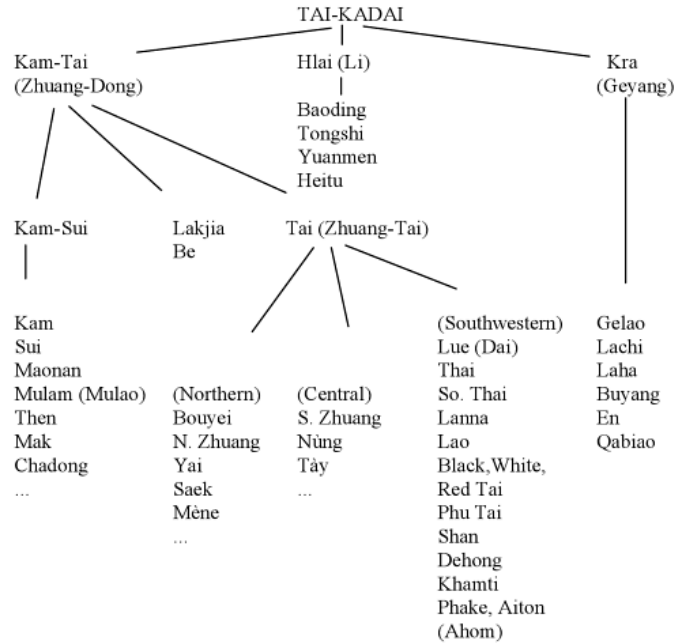
FIGURE 2. Tai-Kadai language family.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Data Sources

In order to choose the language consultant, principle criteria have been set up as follows:

a. The informants must be born and raised in Ban Akat village and never have moved to another area.

b. The informants must speak Yoy as their native tongue and also use it to communicate in their daily lives.

c. The informants must articulate clearly and correctly.

d. The informants must be over 40 years old.

e. The informants should have enough free time and willingness to work long hours with the researcher.

The selection of informants includes the two following steps. The first step was when any volunteers contacted the researcher and were asked the following questions:

a. Are you a native speaker of Yoy?

b. Do you have normal hearing and speech abilities?

c. Can you read Thai?

The volunteers who passed all three preliminary questions were asked to attend the second interview where they were asked the following questions:

a. How old are you?

b. Were you born in the Yoy village?

c. Have you ever moved or lived at any other location?

d. Do you understand Thai or Lao?

My first visit to Akat Amnuay district in January 2014 aimed to get some initial information and ideas about the language and people there. I collected the data during a 2-week stay in the Yoy village. It took me about 5 days to eventually find the right speakers to work with.

According to the criteria set up above, one high school teacher and one monk were chosen to be the main informants. The teacher is 53 years old, belonging to one of the clearest articulated households, and the monk is 39 years old, belonging to one of the most well known temples in the village. Both informants were born and grew up in the Yoy village. The teacher is also one of the activists who works on preserving culture and language of the Yoys.

1.2.2 Data Gathering

A descriptive approach was used to gather the data. The phonological analysis of this thesis is based on 1,000-item word list. The data were prepared and used in interviewing the informants. The list was divided into different sections based on semantic domain. The

mediating languages between the informants and the researcher were both Thai and Lao. The data gathering consisted of two sections:

Section 1: General word elicitation for both informants:

a. A list of 1,000 general words in Thai were given out to the informants.

b. Video and voice recording were used to record speech from the informants.

c. The word list was read for the informants in Thai.

d. Informants gave the translation of each word after hearing a word read in Thai and it was transcribed immediately in phonetic symbols. However, the immediate written transcription was only for the segmental phonemes: consonants and vowels. In presenting tones of the language, the video files had to be analyzed later.

Section 2: Concerning syntactic data: A children's picture book called *A Boy, a Dog and a Frog* by Mercer Mayer was used to elicit preliminary syntactic data. Since there are no texts available for this study, grammatically motivated differences are excluded and not taken into consideration. Also any socio-linguistic aspects will not be included in this study.

1.2.3 Data Analysis

The data were processed with the computer program *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2015). After inputting the data, the recordings were broken down into individual words, tagged, transcribed, and glossed. The tonal systems of the language were analyzed first from minimal pairs that were found in the language. Waveforms, spectrograms, and pitch listing were used to consider the tones. Auditory judgment from the fieldwork was compared to the result obtained from the computer program. The segmental phonemes, such as consonants and vowels, were mainly analyzed by the researcher's auditory perception unless ambiguous sounds occurred.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

Tai-Kadai languages and dialects are syllable-toned language (Yip, 2002) where each syllable has an initial consonant or consonant cluster, and may contain a diphthong or an optional final consonant, and each syllable has a tone (Gedney, 1989). With regard to syllable onset in the Tai languages, most of them have a rich variety of consonant distinctions, including a variety of consonant clusters; however, the final consonants in the Tai languages are very limited (Gedney, 1989). The Yoy language also shares the phonological characteristics of the Tai-Kadai language family. It has 19 contrastive consonants, 18 short and long vowels, and five distinctive tones.

2.1 Phonemic Consonants

Table 1 below exhibits the full inventory of contrastive consonants in Yoy. There are a total of 19 contrastive consonants elicited from data of 1,000 words, phrases, and 10-minute story telling transcription.

TABLE 1. Consonant Inventory of Yoy

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stop	Aspirated	p^h		t^h		k^h		
	Unaspirated	p	b	t	d	k		ʔ
Nasal			m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
Fricative				s				h
Affricate					tɕ			
Approximant						j	w	
Lateral-Approximant				l				

The stops show contrastive phonemes among voiced unaspirated /b/, /d/; voiceless aspirated /p^h/, /t^h/, /k^h/; and voiceless unaspirated /p/, /t/, /k/. All of the stops can occur as an initial consonant but only some can occur as a syllable final consonant. These characteristics are also found in other Tai-Kadai languages, including Standard Thai and Lao. According to Diller

et al., only voiceless unaspirated stops /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/, nasals and semivowels occur in the syllable final position in the Standard Thai language (2008). In the Lao language, the set of syllable final consonants is also less than the initial final consonants. The language does not have palatal, fricatives or lateral in the position of syllable final (Enfield, 2008). Yoy is similar.

Yoy has nine syllable final consonants, as shown in Table 2 below. All of the final stops in Yoy /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/ are voiceless unreleased.

TABLE 2. Final Consonant Inventory of Yoy

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t			k		ʔ
Nasal	m		n		ŋ		
Approximant				j		w	

Yoy also has six initial consonant clusters which are /tʰw-/, /kw-/, /kʰw-/, /sw-/, /hw-/, and /bw-/. The data shows only labio-velar approximant /w/ as the second consonant of initial syllables.

In the following section, there will be examples of the Yoy consonants according to their occurrence.

2.1.1 Initial Consonant

This following section shows the initial consonants of the Yoy language.

2.1.1.1 Voiceless aspirated stops. There are three voiceless aspirated stops at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulations. Examples of words are given below.

/pʰ/ is an aspirated bilabial stop as in:

pʰan³ -- 'dream'

pʰon³ -- 'rain'

pʰɤŋ⁵ -- 'bee'

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pʰiː² -- 'fat'

pʰɯn² -- 'firewood'

/tʰ/ is an aspirated alveolar stop as in:

tʰaː⁵ -- 'wait'

tʰoŋ¹ -- 'field'

tʰaːŋ² -- 'road'

tʰɔŋ³ -- 'bag'

tʰɯː³ -- 'to carry'

/kʰ/ is an aspirated velar stop as in:

kʰaːŋ² -- 'chin'

kʰon³ -- 'hair'

kʰæw⁵ -- 'teeth'

kʰaːw³ -- 'white'

kʰɯːn² -- 'to return (something)'

2.1.1.2 Voiceless unaspirated stops. There are five voiceless unaspirated stops at the bilabial, dental, velar and glottal points of articulations. The examples of words are given below.

/p/ is an unaspirated bilabial stop as in:

paː⁴ -- 'fish'

pæːt⁵ -- 'eight'

paj³ -- 'to go'

pet² -- 'duck'

piːn³ -- 'to climb'

/t/ is an unaspirated dental stop as in:

ta^{3}wen^2 -- 'sun'

tɔ:p^5 -- 'to answer'

taw^{1}pʰai^2 -- 'stove'

ti:n^3 -- 'foot'

to:^{3} -- 'you, he'

/k/ is an unaspirated velar stop as in:

ko:n^{1}hi:n^3 -- 'rock'

ka^{3}du:k^4 -- 'bone'

kaj^5 -- 'hen'

kɔk^{1}mai^4 -- 'tree'

kom^2 -- 'circle'

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop as in:

ʔi^{1}me^1 -- 'mother'

ʔɤn^4 -- 'to call'

ʔa:oʔ^3 -- 'uncle (younger)'

ʔu:t^5 -- 'to smoke (something)'

ʔi^{1}naŋ^2 -- 'girl'

2.1.1.3 Voiceless unaspirated affricate. There is one voiceless unaspirated affricate at the palatal point of articulation. The examples of words are given below.

/tɕ/ is an unaspirated palatal affricate as in:

tɕi:a^4 -- 'paper'

tɕet^2 -- 'seven'

tɕa:n³ -- 'plate'

tɕɔi⁵ -- 'skinny'

tɕop² -- 'beautiful'

2.1.1.4 Voiced unaspirated stops. There are two voiced unaspirated stops at the bilabial and alveolar points of articulation. The examples of words are given below.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop as in:

bak¹ -- 'PRO.MALE'

bɔ:⁴ -- 'NEG.'

ba:⁵ -- 'shoulder'

bwan⁴ -- 'to spit'

baɯʔ³ -- 'leaf'

/d/ is a voiced alveolar stop as in:

dam³ -- 'black'

din³ -- 'soil'

daŋ¹ -- 'to make fire'

dɔk¹mai¹ -- 'flower'

di:³ -- 'good'

2.1.1.5 Nasal. There are four nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar points of articulation. The examples of words are given below.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal as in:

ma:³ -- 'dog'

mɯ:² -- 'hand'

mɔ:⁵ -- 'pot'

mu:^{3} -- 'pig'

mæ:w^2 -- 'cat'

/n/ is an alveolar nasal as in:

na:m^4 -- 'water'

nɔk^5 -- 'bird'

nɯŋ^1 -- 'one'

ni:w^4 -- 'finger'

nak^2 -- 'heavy'

/ɲ/ is a palatal nasal as in:

ɲa:t^1 -- 'relatives'

ɲa:^{5} -- 'grass'

ɲɔ:ŋ^1 -- 'to rub'

ɲi:^{2} -- 'to crush'

ɲa:n^1 -- 'to fear'

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal as in:

ŋu:^{2} -- 'snake'

ŋoj^5 -- 'to sit on top'

ŋa:m^2 -- 'beautiful'

ŋua^2 -- 'cow'

ŋɤn^2 -- 'silver'

2.1.1.6 Fricatives. There are two fricatives at the alveolar and glottal points of articulation. The examples of words are given below.

/s/ is an unvoiced alveolar fricative as in:

si:w^5 -- 'green'

sip^2 -- 'ten'

saw^2 -- 'twenty'

sɯa^5 -- 'shirt'

som^5 -- 'sour'

/h/ is a glottal fricative as in:

hua^3 -- 'head'

hɯan^{2}pʰai^2 -- 'kitchen'

hu:^{3} -- 'ear'

huat^3 -- 'fish net'

hɔj^4 -- 'hundred'

2.1.1.7 Approximant. There are two approximants at the palatal and labio-velar points of articulation. The examples of words are given below.

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant as in:

ju:ak^3 -- 'banana stem'

ja:k^5 -- 'to want'

jɯ:n^2 -- 'to stand'

ja:^{2} -- 'medicine'

/w/ is a voiced labio-velar approximant as in:

waw^4 -- 'to speak'

waj^2 -- 'fast'

wa:n^3 -- 'sweet'

wiak^4 -- 'work, task'

we^{1}la:^{2} -- 'time'

2.1.2 Final Consonant

Only the following consonants can occur in the final position; all unaspirated voiceless stops /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ/, three of the nasals /-m, -n, -ŋ/ and both approximants /-j, -w/. The voiceless stops are unreleased.

2.1.2.1 Stops. There are four stops at the bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal points of articulation that present in final position. The examples of words are given below.

/-p/ is an unaspirated (unreleased) bilabial stop as in:

top^3 -- 'catch'

sæp^4 -- 'delicious'

sip^2 -- 'ten'

sap^1 -- 'chop'

kop^2 -- 'frog'

/-t/ is an unaspirated (unreleased) alveolar stop as in:

pet^2 -- 'duck'

lɯat^1 -- 'blood'

ɲa:t^1 -- 'relative'

sat^2 -- 'animal'

lu:t^5 -- 'to fall', 'to drop'

/-k/ is an unaspirated (unreleased) velar stop as in:

wiak^4 -- 'work'

pʰak^2 -- 'vegetable'

kæ:k^5 -- 'guest'

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mak^4 -- 'to like'

ɲa:k^4 -- 'difficult'

/-ʔ/ is a glottal stop as in:

lua?^{1} -- 'aunt (younger)'

to?^{1} -- 'table'

kʰuʔ^5 -- 'small bucket'

baɯʔ^3 -- 'leaf'

ʔawʔ^3 -- 'uncle (younger)'

2.1.2.2 Nasals. There are three nasals at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation that present in final position. The examples of words are given below.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal as in:

sa:m^3 -- 'three'

ɲu:m^2 -- 'slow'

tɕum^1 -- 'relatives'

kʰem^2 -- 'salty'

suam^5 -- 'toilet'

/n/ is an alveolar nasal as in:

tɕa:n^3 -- 'dish'

lin^4 -- 'tongue'

bin^4 -- 'to fly'

næw^{1}kin^3 -- 'food'

nɔ:n^3 -- 'worm'

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal as in:

dæŋ³ -- 'red'

bɔŋ⁵ -- 'location'

la:ŋ⁴ -- 'to wash'

bɤŋ⁵ -- 'to look'

ba:ŋ² -- 'thin'

2.1.2.3 Approximants. There are two approximants at the palatal and labio-velar points of articulation that present in final position. The examples of words are given below.

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant as in:

maj⁴ -- 'stick'

noj⁵ -- 'few'

ŋaj⁴ -- 'to yank'

sa:j² -- 'sand'

waj² -- 'fast'

/w/ is a voiced labio-velar approximant as in:

mæw² -- 'cat'

ni:w⁴ -- 'finger'

si:w⁵ -- 'green'

kʰæw⁵ -- 'teeth'

kʰiw³ -- 'smell (bad)'

2.1.3 Consonant Clusters

In my data, there are six consonant clusters that occur in the syllable initial position. The only second member of the consonant clusters that have been observed in Yoy language so far

is voiced labio-velar approximant /w/. There are a total of six initial consonant clusters /tʰw/, /kw/, /kʰw/, /sw/, /hw/, and /bw/. The examples of words are given below.

/tʰw/ as in tʰwa:j[3] -- 'to give'

/kw/ as in kwaj[3] -- 'to swing'

/kʰw/ as in kʰwa:j[2] -- 'buffalo'

/sw/ as in swa:j[3] -- 'late'

/hw/ as in hwaj[5] -- 'river'

/bw/ as in bwan[4] -- 'to spit'

2.2 Consonant Contrasts

There are three types of distributional patterns in the study of general phonological principles. The first type is an analogous environment, meaning the two sounds are used in almost an identical environment, or known as "minimal pairs." The second type is a complementary distribution. On the other hand, meaning that two phones occur in different phonetic environments, it can be predicted where each will occur, and native speakers will recognize them as the same phoneme. The last type is free variation, meaning a phenomenon of two sounds that occur in the same environment and are recognized by the native speakers as correct or acceptable (Ping, 2013). Complementary distribution has not yet been observed in the Yoy data set and the variation occurs only in some circumstances which are noted in a later section. The contrasts among initial consonants and contrasts among final consonants will be presented below.

2.2.1 Initial Consonant Contrasts

/p/ - /pʰ/

pa:[2] -- 'fish'

pʰa:² -- 'to bring'

/t/ - /tʰ/

to:³ -- 'body'

tʰo:³ -- 'jar'

/pʰ/ - /kʰ/

pʰan² -- 'thousand'

kʰan² -- 'itchy'

/pʰ/ - /tʰ/

pʰa:⁵ -- 'fabric'

tʰa:⁵ -- 'to wait'

/k/ - /kʰ/

ka:³ -- 'crow'

kʰa:³ -- 'leg'

/t/ - /d/

ti:³ -- 'hit'

di:³ -- 'good'

/b/ - /d/

daɯʔ³ -- 'INDF.Q'

baɯʔ³ -- 'leaf'

/m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/

ma:² -- 'to come'

na:² -- 'rice field'

ŋa:² -- 'ivory'

ɲaː^2 -- 'medicine'

/s/ - /h/

sɯa^5 -- 'shirt'

hɯa^5 -- 'sweat'

/w/, /l/

waːn^3 -- 'sweet'

laːn^3 -- 'grandchild'

2.2.2 Final Consonant Contrasts

/-p/ - /-t/

tɕop^2 -- 'beautiful'

tɕot^2 -- 'to write down'

/-p/ - /-k/

top^2 -- 'to catch'

tok^2 -- 'to fall'

/-k/ - /-t/

mak^5 -- 'like'

mat^5 -- 'to tie'

/-n/ - /-m/

pʰon^3 -- 'rain'

pʰom^3 -- 'hair'

/-m/ - /-ŋ/

ɲaːm^4 -- 'time'

ɲaːŋ^4 -- 'to walk'

/-n/ - /-ŋ/

nɔ:n³ -- 'worm'

nɔ:ŋ³ -- 'small pond'

/-j/ - /-w/

kʰaj⁵ -- 'egg'

kʰaw⁵/ -- 'rice'

2.2.3 Variation

Some words seem to have alternate pronunciations between the initial syllable consonants /j/ and /ɲ/. The same speaker may use both pronunciations in different circumstances. The reason behind the alternation of sounds has not yet been observed in the Yoy data. It is not clear that all words with /j/ and /ɲ/ show this alternation. However, the word 'Yoy' itself, meaning the Yoy people and the Yoy language, alternates the syllable initial sound between /j/ and /ɲ/. The only examples found in the data are shown below.

/ɲa:k⁵/ - /ja:k⁵/ -- 'to want'

/ɲa:w²/ - /ja:w²/ -- 'long (measurement)'

/ɲo:j⁴/ - /jo:j⁴/ -- 'Yoy'

2.3 Vowels

Yoy has a total of 18 monophthongs with nine distinctive vowel qualities. Length is distinctive for all vowels, apart from vowel height and vowel backness. The short vowel inventory consists of /i, e, æ, a, ɯ, ɤ, u, o, ɔ/ and the long vowel inventory consists of /i:, e:, æ:, a:, ɯ:, ɤ:, u:, o:, ɔ:/. The language also has four diphthongs /ia, ua, aɯ, ɯa/. This section will discuss the distinctive vowels in Yoy, both monophthongs and diphthongs, and the vowel contrasts. The complete inventory charts of monophthongs and diphthongs are shown below.

TABLE 3. Short and Long Monophthongs Chart of Yoy

	Front	Central	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
Close	i, iː		ɯ, ɯː	u, uː
Close-mid	e, eː		ɤ, ɤː	o, oː
Open-mid	æ, æː			ɔ, ɔː
Open		a, aː		

TABLE 4. Diphthong Chart of Yoy

	Front	Central	Back Unrounded	Back Rounded
Close	ia		ɯa	ua
Open		aɯ		

Measurements of first (F1) and second (F2) formants, which show the actual place of articulation of vowels acoustically, have been taken through *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2015). Seven to 10 tokens were used for each vowel and they were measured at the vowel's mid-point. In this study, short and long vowels have been combined. The following table shows the list of the tokens and the mean measurements of nine vowels.

TABLE 5. Vowel Formants

	Tokens	Mean F1	Mean F2
i	7	431	2,176
e	7	502	2,074
æ	7	658	2,097
a	10	1001	1,584
ɯ	10	433	1,651
ɤ	7	524	1,483
u	7	549	1,529
o	10	668	1,077
ɔ	7	775	1,205

Figure 3 shows the vowel space derived from acoustic measurements for the F1 and F2 at the midpoints of all nine vowels.

F2 (Hertz)

2500 2000 1500 1000

i   ɯ
e   uˠ
æ   o
       ɔ

a

F1 (Hertz)

200
300
400
500
600
700
800
900
1000
1100
1200
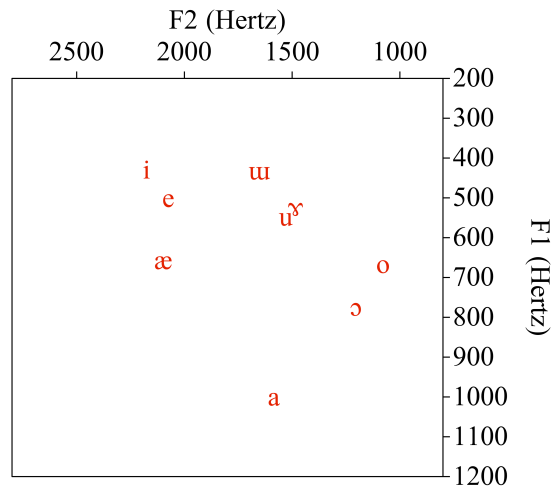
FIGURE 3. Vowel chart of the Yoy language.

Yoy has two different phonemic vowel lengths. There are nine short vowels and nine long vowels found in Yoy. In the word final open syllables, there is no contrast between short and long vowels, but in closed syllables and non-final open syllables, short and long vowels are distinctive. There is no length contrast found in the diphthong environment. In environments where length is not contrastive, the speakers often lengthen a short vowel in their normal relaxed speech while the meaning of a lexical item remains unchanged. This phenomenon usually occurs in open syllables and in diphthongs.

For example:

du^2 ~ $du{:}^2$ -- 'work hard'

hua^3 ~ $hu{:}a^3$ -- 'head'

2.3.1 Monophthongs

2.3.1.1 Monophthongs in open syllables. These vowels are described as long vowels; as noted above, length is not distinctive.

/i/ close unrounded front vowels

pi:^{3} -- 'year'

li:^{1} -- 'to hide'

/e/ close-mid unrounded front vowels

te:^{2} -- 'to kick'

we:^{2} -- 'to turn'

/æ/ open-mid unrounded front vowels

mæ^{1}ɲiŋ^1 -- 'women, 3SG.FA.F'

/a/ open unrounded central vowels

ma:^{2} -- 'to come'

pa:^{5} -- 'deep forest'

/ɯ/ close unrounded back vowels

mɯː^2 -- 'hand'

tʰɯː^3 -- 'to carry'

/ɤ/ close-mid unrounded back vowels

sɤ:^{3} -- 'where' (variation)

/u/ close rounded back vowels

mu:^{3} -- 'pig'

hu:^{3} -- 'ear'

/o/ close-mid rounded back vowels

to:^{3} - '2SG.FA'

so:^{5} -- 'chain'

/ɔ/ open-mid rounded back vowels

mɔ:^{5} -- 'pot'

kʰɔ:^{2} -- 'neck'

2.3.1.2 Monophthongs in closed syllables

/i, i:/ close unrounded front vowels

sip^2 -- 'ten'

pit^2 -- 'to close'

si:w^5 -- 'green'

kʰi:w^3 -- 'bad smell'

/e, e:/ close-mid unrounded front vowels

mek^1 -- 'cloud'

met^5 -- 'seed'

te:ŋ^3 -- '1SG.FA'

he:t^1 -- 'cause'

/æ, æ:/ open-mid unrounded front vowels

hæŋ^5 -- 'dry'

mæw^2 -- 'cat'

pæ:t^5 -- 'eight'

kʰæ:n^3 -- 'arm'

/a, a:/ open unrounded central vowels

pʰan³ -- 'dream, to dream'

pʰak² -- 'vegetable'

kʰa:ŋ² -- 'chin'

sa:m¹ -- 'bowl'

/ɯ, ɯ:/ close unrounded back vowels

pɯk² -- 'stupid'

ɲɯm² -- 'slow'

kʰɯ:n² -- 'to return'

pʰɯ:n⁴ -- 'story'

/ɤ, ɤ:/ close-mid unrounded back vowels

pɤt⁵ -- 'to open'

pʰɤŋ⁵ -- 'bee'

kɤ:p⁵ -- 'shoes'

kɤ:t⁵ -- 'to be born'

/u, u:/ close rounded back vowels

tɕum¹ -- 'relative'

suk⁵ -- 'to push'

lu:t⁵ -- 'to fall drop'

ɲu:ŋ² -- 'mosquito'

/o, o:/ close-mid rounded back vowels

kʰon³ -- 'hair (body)'

pʰom³ -- 'hair (head)'

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mo:ŋ^5 -- 'moon'

po:t^5 -- 'to slide'

/ɔ, ɔ:/ open-mid rounded back vowels

tʰɔŋ^1 -- 'field'

kɔŋ^1 -- 'to be born (for hen)'

kʰɔ:n^4 -- 'hammer'

nɔ:n^3 -- 'worm'

2.3.1.3 Monophthong contrasts. This analysis presents the phonemic contrast between vowel lengths, vowel backnesses, and vowel heights.

/e, e:/

het^1 -- 'to do'

he:t^1 -- 'cause'

/a, a:/

ɲam^3 -- 'to chew'

ɲa:m^3 -- 'to visit'

/ɯ, ɯ:/

kʰɯn^5 -- 'to go up'

kʰɯ:n^2 -- 'to return'

/ɤ, ɤ:/

pɤt^5 -- 'to be bored'

pɤ:t^5 -- 'to open'

/o, o:/

ʔon^5 -- 'soft'

ʔoːk⁵ -- 'to exit'

/ɔ, ɔː/

tʰɔŋ¹ -- 'field'

tʰɔːŋ² -- 'gold'

/ æː, ɤː, oː/

pæːt⁵ -- 'eight'

pɤːt⁵ -- 'to open'

poːt⁵ -- 'to slide'

/æː, aː, ɔː/

ɲæːŋ² -- 'to look at mirror'

ɲaːŋ⁴ -- 'to walk'

ɲɔːŋ⁴ -- 'to rub'

/ɯ, a/

pʰɯn² -- 'firewood'

pʰan² -- 'thousand'

/u, o, ɔ/

kʰun³ -- 'to feed'

kʰon³ -- 'hair (body)

kʰɔn³ -- 'log (wood)'

2.3.2 Diphthongs

There are four diphthongs /ia, ua, aɯ, ɯa/ in Yoy. The diphthongs /ia, ua, ɯa/ occur with both obstruent and sonorant codas, while the diphthong /aɯ/ only occurs with glottal stop as a coda. All examples are given below.

/ia/

ɲiaw^4 -- 'urine'

pʰiaŋ^3 -- 'what'

mi:a^2 -- 'wife'

li:a^2 -- 'lick'

/ua/

huat^5 -- 'basket (to catch fish)'

suam^5 -- 'toilet'

hu:a^3 -- 'head'

lu:a^1 -- 'uncle'

/ɯa/

sɯak^4 -- 'rope'

hɯan^2 -- 'house'

sɯaʔ^5 -- 'cloth'

/aɯ/

baɯʔ^3 -- 'leaf'

kaɯʔ^4 -- 'short (distance)'

saɯʔ^5 -- 'to put/to wear'

2.3.2.1 Diphthong contrasts.

/ia/ - /ua/

liaʔ^1 -- 'to lick'

luaʔ^1 -- 'aunt (younger)

/aɯ/ - /ɯa/

saɯʔ[5] -- 'to put/to wear'

sɯaʔ[5] -- 'cloth/shirt'

There are also some contrasts between diphthongs /aɯ/ and sonorant coda /aw/.

/aɯ/ - /aw/

saɯ[3] -- 'tiger'

saw[3] --'pillar'

2.3.3 Ambiguous Sequences

This section will review some of the potentially ambiguous sequences occurring in Yoy. There are two groups of segments which are potentially ambiguous sequences; the first one is the diphthongs /ua/ and the second one is the final approximant /j/ and /w/.

2.3.3.1 Diphthong. The Yoy language has a set of consonant clusters which show only labio-velar approximant /w/ as the second consonant of initial syllable. The consonant cluster /w/ followed by the vowel /a/ is considered to be potentially ambiguous with the diphthong /ua/. However, the ambiguous lexical items have been interpreted as two different sequences due to audible differences between /-wa-/ and /-ua-/.

In addition, *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink, 2015) was used to analyze the vowel lengths in both sequences. The sequences that are interpreted as consonant clusters with /w/ contain a shorter /u/ in vowel length compared to the vowel length of /a/ in milliseconds. On the other hand, the sequences that are considered to contain the diphthong /ua/ will have a long clear /u/ which has a similar vowel length as /a/ in milliseconds. The examples of spectrograms below also show the differences between vowel lengths and the intensity dip between words with /wa/ and /ua/.

30

untitled
0.0565955068
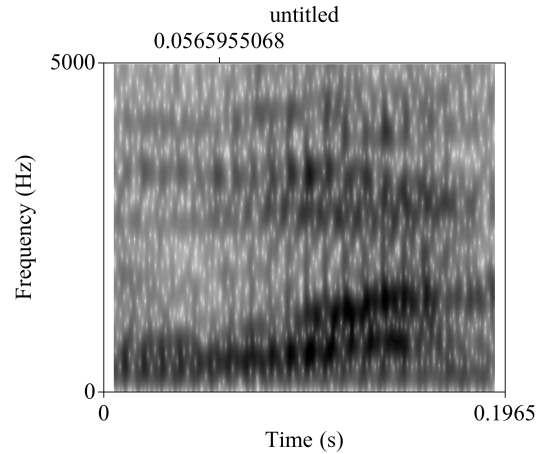
FIGURE 4. Spectrogram of /bwan^4/ 'spit'.

untitled
0.229709438
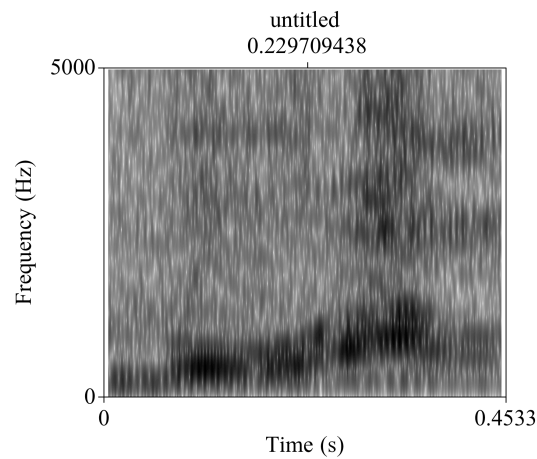
FIGURE 5. Spectrogram of /buaŋ^5/ 'spoon'.

Figure 4 shows the contrastive length of /w/ and /a/ in the word /bwan^4/ 'spit'. The vowel lengths were measured as 56 milliseconds and 84 milliseconds, respectively. Figure 5 shows the contrastive length of /u/ and /a/ in the word /buaŋ^5/ 'spoon'. The vowel lengths were similarly measured as 127 milliseconds and 137 milliseconds, respectively. In addition, the words that contain the consonant cluster /-wa-/ tend to have the intensity peak at the beginning of the /a/ sound, and the words that contain the diphthong /-ua-/ show an equal intensity dip between /u/ and /a/.

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2.3.3.2 Final approximants. The syllable-final semivowel are ambiguous in that they could be interpreted as either diphthongs or closed syllable ending with /j/ or /w/: for example, /kwaj³/ 'to swing'; /maj⁵/ 'to burn'; kʰaw³ 'horn'; and da:w³ 'star'. The sequences in Yoy, however, are interpreted as containing a semivowel final consonant for the following reasons. First, they are found in lexical items with other diphthongs, for example, /j/ appears after the diphthong /ɰa/ as in /ʔɰaj⁴/ 'older sister' and the diphthong /ua/ in /mak⁵ kuaj⁴/ 'banana'. Therefore, these ambiguous sequences should not be interpreted as vowels, since triphthongs are not likely to occur in Yoy.

2.3.4 Variation

There is a variation between diphthong /aɰ/ and vowel with coda /-aj/ in the language. Speakers tend to switch between these two in several occasions. However, according to the informant, the diphthong /aɰ/ only occurs in these following words, /naɰ/ 'in', /jaɰ/ 'big', /maɰ/ 'new', /paɰ/ 'someone in law', /tɕaɰ/ 'heart', /saɰ/ 'to wear, to put', /saɰ/ 'Q.where, /pʰaɰ/ 'Q.who', /kaɰ/ 'close, near', /daɰ/ 'INDF.Q.', /taɰ/ 'under'. All of these words can also be pronounced with the vowel and coda /-aj/.

2.4 Tone

This section explores the tonal system of the Yoy language. Gedney (1972) states that tone systems, including the phonetics of tones and the number of permitted tonal contrasts, distinguish dialect boundaries of the Tai-Kadai languages. Gedney also mentions that in order to identify and number the tones in the language, there are two different conventions that are used to number the tones in past published descriptions of Tai language. The first system is to list the tones on "unchecked" syllables, where the maximum number of contrasts is possible, first, then assign numbers to tones on checked syllables. The second system of other scholars is to assign

tones occurring on checked syllables with another tone that is phonetically most similar. In this paper, the tones are assigned following the first method mentioned above and the description of the Lao language by Enfield (2008) since I suspect that Yoy and Lao have many phonetic similarities. It has been observed that vowel length in Yoy does not affect the tone except when the speaker lengthens the vowel in reduplication processes.

In conclusion, Yoy has five phonologically distinctive tones serving to distinguish between lexical items. The five tones of Yoy include mid-leveled tone (tone 1), high-rising tone (tone 2), mid-rising tone (tone 3), mid-falling tone (tone 4), and low-falling creaky tone (tone 5). Please note that all categories of words in Yoy can carry all tones.

2.4.1 Mid-Leveled Tone (Tone 1)

The lexical items selected for the mid-leveled tone are as follows:

li:^{1} -- 'to hide'

lot^1 -- 'to rush'

sa:m^1 -- 'bowl'

kaw^1 -- 'nine'

The mid-leveled tone occurs with lexical items ending with both plosives and sonorants. Following is a spectrogram and pitch contour of a mid-leveled tone.
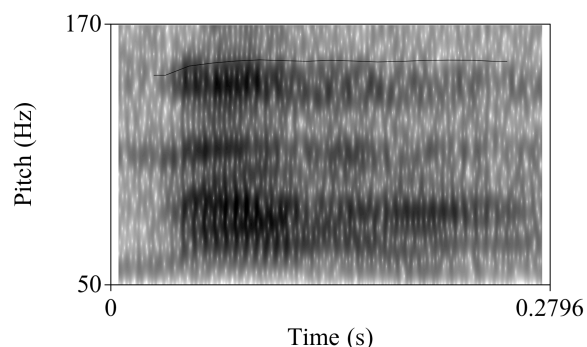
FIGURE 6. Spectrogram of pitch contour of tone 1 in /na:m^1 (ta:n^3)/ 'sugar'.

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2.4.2 High-Rising Tone (Tone 2)

The lexical items selected for the high-rising tone are as follows:

ɲi:^{2} -- 'to crush'

nɔ:n^2 -- 'to sleep'

sip^2 -- 'ten'

hian^2 -- 'to study'

The high-rising tone occurs with lexical items ending with both plosives and sonorants.

Following is a spectrogram and pitch contour of a high-rising tone.
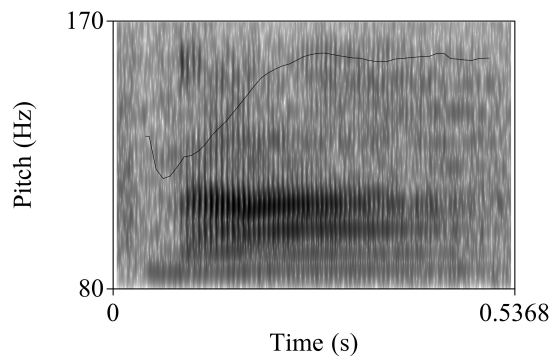
FIGURE 7. Spectrogram of pitch contour of tone 2 in /na^2/ 'rice field'.

2.4.3 Mid-Rising Tone (Tone 3)

The lexical items selected for the mid-rising tone are as follows:

ma:^{3} -- 'dog'

pi:n^3 -- 'to climb'

paj^3 -- 'who'

lɯaŋ^3 -- 'yellow'

The mid-rising tone only occurs with lexical items ending with vowels or sonorants.

Following is a spectrogram and pitch contour of a mid-rising tone.

34
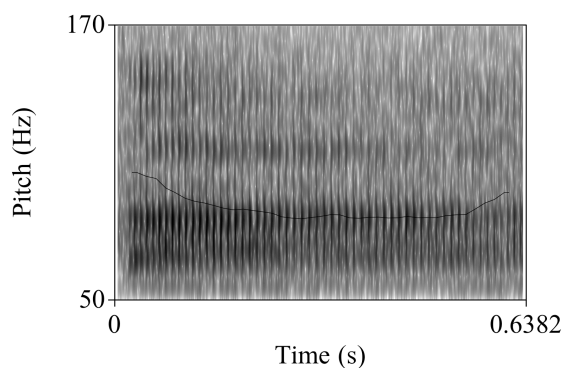
FIGURE 8. Spectrogram of pitch contour of tone 3 in /ta:³/ 'eye'.

2.4.4 Mid-Falling Tone (Tone 4)

The lexical items selected for the mid-falling tone are as follows:

pu:⁴ -- 'dull'

kʰɔ:n⁴ -- 'hammer'

ʔaj⁴ -- 'brother'

ʔɯaj⁴ -- 'sister'

The mid-falling tone only occurs with lexical items ending with vowels or sonorants.

Following is a spectrogram and pitch contour of a mid-falling tone.
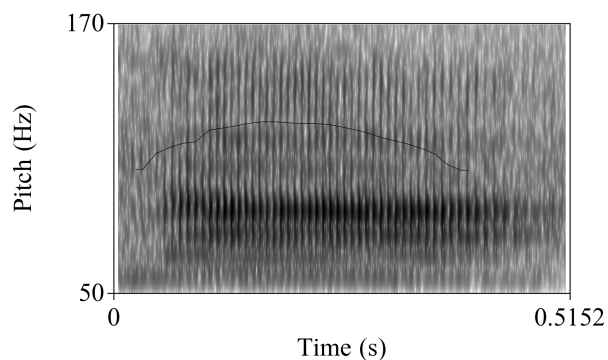
FIGURE 9. Spectrogram of pitch contour of tone 4 in /na:⁴/ 'aunt'.

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2.4.5 Low-Falling-Creaky Tone (Tone 5)

The lexical items selected for the low-falling-creaky tone are as follows:

/kʰi:⁵/ -- 'to ride'

/kaw⁵/ -- 'old'

/ʔu:t⁵/ -- 'to burn'

/mak⁵/ -- 'to like'

The low-falling-creaky tone is a glottal constriction tone that occurs in lexical items ending with both plosives and sonorants. However, when the syllable ends with a vowel or sonorant, the constriction is very clear and distinctive. If the syllable ends with a plosive, the glottal constriction may be omitted, leaving a normal low-falling tone. Following is the spectrogram and pitch contour of a low-falling-creaky tone.
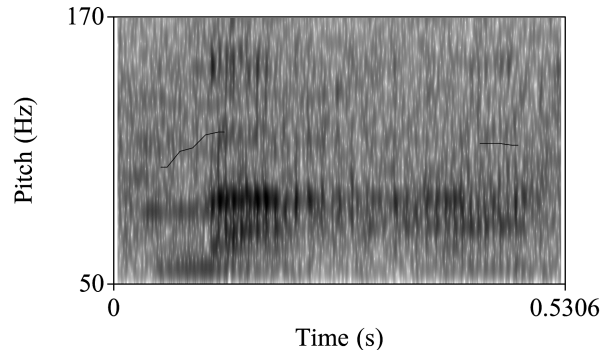
FIGURE 10. Spectrogram of pitch contour of tone 5 in /na:⁵/ 'face'.

2.4.6 Tone Contrast

The following samples illustrate tonal contrasts between minimal pairs.

Tone 1 and Tone 2

we¹ (la²) -- 'time'	we² -- 'to turn'
tʰɔŋ¹ -- 'field'	tʰɔ:ŋ² -- 'gold'

Tone 1 and Tone 3

tʰa:m^1 -- 'toilet'   tʰa:m^3 -- 'ask'

sa:m^1 -- 'bowl'   sa:m^3 -- 'three'

Tone 1 and Tone 4

ɲa:n^1 -- 'fear'   ɲa:ŋ^4 -- 'to walk'

tʰɔŋ^1 -- 'field'   tʰɔŋ^4 (pʰa:^{4}) -- 'sky'

Tone 1 and Tone 5

ka:w^1 -- 'nine'   ka:w^5 -- 'old'

man^1 -- 'it'   man^5 -- 'diligent'

Tone 2 and Tone 3

pʰi:^{2} -- 'fat'   pʰi:^{3} -- 'ghost'

pʰan^2 -- 'thousand'   pʰan^3 -- 'to dream'

Tone 2 and Tone 4

saw^2 -- 'twenty'   saw^4 -- 'morning'

liŋ^2 -- 'monkey'   lin^4 -- 'tongue'

Tone 2 and Tone 5

kaj^2 -- 'to get better'   kaj^5 -- 'egg'

kʰom^2 -- 'sharp'   kʰom^5 -- 'to press'

Tone 3 and Tone 4

ma:^{3} -- 'dog'   ma:^{4} -- 'horse'

na:^{3} -- 'thick'   na:^{4} -- 'uncle/aunt (younger)'

Tone 3 and Tone 5

pa:^{3} -- 'fish'   pa:^{5} -- 'deep forest'

kaj^3 -- 'far'   kaj^5 -- 'hen/chicken'

Tone 4 and Tone 5

pɔːn^4 -- 'to feed'   pɔːn^5 -- 'to send down something'

maj^4 -- 'stick'   maj^5 -- 'burn'

2.5 Word and Syllable Structures (Word Shape)

This section presents descriptions of word structures and checked and unchecked syllable structures of the Yoy language. Phonological words in Yoy consist of one, two or three syllables. Monosyllabic words are the most frequent and trisyllabic words are rare.

Monosyllabic words with an initial consonant and a coda CVC^T

pʰan^2 -- 'thousand'

mæw^2 -- 'cat'

daŋ^3 -- 'nose'

Monosyllabic words with an initial consonant without a coda   CV^T CVV^T

taː^3 -- 'eye'

naː^4 -- 'aunt/uncle' (younger from mother side)

ʔao^3 -- 'uncle' (younger from father side)

Monosyllabic words with an initial consonant cluster and a coda   CCVC^T

kʰwan^2 -- 'smoke' (n.)

bwan^4 -- 'to split'

Monosyllabic words with an initial consonant cluster without a coda   CCV^T

kʰwaː^3 -- 'right' (direction)

Disyllabic words CV(C)^T .CV(C)^T

kʰi^1 pʰun^5 -- 'dust'

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hua^1 tɕaɯ^4 -- 'heart' (n.)

kɔk^2 maj^4 -- 'three'

Trisyllabic words CV(C)^T .CV(C)^T .CV(C)^T

tai^1 dik^2 nam^4 -- 'die from sinking in the water'

Syllables in Yoy can be grouped in to two main classes, checked and unchecked syllables, according to the occurrence and correlation of coda and tone. A checked syllable refers to one that ends in a plosive /p, t, k, ʔ/, while an unchecked syllable refers one that ends in a sonorant; including vowels, nasals /m, n, ŋ/ or approximates /j, w/. Please note that vowel length in the syllable ending with vowels is not distinctive. Speakers usually lengthen their vowels in normal speech.

2.5.1 Checked Syllables

A checked syllable is a syllable ending with a stop. Checked syllables in Yoy can carry only tone 1 (mid-leveled tone), tone 2 (high-rising tone), and tone 5 (low-falling creaky).

Checked syllables ending with tone 1

sap^1 -- 'chop'

bak^1 (aːj^2) -- 'younger brother'

ɲaːt^1 -- 'cousin'

Checked syllables ending with tone 2

kop^2 -- 'frog'

hok^2 -- 'six'

tɕet^2 -- 'seven'

Checked syllables ending with tone 5

(ka^1)soːp^5 -- 'type of woven bag'

nok^5 -- 'bird'

pæt^5 -- 'eight'

2.5.2 Unchecked Syllables

An unchecked syllable is a syllable ending with a vowel or sonorant. Unchecked syllables in Yoy can carry all five tones.

Unchecked syllable ending with single vowel

ka^1 (duk^5) -- 'bone'

ŋuː^2 -- 'snake'

diː^3 -- 'good'

naː^4 -- 'younger uncle/aunt from mother side'

baː^5 -- 'shoulder'

Unchecked syllable ending with diphthong

haj^1 (naː^2) -- 'rice field'

lao^2 -- '3SG.PO.F'

ʔao^3 -- 'younger uncle from father side'

sao^4 -- 'morning'

sɯaː^5 -- 'shirt'

Unchecked syllable ending with nasal

man^1 -- '3SG.B.PRO, 3PL.B.PRO'

hɯan^2 -- 'house'

pʰom^3 -- 'hair'

naːŋ^4 -- 'to walk'

pʰun^5 -- 'dust'

Unchecked syllable ending with approximate (semi-vowel)

(dek^2) noj^1 -- 'children'

mæ:w^2 -- 'cat'

paj^3 -- 'to go'

ni:w^4 -- 'finger'

k^{h}æw^5 -- 'teeth'

In summary, Yoy has 19 contrastive consonants, and all consonants can occur in the initial position. The final consonant set consists of voiceless unaspirated (unreleased) stops /-p, -t, -k/, the nasals /-m, -n, -ɲ, -ŋ/, the glottal stop /-ʔ/ and the approximants /-j, -w/. Please note that all stop final consonants are unreleased. Consonant clusters in Yoy only occur when the second member of the cluster is labio-velar approximant /w/. Yoy has a total of nine distinctive vowels, and all vowels have distinctive length of short and long, except in the syllable ending with vowels and sonorants. It appears that the language has a system of three front vowels; /i, e, æ/; three mid vowels; /ɯ, u, a/; and three back vowels; /ɤ, o, ɔ/. Four diphthongs have presented in the language which are /ia, ua, aɯ, ɯa/. Yoy has five distinctive tones which are mid-leveled tone (tone 1), high-rising tone (tone 2), mid-rising tone (tone 3), mid-falling tone (tone 4), and low-falling creaky tone (tone 5).

Yoy has monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words, of which the monosyllabic words are the most common in the language. There are two group of the Yoy syllables, checked and unchecked. The checked syllables are the syllables that end with stops /-p, -t, -k/ and it can only carry these following tones: tone 1 (mid-leveled tone), tone 2 (high-rising tone), and tone 5 (low-falling creaky). The unchecked syllables, on the other hand, are the syllables that end with vowels and sonorants, they can carry all five tones.

CHAPTER 3

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

This chapter describes the grammatical categories of the language - mainly nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, expressive forms, and demonstratives.

3.1 Noun

Nouns in Yoy appear in several positions. Generally the adjective follows the noun and its possessor when forming a possession structure. Some of the nouns contain class term prefixes and all nouns have classifiers. The noun also precedes the demonstrative; however, when demonstrative and adjective are both present, the noun will precede the adjective and its modifier classifier, and the demonstrative will present after the modifier classifier. The following examples show several positions of noun in the language. The following examples indicate the noun and its positions in Yoy.

3.1.1 Noun Preceding Adjective

(1) k^hon^2 $ keŋ^5$

       person   smart

       'smart person'

(2) k^hon^2 $ŋa:m^2$

       person   beautiful

       'beautiful person'

3.1.2 Noun Preceding Possessor

(3) $ta:^3$ $teŋ^3$

       eye   1SG.FA

       'my eye'

(4) $k^ha{:}^3$ $to{:}^3$

    leg   2SG.FA

    'your leg'

3.1.3 Noun Preceding Demonstrative

(5) k^hon^2 $ni{:}^4$

    person   DEM.PROX

    'this person'

3.1.4 Noun Preceding Adjective and Demonstrative

(6) k^hon^2 $ke\eta^5$ k^hon^1 $ni{:}^4$

    person   smart   CLF.HUM   DEM.PROX

    'this smart person'

3.1.5 Class Term

Enfield defines the class term in the Lao language as a term that derives lexical items where a noun incorporates with a prefix of certain class or group, expressing the taxonomy of that particular word category (2008). DeLancey (1986) also calls this lexical taxonomy "class term" that appears throughout the language family. He explains that these morphemes precede a numeral or noun as a compound noun and present a semantic classifying function. However, these class terms do not necessarily have meanings as a noun, and they are different from noun classifiers as they do not show an coherent range of uses. In Mandarin Chinese, the class term is very common in compound noun formation processes, and it plays a role in determining the use of classifiers for some nouns (Zhang, 2007).

Yoy also contains a handful of class term morphemes which occur prenominally. The first type of class term morpheme is an independent form that can be separated from its noun

root. Both nouns have their own meaning. However, these class term markers are lexically specified; in other words, they are not interchangeable nor semantically specific. The examples below show the class term morphemes of the Yoy language.

(7) kok^2 maj^3

CT.TREE   wood

'tree' (general)

(8) kok^2 $muaŋ^4$

CT.TREE   mango

'mango tree'

(9) kok^2 $ma{:}k^4$

CT.TREE   betal palm

'betal palm tree'

(10) $ma{:}k^5$ $kuaj^4$

CT.FRUIT   banana

'banana'

(11) $ma{:}k^5$ $muaŋ^4$

CT.FRUIT   mango

'mango'

(12) $ma{:}k^5$ p^haw^4

CT.FRUIT   coconut

'coconut'

The class terms $/kok^2/$ and $/ma{:}k^5/$ are considered as (1) noun classifier and (2) semantic classifier, where $/kok^2/$ indicates 'kind of tree' and $/ma{:}k^5/$ indicates 'kind of fruit'. There are

several types of class terms in the language that indicate some kind of similar things or groups, for example, fish /pa^3/, woman /me^1/ (derived from a word for mother) or water /na:m^4/ (liquid base object). Please note that these class terms can be independent and separate from the roots.

The form /kok^2/ also plays a role of a noun classifier in the language. Consider the following examples:

(13) mi:^{2} kok^2 maj^4 la:j^3 kok^2

      have   CT.TREE   wood   many   CLF

      'That is a lot of tree.'

(14) mi:^{2} kok^2 maj^4 sa:m^3 kok^2

      have   CT.TREE   wood   three   CLF

      'Those are three trees.'

Another class term marker that was found in the language functions as a dependent class term, meaning that these prefixes cannot stand alone and must be attached to the root in order to form a word. Enfield calls this type of class term an "opaque prefix." There are two types of this class term: obligatory and optional (2008).

Firstly, the obligatory class term, for example, /ka^1-/ refers to things that are used in the kitchen or bamboo weaved containers, such as 'basket' or 'net'. Yoy shows several of this class term marker. The word /ka^1-/ in the language has no meaning and cannot occur by itself, but when it combines with another sound, it forms a set of word that have similar meanings.

For example,

(15) ka^1 ta:^{5}

      OBLIG.CT   -

      'basket'

45

(16)　ka^1　　　　　toŋ^5

　　　OBLIG.CT　　-

　　　'net' (that has a handle to catch bugs)

Secondly, the optional class term, for example, /ki:^{5}-/ refers to many different things, mostly dirty objects or other negative meanings. As the form /ki:^{5}/ by itself means 'shit', the language uses /ki:^{5}-/ as an optional prefix in several occasions that refer to dirty materials.

(17)　ki:^{5}　　　　　pʰun^5　　　can also be　　　pʰun^5

　　　OPT.CT　　　dust　　　　　　　　　　　　'dust'

　　　'dust'

(18)　ki:^{5}　　　　　hi:n^3　　　can also be　　　hi:n^3

　　　OPT.CT　　　rock　　　　　　　　　　　　'rock'

　　　'rock'

Interestingly, some of /ki:^{5}-/ paradigm are obligatory, for example,

(19)　ki:^{5}　　　　　pʰa:^{4}

　　　OBLIG.CT　　sky

　　　'cloud'

3.1.6　Compounding

According to Payne (1997), a compound is formed of two or more different nouns, though not every sequence of words is considered a compound. Yoy also contains several compound nouns in the language which are different from the independent prefix in these following aspects: (1) these words do not show in set, mostly are random and individual; (2) the preceding nouns of the compound noun do not have a collectible meaning. Payne also states that the formal properties of compounds may include a stress pattern, unusual word order,

morphophonemic processes characteristic of single words, and morphology specific to compounds. In the Yoy language, it presents with two nouns with unusual word order. For example the word /mɯaŋ^5 pʰa:^{4}/ meaning 'sky' came from the combination of two words of /mɯaŋ^4/ 'town' and /pʰa:^{4}/ 'sky'.

3.2 Verb

Enfield defines the term verb in the Lao language as a member of a word class that is used for defining a set of grammatical markings and processes associated with actions or events (2008). Chronicle main verbs in the language may follow these characteristics which are not shared with nominals. Yoy verbs show the distinguishing properties described below.

3.2.1 Distinguish Properties of Verb in Yoy

3.2.2.1 Verb at the beginning of the sentence. Yoy, like most southern Tai-Kadai languages, is an SVO language. Verbs generally follow subjects and precede objects (if any). In many cases, Yoy speakers omit the subject when the speaker and listener have mutual understanding, and phrases or sentences will begin with a verb. Speech act participants are not obligatory.

(20) to:^{3} het^5 sa:ŋ^3 ju^5

     2SG.FA   do   Q.what   ASP.CONT

     'What are you doing?'

(21) te:ŋ^3 kin^3 kaw^5 ju^5

     1SG.FA   eat   rice^1 ASP.CONT

     'I am eating.'

---

[1]When Yoys say 'eat rice' it means their 'meal', as the culture of their food contains rice in every meal. It is not necessary that they actually eat 'rice', they will always indicate their whole meal with 'eat rice'.

When there is mutual understanding between speakers, knowing to whom they are asking or talking, the subject is omitted and sentences start with verb.

(22) het^5 sa:ŋ^3 ju^5

do   Q.what   ASP.CONT

'What are you doing?'

(23) kin^3 kaw^5 ju^5

eat   rice   ASP.CONT

'I am eating.'

3.2.1.2 Verb and aspect markers. Yoy does not have bound inflectional markers for verbs but does express inflectional category to grammatical serialize word construction. Phrases and sentences rely on word order and aspectual markers. The verb in Yoy can present solely with aspect markers; perfective marker /læw^4/ and continuous marker /ju^5/.

(24) kin^3 læw^4

eat   ASP.PRF

'I already ate'

(25) kin^3 ju^5

eat   ASP.CONT

'I am eating'

(26) pʰɯam^2 kin^3

EPIS   eat

'I am about to eat now.'

Verbs in Yoy may also follow the pre-verbal epistemic modality /na^1/ in phrases or sentences.

(27) to:³   na¹   paj⁴   ju⁵   hɔ⁵

      1SG.FA   EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK   Q.PLR

      'Will you may be go?'

Please note that sometimes the subject or agent is omitted when both speakers are talking to each other. This phenomenon occurs throughout the language.

(28) na¹   paj⁴   ju⁵   hɔ⁵

      EPIS   go   EPIS.WEAK   Q.PLR

      'Will you maybe go?'

3.2.1.3 Verbs may be directly preceded by negation marker. Verbs in Yoy, similar to what Enfield mentions in the Lao language, can be directly preceded by the negation marker /bɔ⁵/ (2008), which is the only negation marker that has been observed in the language so far. Examples are shown below.

(29) teŋ³   bɔ⁵   paj³

      1SG.FA   NEG   go

      'I do not go.'

(30) ku¹ba:²   pʰɯan⁴   bɔ⁵   mak⁵

      monk   2SG.PO   NEG   like

      'The monk, he does not like.'

3.2.1.4 Verbs may be directly followed by perfective marker. Verbs in Yoy can be directly marked by a perfective marker /læw¹/. Examples are shown below.

(31) kin³   læw¹   hɔ¹

      eat   ASP.PRF   Q.PLR

      'Have you eaten yet?'

(32) kin³ læw¹

eat ASP.PRF

'I have already eaten.'

(33) law² ma:² læw¹

3SG.PO come ASP.PRF

'He/She has already came.'

3.3 Adjective

Adjectives in Yoy generally appear after the noun or noun classifier they define when used both attributively and predicatively. Yoy adjectives show the distinguishing properties described below.

3.3.1 Distinguishing Properties of Adjectives in Yoy

3.3.1.1 Adjectives may directly follow head nouns

(34) mɯ:² ɲaɯ⁵

hand big

'big hand'

(35) pom³ san⁵

hair short

'short hair'

(36) mæ⁵ɲi:ŋ¹ pʰu⁵ nan⁴ pom³ san⁵

woman CLS DEM.DIST hair short

'That woman has a short hair.'

3.3.1.2 Reduplication in adjectives. Moravcsik (1992) defines reduplication as two or more occurrences of the same string of sound, morpheme or entire word occur within the same syntagmatic unit. Enfield (2008) mentions that in the Lao language there are three kinds of reduplication. The first one is when σ^1 becomes σ^0-σ^1. The tone of the first syllable is omitted and the first syllable becomes unstressed, while the second syllable bears all the stress and tone. The second type is when σ^1 becomes σ^{2+}-σ^1. The first syllable changes its tone when the reduplication occurs. The third kind of reduplication occurs with the entire word or phrase. The segmental phonology might not change in this kind of reduplication.

In the present data, Yoy regularly uses the reduplication process to indicate a comparative adjective or certain type of adverb, which sometimes acts as an intensifier meaning 'very'. The examples below show the reduplication type two as mentioned above. The first syllable changes its tone after the reduplication process.

(37)   hɤŋ^3

   long time

(38)   tæ^1 hɤŋ^3

   from   long time

   'long time ago'

(39)   tæ^1 hɤːŋ^2 hɤŋ^3

   from   RDP   long time

   'from a very long time ago'

The vowel of the original morpheme from example (37) has been lengthened and the tone has been changed in order to emphasize the word 'long'. Tone 3, a mid-rising tone, of the word /hɤŋ^3/ from (38) has changed to Tone 2, a high-rising tone, when the reduplication process occurs

in order to coordinate with the third syllable which maintains the same tone. It is worth noting that this also happens in several Tai-Kadai and Sino-Tibetan languages, including Mandarin. This phenomenon also occurs regularly in normal speech. Sometimes the reduplication in the adjective has converted the noun phrase into a statement as in the following examples.

(40) duan³ tɕæŋ⁴

moon   bright

'bright moon'

(41) duan³ tɕæŋ² tɕæŋ⁴

moon   RDP   bright

'The moon is very bright'

The tone change of this type is systematic as when the speaker emphasizes the adjective the original tone of the first syllable will be changed to Tone 2, a high-rising tone, which occurs throughout the language.

Another reduplication process in the actual colloquial sentence, as shown below, indicates the tone change that differs from the examples above. The adjective /kʰoj⁴/ 'slow' is reduplicated in order to emphasize the action of the verb /ɲoːŋ⁵/ 'stalk'. According to the speaker, the tones in this reduplication process have been changed from tone 4, high-falling, to tone 5, low-falling creaky, because the nature of the word /kʰoj⁴/ 'slow' semantically means slowing down or quieting. So the tone change has to be to a lower pitch instead of higher pitch.

(42) kʰoj¹ kʰoj⁵ ɲoːŋ⁵ paj¹ dɤ⁴

RDP   slow   stalk   go   EPIS.INFM

'You should stalk very slowly.'

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3.4 Pronoun

Yoy has two systems of pronouns, definite pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Definite pronouns in Yoy vary according to distinction in person (first, second, third), the hierarchy of speaker and listener, and the level of politeness. The indefinite pronouns in Yoy distinguish person/non-person, time, and place. This section presents examples of definite and indefinite pronouns in Yoy.

3.4.1 Definite Pronouns

Yoy has three levels of politeness for all persons in both the singular and the plural. It also separates the gender of third person pronouns in some level of politeness. The table below shows personal pronouns of Yoy divided by level of politeness – bare, familiar, and polite - and persons.

TABLE 6. Yoy Personal Pronouns

		First Person	Second Person	Third Person
SG	Bare (B)	ku^2	$mɯɯŋ^2$	man^1
	Familiar (FA)	$teŋ^3$	to^3	$mɔ^3$ (M)
				bak^1 (M)
				$ʔi^1naŋ^2$ (F)
				$naŋ^2$ (F)
	Polite (PO)	koj^5	$tɕaw^4$	law^2
		$pʰɯa^3$		$mæɲiŋ$ (F)
PL	Bare			man^1
	Familiar	$su^3teŋ^3$		$pʰɯan^4$
		haw^2		
	Polite	tu^3koj^5	$su^3tɕaw^4$	

3.4.1.1 Bare pronouns. Enfield (2004) describes the bare pronouns as the lowest forms and most informal pronouns which are also semantically unmarked. The first and second bare pronouns, $/ku^2/$ and $/mɯɯŋ^2/$ respectively, are commonly used between people at the same level of age or social status, which could be either young people or old people who are familiar and very

close to each other. As they are considered the lowest forms of pronouns, their function is to insult or argue with anger as well. The third person pronoun of Yoy is /man^1/. The following examples show when the speakers use bare pronouns.

(43) bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 muɯŋ^2 paj^1 tʰa:ŋ^1 ŋaw^1 maj^4 dɤ^2

      PROP.NAME 2SG.B   go   way   root   wood   EPIS.INFM

      'Bakdang, you go to the root of the log.'

(44) ku^2 na^1 paj^1 tʰa:ŋ^1 pa:j^5 maj^4

      1SG.B   EPIS.FUT   go   way   end   wood

      'I will go to the end of the log.'

(45) kop^2 ka^1 soŋ^{4}saj^4 ju^5 man^1 pʰa:^{1}

      frog   T.LINK   curious   ASP.CONT   3B.PRO   take

      kan^1 paj^1 saɯ^3 ʔa^{1}ni^5

      together   go   Q.where   UNKN

      'The frog is curious about where they all go.'

3.4.1.2 Familiar pronouns. The familiar pronouns appear to be the biggest set of pronouns, in both singular and plural forms, in the language. They maintain the sense of informality; however, they are widely used as a neutral degree of politeness. The set is commonly used between friends or people who know each other well. The most common pronouns in this set are /teŋ^3/, first person singular; /to^3/, second person singular; and /pʰɯan^4/, third person singular. The following examples show the usage of familiar pronouns.

(46) teŋ^3 wa:n^1 to^3 næ^5

      1SG.FA   request to do   2SG.FA   EPIS.PLED

      'I would like to ask you to do something.'

(47) to:^{3} waw^4 kap^1 law^2 næ^3

   2SG.FA say and 3SG.PO EPIS.PLED

   'Can you please talk to him/her?'

(48) ɲa:m^1 mɯɯ:^{4} la:ŋ^2 haw^3 ma:^{2} tɕuap^1 kan^1 nɔ^2

   time at evening 3PL.PO go meet together EPIS

   'We should come to meet in the evening.'

Example (46) indicates that the speaker talks to a person who is the same age or social status but talking about someone who is older, so the speaker uses the third person pronoun in polite form. Example (47) indicates that the speaker and the listener are equal in ages or social status. In addition, the third person familiar pronouns in Yoy can be used preceding demonstratives or proper noun, for example:

(49) mɔ:^{3} ni:^{4} ni^1 man^5 ka^{1}na:t^5

   3SG.M.FA DEM.PROX T.LINK diligent very

   'This man is very diligent.'

3.4.1.3 Polite pronouns. The polite pronouns are used when the speakers talk to someone who is older or has a higher social status. The listener, on the other hand, may or may not use the same level of pronoun with the speakers. These pronouns are also sometimes used when children talk to their parents or their older relatives. The following examples show the usage of polite pronouns.

(50) law^2 wa^1 na^1 ma:^{2} ju^5

   3SG.PO say EPIS.FUT come EPIS.WEAK

   'He/She said that he/she will come.'

In example (53), the speaker refers the third person with a polite pronoun /law^2/ indicating that he/she is talking about someone who is older or has a higher status.

3.4.2 Indefinite Pronouns

In this research, Yoy presents with three indefinite pronouns which are similar to those Enfield (2004) mentions in the Lao language. The first two indefinite pronouns of Yoy are /paɯ^3/ 'someone, anyone'; derived from a question word meaning 'who', and /saɯ^3/ 'somewhere, anywhere'; derived from a question word meaning 'where'. The third indefinite pronoun is /daɯ^3/ 'some, any'; derived from a question word meaning 'which'. However, the last indefinite pronoun /daɯ^3/ cannot occur by itself. It needs a noun head attached in order to convey the specific meaning of the pronoun. The following example shows indefinite pronouns in Yoy.

(51) bɔ^1 mi:^{2} paɯ^3 hen^3 kʰu^{1}ba^2 ju:^{5} na^1 wat^5

     NEG. have   Q.who   see   monk   stay   LOC   temple

     'No one sees the monk at the temple.'

(52) ju^5 saɯ^3 ka^1 hɔːn^1 laj^1

     stay   Q.where   T.LINK   hot   many

     'Wherever I stay is hot.'

(53) mɯː^4 daɯ^3 ka^1 ma:^{4}

     TIME Q.INDF   T.LINK   come

     'You can come whenever.'

3.4 Expressive Forms

Gerner (2005) states that many Tai-Kadai and Sino-Tibetan languages show a number of descriptive syllables after the verb or adjectives. He called them "expressives." He also

mentions that these expressives can be a reduplication or modification with various kinds of sound symbolization or metaphor. These sound symbolic lexical items also show up in various Austroasiatic languages. Sidwell (2014) suggests that these sounds are not immediately imitative; however, they have undergone processes of reduplication or unusual segmental collocations and index descriptive or expressive meaning. In the Lao language, Enfield describes several type of expressives, including ideophones, onomatopoeia, four-syllable rhyming expressions, echo formation, and interjections (2008). In this research, only the ideophone has been observed.

Enfield (2004) also mentions expressive ideophones in Lao – for example, /*quj1-luj1*/ 'fat, chubby' or /*thii1-lii1*/ 'running madly'. Yoy exhibits a handful of these ideophones that have similar phonotactics in the verb, adjective, and adverb.

3.5.1 Expressive Ideophone in Verbs

(54) bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 ju^5 na^1 naj^1 ka^{1}tɔŋ^5 ʔoom^{5}toom^5 ju^5

PROP.NOUN stay   LOC   in   net   EXPSS   ASP.CONT

"Bakdang is sitting inside the net."

3.5.2 Expressive Ideophone in Adjectives

(55) lɯaŋ^3 ʔɤ^{4}hɤ^4

yellow EXPSS

'(certain type of) yellow' (very bright yellow)

(56) lɯaŋ^3 ʔɤm^{5}tɤm^5

yellow EXPSS

yellow (as bright as sun light)

(57)   dæ:ŋ³   tɕɯŋ⁵kɯŋ⁵

        red   EXPSS

        '(certain type of) red' (bright dark red)

3.5.3 Expressive Ideophone in Adverb

(58)   ŋoj   kɔ:t⁵pɔ:t⁵   ju   na   tʰeŋ   kɔnmakkʰi:hi:n

        sit   EXPSS   stay   LOC   top   rock

        'It sits on top of the rock.'

The expressive ideophones in Yoy as shown above present a distinctive phonological structure which normally consist of two (or more) syllables carrying the same vowel and the same tone. The expressive ideophones in verbs indicate the specific action that might be explicit from the regular verbs. Enfield comments that these meanings from the ideophones convey vivid access to a speaker's sensory experience and cause visceral responses in the listener (2004). In the example (54), the expressive /ʔoom⁵toom⁵/ indicates the specific type of 'to sit', similar to the action of squatting, which can be understood by the listener. If the /ʔoom⁵toom⁵/ was omitted, the structure cannot be formed properly as it would lack an action word. So in this case, /ʔoom⁵toom⁵/ acts like a verb itself. In examples (55), (56), and (57), the expressive morphemes in adjectives are very specific and cannot be interchangeable between roots. In other words, you cannot use /ʔɤ⁴hɤ⁴/ with any other color except yellow or /tɕɯ⁵kɯ⁵/ with any other color except red. The expressive morphemes are combined with their own roots in order to improvise expressive meanings. As for the adverb, example (58) also shows that the expressive ideophone /kɔ:t⁵pɔ:t⁵/ indicates a specific posture of the verb 'sit'.

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3.6 Demonstrative

In a study of cross-linguistic generalizations, Himmelmann (1996) shows that in order to distinguish demonstratives from articles and third person pronouns, there are two following characteristics to be considered. First, the elements must be related to elements that locate the entity referring to distance, proximal or distal. Second, the elements should not be used in (1) larger situation use, first mention of entity and (2) associative anaphora. Yoy follows the first characteristic showing adnominal demonstratives in four different distance levels. Yoy also uses these demonstratives in a wide range, not specific to definite associative anaphora. There are two types of demonstratives in Yoy, adnominal demonstrative and adverbial demonstrative.

3.6.1 Adnominal

Yoy has two adnominal demonstratives, proximal and distal: /ni:^{4}/ 'this' and /nan^4/ 'that'. Adnominal demonstrative in Yoy will follow nouns or a noun and its nominal classifiers. These demonstratives cannot be prenominal.

(59) k^{h}u^2 p^{h}u^5 ni:^{4}

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.PROX

'this teacher'

(60) k^{h}u^2 p^{h}u^5 nan^4

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.DIST

'that teacher'

(61) k^{h}u^2 p^{h}u^5 ni:^{4} paj^3 ta^{3}la:t^5

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.PROX   go   market

"This teacher is going to the market'

(62) k^{h}u^2 p^{h}u^5 nan^4 paj^3 ta^{1}la:t^5

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.DIST   go   market

'That teacher is going to the market.'

However, the demonstrative pronouns will always come after the noun or noun classification.

(63) $k^h on^2$ $ni:^4$ $di:^3$

        person   DEM.PROX good

        'This person is good.'

(64) $k^h on^2$ nan^4 $ŋa:m^2$

        person   DEM.DIST   beautiful

        'That person is beautiful.'

Demonstratives in Yoy always depend on the head noun and its nominal classifiers. They cannot appear as substantive heads without the noun as in the following examples:

(65)   *$ni:^4$ $ŋa:m^2$

        DEM.PROX beautiful

        (This is beautiful.)

(66)   *nan^4 $di:^3$

        DEM.DIST   good

        (That is good.)

According to speakers, it is not common to use the demonstratives as pronominals in actual speech. However, the structure is acceptable, for example:

(67) nan^4 $k^h on^2$ $ŋa:m^2$

        DEM.DIST   person   beautiful

        'That is a beautiful person.'

60

Demonstratives usually follow nouns or their classifiers in an NP, for example:

(68) k^hon^2 $\eta a{:}m^2$ p^hu^5 $ni{:}^4$

person   beautiful   CLS.HUM   DEM.PROX

'this beautiful person'

(69) k^hon^2 $\eta a{:}m^2$ p^hu^5 nan^4 ni^1 $ke{:}\eta^5$

person   beautiful   CLS.HUM   DEM.DIST   T.LINK   smart

'That beautiful person is smart.'

(70) k^hon^2 $ke{:}\eta^5$ k^hon^1 $ni{:}^4$ $t\varepsilon\mathfrak{o}j^5$

person   smart   CLS.HUM   DEM.PROX   skinny

'This smart person is skinny.'

Please note that the word /k^hon^2/ 'person' can also be used as a noun classifier for humans, as in example (70). Both noun classifiers /k^hon^2/ and /p^hu^5/ can be interchangeable in most cases. However, the examples below show when /k^hon^2/ and /p^hu^5/ cannot be exchanged. The following examples (71) and (72) show that the human classifier /p^hu^5/ cannot be used following any numerals.

(71) $mi{:}^1$ k^hon^2 $sa{:}m^3$ k^hon^2

have   person   three   CLS

'There are three people.'

(72) *$mi{:}^1$ k^hon^2 $sa{:}m^3$ p^hu^5

have   person   three   CLS

(There are three people)

Demonstratives can also used with most nominal classifiers without their nouns if the speaker assumes that the listener understands what the speaker is referring to.

(73)   ʔaw^1 (pa:^{1})   tɕak^2 to:^{3}

take   (fish)   how many   CLS.ANIML

'How many do you want?'

(74)   ʔaw^1 (pa:^{1})   sɔ:ŋ^3 to:^{3}

take   (fish)   two   CLS.ANIML

'I want two (fish).'

3.6.2 Adverbials Demonstratives

The language also presents with 4 levels of demonstrative adverbs. Table 7 below shows 4 levels of adverbial demonstratives in Yoy.

TABLE 7. Demonstrative Adverbs in Yoy

Form	Function	Gloss
p^{h}i:^{4}	Proximal	ADV.DEM.PROX
nan^4 / pan^4	Distal	ADV.DEM.MED
p^{h}u:n^4	Far distal	ADV.DEM.DIST
p^{h}u:n^2	Non seeable distal	ADV.DEM.EXTDIST

/p^{h}i:^{4}/ 'here' – indicates a subject that is close to the speaker or able to be seen by both speaker and listener.

/nan^4/ or /pan^4/ 'there' – indicates a subject that is far away from the speaker but still able to be seen or pointed at.

/p^{h}u:n^4/ 'very far away' – indicates a subject that is far away but still in the sight of both speaker and listener.

/p^{h}u:n^2/ 'very far away' – indicates a subject that is far away and out of sight of both speaker and listener.

These adverbial demonstratives sometimes co-occur with pointing by the speaker. These are similar to those in the Lao language which Enfield (2004) states are not literal distinctions of

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distance, instead they are relevant to the relations between the physical distance of interactional

space, factors of the interaction, and assumption about addressees.

(75) $k^hu^1ba^2$ ju:^{5} sau^4

monk   stay   Q.where

'Where is the monk?'

(76) ju:^{5} $haŋ^1$ p^hi:^{4}

stay   LOC   ADV.DEM.PROX

'He is here, this way.'

(77) ju:^{5} $haŋ^1$ nan^4

stay   LOC   ADV.DEM.MED

'He is here, that way.'

(78) ju:^{5} $haŋ^1$ p^hu:n^4

stay   LOC   ADV.DEM.DIST

'He is far away, that way.'

(79) ju:^{5} $haŋ^1$ p^hu:n^2

stay   LOC   ADV.DEM.EXTDIS

'He is far away.'

(80) k^hu^2 p^hu^5 nan^4 ma:^{1} t^ha:$ŋ^1$ ni:^{4}

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.DIST   come   way   ADV.DEM.PROX

'That teacher is coming this way.'

(81) k^hu^2 p^hu^5 ni:^{4} paj^1 t^ha:$ŋ^1$ nan^4

teacher   CLS.HUM   DEM.PROX   go   way   ADV.DEM.MED

'This teacher is going that way.'

3.6.3 Demonstrative as Definite Article

Yoy does not present with any article. However, the language uses demonstratives as definite articles when speakers want to indicate the specific noun that the speaker and the listener have already known. The demonstratives usually follow the main noun or noun phrase in order to define the noun that has been mentioned before or when the speaker assumes that the listener understands. The following examples show the demonstrative acting as definite article in the Yoy language.

(82)   kuap   hu:a^3 mɔ: ajnoj   ni:^{4}

         cover   head   3SG.M.FA   small   DEM.PROX

         'It covers the boy's head.'

(83)   huan   ʔaw   katɔŋ   ni^4 tɕap   kɔp^2

         swing take   net   DEM.PROX   catch   frog

         'He uses the net to catch the frog.'

CHAPTER 4

NOUN PHRASES

4.1 Word-Order

This section provides the constituency of noun phrases and the order of modifiers of the

Yoy language. As mentioned earlier, Yoy does not have morphological case. The order of

modifier/noun and genitive/noun determines the functions of the nouns. For example, in genitive

word order, the first noun is the head noun and the second noun functions as genitive, as shown

in examples (84) and (85) below. In nominal modification, the first noun is the head noun and

the following adjective is the modifier, as shown in example (86). Example (87) also shows the

order of head noun, modifier, and genitive.

(84)   me^{5}ɲaɯ^5 su^{1}tɕaw^4 NOUN-GEN

      grandma   3PL.PO

      'your grandma'

(85)   kʰa^3 kʰoj^5 NOUN-GEN

      leg   1SG.PO

      'my leg'

(86)   kʰon^1 ŋa:m^2 NOUN-MOD

      person   beautiful

      'beautiful person'

(87)   pʰom^3 luŋ^3 san^5 NOUN-GEN-MOD

      hair   uncle   short

      'Uncle's hair is short'

Yoy, similar to other Tai-Kadai languages, also contains pre-nominal classifiers. The following examples show the classifier-noun order.

(88) ma:k⁵   kuaj⁴

OBLIG.CT   banana

'banana'

(89) ma:k⁵   muaŋ⁴

OBLIG.CT   mango

'mango'

(90) ma:k⁵   pʰaw⁴

OBLIG.CT   coconut

'coconut'

4.2 Possession

Various studies of the possessive construction and grammatical expression of possessive noun phrases of languages evolved into two main categories. First, the studies look at the conceptual differences between inalienable and alienable possession. Second, the studies look at the diversity of possessive construction types which can be defined when a clause integrates two nouns and their mutual possessor-possessee relationship (Gerner, 2005). Yoy does not show any distinction between inalienable possession and alienable possession. On the other hand, similar to the Lao language that Enfield (2008) mentions in *Grammar of Lao*, possession in Yoy can be noticed from the relationship of the possessor-possessee which is formed in two ways: (1) by adjoining the possessor and the possessee together where possessee comes first, and (2) by using the word 'kʰo:ŋ³' which normally means 'thing' or 'stuff'. The possessee precedes the possessive

word /kʰoːŋ³/ and then followed by the possessor. The following examples show possession in the language.

   (91)   kʰaː³   kʰoːŋ³   kʰoj⁵

           leg   POSS   1SG.PO

           'my leg'

   (92)   kʰaː³   kʰoj⁵

           leg   1SG.PO

           'my leg'

As shown in examples (91) and (92), if the possessor is a noun or pronoun the possessive word /kʰoːŋ³/ can be omitted. The second type of possession found in Yoy, which Enfield (2008) calls "external possession," occurs where possessor and possessee do not appear in a single noun phrase, nor is the possessive word used. The sentence construction is formed like a transitive sentence.

   (93)   kʰaː³   kʰoj⁵   kʰan²

           leg   1SG.PO   itch

           'my leg itches'

   (94)   kʰaː³   kʰoːŋ³   kʰoj⁵   kʰan²

           leg   POSS   1SG.PO   itch

           'my leg itches'

   (95)   kʰoj⁵   kʰan²   kʰaː³

           1SG.PO   itch   leg

           'my leg itches'

Example (93) shows a possible way of possessive sentence construction where the possessor and possessee appear in a single noun phrase in the sentence. Example (94) shows when the possessive word /kʰoːŋ³/ is used in the sentence, and example (95) shows external possession where there is no morphological expression of the possessive relationship. However, speakers tend to agree that the sentence structure of (95) is commonly used in the language.

(96) pʰo⁵   kʰɔŋ³   teŋ³   paj¹   saɯ⁵   bet²

father   POSS   1SG.FA   go   put   hook

'My father goes fishing.'

(97) pʰo⁵   teŋ³   paj¹   saɯ⁵   bet²

father   1SG.FA   go   put   hook

'My father goes fishing.'

The above examples also show when the possessor and possessee appear in a single noun phrase. Both constructions, with or without the possessive word /kʰɔŋ³/ are possible. The possessive word /kʰɔŋ³/ is believed to be grammaticalized from a noun, meaning 'thing' or stuff', to a genitive.

4.2 Nominal Classification

This section presents four systems of nominal classification in Yoy, including numeral classifiers, modifier classifiers, noun as classifiers and kin prefixes.

4.3.1 Numeral Classifier

The following examples illustrate the patterns of numeral classifiers in Yoy, in which generally a noun phrase consists of the main noun followed by the numeral and specific numeral classifiers. The following examples show numeral classifiers in Yoy.

(98) ma:^{3} sɔːŋ^3 to:^{3} taj^1 læw^4

      dog   two   CLF.ANIM   die   ASP.PRF

      'Two dogs have died.'

(99) mæ^{1}ɲiŋ^3 sɔːŋ^3 kʰon^2 ma:^{2} læw^4

      woman   two   CLF.HUM   come   ASP.PRF

      'Two women have come.'

(100) tɕaw^1 mi:^{1} kʰwaj^2 sak^2 to:^{3}

      2SG.PO   have   buffalo   Q-how many   CLF.ANIM

      'How many buffalo do you have?

Possible answers:

(101) mi:^{1} kʰwaj^5 to:^{3} nɯŋ^4

      have   buffalo   CLF.ANIM   one

      'I have one buffalo'

(102) mi:^{1} kʰwaj^5 nɯŋ^1 to:^{3}

      have   buffalo   one   CLF.ANIM

      'I have one buffalo'

(103) mi:^{1} kʰwaj^2 sɔːŋ^3 to:^{3}

      have   buffalo   two   CLF.ANIM

      'I have two buffalo.'

Note that in the answer to such a question, the main noun can be omitted, for example

(104) mi:^{1} sɔːŋ^3 to:^{3}

      have   two   CLF.ANIM

      'I have two.'

When the numerals are /nɯŋ^1/ 'one' or /hoj^4/ 'one hundred', two possible noun phrases can be used: (1) the main noun followed by the numeral and specific numeral classifiers as in example (102); and (2) the main noun followed by appropriate numeral classification and the numeral as in example (101). Speakers mentioned that both orders are possible; however, it is common to put the numeral after the numeral classification for /nɯŋ^1/ 'one' and /hoj^4/ 'one hundred'. No other numerals allow the classifier-numeral ordering given in example (101).

The NP of numeral classifiers can also be separated by a locative NP as in the following example:

(105) mi:^{1} kok^2 mak^{1}muaŋ^4 na^1 hɯan^2 tɕak^2 kok^2

        have   CLF.TREE   CT-mango   LOC house Q.how many CLF.TREE

        'How many mango tree do you have at your house?'

In the context of asking 'how many' – using /sak^2/ or /tɕak^2/, the classifier is obligatory and the NP order is shown below:

(106) mi:^{2} ma:^{3} sak^2 to:^{3}

        have   dog   Q.how many   CLF.ANIM

        'How many dogs are there?'

(107) mi:^{1} kok^2 maj^4 tɕak^2 kok^2

        have   CLF.TREE   tree   Q.how many   CLF.TREE

        'How many trees are there?'

Therefore, other non-numeral quantifiers, such as /la:j^3/ 'many' or /ba:ŋ^1/ 'some', are also present in the same constructional pattern, for example:

(108) ma:^{1} wat^5 la:j^3 kʰon^2

come temple many CLF.HUM

'Many people come to the temple'

Table 8 below is a representative list of common numeral classifiers in Yoy.

TABLE 8. Numeral Classifiers in Yoy

Classifiers	Meaning as noun	Semantic and example references
to:^{3}	body	Non-human entities with bodies eg. animals, cloths (shirt, pant)
kʰon^2 / pʰuː^5	person	People in general
muː^4	day	Day / time
sen^5	string	Object in the form of string eg. hair, rope
kok^2	tree	Trees in general
tɔːn^5	piece	Small piece that can lift with hand eg. piece of meat
ma:k^5	fruit	Fruit (by piece) in general
pʰɯːn^3	soft sheet	Cloths that comes in a large textile and other similar objects eg. tablecloths
baɯ^3	leaf	Leaf and other similar thin paper-like objects
kʰuat^1	bottle	Bottle and other similar bottle-like shape objects
met^5	grain	Seed, grain
hua^3	head	Vegetable that comes in the form of root eg. potatos or taro
nuaj^5	unit	All household objects that weave by bamboo eg. basket or fish net
duaŋ^3	-	Knife and other shape objects that have a knife-like shape
tʰɔn^4	-	Log
lem^5	-	Book and others kind of reading materials
ba:n^4	house	Village
laŋ^3	-	House
pʰa:n^5	-	Slat of wood
sao^3	pillar	Pillar in general

4.3.2 Nouns as Classifiers

Numeral classifications in Yoy can be assigned in hundreds of nouns. However, in some cases numeral classification cannot be properly assigned; a noun itself will be used as numeral classification.

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(109) mi:^{1} mak^{5}ki:^{1}hi:n^5 sɔ:ŋ^3 mak^{5}ki:^{1}hi:n^5

       have   rock   two   rock

       'There are two rocks'

4.3.3 Kin Prefixes

Yoy exhibits another nominal classification called "kin prefixes." Enfield suggests that for Lao the kin prefixes are different from other nominal classification in terms of being obligatory and lexically derivational (2008). The kinship terms could either precede a personal name of the person to indicate the relation between the speakers and the listener, or it could be mentioned as a bare term if the speaker and the listener have a common understanding in respect to the person who is mentioned. Most of the kinship terms are used when younger relatives state the older relatives; the younger relatives will be mentioned by names without any kinship terms by their older relatives. The table below shows the kinship terms in Yoy.

TABLE 9. Kinship Terms in Yoy

Relationship to the speaker	Father Side	Mother Side
Grandmother	ʔi^{1}me^{5}ɲaɯʔ^5	ʔi^{1}me^{5}ɲaɯʔ^5
Grandfather	ʔi^{1}pʰo^{5}ɲaɯʔ^5	ʔi^{1}pʰo^{5}ɲaɯʔ^5
Parents	ʔi^{1}pʰo^5 / pʰo^5	ʔi^{1}me^5 / me^5
(Older) Uncle	luŋ^2	luŋ^2
(Younger) Uncle	ʔa:w^3	na:^{4} / na:^{4}baw^5
(Older) Aunt	pa:^{4}	pa:^{4}
(Younger) Aunt	ʔa:w^3 / lua^1	na:^{4} / na:^{4}saw^3
(Younger) Aunt-in-law	lua^1	na^{1}paɯ^5
(Younger) Uncle-in-law	ʔa:w^{1}kɤj^3	na^{1}kɤj^3
(Older) Brother	ʔa:j^4	ʔa:j^4
(Younger) Brother	nɔ:ŋ^4	nɔ:ŋ^4
(Older) Sister	ʔɤ:j^4	ʔɤ:j^4
(Younger) Sister	nɔ:ŋ^4	nɔ:ŋ^4

The following examples show the kinship term in sentences.

(110) na:^{4}bao^5 nan^4 paj^1 saɯ^3

      uncle   DEM.DIST   go   Q.where

      'Where does that uncle go?'

(11) tɕaw^1 na^1 paj^1 saɯ^3 ʔaw^3

      2SG.PO   EPIS.FUT   go   Q.where   uncle

      'Where are you going, uncle?

It is worth noting that the kinship terms also apply more broadly than the family relationship. The word /luŋ^2/ 'uncle' can also be used to call a male of a father's age, or the word /me^{5}ɲaɯʔ^5/ 'grandmother' can be used to call a female of a grandmother's age.

The following examples are kinship terms as prefixes to personal names.

(112) ʔa:j^4 Wan   ju^5 saɯ^3

      brother Wan   stay   Q.where

      'Where is (brother) Wan?'

(113) luŋ^2 Boonmee   pʰɯan^1 paj^1 saɯ^3

      uncle   Boonmee   3SG.FA   go   Q.where

      'Where does uncle Boonmee go?'

Kinship terms can also be used pronouns when the speakers think they could refer to themselves or the listener who has significantly different age. For example, when a male speaker sees a child who is very young, he might refer to himself as /luŋ^2/ 'uncle'.

(114) naŋ^2 naŋ^2 ma:^{1} ha:^{3} luŋ^2 næ^5

      2SG.F   2SG.F   go   see   uncle   EPIS.PLED

      'Girl, girl, come to me, please'

4.3.4 Numeral

Counting in Yoy is similar to what it is in Thai and Lao. It is done in a decimal system with basic terms /nɯŋ^1/ 'one', /sɔ:ŋ^3/ 'two', /sa:m^3/ 'three', /si:^{5}/ 'four', /ha:^{5}/ 'five', /hok^2/ 'six', /tɕet^2/ 'seven', /pæ:t^5/ 'eight', /kaw^1/ 'nine', /sip^2/ 'ten', /saw^2/ 'twenty', /hoj^4/ 'hundred', /pan^2/ 'thousand'. Please note that the number /nɯŋ^1/ 'one' can be replaced by /-ʔet^2/ in a final unit of a complex number that is larger than one unit, for example, /sip^{2}ʔet^2/ 'eleven', /sa:m^{3}sip^{2}ʔet^2/ 'thirty one', /hoj^{4}ʔet^2/ 'one hundred and one'.

TABLE 10. Numeral System in Yoy

Numeral		Numeral	
1	nɯŋ^1	21	saw^{2}ʔet^2
2	sɔ:ŋ^3	22	saw^{2}sɔ:ŋ^3
3	sa:m^3	23	saw^{2}sa:m^3
4	si:^{5}	24	saw^{2}si:^{5}
5	ha:^{5}	25	saw^{2}ha:^{5}
6	hok^2	26	saw^{2}hok^2
7	tɕet^2	27	saw^{2}tɕet^2
8	pæ:t^5	28	saw^{2}pæ:t^5
9	kaw^5	29	saw^{2}kaw^5
10	sip^2	30	sa:m^{3}sip^2
11	sip^{2}ʔet^2	40	si:^{5}sip^2
12	sip^{2}sɔ:ŋ^3	50	ha:^{5}sip^2
13	sip^{2}sa:m^3	60	hok^{2}sip^2
14	sip^{2}si:^{5}	70	tɕet^{2}sip^2
15	sip^{2}ha:^{5}	80	pæ:t^{5}sip^2
16	sip^{2}hok^2	90	kaw^{5}sip^2
17	sip^{2}tɕet^2	100	hoj^4
18	sip^{2}pæ:t^5	101	hoj^{4}nɯŋ^1 / hoj^{4}ʔet^2
19	sip^{2}kaw^5	1000	pan^2
20	saw^2	2000	sɔ:ŋ^{3}pan^2

4.4 Relativization

Relative clauses in Yoy are postnominal– meaning the clause occurs after the head, which are the most common type of relative clause, according to Payne (1997). In Yoy, the head noun adjoins with its relative clause directly as shown in the following structure:

[head noun [relative clause]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$

The following examples show the structure of relative clauses in Yoy.

(115)   [kʰon⁵   [Økʰa⁵   kaj⁵]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$

person   kill   chicken

'the person who killed chicken'

(116)   [kʰon⁵   [Ø kʰa⁵   kaj⁵]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$ ta:j⁴   læw¹

person   kill   chicken   die   ASP.PRF

'The person who kills chicken has already died.'

In the above examples, the subject is /kʰon⁵/ 'person' and the verb is /ta:j4/ 'die';

however, in the relative clause the NP$_{rel}$ 'person' that refers back to the head noun is being

omitted. Consider the sentence below.

a.   The person that [the person kills the chicken] died.

 As the NP$_{rel}$ 'person' was omitted from the actual clause, there is a gap [Ø] between the

head noun and the relative clause that indicates the omitted NP$_{rel}$. This is called a 'gap strategy',

according to Payne (1997). In this case the listener understands that the relative clause refers to

the head noun 'person' from the gap in the surface structure.

On the other hand, if the head noun is an object of the clause, a relativizer /ti:¹/ is used to

adjoin the head noun and its relative clause, and the gap will present after the verb or action in

the relative clause, for example:

(117)   [pa¹   ti:¹   [pʰo⁵   paj¹   saɯ⁵   bet²   Øma²]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$

fish   REL   father   go   put   hook   ASP.MOTN

'The fish that father caught'

(118) koj⁴   kin³   [pa¹   ti:¹   [pʰo⁵   paj¹   saɯ⁵   bet²   ∅ma:²]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$

      1SG.FO   eat   fish   REL   father   go   put   hook   ASP.MOTN

      'I ate the fish that was caught by father'

(119) teŋ³   kʰa:⁵   kʰwa:j²   ma:²

      1SG.FA   kill   buffalo   ASP.MOTN

      'I killed buffalo (before I came here).'

(120) [kʰwa:j²   ti:¹   [teŋ³   kʰa:⁵ ∅]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$ nan⁴   jon⁴

      buffalo   REL.   1SG.FA   kill   DEM.MED   because

      wa¹   man¹   son²   kon²

      REL   CLS.ANIM   hit   person

      'The buffalo that I killed have been said that it attacked a person.'

It is worth noting that as Yoy does not have a morphological functional passive voice structure in the relative clause. The head noun before the relativization /ti:¹/ is treated as the object while the subject is being omitted, for example:

(121) [pa¹   ti:¹   [saɯ⁵   bet²   ma:²]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$

      fish   REL   put   hook   ASP.MOTN

      'the fish that was caught'

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CHAPTER 5

SELECTED FEATURES OF CLAUSES

5.1 Word Order and Alignment

Yoy, as a previously undescribed language, is of special interest not only for its complex phonological system, but also its interesting typology which will may help us understand the historical development of Tai-Kadai language family. According to Payne (1997), clauses of each language are structured in characteristic ways where verb can be placed in many position, including the beginning, the middle, and the end of the clause. The basic constituent structure of Yoy appears to be SVO (Subject-Verb-Object).

Following Comrie (1978), we can apply the three basic semantic-syntactic roles S, A and P to the study of the basic clausal syntax of the Yoy language. The S represents the only nominal argument of an intransitive clause. The A represents the most Agent-like argument of a transitive clause. The P represents the most Patient-like argument of a transitive clause. In other words, the grammatical relation of subject can be defined by S and A while the object is defined by P.

Intransitive

(122) $p^hɯan^4$ $nɔːn^2$ ju^5

3SG.PO   sleep   ASP.CONT

'He/she is sleeping.'

(123) $ʔi^1naːŋ^2$ $nɔːn^2$ ju^5

girl   sleep   ASP.CONT

'The girl is sleeping.'

(124) ʔi¹pʰo⁵   nɔ:n²   ju⁵

       father   sleep   ASP.CONT

       'Father is sleeping.'

Transitive

(125) ʔi¹pʰo⁵   ti:³   pʰɯan⁴

       father   hit   3SG.PO

       'Father hits he/she'

(126) ʔi¹pʰo⁵   ti:³   ʔi¹na:ŋ⁴

       father   hit   girl

       'Father hits the girl.'

(127) ʔi¹na:ŋ²   ti:³   ʔi¹pʰo⁵

       girl   hit   father

       'The girl hits father.'

As an isolating language, Yoy lacks a morphological case marking of grammatical relations. As a result, the language relies on word order in order to distinguish A from P. The language strictly follows the constituent order to maintain the correct information in predicate-argument relations. The examples above show the basic word order in the neutral clause of Yoy is A(or S) VP.

5.2 Interrogative Particles

Payne states that languages distinguish two types of interrogative clauses: yes/no clauses and requested information clauses (1997). Yoy appears to have both types of particles. This section shows the construction of both of the interrogative clause types, polar interrogatives and content interrogatives, in the Yoy language.

5.2.1 Polar Questions

The first type of interrogative clause is the polar question which requires a simple informative answer, such as yes/no or a short confirmative answer. Yoy has the particles /hɔ^1/ and /læ^1/ to indicate the polar question. Please note that in the Yoy language, speakers will omit the first and second person pronouns in normal speech.

(128) kin^3 kʰaw^5 læw^4 hɔ^1

       eat   rice   ASP.PRF   Q.PLR

       'Have you (already) eatten?'

or

(129) na^1 kin^3 kʰaw^5 ju^5 læ^1

       EPIS.FUT   eat   rice   EPIS.WEAK Q.PLR

       'Are you going to eat at all?

Possible answers for the above questions:

(130) kin^3 læw^4

       eat   ASP.PRF

       'I already ate'

(131) kin^3 ju:^{5}

       eat   EPIS.WEAK

       'I'm eating now'

(132) na^5 kin^3 ju:^{5}

       EPIS.FUT   eat   EPIS.WEAK

       'I think I will eat'

(133) hen^3 k^{h}u^{1}ba^2 ju^5 na^1 wat^5 ju^5 hɔ^1

see   the monk   stay   LOC   temple EPIS.WEAK Q.PLR

'Did you see the monk at the temple?'

Possible answers for the above question:

(134) hen^3 ju:^{5}

see   EPIS.WEAK

'I saw'

(135) bɔ^1 hen^3

NEG   see

'I don't see'

So there are two interrogative particles, /hɔ/ and /læ/, which sometimes can be interchangeable.

(136) na^1 paj^3 ju^5 hɔ^1

EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK Q.PLR

'Will you go?'

(137) na^1 paj^3 ju^5 læ^1

EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK Q.PLR

'Will you go?'

Possible answer for above questions:

(138) na^1 paj^3 ju:^{5}

EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK

'I (think) will go.'

According to the above examples, the particles /hɔ^1/ and /læ^1/ are possibly unmarked polar question particles which indicate (a) the speaker does not know if the proposition is true or not, or (b) the speaker wants the addressee to tell them.

Yoy also presents with another polar question particle /næ^1/ which also requires a short information answer. However, /næ^1/ is different from the particles /hɔ^1/ and /læ^1/ regarding the meaning and tone of the speaker. The particle /næ^1/ is used when the speaker expects an affirmative answer. It is similar to a 'tag question' in English.

(139) kin^3 kaw^5 næ^1

       eat   rice   Q.PLR

       'You are eating, aren't you?'

(140) bɔ^1 paj^1 næ^1

       NEG   go   Q.PLR

       'Don't you go, do you?'

5.2.2 Content Interrogatives

The second type of question structure in Yoy is the content interrogative, which requires a more elaborate answer than simple affirmation questions like the polar question. Payne states that the question word performs two tasks: (1) to identify the clause as a question and (2) to indicate the required information of that question (1997).

Several content interrogative particles have been observed in the language. In this section, the set of content interrogative particles and examples are presented following the grammatical relations and semantic role.

TABLE 11. Content Interrogative Particles in Yoy

Interrogative Particles	Meaning
$p^hia\eta^3$	'what'
$sa\eta^3$	'what'
$sa\mu^3$	'where'
$pa\mu^3$	'who'
$pen^1p^hia\eta^3$	'why'
-$da\mu^3$	Indefinite Interrogative

The basic interrogative particles are /$p^hia\eta^3$/ and /$sa\eta^3$/, which are sentence final particles indicating interrogative meaning 'what'. These question words usually represent the object-question, as in examples shown below.

(141) $\text{?i}^1p^ho^5$ het^1 na^2

father do rice field

'Father is working on the rice field.'

(142) $\text{?i}^1p^ho^5$ het^1 $sa\eta^3$

father do Q.what

'What is father doing?'

The interrogative particle /$sa\eta^3$/ in example (142) can be used to request information which is an object of the sentence. As the constituent order in Yoy is SVO, once the question structure is formed, the object can be replaced by the interrogative particle /$sa\eta^3$/ as in example (142). In other words, when the speaker asks information about the object, the question words will replace the structure of the object itself which is at the end of the sentence. Moreover, when the subject is omitted, the interrogative particle remains in the object position, for example:

(143) het^1 $sa\eta^3$

do Q.what

'What are you doing?'

(144) het^1 pʰiaŋ^3

      do   Q.what

      'What are you doing?'

From the above examples, /saŋ^3/ and /pʰiaŋ^3/ are interchangeable; however, in the context of example (143), if someone walks past and sees you working on something and asks /het^1 saŋ^3/, the answer would be more general as to what you are actually doing at the time. The answers for that question could be 'I'm going to the temple' or 'I'm running errands'. On the other hand, in the context of example (144), the question would require a specific answer, for example, 'I'm putting this fish into a basket.' Nevertheless, according to speakers, the question words /pʰiaŋ^3/ and /saŋ^3/ are normally interchangeable.

The second particle is the locative interrogative particle /saɯ^3/ 'where', which is also a sentence final particle requesting an answer for a locative question. The particle is formed by replacing a location and normally following motion verb of /paj^3/ 'go' or locative verb of /juː^5/ 'stay' along with the locative particle /na^1/. The aspect motion of /maː^2/ can also be used after the interrogative particle /saɯ^3/.

(145) paj^3 naː^2

      go   rice field

      'I'm going to the rice field.'

(146) paj^3 saɯ^3

      go   Q.where

      'Where are you going?'

(147) paj^3 na:^{2} ma:^{2}

       go   rice field   ASP.MOTN

       'I went to the rice field (before I came here).'

(148) paj^3 saɯ^3 ma:^{2}

       go   Q.where   ASP.MOTN

       'Where did you just go?'

(149) hen^3 kʰu^{1}ba^2 ju:^{5} na^1 wat^5

       see   the monk   stay   LOC   temple

       'I saw the monk at the temple.'

(150) hen^3 kʰu^{1}ba^2 ju:^{5} na^1 saɯ^3

       see   the monk   stay   LOC   Q.where

       'Where did you see the monk?'

The third interrogative particle is /paɯ^3/ 'who'. It is a particle indicating interrogative structure of a subject that can appear either at the end of the sentence or in the middle of the sentence structure. This particle usually represents the subject-question, meaning the speaker is asking for the information of an animate subject of the action. The following examples show the question structure of the animate subject.

(151) mæn^1 paɯ^3 hen^3 kʰu^{1}ba^2 ju:^{5} na^1 wat^5

       correct Q.who   see   monk   stay   LOC. temple

       'Who see the monk at the temple?'

(152) teŋ^3 hen^3 kʰu^{1}ba^2 ju:^{5} na^1 wat^5

       1SG.FA   see   monk   stay   LOC. temple

       'I saw the monk at the temple.'

In examples (151) and (152), when the subject is questioned, the interrogative particle is also found at the beginning of the sentence, at the position of the subject itself. Interestingly, according to the speakers, in example (151), the particle /paɯ³/ cannot present by itself in the question. It requires the preceding /mæn¹/ 'correct' in order to indicate the sentence as a question. The interrogative particle /paɯ³/ is also able to present at the end of a sentence when the structure involves the copula /pen¹/ as the example below.

(153) law²   pen¹   kʰu:²

      3SG.PO   COP   teacher

      'He/She is a teacher.'

(154) law²   pen¹   paɯ³

      3SG.PO   COP   Q.who

      'Who is he/she?'

In conclusion, the particle /paɯ³/ can either follow a verb and copula or combine with /mæn¹/ in the interrogative sentences.

The next interrogative particle is /pen¹pʰiaŋ³/ meaning 'why'. As the Yoy language does not represent the causative question word directly it, instead, combines a copular /pen¹/ together with the interrogative particle /pʰiaŋ³/ 'what' to form the causative. This combination of particles does not have a fixed position in a sentence, it can be moved around either between the noun and its classifier or after both noun and its classifier, for example:

(155) na¹ta:ŋ⁵   pen¹   pʰiaŋ³   man¹   tɕɯŋ²   tæ:k⁵

      window   COP   Q.what   CLF   CAUS   break

      'Why did the window break?'

(156) na¹ta:ŋ⁵   man¹   pen¹   pʰiaŋ³   tɕɯɯŋ²   tæ:k⁵

       window   CLF   COP   Q.what   CAUS   break

       'Why did the window break?'

The information of the answers for the above questions in examples (155) and (156) will replace the position of the copula and question word themselves, for example:

(157) na¹ta:ŋ⁵   kao⁵   man¹   tɕɯɯŋ²   tæ:k⁵

       window   old   CLS   CAUS   break

       'The window was old, so it broke.'

(158) na¹ta:ŋ⁵   man¹   kao⁵   tɕɯɯŋ²   tæ:k⁵

       window   CLS   old   CAUS   break

       'The window was old, so it broke.'

Speakers also use a cleft construction for the causative interrogative where the particle /pen¹ pʰiaŋ³/ is put at the beginning of the sentence to focus on the question marker.

(159) pen¹   pʰiaŋ³   na¹ta:ŋ⁵   man¹   tɕɯɯŋ²   tæ:k⁵

       COP   Q-RESN   window   CLF   CAUS   break

       'Why did the window break?' (Because of what made the window break)

The last interrogative particle is an indefinite interrogative /dɯ³/ which serves as a 'neutral' or 'default' particle. This particle is able to combine with other definite nouns/pronouns that indicate place, person or time and form question particles.

(160) boŋ⁵   dɯ³

       place   Q.INDF

       where

(161) muː:⁴ daɯ³

       time   Q.INDF

       when

The structure of this indefinite pronoun is *Noun* + daɯ³. Consider the following examples.

(162) hen³   kʰuˈba²   juː:⁵   na¹   wat⁴   daɯ³

       see   the monk   stay   LOC   temple   Q.INDF

       'Which temple did you see the monk?'

(163) luŋ²   juː:⁵   boŋ⁵   daɯ³

       uncle stay   LOC   Q.INDF

       'Where is the uncle?'

(164) kin³   kʰaw⁵ muː:⁴ daɯ³

       eat   rice   TIME   Q.INDF

       'When will you eat?'

(165) na¹   het¹   næw² daɯ³

       EPIS.FUT   do   way   Q.INDF

       'How will you do it?

5.3 Aspect Markers

In this observation, Yoy presents with two aspectual markers, both of which are post-verbal particles. Both particles are also believed to be derived from verbs.

The first aspect marker is a post-verbal particle /juː:⁵/ grammaticalized from the main verb /juː:⁵/ which means 'to be' or 'stay'. The /juː:⁵/ particle indicates continuous, ongoing action.

(166) juː⁵   na¹   hɯan²   ju⁵   hɔ¹

        stay   LOC house   ASP.CONT   Q.PLR

        'Are you staying at home now?'

Possible answer:

(167) juː⁵   juː⁵

        stay   ASP.CONT

        'I'm staying.'

The second aspect marker is a post-verbal particle /læw¹/, grammaticalized from a verb /læw¹/ which means 'finish'. This aspectual marker indicates a finished action or event.

(168) het¹   læw¹   hɔ¹

        do   ASP.PRF   INT.PAR

        'Have you done it?'

Possible answer:

(169) het¹   læw¹

        do   ASP.PRF

        'I have done.'

(170) kʰu²   ma²   læw¹   hɔ¹

        teacher   come   ASP.PRF   Q.PLR

        'Has the teacher come?'

Possible answer:

(171) ma²   læw¹

        come   ASP.PRF

        'The teacher have already came.'

Interestingly, as mentioned above, the language uses the word /læw¹/ in the meaning of 'finish' when asking and answering a question that refers to finished tasks or actions.

(172) læw¹   læw¹   hɔ¹

       finish   ASP.PRF   Q.PLR

       'Have you finished it?'

Possible answer:

(173) læw¹   læw¹

       finish   ASP.PRF

       'I have finished it.'

(174) læw¹

       finish

       'I finished.'

5.3 Epistemic Modality

Haan (1997) states that epistemic modality deals with the degree of certainty on the part of the speaker for his or her utterance. Enfield mentions that, in the Lao language, these types of modalities exclusively occur in conversation, not in formal speech or written language (2004). Yoy presents two types of epistemic modality, pre-verbal and post-verbal.

5.4.1 Pre-Verbal Epistemic Modality Markers

The first modality marker is /kʰɤj⁴/ meaning 'used to' or 'accustomed to'. The word is used as a pre-verb/post-negation marker to indicate an experiential, meaning the event of 'have ever' done something.

(175) $k^h\gamma j^4$ paj^3 $læw^1$ $hɔ^1$ $kuŋ^1t^hep^5$

EPIS.EXP   go   ASP.PRF   Q.PLR   Bangkok

'Have you ever been to Bangkok?'

Possible answers:

(176) $k^h\gamma j^4$

EPIS.EXP

'Yes, I have'

(177) $bɔ^1$ $k^h\gamma j^4$

NEG   EPIS.EXP

'No, never been to'

The second pre-verbal modality marker is /daj^4/ derived from the verb /daj^4/ meaning 'receive' or 'obtain'. The marker conveys the idea of achievement of doing something.

(178) daj^4 kin^3 $hɔ^1$

EPIS.ACHV   eat   Q.PLR

'Did you get to eat?'

Possible Answers:

(179) daj^4 kin^3 $læw^1$

EPIS.ACHV   eat   ASP.PRF

'Yes, I got to eat it.'

(180) $bɔ^1$ daj^4 kin^3

NEG   EPIS.ACHV   eat

'No, I didn't get to eat it.'

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(181) daj⁴ læw¹ ni¹ ʔan¹ nan⁴

EPIS.ACHV ASP.PRF   T.LINK   CLS   DET

'Did you get that one?'

Possible answers:

(182) daj⁴ læw¹

EPIS.ACHV ASP.PRF

'Yes, I got it.'

(183) bɔ¹ daj⁴

NEG   EPIS.ACHV

'No, I didn't get it'

The next pre-verbal modality marker is /na¹/ indicating the future possible event that speaker plan to do.

(184) na¹ paj³ ju⁵ hɔ¹

EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK Q.PLR

'Will you go?'

Possible answers:

(185) na¹ paj¹ ju⁵

EPIS.FUT   go   EPIS.WEAK

'I think I will go.'

(186) bɔ¹ paj³ teŋ³ mi:² wiak⁵

NEG go   1SG.FA   have   work

'No, I don't go. I have work.'

The marker /na¹/ only refers to possibility of an action that the speaker plans to do in the future. It cannot refer to time and it only presents before verb.

The last pre-verbal modality marker is /pʰɯam⁴/ indicating the event or action that the subject is about to do at the time of speaking. It is commonly used with the marker /na¹/.

(187) pʰɯam⁴   na¹   paj³

EPIS   EPIS   go

'I am about to go now.'

(188) pʰɯam⁴   na¹   het⁵

EPIS   EPIS   do

'I am about to do now.'

(189) pʰɯam⁴   na¹   hɔ:t³   hɯan⁴

EPIS   EPIS   back   home

'I am about to go home now.'

The marker /pʰɯam⁴/ can also used without the aspect /na¹/ for example:

(190) pʰɯam⁴   kin³

EPIS   eat

'I am about to eat now.'

(191) kʰu⁴   pʰɯam⁴   paj¹   taŋ³   nan⁴

teacher   EPIS   go   way   DEM

'Teacher is about to go that way right now.'

5.4.2 Sentence Final Epistemic Modality

The marker /dɤ⁴/ is attached to the end of an assertion when the speaker would like to inform something or politely request something to the listener. Consider the following example:

(192) teŋ^3 mi:^{2} wiak^5 teŋ^3 bɔ^1 daj^2 paj^3 dɤ^4

1SG.FA have work 1SG.FA NEG ACHV go EPIS.INFM

'(I want to let you know) I have work, I cannot go.'

The marker /nɔ^2/ is attached to an assertion indicating that the information is already being acknowledged by both speaker and listeners. For example, the speaker describes the beauty of a girl which the speaker assumes that the listeners agree upon. The marker is normally used with sentences with positive meaning. Consider the following sentence:

(193) luk^1 to^3 ta^1 ŋa:m^2 nɔ^2

child 2SG.FA eye beautiful EPIS.AGREE

'Your child's eyes is beautiful (don't you think?)'

The marker /tæ^5/ is attached to an assertion indicating the speaker's statement about something that the listeners may or may not have known. For example, the speaker sees a new haircut of the listener and makes a comment that the hair is quite short. Consider the following sentence:

(194) pʰom^3 kʰoŋ^3 to^3 san^5 tæ^5

hair POSS. 2SG.FA short EPIS.CONFM

'(I think) your hair is quite short.'

The marker /ju:^{5}/ is attached to an assertion to indicate the speaker's commitment to the proposition; however, the commitment is not as strong. For example, someone asks if you will go to the temple, and you have already decided that you will go but will not strongly commit to it. It is also commonly used with adjective. Consider the following sentences:

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(195) sæ:p^4 (ju:^{5})   hɔ^1

tasty   (EPIS.WEAK)Q.PLR

'Is it tasty?'

Possible answer

(196) sæ:p^4 ju:^{5}

tasty   EPIS.WEAK

'It is quite delicious.'

(197) na^1 paj^3 wat^5 (ju^5)   hɔ^1

will   go   temple (EPIS.WEAK)Q.PLR

'Will you go to the temple?'

Possible answer

(198) na^1 paj^3 ju:^{5}

will   go   EPIS.WEAK

'I will (kind of) go.'

In both examples (195) and (197) the question sentences may or may not contain the /ju:^{5}/ marker. Both are acceptable in the language. Particle /ju:^{5}/ is also a locative indicative particle and also expressing a continuity of action.

The particle /næ^5/ indicates the pleading of the speaker. It is used when the speaker asks for a favor from the listener. It can compare to 'Could you please'. Consider the following example:

(199) teŋ^3 wa:n^1 to^3 næ^5

1SG.FA   request to do   2SG.FA   EPIS.PLED

'I would like to ask you to do something.

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5.5 Negation Marker

The negation marker in Yoy is similar to Lao. The pre-verbal particle /bɔ^1/ is used to mark any negation phrases or sentences. It can be in front of verbs or aspectual markers. The marker /bɔ^1/ can also stand alone as the negative answer to a polar question, similar to 'no' in English.

(200) pʰet^2 hɔ^1

       spicy   Q.PLR

       'Is it spicy?'

Possible answers

(201) bɔ^1 pʰet^2

       NEG   spicy

       'No, not spicy.'

(202) bɔ^1

       NEG

       'No.'

(203) bɔ^1 kɤj^4 kin^3 hɔ^1

       NEG   EXP.PER   eat   Q.PLR

       'Haven't you ever eaten that?'

Possible negative answers

(204) bɔ^1 kɤj^4 kin^3

       NEG   EPIS.EXP   eat

       'No, never eaten.'

(205) bɔ¹   kɤj⁴

       NEG   EPIS.EXP

       'No, never.'

(206) bɔ¹

       NEG

       'No.

<div align="center">**5.6 Serialization**</div>

Clark (2008) states that, in Mainland Southeast Asia, speakers express their ideas,

particularly in casual spoken language, in a serial manner with a minimum of interruptive

elements. Payne (1997) defines a serial-verb as the construction of two or more verbs that are

neither compounded nor members of separate clauses. Serializations occur in all type of

language, but are more common in a language with no or little morphological process – an

isolating language. The form of each word in Yoy is not changed morphologically, according to

tense, mood, voice or cases. Yoy presents with rich verbal serialization where two or more verbs

are structured as a string of action within the same sentence. This section presents some basic

features and examples of serial-verb in Yoy, and includes the motion serial-verb constructions,

posture serial-verb constructions, and object-used serial-verb construction.

5.6.1 Motion Serial-Verb Construction

The motion serial-verb construction is probably one of the most frequent serial-verb

constructions in the language. It consists of the first verb of motion; such as, /ɲa:ŋ⁵/ 'to walk' or

/læ:n⁵/ 'to run', followed by directional verbs; such as, /paj¹/ 'to go' or /ma:²/ 'to come'. For

example, the phrase /ɲa:ŋ⁵ paj¹ hɔ:t⁴/ combines three verbs of 'to walk', 'to go', and 'to arrive'

which indicate that the subject is doing all three actions of walking to go somewhere and then

eventually arrives. The following examples are the motion serial-verb constructions from the story transcription.

(207) pʰɔ:¹   mɔ:³   ʔaj¹noj⁴   ni:⁴   kap¹   ma:³

CONJ   3SG.M.FA   small   DEM.PROX   and   dog

ni:⁴   ɲa:ŋ⁵   paj¹   hɔ:t⁴

DEM.PROX   walk   go   arrive

'When the boy and the dog walk and arrive.'

(208) ma:³   ka¹   pʰa¹hu:⁴   kʰɯ:n⁵ ma:²   kʰɯ:¹   kan³

dog   T.LINK   emerge   go up   come   same   together

"The dog also come up from the water."

(209) kop²   tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵   ni:³   tɔ:n⁵   lo:ŋ²   na:m⁴

frog   jump   run away   jump (into water)   go down   water

"the frog runs away and jumps into the water."

Example (208) consists of three verbs which are /pʰa¹hu:⁴/ 'to emerge', /kʰɯ:n⁵/ 'to go up' and /ma:²/ 'to come' indicating the action of showing up from something; in this sentence, water. Example (209) shows four verbs which are /tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵/ 'to jump', /ni:³/ 'to run away', /tɔ:n⁵/ 'to jump into water', and /lo:ŋ²/ 'to go down/ indicating the action of jumping away into the water.

In addition, the language also uses the word /ma:²/ 'come' to indicate the finished action that associated with the motion of coming back (from doing something), for example:

(210) kin³   pʰiaŋ³   ma:²

eat   Q.what   ASP.MOTN

'What did you eat (before you came here)?'

Possible answer

(211) kin³   kʰa:w⁵   kap¹   pa:³   ma:²

       eat   rice   with   fish   ASP.MOTN

       'I ate rice with fish (before I came here).'

(212) paj³   saɯ⁴   ma:²

       go   Q-where   ASP.MOTN

       'Where did you go (before you came here)?'

Possible answer

(213) paj³   wat⁵   ma:²

       go   temple   ASP.MOTN

       'I went to the temple (before I came here)?'

5.6.2 Posture Serial-Verb Construction

Posture serial-verb construction consists of the first verb of posture; such as, /naŋ / 'sit' or /mæ:p⁵/ 'sit', /nɔ:n²/ 'sleep', /jɯ:n²/ 'stand', followed by the action verb of any class. We often see the verb /ju⁵/ 'stay' indicates the posture of a preceding verb as the subject is constantly doing that action. The following examples are the posture serial-verb constructions from the story transcription.

(214) kop² to:³ nɯŋ¹ man¹ mæ:p⁵ ju⁵ na¹ tʰeŋ⁵ baɯ³bua¹

       frog CLS   one   CLS   sit   stay LOC top   lotusleaf

       "A frog is sitting on top of lotus leaf.

5.6.3 Object-Used Serial-Verb Construction

This type of serial-verb construction is often seen when the speakers mention an object and how to use it. The construction consists of two or more verbs, as the preceding verb is the

action of using an object to do the particular action of the following verb(s). The following examples are the object-used serial-verb constructions in Yoy.

(215) ʔaw¹ pʰa⁵   haɯ⁵ pʰo¹

  take   big knife   give   father

  'I give a big knife to my father'

(216) ɲat⁵ kʰɔŋ³ saɯ⁵ tʰɔŋ³

  cram   things put   bag

  'I put things in to the bag'

Example (215) shows that the subject is taking a knife in order to give it to someone, and Example (216) shows that the subject crams things in order to fit them in to a bag.

(217) ɲɔ:⁵ ɲɤŋ⁴ ɲɤŋ⁴ ka¹tɔŋ⁵ kʰɯn⁴ top² loŋ¹   paj¹ jaŋ⁵ hæŋ²

  bend   lift   lift   net   up   hit   go down   go   very   hard

  "he lifts the net up and slam it down very hard"

Example (217) indicates five verbs construction of both object-used and motion constructions. The verbs are /ɲɤŋ⁴/ 'to lift', /kʰɯn⁴/ 'to go up' /top²/ 'to hit', /loŋ¹/ 'to go down' /paj¹/ 'to go' indicating the action of lifting something up, in this case a net, and using it to hit the object. Moreover, the hitting action is described with another string of serial-verb as it hit 'down' on the object.

5.7 Topic Continuity

This section shows several topic continuity particles in the Yoy language that particularly found in the normal speech and the story transcription. Enfield (2004) mentions how topic linkers in Lao can be useful in understanding multi-verb constructions. The topic linkers found in this particular study are /ka¹/ and /ni¹/.

The particle /ka^1/ conveys a very distinctive meaning in structures. It could be placed after a noun, noun phrase, demonstrative, or verb phrase.

(218) p^{h}ɯ:n^4 ʔan^1 ni:^{4} ka^1 mi:^{1} ju^5 wa^1

story CLS DEM.PROX T.LINK have EPIS.WEAK say

'This story contains as follow.'

(219) na:m^4 ka^1 p^{h}ɔ:^{1} tɕa^{1}lɔŋ^5 ni^{1}læ^1

water T.LINK enough little UNKN

'The water is not so much.'

(220) wa^1 læw^4 ka^1 ma:^{3} ka^1 paj^1 k^{h}ɯn^5

say ASP.PRF T.LINK dog T.LINK go up

ʔik^1 ŋao^4 maj^3 t^{h}a:ŋ^1 nɯŋ^1

more root wood way one

'After say, the dog goes up at one end of the wood.'

The particle /ni^1/ is believed to derive from the proximal demonstrative /ni:^{4}/ meaning 'this'. It commonly comes after a noun, noun phrase, or noun classifier in order to emphasize the noun.

(221) k^{h}on^2 ŋa:m^2 p^{h}u^5 nan^4 ni^1 ke:ŋ^5

person beautiful CLS.HUM DEM.DIST T.LINK smart

'That beautiful person is smart.'

(222) mɔ:^{3} ni:^{4} ni^1 man^5 ka^{1}na:t^1

3SG.M.FA DEM.PROX T.LINK diligent very

'This man is very diligent.'

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE STUDY

The main objectives of this thesis were to document and describe the Yoy language, a previously undocumented southern Tai-Kadai language family of Thailand and Laos, and also to attempt to record this endangered language as it is in the critical stage of dying. Some might say that language loss has been part of the reality of history. However, the loss of a language affects more than just communication between people, it is considered the loss of the culture and the intellectual diversity which is contained in the language itself.

This research presents the phonology of the Yoy language based on a 1,000-word lexicon collected from informants who are native speakers. Also, this paper provides a brief analysis of the grammar and morphosyntax of the language. I found that this language is very similar to Thai and Lao. This may because Yoy has been dominated by these two languages for a long time. However, Yoy does display a number of apparently exceptional features of both phonology and morphosyntax, including the low creaky tone and the expressive ideophones that occur in verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. In order to judge where this particular language belongs to in the family tree of Tai-Kadai and to see these exceptional features clearly, much more work needs to be done on the Yoy language itself, as well as on related languages. Minority languages in South East Asia remain seriously endangered and in need of description.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STORY TRANSCRIPTION

STORY TRANSCRIPTION

(1)   ba^{5}ni^5 na^5 waw^5 p^{h}ɯ:n^4 p^{h}an^1 p^{h}aŋ^2 dɤ^2

      TPC   EPIS.FUT   speak   story   give   listen   EPIS.INFM

      'Now, I'm going to tell you a story.'

(2)   p^{h}ɯ:n^4 ʔan^1 ni:^{4} ka^1 mi:^{1} ju^5 wa^5

      story   CLS   DEM.PROX   T.LINK   have   EPIS.WEAK   say

      'This story contains as follow.'

(3)   tæ:^{5} hɤŋ^2 hɤ:ŋ^3 ma:^{1} læw^4

      from   long   long   come   ASP.PRF

      'It has been very long time ago.'

(4)   mi:^{1} mɔ:^{3} ʔaj^{1}noj^4 nɯŋ^1 kap^2 ma:^{3} noj^4

      have   3SG.M.FA   small   one   and   dog   small

      'There are a little boy and a small dog'

(5)   mɔ:^{3} lot^4 hi:w^5 ʔaw^1 k^{h}u^5 kap^1 bæ:k^5 ʔaw^1 ka^{1}tɔŋ^5

      3SG.M.FA   rush   carry   take   bucket   and   carry   take   net

      'He carries a bucket and carries a net.'

(6)   p^{h}a:^{1} kan^1 ɲa:ŋ^4 paj^3 na^1 nɔ:ŋ^3 nam^4

      take   together   walk   go   LOC   pond   water

      'They walk together to the small river.'

(7)   nam^4 ka^1 p^{h}ɔ:^{1} tɕa^{1}lɔŋ^5 ni^{1}læ^1 ju^5 na^1 ti:n^1 pa:^{5}

      water   T.LINK   enough   little   UNKN   stay   LOC   foot   wood

      'The water is not so much, in the wood'

(8) pʰɔː¹ mɔː³ ʔaj¹noj⁴ ni⁴ kap¹ maː³ ni⁴

CONJ 3SG.M.FA small DEM.PROX and dog DEM.PROX

ɲaːŋ⁴ paj³ hɔːt⁴

walk go arrive

'When the boy and the dog walk and arrive.'

(9) hen³ kop² toː³ nɯŋ¹ man¹ mæːp⁵ ju⁵ na¹ na¹ tʰeŋ² baɯ⁵bua³

see frog CLS one CLS sit stay LOC LOC top lotusleaf

'They see one frog sitting on top of the lotus leaf.'

(10) mɔː³ ʔaj¹noj⁴ ni⁴ hen³ læw⁴ lot⁵ tʰɯː⁵ ka¹tɔŋ⁵

3SG.M.FA small DEM.PROX see ASP.PRF rush carry net

læːn⁴ lɔŋ² paj³ kap¹ maː³

run down go with dog

'After the boy has seen it, he rush with a net and run down with the dog.'

(11) huan¹ ʔaw¹ ka¹tɔŋ⁵ ni⁴ top² kɔp² ju⁵ an⁵ ŋɔj³ mæːp⁵

swing take net DEM.PROX catch frog stay LINK sit sit

ju⁵ na¹ tʰeŋ² baɯ⁵bua³ nan⁴ na⁵

stay LOC top lotus leaf DEM.DIST EPIS.WEAK

'He use the net to catch the frog who is sitting at the edge of the lotus leaf.'

(12) mɔː³ læːn⁴ paj³ lot⁵ tʰaːŋ¹ paj³ pʰan⁴ miː²

3SG.M.FA run go rush way go ADV.DEM.MED have

kʰɔn³maj⁴ kʰwaːŋ⁵ ju⁵ pʰaː¹ kan¹ kʰɔŋ⁵ kʰɔn³maj⁴

log obstruct ASP.CONT take together skip log

'He runs to the way that have a log obstructing the path, so they skip the log together.'

(13) hua^3 k^{h}wit^2 tɔk^2 ta:m^5 loŋ^2 paj^3 naj^1 na:m^4

head ram fall loud go down   go in water

kap^2 ma^3 kap^2 k^{h}u^5 næ^5

and dog and bucket EPIS.PLED

'He falls in to the water with the dog and the bucket.'

(14) pa^{1}lo:^{2} k^{h}ɯ:n^1 ma:^{2} la^1 k^{h}u^5 kuap^5 hu:a^3

climb   go up   come LINK bucket   cover head

'He climbs up and the bucket covers his head.'

(15) kuap^5 hu:a^3 mɔ:^{3} ʔaj^{1}noj^4 ni:^{4}

cover   head   3SG.M.FA   small   DEM.PROX

'It covers the boy's head.'

(16) ma:^{3} p^{h}a^{1}hu:^{4} saj^1 kap^2 kop^2 ʔan^1 ɲaŋ^1 na:ŋ^5

come emerge   ? with frog CLS still sit

ɲaŋ^1 mæp^5 ju^5 na^1 t^{h}eŋ^3 baɯ^{5}bua^3 nan^4 ju^5 læ

still sit stay LOC top lotus leaf DEM.DIS   stay EPIS

'The boy pokes out of water and sees the frog still sit on that lotus leaf.'

(17) ma:^{3} ka^1 p^{h}a^{1}hu:^{3} k^{h}ɯ:n^1 ma:^{2} k^{h}ɯ:^{1} kan^3

dog T.LINK   emerge   go up come same together

'The dog also pokes out of the water.'

(18) p^{h}a^{1}hu:^{3} k^{h}ɯ:n^1 ma:^{2} tæ^5 n:am^4

emerge   go up come from water

'He comes up from the water.'

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(19) mɔ:³ hen³ kop² ju⁵ læw⁴ pʰa:w² na¹ kʰup⁵ ʔaw¹

3SG.M.PRO see frog stay ASP.PRF catch EPIS.FUT catch take

kop²

frog

'The boy sees the frog and try to catch.'

(20) pʰɔ¹ tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵ ʔaw¹ kʰup⁵ kop² kop² tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵ ni:³ kʰɯn¹

CONJ. jump take catch frog frog jump away up

paj³ ŋoj³ ju⁵ na¹ tʰen² kʰɔ:n³ maj⁴ an¹ pʰu:² ju⁵ na¹ na¹

go sit stay LOC top log wood CLS float stay LOC LOC

na:m⁴

water

'When the boy jump up to catch the frog, the frog jump up on top of the log that floating in the water.'

(21) mɔ:³ hen³ læw⁴ mɔ:³ lot⁵ ha:³ wi¹ti:⁴ka:n³

3SG.M.FA see ASP.PRF 3SG.M.FA rush find strategy

'After the boy sees it, he tries to find the strategy.'

(22) waw⁴ kap² ma:³ wa¹ paj³ paj³ paj³

say with dog say go go go

'he says to the dog 'go go go'.'

(23) bak¹da:ŋ⁵ mɯŋ¹ paj³ tʰa:ŋ² ŋaw⁴ maj⁴ dɤ²

PROP.NAME 2SG.B go way root wood EPIS.INFM

'Bakdang, you go to the root of the log.'

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(24) ku^1 na^1 paj^3 t^{h}a:ŋ^2 pa:j^1 maj^4

1SG.B EPIS.FUT go way end wood

'I will go to the end of the log.'

(25) kop^2 man^1 ŋoj^4 ju^5 na^1 t^{h}eŋ^2 an^1 nan^4 ju^5

frog 3SG.B sit stay LOC top CLS DEM.DIST ASP.CONT

'The frog is still sitting on top of that log.'

(26) k^{h}oj^5 k^{h}oj^4 ɲɔ:ŋ^5 paj^1 dɤ^2

slow slow stalk go EPIS.INFM

'You should be stalking slowly.'

(27) wa^1 læw^4 ka^1 ma:^{3} ka^1 paj^1 k^{h}ɯn^5 ʔik^1

say ASP.PRF T.LINK dog T.LINK go up different

ŋao^5 maj^3 t^{h}a:ŋ^3 nɯɯŋ^1

root wood way one

'After say, the dog goes up at one end of the wood.'

(28) mɔ:^{3} ʔaj^{1}noj^4 ka^1 k^{h}ɯn^5 paj^1 ʔik^1 t^{h}a:ŋ^3 nɯɯŋ^1

3SG.M.FA small T.LINK go up go different way one

'The boy goes up at the other end of the log.'

(29) ɲɔŋ^2 ɲɔŋ^1 ɲɔn^5 paj^1 p^{h}ɔm^4 kap^2 ka^{1}tɔŋ^5 ju^5 na^1 mɯ:^{2}

stalk stalk stalk go together with net stay LOC hand

'He is stalking with the net in his hands.'

(30) p^{h}ɔ^1 paj^1 kaɯ^5 kaɯ^5 daj^1 sak^2 noj^4

CONJ go close close gain around small

ɲɔ¹ ɲɤŋ² ɲɤŋ² ka¹tɔŋ⁵ kʰɯn⁵ top² loŋ¹ paj¹ ja:ŋ⁵ hæŋ²

bend lift lift net go up hit down go very hard

'When he gets a little closer, he lifts the net up and slam it down very hard.'

(31) pʰɔ¹di:¹ kap² tɕaŋ¹wa² ma:² bak¹da:ŋ⁵ kʰaw⁵ ma:² pʰɔ¹di:¹

exactly with chance dog PROP.NAME enter come exactly

'Exactly when the dog, Bakdang, comes in.'

(32) kop² tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵ ni:³ tɔ:n¹ lo:ŋ² na:m⁴

frog jump runaway jump down water

'The frog jumps into the water.'

(33) mɔ:³ ʔaj¹noj⁴ ni:⁴ ʔaw¹ ka¹tɔŋ⁵ top² top² loŋ¹ paj¹

3SG.M.FA small DEM.PROX take net hit hit down go

tʰɤ:k⁵ bak¹da:ŋ⁵

at PROP.NAME

"The boy slam the net and hit Bakdang."

(34) jaŋ² kʰɯn⁵ ma:² bak¹da:ŋ⁵ ju⁵ na¹ naj¹ ka¹tɔŋ⁵ ʔoom⁴toom⁴ ju⁵

pull up come PROP.NAME stay LOC in net sit ASP.CONT

'He pull the net up and the dog is inside the net, sitting.'

(35) kop² dam³na:m⁴ ni:³ kʰɯn⁵ ma:² na¹ kɔn⁴mak⁵kʰi:⁵hi:n³

frog dive run away up come LOC rock

'The frog dives away and climbs up on the rock.'

(36) ŋoj² kɔ:t⁵pɔ:t⁵ ju⁵ na¹ tʰeŋ² kɔn⁴mak⁵kʰi:⁵hi:n³

sit EXPSS stay LOC top rock

'It sits on top of the rock.'

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(37) mɔ:^{3} ʔaj^{1}noj^4 kap^2 ma:^{3} bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 hen^3 kop^2

3SG.M.FA   small   and   dog   PROP.NAME see   frog

'The boy and the dog see the frog.'

(38) hen^3 an^1 daj^3 ka^1 ʨap^2 bɔ:^{1} daj^4 læw^4

see   CLS   EPIS.ACHV   T.LINK   catch   NEG. ACHV ASP.PRF

na^1 kob^2

LOC   frog

'They can see it but cannot catch the frog.'

(39) hen^3 kop^2 ŋoj^2 ju^5 na^1 kɔn^{4}mak^{5}kʰi:^{5}hi:n^3 læw^4

see   frog   sit   stay   LOC   rock   ASP.PRF

suan^4 bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 paj^1 haw^1 muɯa^4 sia^3

invite PROP.NAME go   1PL.FA   return   after all

'After seeing the frog sitting at the rock, he tells the dog 'we should go home'.'

(40) het^5 næw^{1}daɯ^3 ka^1 ʔaw^1 kop^1 bɔ:^{1} daj^4 læw^4

do   whatever   T.LINK   take   frog   NEG ACHV ASP.PRF

'We did whatever but we could not catch the frog.'

(41) muɯa^4 sia^3 ma:^{2} top^2 kop^2 ka^1 top^2 bɔ:^{1} daj^4 læ^1

return after all   come hit   frog   T.LINK   hit   NEG   get   UNKN

'Let's return home. We came to catch the frog but cannot do it.'

(42) pʰa:^{1} kan^1 muɯa^2 kæ:^{5} ka^{1}tɔŋ^5 kap^1 ma:^{3} bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 muɯa^2 huɯan^2

take   together   return with   net   and   dog   PROP.NAME return home

"They return home with the net and the dog"

(43) ni:^{3} aw^1 tæ:^{5} nɔ:ŋ^3 na:m^4 noj^1 noj^4 an^1 nan^4

run away   take   from   pond   water   small   small   CLS   DEM.DIS

muɯa^2 hɯɯan^2

return   home

'Go away from the small pond and return home.'

(44) kop^2 ka^1 daj^4 tɕa^1 næ:m^2 bɤŋ^5 nam^4 ta:ŋ^2

frog   T.LINK   ACHV UNKN stay   look   ahead   way

muɯa^2 kʰɔŋ^3 mɔ:^{3} ʔaj^{1}noj^4 kap^1 ma: bak^{1}da:ŋ^5 ju^5

return   POSS   3SG.M.FA   small   and   dog   PROP.NAME ASP.CONT

'The frog just stay and keep looking at the boy and the dog, Bakdang, walking away"

(45) kop^2 ka^1 soŋ^{3}saj^3 ju^5 man^1 pʰa^1 kan^1

frog   T.LINK   curious   ASP.CONT   3B.PRO   take   together

paj^1 saɯ:^{3} ʔa^{1}ni^5

go   Q.where   UNKN

'The frog is being curious that where do they all go.'

(46) kop^2 ka^1 lɤj^2 tɕa^{1}dɔŋ^5 kʰɯn^5 tæ^5 noŋ^3 na:m^4

frog   T.LINK   so   jump   go up   from   pond   water

'So the frog jumps up from the pond.'

(47) nam^2 ho:j^4 ti:n^3 ma:^{2} ho:j^4 ma:^{3} kap^1 ho:j^4 kʰon^2

follow print   foot   come   print   dog   and   print   human

'He follows footprint of the dog and the boy.'

(48) ma:² læw⁴ kʰaw⁵ paj¹ naj¹ hɯan²

come ASP.PRF enter go in home

'After come, it gets inside the house.'

(49) hen³ tæ¹ ka¹tɔŋ⁵ pa² kʰɔ⁵lɔ⁵ ju⁵

see but net lay EXPSS. ASP.CONT

'He only sees the net laying on the ground'

(50) kop² ka¹ lɤj² kʰaw⁵ paj¹ naɯ¹ hɯan²

frog T.LINK so enter go in home

'So the frog goes inside the house.'

(51) kʰaw⁵ paj¹ læw⁴ paj¹ hen³ bak¹ ʔaj¹noj⁴ kap¹ ma:³

enter go ASP.PRF go see 3SG.M.FA small and dog

pʰɯm² ʔa:p⁵ na:m⁴ ju⁵ na¹ mɔŋ⁵ kʰan¹sa:m² na:m⁴

3PL.PRO shower water stay LOC place basin water

'After it enter the house, it sees the boy and the dog is showering together at the basin.'

(52) lo:j¹ lin⁵ ju⁵ kæ:⁵ soŋ⁵ kæ⁵ sɯa⁵ ju⁵

float play ASP.CONT untie pant untie shirt ASP.CONT

'They are playing and taking off cloths and pants.'

(53) kʰu⁵ ti:¹ ʔaw¹ paj¹ nam² ka¹ nɔ:n² kʰwam⁵

bucket REL. take go with T.LINK lay flip

ju⁵

ASP.CONT

'The bucket that they took is laying on the ground.'

(54) pʰɔ¹di:¹   kʰaw⁵ paj¹   ju⁵   na¹   kʰan¹sa:m²   na:m⁴ lot⁵

exactly   enter go   stay   LOC   basin   water rush

bak¹   ʔaj¹noj⁴   kap¹ ma:³   sɔŋ⁵ loŋ¹   ma:¹   hen³

3SG.M.FA   small   and   dog   look   down come   see

'As the frog walks inside near the basin, the boy and the dog look down and see.'

(55) sɔŋ⁵   loŋ¹   ma:¹   hen³   kop²   ka¹   tɕa¹dɔŋ⁵   kʰɯn⁵ kʰaw⁵ paj¹

look   down come   see   frog   T.LINK   jump   go up   enter go

lin⁵   na:m⁴ ju⁵   nau¹   sa:m² na:m⁴ nam² kan¹   sia³

play   water stay   in   basin water with   together   after all

'After they see, the frog jumps up inside and play inside the basin with them.'

(56) lot⁵   tʰaŋ²   sa:m³ pɔn¹   bak¹   ʔaj¹noj⁴   ma:³   næ³   kop²   næ³

UNKN all   three mix   3SG.M.FA   small   dog   EPIS. frog   EPIS.

pen¹   mu:⁵   kan¹   lin⁵   na:m⁴ nam² kan¹

become   friend together   play   water with   together

ju   sia

stay   after

'Lastly, all three including the boy, the dog and the frog become friends and swim together after all.'

(57) tɕak¹   ti:¹   bak¹   ʔaj¹noj⁴   ja:k⁵   ʔaw¹   ka¹tɔŋ⁵ paj¹   top²   kop²

from   REL   PRO. small   want   take   net   go   hit   frog

ka¹   lɤj²   ka:j¹   ma:¹   pen¹   mu:⁵   kan¹

T.LINK   so   turn   come   become   friend together

lin⁵ na:m⁴ nam² kan¹

play water same together

'From that the boy wants to take a net to catch the frog, now they become friend and

swim together.'

(58) pʰɯn⁴ lɯaŋ¹ ni:⁴ ka¹ tɕop¹ loŋ² duaj¹ kan¹ tʰaŋ¹

story CLS this T.LINK end down with together all

sa:m³ pen¹ mu:⁵ hak² mu:⁵ pʰaŋ⁴ kan¹

three become friend love friend (adjective) together

'This story ends with all three have become loving friends.'

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

pit^2	to close
$pi{:}k^5$	wing / to avoid / wood
$pi{:}^3$	year
$pi{:}n^3$	to climb
$pi{:}\eta^4$	to grill
pet^2	duck
$pæ{:}t^5$	eight
$pæn^4$	wood
$pæ{:}\eta^4$	powder
pa^1	to let go
$pa{:}^3$	fish
$pa{:}^5$	deep forest
paj^3	to go
$pa{:}n^5$	dull (knife)
pan^3	empty (clean)
paw^5	to blow
$pɯk^2$	stupid
$pɤ{:}t^5$	to open
$pɤt^5$	to be bored
$pu{:}^4$	dull
$pu{:}k^2$	to plant
$po{:}t^5$	to slide
pot^5	to untie
$po{:}k^2$	to cover
pon^1	to crush (food)
$po\eta^3$	to take down
$po\eta^4$	to
$po\eta^5$	smart
$pu{:}^3$	to pave
$puan^5$	to go without direction
$pɔ\eta^1ʔiam^4$	window
$pɔ{:}n^5$	to send down something
$pɔ{:}n^4$	to feed
$pɔ{:}p^5$	kind of ghost
$p^hi{:}^2$	fat
$p^hi{:}^3$	ghost
p^hik^5	chilli
p^het^2	spicy
$p^ha{:}^5 hom^4$	blanket

pʰaː^5 tuːm^4	blanket
pʰak^2	vegetable
pʰan^2	thousand
pʰan^3	dream
pʰaŋ^2	to listen
pʰaj^2	fire
pʰaj^3	who
pʰaj^2 pʰaː^4	electric
pʰaj^2 maj^5	burn (from fire)
pʰɯn^2	firewood
pʰɯŋ^2	thatch
pʰɯːn^4	story
pʰɤŋ^5	bee
pʰu^1 kʰaw^3	mountain
pʰu^1 saj^1	man
pʰun^5	dust
pʰon^3	rain
pʰom^3	hair (head)
pʰiaŋ^3	what
pʰua^3	husband
tiː^3	to hit
tiːn^3	foot
te^2	to kick
teːŋ^3	I
tæk^5	break
taː^3	eye
ta^1 wen^2	sun
taŋ^5	chair
taj^5	climb
tu^2	milk (from breast)
to^2	table
toː^3	you
toː^3	he
tok^2	to fall
top^2	to slap / to catch
top^2	to wash (clothes)
tɔːp^5	to answer
taw^5	stove
taj^3	to die
tʰaː^5	to wait
tʰɯː^3	carry
tʰaːn^1	toilet
tʰaːm^3	to ask

tʰɤŋ²	top
tʰuː³	to scrub
tʰuŋ³	bag
tʰɔŋ⁴ pʰaː⁵	sky
tʰɔŋ⁵	field
tʰɔːŋ²	gold
tʰiaŋ³	noon
kin²	to eat
ka¹ taː⁵	basket
ka¹ toʔ³	body
ka¹ sum⁵	coop
ka¹ duk⁵	bone
kat²	to bite
kap²	with
kaj³	far
kaj⁵	hen / chicken
kɤːt⁵	to be born
kɤːp⁵	shoes
kop²	frog
kok¹ maj¹	tree
kom³	round
kɔːn¹ hiːn¹	rock/stone
kwaj³	to swing
kaw⁵	old (things)
kaw¹	nine
kaɯ⁴	short (distance)
kʰiː¹ kʰaːn⁴	lazy
kʰiː¹ haj⁵	to cry
kʰiː¹ laj⁴	ugly
kʰiː¹ tom³	mud
kʰiː⁵	to ride
kʰiːŋ²	skin
kʰiːŋ²	pairs (person)
kʰiːw³	bad smell
kʰem²	salty
kʰæːn³	arm
kʰæːw⁵	tooth
kʰæk⁵	guest
kʰaː³	leg
kʰaː⁵	to kill
kʰaːŋ²	chin
kʰaːŋ²	to moan
kʰan⁵ daj³	ladder

kʰaj⁵	egg
kʰaj²	to get better
kʰaːj³	to sell
kʰɯt⁴	to think
kʰɯːn²	to return
kʰɯn⁵	up
kʰɤŋ⁴	half
kʰuʔ⁵	small bucket
kʰum²	to cover
kʰon³	hair (body)
kʰon²	person
kʰoːk¹	forest
kʰom⁵	to press
kʰom5	sharp
kʰoj⁵	I (speaker is older)
kʰɔː²	neck
kʰɔːn⁴	hammer
kʰɔn³ maj⁴	log
kʰɔŋ¹	to be born (for hen)
kʰɔːŋ¹	to skip
kʰwit²	to ram
kʰwan²	smoke
kʰwæŋ⁵	to throw
kʰwaːŋ³	to obstruct
kʰwaːj²	buffalo
kʰaw⁵	to enter
kʰaw³	horn (animal)
kʰaːw⁵	rice
kʰaːw³	white
kʰaw⁵ puːk⁵	rice seed
bin³	to fly
bæŋ⁵	to share
bæk⁵	to carry (over shoulder)
baː⁵	shoulder
bak¹ ʔaj²	boy / younger brother
baɯʔ³	leaf
baːŋ³	thin (shape)
bɤŋ⁵	to look
bɤt²	empty (all gone)
bɔʔ⁵	no
bɔ¹ diː³	bad
bɔŋ⁵	location
bɔŋ⁵ niː⁴	here

bwan^4	to spit
buaŋ^5	spoon
di:^{3}	good
din^3	soil
dæŋ^3	red
dam^3	black
daŋ^2	to make fire
dɯɯŋ^3	to pull
du^2	to work hard
dom^3	to smell
dɔk^1 maj^1	flower
daw^3	star
dɯɯan^3	month
tɕik^5	to separate
tɕet^2	seven
tɕa:n^3	plate
tɕɯɯ:n^5	to fall apart
tɕum^1	relatives
tɕɯ:ŋ^3	to pull
tɕop^2	beautiful
tɕɔj^5	skinny
tɕaw^5	he (older)
tɕiaʔ^4	paper
ʔi^5 na:ŋ^2	girl
ʔi^1 meʔ^1	mother
ʔi^1 pʰoʔ^1	father
ʔi^1 na:ŋ^2	younger sister
ʔi^1 pʰo^1 ɲaɯʔ^5	grandfather
ʔi^1 me^1 ɲaɯʔ^5	grandmother
ʔat^2	to close door / window
ʔaj^4	older brother
ʔɯ:^{2}	yes
ʔɯn^3	wet
ʔɤn^4	to call
ʔu:t^5	to burn
ʔo:k^5	to exit
ʔon^5	soft
ʔawʔ^3	uncle (younger)
ʔɯaj^4	older sister
mi:^{2}	have
mek^1	cloud
met^5	seed
mep^5	to sit

mæ^1 ɲiŋ^1	woman
mæŋ^2 ka^1 bɯa?^{4}	butterfly
mæŋ^2	bug
mæw^2	cat
ma:^{4}	horse
ma:^{3}	dog
ma:^{2}	to come
mat^5	to tie
mak^5	to like
mak^5 kuaj^4	banana
man^1	it
man^5	diligent
mɯ:^{2}	hand
mu:^{3}	pig
mu:^{1} ba:n^1	village
mu:^{1} koŋ^3	neighbor
mon^2	circle (shape)
mo:ŋ^5	moon
mɔ:^{5}	pot
mɔ:^{1}	he/she (younger)
maj^4	stick
maj^5	burn
maj^5	new
mia^2	wife
mɯa^2	to go back
mɯaŋ^2 pʰa:^{4}	sky
niw^4	finger
næw^1 kin^3	food
na:^{4}	uncle/aunt (younger)
na:^{1}	thick
na:^{5}	front
naŋ^4	to sit
nak^2	heavy
naŋ^2 sɯ:^{3}	book
na:m^4	water
na:m^4 ta:n^3	sugar
nɯŋ^1	one
noj^5	few
nok^5	bird
nɔ:n^2	sleep
nɔ:n^3	worm
na:w^3	cold (weather)
ɲi:^{2}	to crush

ɲi:^{4}	to point
ɲi:m^4	to smile
ɲen^3	cold (object)
ɲæŋ^2	to look at the mirror
ɲa:^{3}	medicine
ɲa:^{5}	grass
ɲa^1 kʰu:^{2}	monk
ɲa:k^5	to want
ɲa:k^4	difficult
ɲa:m^3	to visit
ɲa:m^4	time
ɲa:j^3	to move
ɲam^3	to chew
ɲa:n^1	to fear
ɲa:ŋ^4	to walk
ɲat^1	relative
ɲɯm^2	slow
ɲu:ŋ^2	mosquito
ɲɔ:ŋ^4	to rub
ɲiew^4	urine
ɲaɯ^2	big
ɲa:wʔ^2	long (measurement)
ŋa:m^2	beautiful
ŋaj^4	to yank
ŋɤn^2	silver
ŋu:^{2}	snake
ŋoj^5	to sit on top
ŋua^2	cow
ŋu:ŋ^2	mosquito
si:^{5}	four
sip^2	ten
sip^2 et^2	eleven
sip^2 so:ŋ^3	twelve
sip^2 sa:m^3	thirteen
sip^2 siʔ^5	fourteen
sip^2 haʔ^5	fifteen
sip^2 hok^2	sixteen
sip^2 tɕet^2	seventeen
sip^2 pæ:t^5	eighteen
sip^2 kaoʔ^1	ninteen
si:w^5	green
sæ:p^4	tasty
sa:m^3	three

sa:m^1	bowl
san^5	short (measurement)
san^5	shake
sap^2	to chop
sa:j^2	sand
sat^2	animal
sɯ:^{2}	to buy
sɯ:^{4}	name
suk^5	to push
so:^{5}	chain
soŋ^5	pant
som^5	sour
sɔ:ŋ^3	two
sɔ:n^3	to teach
sɔʔ^5	to ask
saw^4	morning
saw^2	twenty
sɯa ʔ^5	cloth
sɯak^4	rope
suam^5	toilet
saɯʔ^5	to put/ to wear
swa:j^3	late
hi:^{2} hi:^{2}	not straight
hi:w^3	hungry
hi:w^5	to carry
het^1	to do
het^1 wiak^4	to work
he:t^1	cause
hæŋ^5	dry
ha:^{5}	five
ha:^{3}	to seek
han^3 tɕam ʔ^3	breath
haŋ^1 kʰa:ŋ^5	side
haŋ^1 tʰɤŋ^2	above
ha:ŋ^3	tail (animal)
ha:n^1	to nibble
ha:k^4	to vomit
haj^1 na:^{2}	rice field
haw^3 non^2	to yawn
hu:^{3}	ear
hu^1 mɯa^4	to feel
hu^4 tɕak^1	to know
hu^1 daŋ^3	nose

hok^2	six
hoːj^4	hundred
hɔːn^4	hot
hɔʔ^1	to float
hɔːt^4	to arrive
hɔn^1 taːŋ^2	road
hian^2	to study
haɯʔ^5	to give
hɯan^2	house
hɯan^2 pʰaj^2	kitchen
hua^3	head
huat^5	basket (to catch fish)
huaʔ^4	to leek
huaʔ^3	laugh
huaj^5	river
jaːk^5	to want
jɯːn^2	to stand
jɯːm^2	to borrow
weː^2	to turn
we^1 laː^2	time
wat^5 waː^2	temple
waːn^3	sweet
waj^2	fast
waw^4	to speak
waw^4 kʰwam^2	to tell story
wiak^5	work
liː^1	to hide
lin^4	tongue
lin^5	to play
liŋ^2	monkey
læn^4	to run
laːn^3	grandchild
lam^1	sing
laŋ^3	back
laːŋ^4	to wash
laːj^3	many
luŋ^2	uncle (older)
luːt^5	to fall drop
lot^1	to rush
lom^2	wind
lom^2 hua^3 kut^2	certain kind of wind
loj^2 naːm^4	swim
lɔk^5	round bamboo basket

lɔk⁴ ka:p⁵	to peel
law²	she
luaʔ¹	aunt (younger)
lɯak⁴	to choose
lɯat¹	blood
lɯaŋ³	yellow

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