Five levels in Thai

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1. Introduction

The present chapter examines how the five levels in clause linkage (cf. Mie Tsunoda, 2012, this volume) are expressed in Thai, regarding causals, conditionals and concessives.

Thai has a very large number of clause linkage markers ('CLMs'). The present chapter has selected two CLMs for subordination for each of the three semantic areas: causal, conditional and concessive. In each pair of the CLMs, one is unmarked, while the other is marked semantically and/or stylistically.

The five levels in the clause linkage of Thai exhibit a wide range of interesting phenomena. The findings of the present paper include the following.

The six selected CLMs are often used in combination with another CLM and/or some other word. There is no CLM that is perfectly acceptable by itself at all of the five levels. Among these six selected CLMs, the three unmarked ones have wide distributions, while the three marked ones have very limited distributions.

Parataxis by itself is attested for causals and conditionals, but not for concessives. That is, parataxis by itself cannot have a concessive meaning. Nonetheless, it can have a concessive meaning if it involves *ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dây* 'may'. (The formation of *ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dây* 'may' wil be discussed in 6.5.)

Both for subordination and parataxis, the relative order of clauses plays an important role regarding the acceptability of sentences.

The sentential examples given below were constructed by the author or her two native speaker consultants, employing 'Questionnaire for Five Levels' (Tasaku Tsunoda, this volume-a). The acceptability judgements for all the constructed examples are from the two consultants who speak Central Thai. The main consultant is Akrachai Mongkolchai (Consultant AM). He was born and grew up in Samut Prakan province which is part of Bangkok Metropolitan Region. According to his acceptability judgements, the markers '?' and '*', which respectively mean 'marginally acceptable' and 'not acceptable', will be put in front of the examples in question. Another consultant or the vice-consultant is Tasanee Methapisit (Consultant TM). She was born and grew up in Bangkok. It will be mentioned how she reports her judgements concerning the acceptability of the examples when her judgements differ from the main consultant's.

'Questionnaire for Five Levels' includes the following three parts: (i) 2. Sentences for elicitation (first stage): five levels of causal, conditional, and concessive, (ii) 3. Sentences for elicitation (second stage): other semantic areas, and (iii) 4. Sentences for elicitation (third stage): 'but' and 'and'. The data obtained regarding the first stage is shown in Section 4 (causals), Section 5 (conditionals), and Section 6 (concessives). The data that concern the second stage and the third stage is given in Appendix.

2. Profile of the language

Thai belongs to the Tai branch of the Tai-Kadai language family. It is the official language of Thailand. The population of Thai speakers is 20,421,280 (*Ethnologue*, online version 2013).

Thai has the following phonemes: (a) consonants: /p, t, c, k, ʔ, ph, th, ch, kh, b, d, f, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, y/; (b) vowels: /i, ii, e, ee, ɛ, ɛɛ, ɯ, ɯɯ, ə, əə, a, aa, u, uu, o, oo, ɔ, ɔɔ/; (c) diphthongs: /ia, ɯa, ua/; and (d) tones: Mid, Low, Falling, High, Rising (e.g. maa, màa, mâa, máa, mǎa).

Thai is a typical isolating language. It exhibits zero-marking (neither

head-marking nor dependent-marking) and virtually no affixation (neither derivational nor inflectional). Thai has prepositions. However, like other functional morphemes, often they are not used, especially in oral discourse.

Thai shows a relatively tight connection between the verb (V) and the object noun phrase (O), and it can be considered configurational. The basic orders of clausal constituents are AVO and SV. Usually the A, the S, and the O are not marked for case, and therefore the case system is of the neutral type (A=S=O). Modifiers of a noun, e.g., demonstrative, classifier, and relative (or adnominal) clause, follow the noun. Thai abounds with serial verb constructions. A variety of 'pragmatic particles' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 187-211) are used in Thai oral discourse. They express the speaker's subjective stance towards the propositional information conveyed and/or towards the interlocutor sharing the given speech situation. By the term 'stance' I mean one's feeling, intention, attitude, belief, assessment, perspective, and the like. We can hardly tell the exact number of pragmatic particles in Thai. The main reason for this is that the boundary between the authentic members of pragmatic particles and non-members is fazzy. Besides a number of core members that have established their own respective pragmatic meanings, there are a number of peripheral members that have not done so. Another reason is that pragmatic particles are inherently variable. A range of pragmatic particles that a Thai speaker daily uses considerably differs not only among dialects or generations but also among individuals. (The final particles *sìʔ*, *thə̀ʔ*, *náʔ*, *lâʔ*, *rɔ̀k* and *máŋ* could be regarded to be among the core members of Thai pragmatic particles, while the final particle *láʔ* might be considered peripheral since one may identify it as a shortened form (a varient) of the perfective marker *lɛ́ɛw* 'PFV'. The pragmatic senses of these particles will be explained in relevant sections below.)

The Thai writing system was created in the thirteenth century. There is an important difference between the written and the spoken languages that is relevant to the aim of the present chapter. That is, subordination is generally used in the written language, while parataxis is mainly used in the spoken language.

3. Subordination, coordination and parataxis

3.1 Types of clause linkage

As is the case with many other languages, classification of clause linkage types in Thai is not a straightforward matter. For the purpose of the present chapter, the clause linkage types in Thai can be classified into three groups: (i) subordination, (ii) coordination, and (iii) parataxis, as shown below. 'X' and 'Y' each represent clauses. For the reader's convenience, examples of clause linkage markers ('CLMs') and sentenecs are represented with English words, not Thai words.

(i) Subordination
   (i-1) Subordination proper, e.g.:

$_S$[X *if*] + $_M$[Y]   'If spring comes, flowers bloom.' E.g. (2-2-1-1)-(a1) in 5.1.

$_M$[Y] + $_S$[X *because*]   'The ground is wet because it rained.' E.g. (2-1-1-1)-(b1) in 4.1.

   (i-2) Quasi-subordination, e.g.:

$_S$[X *Because*] + $_M$[Y *so*]   'Because it rained, so the ground is wet.' E.g. (2-1-1-1)-(a4) in 4.1.

$_S$[X *if*] + $_M$[Y *then*]   'If it rains, then don't go out.' E.g. (2-2-3-1)-(a2) in 5.3.

$_S$[X *although*] + $_M$[Y *even.so*]   'Although it was raining, even so he went out.' E.g. (2-3-1-2)-(a2) in 6.1.

   (i-3) Quasi-parataxis
[X] + [Y *so*]   'It rained, so the ground is wet.' E.g. (2-1-1-1)-(a3) in 4.1.

(ii) Coordination
   (ii-1) Coordination proper, e.g.:

[X] *but* [Y]   'It rained, but the ground is dry.' E.g. (2-3-1-1)-(c2) in 6.1.

   (ii-2) Quasi-coordination, e.g.:

[X *although even.so*] + *but* + [Y *even.so*]   'Although he wants to eat, but even so he cannot eat.' E.g. (2).

[X] + *and so* + [Y *so*]   'It rained, and so the ground is wet.' E.g., (2-1-1-1)-(c3) in 4.1.

[X *if*] + *and then* + [Y]   'If spring comes, and then flowers bloom.' E.g. (2-2-1-1)-(a5) in 5.1.

(iii) Parataxis proper
   (iii-1) [X] + [Y]   'It rained. The ground is wet.' E.g. (2-1-1-1)-(c1) in 4.1.

   (iii-2) [Y] + [X]   'Don't go out. It is raining.' E.g. (2-1-3-1)-(d1) in 4.3.

Specific details of these clause linkage types follow.
   (iii) Parataxis proper
This does not employ any CLM. It just involves juxtaposition of two clauses.
   (i) Subordination
In subordination proper, a CLM occurs at the beginning or the end of the subordinate clause or 'supporting clause' (Dixon 2009). The subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause or 'focal clause' (Dixon 2009).
   In quasi-subordination what may be considered a 'subordinate' clause always precedes what may be regarded as the 'main' clause. The formation of quasi-subordination typically involves a pair of CLMs. In the preceding subordinate clause, one CLM occurs at its beginning and/or one CLM

occurs at its end; I shall refer to such a CLM as 'E-CLM' ('CLM occurrig at the extremity position of a clause'). The other CLM appears before the predicate and after the subject noun phrase, if it is present, of the following main clause; I shall term such a CLM 'AP-CLM' ('CLM adjunct to the predicate of a clause'). An E-CLM (such as *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' and *kɔ̂ taam* 'even so') specifies the semantic or logical type of clause linkage. (*Kɔ̂ taam* consists *kɔ̂* and the verb *taam* 'follow'. *Kɔ̂* is a multifunctional discourse marker, and it can be translated as 'then, so, even so'. It can also be used as an AP-CLM.) An AP-CLM (such as *cuuŋ* 'then, so' and *kɔ̂* 'then, so, even so') signals that the main clause containing it expresses a physical or logical consequence derived from a situation denoted by the preceding subordinate clause. An example of quasi-subordination:

(1)   s[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *cɛɛkan*   *tòk*]
         because   vase   fall
      M[(*man*)   *cuuŋ*   *tɛ̀ɛk*]
         (PRON)   so   become.broken
      LT: 'Because the vase fell off, (it), so, became broken.'

(When glossing pronouns, I use the gloss 'PRON (= pronoun)', and not specific glosses, such as '1SG', '2SG', '3SG.M', '3SG.F' and so forth. The pronoun system in Thai, unlike that in Indo-European languages, has not been entrenched as a fixed paradigm, and it is sometimes difficult to provide such a specific gloss.)

   The example (1) includes a pair of causal CLMs: *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' (an E-CLM) and *cuuŋ* 'so' (an AP-CLM). (Generally, a pronoun used as an argument or a complement/adjunct is often absent if the preceding clause contains a coreferential pronoun or NP used as an argument or a complement/adjunct; see (1).)

   In quasi-parataxis, the first clause does not contain any CLM, but the second clause contains an AP-CLM, such as *cuuŋ* 'then, so' and *kɔ̂* 'then, so, even so'. In everyday conversations, a causal expression often contains a colloquial AP-CLM *ləəy* 'then, so' (which derives from the motion verb *ləəy* 'pass, go past') or *kɔ̂ ləəy* 'then, so' and it does not contain any E-CLM or I-CLM (see the definition of 'I-CLM' below), and as a result this yields instances of quasi-parataxis, e.g., (2-1-1-1)-(a3) in 4.1.

   (ii) Coordination
In coordination proper, a CLM, such as *chanán* 'and so', *lakɔ̂* 'and then' or *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', occurs between two clauses. I shall refer to such a CLM as 'I-CLM' ('in-between CLM'). (The formation of *chanán* 'and so' and *lakɔ̂* 'and then' will be discussed in 4.1, in the paragraph that follows (2-1-1-1)-(c1).) Quasi-coordination involves a CLM between two clauses, as is the case with coordination proper. Additionally the first clause contains one or two E-CLMs, as is the case with subordination proper. Furthermore, the second clause may contain one AP-CLM, as is the case with quasi-subordination. That is, quasi-coordination can be a combination of coordination proper, subordination proper and quasi-subordination. This will

help to appreciate the difficulty of classifying the Thai clause linkage types in a clear-cut manner. An example of quasi-coordination:

(2) ₛ[*thǔuŋ*   *kháw* *yàak* *kin* *man*   *kɔ̂ taam*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
      although PRON   want   eat   RPON   even.so   but
      ₘ[(*kháw*)   *kɔ̂*   *kin*   *man*   *mây*   *dây*]
        (PRON)   even.so   eat   PRON   NEG   POSS
      LT: 'Although he wants to eat it, but (he), even so, cannot eat it.'

In (2), the first clause contains two E-CLMs: *thǔuŋ* 'although' (which occurs at the beginning of the clause) and *kɔ̂ taam* 'even so' (which occupies the end position of the clause). The second clause contains an AP-CLM: *kɔ̂* 'even so'.

The multifunctional morpheme *kɔ̂* 'then, so, even so' basically functions at the discourse level. It often expresses the speaker's stance such as response, hedging, or criticism/disagreement (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 175-177).

(i-2) Quasi-subordination and (ii-2) Quasi-coordination may look similar. However, (ii-2) differs from (i-2) in that it contains an I-CLM ('in-between CLM'). (i-3) Quasi-parataxis differs from (iii) Parataxis proper in that it involves an AP-CLM.

AP-CLMs are used frequently. That is, (i-2) Quasi-subordination, (i-3) Quasi-parataxis, and (ii-2) Quasi-coordination are used frequently.

Subordination is generally used in the written language, while parataxis proper is mainly used in the spoken language.

As noted in Section 2, Thai abounds with serial verb constructions. Examples:

(3) *cɛɛkan*   *tòk*   *tɛ̀ɛk*
     vase   fall   become.broken
     'The vase fell off and became broken.'
(4) *lûuk bɔɔn* *klîŋ*   *pay*
     ball   roll   go
     'The ball went rolling.'

Serial verb constructions in Thai involve serialization of more than one verb phrase with no overt linker. A serial verb construction forms a single clause. This is evident from the fact that when it is modified by an aspectual marker or a modal marker, the whole construction is within the scope of the modification (Takahashi 2009). Examples (3) and (4) are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. That is, they do not involve clause linkage. In view of this, serial verb constructions will not be included in the following discussion.

3.2 Inventory of clause linkage markers

Thai has a large number of CLMs in a wide range of semantic areas. These CLMs are of three types in terms of their structure: (i) a single morpheme,

(ii) a single compound word, and (iii) a form composed of a single morpheme or a single compound word and some other morpheme/word. The CLMs of (i) and (ii) are 'simplex', while those of (iii) are 'complex'. For the three semantic areas under investigation, i.e. causal, conditional and concessive, simplex CLMs include the following.

Simplex CLMs
(a) Causal ('because', 'so')
   AP-CLMs: *cuɯŋ, ləəy, thɯ̌ŋ, kɔ̂.*
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *phrɔ́ʔ, dûay.*
   I-CLMs: *chanán, chaníi.*
(b) Conditional ('if', 'then')
   AP-CLM: *kɔ̂*
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *thâa, hàak.*
   I-CLMs: *lakɔ̂, ŋáŋ.*
(c) Concessive ('although', 'even so')
   AP-CLM: *kɔ̂.*
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *thɯ̌ŋ, mɛ́ɛ, mɛ́ɛn, tháŋ tháŋ, hây, khanàat.*
   I-CLMs: *tɛ̀ɛ, tháwâa, yaŋŋay yaŋŋay.*

Complex CLMs include the following.

Complex CLMs
(a) Causal ('because', 'so')
   AP-CLMs: *kɔ̂ cuɯŋ, kɔ̂ ləəy.*
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *nɯ̂aŋ càak, sɯ̀ɯɯp nɯ̂aŋ maa càak, nɯ̂aŋ càak wâa, nɯ̂aŋ dûay, nɯ̂aŋ dûay wâa, nɯ̂aŋ tɛ̀ɛ.*
   I-CLMs: *daŋ nán, daŋ níi, phrɔ́ʔ daŋ nán, phrɔ́ʔ daŋ níi, phrɔ́ʔ chanán, phrɔ́ʔ chaníi, phrɔ́ʔ hèet nán, phrɔ́ʔ hèet níi.*
(b) Conditional ('if', 'then')
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *thâa hàak, thâa hàak wâa, thâa phɯ̀a, thâa phɯ̀a wâa, thâa mɛ́ɛ, thâa mɛ́ɛ wâa, nay mɯ̂a, tɔ̀ɔ mɯ̂a.*
   I-CLMs: *thâa kranán, thâa chên nán, thâa yàaŋ nán.*
(c) Concessive ('although', 'even so')
   E-CLMs in the initial position: *thɯ̌ŋ mɛ́ɛ, thɯ̌ŋ mɛ́ɛ wâa, tháŋ tháŋ thîi, tɔ̀ɔ hây.*
   E-CLMs in the final position: *kɔ̂ taam, kɔ̂ ciŋ, kɔ̂ dii, kɔ̂ châŋ.*
   I-CLMs: *tɛ̀ɛ wâa, tɛ̀ɛ tháwâa, hàak tɛ̀ɛ, tɛ̀ɛ kranán, thɯ̌ŋ kranán, mɛ́ɛ kranán.*

Among the languages investigated in the present volume, in some languages the CLMs for causals outnumber those for conditionals and those for concessives, while in some other languages those for concessives outnumber those for conditionals and those for causals. There are also languages in which these three groups have approximately the same number of CLMs. Thai probably belongs to the last category.

As the representatives of these three semantic areas, the present chapter examines the following six CLMs. They all occur in the initial position of subordinate clauses.

 (a) Representatives of causal CLMs
   phrɔ́ʔ 'because', *nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because'.
 (b) Representatives of conditional CLMs
   thâa 'if', *nay mɯ̂a* 'if'.
 (c) Representatives of concessive CLMs
   thɯ̌ŋ 'although', *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although'.

In each pair of CLMs, one is unmarked, while the other is marked semantically and/or stylistically. Regarding the two causal CLMs, *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' has a generic meaning of causal. *Nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because' (which consists of the verb *nɯ̂aŋ* 'follow' and the preposition *càak* 'from'), too, has a generic meaning of causal. However, it is stylistically marked; it is rather bookish. It may be translated as 'due to, following from'.

As for the two conditional CLMs, *thâa* 'if' has a generic meaning of conditional. *Nay mɯ̂a* 'if' (whch consists of the preposition *nay* 'in' and the temporal conjunction/preposition *mɯ̂a* 'when') has a meaning of what may be termed 'certainty' conditional (as against 'non-certainty' conditional) or 'conclusion-implied' conditional. However, the meaning of *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is not yet fully understood. Intuitively, it has a meaning such as 'If X happens at all, Y is bound to happen', 'Now that X has happened, one should do Y', and 'Now that X has happened, one cannot help Y happening'. Due to its specialized meaning, *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is generally incompatible with the questionnaire sentences and cannot be used by itself. (This will be shown in Section 5.)

Concerning the two concessive CLMs, *thɯ̌ŋ* 'although' (which derives from the verb *thɯ̌ŋ* 'arrive') has a generic meaning of concessive. *Tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' consists of the reduplication form of the quantifier *tháŋ* 'whole' and the word *thîi*, which is a noun with the meaning of 'place' and which can also be used as a nominalizer. *Tháŋ tháŋ thîi* means, roughly speaking, 'despite the existence of all these things/facts'. Depending on the context, it may indicate an emotional nuance, for example, 'despite all these good (or bad) things/facts'.

In each of these three pairs of CLMs, the marked ones are often incompatible with some other word(s) in the same sentence, as alluded to above regarding *nay mɯ̂a* 'if'. As will be expected, in terms of the five levels, the unmarked CLMs have wide distributions, while the marked CLMs have limited distributions. That is, this choice is convenient for the purpose of showing how different CLMs behave differently in terms of the five levels.

We shall now examine how causal, conditional and concessive meanings are expressed in Thai with respect to the five levels.

4. Causals

As mentioned in 3.2, we shall look at *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' and *nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because' for subordination proper of causals. *Phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' is unmarked and it is the less formal and the more common. It is perfectly acceptable at Levels I to IV, but not perfectly acceptable at Level V. *Nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because' is marked and it is the more formal and the less common. It is attested at Levels I to IV, but not at Level V. Parataxis proper is attested at Levels I to III and V, but not at Level IV.

In the following illustration of the five levels, a sentence from 'Questionnaire for Five Levels' is given first, which is followed by its Thai translation(s). The clause linkage type of each of these examples will be clearly indicated.

4.1 Causals Level I

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation.

(2-1-1-1)   Because the rain fell, the ground is wet.
         (a)   Subordination proper: $_S[X] + _M[Y]$
(2-1-1-1)-(a1)   * $_S[\underline{phrɔ́ʔ}$ *fŏn*   *tòk*]
              because   rain   fall
         $_M[phúɯɯn$ *pìak*]
          ground   be.wet
         IM: 'Because the rain fell, the ground is/becomes wet.'

So-called 'stative verbs' in Thai (such as *pìak* 'be wet' and *hĭw* 'be hungry') may have a stative reading (e.g. 'be wet') or an inchoative reading (e.g. 'become wet') depending on the discourse context — unless they co-occur with aspect marker(s) (such as *yùu* 'CONT', *lɛ́ɛw* 'PFV' and *yaŋ* 'IPFV, still, even so').

(2-1-1-1)-(a2)   * $_S[\underline{nɯ̂aŋ càak}$ *fŏn*   *tòk*]
              because   rain   fall
         $_M[phúɯɯn$ *pìak*]
          ground   be.wet
         IM: 'Because the rain fell, the ground is/becomes wet.'

(In terms of the classification of clause linkage types shown in Section 3, (2-1-1-1)-(a1), -(a2) are instances of (i-1) Subordination proper, and to be specific, instances of (i-1-1) $_S[X$ *because*] + $_M[Y]$.) The examples (2-1-1-1)-(a1), -(a2), which do not contain an AP-CLM in the main clause, are not acceptable. By contrast, the examples of (i-3) Quasi-parataxis and (i-2) Quasi-subordination below, i.e., (2-1-1-1)-(a3) to -(a5), which contain an AP-CLM, are acceptable.

In Thai, most of causal CLMs are used in rather formal expressions. (Nonetheless, *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' is less bookish than the other formal CLMs.)

As noted in 3.1, in informal conversations, a cause-and-effect or reason-and-result situation is often expressed with a sentence that contains the AP-CLM (*kɔ̂*) *lə̄əy* 'then, so'. This CLM is colloquial. Also it does not exactly indicate the semantic type of clause linkage. It may have a temporal meaning or a causal meaning. The exact semantic type of clause linkage is not readily understood without discourse context. An example of (*kɔ̂*) *lə̄əy* 'then, so' is (2-1-1-1)-(a3). This is an inatence of (i-3) Quasi-parataxis ([X] + [Y *so*]).

> Quasi-parataxis
> (2-1-1-1)-(a3)   ₛ[*fõn tòk*]
>   rain   fall
>   ₘ[*phúɯɯn (kɔ̂) lə̄əy   pìak*]
>   ground   so   be.wet
>   LT: 'The rain fell, so the ground is/becomes wet.'

In contrast, the examples (2-1-1-1)-(a4), (a5) are literary expressions. They contain the AP-CLM *cɯɯŋ* 'then, so' in addition to the E-CLM *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' or *nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because'. They are instances of (i-2) Quasi-subordination (ₛ[X *because*] + ₘ[Y *so*]).

> Quasi-subordination
> (2-1-1-1)-(a4)   ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fõn tòk*]
>   because   rain   fall
>   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   cɯɯŋ   pìak*]
>   ground   so   be.wet
>   LT: 'Because the rain fell, so the ground is/becomes wet.'
> (2-1-1-1)-(a5)   ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak   fõn tòk*]
>   because   rain   fall
>   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   cɯɯŋ   pìak*]
>   ground   so   be.wet
>   LT: 'Because the rain fell, so the ground is/becomes wet.'

The E-CLM (*phrɔ́ʔ* 'because', *nɯ̂aŋ càak* 'because') can be removed from (2-1-1-1)-(a4), -(a5) (Quasi-subordination). The resultant sentence is of Quasi-parataxis: (2-1-1-2)-(a6).

> Quasi-parataxis
> (2-1-1-2)-(a6)   [*dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
>   child   CLF   that be.hungry rice
>   [*kháw   cɯɯŋ   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
>   PRON   so   cry
>   LT: 'The child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so he cries.'

Furthermore, the example (2-1-1-1)-(a4) (Quasi-subordination) may include the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. The resultant sentence is an instance of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination ([X *because*] + *and so* + [Y *so*]): (2-1-1-1)-(a7).

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-1-1)-(a7)   ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fǒn   tòk*]   *chanán*
                     because   rain   fall   and.so
                  ₘ[*phúɯɯn   cɯŋ   pìak*]
                     ground   so   be.wet
                  LT: 'Because the rain fell, and so the ground is/becomes wet.'

Notice that (2-1-1-1)-(a8) (Quasi-coordination) is not acceptable because it does not contain the AP-CLM *cɯŋ* 'so' in the main clause ([X *because*] + *and so* + [Y]).

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-1-1)-(a8)   * ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fǒn   tòk*]   *chanán*
                      Because   rain   fall   and.so
                  ₘ[*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
                     ground   be.wet
                  LT: 'Because the rain fell, and so the ground is/becomes wet.'

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-1-1-1)-(b1)   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
                    ground   be.wet
                 ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ fǒn   tòk*]
                    because rain   fall
                 LT: 'The ground is/becomes wet, because the rain fell.'

(2-1-1-1)-(b2)   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
                    ground   be.wet
                 ₛ[*nûaŋ càak fǒn   tòk*]
                    because   rain   fall
                 LT: 'The ground is/becomes wet, because the rain fell.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-1-1)-(c1)   [*fǒn   tòk*]
                  rain   fall
                 [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
                  ground   be.wet
                 LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is/becomes wet.'

The example (2-1-1-1)-(c2) is an instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper ([X] *and so* [Y]). It includes the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. (*Chanán* 'and so' is a reduced form of the combination of *chên* 'like, such as' and *nán* 'that'. It occurs in complex causal CLMs such as *phrɔ́ʔ chanán* 'because and.so' (listed in 3.2) which is a reduced form of *phrɔ́ʔ chên nán* 'because such.as that', i.e. 'for that reason'). It does not contain the AP-CLM *cɯŋ* 'so' in the main clause, and so it is not acceptable.

Coordination proper

(2-1-1-1)-(c2) * [*fǒn   tòk*]   <u>*chanán*</u>
            rain   fall   and.so
            [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
            ground   be.wet
            LT: 'The rain fell, and so the ground is/becomes wet.'

The example (2-1-1-1)-(c3) is an instance of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination ([X] *and so* [Y *so*]). Like (2-1-1-1)-(a6) above, it contains the AP-CLM *cɯɯŋ* 'so' in the main clause, and so it is acceptable.

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-1-1)-(c3) [*fǒn   tòk*]   <u>*chanán*</u>
            rain   fall   and.so
            [*phúɯɯn   <u>*cɯɯŋ*</u> pìak*]
            ground   so   be.wet
            LT: 'The rain fell, and so the ground is/becomes wet.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-1-1-1)-(d1) * [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
             ground   be.wet
            [*fǒn   tòk*]
            rain   fall
            LT: 'The ground is/becomes wet. The rain fell.'
            IM: 'The ground is/becomes wet, because the rain fell.'

Note that, for causals at Leve I, (2-1-1-1)-(c1), in which the clause [X] precedes the clause [Y], is acceptable, but that (2-1-1-1)-(d1), which has the reverse order, is not acceptable.

(2-1-1-2)   Because the child is hungry, he/she is crying.
      (a)   Subordination proper: S[X] + M[Y]
(2-1-1-2)-(a1) * S[*phrɔ́ʔ   dèk khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
            because child CLF   that be.hungry rice
            M[*kháw   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
            PRON   cry
            LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, he cries.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-1-2)-(a2) S[*phrɔ́ʔ dèk khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
            because child CLF   that be.hungry rice
            M[(*kháw*)   <u>*cɯɯŋ*</u> *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
            (PRON)   so   cry
            LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so (he) cries.'

The example (2-1-1-2)-(a1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-1-1-2)-(a2) is acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *cɯŋ* 'so'. (2-1-1-2)-(a1) is an instance of (i-1) Subordination proper, to be precise, (i-1-1) ₛ[X *because*] + ₘ[Y], while (2-1-1-2)-(a2) is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination (ₛ[X *because*] + ₘ[Y *so*]). The same applies to (2-1-1-2)-(a3) and (2-1-1-2)-(a4).

          Subordination proper

(2-1-1-2)-(a3) * ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak dèk khon nán hǐw khâaw*]
          because   child CLF that be.hungry rice
          ₘ[*kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
          PRON cry
          LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, he cries.'

          Quasi-subordination

(2-1-1-2)-(a4) ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak dèk khon nán hǐw khâaw*]
          because   child CLF that be.hungry rice
          ₘ[(*kháw*) *cɯŋ* *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
          (PRON) so   cry
          LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so (he) cries.'

      (b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-1-1-2)-(b1) ₘ[*dèk khon nán rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
          child   CLF   that cry
          ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ kháw hǐw khâaw*]
          because PRON be.hungry rice
          LT: 'The child cries because he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(2-1-1-2)-(b2) ₘ[*dèk khon nán rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
          child   CLF   that cry
          ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak kháw hǐw khâaw*]
          because   PRON be.hungry rice
          LT: 'The child cries because he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

      (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-1-2)-(c1) * [*dèk khon nán hǐw khâaw*]
          child   CLF   that be.hungry rice
          [*kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
          PRON   cry
          LT: 'The child is/becomes hungry (for) rice. He cries.'

The example (2-1-1-2)-(c1) is not accepteble. The example (2-1-1-2)-(c2) is also not acceptable. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper ([X] *and so* [Y]).

Coordination proper

(2-1-1-2)-(c2) * [*dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]   <u>*chanán*</u>
child   CLF   that   be.hungry   rice   and.so
[*kháw   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
PRON   cry
LT: 'The child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so he cries.'
IM: 'Because the child is hungry, he/she is crying.'

The examples (2-1-1-2)-(c3), -(c4) are instances of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination (s[X *because*] *and so* M[Y *so*]). They are acceptable. But if they do not contain the AP-CLM *cuŋ* 'so' in the main clause (s[X *because*] *and so* M[Y]), they are not acceptable.

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-1-2)-(c3) [<u>*phrɔ́ʔ*</u> *dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
because child   CLF   that   be.hungry rice
<u>*chanán*</u>   [*kháw   cuŋ   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
and.so   PRON   so   cry
LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so he cries.'

(2-1-1-2)-(c4) [<u>*nûŋaŋ càak*</u> *dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
because   child   CLF   that   be.hungry   rice
<u>*chanán*</u>   [*kháw   cuŋ   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
and.so   PRON   so   cry
LT: 'Because the child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so he cries.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-1-1-2)-(d1) * [*dèk   khon   nán   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
child   CLF   that   cry
[*kháw   hĭw   khâaw*]
PRON   be.hungry   rice
LT: 'The child cries. He is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'
IM: 'The child cries because he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-1-2)-(d1) acceptable.

4.2 Causals Level II

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + judgement.

(2-1-2-1)   Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.
(a)   Subordination proper: s[X] + M[Y]

(2-1-2-1)-(a1)   * _S[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                      because   rain   fall
                  _M[*phúɯɯn*   *tôŋ*   *pìak*]
                      ground   must   be.wet
                  IM: 'Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.'

   Quasi-subordination
(2-1-2-1)-(a2)   _S[*phrɔ́ʔ* *fǒn* *tòk*]
                      because   rain   fall
                  _M[*phúɯɯn*   *cuŋ*   *tôŋ*   *pìak*]
                      ground   so   must   be.wet
                  LT: 'Because the rain fell, so the ground must be wet.'

  Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-1)-(a2) not acceptable. She comments that it becomes acceptable if the epistemic modal marker *tôŋ* 'must' is removed from the main clause.

   Subordination proper
(2-1-2-1)-(a3)   * _S[*nɯ̂aŋ càak* *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                      because   rain   fall
                  _M[*phúɯɯn*   *tôŋ*   *pìak*]
                      ground   must   be.wet
                  IM: 'Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.'

   Quasi-subordination
(2-1-2-1)-(a4)   _S[*nɯ̂aŋ càak* *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                      because   rain   fall
                  _M[*phúɯɯn*   *cuŋ*   *tôŋ*   *pìak*]
                      ground   so   must   be.wet
                  LT: 'Because the rain fell, so the ground must be wet.'

  Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-1)-(a4) marginally acceptable. She comments that it becomes acceptable if the epistemic modal marker *tôŋ* 'must' is removed from the main clause.

   Quasi-parataxis
(2-1-2-1)-(a5)   * [*fǒn*   *tòk*]
                     rain   fall
                  [*phúɯɯn*   *cuŋ*   *tôŋ*   *pìak*]
                    ground   so   must   be.wet
                  IM: 'Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.'

  Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-1)-(a5) marginally acceptable. She comments that it becomes perfectly acceptable if the subordinate clause contains the causal CLM *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' ('Because the rain fell, so the ground must be wet'). See (2-1-2-1)-(a2) (Quasi-subordination).

    (b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-1-2-1)-(b1)   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   must   be.wet

       ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fǒn   tòk*]
       because   rain   fall

       LT: 'The ground must be wet, because the rain fell.'

(2-1-2-1)-(b2)   ₘ[*phúɯɯn   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   must   be.wet

       ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak fǒn   tòk*]
       because   rain   fall

       LT: 'The ground must be wet, because the rain fell.'

    (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-2-1)-(c1)   [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall
       [*phúɯɯn   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   must be.wet

       LT: 'The rain fell. The ground must be wet.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-1)-(c1) marginally acceptable. She comments that it looks like a conditional sentence from which the conditional E-CLM *thâa* 'if' is omitted ('If the fain fell, the ground must be wet').

    The example (2-1-2-1)-(c2) is acceptable. It includes the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

    Coordination proper

(2-1-2-1)-(c2)   [*fǒn   tòk*]   *chanán*
       rain   fall   and.so
       [*phúɯɯn   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   must be.wet

       LT: 'The the rain fell, and so the ground must be wet.'

    Quasi-coordination

(2-1-2-1)-(c3)   ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fǒn   tòk*]   *chanán*
       because   rain   fall   and.so
       ₘ[*phúɯɯn   cɯŋ   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   so   must   be.wet

       LT: 'Because the rain fell, and so the ground must be wet.'

(2-1-2-1)-(c4)   ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak fǒn   tòk*]   *chanán*
       because   rain   fall   and.so
       ₘ[*phúɯɯn   cɯŋ   tɔ̂ŋ   pìak*]
       ground   so   must   be.wet

       LT: 'Because the rain fell, and so the ground must be wet.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-1)-(c3), -(c4) marginally acceptable. She comments that those sentences become more natural if the epistemic

modal marker *tôŋ* 'must' is removed from the main clause. See
(2-1-1-1)-(a7) (4.1).

       (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-1-2-1)-(d1)   * [*phúuun   tôŋ   pìak*]
                ground   must be.wet
                [*fŏn   tòk*]
                rain   fall
                LT: The ground must be wet. The rain fell.'
                IM: 'The ground must be wet, because the rain fell.'

    Tôŋ 'must' has both an epistemic meaning, as shown in the examples
above, and a deontic meaning, as shown in the examples below.

(2-1-2-2)   Because the rain is falling, he has to stay in the house.
       (a)   Subordination proper: _S[X] + _M[Y]
(2-1-2-2)-(a1)   * _S[*phrɔ́ʔ   fŏn tòk   yùu*]
              because rain fall   CONT
             _M[*kháw   tôŋ yùu bâan*]
              PRON   must stay   house
              LT: 'Because the rain is falling, he has to stay in the
              house.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-2)-(a1) marginally acceptable.

       Quasi-subordination
(2-1-2-2)-(a2)   _S[*phrɔ́ʔ fŏn   tòk yùu*]
              because rain fall   CONT
             _M[*kháw <u>cɯŋ</u> tôŋ yùu bâan*]
             PRON   so   must stay   house
              LT: 'Because the rain is falling, so he has to stay in the
              house.'

       Subordination proper
(2-1-2-2)-(a3)   * _S[<u>*nûaŋ càak*</u> *fŏn tòk yùu*]
              because   rain fall   CONT
             _M[*kháw   tôŋ yùu   bâan*]
              PRON   must stay   house
              LT: 'Because the rain is falling, he has to stay in the
              house.'

       Quasi-subordination
(2-1-2-2)-(a4)   _S[<u>*nûaŋ càak*</u> *fŏn tòk yùu*]
              because   rain fall   CONT
             _M[*kháw <u>cɯŋ</u> tôŋ yùu   bâan*]
             PRON   so   must stay   house
              LT: 'Because the rain is falling, so he has to stay in the

house.'

(b) Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-1-2-2)-(b1) ₘ[*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
 PRON   must   stay   house
ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   fǒn tòk yùu*]
because   rain   fall   CONT
LT: 'He has to stay in the house because the rain is falling.'

(2-1-2-2)-(b2) ₘ[*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
 PRON   must   stay   house
ₛ[*nûaŋ càak fǒn tòk yùu*]
 because   rain   fall   CONT
LT: 'He has to stay in the house because the rain is falling.'

(c) Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-2-2)-(c1) [*fǒn   tòk   yùu*]
 rain   fall   CONT
[*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
PRON   must   stay   house
LT: 'The rain is falling. He has to stay in the house.'
IM: 'Because the rain is falling, he has to stay in the house.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-2-2)-(c1) not acceptable.

The example (2-1-2-2)-(c2) is acceptable. It includes the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-1-2-2)-(c2) [*fǒn   tòk   yùu*]   *chanán*
 rain   fall   CONT   and.so
[*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
PRON   must   stay   house
LT: 'The rain is falling, and so he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-2-2)-(c3) ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ fǒn tòk yùu*]   *chanán*
 because   rain   fall   CONT   and.so
ₘ[*kháw   cuuŋ   tôŋ yùu bâan*]
 PRON   so   must   stay   house
LT: 'Because the rain is falling, and so he has to stay in the house.'

(2-1-2-2)-(c4) ₛ[*nûaŋ càak fǒn tòk yùu*]   *chanán*
 because   rain   fall   CONT   and.so

_M[*kháw cɯɯŋ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
  PRON so must stay house
LT: 'Because the rain is falling, and so he has to stay in the house.'

       Quasi-parataxis
(2-1-2-2)-(c5) [*fǒn tòk yùu*]
      rain fall CONT
      [*kháw cɯɯŋ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
      PRON so must stay house
      LT: 'The rain is falling, so he has to stay in the house.'

    (d) Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-1-2-2)-(d1) * [*kháw tôŋ yùu bâan*]
      PRON must stay house
      [*fǒn tòk yùu*]
      rain fall CONT
      LT: 'He has to stay in the house. The rain is falling.'

4.3 Causals Level III

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + interpersonal effect.

(2-1-3-1) Don't go out because the rain is falling.
    (a) Subordination proper: _S[X] + _M[Y]
(2-1-3-1)-(a1) * _S[*phrɔ́ʔ fǒn tòk yùu*]
      because rain fall CONT
      _M[(*khun*) *yàa ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
      (PRON) PROH exit go outside PRT
      LT: 'Because the rain is falling, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'
      IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'

    (*Sìʔ* is a final particle. It expresses the speaker's conviction, firm belief, and the like. It may be translated as 'I order you so' when used in imperative expressions. In the context of other illocutionary force types, however, it is translated differently, e.g., *mây rúu sìʔ* '(NEG + know + *sìʔ*) (I) do not know, I tell you so' or *nân nâʔ sìʔ* '(that + PRT + *sìʔ*) 'That is it, I am convinced so'.)

    Thai imperative sentences may contain the subject noun phrase (e.g., *khun* 'you' in (2-1-3-1)-(a1)). However, under normal circumstances the addressee is present in the directive speech act and therefore the noun/pronoun referring to him/her is not necessarily used. In Thai, illocutionary force types (such as imperative and interrogative) can be differentiated by means of formal formulaic phrases (e.g. *coŋ* 'IMP' + *VP* for imperative or *karunaa* 'IMP' + *VP* for entreaty) and/or final particles and/or suprasegmental phonemes such as pitch and intonation.

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-3-1)-(a2)　　* s[*phrɔ́ʔ　fǒn　tòk　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　because　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　M[(*khun*)　*cɯŋ　yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　so　PROH　exit　go　outside　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because the rain is falling, so (you) don't go out (, I
　　　　　　　　　order you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'

Subordination proper

(2-1-3-1)-(a3)　　* s[*nɯ̂aŋ càak fǒn tòk　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　because　　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　M[(*khun*)　*yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　PROH　exit　go　outside　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because the rain is falling, (you) don't go out (, I
　　　　　　　　　order you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-3-1)-(a4)　　* s[*nɯ̂aŋ càak fǒn tòk　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　because　　　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　M[(*khun*)　*cɯŋ　yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　so　PROH　exit　go　outside　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because the rain is falling, so (you) don't go out (, I
　　　　　　　　　order you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'

　　　(b)　Subordination proper: M[Y] + s[X]

(2-1-3-1)-(b1)　　M[(*khun*)　*yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　PROH　exit　go　outside　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　s[*phrɔ́ʔ　fǒn　tòk yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　because　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), because the rain
　　　　　　　　　is falling.'

(2-1-3-1)-(b2)　　* M[(*khun*)　*yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　PROH　exit　go　outside　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　s[*nɯ̂aŋ càak fǒn　tòk　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　because　　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), because the rain
　　　　　　　　　is falling.'

　　　(c)　Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-3-1)-(c1)　　[*fǒn　tòk　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　rain　fall　CONT
　　　　　　　　　[(*khun*)　*yàa　ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　(PRON)　PROH　exit　go　outside　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'The rain is falling. (You) don't go out (, I order you

so).'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-3-1)-(c1) not acceptable.

The example (2-1-3-1)-(c2) is acceptable. It includes the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper
(2-1-3-1)-(c2) [*fõn   tòk   yùu*]   *chanán*
  rain   fall   CONT   and.so
  [(*khun*)   *yàa   Ɂɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìɁ*]
  (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
  LT: 'The rain is falling, and so (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

Quasi-coordination
(2-1-3-1)-(c3) * ₛ[*phrɔ́Ɂ   fõn   tòk   yùu*]   *chanán*
  because   rain   fall   CONT   and.so
  ₘ[(*khun*) *cuuŋ   yàa   Ɂɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìɁ*]
  (PRON)   so   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
  LT: 'Because the rain is falling, and so (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'
  IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'
(2-1-3-1)-(c4) * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak fõn tòk   yùu*]   *chanán*
  because   rain   fall   CONT   and.so
  ₘ[(*khun*)   *cuuŋ   yàa   Ɂɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìɁ*]
  (PRON)   so   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
  LT: 'Because the rain is falling, and so (you) don't go out (,
  I order you so).'
  IM: 'Don't go out because the rain is falling.'

Quasi-parataxis
(2-1-3-1)-(c5) * [*fõn tòk   yùu*]
  rain   fall   CONT
  [(*khun*)   *cuuŋ   yàa   Ɂɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìɁ*]
  (PRON)   so   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
  LT: 'The rain is falling, so (you) don't go out (, I order you
  so).'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-1-3-1)-(d1) [(*khun*) *yàa   Ɂɔ̀ɔk   pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìɁ*]
  (PRON) PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
  [*fõn   tòk   yùu*]
  rain   fall   CONT
  LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so). The rain is
  falling.'

(2-1-3-2)   Give the child food because he/she is hungry.

(a)　　Subordination proper: _S[X] + _M[Y]

(2-1-3-2)-(a1)　　* _S[*phrɔ́ʔ　dèk　khon　nán　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　because　child　CLF　that　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　_M[(*khun*)　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　　kháw　sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　take　sweets　give　PRON　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

　　Consultant TM considers (2-1-3-2)-(a1) marginally acceptable.

　　　　Quasi-subordination

(2-1-3-2)-(a2)　　* _S[*phrɔ́ʔ　dèk　khon　nán　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　because　child　CLF　that　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　_M[(*khun*)　<u>*cɯɯŋ*</u>　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　　kháw　sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　so　take　sweets　give　PRON　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

　　　　Subordination proper

(2-1-3-2)-(a3)　　* _S[<u>*nɯ̂aŋ càak*</u> *dèk　khon　nán　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　because　　child　CLF　that　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　_M[(*khun*)　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　　kháw　sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　take　sweets　give　PRON　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

　　Consultant TM considers (2-1-3-2)-(a3) acceptable.

　　　　Quasi-subordination

(2-1-3-2)-(a4)　　* _S[<u>*nɯ̂aŋ càak*</u> *dèk　khon　nán　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　because　　child　CLF　that　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　_M[(*khun*)　<u>*cɯɯŋ*</u>　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　　kháw　sìʔ*]
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　so　take　sweets　give　PRON　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

(b)　　Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]

(2-1-3-2)-(b1)　　_M[(*khun*)　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　dèk　khon　nán*
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　take　sweets　give　child　CLF　that
　　　　　　　　sìʔ]　_S[*phrɔ́ʔ　kháw　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　PRT　because　PRON　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　LT: '(You) give that child sweets (, I order you so), because he/becomes is hungry (for) rice.'

(2-1-3-2)-(b2)　　_M[(*khun*)　*ʔaw　khanǒm　hây　dèk　　khon　nán*
　　　　　　　　(PRON)　take　sweets　give　child　CLF　that
　　　　　　　　sìʔ]　　_S[<u>*nɯ̂aŋ càak*</u> *kháw　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　PRT　because　PRON　be.hungry　rice

LT: '(You) give that child sweets (, I order you so), because he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

    (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-3-2)-(c1)   [*dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
child   CLF   that   be.hungry rice
[(*khun*) *ʔaw khanǒm hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) take   sweets give PRON   PRT
LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice. (You) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

The example (2-1-3-2)-(c2) is also acceptable. It includes the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so'. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-1-3-2)-(c2)   [*dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]   <u>*chanán*</u>
child CLF that be.hungry rice   and.so
[(*khun*) *ʔaw khanǒm hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) take sweets give PRON   PRT
LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-3-2)-(c3)   * _S[<u>*phrɔ́ʔ*</u> *dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
because   child   CLF that be.hungry rice
<u>*chanán*</u>
and.so
_M[(*khun*) <u>*cɯŋ*</u> *ʔaw khanǒm hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) so   take sweets give   PRON   PRT
LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

(2-1-3-2)-(c4)   * _S[<u>*nɯ̂aŋ càak*</u> *dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
because   child CLF that be.hungry rice
<u>*chanán*</u>
and.so
_M[(*khun*) <u>*cɯŋ*</u> *ʔaw khanǒm hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) so   take sweets give   PRON   PRT
LT: 'Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-1-3-2)-(c5)   * [*dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
child   CLF that be.hungry rice
[(*khun*) <u>*cɯŋ*</u> *ʔaw khanǒm hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) so   take sweets give PRON   PRT
LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, so (you) give him sweets (, I order you so).'

Consultant TM comments that sentences including the AP-CLM *cɯŋ* 'so' seems incompatible with the final particle *sìʔ* 'PRT'.

        (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-1-3-2)-(d1)   [(*khun*) *ʔaw khanǒm hây dèk   khon   nán*
                  (PRON) take   sweets give child   CLF   that
                  sìʔ]   [*kháw hǐw   khâaw*]
                  PRT   PRON be.hungry rice
                  LT: '(You) give that child sweets (, I order you so). He is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

4.4 Causals Level IV

Subordinate clause: premise.   Main clause: judgement.

(2-1-4-1)   Because the ground is wet, rain fell.
           IM: BECAUSE the ground is wet, I GUESS/ SUPPOSE/INFER/ CONCLUDE THAT rain fell.'
           (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]

(2-1-4-1)-(a1)   * $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ   phúɯɯn pìak   yùu*]
                     because   ground   be.wet CONT
                $_M$[*fǒn tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
                  rain   fall   PFV
                LT: 'Because the ground is wet, the rain has fallen.'

                Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-1)-(a2)   * $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ   phúɯɯn pìak   yùu*]
                     because   ground   be.wet CONT
                $_M$[*fǒn <u>*cɯŋ*</u> *tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
                  rain   so   fall PFV
                LT: 'Because the ground is wet, so the rain has fallen.'

                Subordination proper

(2-1-4-1)-(a3)   ? $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ   phúɯɯn pìak   yùu*]
                     because   ground   be.wet CONT
                $_M$[*fǒn khoŋ   tòk lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ*]
                  rain   probably fall PFV PRT PRT
                 LT: 'Because the ground is wet, probably the rain has fallen.'

    (The final particle *láʔ* 'PRT' indicates the speaker's emphasis on the fact that a change of situation has occurred.)

    The example (2-1-4-1)-(a1) is not acceptable. However, the sentence becomes marginally acceptable if it contains the epistemic expression *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', as in (2-1-4-1)-(a3). The expression *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' is somewhat colloquial. *Khoŋ* is an adverb, while *máŋ* is a final particle. Both have epistemic meanings. *Khoŋ* expresses 'probability' or

inference based on deduction. It may be translated as 'probably' or 'might'. In contrast, *máŋ* implies doubt: 'I doubt, I guess'. The two independent morphemes for epistemic modality *khoŋ* 'probably, might' and *máŋ* 'I doubt, I guess' are separable. However, the combination of the two is employed in the translation sentences. *Khoŋ* indicates that the propositional content of the sentence derives from the speaker's deductive inference; *máŋ* expresses the speaker's guess embracing doubt. In addition, *máŋ* adds colloquiality to the sentential expression. In order to make some of the sentences listed in this subsection sound natural, both of *khoŋ* 'probably, might' and *máŋ* 'I doubt, I guess' are required.

Quasi-subordination
(2-1-4-1)-(a4)   * ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*   *yùu*]
               because   ground   be.wet   CONT
           ₘ[*fŏn*   *cɯɯŋ*   *khoŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
            rain   so   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
           LT: 'Because the ground is wet, so probably the rain has fallen.'

Consultant TM comments on the sentence (2-1-4-1)-(a4) that the co-occurrance of the two lexical items, the AP-CLM *cɯɯŋ* 'so' and the epistemic modal marker *khoŋ* 'probably', sounds odd. It is better without *cɯɯŋ* 'so'.

Subordination proper
(2-1-4-1)-(a5)   * ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*   *yùu*]
               because   ground   be.wet   CONT
           ₘ[*fŏn*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
            rain   fall   PFV
           LT: 'Because the ground is wet, the rain has fallen.'

Quasi-subordination
(2-1-4-1)-(a6)   * ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*   *yùu*]
               because   ground   be.wet   CONT
           ₘ[*fŏn*   *cɯɯŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
            rain   so   fall   PFV
           LT: 'Because the ground is wet, so the rain has fallen.'

Subordination proper
(2-1-4-1)-(a7)   ? ₛ[*nɯ̂aŋ càak*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*   *yùu*]
               because   ground   be.wet   CONT
           ₘ[*fŏn*   *khoŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
            rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
           LT: 'Because the ground is wet, probably the rain has fallen.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-1)-(a7) acceptable.

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-1)-(a8) * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak* *phúɯɯn* *pìak* *yùu*]
    because   ground be.wet CONT
    ₘ[*fõn* *cɯŋ* *khoŋ*   *tòk* *lɛ́ɛw* *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
    rain   so   probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    'Because the ground is wet, so probably the rain has fallen.'

Consultant TM comments that the combination of the AP-CLM *cɯŋ* 'so' and the epistemic modal marker *khoŋ* 'probably' sounds odd and that it is better if it does not contain *cɯŋ* 'so'.

    (b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-1-4-1)-(b1)   ₘ[*fõn*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
    rain   fall PFV
    ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ* *phúɯɯn* *pìak* *yùu*]
    because ground be.wet CONT
    LT: 'The rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-1)-(b1) marginally acceptable. She comments that it is better if the main clause does not contain the perfective marker *lɛ́ɛw* 'PFV'.

(2-1-4-1)-(b2)   ₘ[*fõn*   *khoŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw* *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
    rain   probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ* *phúɯɯn* *pìak* *yùu*]
    because ground be.wet CONT
    LT: 'Probably rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.'

(2-1-4-1)-(b3)   ? ₘ[*fõn* *tòk* *lɛ́ɛw*]
    rain   fall PFV
    ₛ[*nûaŋ càak* *phúɯɯn* *pìak* *yùu*]
    because   ground be.wet CONT
    LT: 'The rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-1)-(b3) not acceptable.

(2-1-4-1)-(b4)   ? ₘ[*fõn*   *khoŋ*   *tòk* *lɛ́ɛw* *láʔ*
    rain   probably   fall PFV PRT
    máŋ]   ₛ[*nûaŋ càak* *phúɯɯn* *pìak* *yùu*]
    PRT   because   ground be.wet CONT
    LT: 'Probably rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.'

Note that (2-1-4-1)-(a1) (ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]) is not acceptable, but that (2-1-4-1)-(b1) (ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]) is acceptable. Similarly, (2-1-4-1)-(a2) (ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]) is only marginally acceptable, but (2-1-4-1)-(b2) (ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]) is acceptable. This indicates that at Level IV for causals, the order 'ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]' is preferred to the order 'ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]'.

    (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-4-1)-(c1)   * [*phúɯɯn   pìak   yùu*]
        ground   be.wet   CONT
    [*fǒn tòk léɛw*]
    rain fall   PFV
    LT: 'The ground is wet. The rain has fallen.'

(2-1-4-1)-(c2)   [*phúɯɯn   pìak   yùu*]
       ground   be.wet   CONT
    [*fǒn khoŋ   tòk   léɛw   láʔ   máŋ*]
     rain probably fall   PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'The ground is wet. Probably the rain has fallen.'

The example (2-1-4-1)-(c1) is not acceptable. But (2-1-4-1)-(c2), in which the second sentence contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', is acceptable. (It is an instance of parataxis proper.) Also, (2-1-4-1)-(c3) and -(c4), both of which contain the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so', are acceptable. (They are instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper.) Additionally (2-1-4-1)-(c4) contains *khoŋ ... máŋ* 'probably'.

        Coordination proper

(2-1-4-1)-(c3)   [*phúɯɯn pìak   yùu*]   *chanán*
       ground   be.wet CONT   and.so
    [*fǒn tòk léɛw*]
    rain fall   PFV
    LT: 'The ground is wet, and so the rain has fallen.'

(2-1-4-1)-(c4)   [*phúɯɯn   pìak   yùu*]   *chanán*
      ground   be.wet CONT   and.so
    [*fǒn khoŋ   tòk   léɛw láʔ   máŋ*]
     rain probably fall   PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'The ground is wet, and so probably the rain has fallen.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-1)-(c3), -(c4) not acceptable.

        Quasi-coordination

(2-1-4-1)-(c5)   * ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   phúɯɯn pìak yùu*]   *chanán*
       because   ground   be.wet CONT and.so
    ₘ[*fǒn cɯŋ tòk léɛw*]
     rain so   fall PFV
    LT: 'Because the ground is wet, and so the rain has fallen.'

(2-1-4-1)-(c6)   * ₛ[*phrɔ́ʔ   phúɯɯn pìak yùu*]   *chanán*
       because   ground   be.wet CONT and.so
    ₘ[*fǒn cɯŋ khoŋ   tòk léɛw láʔ   máŋ*]
     rain so   probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'Because the ground is wet, and so probably the rain has fallen.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-1)-(c6) marginally acceptable.

(2-1-4-1)-(c7)   * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak   phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]   *chanán*
                          because   ground   be.wet   CONT   and.so
                      ₘ[*fõn   cuŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw*]
                          rain   so   fall   PFV
                      LT: 'Because the ground is wet, and so the rain has fallen.'

(2-1-4-1)-(c8)   ? ₛ[*nûaŋ càak   phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]   *chanán*
                          because   ground   be.wet   CONT   and.so
                      ₘ[*fõn   cuŋ   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   lá?   máŋ*]
                          rain   so   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
                      LT: 'Because the ground is wet, and so probably the rain has fallen.'

            Quasi-parataxis
(2-1-4-1)-(c9)   * [*phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]
                          ground   be.wet   CONT
                      [*fõn   cuŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw*]
                          rain   so   fall   PFV
                      LT: 'The ground is wet, so the rain has fallen.'

(2-1-4-1)-(c6)   * [*phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]
                          ground   be.wet   CONT
                      [*fõn   cuŋ   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   lá?   máŋ*]
                          rain   so   probably   fall   PFT   PRT   PRT
                      LT: 'The ground is wet, so probably the rain has fallen.'

            (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-1-4-1)-(d1)   *[*fõn   tòk   lɛ́ɛw*]
                          rain   fall   PFV
                      [*phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]
                          ground   be.wet   CONT
                      LT: 'The rain has fallen. The ground is wet.'
                      IM: I guess the rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.'

        Consultant TM comments that (2-1-4-1)-(d1) is acceptable if the second clause does not contain the continuous aspect marker *yùu* 'CONT'.

(2-1-4-1)-(d2)   [*fõn   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   lá?   máŋ*]
                      rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
                      [*phɯ́ɯn   pìak   yùu*]
                      ground   be.wet   CONT
                      LT: 'Probably rain has fallen. The ground is wet.'

(2-1-4-2)   Because he is alive, the doctor saved him.
                IM: BECAUSE he is alive, I GUESS/SUPPOSE/INFER/ CONCLUDE THAT the doctor saved him.

     (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]

(2-1-4-2)-(a1)   * $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *kháw*   *yaŋ* *mii* *chiiwít* *yùu*]
                because   PRON   still have life   CONT
              $_M$[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
                doctor   help IND PRON survive
                LT: 'Because he is still alive, the doctor helped him survive.'

              Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-2)-(a2)   * $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *kháw*   *yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
                because   PRON   still have life   CONT
              $_M$[*mɔ̌ɔ*   <u>*cuuŋ*</u> *chûay hây*   *kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
                doctor   so   help IND PRON survive
                LT: 'Because he is still alive, so the doctor helped him survive.'

              Subordination proper

(2-1-4-2)-(a3) $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *kháw*   *yaŋ*   *mii* *chiiwít* *yùu*]
                because   PRON   still   have life   CONT
              $_M$[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *khoŋ*   *chûay* *hây*   *kháw*
                doctor probably help   IND   PRON
              rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
              survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
              LT: 'Because he is still alive, probably the doctor helped him survive.'

    Consultant TM comments that (2-1-4-2)-(a3) sounds more natural if the phrase *yaŋ mii chiiwít* 'to be still alive' in the subordinate clause is replaced with the phrase *yaŋ mây taay* 'still + NEG + die; not to die yet' and the phrase *chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít lɛ́ɛw* 'to help him survive' in the main clause is replaced with the phrase *mây thɔ̂ɔt thíŋ kháw* 'NEG + abandon + PRON; not to abandon him' ('Because he does not die yet, probably the doctor did not abandon him').

              Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-2)-(a4)   * $_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ*   *kháw* *yaŋ*   *mii*   *chiiwít* *yùu*]
                 because   PRON still have life   CONT
              $_M$[*mɔ̌ɔ*   <u>*cuuŋ*</u>   *khoŋ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*
                doctor   so   probably help IND PRON
              rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
              survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
              LT: 'Because he is still alive, so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

    The example (2-1-4-2)-(a1) is not accceptable. In contrast, (2-1-4-2)-(a3) is acceptable; it contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. Similarly, (2-1-4-2)-(a5) is not acceptable, but (2-1-4-2)-(a7), which contains *khoŋ …*

máŋ 'probably', is marginally acceptable.

> Subordination proper

(2-1-4-2)-(a5)   * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak kháw yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
        because   PRON still have life   CONT
        ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
        doctor help IND PRON survive
        LT: 'Because he is still alive, the doctor helped him survive.'

> Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-2)-(a6)   * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak kháw yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
        because   PRON still have life   CONT
        ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   cɯŋ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
        doctor so   help IND PRON survive
        LT: 'Because he is still alive, so the doctor helped him survive.'

> Subordination proper

(2-1-4-2)-(a7)   ? ₛ[*nûaŋ càak kháw yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
        because   PRON still have life   CONT
        ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
        doctor probably help   IND PRON
        rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ]
        survive   PFV PRT   PRT
        LT: 'Because he is still alive, probably the doctor helped him survive.'

Consultant AM comments that (2-1-4-2)-(a7) is only marginally acceptable because the bookish E-CLM *nûaŋ càak* 'because' is not stylistically suitable for this sentence.

> Quasi-subordination

(2-1-4-2)-(a8)   * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak kháw yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
        because   PRON still have life   CONT
        ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   cɯŋ khoŋ chûay hây   kháw*
        doctor so   probably help IND PRON
        rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ]
        survive   PFV FRT   PRT
        LT: 'Because he is still alive, so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

> (b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

Here again, without *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', the sentences are not acceptable, but its inclusion renders them acceptable or marginally acceptable.

(2-1-4-2)-(b1) *_M[*mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
       doctor help   IND   PRON   survive
   _S[*phrɔ́ʔ   kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
   because PRON   still have life   CONT
   LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(b2) _M[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
       doctor probably   help   IND   PRON
   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ]
   survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
   _S[*phrɔ́ʔ   kháw   yaŋ   mii chiiwít yùu*]
   because PRON   still   have life   CONT
   LT: 'Probably the doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(b3) _M[*mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
       doctor help   IND   PRON   survive
   _S[<u>*nûaŋ càak*</u> *kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
   because   PRON   still have   life   CONT
   LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(b4) ? _M[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
       doctor probably   help   IND   PRON
   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ]
   survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
   _S[<u>*nûaŋ càak*</u> *kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
   because   PRON   still have life   CONT
   LT: 'Probably the doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-2)-(b3) not acceptable. Consultant AM comments on (2-1-4-2)-(b4) that like (2-1-4-2)-(a7) above, it is only marginally acceptable because the bookish E-CLM *nûaŋ càak* 'because' is not stylistically suitable for the sentence.

     (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
Here again, without *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', the sentences are not acceptable, but its inclusion renders them acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-2)-(c2) with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' not acceptable.) Also, if the sentence contains the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so', it becomes acceptable; see (2-1-4-2)-(c3), -(c4). (Consultant TM considers (2-1-4-2)-(c3) not acceptable.) (2-1-4-2)-(c3), -(c4) are instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

(2-1-4-2)-(c1) *[*kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
       PRON   still have life   CONT
      [*mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
       doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive

LT: 'He is still alive. The doctor helped him survive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(c2)   [*kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
PRON   still   have   life   CONT
[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây kháw*
 doctor   probably   help   IND   PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw lá?   máŋ]
survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'He is still alive. Probably the doctor helped him survive.'

Coordination proper

(2-1-4-2)-(c3)   [*kháw   yaŋ   mii chiiwít yùu*]   *chanán*
 PRON   still   have   life   CONT   and.so
[*mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
 doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive
LT: 'He is still alive, and so the doctor helped him survive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(c4)   [*kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]   *chanán*
PRON   still   have   life   CONT   even.so
[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
 doctor   probably   help   IND   PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw   lá?   máŋ]
survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'He is still alive, and so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-4-2)-(c5)   * S[*phrɔ́?   kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
 because   PRON   still   have   life   CONT
chanán
and.so
M[*mɔ̌ɔ   cɯŋ chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
 doctor   so   help   IND   PRON   survive
LT: 'Because he is still alive, and so the doctor helped him survive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(c6)   * S[*phrɔ́?   kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
  because   PRON   still   have   life   CONT
chanán
and.so
M[*mɔ̌ɔ   cɯŋ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
 doctor   so   probably   help   IND   PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw lá?   máŋ]
survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'Because he is still alive, and so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(c7)   * S[*nɯ̂aŋ càak kháw   yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
  because   PRON   still   have   life   CONT

chanán
and.so
ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   cuŋ chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
   doctor   so   help   IND PRON   survive
LT: 'Because he is still alive, and so the doctor helped him survive.'

(2-1-4-2)-(c8)   * ₛ[*nûaŋ càak kháw yaŋ mii chiiwít yùu*]
   because   PRON   still have life   CONT
chanán
and.so
ₘ[*mɔ̌ɔ   cuŋ khoŋ chûay hây kháw*
   doctor   so   probably help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ]
survive   PFV PRT   PRT
LT: 'Because he is still alive, and so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

Quasi-parataxis
(2-1-4-2)-(c5)   * [*kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]
   PRON   still   have   life   CONT
[*mɔ̌ɔ   cuŋ chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
   doctor   so   help   IND PRON   survive
LT: 'He is still alive, so the doctor helped him survive.'
(2-1-4-2)-(c6)   [*kháw   yaŋ mii   chiiwít yùu*]
   PRON   still   have   life   CONT
[*mɔ̌ɔ   cuŋ khoŋ   chûay hây kháw*
   doctor   so   probably   help   IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ]
survive   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'He is still alive, so probably the doctor helped him survive.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
Here again, without *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', the sentences are not acceptable. Note, however, that its inclusion does *not* render them acceptable. (Consultant AM considers (2-1-4-2)-(d2) marginally acceptable; Consultant TM regards it to be not acceptable.)

(2-1-4-2)-(d1)   * [*mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
   doctor   help   IND PRON   survive
[*kháw   yaŋ mii   chiiwít yùu*]
PRON   still   have   life   CONT
LT: 'The doctor helped him to survive. He is still alive.'
IM: 'I guess that the doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'
(2-1-4-2)-(d2)   ? [*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   chûay hây   kháw*
   doctor   probably   help   IND PRON

<p style="text-align:right"><i>rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít   lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ</i>]</p>

survive   PFV   PRT   PRT

[*kháw   yaŋ   mii   chiiwít yùu*]

PRON   still have   life   CONT

LT: 'Probably the doctor helped him to survive. He is still alive.'

IM: 'I guess that probably the doctor helped him survive, because he is still alive.'

As noted above, (2-1-4-2)-(d2) is marginally acceptable or not acceptable, despite the fact that it contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. The sentence becomes acceptable if the second sentence contains *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because', consequently becoming a subordinate clause. The resultant sentence is (2-1-4-2)-(b2) above: an instance of (i-1) Subordination proper.

4.5 Causals Level V

Subordinate clause: premise.   Main clause: speech act.

(2-1-5-1)   There is food here, because you are looking for food.
            IM: BECAUSE you are looking for food, I SAY TO YOU
            'There is food here'.
            (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]
(2-1-5-1)-(a1)   *$_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ   khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu*]
                because PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
                $_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                food   be.located here   PRT
                LT: 'Because you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

            Quasi-subordination
(2-1-5-1)-(a2)   *$_S$[*phrɔ́ʔ   khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu*]
                because PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
                $_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin <u>cɯɯŋ</u> yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                food   so   be.located here   PRT
                LT: 'Because you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

            Subordination proper
(2-1-5-1)-(a3)   *$_S$[*<u>nɯ̂aŋ càak</u> khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu*]
                because   PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
                $_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                food   be.located here   PRT
                LT: 'Because you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-5-1)-(a4)   *s[_nɯ̂aŋ càak_ khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu]
                    because   PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
             M[_khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   cɯŋ   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ_]
                    food   so   be.located here   PRT
             LT: 'Because you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

    (_Náʔ_ is a final particle (not a verb) which expresses the speaker's justification, intention, wishes, and the like while being considerate of the addressee's feeling. In expressions for the speech act of directives (such as suggestion, encouragement or command), it may be translated as 'I suggest to you so', 'I encourage you so' or 'I order you so'.)

    (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + s[X]
(2-1-5-1)-(b1)   * M[_khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ_]
                    food   be located   here   PRT
             s[_phrɔ́ʔ   khun   kamlaŋ   hǎa   hɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu_]
                   because PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
             LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so), because you are looking for food.'
(2-1-5-1)-(b2)   * M[_khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ_]
                    food   be located   here   PRT
             s[_nɯ̂aŋ càak_ khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   hɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu]
                    because   PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
             LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so), because you are looking for food.'

    (c)   Patataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
The example (2-1-5-1)-(c1) is not acceptable. However, the sentence becomes acceptable if it contains a stance expression such as an epistemic one _lâʔ sìʔ_ 'I'm sure, I suppose so', e.g. (2-1-5-1)-(c2), or an interrogative one _chây máy_ 'Is this correct?' or 'Right?', e.g, (2-1-5-1)-(c3). (_Lâʔ sìʔ_ 'I'm sure, I suppose so' are particles. They do not contain a verb. The particle _lâʔ_ is used when the speaker wants the interlocutor to make some response.) Also, if the sentence contains the I-CLM _chanán_ 'and so', it becomes marginally acceptable; see (2-1-5-1)-(c4). (2-1-5-1)-(c4) is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

(2-1-5-1)-(c1)   * [_khun   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu_]
                    PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
             [_khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ_]
                    food   be.located here   PRT
             LT: 'You are looking for food. Food is located here (, I suggest you so).'
(2-1-5-1)-(c2)   [(_khun_)   kamlaŋ hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu
                    (PRON)   PROG   seek   food   CONT

       lâʔ sìʔ]
       PRT PRT
       [*khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       food be.located here PRT
       LT: '(You) are finding looking for food, I'm sure. Food is
       located here (, I suggest you so).'

(2-1-5-1)-(c3) [(*khun*) *kamlaŋ hǎa khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu*
       (PRON) PROG seek food CONT
       chây máy]
       right?
       [*khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       food be.located here PRT
       '(You) are looking for food, right? Food is located here (, I
       suggest you so).'

      Coordination proper
(2-1-5-1)-(c4) * [*khun kamlaŋ hǎa khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu*]
       PRON PROG seek food CONT
       chanán [*khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi*
       and.so food be.located here
       náʔ]
       PRT
       LT: 'You are looking for food, and so food is located here (,
       I suggest you so).'

   Consultant TM comments that (2-1-5-1)-(c4) becomes acceptable if it contains another sentence expressing some action such as *chán ləəy ʔaw maa hây* 'PRON + AP-CLM + take + come + give + BEN; so I take (it) for (you)' immediately after the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so' and before the latter sentence expressing a stative situation ('You are looking for food, and so I bring you food. Food is located here (, I suggest you so)').

      Quasi-coordination
(2-1-5-1)-(c5) *_S[*phrɔ́ʔ khun kamlaŋ hǎa khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu*]
       because PRON PROG seek food CONT
       chanán _M[*khɔ̌ŋ kin cuŋ yùu   troŋ níi*
       and.so food so be.located here
       náʔ]
       PRT
       LT: 'Because you are looking for food, and so food is
       located here (, I suggest to you so).'

(2-1-5-1)-(c6) *_S[*nûaŋ càak khun kamlaŋ hǎa khɔ̌ŋ kin yùu*]
       because PRON PROG seek food CONT
       chanán _M[*khɔ̌ŋ kin cuŋ yùu   troŋ níi*
       and.so food so be.located here
       náʔ]
       PRT

LT: 'Because you are looking for food, and so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-1-5-1)-(c7)   * [*khun   kamlaŋ   hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu*]
                      PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
                      [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin <u>cɯɯŋ</u> yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                      food   so   be.located   here   PRT
                      LT: 'You are looking for food, so food is located here (, I suggest you so).'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

The example (2-1-5-1)-(d1) is not acceptable. But the sentence becomes acceptable if it contains a stance expression such as an epistemic/evidential one *hǎn* 'it seems'. (*Hǎn* is a verb and it can also mean 'see'.)

(2-1-5-1)-(d1)   * [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                      food   be.located   here   PRT
                      [*khun   kamlaŋ   hǎa   khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu*]
                      PRON   PROG   seek   food   CONT
                      LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so). You are looking for food.'

(2-1-5-1)-(d2)   [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                      food   be.located   here   PRT
                      [*hǎn (khun) kamlaŋ hǎa   (khɔ̌ɔŋ kin) yùu*]
                      see   (PRON) PROG   seek (food)   CONT
                      LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so). It seems that (you) are looking for (food).'

(2-1-5-2)   There is water here, because you are/look thirsty.
                IM: BECAUSE you are/look thirsty, I SAY TO YOU 'There is water here'.
                (a)   Subordination proper: S[X] + M[Y]

(2-1-5-2)-(a1)   * S[*phrɔ́ʔ   hǎn khun kamlaŋ hǐw   nám*
                      because   see   you PROG be.hungry water
                      yùu]   M[*nám yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                      CONT   water be.located here   PRT
                      LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water, water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-5-2)-(a2)   * S[*phrɔ́ʔ   hǎn khun kamlaŋ hǐw   nám*
                      because   see   you PROG be.hungry water
                      yùu]   M[*nám <u>cɯɯŋ</u> yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
                      CONT   water so   be.located here   PRT
                      LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water, so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Subordination proper

(2-1-5-2)-(a3) * _S[*nûaŋ càak   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
                   because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
                yùu]
                CONT
                _M[*nám   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                  water   be.located   here   PRT
                LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water,
                water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Consultant TM considers (2-1-5-2)-(a3) marginally acceptable.

Quasi-subordination

(2-1-5-2)-(a4) * _S[*nûaŋ càak   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
                   because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
                yùu]   _M[*nám   cuŋ   yùu   troŋ níi*
                CONT   water   so   be.located   here
                ná?]
                PRT
                LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water,
                so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

(b)   Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]

(2-1-5-2)-(b1) * _M[*nám   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                   water   be.located   here   PRT
                _S[*phrɔ́?   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
                  because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
                yùu]
                CONT
                LT: 'Water is located here (, I suggest you so), because it
                seems that you are hungry (for) water.'

(2-1-5-2)-(b2) * _M[*nám   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                   water   be.located   here   PRT
                _S[*nûaŋ càak   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
                  because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
                yùu]
                CONT
                LT: 'Water is located here (, I suggest you so), because it
                seems that you are hungry (for) water.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-1-5-2)-(c1) [*hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám   yùu*]
                  see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water   CONT
                [*nám   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                water   be.located   here   PRT
                LT: 'It seems that you are hungry (for) water. Water is
                located here (, I suggest you so).'

Note that if the verb *hěn* 'see' is absent from (2-1-5-2)-(c1) and the explicit epistemic/evidential meaning ('it seems') gets lost, the sentence is not acceptable.

The example (2-1-5-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so', is not acceptable, even though it contains *hěn* 'see'. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper. (Like (2-1-5-1)-(c2), -(c3) above, if (2-1-5-2)-(c2) contains *lâʔ sìʔ* 'I'm sure, I suppose so' or *chây máy* 'Is this correct?, Right?' in the subordinate clause, it is acceptable.)

Coordination proper

(2-1-5-2)-(c2)　　*[*hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám   yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water   CONT
　　　　　　　　　chanán   [*nám   yùu   troŋ níi   náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　and so   water   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'It seems that you are hungry (for) water, and so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Consultant TM considers that, as is the case with (2-1-5-1)-(c4) above, (2-1-5-2)-(c2) is acceptable if it contains another sentence expressing some action such as *chán ləəy ʔaw maa hây* 'PRON + AP-CLM + take + come + give + BEN; so I take (it) for (you)' immediately after the I-CLM *chanán* 'and so' and before the latter sentence expressing a stative situation ('It seems that you are hungry for water, and so I bring you water. Water is located here (, I suggest you so)').

Quasi-coordination

(2-1-5-2)-(c3)　　* s[*phrɔ́ʔ   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
　　　　　　　　　because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
　　　　　　　　　yùu]   *chanán*
　　　　　　　　　CONT   and.so
　　　　　　　　　M[*nám   cɯŋ   yùu   troŋ níi   náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　water   so   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water, and so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

(2-1-5-2)-(c4)　　* s[*nûaŋ càak   hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám*
　　　　　　　　　because   see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water
　　　　　　　　　yùu]   *chanán*
　　　　　　　　　CONT   and.so
　　　　　　　　　M[*nám   cɯŋ   yùu   troŋ níi   náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　water   so   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Because it seems that you are hungry (for) water, and so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-1-5-2)-(c5)　　*[*hěn   khun   kamlaŋ   hǐw   nám   yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　see   you   PROG   be.hungry   water   CONT

[*nám* <u>*cɯɯŋ*</u> *yùu* *troŋ níi náʔ*]
water so be.located here PRT
LT: 'It seems that you are hungry (for) water, so water is located here (, I suggest you so).'

The example (2-1-5-2)-(c5) is acceptable if it does not contain the AP-CLM *cɯɯŋ* 'so'; see (2-1-5-2)-(c1) (Parataxis proper).

(d) Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-1-5-2)-(d1) [*nám* *yùu* *troŋ níi náʔ*]
 water be.located here PRT
[*hěn khun kamlaŋ hǐw nám yùu*]
see you PROG be.hungry water CONT
LT: 'Water is located here. It seems that you are hungry (for) water.'

5. Conditionals

We shall examine *thâa* 'if' and *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' for subordination of conditionals. *Thâa* 'if' is unmarked, being the common conditional CLM, while *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is marked. It has a meaning of what may be termed 'certainty' conditional (as against 'non-certainty' conditional) or 'conclusion-implied' conditional. However, the meaning of *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is not yet fully understood. Intuitively, it has a meaning such as 'If X happens at all, Y is bound to happen', 'Now that X has happened, one should do Y', and 'Now that X has happened, one cannot help Y happening'. The CLM *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is incompatible with a description of a situation that occurs in non-specific, future circumstances. It is used for expressing a certainly realized condition, under which a certain situation is believed to occur. Due to its specialized meaning, *nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is generally incompatible with the questionnaire sentences and cannot be used by itself to translate them.

For subordination proper, *thâa* 'if' is attested at all of the five levels except for Level IV, at which it is acceptable if the sentence contains the epistemic expression *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. *Nay mɯ̂a* 'if' is acceptable at Level IV only if the sentence involves *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. At Level III it is acceptable if it is used in quasi-subordination, involving the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then, so'. Parataxis proper is attested at Level I, and also at Level IV; at level IV it has to involve *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'.

5.1 Conditionals Level I

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation

(2-2-1-1)   If spring comes, flowers bloom.
(a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]

(2-2-1-1)-(a1) $_S$[*thâa   thŭŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlì?*]
                  if   reach   spring
                  $_M$[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   cà?   baan*]
                  flower   IRR   bloom
                  LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, flowers bloom.'
                  IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

        Quasi-subordination
(2-2-1-1)-(a2) $_S$[*thâa   thŭŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlì?*]
                  if   reach   spring
                  $_M$[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   kɔ̂   cà?   baan*]
                  flower   then   IRR   bloom
                  LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, then flowers bloom.'
                  IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

    For (a1), the temporal CLM *mûa* 'when' can be used in place of *thâa* 'if'.

        Subordination proper
(2-2-1-1)-(a3) $_S$[*mûa   thŭŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlì?*]
                  when   reach   spring
                  $_M$[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   cà?   baan*]
                  flower   IRR   bloom
                  LT: 'When (it) reaches spring, flowers bloom.'
                  IM: 'When spring comes, flowers bloom.'

        Quasi-subordination
(2-2-1-1)-(a4) $_S$[*mûa   thŭŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlì?*]
                  when   reach   spring
                  $_M$[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   kɔ̂   cà?   baan*]
                  flower   then IRR   bloom
                  LT: 'When (it) reaches spring, then flowers bloom.'
                  IM: 'When spring comes, flowers bloom.'

    The example (2-2-1-1)-(a1) may include the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then'.
(*Lâkɔ̂* 'and then' is a reduced form of the combination of *lɛ́ɛw* 'PFV' and *kɔ̂* 'then, so'.) The resultant sentence is an instance of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination: (2-2-1-1)-(a5).

        Quasi-coordination
(2-2-1-1)-(a5) $_S$[*thâa   thŭŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlì?*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                  if   reach   spring   and.then
                  $_M$[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   cà?   baan*]
                  flower   IRR   bloom
                  LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, and then flowers bloom.'
                  IM: 'If spring comes, and then flowers bloom.'

Subordination proper

(2-2-1-1)-(a6)   * _S[*nay mûa   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
        if   reach   pring
        _M[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   IRR   bloom
        LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, flowers bloom.'
        IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-1-1)-(a7)   * _S[*nay mûa   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
        if   reach   pring
        _M[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   kɔ̂   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   then IRR bloom
        LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, then flowers bloom.'
        IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

Quasi-coordination

(2-2-1-1)-(a8)   * _S[*nay mûa   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]   *lâkɔ̂*
        if   reach   pring   and.then
        _M[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   kɔ̂   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   then IRR bloom
        LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, and then flowers bloom.'
        IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

(b)   Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]

(2-2-1-1)-(b1)   _M[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   IRR   bloom
        _S[*thâa   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
        if   reach   spring
        LT: 'Flowers bloom if (it) reaches spring.'
        IM: 'Flowers bloom if spring comes.'
(2-2-1-1)-(b2)   * _M[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   IRR   bloom
        _S[*nay mûa   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
        if   reach   spring
        LT: 'Flowers bloom if (it) reaches spring.'
        IM: 'Flowers bloom if spring comes.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-1-1)-(c1)   [*thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
        reach   spring
        [*dɔ̀ɔk máy   càʔ   baan*]
        flower   IRR   bloom
        LT: '(It) reaches spring. Flowers bloom.'
        IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

Consultant TM considers (2-2-1-1)-(c1) not acceptable.

The example (2-2-1-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is not acceptable. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

   Coordination proper
(2-2-1-1)-(c2) * [*thŭ̆ŋ rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*] *lâkɔ̂*
      reach spring   and.then
      [*dɔ̀ɔk máy càʔ baan*]
      flower IRR bloom
      LT: '(It) reaches spring, and then flowers bloom.'
      IM: 'If spring comes, and then flowers bloom.'

   Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-1-1)-(c3) [*thŭ̆ŋ rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
      reach spring
      [*dɔ̀ɔk máy kɔ̂ càʔ baan*]
      flower then IRR bloom
      LT: '(It) reaches spring, then flowers bloom.'
      IM: 'If spring comes, flowers bloom.'

   (d) Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-1-1)-(d1) * [*dɔ̀ɔk máy càʔ baan*]
      flower IRR bloom
      [*thŭ̆ŋ rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
      reach spring
      LT: 'Flowers bloom. (It) reaches spring.'
      IM: 'Flowers bloom if spring comes.'

The example (2-2-1-1)-(d1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning shown above. However, it is acceptable for the meaning of 'Flowers will bloom until spring'. In this case, *thŭ̆ŋ* functions like a preposition with the meaning of 'until'.

(2-2-1-2) If rain falls, I always stay in the house.
   (a) Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-2-1-2)-(a1) ₛ[*thâa fŏn tòk*]
      if rain fall
      ₘ[*chán càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON IRR stay house
      LT: 'If the rain falls, I always stay in the house.'

   Quasi-subordination
(2-2-1-2)-(a2) ₛ[*thâa fŏn tòk*]
      if rain fall
      ₘ[*chán kɔ̂ càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON then IRR stay house
      LT: 'If the rain falls, then I always stay in the house.'

The example (2-2-1-2)-(a1) may include the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then'. The resultant sentence is an instance of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination: (2-2-1-2)-(a3).

    Quasi-coordination
(2-2-1-2)-(a3) [*thâa fǒn tòk*] *lâkɔ̂*
      if   rain fall and.then
      [*chán càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON IRR stay house
      LT: 'If the rain falls, and then, I stay in the house.'

    Subordination proper
(2-2-1-2)-(a4) * ₛ[*nay mûːa fǒn tòk*]
       if   rain fall
      ₘ[*chán càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON IRR stay house
      IM: 'If the rain falls, I always stay in the house.'

    Quasi-subordination
(2-2-1-2)-(a5) * ₛ[*nay mûːa fǒn tòk*]
       if   rain fall
      ₘ[*chán kɔ̂ càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON then IRR stay house
      LM: 'If the rain falls, then I always stay in the house.'

The examples (2-2-1-2)-(a4), -(a5) are not acceptable for the intended conditional meaning ('If it rains, (then) I always stay home.'). Rather, they may be understood to express a causal meaning: 'As/Since it rains, (so) I am going to stay home.' This causal sense, I suppose, is based on such a conditional logic that 'if the event of a rainfall happens at all, the event of my staying home is bound to happen; now it has started raining and so I am going to stay home'. It is noteworthy that the verb phrase in the main clause of (2-2-1-2)-(a4) and -(a5) readily co-occurs with the deontic marker *tɔ̂ŋ* 'must' ((*kɔ̂*) *càʔ tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan* '(then) must/have to stay home'). The sentences with *tɔ̂ŋ* 'must' mean that 'now that the event of a rainfall has happened, (then) I should stay home', or with some emotional connotation such that 'now that the event of a rainfall has happened, (then) I cannot help staying home'.

    Quasi-coordination
(2-2-1-2)-(a6) * ₛ[*nay mûːa fǒn tòk*] *lâkɔ̂*
       if   rain fall and.then
      ₘ[*chán kɔ̂ càʔ yùu bâan*]
      PRON then IRR stay house
      LM: 'If the rain falls, and then I always stay in the house.'

Consultant TM comments that (2-2-1-2)-(a6) is acceptable if it contains

the phrase *rúu yùu lɛ́ɛw wâa* 'know + CONT + PFV + COMP; (I) had been aware that' before the phrase *fǒn tòk* 'the rain falls' in the subordinate clause ('If I had been aware that the rain would fall, and then I would stay in the house').

 (b)   Subordination proper: $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X]

(2-2-1-2)-(b1) $_M$[*chán   càʔ yùu   bâan*]
              PRON IRR stay   house
             $_S$[*thâa   fǒn   tòk*]
              if   rain   fall
             LT: 'I stay in the house, if the rain falls.'

(2-2-1-2)-(b2) * $_M$[*chán   càʔ yùu   bâan*]
              PRON IRR   stay   house
             $_S$[*nay mûⁱa fǒn   tòk*]
              if   rain   fall
             IM: 'I always stay in the house, if the rain falls.'

The CLM *nay mûⁱa* 'if' is generally incompatible with the sentences for conditionals that are given in 'Questionnaire for five levels' (Tasaku Tsunoda, this volume-a), and the sentences that contain it are generally not acceptable. See, for instance, (2-2-1-1)-(a4), -(b2), and (2-2-1-2)-(a3), -(b2) above. (They become acceptable under certain conditions; see (2-2-2-1)-(a3), (2-2-3-1)-(a4), (2-2-3-2)-(a4), (2-2-4-1)-(a4), -(b4) and (2-2-4-2)-(a4), -(b4).) This unacceptability of *nay mûⁱa* 'if' is due to its semantic nature described at the beginning of Section 5. That is, *nay mûⁱa* 'if' is incompatible with a description of a situation that occurs in non-specific, future circumstances. It is used for expressing a certainly realized condition, under which a certain situation is believed to occur. Specifially, it has a meaning such as 'If X happens at all, Y is bound to happen', 'Now that X has happened, one should do Y', and 'Now that X has happened, one cannot help Y happening'. Consider, for example, the following sentences (written in English) in the questionnaire: (2-2-1-1) 'If spring comes, flowers bloom', and (2-2-1-2) 'If rain falls, I always stay in the house'. These English sentences describe situations that occur in non-specific, future circumstances, and not certainly realized conditions, under which a certain situation is believed to occur.

 (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-1-2)-(c1) [*fǒn   tòk*]
               rain   fall
             [*chán   càʔ yùu   bâan*]
              PRON   IRR   stay   house
             LT: 'The rain falls. I stay in the house.'

The example (2-2-1-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is not acceptable. It requires the E-CLM *thâa* 'if' in the subordinate clause. See (2-2-1-2)-(a3) (Quasi-coordination). (However, Consultant TM

considers it acceptable.) (2-2-1-2)-(c2) is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper
(2-2-1-2)-(c2)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
                    rain   fall   and.then
                  [*chán   càʔ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   IRR   stay   house
                  LT: 'The rain falls, and then I stay in the house.'

Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-1-2)-(c3)   [*fǒn   tòk*]
                    rain   fall
                  [*chán   <u>kɔ̂</u>   càʔ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   then   IRR   stay   house
                  LT: 'The rain falls, then I stay in the house.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-2-1-2)-(c3) marginally acceptable. She comments that the sentence sounds natural if it contains the E-CLM *thâa* 'if' in the subordinate clause. See (2-2-1-2)-(a2) (Quasi-subordination).

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-1-2)-(d1)   * [*chán   càʔ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   IRR   stay   house
                  [*fǒn   tòk*]
                    rain   fall
                  LT: 'I stay in the house. The rain falls.'
                  IM: 'I always stay in the house, if the rain falls.'

5.2 Conditionals Level II

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + judgement.

(2-2-2-1)   If rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.
          (a)   Subordination proper: S[X] + M[Y]
(2-2-2-1)-(a1)   S[<u>*thâa*</u>   *phrûŋ níi   fǒn   tòk*]
                    if   tomorrow   rain   fall
                  M[*kháw   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   IRR   must   stay   house
                  LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-subordinaton
(2-2-2-1)-(a2)   S[<u>*thâa*</u>   *phrûŋ níi   fǒn   tòk*]
                    if   tomorrow   rain   fall
                  M[*kháw   <u>kɔ̂</u>   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   then   IRR   must   stay   house

LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, then he has to stay in the house.'

Subordination proper

(2-2-2-1)-(a3)   * ₛ[*nay mûɐ   phrûŋ níi   fŏn   tòk*]
                      if   tomorrow   rain   fall
                  ₘ[*kháw   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                     PRON   IRR   must   stay   house
                  LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-subordinaton

(2-2-2-1)-(a4)   * ₛ[*nay mûɐ phrûŋ níi   fŏn   tòk*]
                      if   tomorrow   rain   fall
                  ₘ[*kháw   kɔ̂   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                     PRON   then   IRR   must   stay   house
                  LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, then he has to stay in the house.'

The examples (2-2-2-1)-(a3) and (2-2-2-1)-(a4), -(a5) all involve *nay mûɐ* 'if'. (2-2-2-1)-(a3), -(a4) are not acceptable, but (2-2-2-1)-(a5) is. (In passing, (2-2-2-1)-(a5) is not a translation of (2-2-2-1).) These sentences are additional instances in which the same CLM is acceptable in some sentences although it is intended to be used at the same level, i.e. Level II in these examples. However, Consultant TM consideres (2-2-2-1)-(a5) not acceptable. She comments that it is acceptable if the conditional E-CLM *nay mûɐ* 'if' is replaced with the temporal E-CLM *mûɐ* 'when' ('When spring comes, flowers must bloom').

Quasi-subordinaton

(2-2-2-1)-(a5)   ₛ[*nay mûɐ   thŭŋ   rúuduu bay máy phlìʔ*]
                     if   reach   spring
                  ₘ[*dɔ̀ɔk máy   kɔ̂   tôŋ   baan*]
                     flower   then   must   bloom
                  LT: 'If (it) reaches spring, then flowers have to bloom.'
                  IM: 'If spring comes, flowers must bloom.'

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-2-2-1)-(b1)   ₘ[*kháw   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                     PRON   IRR   must   stay   house
                  ₛ[*thâa   phrûŋ níi   fŏn   tòk*]
                     if   tomorrow   rain   fall
                  LT: 'He has to stay in the house, if the rain falls tomorrow.'

(2-2-2-1)-(b2)   * ₘ[*kháw   càʔ   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                       PRON   IRR   must   stay   house

_S[*nay mûa phrûŋ níi fǒn tòk*]
  if   tomorrow rain fall
LT: 'He has to stay in the house, if the rain falls tomorrow.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-2-1)-(c1)   * [*phrûŋ níi fǒn tòk*]
    tomorrow rain fall
[*kháw càʔ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
 PRON IRR must stay house
LT: 'The rain falls tomorrow. He has to stay in the house.'
IM: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.'

The example (2-2-2-1)-(c1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional) shown above. Nonetheless, it is acceptable for a causal meaning: 'As/Because the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house'. That is, at Level II, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[X] + [Y]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

The example (2-2-2-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional). It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-2-2-1)-(c2)   [*phrûŋ níi fǒn tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
    tomorrow rain fall   and.then
[*kháw càʔ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
 PRON IRR must stay house
LT: 'The rain falls tomorrow, and then he has to stay in the house.'
IM: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-coordinaton

(2-2-2-1)-(c3)   _S[*thâa phrûŋ níi fǒn tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
    if   tomorrow rain fall and.then
_M[*kháw kɔ̂ càʔ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
    PRON then IRR must stay house
LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, and then he has to stay in the house.'

(2-2-2-1)-(c4)   * _S[*nay mûa phrûŋ níi fǒn tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
    if   tomorrow rain fall and.then
_M[*kháw kɔ̂ càʔ tôŋ yùu bâan*]
    PRON then IRR must stay house
LT: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, and then he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-2-1)-(c5)　　* [*phrûŋ níi　fŏn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 tomorrow　rain　fall
　　　　　　　　[*kháw　k ̂ɔ　càʔ　t ̂ɔŋ　yùu　bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　then　IRR　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　LT: 'The rain falls tomorrow, then he has to stay in the house.'
　　　　　　　　IM: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.'

　　　The example (2-2-2-1)-(c5) is not acceptable for a conditional meaning, but it is acceptable for a causal meaning.

　　　　(d)　Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-2-1)-(d1)　　* [*kháw　càʔ　t ̂ɔŋ　yùu　bâan*]
　　　　　　　　　 PRON　IRR　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　[*phrûŋ níi　fŏn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　 tomorrow　rain　fall
　　　　　　　　LT: 'He must stay in the house. Tomorrow the rain falls.'
　　　　　　　　IM: 'He has to stay in the house, if the rain falls tomorrow.'

(2-2-2-2)　　If the child is/becomes hungry, he/she will surely cry.
　　　　(a)　Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-2-2-2)-(a1)　　ₛ[*thâa dèk　khon　níi　hĭw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　 if　child　CLF　this　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　ₘ[(*kháw*) càʔ　t ̂ɔŋ　r ́ɔɔŋ hây*]
　　　　　　　　 (PRON)　IRR　must　cry
　　　　　　　　LT: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (he) must cry.'

　　　Consultant TM comments that (2-2-2-2)-(a1) sounds natural if it does not contain the epistemic modal marker *t ̂ɔŋ* 'must'. This comment applies to all the sentences of (2-2-2-2) below.

　　　　Quasi-subordination
(2-2-2-2)-(a2)　　ₛ[*thâa dèk　khon níi hĭw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　 if　child　CLF　this　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　ₘ[(*kháw*) k ̂ɔ　càʔ　t ̂ɔŋ　r ́ɔɔŋ hây*]
　　　　　　　　 (PRON)　then　IRR　must　cry
　　　　　　　　LT: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then (he) must cry.'

　　　　Subordination proper
(2-2-2-2)-(a3)　　* ₛ[*nay mûːa dèk　khon níi hĭw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　　 if　　　 child　CLF　this　be.hungry　rice

M[(*kháw*)   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 (PRON)   IRR   must   cry
IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (he) must cry.'

       Quasi-subordination
(2-2-2-2)-(a4)   * S[*nay mûːa* *dèk*   *khon níi hǐw*   *khâaw*]
      if   child   CLF   this   be.hungry   rice
M[(*kháw*)   <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 (PRON)   then   IRR   must   cry
IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then (he) must cry.'

      (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + S[X]
(2-2-2-2)-(b1)   M[*dèk*   *khon níi*   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
    child   CLF   this   IRR   must   cry
S[<u>*thâa*</u>   (*kháw*)   *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
 if   (PRON)   be.hungry   rice
LT: 'This child must cry if (he) is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'
(2-2-2-2)-(b2)   * M[*dèk*   *khon níi*   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
    child   CLF   this   IRR   must   cry
S[<u>*nay mûːa*</u>   (*kháw*)   *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
 if   (PRON)   be.hungry   rice
LT: 'This child must cry if (he) is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

      (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-2-2-2)-(c1)   * [*dèk*   *khon níi*   *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
   child   CLF   this   be.hungry   rice
[*kháw*   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 PRON   IRR   must   cry
LT: 'This child is/becomes hungry (for) rice. He must cry.'
IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, he must cry.'

    The example (2-2-2-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional). It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

       Coordination proper
(2-2-2-2)-(c2)   [*dèk*   *khon níi*   *hǐw*   *khâaw*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
   child   CLF   this   be.hungry   rice   and.then
[*kháw*   *càʔ*   *tôŋ*   *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 PRON   IRR   must   cry
LT: 'This child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then he

must cry.'
IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, he must cry.'

        Quasi-coordination

(2-2-2-2)-(c3)   ₛ[*thâa dèk khon níi hǐw khâaw*] *lâkɔ̂*
        if   child   CLF   this   be.hungry rice   and.then
        ₘ[(*kháw*) *kɔ̂* *càʔ* *tôŋ* *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
        (PRON) then   IRR   must   cry
        LT: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then (he) must cry.'

(2-2-2-2)-(c4)   * ₛ[*nay mûa dèk khon níi hǐw khâaw*]
         if   child   CLF   this   be.hungry rice
        lâkɔ̂   ₘ[(*kháw*) *kɔ̂* *càʔ* *tôŋ* *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
        ane.then   (PRON) then   IRR   must   cry
        IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then (he) must cry.'

        Quasi-parataxis

(2-2-2-2)-(c5)   * [*dèk khon níi hǐw khâaw*]
         child   CLF   this   be.hungry rice
        [*kháw* *kɔ̂* *càʔ* *tôŋ* *rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
        PRON   then   IRR   must   cry
        LT: 'This child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then he must cry.'
        IM: 'If this child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, he must cry.'

    The example (2-2-2-2)-(c5) is not acceptable for a conditional meaning, but it is acceptable for a causal meaning.

        (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-2-2-2)-(d1)   * [*dèk khon níi càʔ tôŋ rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
         child   CLF   this   IRR   must   cry
        [*kháw* *hǐw* *khâaw*]
        PRON   be.hungry rice
        LT: 'This child must cry. The child is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'
        IM: 'This child must cry if he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

5.3 Conditionals Level III

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + interpersonal effect.

(2-2-3-1)   Don't go out if rain falls.
        (a)   Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]

(2-2-3-1)-(a1)   * $_S$[*thâa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                  if   rain   fall
                 $_M$[(*khun*)   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*   *sìʔ*]
                 (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                 LT: 'If the rain falls, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

                 Quasi-subordination
(2-2-3-1)-(a2) $_S$[*thâa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                  if   rain   fall
                 $_M$[(*khun*)   <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*   *sìʔ*]
                 (PRON)   then   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                 LT: 'If the rain falls, then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

     The example (2-2-3-1)-(a1) is not acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers it marginally acceptable.) In contrast, (2-2-3-1)-(a2) is acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then, so'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same applies to (2-2-3-1)-(a3) and (2-2-3-1)-(a4).

                 Subordination proper
(2-2-3-1)-(a3)   * $_S$[*nay mûˆa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                  if   rain   fall
                 $_M$[(*khun*)   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*   *sìʔ*]
                 (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                 LT: 'If the rain falls, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

                 Quasi-subordination
(2-2-3-1)-(a4) $_S$[*nay mûˆa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                  if   rain   fall
                 $_M$[(*khun*)   <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*
                 (PRON)   then   PROH   exit   go   outside
                 sìʔ]
                 PRT
                 LT: 'If the rain falls, then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

           (b)   Subordination proper: $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X]
(2-2-3-1)-(b1) $_M$[(*khun*)   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*   *sìʔ*]
                 (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                 $_S$[*thâa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                 if   rain   fall
                 LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), if the rain falls.'
(2-2-3-1)-(b2)   * $_M$[(*khun*)   *yàa*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *khân nɔ̂ɔk*   *sìʔ*]
                 (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                 $_S$[*nay mûˆa*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
                 if   rain   fall
                 LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), if the rain falls.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-3-1)-(c1)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
                       rain   fall
                  [(*khun*)   *yàa   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
                   (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                  LT: 'The rain falls. (You) don't go out (, I order you so).'
                  IM: 'If the rain falls, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

　　　The example (2-2-3-1)-(c1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional) shown above. Nonetheless, it is acceptable for a causal meaning if the subordinate clause contains the continuous aspect marker *yùu* 'CONT': 'As/Because the rain is falling, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).' That is, at Level III, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[X] + [Y]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

　　　The example (2-2-3-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is not acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional). It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper. Like (2-2-3-1)-(c1) above, it is acceptable for a causal meaning if the subordinate clause contains the continuous aspect marker *yùu* 'CONT': 'The rain is falling, and so (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

　　　　Coordination proper

(2-2-3-1)-(c2)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                       rain   fall   and.then
                  [(*khun*)   *yàa   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
                   (PRON)   PROH   exit   go   outside   PRT
                  LT: 'The rain falls, and then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'
                  IM: 'If the rain falls, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

　　　Consultant TM considers (2-2-3-1)-(c2) acceptable. She comments that it sounds natural if the final particle *sìʔ* 'PRT' is replaced with the final particle *náʔ* 'PRT'.

　　　　Quasi-coordination

(2-2-3-1)-(c3)   ₛ[*thâa   fǒn   tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                   if   rain   fall   and.then
                  ₘ[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   yàa   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
                   (PRON)   then   PROH exit   go   outside   PRT
                  LT: 'If the rain falls, and then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

(2-2-3-1)-(c4)   * ₛ[*nay mûːa fǒk   tòk*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                       if   rain   fall   and.then
                  ₘ[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   yàa ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khân nɔ̂ɔk*
                   (PRON)   then   PROH exit   go   outside

sìʔ]
PRT
LT: 'If the rain falls, and then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-3-1)-(c5)   * [*fŏn   tòk*]
    rain   fall
[(*khun*) *kɔ̂ yàa   ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk sìʔ*]
(PRON) then PROH exit   go   outside   PRT
LT: 'The rain falls, then (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'
IM: 'If the rain falls, (you) don't go out (, I order you so).'

Like (2-2-3-1)-(c1), -(c2) above, (2-2-3-1)-(c5) is not acceptable for a conditional meaning, but it is acceptable for a causal meaning if the subordinate clause contains the continuous aspect marker *yùu* 'CONT': 'The rain is falling, so (you) don't go out (, I order you so).' However, Consultant TM considers it acceptable for a conditional meaning.

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-3-1)-(d1)   * [(*khun*) *yàa   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk   sìʔ*]
(PRON) PROH   exit go outside   PRT
[*fŏn   tòk*]
rain   fall
LT: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so). The rain falls.'
IM: '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), if the rain falls.'

The example (2-2-3-1)-(d1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional) shown above. Nonetheless, it is acceptable for a causal meaning if the subordinate clause contains the continuous aspect marker *yùu* 'CONT': '(You) don't go out (, I order you so), because the rain is falling'.

(2-2-3-2)   Give the child food if he/she is/becomes hungry.
(a)   Subordination proper: S[X] + M[Y]
(2-2-3-2)-(a1)   * S[*thâa   dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
if   child CLF   that be.hungry rice

M[(*khun*) *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw   sìʔ*]
(PRON) take dishes give PRON PRT
LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

Quasi-subordination
(2-2-3-2)-(a2)   S[*thâa   dèk   khon nán hǐw   khâaw*]
if   child CLF   that be.hungry rice

M[(*khun*) *kɔ̂* *ʔaw* *ʔaahǎan* *hây* *kháw* *sìʔ*]
 (PRON) then take dishes give PRON PRT
LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

    The example (2-2-3-2)-(a1) is not acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers it acceptable.) In contrast, (2-2-3-2)-(a2) is acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then, so'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same applies to (2-2-3-2)-(a3) and (2-2-3-2)-(a4).

       Subordination proper
(2-2-3-2)-(a3)   * S[*nay mɯ̂a* *dèk* *khon* *nán* *hǐw* *khâaw*]
         if   child CLF that be.hungry rice
         M[(*khun*) *ʔaw* *ʔaahǎan* *hây* *kháw* *sìʔ*]
         (PRON) take dishes give PRON PRT
         LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

       Quasi-subordination
(2-2-3-2)-(a4)   S[*nay mɯ̂a* *dèk* *khon* *nán* *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
         if   child CLF that be.hungry rice
         M[(*khun*) *kɔ̂* *ʔaw* *ʔaahǎan* *hây* *kháw* *sìʔ*]
         (PRON) then take dishes give PRON PRT
         LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

    Consultant TM comments that (2-2-3-2)-(a4) sounds natural if it contains the deontic modal marker *khuan* 'should, ought to' in front of the phrase *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw* 'to give him dishes' in the main clase ('If that child is/becomes hungry for rice, then you should give him dishes (, I order you so)').

      (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + S[X]
(2-2-3-2)-(b1)   M[(*khun*) *ʔaw* *ʔaahǎan* *hây* *dèk*   *khon* *nán*
         (PRON) take dishes give child CLF that
         sìʔ]
         PRT
         S[*thâa* *kháw* *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
         if   PRON be.hungry rice
         LT: '(You) give that child dishes, if he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'
(2-2-3-2)-(b2)   M[(*khun*) *ʔaw* *ʔaahǎan* *hây* *dèk*   *khon* *nán*
         (PRON) take dishes give child CLF that
         sìʔ]
         PRT
         S[*nay mɯ̂a* *kháw*   *hǐw*   *khâaw*]
         if   PRON be.hungry rice

LT: '(You) give that child dishes (, I order you so), if he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Consultant TM considers (2-2-3-2)-(b2) not acceptable.

(c) Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-3-2)-(c1)   *[*dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
child   CLF   that be.hungry rice
[(*khun*) *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw sìʔ*]
(PRON) take   dishes give PRON   PRT
LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice. (You) give him dishes (, I order you so).'
IM: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

The example (2-2-3-2)-(c1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning shown above (i.e. conditional). Nonethelss, it is acceptable for a causal meaning: 'As/Because that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so)'. That is, at Level III, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[X] + [Y]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

The example (2-2-3-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is not acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers it acceptable.) It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-2-3-2)-(c2)   *[*dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
child CLF   that be.hungry rice   and.then
[(*khun*) *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw sìʔ*]
(PRON) take dishes give PRON PRT
LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'
IM: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

Quasi-coordination

(2-2-3-2)-(c3)   s[<u>*thâa*</u> *dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
if   child CLF   that be.hungry   rice
<u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
and.then
M[(*khun*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw sìʔ*]
(PRON)   then take dishes give PRON PRT
LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

(2-2-3-2)-(c4)   s[<u>*nay mûa*</u> *dèk   khon   nán   hĭw   khâaw*]
if   child CLF   that be.hungry rice

lâkɔ̂
and.then
M[(*khun*) *kɔ̂* *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw sìʔ*]
 (PRON) then take dishes give PRON PRT
LT: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, and then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

        Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-3-2)-(c5)   * [*dèk khon nán hǐw khâaw*]
     child CLF that be.hungry rice
[(*khun*) *kɔ̂* *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây kháw sìʔ*]
 (PRON) then take dishes give PRON PRT
 LT: 'That child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, then (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'
IM: 'If that child is/becomes hungry (for) rice, (you) give him dishes (, I order you so).'

       (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-3-2)-(d1)   * [(*khun*) *ʔaw ʔaahǎan hây dèk khon nán*
     (PRON) take dishes give child CLF that
sìʔ]
 PRT
[*kháw hǐw khâaw*]
 PRON be.hungry rice
LT: '(You) give that child dishes (, I order you so). He is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'
IM: '(You) give that child food (, I order you so), if he is/becomes hungry (for) rice.'

    The example (2-2-3-2)-(d1) is not acceptable for the intended meaning shown above (i.e. conditional). Nonethelss, it is acceptable for a causal meaning: '(You) give the child food (, I order you so), as/because he is/becomes hungry'. That is, again, at Level III, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[Y] + [X]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not. However, Consultant TM condiers it to be acceptable for a conditional meaning.

5.4 Conditionals Level IV

Subordinate clause: premise.   Main clause: judgement.

(2-2-4-1)   If the ground is wet, rain fell.
      IM: IF the ground is wet, I GUESS/SUPPOSE/ INFER/
      CONCLUDE THAT rain fell.
      (a)   Subordination proper: S[X] + M[Y]
(2-2-4-1)-(a1)   * S[*thâa phúɯn pìak*]
       if ground be.wet

_M[*fǒn tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
   rain   fall   PFV
LT: 'If the ground is wet, the rain has fallen.'

     Quasi-subordination
(2-2-4-1)-(a2)   * _S[*thâa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet
       _M[*fǒn kɔ̂ tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
       rain   then   fall   PFV
       LT: 'If the ground is wet, then the rain has fallen.'

     Subordination proper
(2-2-4-1)-(a3)   _S[*thâa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet
       _M[*fǒn khoŋ tòk lɛ́ɛw láʔ máŋ*]
       rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
       LT: 'If the ground is wet, probably the rain has fallen.'

     Quasi-subordination
(2-2-4-1)-(a4)   _S[*thâa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet
       _M[*fǒn kɔ̂ khoŋ tòk lɛ́ɛw láʔ máŋ*]
       rain   then   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
       LT: 'If the ground is wet, then probably the rain has fallen.'

    The example (2-2-4-1)-(a1), -(a2) are not acceptable. In contrast, (2-2-4-1)-(a3), -(a4) are acceptable. They contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. The same applies to (2-2-4-1)-(a5) to -(a8).

     Subordination proper
(2-2-4-1)-(a5)   * _S[*nay mûa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet
       _M[*fǒn tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
       ain   fall   PFV
       LT: 'If the ground is wet, the rain has fallen.'

     Quasi-subordination
(2-2-4-1)-(a6)   * _S[*nay mûa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet
       _M[*fǒn kɔ̂ tòk lɛ́ɛw*]
       ain   then   fall   PFV
       LT: 'If the ground is wet, then the rain has fallen.'

     Subordination proper
(2-2-4-1)-(a7)   _S[*nay mûa phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
       if   ground   be.wet

M[*fõn   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'If the ground is wet, probably the rain has fallen.'

        Quasi-subordination
(2-2-4-1)-(a8)   S[*nay mûɯa   phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    if   ground   be.wet
    M[*fõn   kɔ̂   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   then   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
LT: 'If the ground is wet, then probably the rain has fallen.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-1)-(a8) marginally acceptable. She comments that (2-2-4-1)-(a7) without the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then' is better than (2-2-4-1)-(a8) with it.

    (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + S[X]
(2-2-4-1)-(b1)   *M[*fõn   tòk   lɛ́ɛw*]
    rain   fall   PFV
    S[*thâa   phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    if   ground   be.wet
LT: 'The rain has fallen, if the ground is wet.'
(2-2-4-1)-(b2)   M[*fõn   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
    S[*thâa   phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    if   ground   be.wet
LT: 'Probably the rain has fallen, if the ground is wet.'

    The example (2-2-4-1)-(b1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-2-4-1)-(b2) is acceptable. It contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. The same applies to (2-2-4-1)-(b3) and (2-2-4-1)-(b4).

(2-2-4-1)-(b3)   *M[*fõn   tòk   lɛ́ɛw*]
    rain   fall   PFV
    S[*nay mûɯa   phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    if   ground   be.wet
LT: 'The rain has fallen, if the ground is wet.'
(2-2-4-1)-(b4)   M[*fõn   khoŋ   tòk   lɛ́ɛw   láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
    S[*nay mûɯa   phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    if   ground   be.wet
LT: 'Probably the rain has fallen, if the ground is wet.'

    (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-2-4-1)-(c1)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn   pìak*]
    ground   be.wet

                    [*fǒn*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
                     rain   fall   PFV
                    LT: 'The ground is wet. The rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c2)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]
                    ground   be.wet
                    [*fǒn*   *khoŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
                     rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
                    LT: 'The ground is wet. Probably the rain has fallen.'
                    IM: 'If the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that probably the rain has fallen.'

    The example (2-2-4-1)-(c2) is not acceptable for the intended meaning (conditional) shown above. This is despite the fact that it contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. At Level IV, generally parataxis proper cannot have a conditional reading, even when *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' is added. (2-2-4-2)-(c2) is an exception. It is acceptable for a causal meaning: 'Because/As the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that the rain has fallen'. That is, at Level IV, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[X] + [Y]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

    The examples (2-2-4-1)-(c3), -(c4), which contain the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', are not acceptable. They are instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

        Coordination proper

(2-2-4-1)-(c3)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn* *pìak*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                    ground   be.wet   and.then
                    [*fǒn*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
                     rain   fall   PFV
                    LT: 'The ground is wet, and then the rain has fallen.'
                    IM: 'If the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c4)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn* *pìak*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                    ground   be.wet   and.then
                      [*fǒn*   *khoŋ*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
                     rain   probably   fall   PFV   PRT   PRT
                    LT: 'The ground is wet, and then probably the rain has fallen.'
                    IM: 'If the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that probably the rain has fallen.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-1)-(c4) acceptable.

        Quasi-coordination

(2-2-4-1)-(c5)   * ₛ[*thâa* *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]   *lâkɔ̂*
                    if   ground   be.wet   and.then
                  ₘ[*fǒn*   *kɔ̂*   *tòk*   *lɛ́ɛw*]
                    rain   then   fall   PFV
                    LT: 'If the ground is wet, and then the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c6)   _S[*thâa   phúɯɯn   pìak*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
    if   ground   be.wet   and.then
    _M[*fŏn   <u>kɔ̂</u>   khoŋ   tòk   lέεw láʔ máŋ*]
    rain   then   probably   fall PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'If the ground is wet, and then probably the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c7)   * _S[<u>*nay mûɯa*</u> *phúɯɯn   pìak*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
    if   ground   be.wet   and.then
    _M[*fŏn   <u>kɔ̂</u>   tòk   lέεw*]
    ain   then fall PFV
    LT: 'If the ground is wet, and then the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c8)   _S[<u>*nay mûɯa*</u> *phúɯɯn   pìak*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
    if   ground   be.wet   and.then
    _M[*fŏn   <u>kɔ̂</u>   khoŋ   tòk   lέεw láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   then probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'If the ground is wet, and then probably the rain has fallen.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-1)-(c8) not acceptable.

           Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-4-1)-(c9)   * [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
        ground   be.wet
    [*fŏn   <u>kɔ̂</u>   tòk   lέεw*]
    rain   then fall PFV
    LT: 'The ground is wet, then the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-1)-(c10)   ? [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
        ground   be.wet
    [*fŏn   <u>kɔ̂</u>   khoŋ   tòk   lέεw láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain   then probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    LT: 'The ground is wet, then probably the rain has fallen.'
    IM: 'If the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that probably the rain has fallen.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-1)-(c10) acceptable.

        (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-4-1)-(d1)   * [*fŏn tòk lέεw*]
        rain   fall PFV
    [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
    ground   be.wet
    LT: 'The rain has fallen. The ground is wet.'

(2-2-4-1)-(d2)   [*fŏn   khoŋ tòk lέεw láʔ   máŋ*]
    rain probably fall PFV PRT PRT
    [*phúɯɯn   pìak*]
    ground   be.wet
    LT: 'Probably the rain has fallen. The ground is wet.'

IM: 'If the ground is wet, I suppose/etc. that probably the rain has fallen.'

(2-2-4-2)   If the child is crying, he/she is hungry.
IM: IF the child is crying, I GUESS/SUPPOSE/INFER/ CONCLUDE THAT he/she is hungry.
(a)   Subordination proper: $_S[X] + _M[Y]$

(2-2-4-2)-(a1)   * $_S[$*thâa dèk   khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*$]$
          if   child CLF this cry
     $_M[$*kháw hĭw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*$]$
      PRON be.hungry rice   PFV
     LT: 'If this child cries, he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Quasi-subordinaton
(2-2-4-2)-(a2)   * $_S[$*thâa dèk   khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*$]$
          if   child CLF this cry
     $_M[$*kháw kɔ̂   hĭw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*$]$
      PRON then be.hungry rice   PFV
     LT: 'If this child cries, then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Subordination proper
(2-2-4-2)-(a3) $_S[$*thâa dèk   khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*$]$
      if   child CLF this cry
     $_M[$*kháw khoŋ   hĭw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw láʔ*
      PRON probably be.hungry rice   PFV PRT
     máŋ$]$
     PRT
     LT: 'If this child cries, probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Quasi-subordinaton
(2-2-4-2)-(a4) $_S[$*thâa dèk   khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*$]$
      if   child CLF this cry
     $_M[$*kháw kɔ̂   khoŋ   hĭw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*
      PRON then probably be.hungry rice PFV
     láʔ máŋ$]$
     PRT PRT
     LT: 'If this child cries, then probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

The example (2-2-4-2)-(a1), -(a2) are not acceptable. In contrast, (2-2-4-2)-(a3), -(a4) are acceptable. They contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. (However, Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-2)-(a4) not acceptable. She comments that it is acceptable if the main clause changes into the following: *kɔ̂ khoŋ pen phrɔ́ʔ kháw hĭw khâaw lɛ́ɛw láʔ máŋ* 'then (it) is probably because he becomes hungry for rice'.) The same applies to (2-2-4-2)-(a5), -(a6) and (2-2-4-2)-(a7), -(a8).

Subordination proper

(2-2-4-2)-(a5)   * ₛ[*nay mûːa dèk   khon níi   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                       if   child CLF   this   cry
                    ₘ[*kháw hǐw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
                      PRON   be.hungry rice   PFV
                    LT: 'If this child cries, he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-4-2)-(a6)   * ₛ[*nay mûːa dèk   khon níi   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                       if   child CLF   this   cry
                    ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ hǐw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
                      PRON   then be.hungry rice   PFV
                    LT: 'If this child cries, then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Subordination proper

(2-2-4-2)-(a7)   ₛ[*nay mûːa dèk   khon níi   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                     if   child CLF   this   cry
                    ₘ[*kháw khoŋ   hǐw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw láʔ*
                     PRON   probably be.hungry rice PFV PRT
                    máŋ]
                    PRT
                    LT: 'If this child cries, probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-4-2)-(a8)   ₛ[*nay mûːa dèk   khon níi   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                     if   child CLF   this   cry
                    ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ khoŋ   hǐw   khâaw lɛ́ɛw*
                      PRON   then probably be.hungry rice   PFV
                    láʔ   máŋ]
                    PRT   PRT
                    LT: 'If this child cries, then probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-2-4-2)-(b1)   * ₘ[*dèk khon níi hǐw   khâaw   lɛ́ɛw*]
                       child CLF this be.hungry rice   PFV
                    ₛ[*thâa kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                      if   PRON cry
                    LT: 'This child becomes hungry (for) rice, if he cries.'

(2-2-4-2)-(b2)   ₘ[*dèk khon níi khoŋ   hǐw   khâaw*
                   child CLF this probably be.hungry rice
                    lɛ́ɛw láʔ   máŋ]
                    PFV   PRT PRT
                    ₛ[*thâa kháw   rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
                      if   PRON   cry
                    LT: 'Probably this child becomes hungry (for) rice, if he

cries.'

The example (2-2-4-2)-(b1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-2-4-2)-(b2) is acceptable. It contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. The same applies to (2-2-4-2)-(b3) and (2-2-4-2)-(b4). (However, Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-2)-(b4) not acceptable.)

(2-2-4-2)-(b3)   * ᴍ[*dèk khon níi hǐw khâaw lέεw*]
           child CLF this be.hungry rice PFV
           ꜱ[*nay mûːa kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
           if PRON cry
           LT: 'This child becomes hungry (for) rice, if he cries.'

(2-2-4-2)-(b4)   ᴍ[*dèk khon níi khoŋ hǐw khâaw*
           child CLF this probably be.hungry rice
           lέεw láʔ máŋ]
           PFV PRT PRT
           ꜱ[*nay mûːa kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
           if PRON cry
           LT: 'Probably this child becomes hungry (for) rice, if he cries.'

           (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-2-4-2)-(c1)   * [*dèk khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
           child CLF this cry
           [*kháw hǐw khâaw lέεw*]
           PRON be.hungry rice PFV
           LT: 'This child cries. He becomes hungry (for) rice.'
(2-2-4-2)-(c2)   [*dèk khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
           child CLF this cry
           [*kháw khoŋ hǐw khâaw lέεw láʔ*
           PRON probably be.hungry rice PFV PRT
           máŋ]
           PRT
           LT: 'This child cries. Probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'
           IM: 'If this child cries, I suppose/etc. that probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

The example (2-2-4-2)-(c1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-2-4-2)-(c2) is acceptable. It contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. It is an exception to the tendency noted above that at Level IV parataxis proper cannot have a conditional reading, even when *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'is added.

The examples (2-2-4-2)-(c3), -(c4), which contain the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', are not acceptable. They are instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-2-4-2)-(c3)　　* [*dèk　khon níi　rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　child　CLF　this　cry　　　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　[*kháw　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　be.hungry　rice　PFV
　　　　　　　　　　LT: 'This child cries, and then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(2-2-4-2)-(c4)　　* [*dèk　khon níi　rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　child　CLF　this　cry　　　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　[*kháw　khoŋ　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw láʔ*
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　probably　be.hungry　rice　PFV　PRT
　　　　　　　　　　máŋ]
　　　　　　　　　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　　LT: 'This child cries. Probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'
　　　　　　　　　　IM: 'If this child cries, and then I suppose/etc. that probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

　　　Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-2)-(c4) acceptable.

Quasi-coordinaton

(2-2-4-2)-(c5)　　* ₛ[*thâa dèk　khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　 if　child　CLF　this　cry　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*kháw　kɔ̂　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　then　be.hungry　rice　PFV
　　　　　　　　　　LT: 'If this child cries, and then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(2-2-4-2)-(c6)　　ₛ[*thâa dèk　khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　 if　child　CLF　this　cry　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*kháw　kɔ̂　khoŋ　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw*
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　then　probably　be.hungry　rice　PFV
　　　　　　　　　　láʔ　máŋ]
　　　　　　　　　　PRT　PRT
　　　　　　　　　　LT: 'If this child cries, and then probably he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(2-2-4-2)-(c7)　　* ₛ[*nay mûa dèk　khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　 if　　child　CLF　this　cry　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*kháw　kɔ̂　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　then　be.hungry　rice　　PFV
　　　　　　　　　　LT: 'If this child cries, and then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'

(2-2-4-2)-(c8)　　ₛ[*nay mûa dèk　khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　　 if　　child　CLF　this　cry　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*kháw　kɔ̂　khoŋ　hǐw　　khâaw lɛ́ɛw*
　　　　　　　　　　 PRON　then　probably　be.hungry　rice　PFV

láʔ máŋ]
PRT PRT
LT: 'If this child cries, and then probably he becomes
hungry (for) rice.'

　　　　Quasi-parataxis
(2-2-4-2)-(c9)　　* [*dèk khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
　　　　　　　　 child CLF this cry
[*kháw kɔ̂ hǐw khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
 PRON then be.hungry rice PFV
LT: 'This child cries, then he becomes hungry (for) rice.'
(2-2-4-2)-(c10)　 [*dèk khon níi rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
　　　　　　　　 child CLF this cry
[*kháw kɔ̂ khoŋ hǐw khâaw lɛ́ɛw*
PRON then probably be.hungry rice PFV
láʔ máŋ]
PRT PRT
LT: 'This child cries, then probably he becomes hungry
(for) rice.'
IM: 'If this child cries, I suppose/etc. that probably he
becomes hungry (for) rice.'

　　Consultant TM considers (2-2-4-2)-(c10) not acceptable.

　　　　　(d)　 Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-2-4-2)-(d1)　 * [*dèk khon níi hǐw khâaw lɛ́ɛw*]
　　　　　　　　 child CLF this be.hungry rice PFV
[*kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 PRON cry
LT: 'This child becomes hungry (for) rice. He cries.'
IM: 'If this child cries, I suppose/etc. that he becomes
hungry (for) rice.'
(2-2-4-2)-(d2)　 * [*dèk khon níi khoŋ hǐw khâaw*
　　　　　　　　 child CLF this probably be.hungry rice
lɛ́ɛw láʔ máŋ]
PFV PRT PRT
[*kháw rɔ́ɔŋ hây*]
 PRON cry
LT: 'Probably this child becomes hungry (for) rice. He
cries.'
IM: 'If this child cries, I suppose/etc. that probably he
becomes hungry (for) rice.'

　　The example (2-2-4-2)-(d2) is not acceptable for the intended meaning
(conditional) shown above. This is despite the fact that it contains *khoŋ …
máŋ* 'probably'. This sentence is acceptable for a causal meaning:
'As/Because probably this child becomes hungry [for] rice he cries'. That is,

again, at Level IV, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[Y] + [X]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

5.5 Conditionals Level V

Subordinate clause: premise.   Main clause: speech act.

(2-2-5-1)   There is an umbrella here, if rain is falling.
          IM: IF rain is falling, I SAY TO YOU THAT there is an umbrella here.
          (a)   Subordination proper: $_S[X] + _M[Y]$
(2-2-5-1)-(a1) $_S[$_thâa   fõn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu$]$
               if   rain   still   fall   CONT
               $_M[$_rôm   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?$]$
               umbrella   be.located   here   PRT
               LT: 'If the rain is still falling, an umbrella is located here, you know.'

     (Rcall that *ná?* 'I suggest to you so' is a particle, not a verb.)

          Quasi-subordination
(2-2-5-1)-(a2)   ? $_S[$_thâa   fõn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu$]$
               if   rain   still   fall   CONT
               $_M[$_rôm   _kɔ̂_   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?$]$
               umbrella   then   be.located   here   PRT
               LT: 'If the rain is still falling, then an umbrella is located here, you know.'

     Consultant TM considers (2-2-5-1)-(a2) not acceptable.

          Subordination proper
(2-2-5-1)-(a3)   * $_S[$_nay mûa   fõn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu$]$
               if   rain   still   fall   CONT
               $_M[$_rôm   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?$]$
               umbrella   be.located   here   PRT
               IM: 'If the rain is still falling, an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so).'

          Quasi-subordination
(2-2-5-1)-(a4)   * $_S[$_nay mûa   fõn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu$]$
               if   rain   still   fall   CONT
               $_M[$_rôm   _kɔ̂_   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?$]$
               umbrella   then   be.located   here   PRT
               IM: 'If the rain is still falling, then an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-coordination

(2-2-5-1)-(a5) ? s[*thâa   fŏn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu*]   *lâkↄ̂*
       if   rain   still   fall   CONT   and.then
       M[*rôm   kↄ̂   yùu   troŋ níi   náʔ*]
       umbrella   then   be.located   here   PRT
       LT: 'If the rain is still falling, and then an umbrella is located here, you know.'

(2-2-5-1)-(a6) * s[*nay mûa fŏn yaŋ   tòk   yùu*]   *lâkↄ̂*
       if   rain   still   fall   CONT   and.then
       M[*rôm   kↄ̂   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       umbrella   then   be.located   here   PRT
       IM: 'If the rain is still falling, and then an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so).'

     Consultant TM considers (2-2-5-1)-(a5) not acceptable.

        (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + s[X]

(2-2-5-1)-(b1) M[*rôm   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       umbrella   be.located   here   PRT
       s[*thâa fŏn yaŋ tòk   yùu*]
       if   rain   still   fall   CONT
       LT: 'An umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so), if the rain is still falling.'

(2-2-5-1)-(b2) * M[*rôm   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       umbrella   be.located   here   PRT
       s[*nay mûa* fŏn yaŋ   tòk   yùu*]
       if   rain   still   fall   CONT
       IM: 'An umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so), if the rain is still falling.'

        (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-5-1)-(c1) * [*fŏn   yaŋ   tòk   yùu*]
       rain   still   fall   CONT
       [*rôm   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
       umbrella   be.located   here   PRT
       LT: 'The rain is still falling. An umbrella is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
       IM: 'If the rain is still falling, I infom you that an umbrella is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

     The example (2-2-5-1)-(c1) is not acceptable for the reading (conditonal) shown above. However, the sentence is acceptable for a causal meaning: 'As/Because the rain is still falling, I inform you that an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so)'.
     The example (2-2-5-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkↄ̂* 'and then', is acceptable for the intended meaning (i.e. conditional). It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-2-5-1)-(c2)　　[*fǒn yaŋ tòk yùu*]　　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　rain still fall CONT　　and.then
　　　　　　　　　[*rôm　　yùu　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　umbrella be.located here PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'The rain is still falling, and then an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'If the rain is still falling, I infom you that an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-2-5-1)-(c3)　　* [*fǒn yaŋ tòk yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　rain still fall CONT
　　　　　　　　　[*rôm　　kɔ̂ yùu　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　umbrella then be.located here PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'The rain is still falling, then an umbrella is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'If the rain is still falling, I infom you that an umbrella is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

(d)　Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-2-5-1)-(d1)　　* [*rôm　　yùu　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　umbrella be.located here PRT
　　　　　　　　　[*fǒn yaŋ tòk yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　rain still fall CONT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'An umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so). The rain is still falling.'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'If the rain is still falling, I inform you that an umbrella is located here.'

The example (2-2-5-1)-(d1) is not acceptable for the reading (conditonal) shown above. However, the sentence is acceptable for a causal meaning: 'I inform you that an umbrella is located here (, I suggest you so), because the rain is still falling'. Here again, a conditional reading is not accepable, but a causal reading is. That is, at Level V, when parataxis proper is employed and the clause order is '[Y] + [X]', a causal reading is acceptable, but a conditional reading is not.

(2-2-5-2)　There is food here, if you are hungry.
　　　　　　IM: IF you are hungry, I SAY TO YOU THAT there is food here.
　　　　　　(a)　Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-2-5-2)-(a1)　　ₛ[*thâa khun hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　　if PRON be.hungry rice
　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　food　　be.located here PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, food is located here, you

know.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-5-2)-(a2) ? s[*thâa khun hǐw khâaw*]
     if   PRON be.hungry   rice
    M[*khǒɔŋ kin <u>kɔ̂</u> yùu troŋ níi náʔ*]
    food   then be.located here   PRT
    LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, then food is located here, you know.'

Consultant TM considers (2-2-5-2)-(a2) not acceptable.

(2-2-5-2)-(a3) is an additional example of *thâa* 'if' used at Level V for Subordination proper: s[X] + M[Y]. It is not a translation of (2-2-5-2). (2-2-5-2)-(a5), which contains *nay mûɯa* 'if', is not acceptable.

Subordination proper

(2-2-5-2)-(a3) s[*thâa khun kamlaŋ hǎa khǒɔŋ kin yùu*]
     if PRON PROG seek food   CONT
    M[*khǒɔŋ kin yùu troŋ níi náʔ*]
    food   be.located   here   PRT
    LT: 'If you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, food is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-5-2)-(a4) ? s[*thâa khun kamlaŋ hǎa khǒɔŋ kin yùu*]
     if PRON PROG seek food   CONT
    M[*khǒɔŋ kin <u>kɔ̂</u> yùu troŋ níi náʔ*]
    food   then be.located   here   PRT
    LT: 'If you are seeking [i.e. looking for] food, then food is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Consultant TM considers (2-2-5-2)-(a4) not acceptable.

Subordination proper

(2-2-5-2)-(a5) * s[*nay mûɯa khun hǐw khâaw*]
      if   PRON be.hungry   rice
    M[*khǒɔŋ kin yùu troŋ níi náʔ*]
    food   be.located   here   PRT
    LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, food is located here (, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-2-5-2)-(a6) * s[*nay mûɯa khun hǐw khâaw*]
      if   PRON be.hungry   rice
    M[*khǒɔŋ kin <u>kɔ̂</u> yùu troŋ níi náʔ*]
    food   then be.located   here   PRT
    LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, then food is located here

(, I suggest you so).'

Quasi-coordination

(2-2-5-2)-(a7)　　? s[*thâa　khun　hǐw　　khâaw*]　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　if　　PRON　be.hungry　rice　　and.then
　　　　　　　　M[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　kɔ̂　yùu　　troŋ níi　náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　food　　　then　be.located　here　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, and then food is located
　　　　　　　　here, you know.'

The example (2-2-5-2)-(a7) is marginally acceptable. Consultant TM comments that the sentence sounds more natural if the main clause does not contain the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then'.

(2-2-5-2)-(a8)　　* s[*nay mûa　khun　hǐw　　khâaw*]　*lâkɔ̂*
　　　　　　　　　if　　PRON　be.hungry　rice　　and.then
　　　　　　　　M[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　kɔ̂　yùu　　troŋ níi　náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　food　　　then　be.located　here　PRT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, and then food is located
　　　　　　　　here (, I suggest you so).'

　　　　　(b)　　Subordination proper: M[Y] + s[X]

(2-2-5-2)-(b1)　　M[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　yùu　　troŋ níi　náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　food　　be.located　here　PRT
　　　　　　　　s[*thâa　khun　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　if　　PRON　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so), if you are
　　　　　　　　hungry (for) rice.'

(2-2-5-2)-(b2) is an additional example of *thâa* 'if' used at Level V for Subordination proper: M[Y] + s[X]. It is not a translation of (2-2-5-2). (2-2-5-2)-(b3), which contains *nay mûa* 'if', is not acceptable.

(2-2-5-2)-(b2)　　M[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　yùu　　troŋ níi　náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　food　　be.located　here　PRT
　　　　　　　　s[*thâa　khun　kamlaŋ　hǎa　khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　if　　PRON　PROG　seek　food　　CONT
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so), if you are
　　　　　　　　seeking [i.e. looking for] food.'

(2-2-5-2)-(b3)　　* M[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　yùu　　troŋ níi　náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　food　　be.located　here　PRT
　　　　　　　　s[*nay mûa　khun　hǐw　　khâaw*]
　　　　　　　　if　　　PRON　be.hungry　rice
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so), if you are
　　　　　　　　hungry (for) rice.'

     (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-2-5-2)-(c1)   * [*khun   hǐw   khâaw*]
        PRON   be.hungry   rice
     [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
      food   be.located here   PRT
     LT: 'You are hungry (for) rice. Food is located here (, I suggest you so).'
     IM: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, I inform you that food is located here.'

The example (2-2-5-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *lâkɔ̂* 'and then', is not acceptable. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

       Coordination proper

(2-2-5-2)-(c2)   * [*khun   hǐw   khâaw*]   <u>*lâkɔ̂*</u>
        PRON   be.hungry   rice   and.then
     [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
      food   be.located   here   PRT
     LT: 'You are hungry (for) rice, and then food is located here (, I suggest you so).'
     IM: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, I inform you that food is located here.'

Consultant TM considers (2-2-5-2)-(c2) acceptable.

       Quasi-parataxis

(2-2-5-2)-(c3)   * [*khun   hǐw   khâaw*]
        PRON   be.hungry   rice
     [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin <u>*kɔ̂*</u> yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
      food   then be.located here   PRT
     LT: 'You are hungry (for) rice, then food is located here (, I suggest you so).'
     LT: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, I inform you that food is located here.'

     (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-2-5-2)-(d1)   * [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   be.located   here   PRT
     [*khun   hǐw   khâaw*]
      PRON   be.hungry   rice
     LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest you so). You are hungry (for) rice.'
     IM: 'If you are hungry (for) rice, I inform you that food is located here.'

6. Concessives

We shall examine *thŭɯ̆ŋ* 'althouth' and *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' for subordination proper of concessives. *Thŭɯ̆ŋ* 'althouth' is unmarked, being the common concessive CLM, with a generic meaning of concessive. *Tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' is marked and has a specialized meaning. Roughly speaking, it means 'despite the existence of all these things/facts'. Depending on the context, it may have an emotional nuance, for example, 'despite all these good (or bad) things/facts'.

For subordination proper, *thŭɯ̆ŋ* 'althouth' is attested at all of the five levels. *Tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' is attested at Levels I, II and IV only. Generally parataxis proper is not acceptable. But it becomes acceptable if it involves *ʔàat càʔ…kɔ̂ dây* 'may' (Level V).

6.1 Concessives Level I

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation.

(2-3-1-1)   Although rain fell, the ground is dry.
    (a)   Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-3-1-1)-(a1)   * ₛ[*thŭɯ̆ŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
        although   rain   fall
        ₘ[*phúɯɯn   yaŋ   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
        ground   still   be.dry
        LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-1-1)-(a1) acceptable. She also comments that it sounds more natural if the E-CLM *thŭɯ̆ŋ* 'although' is replaced with the E-CLM *khanàat* 'although, even though reaching this extreme situation' in the subordinate clause and the phrase *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ* 'still be dry' is replaced with the phrase *yaŋ mây pìak* 'be still not wet' in the main clause ('Even though the rain fell, the ground is still not wet'). (The E-CLM *khanàat* derives from the noun *khanàat* meaning 'size, dimensions, proportions')

        Quasi-subordination
(2-3-1-1)-(a2)   ₛ[*thŭɯ̆ŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
        although   rain   fall
        ₘ[*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   yaŋ   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
        ground   even.so   still   be.dry
        LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'

        Subordination proper
(2-3-1-1)-(a3)   ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fŏn   tòk*]
        although   rain   fall
        ₘ[*phúɯɯn   yaŋ   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
        ground   still   be.dry

LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-1-1)-(a4)   ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain fall
    ₘ[*phúɯn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground even.so still be.dry
    LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'

The examples (2-3-1-1)-(a1) to -(a4) may include the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but'. The resultant sentences are an instance of (ii-2) Quasi-coordination: (2-3-1-1)-(a5), -(a6).

Quasi-coordination
(2-3-1-1)-(a5)   ₛ[<u>*thǔŋ*</u>   *fǒn tòk*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
    although rain fall   but
    ₘ[*phúɯn* (*kɔ̂*)   *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground (even so) still be.dry
    LT: 'Although the rain fell, but (even so) the ground is still dry.'
(2-3-1-1)-(a6)   ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
    although   rain fall but
    ₘ[*phúɯn* (*kɔ̂*)   *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground (even so) still be.dry
    LT: 'Although the rain fell, but (even so) the ground is still dry.'

Consultant TM comments that (2-3-1-1)-(a5), -(a6) sound more natural when they include the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'.

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]
(2-3-1-1)-(b1)   * ₘ[*phúɯn*   *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   still be.dry
    ₛ[<u>*thǔŋ*</u>   *fǒn tòk*]
    although rain fall
    LT: 'The ground is still dry, although the rain fell.'
(2-3-1-1)-(b2)   ₘ[*phúɯn*   *yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   still be.dry
    ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
    although   rain fall
    LT: 'The ground is still dry, although the rain fell.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-1-1)-(b1) acceptable.

      (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-1-1)-(c1)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
        rain   fall
      [*phúɯɯn yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   still   be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is still dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'

    The example (2-3-1-1)-(c1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-3-1-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', is acceptable. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

      Coordination proper

(2-3-1-1)-(c2)   [*fǒn tòk*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
        rain   fall   but
      [*phúɯɯn yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   still   be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, but the ground is still dry.'

      Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-1-1)-(c3)   [*fǒn tòk*]
        rain   fall
      [*phúɯɯn <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   even.so   still   be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'

      (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-1-1)-(d1)   * [*phúɯɯn yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
        ground   still   be.dry
      [*fǒn tòk*]
       rain   fall
      LT: 'The ground is still dry. The rain fell.'
      IM: 'The ground is still dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-1-2)   Although rain was falling, he went out.
      (a)   Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]

(2-3-1-2)-(a1)   * ₛ[<u>*thǔŋ*</u>   fǒn   tòk yùu]
        although   rain   fall   CONT
      ₘ[*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
       PRON   exit   go   outside
      LT: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

      Quasi-subordination

(2-3-1-2)-(a2)   ₛ[<u>*thǔŋ*</u>   fǒn   tòk yùu]
        although   rain   fall   CONT

 ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
  PRON   even.so exit   go   outside
  LT: 'Although the rain was falling, even so he went out.'

The example (2-3-1-2)-(a1) is not acceptable. In conrast, (2-3-1-2)-(a2) is acceptable. It contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same applies to (2-3-1-2)-(a3) and (2-3-1-2)-(a4).

     Subordination proper
(2-3-1-2)-(a3)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk yùu*]
    although   rain fall CONT
    ₘ[*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
    PRON exit   go   outside
    LT: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

     Quasi-subordination
(2-3-1-2)-(a4)   ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk yùu*]
    although   rain fall CONT
    ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
    PRON even.so exit go   outside
    LT: 'Although the rain was falling, even so he went out.'

    (b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]
(2-3-1-2)-(b1)   ₘ[*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
     PRON   exit   go   outside
    ₛ[*thǔuŋ   fǒn tòk yùu*]
     although   rain fall   CONT
    LT: 'He went out, although the rain was falling.'
(2-3-1-2)-(b2)   ₘ[*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
     PRON   exit   go   outside
    ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk yùu*]
     although   rain fall CONT
    LT: 'He went out, although the rain was falling.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-1-2)-(b1) not acceptable. As noted at the begining of Section 6 and also as shown in Table 1, *thǔuŋ* 'although' has a wider distribution than *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although', and *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' is often not acceptable where *thǔuŋ* 'although' is acceptable. Despite this general tendency, (2-3-1-2)-(b1) is not acceptable (at least to Consultant TM), but (2-3-1-2)-(b2) is acceptable. This is because the specific concessive CLM *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although' (or 'despite the existence of all these things/facts') is suitable for the content of (2-3-1-2)-(b2), whereas the non-specific concessive CLM *thǔuŋ* 'although' is not. Probably not all but many Thai speakers seem to feel that (2-3-1-2)-(b1) lacks something. Preferably, the subordinate clause of (2-3-1-2)-(b1) ('although the rain was falling'), which is fairly short, should contain, besides the non-specific E-CLM *thǔuŋ* 'although', some additional concessive marker such as one

more E-CLM (e.g. *kɔ̂ taam* 'even so') which helps emphasize the concessive sense.

        (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-1-2)-(c1)   * [*fǒn tòk yùu*]
          rain   fall   CONT
        [*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
        PRON   exit   go   outside
        LT: 'The rain was falling. He went out.'
        IM: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

(2-3-1-2)-(c2)   * [*fǒn tòk yùu*]
          rain   fall CONT
        [*kháw yaŋ ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
        PRON   still exit   go   outside
        LT: 'The rain was falling. He still went out.'
        IM: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

The examples (2-3-1-2)-(c1), -(c2) are not acceptable. However, Consultant TM considers (2-3-1-2)-(c2) acceptable. It contains the aspect marker *yaŋ* 'IPFV, still, even so'. It is still an instance of parataxis proper.

Also, if the example (2-3-1-2)-(c1) contains the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', it becomes acceptable; see (2-3-1-2)-(c3), an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

        Coordination proper

(2-3-1-2)-(c3)   [*fǒn tòk yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
         rain fall CONT   but
        [*kháw ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
        PRON   exit   go   outside
        LT: 'The rain was falling, but he went out.'

        Quasi-coordination

(2-3-1-2)-(c4)   s[*thǔŋ   fǒn tòk yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
         although rain fall CONT but
        M[*kháw kɔ̂   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
         PRON   even.so exit   go   outside
        LT: 'Although the rain was falling, but even so he went out.'

(2-3-1-2)-(c5)   s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
         although   rain fall CONT but
        M[*kháw kɔ̂   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
         PRON even.so exit   go   outside
        LT: 'Although the rain was falling, but even so he went out.'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-1-2)-(c6)   * [*fŏn   tòk   yùu*]
                    rain   fall   CONT
                  [*kháw   kɔ̂   ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
                  PRON   even.so   exit   go   outside
                  LT: 'The rain was falling, even so he went out.'
                  IM: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

(2-3-1-2)-(c7)   [*fŏn   tòk   yùu*]
                    rain   fall   CONT
                  [*kháw   kɔ̂   yaŋ   ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
                  PRON   even.so   still   exit   go   outside
                  LT: 'The rain was falling, even so he still went out.'
                  IM: 'Although the rain was falling, he went out.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-1-2)-(d1)   * [*kháw   ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk*]
                    PRON   exit   go   outside
                  [*fŏn   tòk   yùu*]
                    rain   fall   CONT
                  LT: 'He went out. The rain was falling.'
                  IM: 'He went out, although the rain was falling.'

6.2 Concessives Level II

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + judgement.

(2-3-2-1)   Although rain fell, the ground may be dry.
          (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]

(2-3-2-1)-(a1)   * $_S$[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
                    although   rain   fall
                  $_M$[*phúuun   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                    ground   be.dry
                  LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is dry.'
                      (Acceptable for Level I)
                  IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a2)   * $_S$[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
                    although   rain   fall
                  $_M$[*phúuun   yaŋ   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                    ground   still   be.dry
                  LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'
                      (Acceptable for Level I)
                  IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a3)   * $_S$[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
                    although   rain   fall
                  $_M$[*phúuun   khoŋ   hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                    ground   probably   be.dry
                  LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is probably dry.'

IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a4)   ₛ[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
　　　　　　　　 although   rain   fall

　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*phúɯɯn   khoŋ   yaŋ   hêɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　 ground   probably   still   be.dry

　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is probably still dry.'

　　　The example (2-3-2-1)-(a3) contains *khoŋ* 'probably, might', and it is not acceptable, while (2-3-2-1)-(a4) contains *yaŋ* 'IPFV, still, even so' in addition to *khoŋ* 'probably, might', and it is perfectly acceptable. However, Consultant TM considers both (2-3-2-1)-(a3) and (2-3-2-1)-(a4) not acceptable.

　　　The sentences listed in 4.4 contain the combination of the adverb *khoŋ* 'probably, might' and the final particle *máŋ* 'PRT'. As explained in 4.4, *khoŋ* 'probably, might' alludes to the speaker's deductive inference, while *máŋ* 'PRT' expresses the speaker's guess embracing doubt. The sentences (2-3-2-1)-(a3), -(a4) above and (2-3-2-1)-(a7), -(a8), -(b3), (-b4), -(c3), -(c4) below contain only *khoŋ* 'probably, might' and do not contain *máŋ* 'PRT'. Even if the marginally acceptable or not acceptable sentences (i.e. (2-3-2-1)-(a3), -(a7), -(a8), -(b3), -(c3) and -(c4)) contain *máŋ* 'PRT', they do not become acceptable. The degree of acceptability of those sentences does not change by merely adding the sense of the speaker's guess embracing boubt. The examples (2-3-2-1)-(a1), -(a2) do not contain such a word, and they cannot have the intended meaning, suitable for Level II. (They are acceptable for Level I. In fact, (2-3-2-1)-(a2) is the same as (2-3-1-1)-(a1) given for Level I in 6.1.)

　　　　　　　Quasi-subordination

(2-3-2-1)-(a5)   * ₛ[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 although   rain   fall

　　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   hêɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground   even.so   be.dry

　　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is dry.'
　　　　　　　　　 IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
　　　　　　　　　 (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a6)   * ₛ[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 although   rain   fall

　　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   yaŋ   hêɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground   even.so   still   be.dry

　　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'
　　　　　　　　　 IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
　　　　　　　　　 (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a7)   ₛ[*thŭŋ   fŏn   tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 although   rain   fall

　　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   khoŋ   hêɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground   even.so   probably   be.dry

LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is probably dry.'
IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

Consultant TM comments that (2-3-2-1)-(a7) sounds more natural if the phase *khoŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ* 'to probably be dry' is replaced with the phrase *khoŋ mây pìak* 'to probably be not wet' in the main clause ('Although the rain fell, even so the ground is probably not wet').

Note that the Quasi-subordination sentence (2-3-2-1)-(a7) is acceptable, while the Subordination proper sentence (2-3-2-1)-(a3) is not acceptable.

Quasi-subordination

(2-3-2-1)-(a8)　　s[*thǔuŋ　　fǒn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 although　rain　fall
　　　　　　　　M[*phɯ́uun　kɔ̂　　khoŋ　　yaŋ　　hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground　even.so　probably　still　be.dry
　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is probably still dry.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(a8) marginally acceptable.

The examples (2-3-2-1)-(a1) to -(a8) involve *thǔuŋ* 'although', while (2-3-2-1)-(a9) to -(a16) involve *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although'. There is a difference between them regarding their acceptability. As is the case with (2-3-2-1)-(a1), -(a2), the examples (2-3-2-1)-(a9), -(a10) cannot have the intended meaning, suitable for Level II. (They are acceptable for Level I. In fact, (2-3-2-1)-(a10) is the same as (2-3-1-1)-(a2) given for Level I in 6.1.) However, (unlike (2-3-2-1)-(a3), -(a4),) (2-3-2-1)-(a11) is not acceptable even when they contain *khoŋ* 'probably, might' or *khoŋ yaŋ* 'probably/might still'.

Subordination proper

(2-3-2-1)-(a9)　　* s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi　fǒn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　　 although　　　　rain　fall
　　　　　　　　　M[*phɯ́uun　hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground　be.dry
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is dry.'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
　　　　　　　　　(Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a10)　* s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi　fǒn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　　 although　　　　rain　fall
　　　　　　　　　M[*phɯ́uun　yaŋ　　hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground　still　be.dry
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is still dry.'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
　　　　　　　　　(Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a11)　* s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi　fǒn　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　　 although　　　　rain　fall

     _M[*phúɯɯn khoŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   probably   be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is probably dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a12) _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain   fall
     _M[*phúɯɯn khoŋ yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   probably still be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, the ground is probably still dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(a12) not acceptable.

       Quasi-subordination
(2-3-2-1)-(a13) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain   fall
     _M[*phúɯɯn <u>kɔ̂</u> hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   even.so be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
     (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a14) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain   fall
     _M[*phúɯɯn <u>kɔ̂</u> yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   even.so still be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
     (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a15) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain   fall
     _M[*phúɯɯn <u>kɔ̂</u> khoŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   even.so probably be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is probably dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a16) _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
     although   rain   fall
     _M[*phúɯɯn <u>kɔ̂</u> khoŋ yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
     ground   even.so probably still be.dry
     LT: 'Although the rain fell, even so the ground is probably still dry.'
     IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

    Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(a16) not acceptable.

Quasi-coordination

(2-3-2-1)-(a17)   * _S[*thǔuŋ*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is dry.'
                IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
                 (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a18)   * _S[*thǔuŋ*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *yaŋ*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   still   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is still dry.'
                IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
                (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a19)   _S[*thǔuŋ*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *khoŋ*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   probably   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is probably dry.'
                IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a20)   _S[*thǔuŋ*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *khoŋ*   *yaŋ*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   probably   still   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is probably still dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(a21)   * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is dry.'
                IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
                (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a22)   * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but
                _M[*phúuun*   *kɔ̂*   *yaŋ*   *hêεŋ*]
                ground   even.so   still   be.dry
                LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is still dry.'
                IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
                (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(a23)   _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *fǒn*   *tòk*]   *tὲὲ*
                although   rain   fall   but

<div style="margin-left:2em">

M[*phúɯɯn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *khoŋ*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
 ground   even.so   probably   be.dry
LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is probably dry.'
IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

</div>

(2-3-2-1)-(a24)   S[<u>*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*</u> *fǒn*   *tòk*]   <u>*tὲɛ*</u>
             although   rain   fall   but
             M[*phúɯɯn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u>   *khoŋ*   *yaŋ*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
              ground   even.so   probably   still   be.dry
              LT: 'Although the rain fell, but even so the ground is probably still dry.'
              IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(a23), -(a24) not acceptable.

        (b)   Subordination proper: M[Y] + S[X]

(2-3-2-1)-(b1)   * M[*phúɯɯn*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                 ground   be.dry
              S[<u>*thǔɯŋ*</u>   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
               although   rain   fall
              LT: 'The ground is dry, although the rain fell.'
              IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'
              (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(b2)   * M[*phúɯɯn*   *yaŋ*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                 ground   still   be.dry
              S[<u>*thǔɯŋ*</u>   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
               although   rain   fall
              LT: 'The ground is still dry, although the rain fell.'
              IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'
              (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(b3)   * M[*phúɯɯn*   *khoŋ*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                 ground   probably   be.dry
              S[<u>*thǔɯŋ*</u>   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
               although   rain   fall
              LT: 'The ground is probably dry, although the rain fell.'
              IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-1)-(b4)   M[*phúɯɯn*   *khoŋ*   *yaŋ*   *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
                 ground   probably   still   be.dry
              S[<u>*thǔɯŋ*</u>   *fǒn*   *tòk*]
               although   rain   fall
              LT: 'The ground is probably dry, although the rain fell.'
              IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(b3) marginally acceptable.
In the paragraph that immediately precedes (2-3-2-1)-(a5) above, I noted the difference between (2-3-2-1)-(a1) to -(a4) and (2-3-2-1)-(a5) to -(a8) regarding their acceptability. Exactly the same difference is observed

between (2-3-2-1)-(b1) to -(b4) and (2-3-2-1)-(b5) to -(b8).

(2-3-2-1)-(b5)   * _M[*phúɯɯn hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   be.dry
   _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
   although   rain   fall
   LT: 'The ground is dry, although the rain fell.'
   IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'
   (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(b6)   * _M[*phúɯɯn yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   still   be.dry
   _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
   although   rain   fall
   LT: 'The ground is still dry, although the rain fell.'
   IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'
   (Acceptable for Level I)

(2-3-2-1)-(b7)   * _M[*phúɯɯn khoŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   probably   be.dry
   _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
   although   rain   fall
   LT: 'The ground is probably dry, although the rain fell.'
   IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-1)-(b8)   * _M[*phúɯɯn khoŋ yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
       ground   probably   still   be.dry
   _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn tòk*]
   although   rain   fall
   LT: 'The ground is probably still dry, although the rain fell.'
   IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

       (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-3-2-1)-(c1)   * [*fǒn tòk*]
       rain   fall
   [*phúɯɯn hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   be.dry
   LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is dry.'
   IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(c2)   * [*fǒn tòk*]
       rain   fall
   [*phúɯɯn yaŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   still   be.dry
   LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is still dry.'
   IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(c3)   * [*fǒn tòk*]
       rain   fall
   [*phúɯɯn khoŋ hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   probably   be.dry

LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is probably dry.'
IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(2-3-2-1)-(c4)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall
      [*phúuun khoŋ   yaŋ   hêɛŋ*]
      ground probably   still be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell. The ground is probably still dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

As noted above, parataxis proper is not acceptable for concessives (although it is possible for some of causals and cinditionals; cf. Table 1). It is not acceptable even when it contains *khoŋ* 'probably, might' or *khoŋ yaŋ* 'probably/might still'. The same applies to (d) Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y], discussed below.

If (2-3-2-1)-(c4) contains the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', it becomes acceptable; see (2-3-2-1)-(c5). (However, Consultant TM considers (2-3-2-1)-(c5) not acceptable.) (2-3-2-1)-(c5) is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

      Coordination proper
(2-3-2-1)-(c5)   [*fǒn   tòk*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
       rain   fall   but
      [*phúuun khoŋ   yaŋ   hêɛŋ*]
      ground probably   still be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, but the ground is probably still dry.'

      Quasi-parataxis
(2-3-2-1)-(c6)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall
      [*phúuun <u>kɔ̂</u>   hêɛŋ*]
      ground even.so be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, even so the ground is dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
(2-3-2-1)-(c7)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall
      [*phúuun <u>kɔ̂</u>   yaŋ   hêɛŋ*]
      ground even.so still be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, even so the ground is still dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
(2-3-2-1)-(c8)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall
      [*phúuun <u>kɔ̂</u>   khoŋ   hêɛŋ*]
      ground even.so probably be.dry
      LT: 'The rain fell, even so the ground is probably dry.'
      IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'
(2-3-2-1)-(c9)   * [*fǒn   tòk*]
       rain   fall

[*phúɯɯn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *khoŋ* *yaŋ* *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
  ground even.so probably still be.dry
LT: 'The rain fell, even so the ground is probably still dry.'
IM: 'Although the rain fell, the ground may be dry.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-2-1)-(d1) * [*phúɯɯn* *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   be.dry
[*fǒn* *tòk*]
 rain fall
LT: 'The ground is dry. The rain fell.'
IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-1)-(d2) * [*phúɯɯn* *yaŋ* *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   still be.dry
[*fǒn* *tòk*]
 rain fall
LT: 'The ground is still dry. The rain fell.'
IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-1)-(d3) * [*phúɯɯn* *khoŋ* *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   probably be.dry
[*fǒn* *tòk*]
 rain fall
LT: 'The ground is probably dry. The rain fell.'
IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-1)-(d4) * [*phúɯɯn* *khoŋ* *yaŋ* *hɛ̂ɛŋ*]
    ground   probably still be.dry
[*fǒn* *tòk*]
 rain fall
LT: 'The ground is probably still dry. The rain fell.'
IM: 'The ground may be dry, although the rain fell.'

(2-3-2-2)   Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.
    (a)   Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]

(2-3-2-2)-(a1) * ₛ[<u>*thɯ̌ŋ*</u> *fǒn* *yùt*]
    although   rain stop
ₘ[*kháw* *tɔ̂ŋ* *yùu* *bâan*]
 PRON   must stay   house
LT: 'Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-subordination

(2-3-2-2)-(a2) ₛ[<u>*thɯ̌ŋ*</u> *fǒn* *yùt*]
    although   rain stop
ₘ[*kháw* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *tɔ̂ŋ* *yùu* *bâan*]
 PRON   even.so must stay   house
LT: 'Although the rain stopped, even so he has to stay in

the house.'

The example (2-3-2-2)-(a1) is not acceptable. In contrast, (2-3-2-2)-(a2) is acceptable. It contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination.

Subordination proper
(2-3-2-2)-(a3)　　* ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn yùt*]
　　　　　　　　 although　　　 rain　stop
　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*kháw tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.'

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-2-2)-(a4)　　* ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn yùt*]
　　　　　　　　 although　　　 rain　stop
　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　even.so　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain stopped, even so he has to stay in the house.'

Consultant TM considers that (2-3-2-2)-(a3) is marginally acceptable and (2-3-2-2)-(a4) is acceptable.

Quasi-coordination
(2-3-2-2)-(a5)　　ₛ[*thǔŋ fǒn yùt*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　 although　rain　stop　but
　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　even.so　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain stopped, but even so he has to stay in the house.'
(2-3-2-2)-(a6)　　ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn yùt*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　 although　　　 rain　stop　but
　　　　　　　　 ₘ[*kháw kɔ̂ tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　even.so　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　 LT: 'Although the rain stopped, but even so he has to stay in the house.'

　　　　　(b)　　Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]
(2-3-2-2)-(b1)　　ₘ[*kháw tɔ̂ŋ yùu bâan*]
　　　　　　　　 PRON　must　stay　house
　　　　　　　　 ₛ[*thǔŋ fǒn yùt*]
　　　　　　　　 although　rain　stop
　　　　　　　　 LT: 'He has to stay in the house, although the rain stopped.'

(2-3-2-2)-(b2)   ₘ[*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                  PRON   must   stay   house
                  ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn   yùt*]
                  although   rain stop
                  LT: 'He has to stay in the house, although the rain stopped.'

            (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-3-2-2)-(c1)   * [*fǒn   yùt*]
                    rain   stop
                  [*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   must   stay   house
                  LT: 'The rain stopped. He has to stay in the house.'
                  IM: 'Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.'

The example (2-3-2-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *tὲε* 'but', is acceptable. It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

            Coordination proper
(2-3-2-2)-(c2)   [*fǒn   yùt*]   *tὲε*
                    rain   stop   but
                  [*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   must   stay   house
                  LT: 'The rain stopped, but he has to stay in the house.'

            Quasi-parataxis
(2-3-2-2)-(c3)   * [*fǒn   yùt*]
                    rain   stop
                  [*kháw   kɔ̂   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   even.so must   stay   house
                  LT: 'The rain stopped, even so he has to stay in the house.'
                  IM: 'Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.'

Consultant TM comments that (2-3-2-2)-(c3) is acceptable if the main clause contains *yaŋ* 'still' after the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so' (*kháw kɔ̂ yaŋ tôŋ yùu bâan* 'even so he still has to stay in the house').

            (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-3-2-2)-(d1)   * [*kháw   tôŋ   yùu   bâan*]
                    PRON   must   stay   house
                  [*fǒn   yùt*]
                  rain   stop
                  LT: 'He has to stay in the house. The rain stopped.'
                  IM: 'He has to stay in the house, although the rain

stopped.'

6.3 Concessives Level III

Subordinate clause: situation.   Main clause: situation + interpersonal effect.

(2-3-3-1)   Let's go out although rain is falling.
      (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]
(2-3-3-1)-(a1)   * $_S$[*thǔǔŋ*   *fǒn càʔ tòk yùu*]
      although   rain   IRR   fall   CONT
      $_M$[(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan thə̀ʔ*]
      (PRON)   exit   go   outside   together   PRT
      LT: 'Although the rain is falling, (we) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

    Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-1)-(a1) marginally acceptable.

      Quasi-subordination
(2-3-3-1)-(a2) $_S$[*thǔǔŋ*   *fǒn IRR fall CONT*]
      although   rain   IRR   fall   CONT
      $_M$[(*raw*)   *kɔ̂*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
      (PRON)   even.so   exit   go   outside   together
      thə̀ʔ]
      PRT
      LT: 'Although the rain is falling, even so (we) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

    (*Thə̀ʔ* is a final particle which expresses the speaker's emotional nudging at the addresee. It may be translated as 'I entreat you so' when used in the context of the entreaty type of illocutionary force.)
    The examples (2-3-3-1)-(a1), -(a2) involve *thǔǔŋ* 'although', while (2-3-3-1)-(a3), -(a4) contain *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although'. (2-3-3-1)-(a1) is not acceptable (or only marginally acceptable by Consultant TM), but (2-3-3-1)-(a2) is perfectly acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. It is not an instance of (i-1) Subordination proper, but an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same does *not* apply to (2-3-3-1)-(a3) and (2-3-3-1)-(a4). Note in particular that (2-3-3-1)-(a4) is not acceptable despite the presence of the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'.

      Subordination proper
(2-3-3-1)-(a3)   * $_S$[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn càʔ tòk yùu*]
      although   rain   IRR   fall   CONT
      $_M$[(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
      (PRON)   exit   go   outside   together
      thə̀ʔ]
      PRT
      LT: 'Although the rain is falling, (we) go out together (, I

entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-3-1)-(a4)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn càʔ tòk yùu*]
              although   rain IRR fall CONT
          ₘ[(*raw*)   *kɔ̂*   *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
           (PRON) even.so exit   go   outside   together
          thə̀ʔ]
           PRT
          LT: 'Although the rain is falling, even so (we) go out
          together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]
(2-3-3-1)-(b1)   ₘ[(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan   thə̀ʔ*]
           (PRON) exit   go   outside   together   PRT
          ₛ[*thǔŋ*   *fǒn   càʔ   tòk   yùu*]
           although   rain IRR fall   CONT
          LT: '(We) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= Let's go
          out], although the rain is falling.'
(2-3-3-1)-(b2)   * ₘ[(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
              (PRON) exit   go   outside   together
          thə̀ʔ]   ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi fǒn càʔ tòk yùu*]
          PRT   although   rain IRR fall CONT
          LT: '(We) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= Let's go
          out], although the rain is falling.'

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]
(2-3-3-1)-(c1)   [*fǒn   tòk   yùu*]
           rain   fall   CONT
          [(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan   thə̀ʔ*]
           (PRON) exit   go   outside   together PRT
          LT: 'The rain is falling. (We) go out together (, I entreat
          you so) [= let's go out].'
          IM: 'Although the rain is falling, let's go out.'

  Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-1)-(c1) not acceptable.
     The example (2-3-3-1)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *tὲε* 'but', is not
acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers it acceptable.) It is an
instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

          Coordination proper
(2-3-3-1)-(c2)   * [*fǒn   tòk   yùu*]   *tὲε*
           rain   fall   CONT   but
          [(*raw*)   *ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan   thə̀ʔ*]
           (PRON) exit   go   outside   together PRT
          LT: 'The rain is falling, but (we) go out together (, I
          entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

Quasi-coordination

(2-3-3-1)-(c3)   _S[*thйŭŋ fŏn càʔ tòk yùu*]   <u>*tὲε*</u>
                    although   rain IRR fall CONT but
                    _M[(*raw*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
                    (PRON) even.so exit go outside   together
                    thɘ̀ʔ]
                    PRT
                    LT: 'Although the rain is falling, but even so (we) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

(2-3-3-1)-(c4)   * _S[*thán thán thîi fŏn càʔ tòk yùu*]   <u>*tὲε*</u>
                    although   rain IRR fall CONT but
                    _M[(*raw*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan*
                    (PRON) even.so exit go outside   together
                    thɘ̀ʔ]
                    PRT
                    LT: 'Although the rain is falling, but even so (we) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-3-1)-(c5)   [*fŏn tòk yùu*]
                    rain fall CONT
                    [(*raw*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan thɘ̀ʔ*]
                    (PRON) even.so exit go outside   together PRT
                    LT: 'The rain is falling, even so (we) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= let's go out].'
                    IM: 'Although the rain is falling, let's go out.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-1)-(c5) not acceptable.

          (d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-3-1)-(d1)   [(*raw*) *ʔɔ̀ɔk pay khâŋ nɔ̂ɔk dûay kan   thɘ̀ʔ*]
                    (PRON) exit go outside   together   PRT
                    [*fŏn tòk yùu*]
                    rain fall CONT
                    LT: '(We) go out together (, I entreat you so) [= Let's go out]. The rain is falling.'
                    IM: 'Let's go out, although the rain is falling.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-1)-(d1) not acceptable.

(2-3-3-2)   Stay in the house although the rain stopped.
          (a)   Subordination proper: _S[X] + _M[Y]

(2-3-3-2)-(a1)   * _S[*thйŭŋ   fŏn yùt*]
                    although rain stop
                    _M[(*khun*) *yùu bâan thɘ̀ʔ*]
                    (PRON) stay house PRT
                    LT: 'Although the rain stopped, (you) stay in the house (, I

entreat you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-3-3-2)-(a2)   ₛ[*thŭŭŋ   fŏn   yùt*]
            although   rain   stop
            ₘ[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
            (PRON)   even.so   stay   house   PRT
            LT: 'Although the rain stopped, even so (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

The examples (2-3-3-2)-(a1), -(a2) involve *thŭŭŋ* 'although', while (2-3-3-2)-(a3), -(a4) contain *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although'. (2-3-3-2)-(a1) is not acceptable, but (2-3-3-2)-(a2) is acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. It is not an instance of (i-1) Subordination proper, but an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same does *not* apply to (2-3-3-2)-(a3) and (2-3-3-2)-(a4). That is, (2-3-3-2)-(a4) is not acceptable despite the presence of the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'.

Subordination proper

(2-3-3-2)-(a3)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fŏn   yùt*]
            although   rain   stop
            ₘ[(*khun*)   *yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
            (PRON)   stay   house   PRT
            LT: 'Although the rain stopped, (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

Quasi-subordination

(2-3-3-2)-(a4)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fŏn   yùt*]
            although   rain   stop
            ₘ[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
            (PRON)   even.so   stay   house   PRT
            LT: 'Although the rain stopped, even so (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

(b)   Subordination proper: ₘ[Y] + ₛ[X]

(2-3-3-2)-(b1)   * ₘ[(*khun*)   *yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
            (PRON)   stay   house   PRT
            ₛ[*thŭŭŋ   fŏn   yùt*]
            although   rain   stop
            LT: '(You) stay in the house (, I entreat you so), although the rain stopped.'

(2-3-3-2)-(b2)   * ₘ[(*khun*)   *yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
            (PRON)   stay   house   PRT
            ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fŏn   yùt*]
            although   rain   stop
            LT: '(You) stay in the house (, I entreat you so), although the rain stopped.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-2)-(b1) acceptable.

> (c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-3-2)-(c1)   [*fǒn   yùt*]
    rain   stop
    [(*khun*) *yùu* *bâan* *thə̀ʔ*]
    (PRON) stay house PRT
    LT: 'The rain stopped. (You) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'
    IM: 'Although the rain stopped, stay in the house.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-2)-(c1) not acceptable.

The example (2-3-3-2)-(c2), which contains the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', is not acceptable. (However, Consultant TM considers it acceptable.) It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

> Coordination proper

(2-3-3-2)-(c2)   * [*fǒn   yùt*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
    rain   stop   but
    [(*khun*) *yùu* *bâan* *thə̀ʔ*]
    (PRON) stay house PRT
    LT: 'The rain stopped, but (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

> Quasi-coordination

(2-3-3-2)-(c3)   ₛ[<u>*thǔuŋ*</u> *fǒn* *yùt*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
    although rain stop but
    ₘ[(*khun*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *yùu* *bâan* *thə̀ʔ*]
    (PRON) even.so stay house PRT
    LT: 'Although the rain stopped, but even so (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

(2-3-3-2)-(c4)   * ₛ[<u>*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*</u> *fǒn* *yùt*]   <u>*tɛ̀ɛ*</u>
    although   rain stop but
    ₘ[(*khun*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *yùu* *bâan* *thə̀ʔ*]
    (PRON) even.so stay house PRT
    LT: 'Although the rain stopped, but even so (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'

> Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-3-2)-(c5)   * [*fǒn   yùt*]
    rain   stop
    [(*khun*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *yùu* *bâan* *thə̀ʔ*]
    (PRON) even.so stay house PRT
    LT: 'The rain stopped, even so (you) stay in the house (, I entreat you so).'
    IM: 'Although the rain stopped, stay in the house.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-3-2)-(c5) acceptable.

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-3-2)-(d1)   * [(*khun*)   *yùu   bâan   thə̀ʔ*]
                       (PRON)   stay   house   PRT
                  [*fǒn   yùt*]
                     rain   stop
                  LT: '(You) stay in the house (, I entreat you so). The rain stopped.'
                  IM: 'Stay in the house, although the rain stopped.'

6.4 Concessives Level IV

Subordinate clause: premise.   Main clause: judgement.

(2-3-4-1)   Although the doctor saved/cured him, he had not been sent for.
             IM: ALTHOUGH the doctor saved/cured him, I GUESS/SUPPOSE/INFER/CONCLUDE THAT he had not been sent for.
             (a)   Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]

(2-3-4-1)-(a1)   * $_S$[*thǔŋ   mǒɔ chûay hây kháw   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
                        although   doctor   help   IND PRON   survive
                     $_M$[*mǒɔ mây   dây   thùuk rîak pay*]
                        doctor NEG   REAL   PASS   call   go
                     LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, the doctor was not called in.'

Consultant TM says that the following expressions ((aʹ) and (bʹ)) are more natural than the expressions straightforwardly interpreted from English expressions of (2-3-4-1)-(a1), i.e., (a) *mǒɔ chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít* 'the doctor helped him survive' and (b) *mǒɔ mây dây thùuk rîak pay* 'the doctor was not called in': (aʹ) *mǒɔ chûay dây chûay chiiwít kháw wáy* 'the doctor helped his life retain' and (bʹ) *kháw mây dây rîak hây mǒɔ chûay* 'he (the doctor's patient) did not call the doctor to help (him)'.

(2-3-4-1)-(a2)   * $_S$[*thǔŋ   mǒɔ   chûay hây kháw   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
                        although   doctor   help   IND PRON   survive
                     $_M$[*mǒɔ khoŋ   mây   dây   thùuk rîak pay*
                        doctor probably   NEG   REAL   PASS call   go
                     láʔ   máŋ]
                     PRT   PRT
                     LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably the doctor was not called in.'

              Quasi-subordination

(2-3-4-1)-(a3) $_S$[*thǔŋ   mǒɔ   chûay hây kháw   rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
                     although   doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive

_M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *kɔ̂*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk*   *rîak*   *pay*]
 doctor even.so NEG REAL PASS call go
LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(a4)   _S[*thǔuŋ*   *mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay*   *hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
 although doctor help IND PRON survive
_M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *kɔ̂*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk*
 doctor even.so probably NEG REAL PASS
rîak   *pay*   *láʔ*   *máŋ*]
call go PRT PRT
LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

The examples (2-3-4-1)-(a1), -(a2) are not acceptable. (Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-1)-(a2) marginally acceptable.) However, (2-3-4-1)-(a3), -(a4) are acceptable. (Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-1)-(a4) marginally acceptable.) They contain the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. They are instances of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same applys to (2-3-4-1)-(a5) to -(a7), which involve *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although', not *thǔuŋ* 'although'.

Subordination proper
(2-3-4-1)-(a5)   * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay*   *hây*   *kháw*
  although   doctor help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
_M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk*   *rîak*   *pay*]
doctor NEG REAL PASS call go
LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, the doctor was not called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(a6)   * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay*   *hây*   *kháw*
  although   doctor help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
_M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk*   *rîak*   *pay*
 doctor probably NEG REAL PASS call go
láʔ   *máŋ*]
PRT PRT
LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably the doctor was not called in.'

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-4-1)-(a7)   * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay*   *hây*   *kháw*
  although   doctor help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
_M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *kɔ̂*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk*   *rîak*   *pay*]
doctor even.so NEG REAL PASS call go

LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(a8) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw*
    although   doctor help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
_M[*mɔ̌ɔ   kɔ̂   khoŋ   mây   dây   thùuk*
doctor even.so probably NEG REAL PASS
rîak   pay   láʔ   máŋ]
call   go   PRT PRT
LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

    (b)   Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]
(2-3-4-1)-(b1) _M[*mɔ̌ɔ mây dây   thùuk rîak pay*]
    doctor NEG REAL PASS call go
_S[*thǔuŋ   mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
 although doctor help IND PRON survive
LT: 'The doctor was not called in, although the doctor helped him survive.'
(2-3-4-1)-(b2) _M[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   mây   dây   thùuk rîak pay*
    doctor probably NEG REAL PASS call go
láʔ   máŋ]
PRT PRT
_S[*thǔuŋ   mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây   kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
 although doctor help IND PRON survive
LT: 'Probably the doctor was not called in, although the doctor helped him survive.'

    The examples (2-3-4-1)-(b1), -(b2) are acceptable. (Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-1)-(b1) not acceptable.) The same does *not* apply to (2-3-4-1)-(b3) and (2-3-4-1)-(b4). That is, they are not acceptable. (2-3-4-1)-(b4) is not acceptable despite the presence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'.

(2-3-4-1)-(b3) * _M[*mɔ̌ɔ mây dây   thùuk rîak pay*]
    doctor NEG REAL PASS call go
_S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   mɔ̌ɔ   chûay hây   kháw*
 although   doctor help IND PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
LT: 'The doctor was not called in, although the doctor helped him survive.'
(2-3-4-1)-(b4) * _M[*mɔ̌ɔ   khoŋ   mây   dây   thùuk rîak*
    doctor probably NEG REAL PASS call
pay   láʔ   máŋ]
go   PRT PRT

_S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*
  although   doctor   help   IND   PRON
rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít]
survive
LT: 'Probably the doctor was not called in, although the doctor helped him survive.'

    (c) Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-4-1)-(c1) * _S[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
      doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive
     _M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk rîak pay*]
      doctor   NEG   REAL   PASS   call   go
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive. The doctor was not called in.'
     IM: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably he had not been called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(c2) * _S[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
      doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive
     _M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk rîak pay*
      doctor   probably   NEG   REAL   PASS   call   go
     láʔ   *máŋ*]
     PRT   PRT
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive. Probably the doctor was not called in.'
     IM: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably he had not been called in.'

   If the examples (2-3-4-1)-(c1), -(c2) contain the I-CLM *tὲɛ* 'but', they become acceptable; see (2-3-4-1)-(c3), -(c4). (Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-1)-(c1), -(c2) marginally acceptable.) The examples (2-3-4-1)-(c3), -(c4) are an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

    Coordination proper

(2-3-4-1)-(c3) _S[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]   *tὲɛ*
      doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive   but
     _M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk rîak pay*]
      doctor   NEG   REAL   PASS   call   go
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, but the doctor was not called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(c4) _S[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *chûay hây*   *kháw*   *rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]   *tὲɛ*
      doctor   help   IND   PRON   survive   but
     _M[*mɔ̌ɔ*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *thùuk rîak pay*
      doctor   probably   NEG   REAL   PASS   call   go
     láʔ   *máŋ*]
     PRT   PRT
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, but probably the doctor was not called in.'

Quasi-coordination

(2-3-4-1)-(c5) s[*thǔŋ* mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
     although doctor help IND PRON survive
     tɛ̀ɛ M[*mɔ̌ɔ* *kɔ̂* khoŋ mây dây*
     but doctor even.so probably NEG REAL
     thùuk rîak pay láʔ máŋ]
     PASS call go PRT PRT
     LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, but even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(c6) s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi* mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây kháw*
     although doctor help IND PRON
     rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít] *tɛ̀ɛ*
     survive but
     M[*mɔ̌ɔ kɔ̂ khoŋ mây dây thùuk*
     doctor even.so probably NEG REAL PASS
     rîak pay láʔ máŋ]
     call go PRT PRT
     LT: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, but even so probably the doctor was not called in.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-1)-(c6) not acceptable.

Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-4-1)-(c7) * s[*mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
     doctor help IND PRON survive
     M[*mɔ̌ɔ kɔ̂ mây dây thùuk rîak pay*]
     doctor even.so NEG REAL PASS call go
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, even so the doctor was not called in.'
     IM: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably he had not been called in.'

(2-3-4-1)-(c8) * s[*mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
     doctor help IND PRON survive
     M[*mɔ̌ɔ kɔ̂ khoŋ mây dây thùuk*
     doctor even.so probably NEG REAL PASS
     rîak pay láʔ máŋ]
     call go PRT PRT
     LT: 'The doctor helped him survive, even so probably the doctor was not called in.'
     IM: 'Although the doctor helped him survive, probably he had not been called in.'

(d) Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-4-1)-(d1) * [*mɔ̌ɔ mây dây thùuk rîak pay*]
     doctor NEG REAL PASS call go
     [*mɔ̌ɔ chûay hây kháw rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
     doctor help IND PRON survive

LT: 'The doctor was not called in. The doctor helped him survive.'

IM: 'I guess that the doctor had not been called in, although he helped him survive.'

(2-3-4-1)-(d2)　　* [*mɔ̌ɔ　khoŋ　mây　dây　thùuk　rîak　pay*
　　　　　　　　　doctor　probably　NEG　REAL　PASS　call　go
　　　　　　　　　láʔ　máŋ]
　　　　　　　　　PRT　PRT
　　　　　　　　　[*mɔ̌ɔ　chûay　hây　kháw　rɔ̂ɔt chiiwít*]
　　　　　　　　　doctor　help　IND　PRON　survive
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Probably the doctor was not called in. The doctor helped him survive.'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Probably the doctor had not been called in, although he helped him survive.'

　　　Note that parataxis proper (i.e. (2-3-4-1)-(c1), -(c2) and (2-3-4-1)-(d1), -(d2)) is not acceptable, irrespective of the presence/absence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'.

(2-3-4-2)　　Although the ground is wet, rain did not fall.
　　　　　　　IM: ALTHOUGH the ground is wet, I GUESS/ SUPPOSE/ INFER/CONCLUDE THAT rain did not fall.
　　　　　　　(a)　　Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-3-4-2)-(a1)　　* ₛ[*thǔŋ　　phúuun　pìak*]
　　　　　　　　　 although　ground　be.wet
　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*fǒn　mây　dây　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 rain　NEG　REAL　fall
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the ground is wet, the rain did not fall.'

　　　　　　　Quasi-subordination
(2-3-4-2)-(a2)　　* ₛ[*thǔŋ　　phúuun　pìak*]
　　　　　　　　　 although　ground　be.wet
　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*fǒn　kɔ̂　mây　dây　tòk*]
　　　　　　　　　 rain　even.so　NEG　REAL　fall
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the ground is wet, even so the rain did not fall.'

　　　　　　　Subordination proper
(2-3-4-2)-(a3)　　ₛ[*thǔŋ　　phúuun　pìak*]
　　　　　　　　　 although　ground　be.wet
　　　　　　　　　ₘ[*fǒn　khoŋ　mây　dây　tòk　rɔ̀k　máŋ*]
　　　　　　　　　 rain　probably　NEG　REAL　fall　PRT　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although the ground is wet, probably the rain did not fall.'

　　　(*Rɔ̀k* is a final particle. It expresses the speaker's disagreement with the interlocutor's or the general public's opinion, assumption, expectation, and

the like.)

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-4-2)-(a4)   ₛ[*thʉ̌ŋ*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]
   although   ground   be.wet
   ₘ[*fǒn*   *kɔ̂*   *khoŋ*   *mây dây*   *tòk*
   rain   even.so   probably   NEG   REAL   fall
   rɔ̀k   *máŋ*]
   PRT   PRT
   LT: 'Although the ground is wet, even so probably the rain did not fall.'

The examples (2-3-4-2)-(a1), -(a2) are not acceptable. (2-3-4-2)-(a3), which contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', is acceptable. (Consultant TM considers it marginally acceptable.) It is still an instance of (i-1) Subordination proper. (2-3-4-2)-(a4) is perfectly acceptable (and Consultant TM comments that it may become more natural if the main clause is replaced with the following expression: *kɔ̂ khoŋ mây chây fǒn tòk rɔ̀k máŋ* 'even so it is probably not the case that the rain fell'); it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so' in addition to *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same does *not* apply to (2-3-4-2)-(a5), -(a6), -(a7) and -(a8). That is, (2-3-4-2)-(a6) is not acceptable despite the presence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', and (2-3-4-2)-(a8) is not acceptable despite the presence of *kɔ̂* 'even so' and *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'.

Subordination proper
(2-3-4-2)-(a5)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]
   although   ground   be.wet
   ₘ[*fǒn*   *mây dây*   *tòk*]
   rain   NEG   REAL   fall
   LT: 'Although the ground is wet, the rain did not fall.'
   IM: 'Although the ground is wet, I guess that the rain did not fall.'
(2-3-4-2)-(a6)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]
   although   ground   be.wet
   ₘ[*fǒn*   *khoŋ*   *mây dây*   *tòk*   *rɔ̀k*   *máŋ*]
   rain   probably   NEG   REAL   fall   PRT   PRT
   LT: 'Although the ground is wet, probably the rain did not fall.'

Quasi-subordination
(2-3-4-2)-(a7)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phɯ́ɯɯn*   *pìak*]
   although   ground   be.wet
   ₘ[*fǒn*   *kɔ̂*   *mây dây*   *tòk*]
   rain   even.so   NEG   REAL   fall
   LT: 'Although the ground is wet, even so the rain did not fall.'

IM: 'Although the ground is wet, I guess that the rain did not fall.'

(2-3-4-2)-(a8) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phúɯun*   *pìak*]
                  although   ground   be.wet

_M[*fõn* *kɔ̂*   *khoŋ*   *mây* *dây*   *tòk*
    rain   even.so   probably   NEG   REAL   fall

rɔ̀k *máŋ*]
PRT   PRT

LT: 'Although the ground is wet, even so probably the rain did not fall.'

(b)   Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]

(2-3-4-2)-(b1) _M[*fõn*   *mây* *dây*   *tòk*]
                  rain   NEG   REAL   fall

_S[*thɯ̌ŋ*   *phúɯun*   *pìak*]
    although   ground   be.wet

LT: 'The rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'

(2-3-4-2)-(b2) _M[*fõn*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *tòk*   *rɔ̀k*   *máŋ*]
                  rain   probably   NEG   REAL   fall   PRT   PRT

_S[*thɯ̌ŋ*   *phúɯun*   *pìak*]
    although   ground   be.wet

LT: 'Probably the rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'

(2-3-4-2)-(b3) * _M[*fõn*   *mây*   *dây*   *tòk*]
                   rain   NEG   REAL   fall

_S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phúɯun*   *pìak*]
    although   ground   be.wet

LT: 'The rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'

(2-3-4-2)-(b4) * _M[*fõn*   *khoŋ*   *mây*   *dây*   *tòk*   *rɔ̀k*   *máŋ*]
                   rain   probably   NEG   REAL   fall   PRT   PRT

_S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*   *phúɯun*   *pìak*]
    although   ground   be.wet

LT: 'Probably the rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-2)-(b3) acceptable.

Note that, unlike (2-3-4-2)-(b2), (2-3-4-2)-(b4) is not acceptable despite the presence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. On the other hand, the meaning of (2-3-1-1)-(a2) at Level I ('Despite the fact that the rain fell, the ground is still dry') and that of (2-3-2-2)-(a4) at Level II ('Despite the fact that the rain stopped, even so he has to stay in the house'), for example, are acceptable.

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-4-2)-(c1) * [*phúɯun*   *pìak*]
                    ground   be.wet

[*fǒn mây dây tòk*]
 rain NEG REAL fall
LT: 'The ground is wet. The rain did not fall.'
IM: 'Although the ground is wet, the rain did not fall.'

(2-3-4-2)-(c2)　　* [*phúuun pìak*]
　　　　　　　　　 ground be.wet
[*fǒn khoŋ mây dây tòk rɔ̀k máŋ*]
 rain probably NEG REAL fall PRT PRT
LT: 'The ground is wet. Probably the rain did not fall.'
IM: 'Although the ground is wet, probably the rain did not fall.'

　　The examples (2-3-4-2)-(c1), -(c2) are not acceptable (although (2-3-4-2)-(c2) contains *khoŋ ... máŋ* 'probably').

　　　　　Coordination proper
(2-3-4-2)-(c3)　　* [*phúuun pìak*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　　 ground be.wet　　but
[*fǒn mây dây tòk*]
 rain NEG REAL fall
LT: 'The ground is wet, but the rain did not fall.'
(2-3-4-2)-(c4)　　* [*phúuun pìak*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　　 ground be.wet　　but
[*fǒn khoŋ mây dây tòk rɔ̀k máŋ*]
 rain probably NEG REAL fall PRT PRT
LT: 'The ground is wet, but probably the rain did not fall.'

　　Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-2)-(c3), -(c4) acceptable.

　　　　　Quasi-coordination
(2-3-4-2)-(c5)　　s[*thǔŋ phúuun pìak*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　　 although ground be.wet　　but
M[*fǒn kɔ̂ mây dây tòk*]
 rain even.so NEG REAL fall
LT: 'Although the ground is wet, but even so the rain did not fall.'
(2-3-4-2)-(c6)　　s[*thǔŋ phúuun pìak*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　　 although ground be.wet　but
M[*fǒn kɔ̂ khoŋ mây dây tòk*
 rain even.so probably NEG REAL fall
rɔ̀k máŋ]
PRT PRT
LT: 'Although the ground is wet, but even so probably the rain did not fall.'
(2-3-4-2)-(c7)　　* s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi phúuun pìak*]　　*tɛ̀ɛ*
　　　　　　　　　　 although　　　　ground　　be.wet　but

_M[*fǒn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *mây dây tòk*]
  rain even.so NEG REAL fall
LT: 'Although the ground is wet, but even so the rain did not fall.'
IM: 'Although the ground is wet, I guess that the rain did not fall.'

(2-3-4-2)-(c8)   * _S[<u>*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*</u> *phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*] <u>*tὲε*</u>
      although ground be.wet but
_M[*fǒn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *khoŋ mây dây tòk*
  rain even.so probably NEG REAL fall
rɔ̀k máŋ]
PRT PRT
LT: 'Although the ground is wet, but even so probably the rain did not fall.'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-2)-(c5) not acceptable.

Quasi-parataxis
(2-3-4-2)-(c9)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
      ground be.wet
[*fǒn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *mây dây tòk*]
  rain even.so NEG REAL fall
LT: 'The ground is wet, even so the rain did not fall.'
IM: 'Although the ground is wet, the rain did not fall.'
(2-3-4-2)-(c10)   * [*phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
      ground be.wet
[*fǒn* <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *khoŋ mây dây tòk rɔ̀k*
  rain even.so probably NEG REAL fall PRT
máŋ]
PRT
LT: 'The ground is wet, even so probably the rain did not fall.'
IM: 'Although the ground is wet, probably the rain did not fall.'

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-3-4-2)-(d1)   * [*fǒn* *may dây tòk*]
      rain NEG REAL fall PRT PRT
[*phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
  ground be.wet
LT: 'The rain did not fall. The ground is wet.'
IM: 'The rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'
(2-3-4-2)-(d2)   * [*fǒn* *khoŋ may dây tòk rɔ̀k máŋ*]
      rain probably NEG REAL fall PRT PRT
[*phɯ́ɯɯn pìak*]
  ground be.wet
LT: 'Probably the rain did not fall. The ground is wet.'

IM: 'Probably the rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.'

Note that parataxis proper (i.e. (2-3-4-2)-(c1), -(c2) and (2-3-4-2)-(d1), -(d2)) is not acceptable, irrespective of the presence/absence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'.

6.5 Concessives Level V

Subordinate clause: premise.　　Main clause: speech act.

(2-3-5-1)　　There is food here, although you know this.
　　　　　　IM: ALTHOUGH you know this, I SAY TO YOU 'There is food here'.
　　　　　　(a)　　Subordination proper: $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]
(2-3-5-1)-(a1)　　* $_S$[*thŭŋ　　khun　　rúu　　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　　although　PRON　know　CONT
　　　　　　　　　$_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　　yùu　　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　　food　　be.located　here　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although you know (this), food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

　　　　　　Quasi-subordination
(2-3-5-1)-(a2)　　* $_S$[*thŭŋ　　khun　　rúu　　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　　although　PRON　know　CONT
　　　　　　　　　$_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　　kɔ̂　yùu　　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　　food　　　even.so　be.located　here　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although you know (this), even so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

　　　　　　Subordination proper
(2-3-5-1)-(a3)　　* $_S$[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi khun　　rúu　　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　　although　　　　PRON　know　CONT
　　　　　　　　　$_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　　yùu　　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　　food　　be.located　here　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although you know (this), food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
　　　　　　　　　IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

　　　　　　Quasi-subordination
(2-3-5-1)-(a4)　　* $_S$[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi khun　　rúu　　yùu*]
　　　　　　　　　　although　　　　PRON　know　CONT
　　　　　　　　　$_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin　　kɔ̂　yùu　　　troŋ níi náʔ*]
　　　　　　　　　　food　　　even.so　be.located　here　　PRT
　　　　　　　　　LT: 'Although you know (this), even so food is located

here (, I suggest to you so).'
IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

(b)   Subordination proper: $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X]

(2-3-5-1)-(b1)   * $_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu   troŋ níi   ná*ʔ]
　　　　　　　food   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　$_S$[*thǔuŋ   khun   rúu   yùu*]
　　　　　　　although   PRON   know   CONT
　　　　　　　LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest to you so), although
　　　　　　　you know (this).'
　　　　　　　IM: 'There is food here, although you know this.'

(2-3-5-1)-(b2)   * $_M$[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu   troŋ níi   ná*ʔ]
　　　　　　　food   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　$_S$[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi khun   rúu   yùu*]
　　　　　　　although   PRON   know   CONT
　　　　　　　LT: 'Food is located here (, I suggest to you so), although
　　　　　　　you know (this).'
　　　　　　　IM: 'There is food here, although you know this.'

Note that (i-1) Subordination proper and (i-2) Quasi-subordination (i.e.
(2-3-5-1)-(a1) to -(b2)) is not acceptable.

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-5-1)-(c1)   * [*khun   rúu   yùu*]
　　　　　　　PRON   know   CONT
　　　　　　　[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi   ná*ʔ]
　　　　　　　food   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　LT: 'You know (this). Food is located here (, I suggest to
　　　　　　　you so).'
　　　　　　　IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

(2-3-5-1)-(c2)   [*khun   ʔàat   càʔ   rúu   lɛ́ɛw   kɔ̂ dâuy*]
　　　　　　　PRON   might   IRR   know   PFV   be.possible
　　　　　　　[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi   ná*ʔ]
　　　　　　　food   be.located   here   PRT
　　　　　　　LT: 'You might know (this). Food is located here (, I
　　　　　　　suggest to you so).'

The example (2-3-5-1)-(c1) is not acceptable, but (2-3-5-1)-(c2) is
acceptable; it contains the epistemic expression *ʔàat càʔ…kɔ̂ dâuy* 'probably,
might'. It is still an instance of (iii) Parataxis proper. The same applies to
(2-3-5-1)-(d1) and (2-3-5-1)-(d2) below. (*ʔàat* is an adverb which has an
epistemic meaning of 'possibly'. *Càʔ* is the irrealis marker. *Kɔ̂* is a
multifunctional discourse marker ('then, so, even so'), and it can also be
used as an AP-CLM (i.e. a CLM adjacent to the predicate of a clause). *Dâuy*
is a verb which indicates possibility.)

The example (2-3-5-1)-(c3) is not acceptable. (Consultant TM
considers it marginally acceptable.) The example (2-3-5-1)-(c4), which

contains *ʔàat càʔ…kɔ̂ dâay* 'probably, might', is acceptable. (2-3-5-1)-(c3), -(c4) are instances of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-3-5-1)-(c3)   * [*khun   rúu   yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
        PRON know CONT   but
        [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'You know (this), but food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

(2-3-5-1)-(c4)   [*khun ʔàat   càʔ rúu lɛ́ɛw kɔ̂ dâay*]
        PRON   might IRR   know PFV   be.possible
        tɛ̀ɛ   [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        but   food   be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'You might know (this), but food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'

Quasi-coordination

(2-3-5-1)-(c5)   * ₛ[*thǔŋ   khun   rúu   yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
        although PRON   know CONT but
        ₘ[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   kɔ̂   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   even.so be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'Although you know (this), but even so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
        IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

(2-3-5-1)-(c6)   * ₛ[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi khun   rúu   yùu*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
        although   PRON know CONT but
        ₘ[*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   kɔ̂   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   even.so be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'Although you know (this), but even so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
        IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-5-1)-(c7)   * [*khun   rúu   yùu*]
        PRON   know CONT

        [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   kɔ̂   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   even.so be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'You know (this), even so food is located here (, I suggest to you so).'
        IM: 'Although you know this, there is food here.'

(2-3-5-1)-(c8)   * [*khun ʔàat   càʔ rúu lɛ́ɛw kɔ̂ dâay*]
        PRON   might IRR   know PFV   be.possible
        [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   kɔ̂   yùu   troŋ níi náʔ*]
        food   even.so be.located here   PRT
        LT: 'You might know (this), even so food is located here (,

I suggest to you so).'

Consultant TM considers (2-3-5-1)-(c8) marginally acceptable. She comments that it sounds more natural if it does not contain the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* in the main clause (i.e. Parataxis proper: (2-3-5-1)-(c2)).

(d)   Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]
(2-3-5-1)-(d1)   * [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                    food   be.located here   PRT
                    [*khun   rúu   yùu*]
                    PRON   know   CONT
                    LT: 'Food is located here. You know (this).'
                    IM: 'There is food here, although you know this.'
(2-3-5-1)-(d2)   [*khɔ̌ɔŋ kin   yùu   troŋ níi   ná?*]
                    food   be.located here   PRT
                    [*khun   ?àat   cà?   rúu   lɛ́ɛw   kɔ̂ dâi*]
                    PRON   might IRR   know   PFV   be.possible
                    LT: 'Food is located here. You might know (this).'

(2-3-5-2)   Work hard, although I am sorry for you.
             IM: ALTHOUGH I am sorry for you, I SAY TO YOU 'Work hard!'
             (a)   Subordination proper: ₛ[X] + ₘ[Y]
(2-3-5-2)-(a1)   * ₛ[*thǔuŋ   chán   cà?   hěn cay   khun*]
                    although PRON   IRR   sympathize.with PRON
                    ₘ[(*khun*)   *khayǎn   tham ŋaan nɔ̀y ná?*]
                     (PRON)   be.industrious work   a.bit PRT
                    LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

             Quasi-subordination
(2-3-5-2)-(a2)   ₛ[*thǔuŋ   chán   cà?   hěn cay   khun*]
                    although PRON   IRR   sympathize.with PRON
                    ₘ[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   khayǎn   tham ŋaan nɔ̀y*
                     (PRON)   even.so   be.industrious work   a.bit
                    ná?]
                    PRT
                    LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, even so (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

The example (2-3-5-2)-(a1) is not acceptable. (Consultant TM considers it marginally acceptable.) In contrast, (2-3-5-2)-(a2) is acceptable; it contains the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'even so'. It is an instance of (i-2) Quasi-subordination. The same does not apply to (2-3-5-2)-(a3), -(a4). Note in particular that (2-3-5-2)-(a4) is not acceptable, despite the presence of *kɔ̂*

'even so'.

Subordination proper

(2-3-5-2)-(a3) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi chán   càʔ hěn cay*
                although   PRON IRR sympathize.with
khun]
PRON
_M[(*khun*) *khayǎn   tham ŋaan nɔ̀y   náʔ*]
 (PRON) be.industrious work   a.bit PRT
LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

Quasi-subordination

(2-3-5-2)-(a4) * _S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi chán   càʔ hěn cay*
                although   PRON IRR sympathize.with
khun]   _M[(*khun*) *kɔ̂   khayǎn*
PRON   (PRON) even.so be.industrious
tham ŋaan   nɔ̀y   náʔ]
work   a.bit PRT
LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, even so (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

(b) Subordination proper: _M[Y] + _S[X]

(2-3-5-2)-(b1) _M[(*khun*) *khayǎn   tham ŋaan nɔ̀y náʔ*]
 (PRON) be.industrious work   a.bit PRT
_S[*thǔuŋ   chán càʔ hěn cay   khun*]
 although PRON IRR sympathize.with PRON
LT: '(You) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= Be industrious and work a bit], although I sympathize with you.'

(2-3-5-2)-(b2) * _M[(*khun*) *khayǎn   tham ŋaan nɔ̀y náʔ*]
    (PRON) be.industrious work   a.bit PRT
_S[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi chán   càʔ hěn cay*
 although   PRON IRR sympathize.with
khun]
PRON
LT: '(You) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= Be industrious and work a bit], although I sympathize with you.'

Note that (2-3-5-2)-(b1) (*thǔuŋ*) is acceptable, but that (2-3-5-2)-(b2) (*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*) is not.

(c)   Parataxis proper: [X] + [Y]

(2-3-5-2)-(c1)   * [*chán   hěn cay   khun*]
                  PRON   sympathize.with   PRON
                  [(*khun*)   *khayǎn   tham ŋaan   nɔ̀y   náʔ*]
                  (PRON)   be.industrious   work   a.bit   PRT
                  LT: 'I sympathize with you. (You) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= Be industrious and work a bit].'
                  IM: 'Although I sympathize with you, be industrious and work a bit.'

The example (2-3-5-2)-(c2) contains the I-CLM *tɛ̀ɛ* 'but', but it is still not acceptable. (Consultant TM considers it acceptable.) It is an instance of (ii-1) Coordination proper.

Coordination proper

(2-3-5-2)-(c2)   * [*chán   hěn cay   khun*]   *tɛ̀ɛ*
                  PRON   sympathize.with   PRON   but
                  [(*khun*)   *khayǎn   tham ŋaan   nɔ̀y   náʔ*]
                  (PRON)   be.industrious   work   a.bit   PRT
                  LT: 'I sympathize with you, but (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

Quasi-coordination

(2-3-5-2)-(c3)   s[*thǔuŋ   chán   càʔ   hěn cay   khun*]
                  although   PRON   IRR   sympathize.with   PRON
                  tɛ̀ɛ   M[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   khayǎn   tham ŋaan*
                  but   (PRON)   even.so   be.industrious   work
                  nɔ̀y   náʔ]
                  a.bit   PRT
                  LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, but even so (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

(2-3-5-2)-(c4)   * s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   chán   càʔ   hěn cay*
                  although   PRON   IRR   sympathize.with
                  khun]   *tɛ̀ɛ*   M[(*khun*)   *kɔ̂   khayǎn*
                  PRON   but   (PRON)   even.so   be.industrious
                  tham ŋaan   nɔ̀y   náʔ]
                  work   a.bit   PRT
                  LT: 'Although I sympathize with you, but even so (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= be industrious and work a bit].'

Quasi-parataxis

(2-3-5-2)-(c5)   * [*chán   hěn cay   khun*]
                  PRON   sympathize.with   PRON

[(*khun*) <u>*kɔ̂*</u> *khayǎn* *tham ŋaan* *nɔ̀y*
 (PRON) even.so be.industrious work a.bit
náʔ]
PRT
LT: 'I sympathize with you, even so (you) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= Be industrious and work a bit].'
IM: 'Although I sympathize with you, be industrious and work a bit.'

(d) Parataxis proper: [Y] + [X]

(2-3-5-2)-(d1) * [(*khun*) *khayǎn* *tham ŋaan* *nɔ̀y náʔ*]
 (PRON) be.industrious work a.bit PRT
[*chán* *hěn cay* *khun*]
 PRON sympathize.with PRON
LT: '(You) are industrious and work a bit (, I encourage/order you so) [= Be industrious and work a bit]. I sympathize with you.'
IM: 'Work hard!, although I am sorry for you.'

Note that parataxis proper ((2-3-5-2)-(c1), (d1)) is not acceptable.

7. Discussion

7.1 Distribution of clause linkage markers

The distribution of the attested clause linkage markers in terms of the five levels is shown in Table 1. '+' means 'acceptable', '-' 'not acceptable', and '?' 'acceptable, but not perfectly'. If the judgements for the two examples (X-X-X-X-1) and (X-X-X-X-2) are the same, only one marker is used (e.g., '-'); if they are not, two different markers with a comma are used (e.g., '+, -'). A pair of unbracketed marker(s) and bracketed marker(s) (e.g., '-[?]', '+, -[?, +]') indicates that the judgements of the two native speaker consultants (Consultant AM and Consultant TM) are different. For example, '-[?]' means that Consultant AM (the main consultant) considers it not acceptable (-), but Consultant TM (the vice-consultant) regards it to be marginally acceptable ([?]).

Table 1. Distribution of clause linkage markers

	I	II	III	IV	V
Subordinate clause	Situation	Situation	Situation	Premise	Premise
Main clause	Situation	Situation + Judgement	Situation + Interpersonal effect	Judgement	Speech act

Takahashi, Kiyoko. 2013. Five Levels in Thai. In Tsunoda, Tasaku (ed.) *Five Levels in Clause Linkage*, Vol.2, 727-857. Ibaraki: by the author.

Causals

Subordination

Subordination proper

phrɔ́ʔ 'because'	+, -	+, -[?]	+, -[?, +]	+[?], -	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+, ?	irrelevant
nɯ̂aŋ càak 'because'	+, -	+, -	+, -	+[-],?[-], -	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	?[+]	irrelevant

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Quasi-subordination

s[*phrɔ́ʔ*] M[*cɯŋ*] 'because' 'so'	+	+[-]	-	-	-
s[*nɯ̂aŋ càak*] M[*cɯŋ*] 'because' 'so'	+	+[?]	-	-	-

Quasi-parataxis

s[ ] M[*kɔ̂ ləəy / ləəy / cɯŋ*] 'so'	+	+, -[?]	-	-	-

Coordination

Coordination proper

[ ] *chanán* [ ] 'and so'	-	+	+	+[-]	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevant

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Quasi-coordination

s[*phrɔ́ʔ / nɯ̂aŋ càak*] 'because' *chanán* M[ ] 'and so'	+, -	+[?]	-	-[?]	-

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Parataxis proper

	+, -	+[?, -], -	+	-	+, -
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-], ?[-]	irrelevant
with *lâʔ sìʔ* 'I'm sure' / *chây máy* 'Right?' / *hěn* 'it seems'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+

Conditionals

Subordination					
Subordination proper					
thâa 'if'	+	+	+[-], -[?, +]	-	+
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+	irrelevant
nay mûa 'if'	-	-	-	-	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevant
Quasi-subordination					
ₛ[*thâa*] ₘ[*kɔ̂*] 'if' 'then'	+	+	+	-	?[-]
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevant
ₛ[*nay mûa*] ₘ[*kɔ̂*] 'if' 'then'	-	-	+	-	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[?]	irrelevant
Quasi-parataxis ₛ[] ₘ[*kɔ̂*] 'then'	+[?]	-	-[+]	-	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-], ?[+]	irrelevant
Coordination					
Coordination proper ₛ[ ] *lakɔ̂* ₘ[ ] 'and.then'	-[+]	+	-[+]	-	+, –[+]
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	-[+]	irrelevant
Quasi-coordination ₛ[*thâa / nay mûa*] 'if' *lakɔ̂* ₘ[ ] 'and.then'	+, -	+, -	+, -	-	?[-], -
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevant
Parataxis proper	+[-], -	-	-	-	-
with *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+, -	irrelevant

Concessives

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Subordination

Subordination proper

thɯ̌ŋ 'although'	+[-], -[+]	+, -	+, -[?, +]	+[-], -	+, -[?]
with *khoŋ…(máŋ)* 'probably'	irrelevant	?, -	irrelevant	+[?], -[?]	irrelevant
with *khoŋ yaŋ* 'probably still'	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant
tháŋ tháŋ thîi 'although'	+, -	+, -[?]	-	-[+]	-
with *khoŋ…(máŋ)* 'probably'	irrelevant	-	irrelevant	-	irrelevant
with *khoŋ yaŋ* 'probably still'	irrelevant	+[-], -	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant

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Quasi-subordination

s[*thɯ̌ŋ*] M[*kɔ̂*] 'although' 'even.so'	+	+, -	+	+, -	+, -
s[*thɯ̌ŋ*] 'although' M[*kɔ̂* *khoŋ…(máŋ)*] 'even.so' 'probably'	irrelevant	+	irrelevent	+	irrelevent
s[*thɯ̌ŋ*] 'although' M[*kɔ̂* *khoŋ yaŋ*] 'even.so' 'probably still'	irrelevant	+[?]	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevent
s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*] 'although' M[*kɔ̂*] 'even.so'	+	-	-	-	-
s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*] 'although' M[*kɔ̂* *khoŋ…(máŋ)*] 'even.so' 'probably'	irrelevant	-	irrelevent	-	irrelevant
s[*tháŋ tháŋ thîi*] 'although' M[*kɔ̂* *khoŋ yaŋ*] 'even.so' 'probably still'	irrelevant	+[-]	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevent

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Quasi-parataxis

s[ ] M[*kɔ̂*] 'even.so'	+, -	-	+[-]	-	-
s[ ] M[*kɔ̂* *yaŋ*] 'even.so' 'still'	+	-	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevant
s[ ] M[*kɔ̂*] 'even.so'	irrelevent	-	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevent

(*khoŋ*) *yaŋ*] '(probably) still'					
ₛ[*ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dâjy*] ₘ[*kɔ̂*] 'may'	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	-[?]

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Coordination

Coordination proper

[ ] *tɛ̀ɛ* [ ] 'but'	+	+	-[+]	+[?], -[+]	-[?, +]
[*ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dâjy*] *tɛ̀ɛ* [ ] 'may'	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+

Quasi-coordination

ₛ[*thŭŋ / tháŋ tháŋ thîi*] 'although' *tɛ̀ɛ* ₘ[*kɔ̂*] 'but' 'even.so'	+	+, -	+, -	+[-], -	+, -
ₛ[*thŭŋ / tháŋ tháŋ thîi*] 'although' *tɛ̀ɛ* ₘ[*kɔ̂* *khoŋ* (*yaŋ*)] 'but' 'even.so' 'probably (still)'	irrelevent	+	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevent

___

Parataxis proper	-	-	+[-], -	-	-
with	-[+]	-	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevent
yaŋ 'still, even.so'					
with *khoŋ …*(*máŋ*) 'probably'	irrelevent	-	irrelevant	-	irrelevent
with *khoŋ yaŋ* 'probably still'	irrelevent	-	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevent
with *ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dâjy* 'may'	irrelevent	irrelevant	irrelevant	irrelevant	+

___

For each of the three semantic areas (i.e. causal, conditional, concessive), we selected two CLMs that can be used in subordination proper. Table 1 shows the following, among others.

These six CLMs are often used in combination with another CLM and/or some other word. There is no CLM that is perfectly acceptable by itself at all of the five levels. Among the six CLMs, *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because', *thâa* 'if' and *thŭŋ* 'although' are semantically unmarked. They have wide distributions in terms of the five levels. Nonetheless, *phrɔ́ʔ* 'because' is not perfectly acceptable at Level V (cf. 4.5). (Parataxis proper is available instead.) *Thâa* 'if' is not acceptable at Level IV; it has to be accompanied by *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' (cf. 5.4). *Thŭŋ* 'although' by itself has yielded acceptable sentences at all of the five levels (cf. Section 6). However, at the same time, it has produced not acceptable or marginally acceptable

sentences at all of the five levels.

The other three CLMs (*nûaŋ càak* 'because', *nay mûa* 'if', *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although') are semantically marked, and they have specialized meanings. They have very limited distributions. In particular, *nay mûa* 'if' generally cannot be used by itself, with just one exception, namely, (2-2-3-2)-(b2) in 5.3 (LT: '(You) give that child dishes (, I order you so), if he is/becomes hungry for rice.'). (This is an instance of Level III.)

Parataxis proper by itself is attested for causals and conditionals, but not for concessives. That is, parataxis proper by itself cannot have a concessive meaning. It can have a concessive meaning if it involves *ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dây* 'may' (Level V) (cf. 6.5). However, even when it employs *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably', it cannot be used at Level IV (cf. 6.4). Parataxis proper by itself is available to conditionals, but it is limited to Level I only (cf. 5.1), and not available from Levels II to V (cf. 5.2 to 5.5). At Level IV, the sentence may be acceptable if it contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' (cf. 5.4). For causals (cf. Section 4), parataxis proper by itself can be used at Levels I to III, and V (not at Level IV), although there are not acceptable or mariginally acceptable instances. At Level IV (cf. 4.4), the sentence may be acceptable if it contains *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. At Level V (cf. 4.5), the sentence may be acceptable if it contains *lâʔ sìʔ* 'I'm sure', *chây máy* 'right?', or *hěn* 'it seems'.

That is, at Level I, parataxis proper by itself may have a causal meaning or a conditional meaning, but not a concessive meaning. It has a causal meaning only at Levels I to III, and V (not at Level IV). This can be shown as follows.

(5) Availability of parataxis proper by itself
 causals > conditionals > concessives

7.2 Order of clauses

From Table 2 we can see which syntactic patterns are available for encoding causal, conditional, or concessive situations at the five levels. We shall look at (i-1) Subordination proper, and (iii) Parataxis proper. The symbols in the table indicate the following.

+ 'acceptable'
(+) 'acceptable under a certain condition'
? 'marginally acceptable'
(?) 'marginally acceptable under a certain condition'
- 'not acceptable'

Bracketed judgements, e.g., [?], are provoded by Consultant TM (the vice-consultant).

Table 2. Order of clauses

	I	II	III	IV	V
Subordinate clause Main clause	Situation Situation	Situation Situation + Judgement	Situation Situation + Interpersonal effect	Premise Judgement	Premise Speech act

Causals

Subordination proper
(a) S[X] + M[Y]

phrɔ́ʔ	-, -	-, -[?]	-[?], -[?]	-, (?), -, (+)	-, -
nûaŋ càak	-, -	-, -	-, -[+]	-, (?), -, (?)	-, -

(b) M[Y] + S[X]

phrɔ́ʔ	+, +	+, +	+, +	+[?], (+), -, (+)	-, -
nûaŋ càak	+, +	+, +	+, +	?[-],(?),+,(?)	-, -

Parataxis proper

(c) [X] + [Y]	+, -	+[?], ?[+]	+[-], +	-, (+), -, (+[-])	-, (+), +
(d) [Y] + [X]	-, -[+]	-, -	+, +	-, (+), -, (?[-])	-, (+), +

Conditionals

Subordination proper
(a) S[X] + M[Y]

thâa	+, +	+, +	-, -	-, (+), -, (+)	+, +
nay mûa	-, -	-, -	-, -	-, (+), -, (+)	-, -

(b) M[Y] + S[X]

thâa	+, +	+, +	+, +	-, (+), -, (+)	+, +
nay mûa	-, -	-, -	-, +[-]	-, (+), -, (+[-])	-, -

Parataxis proper

(c) [X] + [Y]	+[-], +	-, -	-, -	-, (-), -, (+)	-, -
(d) [Y] + [X]	-, -	-, -	-, -	-, (+), -, (-)	-, -

Concessives

Subordination proper
(a) S[X] + M[Y]

thǔŋ	-[+], -	-,(+[-]), -	-[?], -	-, (-), -, (-[?])	-, -[?]
tháŋ tháŋ thîi	+, -	-,(+[-]), -	-, -	-, (-), -, (-)	-, -

(b) M[Y] + S[X]

thǔŋ	-[+],+[-]	-, (+), +	+, -[+]	+[-], (+), +, (+)	-, +
tháŋ tháŋ thîi	+, +	-, +	-, -	-[+], (-), -, (-)	-, -

Parataxis proper

(c) [X] + [Y]	-, -	-, -	+[-], +[-]	-, (-), -, (-)	-, (+), -
(d) [Y] + [X]	-, -	-, -	+[-], -	-, (-), -, (-)	-, (+), -

_____

Although the numbers of the examples are not sufficient, the following general tendencies can be noted.

[1] Subordination proper

(a) Level IV

For causals (cf. 4.4), the order $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ is preferred to the order $_S[X] + _M[Y]$. Mie Tsunoda (2012: 402) notes that, at Level V (not Level IV) for causals in Japanese, $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ is preferred to $_S[X] + _M[Y]$. She also mentions that a similar tendency appears to be observed in the use of the causal CLM *because* of English, at Level V and also at Level IV. She cites the following examples from Sweetser (1990: 77).

(6) *John loved her, because he came back.*   (Level IV)
(7) *What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on.*
     (Level V)

(They are instances of Level IV and Level V, respectively, according to the framework adopted for the present volume (Mie Tsunoda, 2012, this volume).) Mie Tsunoda (2012: 425) notes as follows in Note 16.

What lies behind this may be the iconicity principle: "the iconicity of sequence, whereby events are described in the order of their occurrence" (Haiman 1980: 533). The position of such a *kara*-clause of Japanese and a *because*-clause of English after the main clause may well be a means to indicate that the *kara-/because*-clause and the main clause do not express any cause-and-consequence relationship.

The above indicates that the preference for $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ over $_S[X] + _M[Y]$ for causals at Level IV in Thai is not an isolated phenomenon.

At Level IV, concessives (cf. 6.4), too, exhibit this preference (though slightly). In contrast, conditionals (cf. 5.4) do not show this preference at all. Both orders are equally acceptable (or equally unacceptable).

(b) Conditionals

On the whole, both $_S[X] + _M[Y]$ and $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ are equally acceptable. There is, however, one exception. At Level III (5.3), *thâa* 'if' is not acceptable in $_S[X] + _M[Y]$ (see (2-2-3-1)-(a1), (2-2-3-2)-(a1)), but it is acceptable in $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ (see (2-2-3-1)-(b1), (2-2-3-2)-(b1)). This is intriguing. It deviates from the iconicity priciple. Greenberg (1966: 103) states as follows: 'The order of elements in language parallels that in physical experience or the order of knowledge'. Specifically, regarding conditionals, Haiman (1980: 528) states as follows: 'conditional protases almost always precede apodoses'. Conditional subordination $_S[X] + _M[Y]$ at Level III (interpersonal effect) requires the AP-CLM *kɔ̂* 'then' in the

following main clause. The use of *kɔ̂* alludes to a certain meaningful, though implicit, connection between the two pieces of information conveyed by the subordinate clause (or the previous discourse as a whole) and the main clause including *kɔ̂*. The speaker considers that the focal content expressed by the main clause including *kɔ̂* is a natural, inevitable or reasonable consequence of the supporting situation represented by the subordinate clause (or understood from the previous discourse). As such, *kɔ̂* often indicates the kind of the speaker's stance. The speaker may suggest that his/her perspective, understanding, or logic is behind his/her utterance with *kɔ̂*. The main clause of Thai bi-clausal expressions by and large contains *kɔ̂* or other AP-CLMs which mark the above-mentioned idea of reason-and-consequence (that is, they are mostly in the form of Quasi-subordination). This fact tells us that when Thai speakers present some complex information composed of supporting and focal parts, they tend to also express their stance as to how they view and understand the complex information by means of *kɔ̂* or other AP-CLMs.

(c) Causals

$_M$[Y] + $_S$[X] is preferred to $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y] at Levels I and III, and also Level IV (as seen in (a) above). That is, generally causals prefer $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X] to $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]. (They are hardly acceptable at Level V.) This, too, may be considered a deviation from the iconicity principle.

Sometimes the absence of an AP-CLM from the main clause in the sentence examined makes the sentence less acceptable. (See the discussion regarding the use of *kɔ̂* in conditional expressions in (b) above.) If an AP-CLM is present (that is, if the sentence is in the form of Quasi-subordination: [X *Because*] + [Y *so*]), the order '$_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]' ([X *Because*] + [Y *so*]) (e.g. (2-1-1-2)-(a2), -(a4)) is as frequent as the order $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X] ([Y] + [*Because*]) is.

(d) Concessives

As is the case with causals, on the whole, $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X] is preferred to $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]. If an AP-CLM is present, the order '$_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]' ([X *Although*] + [Y *even.so*]) (e.g. (2-3-2-2)-(a2), (2-3-3-1)-(a2)) is as frequent as the order $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X] ([Y] + [*Although*]) is.

[2] Parataxis proper

For conditionals, parataxis proper by itself is acceptable at Level I only. Furthermore it is accepatble only when the order is [X] + [Y] (see (2-2-1-1)-(c1), (2-2-1-2)-(c1)), and it is not acceptable when the order is [Y] + [X] (see (2-2-1-1)-(d1), (2-2-1-2)-(d1)). That is, it is acceptable only when the clause order conforms to the iconicity principle, where [X] (reason) precedes [Y] (consequence).

7.3 Notes on level IV

Sweetser (1990) gives the following English examples, among others.

(9) *John loved her, because he came back.*   (Sweetser 1990: 77)
(10) *If she's divorced, (then) she's been married.*   (Sweetser 1990: 116)

These are instances of Level IV according to the framework employed for the present volume. At Level IV, the main clause expresses the speaker's judgement, and the subordinate clause denotes a premise on which that judgement is based. (See Mie Tsunoda (2012: 384-385, this volume, 2.5).) (9) may be roughly paraphrased as follows: 'I conclude that John loved her because he came back'. (10) may be roughly paraphrased as follows: 'If she has been divorced, I conclude that she has been married'. Despite Sweetser's view, there are native speakers of English who consider sentences such as (9) and (10) not acceptable or at best marginally acceptable. In their view, such sentences become acceptable if their main clause contains an epistemic expression, such as (i) an adverb or the like, e.g. *maybe*, *probably*, *apparently*, (ii) an auxiliary verb, e.g. *may*, *must*, or (iii) a clause that contains a verb such as *guess*, *suppose*, e.g. *I guess*, *I suppose.* See Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume-b).

As far as the Thai examples examined are concerned, most of the sentences are not acceptable unless they contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. There are only a few causal or concessive sentences that are acceptable without *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. For example:

  (2-1-4-1)-(b1) 'The rain has fallen, because the ground is wet.' (Consultant TM considers this marginally acceptable.)
  (2-1-4-2)-(b3) 'The doctor saved him, because he is still alive.' (Consultant TM considers this not acceptable.)
  (2-3-4-1)-(b1) 'The doctor had not been sent for, although the doctor saved him.' (Consultant TM considers this not acceptable.)
  (2-3-4-2)-(b1) 'The rain did not fall, although the ground is wet.' (In addition, Consultant TM considers (2-3-4-2)-(b3) ('The rain did not fall, although the ground is wet') acceptable.)

It may be significant that all of them involve subordination proper, and that furthermore they have the '$_M$[Y] + $_S$[X]' order, not the '$_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]' order. It is relevant to mention that in English a causal subordination at Level IV 'by itself' is acceptable (at least for some speakers); see (9). As pointed out by Mie Tsunoda (2012: 402), the prefered order seems to be $_M$[Y] + $_S$[X], not $_S$[X] + $_M$[Y].

We have seen that at Level IV in Thai most of the sentences are not acceptable unless they contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. It is important to note that there are also sentences that are not acceptable even though they contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. That is, the presence of *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably' is not always sufficient for the acceptability of sentences at Level IV.

7.4 Notes on levels III and V

Sentences at Levels III and V are addressed directly to the addressee. They usually contain a final particle, such as *sìʔ*, *thə̀ʔ* or *náʔ*, for interpersonal effect (Level III) or directive speech act (Level V). As stated in Section 2,

these particles express the speaker's feeling, intention, attitude or the like. Characteristically, *sìʔ* and *thə̀ʔ* are used for prohibition, command, or hortation at Level III, and *náʔ* is used for suggestion or encouragement at Level V. (In the case of subordination, these particles occur at the end of the main clause, and not necessarily sentence-finally.) (For examples, see 4.3, 4.5, 5.3, 5.5, 6.3 and 6.5.) Nonetheless, the presence of such a final particle is not always sufficient for the acceptability of sentences. There are sentences that contain a final particle and yet are not acceptable.

In sharp contrast, sentences used at other levels, which are not addressed to directly to the addressee, do not contain any of these intersubjective particles.

At Level V, some paratactic sentences require an expression such as the following: *lâʔ sìʔ* 'I'm sure' (e.g. (2-1-5-1)-(c2)), *chây máy* 'Right?' (e.g. (2-1-5-1)-(c3)), *hěn* 'it seems' (e.g. (2-1-5-1)-(d2)), or *ʔàat càʔ … kɔ̂ dây* 'may' (e.g. (2-3-5-1)-(c2), -(d2)). Without such an expression, these paratactic sentenecs are not acceptable.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

The present chapter has examined how the five levels in clause linkage are expressed in Thai. Thai has a very large number of CLMs. The present chapter has selected two CLMs that can be used for subordination proper for each of the three semantic areas: causal, conditional and concessive. These six CLMs are often used in combination with another CLM and/or some other word. There is no CLM that is perfectly acceptable by itself at all of the five levels.

In each pair of the CLMs, one is unmarked, while the other is marked, with a specialized meaning. The three unmarked CLMs (*phrɔ́ʔ* 'because', *thâa* 'if' and *thǔŋ* 'although') have wide distributions in terms of the five levels. The three marked CLMs (*nûaŋ càak* 'because', *nay mûa* 'if', *tháŋ tháŋ thîi* 'although') have limited distributions. In particular, *nay mûa* 'if' generally cannot be used by itself to translate the relevant sentences in the questionnaire.

Parataxis proper by itself is attested for causals and conditionals, but not for concessives. For causals, it has yielded acceptable examples at Levels I, II, III and V (but not at Level IV). For condititionals, it is acceptable at Level I only, and furthermore it is accepatble only when the clause order conforms to the iconicity principle: $_S[X] + _M[Y]$. Also, there are instancs in which parataxis proper becomes acceptable when it is not used by itself and involves an epistemic expression or some other expression.

In subordination proper, at Level IV, causals and concessives (though not condidtionals) prefer $_M[Y] + _S[X]$ to $_S[X] + _M[Y]$. This preference may not be an isolated phenomenon crosslinguistically.

At Level IV, most of the sentences are not acceptable unless they contain *khoŋ … máŋ* 'probably'. There are only four sentences that are acceptable without *khoŋ … máŋ*. It may be significant that all of them

involve subordination proper, and that furthermore they have the '$_M$[Y] + $_S$[X]' order, not the '$_S$[X] + $_M$[Y]' order. However, the presence of *khoŋ … máŋ* is not always sufficient for the acceptability of sentences at Level IV.

At Levels III and V, sentences usually contain a final particle for interpersonal effect (Level III) or directive speech act (Level V). These particles express the speaker's feeling, intention, attitude or the like. Nonetheless, the presence of such a final particle is not always sufficient for the acceptability of sentences.

At Level V, some paratactic sentences require an expression such as *lâʔ sìʔ* 'I'm sure', *chây máy* 'right?', *hěn* 'it seems', or *ʔàat càʔ…kɔ̂ dây* 'may'. Without such an expression, these paratactic sentenecs are not acceptable.

To conclude, the five levels in the clause linkage of Thai exhibit a wide range of interesting phenomena.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

CLF - classifier; CONT - continuous; COP - copula; COMP - complementizer; IM - intended meaning; IMP - imperative; IND - inducement; IPFV - imperfective; IRR - irrealis; LT - literal translation; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; RASS - passive; PFV - perfective; PROG - progressive; PRON - pronoun; PRT - subjective or intersubjective final particle; POSS - possibility; Q - question; QUOT - quotative; REAL - realization; REL - relativizer

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Appendix

3. Sentences for elicitation (second stage): other semantic areas

3.1. Time, temporal (1): simultaneous: 'when, while'

(3-1-1) He came when I came.

    a. $_M$[*kháw   maa   thŭŋ*]
       PRON   come   arrive
      $_S$[*mûa   chán   maa thŭŋ*]
      when   PRON   come   arrive
    'He came when I came.'

(3-1-2) He worked while I was resting.

    a. $_M$[*kháw tham ŋaan*]
      PRON   work
      $_S$[*tɔɔn   (thîi)   chán   phák phɔɔn yùu*]
      portion (REL)   PRON   rest   CONT
    'He worked while I was resting.'

    b. $_M$[*kháw tham ŋaan*]
      PRON   work
      $_S$[(*nay*) *rawàaŋ thîi   chán   phák phɔɔn yùu*]
      (in)   between NMLZ PRON   rest   CONT
    'He worked while I was resting.'

    c. $_M$[*kháw   tham ŋaan*]
      PRON   work

    _S[(*nay*) *khànàʔ* *thîi* *chán* *phák phɔ̀ɔn* *yùu*]
     (in)   a.while REL PRON rest   CONT
    'He worked while I was resting.'

(3-1-3) I saw him walking.
    a. *chán* *hěn* *kháw* *dəən*
      PRON see PRON walk
     'I saw him walking'

3.2. Time, temporal (2): 'before'
(3-2-1) He came before I went out.
    a. _M[*kháw* *maa* *thǔŋ*]
       PRON come arrive
      _S[*kɔ̀ɔn* (*thîi*) *chán* *ʔɔ̀ɔk* *pay*]
      before (NMLZ) PRON exit go
     'He came before I went out.'

(3-3-2) He went out before the rain started.
    a. _M[*kháw* *ʔɔ̀ɔk* *pay*]
       PRON exit go
      _S[*kɔ̀ɔn* (*thîi*) *fǒn* *rɨ̂əm* *tòk*]
      before (NMLZ) rain begin fall
     'He went out before the rain started.'

3.3. Time, temporal (3): 'after'
(3-3-1) He came after I went out.
    a. _M[*kháw* *maa* *thǔŋ*]
       PRON come arrive
      _S[*lǎŋ* (*càak*) (*thîi*) *chán* *ʔɔ̀ɔk* *pay*]
      after (from) (NMLZ) PRON exit go
     'He came after I went out.'

(3-3-2) He went out after the rain stopped.
    a. _M[*kháw* *ʔɔ̀ɔk* *pay*]
       PRON exit go
      _S[*lǎŋ* (*càak*) (*thîi*) *fǒn* *yùt*]
      after (from) (NMLZ) rain stop
     'He went out after the rain stopped.'

3.4. Negative conditional: 'unless'
(3-4-1) Unless rain falls, I will go.
    a. _S[*thâa* *fǒn* *mây* *tòk*]
       if rain NEG fall
      _M[*chán* *kɔ̂* *càʔ* *pay*]
      PRON then IRR go
     'If rain does not fall, I will go.'

b. _M[*chán cà? pay*]
     PRON IRR go
    _S[*tɔ̀ɔ mûa fŏn mây tòk*]
     only when rain NEG fall
    'I will go only when rain does not fall.'

(3-4-2) I will not go unless he goes.

a. _M[*chán cà? mây pay*]
     PRON IRR NEG go
    _S[*thâa kháw mây pay*]
     if PRON NEG go
    'I will not go if he does not go.'

b. _M[*chán cà? mây pay*]
     PRON IRR NEG go
    _S[*tɔ̀ɔ mûa kháw mây pay*]
     only when PRON NEG go
    'I will not go only when he does not go.'

3.5. Concessive conditional

(3-5-1) Even if he goes, I will not go.

a. _S[*thǔuŋ kháw pay*]
     although PRON go
    _M[*chán kɔ̂ cà? mây pay*]
     PRON even.so IRR NEG go
    'Even if he goes, I will not go.'

b. _S[(*thǔuŋ*) *mɛ́ɛ* (*wâa*) *kháw pay*]
     (although) although (QUOT) PRON go
    _M[*chán kɔ̂ cà? mây pay*]
     PRON even.so IRR NEG go
    'Even if he goes, I will not go.'

(3-5-2) Even if rain falls, I will go.

a. _S[*thǔuŋ fŏn tòk*]
     although rain fall
    _M[*chán kɔ̂ cà? pay*]
     PRON even.so IRR go
    'Even if rain falls, I will go.'

b. _S[(*thǔuŋ*) *mɛ́ɛ* (*wâa*) *fŏn tòk*]
     (although) although (QUOT) rain fall
    _M[*chán kɔ̂ cà? pay*]
     PRON even.so IRR go
    'Even if rain falls, I will go.'

3.6. Location, locative

(3-6-1) I fell over where he fell over before.

a. *chán hòk lóm (troŋ) thîi (thîi) kháw khəəy*
   PRON fall.over (just) place (REL) PRON ever

    hòk lóm
    fall.over
    'I fell over where he fell over before.'

(3-6-2) Where he lives, winter is cold.
  a. *thîi* (*thîi*) *kháw yùu rúuduu năaw cà? năaw*
    place (REL) PRON stay winter IRR be.cold
    'Where he lives, winter is cold.'
  b. (*nay*) *sathăan thîi* (*thîi*) *kháw yùu rúuduu năaw*
    (in) place   (REL) PRON stay winter
    cà? năaw
    IRR be.cold
    'Where he lives, winter is cold.'

3.7. Manner
(3-7-1) She spoke as he had taught her to.
  a. *lɔ̀n phûut yàaŋ* (*thîi*) *kháw khəəy sɔ̌ɔn hây*
    PRON speak kind (REL) PRON ever teach IND
    phûut
    speak
    'She spoke as he had taught her to.'
  b. *lɔ̀n phûut bɛ̀ɛp* (*thîi*) *kháw khəəy sɔ̌ɔn hây*
    PRON speak style (REL) PRON ever teach IND
    phûut
    speak
    'She spoke as he had taught her to.'
  c. *lɔ̀n phûut taam thîi kháw khəəy sɔ̌ɔn hây*
    PRON speak follow NMLZ PRON ever teach IND
    phûut
    speak
    'She spoke as he had taught her to.'
  d. *lɔ̀n phûut mŭan* (*thîi*) *kháw khəəy sɔ̌ɔn hây*
    PRON speak be.like (NMLZ) PRON ever teach IND
    phûut
    speak
    'She spoke as he had taught her to.'

(3-7-2) She talks like she has a cold.
  a. *lɔ̀n phûut mŭan lɔ̀n pen wàt*
    PRON speak be.like PRON have.a.cold
    'She talks like she has a cold.'
  b. *lɔ̀n phûut mŭan kàp* (*wâa*) *lɔ̀n pen wàt*
    PRON speak be.like with (QUOT) PRON have.a.cold
    'She talks like she has a cold.'
  c. *lɔ̀n phûut yàaŋ kàp* (*wâa*) *lɔ̀n pen wàt*
    PRON speak kind with (QUOT) PRON have.a.cold
    'She talks like she has a cold.'

     d. *lɔ̀n   phûut raaw   kàp* (*wâa*)   *lɔ̀n*
        PRON   speak approximately with (QUOT) PRON
        pen wàt
        have.a.cold
        'She talks like she has a cold.'

     e. *lɔ̀n   phûut khláay* (*kàp*)   *lɔ̀n   pen wàt*
        PRON   speak resemble (with) PRON have.a.cold
        'She talks like she has a cold.'

3.8. Purpose

(3-8-1) I went to the river so that I could catch fish.

     a. *chán   pay mɛ̂ɛ nám phɯ̂a   *(*thîi*)   *càʔ   càp*
        PRON   go river   in.order.to (NMLZ) IRR catch
        plaa
        fish
        'I went to the river in order to catch fish.'

     b. *chán   pay càp   plaa thîi mɛ̂ɛ nám*
        PRON   go catch fish   at   river
        'I went to catch fish at the river.'

(3-8-2) She cooked food so that they could eat.

     a. *lɔ̀n   tham ʔaahǎan hây kháw   kin*
        PRON   cook   IND PRON eat
        'She cooked food for them to eat.'

     b. *lɔ̀n   tham ʔaahǎan phɯ̂a   *(*thîi*)   *càʔ   hây*
        PRON   cook   in.order.to (NMLZ) IRR IND
        kháw   kin
        PRON   eat
        'She cooked food in oder for them to eat.'

     c. *lɔ̀n   tham ʔaahǎan phɯ̂a   *(*thîi*)   *kháw càʔ*
        PRON   cook   in.order.to (NMLZ) PRON IRR
        dây   kin
        REAL eat
        'She cooked food so that they could eat.'

3.9. Negative purpose

(3-9-1) In case he sees me, I will hide in the house.

     a. ₛ[*phɯ̀a   kháw càʔ hěn chán*]
        in case PRON IRR see PRON
        ₘ[*chán   càʔ sɔ̂ɔn tua yùu nay bâan*]
        PRON IRR hide body stay in house
        'In case he sees me, I will hide in the house.'

     b. ₛ[*phɯ̂a* (*thîi*) *càʔ mây hây kháw hěn chán*]
        in.order.to (NMLZ) IRR NEG IND PRON see PRON
        ₘ[*chán   càʔ sɔ̂ɔn tua yùu nay bâan*]
        PRON IRR hide body stay in house
        'In order to make him not see me, I will hide in the house.'

(3-9-2) Lest he speared me, I ran away.

    a. _S[*kreeŋ wâa   kháw ʔàat càʔ phûŋ hɔ̀ɔk maa*
        fear QUOT PRON might IRR hurl spear come
        yaŋ chán]
        to   PRON
        _M[*chán   (kɔ̂) lə̄əy wîŋ nǐi pay*]
         PRON   so   run flee go
        'Fearing that he might spear me, I ran away.'

    b. _S[*kreeŋ wâa   kháw ʔàat càʔ phûŋ hɔ̀ɔk maa*
        fear QUOT PRON might IRR hurl spear come
        yaŋ chán]
        to   PRON
        _M[*chán   cɯɯŋ wîŋ nǐi pay*]
         PRON   so   run flee go
        'Fearing that he might spear me, I ran away.'

3.10. Consequence/result

(3-10-1) He ran fast with the result that he fell over.

    a. *kháw   wîŋ rew (kɔ̂) lə̄əy hòk lóm*
        PRON   run fast so   fall.over
        'He ran fast and so fell over.'

    b. *kháw   wîŋ rew cɯɯŋ hòk lóm*
        PRON   run fast so   fall.over
        'He ran fast and so fell over.'

(3-10-2) He throw a net into the river with the result that he caught fish.

    a. *kháw thɔ̂ɔt hɛ̌ɛ loŋ   pay mɛ̂ɛ nám (kɔ̂) lə̄əy*
        PRON   throw net descend go river   so
        dây   plaa
        come.to.have   fish
        'He throw a net into the river and so caught fish.'

    b. *kháw thɔ̂ɔt hɛ̌ɛ loŋ   pay mɛ̂ɛ nám cɯɯŋ*
        PRON   throw net descend go river   so
        dây   plaa
        come.to.have   fish
        'He throw a net into the river and so caught fish.'

3.11. Please check the following, too, if you have time.

3.11.1. Circumstantial

(3-11-1-1) He caught fish *by* throwing a net into the river.

    a. *kháw càp   plaa dây   dooy thîi*
        PRON   catch fish come.to.have by NMLZ
        thɔ̂ɔt hɛ̌ɛ loŋ   pay mɛ̂ɛ nám
        throw net descend go river
        'He caught fish *by* throwing a net into the river.'

    b. *kháw càp   plaa dây   dooy cháy wíthii*
        PRON   catch fish come.to.have by   use   means

           thɔ̂ɔt   *hɛ̆ɛ*   *loŋ*   *pay*   *mɛ̂ɛ nám*
           throw   net   descend   go   river
           'He caught fish *by* throwing a net into the river.'

      c.   *kháw*   *càp*   *plaa*   *dây*   *dûay*   *wíthii*
           PRON   catch   fish   come.to.have   with   means
           thɔ̂ɔt   *hɛ̆ɛ*   *loŋ*   *pay*   *mɛ̂ɛ nám*
           throw   net   descend   go   river
           'He caught fish *by* throwing a net into the river.'

(3-11-1-2) He caught a kangaroo (or a bear) *without* spearing it.

      a.   *kháw*   *càp*   *ciŋcôo*   *dây*   *dooy thîi*
           PRON   catch   kangaroo   come.to.have   by   NMLZ
           mây   *phûŋ*   *hɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *yaŋ*   *man*
           NEG   hurl   spear   go   to   PRON
           'He caught a kangaroo *without* spearing it.'

      b.   *kháw*   *càp*   *ciŋcôo*   *dây*   *dooy mây*
           PRON   catch   kangaroo   come.to.have   by   NEG
           cháy   *wíthii*   *phûŋ*   *hɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *yaŋ*   *man*
           use   means   hurl   spear   go   to   PRON
           'He caught a kangaroo *without* spearing it.'

      c.   *kháw*   *càp*   *ciŋcôo*   *dây*   *dûay*   *wíthii*
           PRON   catch   kangaroo   come.to.have   with   means
           mây   *phûŋ*   *hɔ̀ɔk*   *pay*   *yaŋ*   *man*
           NEG   hurl   spear   go   to   PRON
           'He caught a kangaroo *without* spearing it.'

3.11.2. Additive

(3-11-2-1) *In addition to* catching a kangaroo (or bear), he found birds.

      a.   *nɔ̂ɔk*   *càak*   *kháw*   *càp*   *ciŋcôo*   *dây*
           outside   from   PRON   catch   kangaroo   come.to.have
           lɛ́ɛw   *yaŋ*   *phóp*   *nók*   (*ʔìik dûay*)
           PFV   still   find   bird   (as well)
           '*In addition to* catching a kangaroo, he found birds.'

(3-11-2-2) *Besides* not catching any kangaroo (or a bear), he lost his spear.

      a.   *nɔ̂ɔk*   *càak*   *kháw*   *càp*   *ciŋcôo*   *mây*
           outside   from   PRON   catch   kangaroo   NEG
           dây   *lɛ́ɛw*   *yaŋ*   *tham*   *hɔ̀ɔk*   *hăay*
           come.to.have   PFV   still   make   spear   disappear
           (*ʔìik dûay*)
           (as well)
           '*Besides* not catching any kangaroo, he lost his spear.'

4. Sentences for elicitation (third stage): 'but' and 'and'
4.1. 'But'
4.1.1. Concessive ('denial of expectation')

(4-1-1-1) Rain fell, but the ground is dry.
    a. [*fǒn tòk*]
          rain   fall
        [*tὲε* (*wâa*) *phúɯɯn* *yaŋ* *hὲεŋ* *yùu*]
        but (QUOT) the.ground still be.dry CONT
        'Rain fell, but the ground is dry.'
    b. [*thǔŋ   fǒn tòk*]
          although rain fall
        [*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   yaŋ hὲεŋ yùu*]
        the.ground even.so still be.dry CONT
        'Although rain was falling, he went out.'
    c. [*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fǒn tòk*]
          although NMLZ rain fall
        [*phúɯɯn   kɔ̂   yaŋ hὲεŋ yùu*]
        the.ground even.so still be.dry CONT
        'Although rain was falling, he went out.'

(4-1-2-2) Rain was falling, but he went out.
    a. [*fǒn tòk yùu*]
          rain   fall CONT
        [*tὲε* (*wâa*)   *kháw* *ʔɔ̀ɔk* *pay*]
        but (QUOT) PRON exit go
        'Rain was falling, but he went out.'
    b. [*thǔŋ   fǒn tòk yùu*]
          although rain fall CONT
        [*kháw   kɔ̂   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay*]
        PRON even.so exit go
        'Although rain was falling, he went out.'
    c. [*tháŋ tháŋ thîi   fǒn tòk yùu*]
          although NMLZ rain fall CONT
        [*kháw   kɔ̂   ʔɔ̀ɔk pay*]
        PRON even.so exit go
        'Although rain was falling, he went out.'

4.1.2. Semantic opposition
(4-1-3-1) This man is tall, but that man is short.
    a. [*phûu chaay khon níi sǔuŋ*]
          man   CLF this be.tall
        [*tὲε* (*wâa*) *phûu chaay khon nán tîa*]
        but (QUOT) man   CLF that be.short
        'This man is tall, but that man is short.'
    b. [*phûu chaay khon níi sǔuŋ*]
          man   CLF this be.tall
        [*nay khànàʔ thîi phûu chaay khon nán tîa*]
        in a.while REL man   CLF that be.short
        'This man is tall, but that man is short.'

   c. [*phûu chaay khon níi sǔuŋ*]
      man   CLF this be.tall
     [*sùan phûu chaay khon nán tîa*]
      part   man   CLF that be.short
     'This man is tall, but that man is short.'

(4-1-2-3) This kangaroo/bear/etc. is big, but that kangaroo/bear/etc. is small.
   a. [*ciŋcôo tua níi yày*]
      kangaroo CLF this be.big
     [*tɛ̀ɛ (wâa) ciŋcôo tua nán lék*]
      but (QUOT) kangaroo CLF that be.small
     'This kangaroo is big, but that kangaroo is small.'
   b. [*ciŋcôo tua níi yày*]
      kangaroo CLF this be.big
     [*nay khànàʔ thîi ciŋcôo tua nán lék*]
      in a.while REL kangaroo CLF that be.small
     'This kangaroo is big, but that kangaroo is small.'
   c. [*ciŋcôo tua níi yày*]
      kangaroo CLF this be.big
     [*sùan ciŋcôo tua nán lék*]
      part kangaroo CLF that be.small
     'This kangaroo is big, but that kangaroo is small.'

4.1.3. Contradicting evaluations
(4-1-2-1) This shirt is beautiful, but it is small.
   a. [*sûa tua níi sǔay*]
      shirt CLF this be. beautiful
     [*tɛ̀ɛ (wâa) man lék*]
      but (QUOT) PRON be.small
     'This shirt is beautiful, but it is small.'

(4-1-2-2) This house is beautiful, but it is small.
   a. [*bâan lǎŋ níi sǔay*]
      house CLF this be. beautiful
     [*tɛ̀ɛ (wâa) man lék*]
      but (QUOT) PRON be.small
     'This house is beautiful, but it is small.'

4.2. 'And'
4.2.1. Linking two situations
(4-2-1-1) He went to a hill and she went to a river.
   a. [*kháw pay thîi nəən khǎw*]
      PRON go at hill
     [*lɔ̀n pay thîi mɛ̂ɛ nám*]
      PRON go at river
     'He went to a hill and she went to a river.'

(4-2-1-2) This man caught a kangaroo/bear/etc. and that man caught a fish.

    a. [*phûu chaay khon níi càp ciŋcôo dây*]
         man   CLF this catch kangaroo come.to.have
         [*phûu chaay khon nán càp plaa dây*]
         man   CLF that catch fish come.to.have
         'This man caught a kangaroo and that man caught a fish.'

4.2.2. Order of the two situations

(4-2-2-1) He caught a kangaroo/bear/etc. and she cooked it.

    a. [*kháw càp ciŋcôo dây (maa) lɛ́ɛw*]
         PRON catch kangaroo come.to.have (come) PFV
         [(*càak nán*) *lɔ̀n kɔ̂ yâaŋ man*]
         (from that) PRON then grill PRON
         'He caught a kangaroo and she cooked it.'

(4-2-2-2) I went and I found a kangaroo/bear/etc.

    a. *chán pay cəə ciŋcôo*
         PRON go meet kangaroo
         'I went and found a kangaroo.'

    b. *chán pay pàa lɛ́ɛw kɔ̂ cəə ciŋcôo*
         PRON go forest PFV then meet kangaroo
         'I went to the forest and found a kangaroo.'

    c. *chán pay thǔŋ pàa kɔ̂ cəə ciŋcôo*
         PRON go arrive forest then meet kangaroo
         'I went and arrived at the forest and found a kangaroo.'