Some Expressives in So

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SOMMARIO

La presenza di espressivi (ideofoni) è ampiamente attestata in molte lingue del mondo. Mentre in alcune aree linguistiche sono stati sufficientemente studiati, nelle lingue asiatiche questo fenomeno non è ancora ben documentato.

L'articolo, dopo averci presentato i So della Thailandia e averci introdotto alla fonologia della loro lingua, ci fornisce vari esempi di espressivi usati da questo popolo, dandocene una semplice classificazione. Un breve lavoro che può contribuire ad uno studio comparato degli espressivi nelle lingue asiatiche.

1. The So People

The So people are a minority people group currently living mainly in northeastern Thailand and in central Laos. In Thailand most of the estimated So population of 35,000 live in Sakon Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom provinces. Approximately another 100,000 So people live in the central Lao provinces of Khammouan and Savannakhet.

The So usually refer to themselves as /lakɯ́ɣy tʰrɔː/ "people So", i.e., "the So people". The So use this term to distinguish themselves from other language groups, though there are some speakers of the So language in Laos who go by the larger ethnic group name "Bru". In Thai they are called ไทโซ่/tʰay sô/.

Sometimes they are called "Bru", in an ethnic sense, when they are lumped together with their neighbors living in nearby provinces. There are various Bru dialects living in Mukdahan, the next province south of Sakon Nakhon. Other references lump the So together with all minority peoples called /kʰaː/, a word that may also have come from Lao, meaning "slave" (Gainey 1985:13). Seidenfaden (1942) visited some minority peoples living in Kalasin Province and wrote that they called themselves "So" or โซ่ in Thai, but the local Thai people called them "Kha".

2. So Linguistic Affiliation

The So language belongs to the Katuic branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) subfamily.
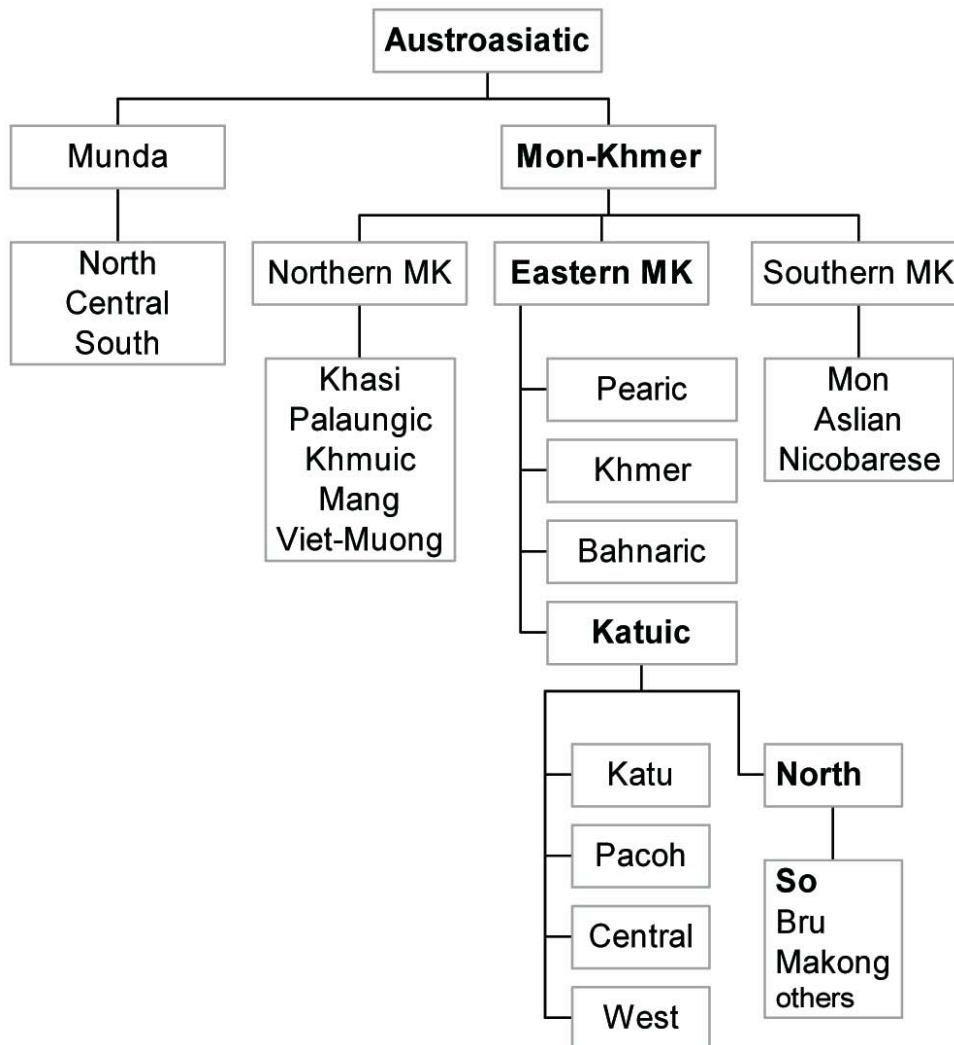

Figure 1 Austroasiatic Language Family (Diffloth 1976)

More specifically So may be classified as: Austroasiatic, Mon-Khmer, Eastern Mon-Khmer, Katuic, North Katuic family. Other languages such as Bru, So Tri, and Makong are closely related in the North Katuic grouping with So. Katuic languages are spoken in northeastern Thailand including Kui (Suay) in Sisaket and Surin Provinces and Bru in Mukdahan Province. Katuic languages are also spoken in central Laos and in Vietnam including So, Bru, Kui, Ta-oih, Katang, Makong, Tri, Katu, and Pacoh.
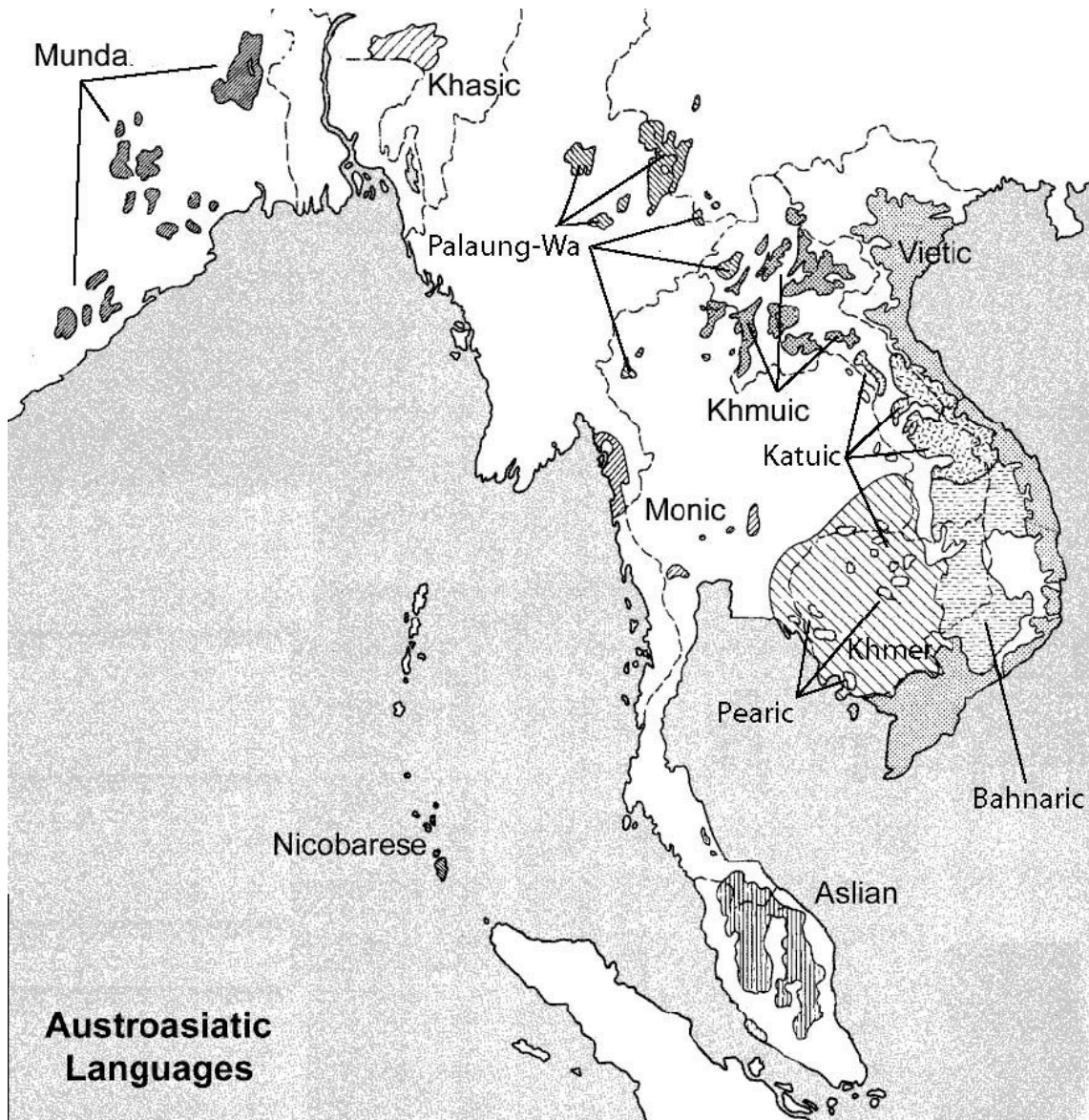
Figure 2: Location of Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) Language Groups (Sidwell 2003)

3. So Location and Population

The Katuic peoples are spread throughout the four countries of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia, but the majority of them are in southern Laos (Diffloth 1991).

The approximately 100,000 So people are mainly located in the Laos provinces of Khammouan and Savannakhet. In Thailand a few So are reported to live in Mukdahan and Kalasin Provinces, but, as mentioned earlier, most of the 35,000 speakers live in the northeast Thailand provinces of Nakhon Phanom and Sakon Nakhon. The Thailand So population is concentrated along a corridor stretching from Tha-uthen and Phonsawan Districts in Nakhon Phanom Province to Kusuman District in Sakon Nakhon Province.

Figure 3 Northeastern Thailand Area

Seidenfaden (1942) says the original habitat of the So was in the hilly, jungle parts of Laos around Tha-Khaek. During the Annam-Thailand war in the 1840s, some So moved to Nakhon Phanom (Tha-uthen and Wanonniwat Districts) and Sakon Nakhon (Kusuman District) Provinces. He estimates that in 1912 there were about 7,000 So people in both Sakon Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom Provinces. In 1915 he estimates about 4,250 So people in Tha-uthen District. Apparently some So were also living in Mukdahan Province where the So had mixed some with the Phu-thai and were called "Soai". Kalasin Province had about 800 So people with most of them living in Warichaphum District (in the southern parts of the PhuPhan hills) and in Kutchinarai District.

Today the So language in Thailand is mainly spoken in three northeastern provinces; Nakhon Phanom, Sakon Nakhon, and Mukdahan. There are various reports of So people scattered through other adjacent provinces, though these other So are not necessarily mutually intelligible. The cultural center of the So is in Kusuman district, Sakon Nakhon province. Researchers usually agree on this, and the So people themselves also declare that the So spoken in Kusuman is the "pure" and "good" type of So language. The So and Bru speakers in other districts and provinces also refer to the So of Kusuman district as being "good" So where even the children still speak the language.

Smalley (1994:365-367) estimates the Thailand populations of various minority groups as:

• So - 40,000: with 40% confidence factor the population range is 24,000 to 56,000,

• Bru - 10,000: with 40% confidence factor the population range is 6,000 to 14,000,

• So Tri - 5,000: with 40% confidence factor the population range is 3,000 to 7,000.

Gainey (1985) says that the So originated in the middle Lao provinces around the area of

Thakek, Sawannakhet, and Kham Muan. He estimates there are a total of 90 So villages in Thailand, located in the following districts but gives no population figures:

Sakon Nakhon Province (central & western)	Nakhon Phanom Province (central & northern)	Kalasin Province (northeastern)	Mukdahan Province (northern)	Nong Khai Province
Kusuman Phanna Nikhom Muang Song Dao	Phonsawan Tha-uthen Ban Phaeng Muang Pla Pak Si Songkhram	Khao Wong Kuchinarai Somdet	Dong Luang	So Phisai

Figure 4 So Village Locations

The So population figures are mostly educated guesses since there is a lack of rigorous data. The estimates for Thailand range from 40,000 to 60,000 and for Laos they range from 100,000 to 200,000.

In the same general area as the So people there are also non-Katuic speaking groups of Phuthai, Saek, Nyoh, as well as various other Katuic groups such as So Tri and diverse types of Bru. All of these communities are, of course, intermixed with the dominant Thai and Lao (Isan) peoples that populate the northeastern part of Thailand.

4. So Multilingualism

There is a hierarchy of languages in Thailand (Smalley 1994) which has helped to maintain many minority languages, including So. Smalley suggests that it represents Thailand's language hierarchy as below:
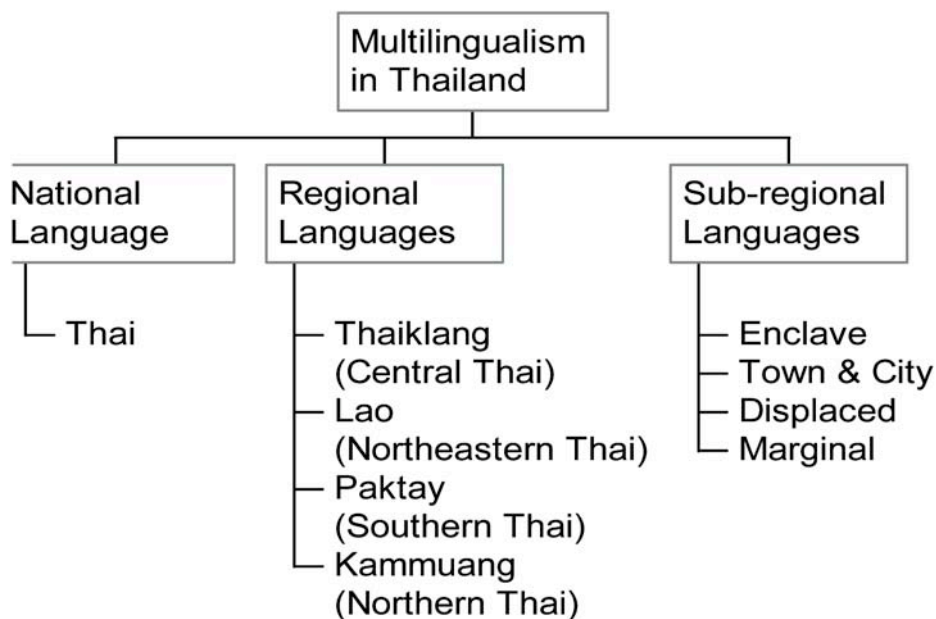

Figure 5 Thailand's Hierarchy of Languages (Smalley 1994:69)

At the top of Smalley's hierarchy is Thai as the national language. At the next level are the four main regional languages of Central Thai, Northern Thai, northeastern Thai, and Southern Thai. Under each regional language there are various sub-regional languages (enclave, town & city, displaced, and marginal). Enclave languages are small languages completely surrounded by other different languages, such as Nyahkur, Mlabri, etc. Town and city languages are Chinese, Vietnamese, etc. Displaced languages are Phuan, Song, Tai Lue, etc. So (along with Kuy, Malay, Northern Khmer) fits in Smalley's marginal language category defined as a language group with the majority of people living on the other side of the border. Languages spoken at home with family and with neighbors in the immediate community are the enclave, displaced, and marginal languages. But when these same speakers move out of their community then they would speak a regional or national language depending on whom they are speaking to and where they are at that time.

Of course, the reality is that these levels are not strictly distinct. There is a gradual trickling down of words, phrases, expressions from the upper levels to the lower. Thus an educated Bangkok person speaks Thai-English (since English is an international language), an Isan person speaks Thai-Lao, and a So person speaks So-Lao. This means many educated Bangkokians speak high register Thai with a lot of English sprinkled in, an Isan person will speak central Lao with a lot of Thai words added in, and many So people will speak So mixing their speech with a lot of Lao words and a few Thai words.

The So of northeastern Thailand (around 55,000) are, as noted above, a marginal language in Thailand, since the majority of the So speakers (over 100,000) live in their homeland of the central Lao region. They speak So in the home, within their immediate home community, and within their extended community of other neighboring So communities. When they move out of their immediate community they speak northeastern Thai (Isan Lao), which is their regional language. They also speak Lao whenever they are unsure if the other person is a So speaker or not. If they move out of the northeast, such as going to work in Bangkok, they attempt to speak Standard Thai as best as they can. Most So people under 45 years of age have attended some primary schooling (at least for a few years) at a local elementary school where they would have been exposed to reading, writing, and speaking Standard Thai. The So people are bilingual (Malai 1980) with the degree of bilingualism depending on the distance of the home from the Thai centers. The So vocabulary shows many loanwords. They may have borrowed more words from the Phu Thai groups with whom they live in close proximity than from the Lao (Gainey 1985:18).

5. Overview of So Phonology

Most of the Thai letters can be used in the So language with close to the same phonetic value. This means that many of the So sounds are also found in the Thai language. But some So sounds are unique with no clear correspondence to a Thai letter. In these cases a Thai letter (graph) that most closely resembles the different sound in the So language has been chosen.

5.1 So Initial Consonants

There are 21 initial consonants phonemes in the So language.

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive Aspirated	pʰ	ผ	tʰ	ท	cʰ	ช	kʰ	ค		
Plosive Voiceless	p	ป	t	ต	c	จ	k	ก	ʔ	อ
Plosive Voiced	b	บ	d	ด						
Fricatives					s	ซ			h	ฮ
Nasals	m	ม	n	น	ɲ	ญ	ŋ	ง		
Flaps			r	ร						
Approximates	w	ว	l	ล	y	ย				

5.2 So Final Consonants

There are 14 single final consonants in the So language.

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive Voiceless	p	บ	t	ด	c	จ	k	ก	ʔ	ห์
Fricatives									h	ฮ
Nasals	m	ม	n	น	ɲ	ญ	ŋ	ง		
Flaps			r	ร						
Approximates	w	ว	l	ล	y	ย				

5.3 So Initial Consonant Clusters

There are 8 initial So consonant clusters.

	Labial		Alveolar		Velar	
Plosive Voiceless	pr	ปร	tr	ตร	kr	กร
	pl	ปล			kl	กล
Plosive Voiceless Aspirated			tʰr	ทร		
Plosive Voiced	br	บร				
	bl	บล				

5.4 So Final Consonant Clusters

There are 3 final So consonant clusters.

w?	ว ห์
y?	ย ห์
yh	ย ฮ

5.5 So Basic Vowels

There are 11 basic (monophthong) So vowels all of which have contrastive length: there is both a long and a short version for each of these eleven vowels. Since the Thai language only has 9 basic vowels, Since the Thai language only has 9 basic vowels, this means that So has two additional vowels which the Thai language alphabet does not have a symbol œ These two vowels are an extra central mid vowel and an extra low back vowel.

	Front		**Central**		**Back**	
	Short	**Long**	**Short**	**Long**	**Short**	**Long**
High	i	i:	ɯ	ɯ:	u	u:
Open	กิ	กี	กึ	กื	กุ	กู
Closed	กิก	กีก	กึก	กืก	กุก	กูก
Mid	e	e:	ɤ	ɤ:	o	o:
Open	เกะ	เก	เกอะ	เกอ	โกะ	โก
Closed	เก็ก	เกก	เกือก	เกิก	กก	โกก
Low-Mid	ɛ	ɛ:	ʌ	ʌ:	ɔ	ɔ:
Open	แกะ	แก	แกอะ	แกอ	โก๊ะ	โก๊
Closed	แก็ก	แกก	แกือก	แกิก	ก๊ก	โก๊ก
Low			a	a:	ɑ	ɑ:
Open			กะ	กา	เกาะ	กอ
Closed			กัก	กาก	กือก	กอก

5.6 So Diphthongs

The So script writes 5 diphthongs.

	Front		Central	Back	
	Mid - glided	**Low - glided**	**Glided- mid**	**Mid- glided**	**Low- glided**
High	iɤ	ia	ɯa	uɤ	ua
Open	เกีย	เกียา	เกือ	กัว	กวา
Closed	เกียก	เกียาก	เกือก	กวก	กวาก

5.7 So Register

The So language does not have tones like Thai, but it has register consisting of two contrastive phonation types, clear and breathy. Register 1 is the clear or normal voice while register 2 is the breathy voice which has the effect of making words sound deeper. Register 1 is unmarked and register 2 (breathy) is marked with the Thai script "may eek" over the consonant as in the word /kʰu̯:/คู่

Register		Thai Symbol	Example	Example in IPA	Example Meaning
1	--	ก	มัด	mat	near future
2	a̤	ก่	มั่ด	ma̤t	eye

5.8 So Syllabic Nasals

The So presyllable can consist of a syllabic nasal which assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the major syllable.

m̩	ม่	ม่แปก	m̩pɛːk	to divide
n̩	น่	น่ต่ฮ	n̩to̤h	riverbank
ɲ̩	น่	น่จัก	ɲ̩cak	second person singular
ŋ̍	น่	น่กัร	ŋ̍kar	animal skin

6. So Expressives

6.1 Introduction

Various terms have been used to describe an interesting feature of Southeast Asian languages in which words are reduplicated with a wide range of possible meanings. These words are usually easy to notice but often hard to define as a class. In general these seem to be iconic in that there is a more direct relationship between some of the speech sound properties and the meaning of these phrases.

A variety labels have been used œ expressives, reduplication, echo-word reduplication, sound symbolism, intensification, descriptives, onomatopoeia, size sound symbolism, iconicity, vowel sound and size, sound symbolic value of vocatives and of involuntary noises, 'conventional sound symbolism', phonesthemes, ideophones, exclamations, four-syllable idiomatic expressions.

These can be described as a special class of the lexicon as in "expressives", or a part of the syntax as in "intensification". It can be part of the phonology as in "reduplication", "size sound symbolism", or "vowel sound and size". It can also be described as part of the semantics as in "descriptives", "onomatopoeia", "iconicity", "sound symbolic value of vocatives and of involuntary noises", "conventional sound symbolism", "ideophones", "exclamations", "four-syllable idiomatic expressions".

The idea of expressives is that the speaker wishes to convey extra sensations (emotional feelings, visual impressions, sounds, tactile feelings, etc) that are not quite captured with the normal vocabulary range in the language. Another way to look at this is that the external situation has some animate volition whereby it can speak and somehow express itself - i.e., through this special set of expressive phrases. This can be thought of as "expressions from nature" in which nature 'speaks' through various sensations. The message from nature is iconic in that the original sensation is preserved as much as is possible.

> In English we see something similar in:
>
> *I lit the match and the whole kitchen went "bang".*
>
> *He hit the pavement with a "thud".*
>
> *He talked on "yack, yack, yack".*
>
> *She touched the bruise and he yelled "ouch".*

Generally, though, in English these are one-word items which approximate some sound. But in Southeast Asian languages these are usually at least two syllables and many times there is some form of reduplication. Some or all of the following properties may be seen (Hsu 1989):

> 1. Phonologically - a little different (segments, stress-patterns, or other phonotatics not found in the general vocabulary, etc)
> 2. Grammatically - different from other words (uninflectable when other words are typically inflected, restricted to special constructions, or able to function as complete utterance, etc)
> 3. Semantically - usually the "meaning" is difficult to define (they are often described as characterizing an entire situation, or describing sense-based properties in several modalities at once, e.g. color, size, and speed, etc)
> 4. Stylistically - provide additional color not available from the general lexicon

6.2 Expressives

Expressives describe the appearance, sound, or feel of something happening. Usually this takes the form of some kind of reduplication.

They can be in doublet form:

ak ak	the sound of laughing
paŋ paŋ	the sound of shooting
kʰɯp kʰɯp	the sound of many people doing something together
caːŋ paːŋ	the sound of the earth dividing
c̣iaw c̣iaw	he sound of steam rising
pɛk pɛk	the sound of clapping
piŋ piŋ	the sound of slapping
pok pok	the sound of cutting (i.e., of trees)
puːt puːt	the sound of stretching
tʰaːt tʰaːt	the sound of a storm

And they can come in longer forms:

tum.taːm tum.taːm	the sound of shooting
ɔːk aːk ɔːk aːk	the sound of many people screaming
li lɤː li lɤː	the sound of searching
pạl.la.pụːt pạl.la.p̣iac	the sound of war

6.3 Description of Sounds

Some examples of expressives with the meaning of description of sounds.

EXAMPLE 1 (from Daughter-in-Law 011 Text)

puːt   puːt   sound of stretching

ciːa	la	mụ̣ɤy	maŋ	ka.tɯy	ka.tɯy	ka.tɯy	tẹh
eat	and	tired	only	pull	pull	pull	leech

hɤːy	tị̈ː	i.tɑh	tị̈ː	puːt.puːt
already	pull	tear	pull	sound_stretching

She ate and tried to tear the leech until she was tired.

An example is seen below where the daughter-in-law is looking, trying hard to find a way out of the inner room of the house.

EXAMPLE 2 (from Daughter-in-Law and The Spirit Room Text)

li.lɤː li.lɤː ʌːt ti klɔːŋ kiː
sound_looking exist at inside there

She was still looking everywhere for a way out of the room (inside the room there was the sound of searching/shuffling).

Another example is where the turtle laughs when he is able to beat the monkey (from the *Turtle* text).

EXAMPLE 3 (from Turtle Text)

an kaː ci.caŋ ak.ak lɛwʔ
3psg then laugh sound_laugh PRT_emphasis

He then really laughed and laughed.

6.4 Intesification

Some examples of reduplication with the meaning of intesification.

EXAMPLE 4 (from Thresh 02 Text)

pʰiːaŋ pʰiːaŋ smooth smooth

ta.mit a.lay kaː kʰua bat a.lɑ̥h tah liːan waːɣʔ ta.rah
first 3p then cut grass take_out from thresh_ground before cut

ku.tɛːk ɔːn an pʰiːaŋ pʰiːaŋ
dirt cause 3psg smooth smooth

First they clear the grass from the threshing floor before (and then) cutting the dirt so as to make (the ground) very smooth.

EXAMPLE 5 (from Thresh 04 Text)

kʰak kʰak clean clean/good good

kʰua bat cɣː ta.rah ku.tɛ̥ːk pʰiːaŋ cɣ̥ː kaː kuaːt pʰon kuaːt
cut grass already cut dirt smooth already then sweep dust sweep

ko̥ːl ɔːn an aːc kʰak kʰak
stone cause 3psg clear clean clean

After cutting the grass and after smoothing out the dirt, then (you) sweep away the dust and the stones thus making it (the ground) very clean.

EXAMPLE 6 (from Thresh 32 Text)

sa.ŋɑːt pʌ sa.ŋɑːt pʌ withered go withered go

an hɣːm maŋ ta.nʌːmpri̥at kʰɑːŋ a.caw kaː sa.ŋɑːt pʌ sa.ŋɑːt pʌ
3psg see only tree banana belong self then withered go withered go

He saw his banana tree only becoming more withered.

EXAMPLE 7 (from Thresh 34 Text)

pṵːt a.cɔːn   pṵːt a.cɔːn   big ascend   big ascend

bat   an   ta.wa̰ŋ   lo̰ːn   prḭat   kʰɑːŋ   na̰w   piːt   pat   hɤːm
grass 3psg look_far examine banana belong Mr   turtle then see

pṵːt a.cɔːn   pṵːt a.cɔːn
big   ascend   big   ascend

When he looked at Mr. Tutrle's banana tree, he could see that it was growing bigger all the time.

6.5 Four-Syllable Idiomatic Expression

Some examples of four-syllable phrases with an idiomatic meaning.

EXAMPLE 8 (from Growing Rice 01 Text)

ta.mit ta.mḭː   begin first (at first/in the beginning)

ta.mit.ta.mḭː hi   kaː   pʌ   tʰay   ta.liːŋ
at_first   1ppl then go   plow   rice_field

First, we go out to plow the rice fields.

EXAMPLE 9 (from Daughter-in-Law 05 Text)

ta   ŋṵːaːc ta cḭːa do drink do eat (eats and drinks)
ta.wḭa ta.ŋḭːaːn   do job do work (working)

mḭː   maŋ   ta   ŋṵːaːc ta   cḭːa   ɔːn   cḭːa dɑ
have   only do   drink   do   eat   give eat   not

ta.wḭa   ta.ŋḭːaːn ṋtro̰ːw paːy
do_job   do_work   what   said

"Mother only eats and drinks and does not do any work" she said.

EXAMPLE 10 (from Daughter-in-Law 03 Text)

hun.hṵː hun.hay   easily angered

lɛː ku.man   kḭː   hun.hṵːhun.hay
and daughter_in_law that   easily_angry

The daughter-in-law was easily angry and annoyed.

EXAMPLE 11 (from Thresh 04 Text)

kuaːt pʰon kuaːt ko̰ːl   sweep dust sweep stone

kʰua bat   cɤː   ta.rah ku.tɛːk pʰḭaŋ cɤː   kaː   kuaːt
cut   grass already cut   dirt   smooth already then sweep

pʰon kuaːt ko̰ːl ɔːn an   aːc kʰak kʰak
dust   sweep stone cause 3psg clear clean clean

After cutting the grass and after smoothing out the dirt, then (you) sweep away the dust and the stones thus making it (the ground) very very clean.

EXAMPLE 12 (from Thresh 05 Text)

taːm ka.ruːm taːm kɒ̣   around underneath around fence

cɤ̱ːkaː pʌ cuːayʔ krɛ   ci.rḭːak taːm ka.ruːm taːm kɒ̣
and_then go search excretion buffalo around underneath around fence

muː.kḭ   naː
anywhere_there PRT_cmd

And then go searching for buffalo dung anywhere around underneath houses or around fenced enclosures (animal pens).

EXAMPLE 13 (from Samat Pig & Dog 08-09 Text)

tiːn pʌ tiːn cṳː   step go step return

a.cɑː pʌ lḭapː   lo̤ːn   tiːn pʌ tiːn cṳː
dog go walk_around examine step go step return

The dog walked around checking on things going (stepping) out and coming (stepping) back.

EXAMPLE 14 (from Turtle 060 Text)

pak ŋ krɛ pak klo̤ŋ   insert buttock insert back

n̥a̤w ta.mṳr bat ci.lḭːa pak ŋ krɛ pak klo̤ŋ an cɤ̱ː
Mr monkey when thorn insert buttock insert back 3psg already

(as for) Mr. Monkey, when the thorns poked into his bottom and back already (... he then crawled over to the piece of wood, where the turtle was hiding inside the hole).

EXAMPLE 15 (from Sipriang the Liar 079 Text)

krṳɤŋ a krṳɤŋ nḭːa̤y   region grandparent (mother's) region grandparent (father's)

cu krṳɤŋ a   krṳɤŋ nḭːa̤y   cɤ̱ː
until region grand parent (mother) region grandparent (father) already

I return to the grandparent's region (the place of the dead) already.

EXAMPLE 16 (from Daughter-in-Law 031 Text)

ɲḭ.doŋ ɲḭ.wḭːl   everybody (all house all village)

tɤ̱ sa.ŋay po̤ŋ a.tʰaw kaː a.sɛːŋ lɛwʔ a.sɛːŋ iː pʌ
arrive day cremate 3pol then climb_down PRT_emph climb_down will go

ci   ɲḭ.doŋ.ɲḭ.wḭːl kraːŋ   kaː m̥pḭːayh pɤ̱t
PRT_cmd everybody carry_2people then neg able

On the cremation day, everyone tried to carry the body but no one was able to.

EXAMPLE 17 (from Daughter-in-Law 027 Text)

ɲḭ doŋ ɲḭ krṳaŋ   everybody (all house all country)

ku.ciːt cɤ̱ːlɛː   ɲḭ doŋ ɲḭ krṳaŋ nay sʌ
die and_then all house all country this not_do

She said, "Later when I am already dead, do not let anyone carry my body (or - it is not right that anyone should carry my body) except the daughter-in-law".

Here is an idiomatic expression which doesn't quite fit the four-syllable pattern.

EXAMPLE 18 (from Turtle 067 Text)

mɯ̞ɤy maŋ a.tɔk   mɯ̞ɤy maŋ a.kla̰w   try only poke tired only poke_dull

ta.mɯr an   mɯ̞ɤy maŋ a.tɔk   mɯ̞ɤy maŋ a.kla̰w
monkey   3psg   tired   only   poke   tired   only   poke_dull
The monkey, he was tired of only poking and poking (the turtle).

6.6 Reduplication

Reduplication of some sort is a feature of all these phrases. Sometimes there is a complete reduplication of the morpheme (two syllable form) CVC - CVC.

ka̰k   ka̰k
clean   clean - very clean

Complete reduplication of morpheme (four syllable form) CVC_CV - CVC_CV .

ɲaŋ.mɯː   ɲaŋ.mɯː
when hand   when hand - i.e., all day

Partial reduplication of the morpheme (two syllable form) C_1VC - C_2VC.

pḭŋ   dḭŋ
very   still

Partial reduplication of morpheme CV_CV_1C - CV_CV_2C.

la.ŋit   laːŋɑːt
to act lazy

Partial reduplication of morpheme $CV\_CV_1C_1$ - $CV\_CV_2C_2$.

sa.baw   sa.bot
to speak loudly

Semantic reduplication has two free morphemes with the same general meaning but there is also phonological reduplication of part of the phrase.

- CVC_word1 - CVC_word2
  nam.doŋ nam.suː
  in house   in hut - i.e., all over the house

- CVC_CV_word1 - CVC_CV_word2
  pan.ci.tṵac pan.ci.klɛc
  in steal is thief - i.e., person always stealing

- word1_VC - word2_VC
  tʰɯː.ʌːt a.dɯːŋ.ʌːt
  respect exist bring exist - i.e., pay respect (to the spirits)

Reduplication of adverbs or verbs is used to show intensification as seen in this example:

EXAMPLE 19

kuaːt koːl ɔːn an   aːc kʰak kʰak
sweep stone for 3psg clear clean clean

Sweep away the stones so that it is clear and very clean.

7. Southeast Areal Features

Areal features of Southeast Asia have been described by many linguists down through the years. Pinnow (1960) listed areal features of Southeast Asia which contrasted with those he had found in South Asia:

    1. genitive postposed
    2. head-modifier
    3. noun-adjective-genitive
    4. verb-object (object postverbal)
    5. no extensive morphology
    6. predominantly prefixes (loss of affixes generally)
    7. tendency towards monosyllabicity
    8. no dental/ retroflex distinction
    9. tendency to develop tonemes

Henderson (1965) wrote of concentration areas where there is a confluence of features in specific geographical areas:

    1. tone (presence or absence)
    2. register (presence or absence)
    3. initial consonant patterns
    4. syllabification patterns
    5. vowel systems
    6. final consonant patterns

Suriya in 1988 gave an initial listing of areal typological features:

    1. numeral classifiers
    2. sentence final particles
    3. formation of ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers - such as Thai thii3
    4. comparative construction - such as Thai kwaa2 "more than"
    5. continuous aspect marker - such as Thai juu2 "exist"
    6. V not V questions (tag questions)
    7. nouns used as prepositions - such as Thai khong5 noun "thing" or the preposition "of"
    8. "suffer-type passive" construction in which there is some adverse effect on the subject - such as Thai thuuk2
    9. compound Noun/ Verb - such as Thai paa2 + dong "forest + forest"
    10. verb serialization (verbs as coverbs, prepositions, and serial constructions) - such as Thai hay3 verb "give" and preposition "to"
    11. tonogenesis in compensation for a change somewhere in the syllable

She then made a subset of this list (Suriya 1990) for Thai Languages, which would be generally applicable (with some modifications) to the whole Southeast Asian region:

1. monosyllabicity
2. tonality
3. no morphology
4. simple syntax
5. verb serialization
6. numeral classifiers
7. final particles

Finally Edmondson and Solnit (1988) propose a list of features, which also includes elaborate expressions:

1. monosyllabicity
2. glottalized consonants
3. isolating/ analytic syntax
4. four-syllable elaborate expressions

Along with Edmondson and Solnit, we can add "expressives" or more generally "elaborate expressions" to this bundle of features that are seen thourghout the various language families of the Southeast Asian linguistic area. The So language confirms this feature among MK languages. This provides further documentation of this attribute among Southeast Asian languages in general.

8. Further Work

Expressives (ideophones) have been attested around the world in many languages. They have been particularly noted among African language families but have not been as well documented in Asian languages. More work is needed to compile a cross-linguistic study of this phenomenon in Asian languages. This would help in providing some idea of how widespread the phenomenon is which would assist typological studies of variation across the world's languages.

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