kan
IN MODERN STANDARD THAI[1]

by

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The subject of these investigations[2] is the word **kan** found in the predicate of Thai sentences following the main verb or as the closure component of a number of adverbial expressions. Just what part **kan** plays in the predicate will be discussed later. The first task is to ensure that the word is clearly identified and clearly distinguished from any homophones. At the outset it is helpful to point out that what is here called a word is in other authors called a particle[3]. This is an issue of terminology which will also be left until later in the discussion, but what should be mentioned at this point is that it is one and the same **kan** that we speak of. As for homophones, if we appeal to dictionaries we shall leave no doubt as to what the subject for discussion is and, moreover, we shall also have a starting-point in a common-sense statement about what kind of a word **kan** is and what meanings it is capable of having. Word-class in dictionary terms gives us a start on syntax; definition in dictionary terms gives us a start on lexis.

Let us appeal first to PRB[4]. There are two numbered main-entries. The second, classed as verb, cannot possibly be the one we have in mind[5]. We therefore specify which is the relevant meaning from a variety of sub-entries under Number 1 with the following classes: pronoun, verb

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1) 'Modern Standard Thai' is meant to cover both spoken and written styles. Evidence for written usage has been drawn from journals, newspapers and novels. For spoken usage a group of Thai colleagues and friends was relied upon. The criterion for acceptability was that any one native speaker accepted an utterance as good Thai. There may therefore be differences of opinion about the acceptability of certain sequences or sentences, but it is held that these do not materially affect the conclusions reached for which, of course, the author alone accepts responsibility.

2) All works referred to are coded by initials and the bibliographical references are to be found at the end of the article. The transcription is that of Mary Haas as set out in the introduction (pp. x—xv) to TESD.

3) NSMT. See my footnote 20 below.

4) p. 124. กัน ๑ and กัน ๒.

5) โกนให้เสมอ; ถือ, จับ (ข) _____ *shave smooth or level; hold, grasp.* (Khmer loanword)

and **wisèed** (adjective/adverb type of stative or descriptive word, in Thai classifiable by structural analysis as a sub-class of the verb).   There is no hesitation in choosing the definition of our word **kan** as the one which reads "a verb-modifier indicating that the doers of an action number from two upwards" with examples given: **tii kan** and **phúud kan**[6].   This definition is marked as belonging to **kan** of the adjective/adverb class. PBPW has virtually the same definition and agrees in word classification. Before proceeding, let us note that the keynote of the meaning is plurality with reference to the Subject—the "doers of an action", i.e. a plural noun—whereas the word-class links **kan,** in its capacity of a modifying attribute, with the verb or with the sort of words we should expect to be capable of figuring in the predicate of a sentence.   Indeed, we have already seen these expectations fulfilled: the word **kan** is found in the predicate and only in the predicate.   It remains to be seen whether, because it is found there, it is necessarily modifying the predicate. Dictionary definitions seem to offer a hint that it is a part, albeit a dis-junctive part, of the Subject, in which case it might be derived under noun and, thus, not a **wisèed** word at all.

If another dictionary, TESD[7], is consulted, the entry **kan** that we seek is obviously entry number 1 where we find the definitions: "(1) each other, one another, mutually, together.   (2) severally (imparting a distributive sense to the verb).   Often not rendered explicitly in English." In both of these definitions plurality is implicit.   Though we recognise the additional semantic ingredient of the feelings or transactions appro-priate to plurality, we must also bear it in mind that this additional gloss or nuance will not be so strong as always to bring itself to the notice of an English translator.   I think it is fair to assume that this means that the English plural forms are often enough to convey the Thai meaning.   When we look at the word-class, we find it is an unique one, Reciprocal Pronoun.   It is beginning to look as if the hint about **kan's** participation in a Subject, which is ultimately derived under noun, has been taken up.   Regrettably, there is no room in Mary Haas' *Brief Des-cription of Thai*, which prefaces the dictionary, for any explanation of this uniqueness.   As a pronoun, though, we might expect it to conform

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6) ว. (วิเศษณ์) เป็นคำรับกิริยาให้รู้ว่ามีผู้กระทำมากตั้งแต่สองขึ้นไป เช่น ตีกัน, พูดกัน
7) TESD pp. 25 and 26.

to the requirements of such a statement as: "Personal Pronouns may be substituted for nouns but they are not followed by as many types of attributes."[8] We might expect this because the distinction between the terms 'Personal' and 'Reciprocal' does not seem to be of an order such as to preclude the statement's application to **kan**. After all, the reciprocity must be envisaged as being effected between the Persons (First, Second and Third) in some way or other,—'between' them, that is to say, or 'within' them as plurals. And if the dictionary's classifying of **kan** as a kind of pronoun offers a likelihood that what applies to Personal Pronouns will also apply to Reciprocal ones, it is furthermore true that **kan** permits fewer attributes than do nouns. Though **kan** commonly occurs in predicate strings in a 'slot' in the word order before, say, adverbs or quantifying expressions[9], it can easily be shown that these are not attributes of **kan**, despite the word order's immediate prompting, but attributes of the predicate, or of the Subject or Object nouns, respectively. The limitations placed upon attribution with Personal Pronouns, therefore, seem in the case of the Reciprocal Pronoun to have grown so as to become a total ban. But even accepting **kan** as an extreme or odd type of pronoun, we must still raise a further question before passing on to other aspects of this investigation. It is: for what is **kan** substituting? A clearer way of asking this is to say: where **kan** now is, was there a noun or a noun phrase standing? Does **kan** in some way refer to this noun's nature and existence and does it mark its location in a sentence's word-order?

This point is taken up by the authors of WPPT who make no bones about the criterion of substitution in identifying pronominality. Under "Partitive Pronouns" (**wíphâagsàbphanaam**)[10] comes the explanation:

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8) *ibid.* p. xxi

9) In the . . . **kan mòd**, . . . **kan jàj** sequences discussed later in this investigation it is possible to see an intimate association between **kan** and certain following adverbs but this does not amount to attribution in the strict sense of the word. The placing of **kan** within a predicate string is dealt with in FOT, pp. 363-364. TRG p. 160 has a revealing note about predicates containing **hàj** and **ʔaw** with **kan** but it is not relevant to attribution.

10) WPPT. p. 144: ก. *วิภาคสรรพนาม* "วิภาค" แปลว่า แยกจำแนก หมายถึงคำแทนนนาม ข้างหน้าเพื่อแยกนามนั้นออกเบนส่วน สรรพนามจำพวกนี้ได้แก่คำ ต่าง บ้าง กัน ดังจะอธิบาย ต่อไปพร้อมด้วยตัวอย่างดังนี้ .... "กัน" ใช้แทนนามข้างหน้าเพื่อแสดงคำนามนั้น แยกเบนหลายส่วน และทำกิริยาเกยวข้องกันหรือโต้ตอบกัน เช่น สุนัขกัดกัน, หนอง ทะเลาะกัน

"**wíphâag** means *divide, distribute,* and refers to words substituting for a preceeding noun so as to divide up this noun into parts. The pronouns of this group are: **tàaŋ, bâaŋ** and **kan,** as they occur in the following examples: . . . **kan** is used to substitute for a preceeding noun in order to show that this noun is divided into parts doing actions that are in an inter-linked or reciprocal relationship, eg. **sùnág kàd kan, phii-nɔ́ɔŋ thalɔ́? kan.**" A useful reminder follows (**khɔ̌ɔ sǎŋkèed rɣaŋ wíphâagsàbphanaam**): "**kan** may be misunderstood as being a **wisèed** word. It should be remembered that the word **kan** that is a pronoun must show an inter-linked or reciprocal relationship and it must be a word that substitutes for a noun that is the recipient of an action or for a noun that constitutes some part of the sentence."[11] We therefore have two kinds of **kan**: the pronoun being implicitly plural in the sense that it takes two to make up reciprocity; and the adverb signifying plurality presumably in some more explicit way. The other side of the coin, as it were, needs looking at: **kan** as a **wisèed** word.

Under **pramaanawisèed,** glossed as words "indicating quantity", **kan** will be found exemplified under 1(b): "In addition to these there are also words indicating quantity but not in a specifically exact way. They are: **mâag, nɔ́ɔj** . . . **kan** etc. eg. . . . **maa tham-ŋaan kan thɔ̀?.**"[12] We may legitimately understand 'quantity' (**camnuan**) here to include the idea of plurality by reason of the company kept by **kan** (**mâag** and **nɔ́ɔj,** among others) and because of the treatment of 'number' (**camnuan náb**) in a different sub-section of **pramaanawisèed**—2(a)—which, of course, includes singularity (**nɣŋ**) quite specifically. Already, however, there are some doubts about **kan**'s pluralizing force. The sentence chosen to illustrate 'adverbial' **kan** can be understood two ways. As 'Come on, let's work !'

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11) *ibid.*: ข้อสังเกตเรื่องวิภาคสรรพนาม คำ "ต่าง บ้าง กัน" นี้อาจจะใช้เป็นคำประเภท
อื่นได้ จึงควรมีแนวสังเกตดังนี้ .... ๒) "กัน" อาจเข้าใจผิดว่าเป็นคำวิเศษณ์ได้
ควรจำว่าคำ "กัน" ที่เป็นวิภาคสรรพนามนั้น จะต้องแสดงการเกี่ยวข้องกันหรือโต้ตอบกัน
และจะต้องเป็นคำที่ใช้แทนนามที่เป็นผู้ถูกกระทำหรือนามส่วนหนึ่งส่วนใดของประโยค

12) *ibid.* p. 155: ง. *ประมาณวิเศษณ์* เป็นคำประกอบคำอื่น เพื่อขยายความบอกจำนวน
จำกัดบ้าง ไม่จำกัดบ้าง บางทีก็แบ่งความ บางทีบอกจำนวนนับ จะได้แยกอธิบายเป็นส่วน ๆ
ไปดังนี้ .... ก) ประมาณวิเศษณ์ ซึ่งบ่งจำนวน แยกออกได้ดังนี้ .... (๒) นอกจากนี้
ยังมีคำบ่งจำนวนซึ่งไม่แน่นอนนัก ได้แก่คำ .... กัน ฯลฯ เช่น .... มาทำงานกันเถอะ

we have understood it to have a First Person plural Subject. As 'Come and work (with us)!', however, we have understood the Subject to be Second Person, in which case it might just as well be singular as plural. And in this sentence, is **kan** the attribute (for, note the definition, **wisèed words** are **kham prakɔ̀ɔb kham ʔy̌yn**) of an understood Subject (i.e. adjectival), or is it an attribute of the verb **tham-ŋaan** (i.e. adverbial)? This is still unclear.

Whatever the procedure followed by the authors of WPPT to classify forms, the findings are quite compatible with those that a modern, structural analysis might also present. It is common enough to meet with a form analysed as two or more homophonous words on the basis of differing word-class or word sub-class. Such words, for instance, as **wii** or **khamooj** may be classed as nouns or verbs according to the dictates of syntax. They make major inter-category changes, but suffering withal hardly any changes in referential meaning.[13] Such words as **thii** and **càag** likewise fall into different classifications, the former ranging between the noun 'place', the preposition 'at', the relative pronoun 'where, who, which' and the ordinal numeral marker; the latter being either a verb, 'to part', or the preposition 'from'. They make minor intra-category transfers in as much as they range from full noun and full verb respectively to more restricted classes.[14] The restricted

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13) Eg. noun : ช่วยส่ง หวี ได้ไหมคะ

'Would you please pass *the comb*.'

verb : ช่วย หวี ผมได้ไหมคะ

'Would you please *comb* my hair.'

and

verb : เขาไม่ได้ ขโมย รถ

'He didn't *steal* the car.'

noun : เขาไม่ได้เป็น ขโมย หรอก

'He isn't *a thief*, you know.'

14) Eg. คน ที่ สามคือคน ที่ ซื้อ ที่ จังหวัดสงขลา

'*The third* person was the one *who* bought *land in* Songkhla province.'
being an exemplification of ordinal numeral, relative pronoun, noun and preposition in succession.

and

verb : คู่รักไม่อยากให้มีวันจะ จาก กัน

'The lovers did not want ever *to part*.'

prep. : คู่รักไม่อยากเดินทาง จาก เมืองไทย

'The lovers did not want to travel *away from* Thailand.'

classes could be said to make up most, if not all,[15] of their membership by recruiting words from the noun and verb categories and causing them to specialize. This specialization cannot run counter to referential meaning, but it must obviously devote this meaning to a particular function. Thus it comes about that, by analysis of syntax, special classes are identified with these special functions. Structural analysis is careful to make this class-specialization clear. But it tends to relegate the *processes* of specialization, and the semantic referential relationships therein relied upon, to a particular type of scholarship more properly viewed as the study of the diachronic development of a language rather than as being a grammatical pursuit.

If **kan** is a case in point, then a severely structural account of WPPT's findings would leave two homophones (**kan** the pronoun and **kan** the adverb) listed alongside the other homophones (**kan** the verb 'to prevent'; **kan** the Khmer loan-word 'to hold'; **kan** a male First Person pronoun; and another verb, 'to shave') without further gloss. This is counter-intuitive.

Intuition tells us that there must have been processes that still exert a conditioning influence upon certain uses of homophonous forms. We assume, for example, that non-synonymous homophones like **kan** for 'I' and **kan** for 'to shave' (cf. also **phǒm** for 'I' and **phǒm** for 'hair' etc.) can never have had any grounds for incompatibility when used together in the same grammatical structure—unless, of course, plausible collocation and stylistic feed-back in the avoidance of homophony be counted, and we do not admit them as being grammatical considerations here. We may further check for compatibility of main as against restricted classes and remark that multiple **thii**-forms, main and restricted, seem to occur readily in close sequence in the same sentence, but multiple **càag** forms (or **khâw**—'to enter'/'into', or **thy̌ŋ**—'to arrive'/'up to' etc.) are not likely so to occur, the reason being that the diachronic process has not specialized far enough yet to make possible a complete break into two. The suspicion about **kan**, however, is that there has never been a break at all: it is unreasonable in Thai to *want* to use multiple **kan** in one and the same predicate, intending one as 'unison' togetherness and the other as

15) See my footnote 17 below.

'particular' reciprocity. Take the English 'With one accord they all kissed each other the moment the New Year bells rang out.' The point is not that such a sentence is untranslatable (by using such a sequence as ... **phaa kan cùub kan** ... , for instance, it would be possible) but that it is unreasonable to expect a sequence ... **cùub kan kan** ... to be even a faint prospect.[16] Even from a synchronoic point of view, it would be of interest, to say the least, to grade homophony into the randomly coincidental cases and the derivationally close cases. If we accept this and we do grade **kan** forms in these terms, then we might wish to subject **kan**'s meanings to closer investigation, or, at least, that part of meaning that is common to both the pronoun and the adverb. More important than this, though, is to examine the two kinds of specialization that invite two distinct classifications for **kan** to see whether they remind us of other major inter-category changes or other minor intra-category ones.

As a pronoun on the one hand and an adverb on the other, we are tempted to look for a derivation under both noun and verb—one of the major inter-category ambivalences. But **kan** is not amenable to the immediate and convincing kind of syntactical analysis that makes **wĭi** and **khamooj** such obvious candidates for dual classification. It will not take negation to show it is a verb/adjective/adverb. It will not substitute for a noun Subject in the Subject 'slot' to show it is a pronoun. Minor intra-category dualities present similar difficulties. As a highly specialized member of the set of pronouns (recalling remarks above on the Reciprocal Pronoun) and also of the set of one-word adverbs (it cannot, for instance, double up as an adjective; it cannot be modified or compared), it plays roles that are difficult to match with those of other specializing families. The family of prepositions, for instance, fits into a simple pattern like the following, and its relationships are plotted along the minor dimension (downwards), in contrast to the major dimension, exemplified by the form **wĭi** (across the top).

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16) The idiomatic sequence **kan lɛ̌ʔ kan** comes near to this, of course, but it is not suggested that the first and second occurrences are felt as different *meanings* of **kan** (unison and reciprocal) but, rather, as different arrangements of participants in the *same* transaction with the *same* relationships. Towards the close of this investigation a theory will be advanced to account for **kan lɛ̌ʔ kan** in terms of arrangements of participants in reversible partnerships.
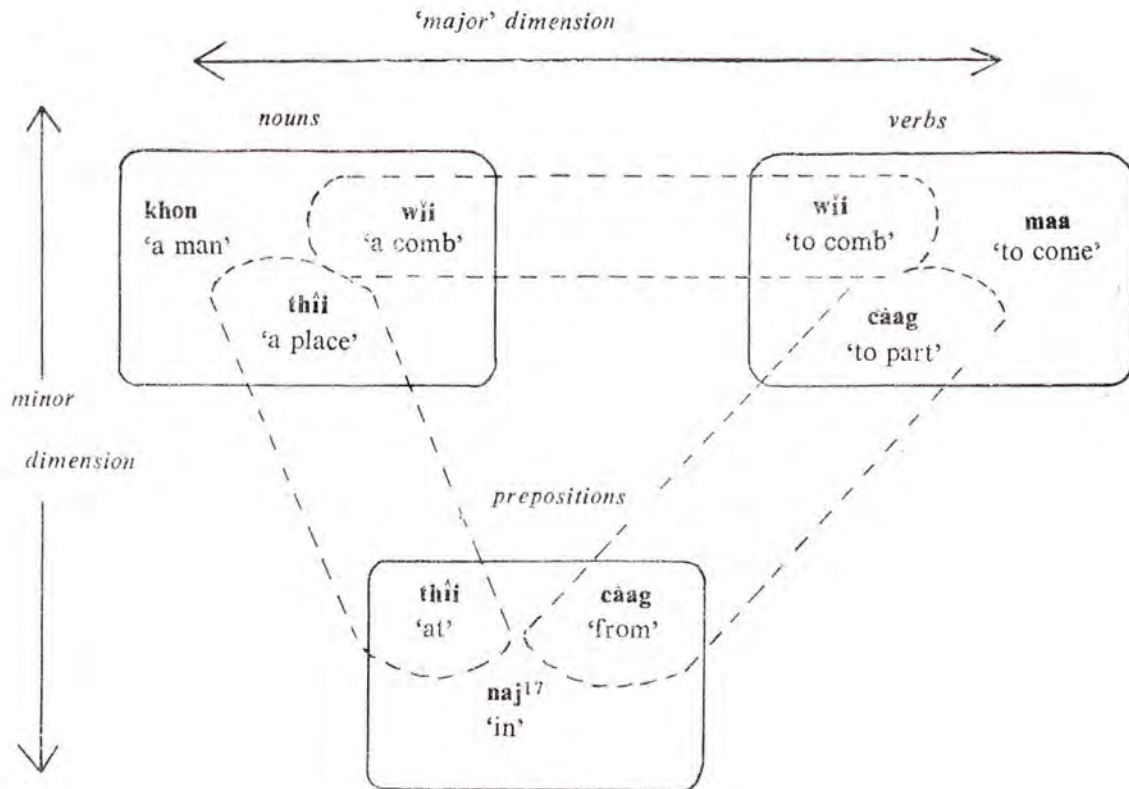
But it is not claimed that **kan** belongs to a family with this sort of distribution of roles, for its two functions are not to be reconciled in terms of a 'new' word-class analogous to the way the class 'preposition' reconciles and accommodates noun-transfers and verb-transfers. The two roles of **kan** are to be kept apart : pronoun and adverb. But we have already seen that forms with a clear dichotomy of roles, those along the major dimension, are hard to compare with **kan**. This difficulty remains

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17) The form **naj** is included in the set as a token. It stands for 'unambivalent membership of a class'-a possibility that analysis must not overlook. In similar vein, **khon** is included as an unambivalent noun and **maa** as an unambivalent verb.

even for comparison with **tàaŋ** and **bâaŋ**,[18] with which **kan** is often classed, for there are cases where their claim to pronominality can be based on finding them occupying sentence slots in substitution for noun phrases in which they themselves figure, e.g.

raw tàaŋ kɔ̂ɔ tham nâa-thii khɔ̌ɔŋ raw

where **tàaŋ** substitutes for **tàaŋ khon** and alludes to an expected **tàaŋ nâa-thîi** to balance the usage in the predicate; or

nág-rian bâaŋ ʔàan bâaŋ khǐan nǎŋsy̌y[19]

where each occurrence of **bâaŋ** replaces **baaŋ khon**. This manner of substitution is not applicable to **kan**. Pronoun **kan** does not replace adverbial **kan** in this way. Nor is there any adjectival **kan** to enter into consideration. Before accepting a bipartite classification for **kan**, therefore, it is helpful to check its pronominality and adverbiality a little further.

What strikes us about Russell Campbell's work, subtitled *A study in Pronominality*, is that he does not consider **kan** to be a pronoun at all. It is Campbell who classifies **kan** for the purposes of his study as a Plural/Reciprocal Particle and includes it among "Thai function words" where many other particles will be found, those, for instance, like **khráb**, **soŋ** with a verb, **khwaam-** and **kaan-**, **kamlaŋ** with a verb, interstitial **-kwàa-**, and finals such as **-sa** and **si**.[20] Campbell has evidently followed a categorization procedure reminiscent of traditional Chinese grammatical

18) **baaŋ** and **bâaŋ** are here taken as forms *approaching* homophony and sharing a common referential meaning. To this extent they constitute a form-family like that of **tàaŋ**.

19) Examples taken from WPPT, pp. 144 and 145.

20) NSMT, p. 15, footnote 1. Judith Jacob uses the term *adverbial particle* to classify **knì:ə** in Cambodian (IC p. 329). **knì:ə** corresponds very closely to the Thai **kan**. By *particle* she means : "All words which cannot be catalyzed as V, n, x or c." (*ibid.* p. 331) where the symbols are to be read as *verb, noun, numeral* and *numeral co-efficient* (classifier) respectively. Within the *particles*, **knì:ə** belongs to the *adverbial* subset in the *independent particles* division. The similarity in treatment is easy to see : Campbell's *function words* have a membership that resembles that of Jacob's *particles* quite closely.

analysis into 'full' words and 'empty' words with the implication that **kan**, one of the 'empty' words or 'markers',[21] cannot profitably be ascribed either to nouns, and hence to pronouns, or verbs, and hence to one-word adjectives and adverbs. But is the exclusion of **kan** from membership of the noun class so emphatic and clear ? We shall be helped by a statement of the alternatives so far : is **kan** modifying by attribution; replacing by substitution; or marking the fact that some grammatical operation has taken place ? To enlarge upon this last alternative : if nouns and verbs are seen in algebraical terms as x and y respectively, then 'markers' are not just another term, such as z, but the sign of an 'operator' such as a plus or a minus, i.e. not just different but contrasting in essence and function, not akin to any x or y or z or any symbol that is destined to be the raw material on which our operators have to work.

That some process of substitution takes place seems to be demonstrated by transformational grammar. In TSAO we find certain Obligatory Grammatical Transformations among which is rule 04, entitled *Reciprocal*. This rule demands that a string such as **khon tii khon** or **khruu phûud kàb khruu** be 'transformed' or re-written as **khon tii kan** and **khruu phûud kan**.[22] The second noun in each case has disappeared : its place has been taken by **kan** and its role in the sentence's meaning is effectively played by **kan**. Nevertheless, the status of pronoun is not granted to **kan**, its occurrence being characterized only by the words "new item" in the terms of rule 04. Nor does **kan** occur in the Sample Lexicon under any of the PP entries (Personal Pronouns). Indeed, it does not occur there at all for the reason that it is not an item in any terminal string generated by Phrase Structure only. What this means is

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21) These terms are used loosely. Chinese grammatical analysis cannot be expected to fit Thai in every detail, nor can analysis within Chinese itself be expected to be canonical—sufficient, efficient and final. For a discussion of this latter point and for the term *marker*, see CLT, p. 116. 4 : Markers.

22) TSAO, p. 63 :   คน ตี คน   ⟶   คนตีกัน
　　　　　　　　man beat man   'men beat each other'

　　　　　　　　ครู พูดกับ ครู   ⟶   ครูพูดกัน
　　　　　　　　teacher talk with teacher   'teachers talk to one another'

that the appearance of **kan** is not a direct outcome of ever increasing degrees of complexity in what started as a simple, basic sentence. Its appearance is due[23] rather to the fact that certain of the direct outcomes— specific applications of general rules—are unacceptable and must undergo a transforming operation. Which of these operations it will be, will, of course, vary according to the specific case, but it is worth reminding ourselves that the operations may include inversion and deletion as well as the addition of "new items". And, last but not least, it is also worth observing that such new items need not be words in substitution for other words but may well be words to stand as evidence that a transformation has been effected. We are back again with the possibility that **kan** is an operator or marker.

A close examination of TSAO's untransformed strings and the process they undergo will now be made to ascertain whether **kan** really does substitute for the second noun in any meaningful way. The stric- tures placed upon us before being obliged to apply the *Reciprocal* rule are that, in **khon tii khon,** the first **khon** and the second **khon** be identical. It follows that this stricture governs the two **khruu** nouns in **khruu phûud kàb khruu** too. But the construction to put upon the word 'identical' should give us pause. Let us view the problem in English terms, not for the sake of translating but for the sake of certain notions to do with plurality, identity and reciprocity. Take the two English renderings :

man beat man   → 'men beat each other'

teacher talk with teacher   → 'teachers talk to each other'

It certainly looks as if there is here some sort of linguistic addition sum : two singulars are re-written as one plural plus **kan.** Arithmetically, then, **kan** is not a substitute but must be some sort of sign that the sum has been done. But if the first 'man' is identical with the second, no sum can be done. Logic demands that the re-written strings should be something like

→ 'man beats himself'

→ 'teacher talks to himself'

Now, **kan** is emphatically not a Reflexive. It does not usurp the function of **ton-/ tua-ʔeeŋ.** Nor does TSAO wish to imply that this is

23) *ibid.* p. 62, paragraph introducing Chapter V.

the case, of course.   It is misplaced emphasis on the identity of Noun 1 and Noun 2 that gives rise to the misinterpretation.   We might therefore say that in order for them *not* to be in a reflexive relationship it is necessary, indeed, that they should **not** be identical.

It may be objected, though, that the choice of 'man' and 'teacher' in the singular is unfair.   Had we said

men beat men ──────→ .... etc.
teachers talk with teachers ──────→ .... etc.

would not then TSAO's strictures about identity have been seen to be just and necessary ?   There are two aspects to the meaning of identity. One aspect of identity is total congruence in all respects and relations. Such a rigorous view of identity offers no obstacles to the transformation

men beat men ──────→ 'men beat themselves'

Most languages, including Thai, mark such transformations very specifically.   Unmarked transformations, then, would seem to go on the assumption that the Subject will not participate in the Object role.   It is not part of **kan**'s function to underline this assumption, though it is interesting to note how **kan** might be thought to be affected by it—i.e. **kan** would *not* be expected to be the same as the Subject.   The other aspect of identity is that the *set* of men in the first occurrence of a plural noun should be the same as the *set* in the second occurrence, but that there should be no necessity for congruence in the internal arrangements or relations of members, or for congruence of roles of individual members in participating in a transaction.   It is clearly this second aspect of identity that allows reciprocity between the 'same' sets in Subject role and Object role.

A sentence like

naaj dam kàb naaj dεεŋ tii kan

gives the impression that two named people in the Subject role are beating two pronominalized people in the Object role.   But in actual fact neither Dam nor Daeng is hitting *two* people.   Dam has but one adversary and so has Daeng.   This adversary appears to be **kan**.   As a pronoun, then, **kan** must subsume plurality (both are, undeniably, suffering a beating) and a kind of distributive singularity too (each is being beaten

by only one assailant). The word **kan** acts as a set-maker but at the same time as a set-breaker, concerning itself with individual roles in a transaction. And this concern needs must extend to making and breaking sets for noun-Subjects. Since it cannot do this by substitution, might it not be doing it by implicating the whole sentence-nucleus? We shall later try to show that making and breaking sets is important in understanding the usage of adverbial **kan** too. In any event, it is not exclusive to pronominality.

The claim that **kan** substitutes for Objects in reciprocal relationship with Subjects provides so far the basis for classifying **kan** as a pronoun. It is, of course, possible to find the form **kan** co-occurring with noun-Objects. It is not difficult to find in Thai examples such as

naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ tii klɔɔŋ kan

'Dam and Daeng are beating the drums (together)'

where the Object of the verb **tii** is **klɔɔŋ** and not **kan**. The objections here, however, are that the meaning of **kan** is not reciprocal and that there is no substitution for a noun and therefore **kan** is not pronominal. But, again, why should there *not* be a meaning possible where pronominal, reciprocal **kan** may play its part? Take, for instance, interpretations such as

'Dam and Daeng beat each other's drums'

or

'Dam and Daeng drummed to each other' (messages)

or

'Dam and Daeng beat (cross-rhythms on) their drums against each other' etc.?

There is a further point to note. It is equally easy to find in Thai sentences like

naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ tii hŭa kan

'Dam and Daeng are punching each other's heads'

where reciprocity is undeniable. The Object in this case is **hŭa**. So what is **kan**? Other sentences, with Dam and Daeng as Subject and in which reciprocity is a distinct and unexceptional possibility, may be constituted with predicates like

... chiŋ raaŋwan kan	'... compete with each other for the prize.'
... hǎa rýaŋ kan	'... are after each other's blood.'
... rúucàg bâan kan	'... know each other's houses.'
... duu chəəŋ kan	'... are weighing each other up.'
... ráb pàag kan	'... give each other an undertaking.'

Pronominality is not excluded by these sentences. It could well be that some possessive relationship might be postulated (as the English possessive 'each other's' suggests) between the various Objects and **kan**. The suspicion arises, however, that **kan**'s availability for use as a pronoun is, to say the least, conditional. One condition is that **khɔ̌ɔŋ** may not be used to make any possessive relationship explicit.[24] We may not say ... **tii hǔa khɔ̌ɔŋ kan** or ... **rúucàg bâan khɔ̌ɔŋ kan** or ... **ráb pàag khɔ̌ɔŋ kan**. Nor, for instance, can the challenge to translate into Thai the following

24) The use of **khɔ̌ɔŋ** in possessive relationships being so strongly prepositional, it is right to ask whether **kan** forbids the use of other prepositions that might seem to 'govern' it as they govern pronouns. The preposition **naj**, 'in', never occurs in ... **naj kan**, nor does the prepositional use of **thîi**, 'at', in ... **thii kan**. Not all prepositional usage is forbidden, however. For instance, the sequence ... **kèɛ kan** is common enough :

naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ sýy khɔ̌ɔŋ-khwǎn hâj kèɛ kan
'Dam and Daeng bought presents *for* each other.'

and an undeniably prepositional use of **càag** is possible with **kan** in, for instance, :

dyan lá-khráŋ khǎw dǎj ráb còdmǎaj càag kan
'They got letters *from* each other once a month.'

It is worth noting that it is locative topology ('inside, outside, on, under, above, at', etc.) that seems inadmissible whereas *relative* position and motion/action seem appropriate for the 'two-ness' expected in **kan**. The prepositions above, however, are definitely non-unison : it is hard to imagine ... **kèɛ kan** and ... **càag kan** being other than reciprocal with the necessary consequence of plurality for the noun-Subject. The contrast with **dûaj kan, mǐan kan, phrɔ́ɔm kan** etc. is interesting, where Subject plurality is by no means obligatory and where a unison interpretation is thus possible. Discussion of these considerations—and the relevance to them of reversibility in relationships—is taken up later in this investigation. The most useful point to add at this juncture is that **kàb** is *not* one of the prepositions that 'governs' **kan** : there is no acceptable ... **kàb kan** sequence in any predicate. The closeness of the meaning of **kàb**+noun and what we are terming the 'unison' meaning of **kan**—'all together, one *with* another'—is obvious.

English sentences by equating 'each other' with pronominal **kan** (and, hence, reciprocal **kan**) ever be met :

> 'Dam and Daeng bought each other's presents yesterday.'
> '. . . always kept watch over each other's houses.'
> '. . . take each other's children to school.'

Working on the ... **tii hǔa kan** analogy and basing ourselves on the sequence Subj+verb+Obj+**kan,** we get the following sentences

> ... **sýy khɔ̌ɔŋ-khwǎn kan mŷa-waan nii**
> ... **fàw bâan kan samǎǝ**
> ... **sòŋ lûug paj rooŋ-rian kan**

These sentences, however, demand an interpretation of **kan** that accords with its meaning when classified as adverb:

> '. . . bought presents (together) yesterday'
> '. . . keep watch (together) over their houses'
> '. . . take their children to school (together)'

The conditioning factor here, which forces reciprocal **kan** into abeyance, is the choice of verb, or, more correctly, of verb + Object transaction in the predicate. Our findings seem to indicate a threefold division: transactions permitting **kan** to signify their (reciprocal) fulfilment; transactions permitting **kan** as an adverb but excluding **kan**'s use for reciprocation; and transactions where either is permitted but not both together. Such a rapport between the form **kan** and sets of verbs and their transactions seems odd for a pronoun. It reminds us of the collocations we might expect for adverbs with verbs.[25]

To sum up so far: we have argued that **kan** must be a pronoun in some sense because it substitutes for a noun-Object when a reciprocal

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25) The particle **ca.** in Burmese modifies the verb in ways very similar to Thai **kan.** Anna Allott (IPLS Pt II, p. 301) describes its effect, under the heading *Severality*-and we recall Haas' TESD definition, "severally (imparting a distributive sense to the verb)" at this point too-as applying to "several separate actions, events or states," and explains one of the illustrations by saying, "each of several people did the same thing" without there being any "necessity for such a sentence to contain a plural 'subject'." Its use as 'each other' is also noted and said to be called forth "when the verb requires it."

force is called for in the meaning of the sentence; we have argued that its adverbial force seems to consist in endorsing the Subject's plurality. We have also upheld that this latter characteristic, i.e. the invoking of plurality in noun-Subjects, is one of the fundamental meanings in any usage of **kan**, common to both pronoun and adverb alike. This plurality, furthermore, is a plurality of individuals, not a compounded, homogenized unit-mass. This too is a fundamental meaning common to both pronoun and adverb. There is a choice between the *particular* meanings of **kan**, either the one (reciprocal) or the other (plain pluralizer) but not both together. This choice is not open for all predicates: some resist reciprocity and some plain plurality. Though the obvious correlation is with intransitive and transitive verbs respectively, there are cases within the transitive verbs where the choice seems conditioned one way or the other.

Let us turn to the points in common. Dealing with plurality in the Subject, the problem is to find a way of getting from the predicate to the Subject without relinquishing the possibility that **kan** might stand for a noun in the predicate serving as the Object. (It might be noted here that it is not the problem of *identity* here—TSAO accounts for that reasonably well—but the problem of how a noun-Object may enforce *plurality* upon a noun-Subject.)   Now, there is a way of classifying **kan** that allows it *always* to be pronominal in a certain sense. Suppose that **kan** is seen as a particle belonging to the Subject, invoking plurality, but always positioned, as it were, at one remove from the Subject. In other words, suppose **kan**'s nature is derived under noun, much as we should expect to derive a plural particle like, shall we say, the Modern Standard Chinese suffix—**mən**[26] ultimately under a noun class, but that **kan**'s syntax is discontinuous and that this discontinuity expresses itself in some such symmetry as 'Subject-Noun before the onset of main verb predication; and Subject-Plural after the close of main verb predication'. This would allow us to maintain some sort of claim to the status of pronoun for **kan** ('pro' meaning 'in support of' rather than 'instead of') and to accommodate an Object within the main verb predicate too. It could also plausibly stand as the 'reciprocal' Object itself too. It might be said to demand

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26) 們 mən. Cantonese has 地 te：i.

to be taken as a sign of reciprocity by being a sign of set-completion. It marks the set – it puts a ring round the set – of all participants in any transaction. For transitivity this completion must, one way or the other, cater for the fulfilment of Subject-Object demands within whatever set is finally 'ringed'.

Somewhat surprising though this last suggestion may be,—and it is only a *ballon d'essai* and no more—there are one or two things to recommend it. It bridges the Subject-Predicate gap; it maintains 'identity', it does away with a need for separate adverb classification; it allows the nature of the transaction to determine the part that plurality plays in its fulfilment; and it places pluralization well to the fore. Plurality is felt in Thai to be the concern of nouns; it would enhance this feeling if **kan** could be attached to that part of a basic sentence form which, in transformational procedure, starts life pre-eminently as a noun or a noun-phrase. We mean the Subject.[27]

Such a heavily Subject-oriented, pronominalized approach to **kan** cannot be maintained, however. Among the various objections it is possible to raise, the most important is that **kan** does not figure as a pluralizer in the predicates of all and every kind of verb. Broadly

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27) Reference is made here to the habit of labelling the two sides of a pivotal sentence with terms redolent of nouns and verbs in order to make the first move away from bare axiomatic assertion. ITG, p. 14, for instance, says, "Among the non-terminal symbols there is at least one *initial string* of symbols which is taken as given by the theory (in the fashion of a primitive term in a chain of definitions or an axiom in deductive theory)." This "string" is, almost invariably, in practice but one symbol only : S (for 'well-formed *sentence*'). Likewise, symbols of the next-to-initial string are usually N-something (for nominality) and V-something (for verbality). (TSAO, p. 5, in fact uses S → Nm+VP (F.)). It is not twisting the argument then to go on and say that nominality and verbality, in the sense of functions of the Subject and predicate respectively, are next-to-axiomatic. How **kan** is to be accommodated in transformational grammar, were it agreed to be a discontinuous plural suffix, is a minor problem. Discontinuity–especially across the pivot of the sentence–is hard to cater for at a deep, phrase structure level. Pronominal **kan** would doubtless have to undergo some obligatory transformation in order to move it over from its derivational side across to habitual residence on the predicate side of the pivot.

speaking, it is the adjective sub-class of verb that offers most resistance
to any of the uses of **kan** that we have been discussing. Thus, whilst
we can say

> **phûu-jĭŋ phûag nán phób kan**
>
> 'Those girls met (each other)'

and

> **phûu-jĭŋ phûag nán wîŋ kan**
>
> 'The girls all ran (together)'

we cannot change from the 'active' or operative type of verb to the
'stative' type that we here refer to as adjective and say

> **phûu-jĭŋ phûag nán sŭaj kan !** [28]
>
> 'The girls are all beautiful'

Note that we *can* say ... **sŭaj kan jàj,** ... **sŭaj kan mòd,** ... **sŭaj kan ciŋ**
etc. but we cannot naturally put together **sŭaj** and **kan** with the expec-
tation that it would mean that the Subject is plural. Bafflingly enough,
however, certain stative verbs do take **kan** quite regularly; **klâj,** 'to be
near', is one, and **sanìd,** 'to be close, intimate', is another. Here the
meaning is not only plural as to Subject but also reciprocal as to
relationship:

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28) There are a number of idiomatic usages that detract from the absolute truth of
   this generalization, in addition to and apart from the exceptions that are
   discussed below in the body of the investigation. For instance, **dii kan** mean-
   ing 'to make up and be friends again' (the opposite of **kròod kan** 'to fall out
   with one another') is an idiom that removes **dii,** 'to be good', from the adjectival
   stative class and puts it in with the operative verbs. **too kan** is similarly re-
   classed when **too** means not 'to be big' but 'to grow up'. I suspect that **ruaj
   kan** is also used in an operative sense—'to get rich, to have made money and
   become wealthy', e.g. Achin Panchaphan's

   "ทำไมคุณถึงมาทำงานเหมือง"

   "เห็นเพื่อน ๆ มันรวยกัน ก็อยากมั่ง"

   "Why is it then, that you've come to work at the mine ?"

   "I could see my pals all getting rich, so I thought I might like that too."

   (เสียงเรียกจากเหมืองแร่, p. 47–from the story เลือดกับเหล้า)

   The *relative* truth of the generalization holds good, however : by far the great
   majority of 'adjectives', used statively and not as verb-process terms like
   'getting ..., becoming ..., turning ...' etc., reject **kan** as a pluralizing agent.

> rooŋ-rɛɛm kàb rooŋ-rian klaj kan;

'The hotel and the school are near each other.'

klâj and sanìd involve a balance or polarity, a 'two-ness' or 'between-ness'. This quality may be possessed by other word-classes or combinations of word-classes: the stative or descriptive use of the verb 'to be' with a noun, for instance,

> naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ pen phŷan kan

'Dam and Daeng are friends (with each other)';

or a word commonly classed among the prepositions, rawàaŋ, 'between, among,'

> rooŋ-rɛɛm kàb rooŋ-rian jùu rawàaŋ kan

'The hotel and the school are quite close to each other';

and a word kwàa commonly serving as a sort of operator for the comparison of adjectives in

> naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ khraj lɔɔ kwàa kan

'As between Dam and Daeng, who is the more handsome?'.

A closer look is advisable, so it seems, at the immediate environments in which kan is commonly found. Since we know that, at its widest scope, the predicate of a sentence will include all these possible environments, and since we know that some verbs can determine the choices of interpretation for kan, there may emerge from the enquiry a conviction that kan is essentially adverbial after all.[29]

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29) In English there is a parallel case for the classification of terms with meanings corresponding to kan's. Old-fashioned usage ('one with another, each for the other,' etc.), figuring as an *adverbial* phrase of manner, finds modern counterparts in 'one another, each other' figuring as *pronominal* unit-phrases which may be reciprocal 'Objects' or be governed by prepositions ('with one another, for each other,' etc.) or be marked for possessive relationship ('one another's hats, each other's coats,' etc.)

They walked *one with another.* — They walked *with one another.*
They whispered *each to the other.* — They whispered *to each other.*
They clasped *each the other's hand.* — They clasped *each other's hands.*
but
Each loved *the other.* — They loved *each other.*

The last example, with the bare sequence 'each ... the other', clearly reveals implications both of partnership and of singularity in a basic pattern that becomes the *notional* foundation for grammatical forms, whether adverbial or pronominal, in sentences where plurality is the keynote of the first impressions received.

For the sake of being concise, let us agree upon abbreviating the set of words going before **kan** to BK, and, when **kan** is followed by certain words, let us abbreviate this set to KF. We have already met KF examples in such sequences as ... **kan mòd** and ... **kan ciŋ.** It will be recalled that the degree of affinity between **kan** and KF was such that in strings where **kan** alone was unacceptable, **kan** + KF produced good Thai. A survey of the most common meanings for KF would probably result in a grouping of two: meanings connected with counting or quantity, including the concepts of the partitive and the whole:

... **kan bàaŋ, ... kan tháŋ sîn, ... kan tháŋ lǎaj** etc.;

and meanings which intensify an assertion or commit the speaker to its truth in some way:

... **kan nɛ̂ɛ, ... kan caŋ lǝǝj, ... kan dèd khàad** etc.

Though plurality is still enjoined upon the Subject, some of the force of **kan** seems to have combined with the succeeding adverb, making the resultant expression hang together much more than is the case when **kan** finds itself beside other words, when the juxtaposition can be said to be adventitious. If, for example, we construct a frame with the sentence nucleus **phûu-jiŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ khon níi sǔaj** as the common element for each test case and with a blank left after **sǔaj** and before a selection of predicate remainders, we can apply the test of inserting **kan** into the blank space to see whether a sequence be a true KF one or an adventitious one. The adventitious ones will have to reject **kan** after **sǔaj.** For example:

phûu-jiŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ khon níi sǔaj _____ **jàj**
'The two girls are tremendously pretty'

    ... ,, ...   **sǔaj** _____ **tem thii**
    '... are utterly beautiful'

    ... ,, ...   **sǔaj** _____ **ciŋ**
    '... are truly beautiful'

    ... ,, ...   **sǔaj** _____ **tâŋ tɛ̀ɛ pen dèg maa**
    '... have been beautiful ever since they were kids'

    ... ,, ...   **sǔaj** _____ **phrɔ́ʔ rúucàg tɛ̀ŋ nâa**
    '... are pretty because they know how to use make-up'

    ... ,, ...   **sǔaj** _____ **naj sǎaj-taa khɔ̌ɔŋ chaaw faràŋ**
    '... are pretty to Westerners' eyes'

The last three of the cases are rejections and therefore adventitious sequences as far as **kan** is concerned. This enlistment of **kan** for purposes other than those covered by our account of its normal adverbial usage needs further investigation. However, though the evidence presented about it here is, admittedly, impressionistic, it will have been worth while if only for its provision of a clue to the unusual and idiomatic use of **kan** in emotively charged questions:

> **ʔaraj kan, mŷaraj kan, thîi nǎj kan** etc.

Odd though it sounds to say that a speaker is committed to the truth of a *question*, it is but a step to say that he is (emotionally) committed to the truth of an answer to it. TRG glosses this aroused attitude with the words "reasonable answer not foreseen"[30] and categorizes this use of **kan** among "Interrogative postpositions", a special class of its own not associated by TRG with any other ways of using the form **kan**.

The other aspect of **kan**'s immediate environment is the sequence BK+kan. Our concern with this sequence might be said to amount to a turning point in our enquiry, for it is in relationship with BK that **kan** ceases to invoke plurality in the Subject of a sentence. This is easy to see if we take the pronoun **phǒm** as conclusive evidence for singularity and then form sentences such as:

> **phǒm ca-paj dûaj kan,**   **phǒm ca-paj phrɔ́ɔm kan,**
> **phǒm ca-paj mŷan kan,**   **phǒm ca-paj chên diaw kan** etc.

Singulars and plurals alike being permitted, then, it would appear that ties with the noun-Subject role become ever more tenuous, though we do note, nevertheless, that a sort of implicit plurality is still found somewhere. It may just as well, however, apply to a plurality of verbs,

> **naaŋ-ʔeeg naj rŷaŋ nán rɔ́ɔŋ ram salàb kan**

> 'The heroine in that film did, by turns, some singing and some dancing'

or, within the predicate, to a plurality of Objects,

> **phɔ́ɔ-kháa dỳym lâw thaj kàb lâw faràŋ tìd-tìd kan**

> 'The businessman drank Thai whiskey and Scotch whiskey straight after each other'

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30) TRG, p. 198.

A plurality of adverbial details, which can be summarized by the expressions

    ... weelaa diaw kan,   ... hèŋ diaw kan,   ... withii diaw kan

    'at the same time', 'at the same place', 'in the same way'
serving as cover terms for the whole set, also commonly co-occur as BK + kan.

To go over this part of the ground again, let us take plain, non-reciprocal kan on the one hand and the BK sequence dûaj kan on the other, both of them being plausibly glossed in English as 'together', in order to see the singular/plural implications. Hitherto we have been dealing with sentences like

    dèg-chaaj khon níi kàb dèg-jǐŋ khon nán róoŋ phleeŋ kan

    'This boy and that girl sang together'
and this can be matched by the predicate

            ... róoŋ phleeŋ dûaj kan

without significant change of meaning here. We are now in a position to assert, however, that the sentences

    dèg-chaaj khon níi róoŋ phleeŋ dûaj kan
and

    dèg-jǐŋ khon nán róoŋ phleeŋ dûaj kan

are both equally probable and equally correct in Thai, whereas two such sentences could not be produced from the string in which kan figures alone. In some way, therefore, the notion of plurality conveyed by dûaj kan is compatible with a manifestly singular noun-Subject. A further point: kan here cannot possibly be identical with the Subject in any way at all. To bring this out in an English rendering, we might resort to

    'The boy sang *with the others*'
or, a slight variation,

    'The girl *joined with them* in the singing'

It will now be suggested that BK + kan usage can be explained in terms of what we might call the 'kàb transform' procedure. We mean by this that in the vast majority of examples coming under the BK + kan

formula, there is a related form (or in transformational terms an 'earlier' form in the derivational tree) with the BK-word coming directly before **kab** + a noun:

...**dûaj kàb...,** ...**phrɔ́ɔm kàb...,** ...**chên diaw kàb...** etc. TRG makes much of this observation and calls what we may write as

$$... BK + kàb + noun \longrightarrow ... BK + kan$$

a "covert relationship".[31] Without much fear of traducing TRG, we can suggest that it is 'covert' not because it is hard to notice but because the word **kan** is a 'portmanteau' morph: it contains within itself both the morpheme **kàb** and the morpheme of whatever the noun in the case might be. Indeed, there is a further stage possible: **kan** contains the morpheme of the pronoun of the relevant noun together with **kàb.** We might therefore guess that this account of **kan** provides one of the weightier considerations for considering **kan** to be essentially a pronoun despite the overall adverbiality of the sequence BK + **kan** as a whole. TRG is of this persuasion and holds **kan** to be one of the "General Pronouns",[32] i.e. those not paired off into conventional partnerships in living dialogue. We shall check, however, whether **kan** really is indifferent (as the term "general" implies) to the contingencies of dialogue. Whilst doing this, we can arrange for a check also to be made on the plausibility of the '**kàb** transform' being an explanation for other usages of **kan** where a BK-word is absent from the sentence.

If we do a permutation on all the positions for **kàb** and for **kan** in the context of an explicitly singular noun-Subject and an explicitly singular 'partner' to be governed by **kàb,** and if we do this without, as it were, consulting a Thai speaker, we might get some strings like the following. In brackets we shall tick those that are acceptable and put a cross by those that are bad Thai. We must recall no more than one rule: that **kan** will appear only in the predicate of any string. Let us have **naaj dam** as Subject and **paj,** 'to go', as the verb.

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31) TRG, p. 164.
32) TRG, p. 101.

(1) naaj dam paj kan	(×)
(2) naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ paj	(√)
(3) naaj dam kàb naaj deeŋ paj kan	(√)
(4) naaj dam paj kab naaj dɛɛŋ	(√)
(5) naaj dam paj kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan	(×)
(6) naaj dam paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛŋ	(√)
(7) naaj dam paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan	(×)

We now add some imperatives addressed to **naaj dam** :

(8) paj kan thə?	(√)
(9) paj kàb naaj dɛɛŋ thə?	(√)
(10) paj kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan thə?	(√)
(11) paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛŋ thə?	(√)
(12) paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan thə?	(×)
(13) jà-paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan ná	(×)

Number (13) has been put in to show where the negative imperative
differs in acceptable forms from the affirmative imperative. This means
that for (8), (9), (10) and (11) the form **jà-paj** could take the place of
paj and the tick would still remain in the approval bracket. Another
sentence set, that of the second Person singular interrogatives, could be
added with very similar results to those of the imperative set above :

paj kan mǎj, ... paj kàb naaj dɛɛŋ kan mǎj, etc.

but the only important additional comment to make about interrogatives
is to note that a sentence superficially resembling Number (1),

naaj dam ca-paɟ kan mǎj[33]

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33) There is a certain simplification in the presentation of **kan**'s capabilities *vis-à-
vis* the Persons here. The formulae at the close of this investigation make it
clear that dialogue usage does allow an unrestricted paradigm for *all* the persons.
The contextual demands that are met in order to illustrate *second* Person usage
are, however, so striking and so clear (imperatives and interrogatives) and,
moreover, the sentences are so amenable to classification as 'initiating'– hence
avoiding the question of 'understood' anaphoric omission or substitution (see
footnote 36 below) –that there are good practical reasons for allowing the second
Person to make an impact first and foremost.
It is nevertheless conceded, for instance, that
naaj dam ca-paj kan mǎj
might well have, in dialogue, not only the meaning
'Dam, are you going with *me* ?'
but also the meaning
'Dam, are you going with *him/her/them* ?'
or, addressing, say, Daeng : –
'Is Dam going with *me/us*, Daeng ?'
'Is Dam going with *you*, Daeng ?'
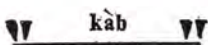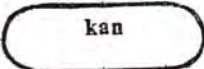'Is Dam going with *him/her/them*, Daeng ?'

would be ticked as approved provided that **naaj dam** is seen to be here the second Person (equivalent to, say, **khun** or **thân**) who is being addressed.

From the array of sentences we can derive several truths.   One is that the sequence ... **kan kàb** ... acts as if it were a BK+**kàb** form.   As such, it seems to indicate an adverbial force for **kan** or, at least, a non-pronominal one.   In a predicate such as ... **paj kan kàb naaj dɛɛɲ,** the word **kan** can hardly be said to be substituting either for **kàb** or for **naaj dɛɛɲ.**   Far more important, though, is the observation that for sentences (1) to (7) inclusive the presence of **kàb** + noun (or **kan kàb** + noun) in the predicate means that the co-occurrence of **kan** there in a predicate-final position is forbidden, whereas for all the rest, save Number (13), the sequence **kàb** + noun + **kan** is acceptable.   We can take this to mean that, in (1) to (7), **kan** becomes somehow redundant if **kàb** and a noun figure earlier in the same predicate.   This now looks like a confirmation of the '**kàb** transform' process.   But why only in (1) to (7)?   A further point: the same seven sentences with **phǒm** as Subject instead of **naaj dam** would yield the same results in terms of a tick or a cross.   It looks as if the third Person and the first Person display a common, restricted paradigm of possibilities with **kàb** and **kan** when contrasted with the possibilities for the second Person.[34]

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34) Again it is hoped that a certain simplification will be allowed for—see footnote 33 above–and that the point will be borne in mind as being essentially about permitted singularity of noun-Subject with **kan** in dialogue situations. Take, for instance, the sequence Dam! ... **kàb** Daeng ... **kan** and let us examine it for various possible arrangements of pronoun substitution as between the Persons.

By using three relationship symbols, viz. $\longleftrightarrow\!\!\!<$ for "is addressed

by"; **▼▼**   **kàb**   **▼▼**   for "is spoken of as being predicated *with*"; and

(**kan**) for "marks the set of Persons predicated under the term

kan", then some diagrams may be drawn. If Dam is addressed by Daeng

(Dam $\longleftrightarrow\!\!\!<$ Daeng) who says, "Dam, go with Daeng (me)!"

Now, the rule we are accustomed to in dealing with the three Persons associating in various sets does not completely reflect the priority of Persons we have just found. We usually say that first Person 'swallows' the second, which, in turn, 'swallows' the third:

(Dam   kàb   Daeng), and the only possible set of those going must include someone other than Dam and the only "someone" available is

Daeng (Dam   kan   Daeng), the diagram comes out thus:
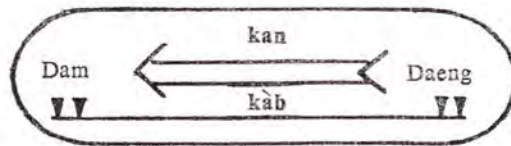
and kan is redundant with respect to kàb Daeng. But if Dam is addressed by, say, someone called A (Dam ⟵ A), who says, "Dam, go with Daeng!" (Dam   kàb   Daeng), and if the kan set must include someone (anyone) other than Dam, then one possible diagram is
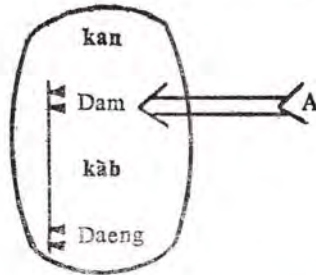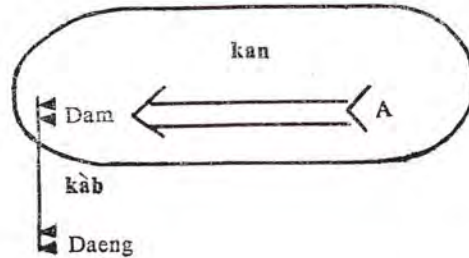
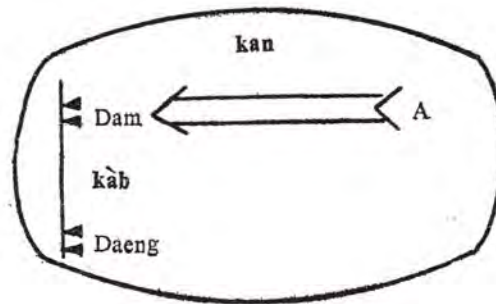and here again kan is redundant with respect to kàb Daeng. Another diagram is possible, however, viz. :

$$I \ + you \ (1+2) \qquad\qquad = we \quad (1)$$
$$I \ + he \ (1+3) \qquad\qquad = we \quad (1)$$
$$you + he \ (2+3) \qquad\qquad = you \quad (2)$$
$$he \ + he \ (3+3) \qquad\qquad = they \quad (3)$$

To list the priorities of our new findings, however, we shall have to say that **kan** overrides *I* and *he* (i.e. they must get themselves replaced by

where **kan** is not redundant. A variant of, or, rather, the logical upshot of, this diagram is, of course :

where **kan** is redundant with respect to **kàb** Daeng but not so with respect to A's participation. It is suggested that number (11) of the sentence series has a high probability for a non-redundant or a partially redundant interpretation of **kan,** and sentence number (10) a fair probability (an even chance) for such an interpretation. A re-working of these points is found at the close of these investigations expressed in terms of degrees of specialization in **kan's** usage.

the Subjects *we* or *they*)[35] whereas *you* overrides **kan** (i.e. *you* may remain singular and **kan** must convey plurality by some relationship elsewhere). There is a special situation exerting an influence here : communication between the first and second Persons (dialogue) is 'existentially' different from any communication about the third Person (narrative). In the realm of language this means that : (i) *I* and *you* know they are ultimate prerequisites for communication to take place at all; and (ii) they accept the reciprocal relationship in their terms of identity : *I* knows he will be addressed as *you* and that his *you* will be interpreted as *I* in the mind of the interlocutor. Put very simply, there is a partnership undertaken for the sake of the desired dialogue. The roles in this partnership are not merely presumptive or 'understood' (as, say, examples of anaphora are 'understood') but are the poles of the speakers' world.[36] The world of

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35) When they are not replaced, a certain oddity ensues, though the meaning—'plus the partner (s)'—still comes through. For example, Achin Panchaphan has the passage

คนสองสามคนที่นั่งอยู่โต๊ะใน ยังมองข้าพเจ้าอยู่ไม่วางตา คนหนึ่งพูดว่า

"*ผม* กำลังพะนัน *กัน* ครับ ว่าคุณจะอยู่บ้านนั้นได้สักกี่วัน"

'The two or three men sitting at the table inside still kept staring at me unwaveringly. One of them said'

"I'm just having a bet with them how many days you'll stay on in that house." (สวัสดีเมืองแร่. p. 62—in the story ผีตัวแรก)

36) ISRMCT treats this whole topic (pp. 178-180, 247, 248-249, 252 and 267) but since **kan** is classified as adverb occurring as Modifier in the Verb Phrase (pp. 83, 91 and 161), the relevance to problems of substitution and non-plurality is not brought out. However, the example (p. 184) that is of most interest to this investigation,

pay-tha:n ná:m kan mǎy

(Shall we go and have a drink of water ?)

is among "initiating sentences which are non-cataphoric" (p. 183). These may look to be "non-initiating and anaphoric in form" but they "cannot be related to any cataphoric sentence." The appeal to "context of immediate perception" (Chapter XIII, p. 263) resembles my appeal to a recognition of different 'existential' worlds.

those spoken about—the narrative world—, however, is full of fixed names and references. There are constants that are not subject to relative viewpoints. They must remain the same no matter who is speaking to whom.

We shall now consider the implications for kan in the two worlds. Let us suppose that kan means something like "plus the partner". The partnership depends on what kind of participants (Persons) are involved and what demands the situation (the 'world') might be expected to make upon the content of the communication. This may be exemplified in Thai by the expectation that in the world of dialogue, typified by interrogatives and imperatives, there will be frequent recourse to pronouns (to get the Person relationship clear) and frequent elision of nouns and pronouns too. In the latter case there is some probability that it will be *you* understood for the role of Subject and that, correspondingly, it will be *I* filling the pronominal role embodied within kan in the predicate.[37]

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37) TRG notes this : p. 102. Whether there is a connection between this probability and the use of the form kan as a first Person pronoun is worth considering. Cambodian kni:ə provides a parallel here : it too has the meaning 'together/ each other' when used in the predicate, and 'I' when used as Subject. And yet, inasmuch as it can be masculine or feminine first Person singular (normally pairing with nèak or ʔaeŋ as second Person, cf. Thai kan pairing with kɛɛ or naaj) and since there is the possibility that it can be third Person singular too, kni:ə is brought more into line with, say, Thai khǎw, also usable as either first or third Person. Subject pronoun kan in Thai is reserved for masculine first Person singular only, eg.

ชายหนุ่มขบเขี้ยวเคี้ยวฟันบอกกับเพื่อนของเขาว่า "กันอยากเตะเจ้าคนหักหลังให้หลังหัก"

'A young man, grinding his teeth with rage, said to a friend of his, "*I* should like to give a good kick to the fellow who broke my back and break his for him!" (*broke my back*='betrayed me').
and

ชายหนุ่มเล่าให้เพื่อนของเขาฟังอย่างเจ็บช้ำน้ำใจว่า "กัน สู้อุตส่าห์ด้านหน้าไปหาเธอ เธอกลับหาว่ากันเป็นคนหน้าด้าน"

'A young man told his friend in most hurt tones, "*I* persisted in trying to come to see you, managing to swallow all my pride, but then you turn and accuse me of being the sort of person who has never had any pride or self-respect at all!" (Examples taken from KCP, p. 102.–my translations)

The reason is that it is less likely that questions and orders will be addressed to oneself than to the 'second Person'.   This is true even for soliloquy where ego speaks to a second Person self.   There are also examples of languages where the grammar has recourse to second Person forms to deal with a notional first Person imperative.   The English 'let me. . . /let us. . .' is an example of this (i.e. *you* let me) and, in a different sense, so is the form 'may I. . ./ may we. . .' for the question form implies an address to *you* even though the Subject is grammatically first Person.

To ring a few changes in order to illustrate the effects of moving from one world to another and of an appeal to existential partners, let us switch a sentence between narrative and dialogue as follows.

naaj dam ca-paj kàb naaj dɛɛŋ mǎj

Here there is an obvious narrative interpretation.   No 'understood' partner is needed.

'Is Dam going with Daeng ?"

But it is open to us in Thai to interpret **naaj dam** as second Person address.

'Dam, are you going with Daeng ?'

Nevertheless, there is still no role for an 'understood' of existential partner.   With **kan** in the predicate, however, such a possibility presents itself.

naaj dam kàb naaj dɛɛŋ ca-paj kan mǎj

Without overstraining the imagination it is possible to interpret **kan** as meaning here 'plus the existential partner'.   Thus, in addition to the narrative interpretation

'Are Dam and Daeng going together ?'

there is also the interpretation

'Dam and Daeng, are you going with me ?'

We duly note that in this dialogue world **kan** with **naaj dam** alone is possible.   We also note that, while this removes the type of ambiguity discussed above, there is, nevertheless, a residual ambiguity arising out of the Person 'understood' in **kan.**

naaj dam ca-paj kan măj

'Are you going with *us*, Dam ?'

'Are you going with *them*, Dam ?'

All the ambiguities return, of course, with the pronominalization of naaj dam :

khun ca-paj kan măj

'Are you going together ?' (plural 'you')

'Are you going with us ?' (singular 'you' possible)

'Are you going with them ?' (singular 'you' possible)

It has been our intention thus far to examine and then to challenge what we at first selected (from PRB) as a sensible basis for argument about kan, namely, that it enjoined plurality on the noun-Subject. It is conceded that this definition still remains sensible, for in a great number of cases this is what kan, in effect, does. But we have seen that BK+kan enjoined no plurality, though, notionally, it implied that plurality was somewhere in the offing. Furthermore, by checking over second Person dialogue-usage with kan, it emerged that there were situations where, even in the absence of a BK-word from the predicate, kan did not demand a plural Subject. Here again, though, there was an implication of plurality, borne out by the dialogue situation itself, but not reflected in particular by the noun-Subject. We have, then, been trying not to lose sight of the possibility that noun plurality pure and simple need not be the only justification for kan's presence in a sentence. We now turn to look at plurality itself in Thai and consider how it sorts itself out in the syntax and lexis available.

For any noun in Thai it must be accepted that plurality may be unmarked. The problem comes to a head in translation : khon may be either 'man' or 'men'. No morphology is devoted to the marking of a noun's plurality. However, the expression of plurality is not, of course, impossible—nor is it difficult—in Thai. It presents itself in ways other than those of morphological modifications of noun-words. Syntactical modification is the obvious alternative. But the main point in this syntactical modification is not so much the placing of one word next to another (word order) as the choice of words from certain word classes

that are available for placing. What therefore comes about as a conse-
quence of this pursuit of plurality is that, in Thai, the investigator finds
himself well out of the province of morphology and well into the province
of lexis. Whatever syntactical relationships are discovered in the course
of this pursuit will turn out to be no different from those prevailing in
other relationships not specifically to do with plurality.

A review of the various ways in which plurality presents itself in
Thai nouns must include at least four main divisions. One of these will
be the use of **kan,** which we leave in abeyance for the time being. For
the other three a table can be drawn up, as seen below, the parameters
being : across the top—the presence or absence of differentiation in nouns;
and down the side—the nature of the syntactical relationship involved.
'Differentiation' means the overt presence of different distinct entities
(eg. **phûu-chaaj+phûu-jǐŋ+dèg-chaaj+dèg-jǐŋ+**etc.) in a kind of list. They
may, of course, be linked by co-ordinating conjunctions such as lɛ́ʔ or
kàb. 'Undifferentiation' will be relevant to plurality for identical entities
that have to be presented lexically by one and the same term (**khon+
khon+khon** etc.) without recourse to marking (differentiating) individuals
at all. In the former case, of course, we are saying that we recognize
different qualities as belonging to different entities to which, if so desired,
we could assign names or numbers. This would be, then, differentiated
plurality. In the latter case we are saying that, even though we cannot
tell (i.e. recognize) one from another, we can still claim to tell (i.e. count)
one from two. This, then,—counting in spite of being presented with
indistinguishably uniform entities—would be undifferentiated plurality.

The syntactical relationships involved are the basic ones of co-
ordination and sub-ordination or, terms which are here equally applica-
ble, those of exocentric and endocentric relationships respectively.
Apposition and predication are exocentric constructions; attribution is
an endocentric construction.

	Undifferentiated	Differentiated
Subordination (Endocentric)	A) by grouping : set-word + contents of set B) by enumerating : countable + counting word agency	
Co-ordination (Exocentric)		C) by listing : apposition of different items

Examples of set-words for A above are phǔag, làw, bandaa, khanǎ ? mùu etc. These merit some observations about plurality in their own right which will be left until later.

Examples of words that make up a counting agency in B above are sɔ̌ɔŋ, sǎam, sìi etc., of course, and lǎaj, nɔ̀ɔj, baaŋ, thúg, kìi etc., all with appropriate classifiers, as well as other phrasal modifiers like tàaŋ-tàaŋ, tháŋ-lǎaj, làw nìi, phǔag nán etc.

Countable nouns figuring in A and B provide the contents of sets and appear therefore in attributive position as the 'tail' in A, whilst in B they provide the 'head' for endocentric constructions of noun+number+ classifier. In C, of course, they provide the items for appositional lists.

Illustrations of all three, using the countable noun dèg and the verb nɔɔn-làb as predicate, may be found in the following :

A) phǔag dèg nɔɔn-làb 'The children are sleeping.'
B) dèg sɔ̂ɔŋ khon nɔɔn-làb 'The two children are sleeping.'
C) dèg khon níi kàb dèg khon nàn nɔɔn-làb

    'This child and that child are sleeping."

We may now try to observe what *particular* effect **kan** may have as a pluralizer by adding it to A, B and C to see if it becomes merely redundant or if it contributes something to a structure already explicitly plural.

A)   phûag dèg nɔɔn-làb kan

B)   deg sɔ̌ɔŋ khon nɔɔn-làb kan

C)   dèg khon nii kab dèg khon nán nɔɔn-làb kan

By producing a succession of A, B and C-type sentences, adding **kan** in each case, an impression of **kan's** particular nuance, if any, will be increasingly reinforced. This nuance, I venture to suggest, will be one of compresence. I mean by this a focussing of attention upon times and places shared in common. Put another way round, **kan** reduces the number of possibilities for admitting plurality to a sentence. Individual entities in the Subject are not to be set apart from each other by distances or circumstances that stretch and strain our capacity for undivided attention. It also means that individual actions in the predicate are unlikely to be timed so as to suggest sporadic or desultory occurrence. To turn back to the examples A, B and C *before* the addition of **kan**, we can imagine a context in which A could refer to children anywhere at any time. For instance :

phûag dèg nɔɔn-làb sabaaj mŷa mii khwaam ʔòb-ʔùn-rág-khrâj càag fàaj phɔ̌ɔ-mɛ̂ɛ

'Children sleep well when they get warmth and affection from their parents.'

is bound to include some 'only' children, each asleep alone in his bed, as well as brothers and sisters asleep together. Or we could imagine that B, with its phrase **dèg sɔ̌ɔŋ khon,** might appear in a context referring to one child sleeping in his bed at home in San Francisco and the other at home asleep in Bangkok. Or in the case of C, in such a sentence as

dèg-chaaj kàb dèg-jǐŋ nɔɔn-làb thâa mâj sǒn-caj raajkaan thii-wii

'The boy and the girl fall asleep if they lose interest in the TV programme.'

the meaning could plausibly be that the boy, say, might be asleep whilst the girl was awake, according to their tastes in TV programmes. But

these imagined interpretations would become strained or impossible with **kan** present in the predicates.

Thus, for any Thai plural that is explicit,[38] the actors in a Subject role may constitute a set determined not only by listing, or by grouping, or by enumeration, but also, once **kan** figures in the predicate, by compresence in a mooted place at a mooted time. Awareness of this place and time must reside primarily in the minds of speaker and addressee and it will have been mooted in a context that is linguistic, extra-linguistic or a mixture of both. For instance, whether the children sleep in the same bed, in two beds in the same room, in single beds in separate rooms

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38) Where it is **kan** itself, and **kan** alone, that makes plurality explicit—say, in the world of narrative with an undifferentiated Subject—then the question arises about its place in the table previously set out. As a part of the predicate, presumably its relationship to the noun-Subject is exocentric and **kan** will therefore go in the empty quarter at bottom left. If, on the other hand, **kan** is treated as an adverb of compresence, its place in the table is hard to agree upon, for while it is, as an adverb, presumably endocentric with regard to the verb in the predicate, its relationship to a noun-Subject—which is what the table is drawn up to reveal—might be collocational rather than colligational. If it is a sort of disjunctive, 'pronominal' part of the noun-Subject, then the question of whether it is a subordinate part or a co-ordinate term must be resolved, the likelihood being that it will turn out to be but a special case of B in the table, and should therefore go in the top left quarter. We have already acknowledged the frequent occurrence of **kan** followed by counting or quantity terms, e.g. ... **kan mòd**, ... **kan tháŋ sín**, etc. ' ... the whole lot (of them), ... in (their) entirety', and typical B sequences can indeed be transferred to predicate-final position :

dèg nɔɔn-làb sɔ̌ɔŋ khon

and

dèg nɔɔn-làb kan sɔ̌ɔŋ khon.

'Both the children were asleep.'

The possibility that terms from A—the set-words—might be so transferred, cf. Cambodian **knì:e** (etymologically comparable with Thai **khaná?**, គណៈ, Skt. *gaṇa*) being used as both set-word (**kni:ə-yʉʉŋ** means 'we', cf. Thai **phûag-raw**) and a **kan**-term, must not be overlooked. It is a possibility, however, that is remote both in time (diachronically, it *may* once have been so, but certainly not now) and in plausibility (**kan** and **kàb** and their relationship seem likelier as 'constants' in the Thai past than does the hypothesis that a set-noun **kan** existed, gave rise to a transferred, predicate-final **kan**, and then disappeared.).

but all in the same house etc. cannot be decided by **kan**. Context and 'real life' plausibility must suggest the scope of the compresence and this suggestion must be approved by all parties to a communication. However, secondarily, as a kind of endowment, perhaps, some part of the awareness of compresence may be passed on to the minds of the actors themselves, provided the Subject role is a human one, presumably. Consider the impact of sentences like :

Type A)   **thúg wan-jùd khaná?-khàb-rɔɔŋ paj duu nǎŋ kan**

    'Each day-off all the choir goes to the cinema.'

Type B)   **thìi sanǎam-rób hèŋ níi thahǎan lǎaj phan khon taaj kan**

    'It was upon this battlefield that many thousands of soldiers met their deaths.'

Type C)   **chaaw-thaj lé? chaaw-khǎw chɔ̂ɔb dỳym lâw kan**

    'Thais and hilltribesmen alike are fond of taking a drink.'

The participants in the above events are, themselves, to some greater or lesser extent, presumed to be bearing witness to what is being transacted by themselves and by others. Thus, in A above there is a nuance of 'concerted' cinema going rather than that of one going to one cinema and one to another; in B the carnage has a dramatic impact, soldiers face to face with the deaths of comrades and their own imminent deaths too— rather than a long succession of raids, sniping and fitful engagements; in C the drinking is convivial and not a plurality of lonely alcoholics. Sentence C does have one ambiguity, though : who is drinking with whom—Thais together with hill-tribesmen or Thais together in one group and hill-tribesmen together in another ?

The set-words (**phûag, làw** etc.) mentioned in the discussion of plurality in Thai nouns serve to introduce a final point about **kan**. This concerns the legitimacy of notional plurality in a discussion of grammar. One objection familiar to English speakers will be that grammatical plurality may not correspond to notional plurality. Nouns such as *scissors, trousers, scales* etc. illustrate this discrepancy. Relevance to Thai plurality is, however, not easy to discern since much of the evidence for grammatical plurality in English is morphological (if we include concord under this heading too). The evidence provided by words like *scissors* that concerns possible co-occurrence with other words, however, does put things on a more comparable footing. Co-occurrence with the word *pair*, for instance, enables us to line up parallel sequences in English such as

'These scissors match.   They are a pair.'

'These gloves match.   They are a pair.'

with notional plurality failing to correspond clearly :   'Here is a pair of scissors.' is made equivocal here whereas 'Here is a pair of gloves.' is not. But are the observations we have just made *only* notional ? Can the word *pair* be, by turns, a grammatical device for obtaining a singular *scissors* as well as a word with notional force of specific plurality ?

The dilemma to do more specifically with **kan**'s pluralizing force in Thai is, perhaps, even closer to another kind of discrepancy found in English, the use of the collective noun.   Concord is idiosyncratic.   We can say

'The team is playing well this week.'

and

'The team consult with each other before the match.'

Without any morphological concord, the discrepancy in Thai falls elsewhere :

ʔaathíd níi thiim lên dii mâag

ʔaathíd níi thiim lên kan dii mâag

thiim mág-ca-prỳgsăa kan kɔ̆ɔn thîi ca-ʔɔ̆ɔg paj lên

In the first sentence, whether 'team' or 'teams' is meant is a problem that only context can solve.   That is not the point at issue.   In the second sentence the likelihood is that 'the teams are playing well together' i.e. they are having a good match.   In the third sentence, though, can we say that **kan** resolves any ambiguity ? The answer is no.   The set-word **thiim** could be pluralized by **kan**—'the teams consult each other'—but, equally, it *need* not be.   The sentence can stand as a translation of 'The team consult with one another . . .'.   Thus, if we make what appears to be a definitive *grammatical* statement to the effect that **kan,** in agreed, normal circumstances, acts as a pluralizer of the noun-Subject, then the sentence

phûag dèg chóg kan jàj

must mean, 'The children's gangs beat each other up', i.e. more than one **phûag**. If we make a *notional* statement, more like a lexical definition, to the effect that **kan** requires 'compresence' for participants in any transaction or relationship, then the meaning, 'The children are fighting among themselves' is a legitimate possibility i.e. only one **phûag**.   An account that does justice to **kan**'s usage in modern Thai must accommodate both kinds of statement.

To set down some conclusions :— **kan** is a pronoun in effect when we agree to gloss its meaning as 'plus a partner/partners'; equally, it is not *only* a pronoun since the word 'plus' is embodied in it too. The operator 'plus' imposes reversibility : $x+y=y+x$. Note that this is not total homogeneity $(x+x)$ nor yet reciprocity but simply reversibilty : x is not *doing* anything to y or vice-versa — x can merely fit in wherever y does, and vice-versa. One of the reversible relationships is 'plus'; another is 'or'; another is 'next to'; another is 'meet with' etc. We shall refer to any member of the set of reversible processes or relationships by the symbol R. In Thai the great majority of R-terms are marked (or *may* be marked) by the linking word **kàb**, itself one of the 'reversible' con-junctions, as if to reinforce the R-ness. One salient point is to be kept in mind. The relationship R in Thai must hold only between distinctly different terms. As long as x is singular, we may not have x R x. Even when x is plural (or a set), we must resort to x' R x'' (x arranged in two different ways). In perfect homogeneity reversibility is irrelevant. We need to find an area of language, therefore, in which the substitution 'plus the partner' is unequivocal about which is x and which is y, and unequivocal about the uniqueness (singularity) of x and y.[39] This is found in the world of dialogue and may serve as a basis for further developement.

A table of all possible substitutions for the Persons by **kan** in a predicate follows with indications of whether the partners (Subject 'Person' and Predicate 'Person') may be singular and/or plural. One asterisk and two asterisks mean availability for narrative usage at, respectively, the first stage and the second stage of specialization. These

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39) This crucial point is made by J. Okell (IPLS Pt II, p. 222) with respect to the Burmese verb-particle **ca.** in Nissaya Burmese (here *kra*), where its rendering of a singular Pali verb is cited :

sameti *ññī kra-i*

'(one statement) tallies (with the other)'

na sameti *maññī kra*

'(a person of good luck) is not compatible (with one of ill luck)'

The resemblance between dialogue usage of **kan,** e.g. such possible sentences as **thîi khǎw wâa nii kɔ̂ɔ troŋ kan**

'What he says tallies (i.e. with what has been said elsewhere by others)' and

khon nii mâj khâw kan nɛ̂ɛ

This fellow won't get on (with others) for sure.'

and the Burmese examples with **ca.** (*kra*) reinforce a common notion of a partnership of 'participants' extending across and even *beyond* the Subject and predicate, irrespective of grammatical plurality's being in evidence or not.

two stages will be made clear in a subsequent schematization. For the present it is helpful to note that what may be called homogeneous plurality of Persons is a second stage specialization, and that some explanation is required as to how the x R y heterogeneity that we have stated to be essential for expectation of meaningful reversibility can have adapted itself in such a way as to appear to contradict the rule that holds good for the general run of other entries in the table, viz. that the Subject and Predicate 'Persons' are 'opposite numbers', *not* homogeneous terms.

Addressee	Subject	Predicate + kan substituting for
2 s	2 s	... R ... kan ⟨ 1 (s,p) / 3 (s,p)
2 p	2 p	... R ... kan ⟨ 1 (s,p) ⟶ 2 p only ** / 3 (s,p)
2 (s,p)	1 s	.... R ... kan ⟨ 2 (s,p) / 3 (s,p)
2 (s,p)	1 p	... R ... kan ⟨ 2 (s,p) ⟵ 1 p only ** / 3 (s,p) *
2 (s,p)	3 s	... R ... kan ⟨ 1 (s,p) / 2 (s,p)
2 (s,p)	3 p	... R ... kan ⟨ 1 (s,p) * ⟵ 3 p only ** / 2 (s,p)

Making due allowance for context, a sentence such a

naj wan phrá? náa ca-paj thîi bòod kan mǎj

with the basic information about compresence in the activity of 'going
to the **bòod** on the Buddhist sabbath' can be made to fit all the cases
tabulated.   The word **náa** 'mother's younger brother or sister' can be 1,
2 or 3 in 'Person' usage and may be singular or plural.   Among the
substitution possibilities for **kan** will be, besides . . . **kàb chǎn,** . . . **kàb
raw,** . . . **kàb thân** and **kàb khǎw,** also a substitution for **kàb náa** in what
we have called homogeneous plurality.

The majority of the entries in the table conform to a simple formula
which might be expressed thus

Subject		Predicated		Subject
'Person'	R kàb	Partner	$\longrightarrow$	'Person' R kan
(s,p)		(s,p)		(s,p)

The above formula can apply to all types of R in theory, though in prac-
tice there are two kinds: R^v, the verbs which are by themselves
reversible in meaning or which are *made* reversible by usage with **kàb**;
and R^r, a set of adverbs and adverbial phrases devoted to processes of
alternation, equation, differentiation, juxtaposition etc. .   These processes
normally require a verb (V) to constitute a predicate for the sentence in
which they operate.   Their reference is not restricted to 'Persons' set off
against the Subject but extends to any two terms occupying the same IC
in the sentence.   We may now revise the formula, then, to read either

x R y where R is R^v, Subj. R^v kàb Partner$\longrightarrow$ Subj. R^v kan

or

x R y where R is R^r and in the environment of V,

x R^r kàb y $\longrightarrow$ . . . . V . . . . R^r kan

$(x$ and $y)$

An example of the former is

    naaj dam ca-phòb (kàb) phǒm ——————→ **naaj dam ca-phób kan**[40]

and of the latter

    naaj dam maa phrɔɔm kàb naaj dɛɛŋ ——————→ **naaj dam maa phrɔɔm kan** illustrating Dam's *meeting with* (R^V) a partner and Dam's arriving *along with* (R^r) a partner respectively.

There follows a diagram to map out the consequences of R^V and R^r usages and the restrictions upon the 's or p' choice and the 'p only' alternative. It will be seen that the four categories set out in the diagram are numbered. This is a convenience to make reference to the categories in the discussion that follows somewhat easier. The large squares that frame groupings of the categories are intended to show the successive stages of specialization called forth by the differences between the world of dialogue and the world of narrative. Thus, though the category marked ① is intended to have a certain primacy as illustrating the fundamental process at its simplest, the categories numbered ②, ③ and ④ are not intended to show any historical order of derivation. The most that can be said is that category ④ requires a step or two more in explanation than do the other two.

To recapitulate : the "fundamental process at its simplest" is that a reversible but not necessarily reciprocal sequence x R y may be rewritten as x R **kan** without any restrictions on the singularity or plurality of x, and (save for the provision of a verb to make up a predicate where necessary) without any requirement that R be either R^V or R^r. With this in mind as the exemplification of category ①, the diagram should be intelligible.

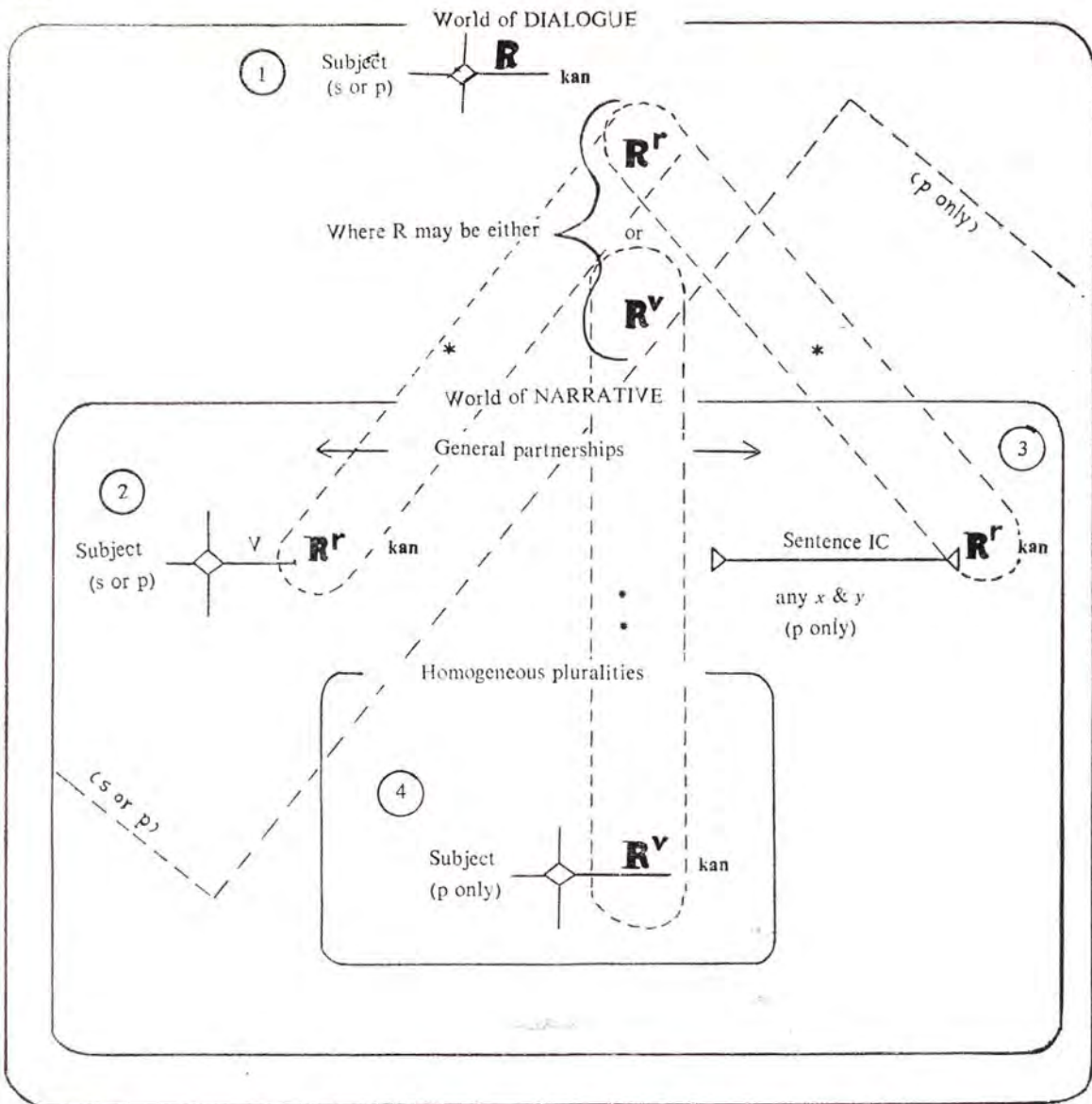40) In some such context as

    baaŋthii naaj dam ca-phób kan thâa mii weelaa wàaŋ

    where the speaker and addressee know who is meant by **kan** and who it is that has the spare time, eg.

    'Perhaps Dam will meet me/us/you if he/I/we/you have any spare time.'

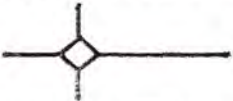   or with **naaj dam** as second Person address

    'Perhaps you'll meet me/us/them, Dam, if you/I/they have any spare time.'

② and ③ begin processes of specialization. The former dwells on the fact that x R y resembles a sentence with a pattern N V N, the first N of which is always the Subject and the second N is predicated upon the basis of some kind of understood partnership and may thus undergo substitution by **kan** that renders this second N implicit

rather than explicit. The latter dwells on unrestricted possibilities of participation for x and y as joint fillers of *any* IC 'slot' in a sentence, not merely the Subject slot. Viewed in this light, therefore, ② might really be called a specialized case of ③. We deal with ② first, however, because it shows up another dichotomy. In those sections of the diagram

(with the shape ⎯⎯◇⎯⎯), in which the word **kan** is paired

with reference to no other IC of the sentence but the Subject, there is a split revealed by the ability or inability to tolerate singularity of Subject. R^r may take either singular or plural, whereas R^v must go one step further in specialization and take only plural.

In category ③ (with the shape ▷⎯⎯⎯◁), the word

kan, used with R^r, is applied to an R-process at work between any two items, x and y, that are appropriate fillers of any single IC slot but which must be patent and explicit, not latent and implicit. The corollary therefore is that this R^r process demands plurality unless it is the special case of ②. Let us set down in formulaic terms the steps that are concerned in such a process,[41] choosing the Subject slot so as to bring out the difference between the applications of **kan** from category ② and from category ③:

[41) It is assumed that underlying compresence, represented by some such formulated array as

Subj′ V ⎫
Subj″ V ⎬ where V is common to both

will always have alternative presentations : either

Subj′ & Subj″ V

or

Subj′ V **kàb** Subj″

It is further assumed that the grammar of **kàb** Subj″ cannot be mistaken for other constructions with **kàb** e.g.

naaj dam chɔ̂ɔb kin klûaj-hɔ̆ɔm kàb nəəj-khɛ̆ŋ

Dam likes to eat banana with cheese.

that lead to preposterous alternatives such as

naaj dam kàb nəəj-khɛ̆ŋ chɔ̂ɔb kin klûaj-hɔ̆ɔm

'Dam and cheese like to eat banana !'

IC analysis can take care of this. So can transformational grammar (e.g. TSAO: GT 12 and 13, pp. 37-38). Ringing the changes on these alternative presentations, however, is very important for explanations of the specializations of **kan** set forth below.

1st step :   Subj' R^r kàb Subj'' ..... V .....
2nd step :   Subj' ..... V ..... R^r kàb Subj''

3rd step :
$$\begin{cases} \text{Subj' ..... V ..... R}^r \text{ kan (exclusively case ②)} \\ \qquad\qquad\qquad\text{or} \\ \text{Subj' \& Subj' ..... V ..... R}^r \text{ kan (typically case ③)} \end{cases}$$

The second step leads, by substitution of **kan** for **kàb** Subj'', to the category ② formula in step 3. The category ③ formula in step 3 requires some explanation, however. The question arises: what is Subj'' doing in the Subject slot, or in the sentence at all, if **kan** is supposed to be substituting for it ? The whole process might be explained by simplifying the account of what is really taking place and by writing out a general formula thus :

  x R **kàb** *y* & *y* R **kàb** *x*

and then by substitution

  x R **kan'** & *y* R **kan''**

and then by re-arrangement as

  x & *y* R **kan'** & **kan''**

The suggestion of an origin for the Thai phrase **kan lέ? kan** is obvious. The suggestion also is made, however, that the second **kan** (i.e. the ..... & **kan''**), being homophonous in actual utterance, is nearly always dropped, leaving us with the 'joint' or double-item formula for sentences using **kan** under the terms of category ③. This double-item plurality and the application of it to the Subject slot in particular is important in explaining the ultimate specialization found in category ④.

Recalling that **kan lέ? kan** is normally reduced to one **kan** only, we may add the remark that reduplication or linked reiteration (*xx* or *x* & *x*) are not normally available as devices to convey notional plurality in Thai. With the exception of certain nouns (**dèg-dèg** 'children' and **lûug-lûug** 'one's children', for instance), nouns and pronouns that are not specific as to singularity or plurality must be content with a single unmarked form for singular and plural alike. Category ④ exploits this state of affairs and not only reduces two hypothetical occurrences of **kan** to one but also does so for two hypothetically individual Subject items too.

In order to do this, of course, the individuals must be homogeneous. Another way of putting it is to conceive of each noun-word as a named set that thus will obey the elementary rule for the addition of sets :

for any set a, $a+a=a$.

Returning to our nouns, which we continue to term x, we may set down formulae with each 'individual' x or set-member marked in the same way that we previously marked each occurrence of **kan**. Keeping track of x in this way allows us to account for the two important ways in which category ④ presents itself: as unison plural **kan** (e.g. **dèg wìŋ kan,** 'The kids are running along with one another'); and reciprocal plural **kan** (e.g. **dèg tii kan,** 'The kids are fighting each other'). It remains to be said that the R-process in category ④ must find expression in the main verb and, hence, we might expect R^v to be entered as the main verb in our formulae. Reversibility in this category, however, will be assumed to reside in the word **kàb** rather than, necessarily and inherently, within the meaning of the verb. If, for instance, we stress the meaning of the verb **tii** as 'to hit, to smack or beat' rather than 'to fight', then it is not reversible in implication. Verbs like **rág** 'to love' and **klìad** 'to hate' and so forth do not have inherently reversible meanings either. We therefore write V or V Obj for the relevant predicate nuclei in our formulae.

(a) unison **kan**—V is intransitive :

x' V **kàb** x'' & x'' V **kàb** x'
re-arranged as
x' & x'' V **kan**$''$ & **kan**$'$
reduced by addition of sets to
x V **kan**

The re-arrangement we have, of course, met with in category ⑧. The additional factor here is homogeneity: x' and x'' are, ultimately in actual utterance, destined to be unitary x.

(b) either unison or reciprocal—V is overtly transitive :

x' V Obj **kàb** x'' & x'' V Obj **kàb** x'
reduced by the above procedure to
x V Obj **kan**

Context and collocational plausibility must decide whether the Object is itself singular, and therefore in common for the transactions done by both x' and x'' (e.g. .... mɔɔŋ phracan kan, '... gazed at the moon together'), or plural and 'shared' severally (e.g. ... jiŋ nóg kan, '... shot game together') as it must also decide whether unison or reciprocal interpretations are appropriate. This latter issue is a vital one for presentation (c) of category ④ :

(c) reciprocal with double homogeneity—where Object is x too!

    x' V x'' kàb x'' & ...... etc.

cannot be reduced to x' V x'' kan & ...... etc. because the predicate of Subject x', i.e. V x'', cannot, as it stands, constitute a predicate permissible by reversibility with x'' as Subject too: we cannot allow x'' V x''. We must therefore postulate a convention whereby the hypothetical predicate V x'' kàb x'' may undergo a special, partial substitution and become V kan''. This is in order to preserve the reversibility of the transaction at the cost of removing specific mention of any Object. By observing this convention, therefore, the formulae come down once again to

    x' V kan'' & x'' V kan'

and by reduction as before to

    x V kan.

The upshot of this ordering of priorities—reversibility at the cost of overt mention of Object—is that, as regards notional interpretations of the formula x V kan where V is a transitive verb, the supplying of an Object may or may not be homogeneous with the Subject, an ambiguity that can be resolved only by context.[42] A demonstration of this at its most paradoxical can be found in such sentences as

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42) The sentence

    "แต่เคยมีคนเขาเคยเจอกันมาแล้วนี่"

for example, may turn out not to be about people who have met each other but, clearly from the context, it may have to do with discovering (cəə) pearls in shellfish, i.e.

'But there *have* been people who've come across some.'

as is borne out further

    "เรื่องอะไร" ข้าพเจ้าถามด้วยน้ำเสียงไม่ยินดียินร้าย "มีคนเจอไข่มุกเหมือนกันหรือกัน"

' "What are you going on about ?", I asked in a rather non-committal voice, "This story about people finding pearls—here ?" ',

(Achin Panuphan's story นางรม in the book อาจินต์ยกทัพ p. 138.)

The observation of underlying ambiguity in x V kan is also made, by implication, in KCP on p. 140

    "ทำไมจะต้องดูกัน"

'Why are you all looking at him ?'/'Why are you all looking at each other ?'

sàd thîi kin kan mâj kin kan

in which context is left to explain (granted that absurd self-contradiction is not intended) whether the meaning shall be

'Animals that eat (food) together do not eat each other.'

or

'Animals that eat each other do not eat (food) together.'

or even—with a new 'understood' Subject—

'Animals that (we humans) all eat are not the ones that eat each other.'

or

'Animals that eat each other none (of us humans) will eat.'

It is of interest to conjecture whether **kan** will always retain the ability to take part in substitution procedures such as have provided the material on which the foregoing diagram and formulae have been based. A sequence such as

x V **kan kàb** y

already hints that analysis based solely on substitution will not work, since **kan** cannot be said to substitute for the **kàb** y phrase that immediately follows it. At some time in the future Thai usage may demand that **kan**'s "covert relationship" with **kàb** be held in abeyance, prominence being given by the synchronic analyst of the time to the conception of **kan** as, say, adverb of compresence. It has been the aim of this investigation to perceive a unifying *raison d'être* for **kan** despite the diversity of its uses in a predicate. What is hypothetical is the account of the relationships between these diverse uses. Whilst the hypotheses will doubtless be challenged, it is hoped they will be seen to treat language as something continuing to live, with room to live, with a future. If there is such a thing as **wajjaakɔɔn thaj taaj tua,** then this account of **kan** cannot be a part of it.

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