THE SYNTAX OF THO, A TAI LANGUAGE OF VIETNAM

Thesis

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bу

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ProQuest LLC. 789 East Eisenhower Parkway P.O. Box 1346 Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346 The grammatical model underlying this analysis of Tho syntax closely resembles the scale and category grammar developed by M.A.K. Halliday. This thesis does, however, suggest some major modifications to Halliday's model, and seeks to apply the modified theories to the analysis of Tho, in order to test whether they comprise a usable basis for the description of a language.

Chapter one describes the theoretical standpoint of the thesis, comparing and contrasting it with other grammatical models. In particular the theories of Halliday and those of the tagmemicists are discussed.

Chapter two gives an explanation of the layout of the thesis and other practical details.

Chapter three gives a sketch of the syntactic units of Tho at primary delicacy, showing their structure and their interrelations.

Chapters four to eight deal with the five units of Tho syntax in more detail, i.e. at secondary delicacy. The units, which are dealt with in successive chapters, are the verbal group, the nominal figure, the nominal phrase, the clause and the sentence.

Chapter nine gives a sample text, parsed to show the assignment of descriptive categories to formal items in the text.

Chapter ten gives another text with a word-for-word translation, but without parsing.

The thesis ends with a bibliography and an index.

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Part of the text material which I had recorded, amounting to about 24,000 morphemes in fact, was used to make a concordance with the aid of the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma. This was done by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. This has proved immensely useful, and has grown in usefulness as I have come to understand more about Tho structures.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

has
Abstract
Acknowledgements
Explanation of Orthography5
Chapter One: Theoretical Introduction
Chapter Two: Practical Introduction
Chapter Three: The Units and Their Interrelations
at Primary Delicacy38
Chapter Four: The Verbal Group at Secondary Delicacy64
Chapter Five: The Nominal Figure at Secondary Delicacy75
Chapter Six: The Nominal Phrase at Secondary Delicacy97
Chapter Seven: The Clause at Secondary Delicacy100
Chapter Eight: The Sentence at Secondary Delicacy109
Chapter Nine: Analysis of Text (Text ME)
Chapter Ten: Text PH
pibliography
Indox

EXPLANATION OF ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography used in this thesis is that which my wife and I devised for Tho. It is modelled on the Vietnamese Quốc Ngữ, with modifications where Tho shows contrasts not found in Vietnamese. Some problems remain unsolved in the phonology, and further study is needed before a thorough phonological statement can be made.

The orthography may be described in terms of the syllable. Each syllable must have a vowel and a tone. There may also be a consonantal onset and/or a consonantal ending to the syllable. These are represented by orthographical symbols in the following way. 2

Onsets

Orthography	Approximate phonetic equiv	alent
ð	ъ	
by	Ъj	
c (before all vowels except i,	ê, e) k	
ch	tς	
cho (before a, ă, e)	tsw	
chu (before all vowels except	a, ă, e) t∫w	
đ	z	
do (before a, ă, e)	zw	
du (before all vowels except a	ı, ă, e) zw	
đ	đ	
đo (before a, ă, e)	dw	
đu (before all vowels except a	ı, ă, e) dw	
g (before all vowels except i,	ê, e) y	
gh (before i, ê, e)	Å	

^{1.} The only exception is that nong 'one' in fast speech becomes ng.

^{2.} The fact that a particular sequence is provided for in the orthography should not be taken as evidence that it actually occurs in any Tho word.

Orthography	Approximate phonet	ic equivalent
h		h
ho (before a, ă, e)		hw (M)
hu (before all vowels except	; а, ă, e)	hw (M)
k (before i, ê, e)		k
kh		kh
kho (before a, ă, e)		khw (km)
khu (before all vowels excep	ot a, ă, e)	khw (ka)
1		1
lo (before a, ă, e)		lw
lu (before all vowels except	; a, ă, e)	lw
m		m
my		шj
n		n
ng (before all vowels except	; i, ê, e)	ŋ
ngh (before i, ê, e)		ŋ
ngo (before a, ă, e)		ŋw
ngu (before all vowels excep	ot a, ă, e)	ŋw
nh		ъ
o (before a, ă, e)		w
р		p
ру		рj
ph		f
p'		ph
р'у		phj (pç)
qu		kw
S		S
so (before a, ă, e)		sw
su (before all vowels except	; а, ă, e)	sw
sl		l Ö
slo (before a)		lw
t		t
th		th
tho (before a, ă, e)		thw (ta)

Orthography	Approximate phonetic equivalent
thu (before all vowels excep	ta, ă, e) thw (tm)
to (before a, ă, e)	tw
tu (before all vowels except	tw
u (before all vowels except	a, ă, e) w
v	v
** - *	
Vowels	ă ³
a (when followed by y, u)	
a (except when followed by y	
ä	ă
â	ĕ
е	3
ê	е
ī	i
ia (syllable finally)	iə
iê (not syllable finally)	ie
o	o
ô	O
ರೆ	⊖
u	u
ua (syllable finally)	u∌
uô (not syllable finally)	uə
ਪੰ	<u>i</u> .
ưa (syllable finally)	÷÷
ươ (not syllable finally)	à⊖
y (after u or qu)	i
ya (after u or qu, syllable	finally) ie
yê (after u or qu, not sylla	*
1 7	v •

^{3.} It is more convenient with Tho vowels to mark shortness rather than length.

Endinge

Orthography	Approximate phonetic equivalent
C	k ⁴
i (after all vowels except â	j ⁵
m	m
ng	ŋ
o (after a, e)	w
p	p
t	t
u (after a, â, ê, i, iê, ư,	ಬೆ ರೆ) ₩
y (except after u)	j

<u>Note:</u> There is also a sequence (which may be preceded by syllable onsets) which is phonetically ei. This might possibly be analysed phonemically as /ew/ (since this sequence of phonemes does not otherwise occur), but orthographically it is written au.

Tones (Shown with the vowel a)

é		High rising
(ã		High rising, glottalised
		$medially^6$)
a		Mid level
a. a.		Low rising
à		Mid falling
ā	(without a final stop)	Mid falling, glottalised
		finally
ā	(with a final stop)	Low level or low falling
ā	(without a final stop)	Low level or low falling

^{4.} Final stops are unreleased.

^{5.} Vowels glide towards final j and w, but may not reach these positions.

^{6.} This tone only occurs in a very few loans from Vietnamese.

Chapter 1

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 The grammatical model used for this analysis of Tho syntax closely resembles that described by M.A.K. Halliday in his "Categories of the Theory of Grammar". There are, however, some fairly fundamental differences between the two theories which must be clearly stated at the outset. This theoretical introduction will be devoted firstly to outlining Halliday's model, secondly to suggesting some drawbacks to it, and thirdly to presenting a modified model which may then be compared and contrasted with Tagmemics.

1.1 Halliday's model

I shall seek to state briefly the main points of this model as set forth in CTG. The description given here is merely Halliday's scale and category model as I understand it; if at any point my version is not true to CTG, then I must bear full responsibility for the misapprehension. Neither the relation between grammar and phonology, nor that between grammar and lexis, will be covered in this summary.

Halliday suggests four categories which are fundamental to the theory of how language works at the level of grammar. These are not the descriptive categories necessary for the description of any one language (e.g. 'active', 'passive' in English) but rather theoretical categories which must underly any description of the grammar of any language. These categories are linked to one another and to the data by means of three 'scales of abstraction'.

Concerning the categories, Halliday says, "Each of the four is specifically related to, and logically derivable from,

^{1.} Word 17;241-92 (1961), henceforth abbreviated to CTG.

each of the others. There is no relation of precedence or logical priority among them. They are all mutually defining." (CTG 2.2) The categories are called 'unit', 'structure', 'class' and 'system'. The scales of abstraction are 'rank', 'exponence' and 'delicacy'.

1.11 Unit

The unit is "The category set up to account for the stretches that carry grammatical patterns." (CTG 3.2) instance, in English the units required for a grammatical description would be sentence, clause, phrase (or group), word and mor-"The units of grammar form a hierarchy that is a taxonomy." (CTG 3.2) The fact that the units form a hierarchy means that they are a "system of terms related along a single dimension" with "some form of logical precedence (such as inclusion)." To be a taxonomy a hierarchy must fulfill a further two conditions: (1) "There is a constant relation of each term to the term immediately following it, and a constant reciprocal relation of each to that immediately preceding it; and (2) degree is significant, so that the place in order of each one of the terms, statable as the distance in number of steps from either end, is a defining characteristic of that term." (CTG 2.2)

So the units of grammar of any language may be placed in a line so that there is a constant relation between one unit and the one immediately next to it. This relation is that one unit "consists of" one or more of the other unit. In English, each sentence consists of one or more clauses, each clause consists of one or more phrases, etc. For one unit to "consist of" other units, the smaller units may follow one another, interrupt one another, or one may be simultaneous with another.

1.12 Structure

Structure is the category set up to account for the

grammatical patterns carried by the units. Each unit may display several possible structures. A structure is made up of elements (e.g. in English clause structure the elements may be termed 'subject', 'predicate', 'complement' and 'adjunct'). The structure consists of these elements in a certain order (e.g. SPCA). Sequence must be distinguished from order. We may find differences in sequence which are not related to a difference in structure (e.g. in English ASP and SPA). Order may show itself in the sequence of elements, but it is at a higher degree of abstraction than mere sequence.

1.13 Class

"The class is that grouping of members of a given unit which is defined by operation in the structure of the unit next (CTG 5.1) For instance, in English the verbal phrase above." (or verbal group) may be defined as the set of phrases which may operate at the predicate element of clause structure. This divides it from the nominal phrase, which may not so operate. Ву this means two classes of phrase are established for English. Α" class is not a grouping of members of a given unit which are alike In other words...classes are derived in their own structure. 'from above' (or 'downwards') and not 'from below' (or 'upwards')." (CTG 5.3)

1.14 System

Generally, the term 'system' is used to signify a set of terms which are finite in number and individually distinctive and separate. As a category of grammar it is used in a specialised sense.

Although we may say that the verbal phrase operates at the predicate element in English clause structure, if we consider the structure of English clauses in more detail we will find it convenient to set up subclasses of the verbal phrase. For instance, more detailed accounts of the structure of clauses will have to take into account the fact that active verbal phrases operate differently from passive verbal phrases. There is in fact a system of classes operating at the predicate element.

In general, a more detailed examination of a class may show that it can be divided into a system of subclasses.

1.15 Rank

In order to be a hierarchy, the units of a language must allow arrangement in a single dimension, with some form of logical precedence. The scale on which the units are arranged is called rank. Thus the sentence in English is of higher rank than the clause. Downward rank shift is allowed: as, for instance, a clause in English which itself operates at an element of phrase structure. "A unit can include, in what it consists of, a unit of rank higher than or equal to itself but not a unit of rank more than one degree lower than itself." (CTG 3.2)

1.16 Exponence

"Exponence is the scale which relates the categories of the theory, which are categories of the highest degree of abstraction, to the data." (CTG 7.3) It is possible to link a category directly with a formal item as its exponent, e.g. "the old man" as an exponent of S in clause structure. It is also possible (and is more desirable) to move step by step down the exponence scale, changing rank where necessary, until the formal item is reached. For instance, an exponent of S in clause structure in English is a nominal phrase. An exponent of this is one of the possible structures for a nominal phrase, say MMH. An exponent of this would be the string of word classes Article Adjective Noun, and so on.

la. Where M is modifier and H is head.

Our aim in grammatical description is to make generalisations. Exponence is the scale which links our generalised statements with the actual occurrences in the data.

1.17 Delicacy

"Delicacy is the scale of differentiation, or depth in (CTG 7.4) This has already been mentioned whilst discussing system in 1.14. The least differentiated (most abstracted) structures and classes are spoken of as being at primary For instance, SPO could be regarded as a clause structure at primary delicacy in English, whereas Ssp Psg O and Spl Ppl O would be the corresponding secondary structures. nominal phrases is a primary class, but singular nominal phrases and plural nominal phrases are secondary classes. Successively more delicate structures and classes may be described, all of which are also covered by the term "secondary". The more delicate the stage, the more likely the statements are to be statistical. until eventually the point is reached where distinctions are so fine that they can no longer be drawn, even statistically.

The difference between delicacy and exponence needs to be clearly distinguished, as there is great similarity between them. Briefly, delicacy shows the range of structures and classes in greater and greater detail, whereas exponence in its way from the category to the data may select one from among the range of more delicate possibilities. Thus, if SPO is a clause structure at primary delicacy, and S gPsg O and S plPpl O are the corresponding secondary structures, then S gPsg O is an exponent of SPO. Whereas delicacy shows the differentiation among structures and classes, exponence traces out one of each choice to be made. Delicacy is the map of the river, showing successive branching until each tributary is lost in an inland bog, whereas exponence takes a journey from the mouth of the river to one point on the watershed.

1.2 Drawbacks to Halliday's model

1.21 Logical priority of unit and rank

I quote again what Halliday says concerning the categories of the theory of grammar: "Each of the four is specifically related to, and logically derivable from, each of the others. There is no relation of precedence or logical priority among them. They are all mutually defining." (CTG 2.2)

Consider now the following grammar of English:

"A sentence consists of one or more clauses. A clause consists of one or more phrases. A phrase consists of one or more words. A word consists of one or more morphemes."

This grammar is apparently fully in keeping with Halliday's model, and yet it uses only the category 'unit', the scale 'rank' and the relation 'consists of'. It implies a very definite precedence of unit over the other categories, inasmuch as a grammar can be described in terms of unit and rank alone.

This seeming priority of unit over the other categories is a direct consequence of the fact that Halliday's theory does not take account of the class nature of the unit. "Unit", as Halliday defines it, is an abstraction from one or more classes. For instance, the unit "phrase" in English is an abstraction from the nominal phrase and the verbal phrase, each of which have very different syntactic functions, and each of which display a variety of structures. The only link between them is that both may operate in the structure of the clause. It is necessary, from Halliday's viewpoint, to make an abstraction from them, the "unit" if we are to have any descriptive categories arranged on a one-dimensional rank scale. If we treat a nominal phrase as a different unit from a verbal phrase, then the units are no longer

arranged in one dimension, and therefore they cannot constitute a hierarchy.

1.22 The relation "consists of"

For Halliday's units to be arranged in the hierarchy he desires, there must be a constant relationship between one unit and the next. The nature of this relationship, he tells us, is that one unit "consists of" one or more of the units next below. In what sense does one unit "consist of" other units? Suppose we consider how a clause in English consists of phrases. To go from the clause to the phrase in one leap leads us to the pseudo-grammar described in 1.21. The alternative to going in one leap is to follow these steps:

One of the classes of clause has one or more structures. Each element of each structure has as exponent a class of the phrase, which operates there.

This means that in going from unit to unit we may pass via class and structure, then along the exponency scale to class again, and back from class to the unit at the rank next below. The relation "consists of" is therefore a very complicated one.

Not only is this relation a complex one: sometimes it is hard to see any justification for it other than the logical necessity of having a constant relation between the terms in a In Tho, as in English, there appears to be a class hierarchy. cleavage below the rank of the clause. A verbal group may only operate at the predicate element of the clause. A nominal phrase may not operate at the predicate element. Another feature which is similar to English is that when we consider the structure of the verbal group and the nominal phrase there is a great deal of 'in-breeding'. The verbal group consists of such word classes as auxiliaries and verbs, which cannot operate in nominal phrase structure. The verbal group, in fact, seems to be quite distinct

lb. In CTG 3.3 Halliday suggests that 'group' and 'phrase' have been used interchangeably for the same unit. He proposes using the terms for different classes of the same unit.

from the nominal phrase. Why must the verbal group "consist of" words in the same way as the nominal phrase, when the classes of words involved are so distinct? Why may not the verbal group consist of some word classes, whilst the nominal phrase consists of nominal figures, which then in turn consist of other word If this state of affairs is discovered in a language, Halliday's theory requires that a verbal figure be set up. verbal group will then consist of one and only one verbal figure. In other words, the verbal group will descend unchanged through As far as the verbal group is concerned, this is a 'dummy' rank, but this is quite valid according to Halliday's theory because "The only theoretical restriction is that each unit must carry at least one structure that consists of more than one place." (CTG 4.2) As the nominal phrase carries a structure which consists of more than one nominal figure, it is of no consequence that the verbal group does not.

The insistence on a strict hierarchy, with each unit consisting of units of the rank next below, means that differences of class are not given the place they should have. To follow this model relentlessly means that the analyst introduces complications through his own inflexibility when the data cries out to be analysed in a different way.

1.23 The problem of particles

In Tho, as in other languages, there are certain particles which appear to belong to units as a whole, such as sentences. If every sentence consists of clauses, with nothing left over, how should we treat a sentence particle? Halliday's theory provides for two possibilities here.

(1) Each sentence particle is a clause in its own right, consisting of one phrase, which consists of one word, which consists of one morpheme.

lc. 'Figure' being a unit between phrase and word.

- (2) The sentence particle enters into the structure of one of the component clauses of the sentence.
- Possibility (2) again leaves us with two possibilities.
- (1) The particle enters into the structure of the clause as a phrase in its own right, consisting of one word, which consists of one morpheme.
- (2) The particle enters into the structure of one of the component phrases of the clause.

This bifurcation of possibilities continues right the way down the hierarchy. Our extreme possibilities are to say that the sentence particle is itself a clause, or on the other hand to say that it enters into the structure of a word in a phrase in a clause in the sentence.

To say that a particle is a clause consisting of one phrase consisting of one word consisting of one morpheme, raises the same problem as the hypothetical invention of a verbal figure, considered in 1.22. In effect, we are inventing 'dummy' ranks for particles. It would be much more economical for the description if we were able to make the sentence consist of clauses and morphemes, but this we are forbidden to do. "A unit can include, in what it consists of, a unit of rank higher than or equal to itself but not a unit of rank more than one degree lower than itself." (CTG 3.2)

If we consider the sentence particle to enter into the structure of a word in a phrase in a clause in the sentence, then immediately we must face the question "Which word in which phrase in which clause?" The most natural choice, other things being equal, is the head word of the head phrase of the head clause. To decide which is the head we may use criteria such as obligatory versus optional elements of structure. The net result of these manipulations will be that one word in the sentence will bear an

excessive load of complexity in the description. We would rather put such complexity at the rank of the sentence, because the particles concerned seem to be associated with the sentence rather than with any particular word, but Halliday's model forces us to this unsatisfactory result. What is more, we introduce artificial differences between, for instance, the head and non-head clauses. These might otherwise have been very similar in structure, but we have to distinguish between them because the head clause contains the particle and the non-head does not.²

1.24 The raison d'être

Halliday has anticipated the question "Why are 'unit', 'structure', 'class' and 'system' the four categories needed by the theory of grammar?" "If one asks: 'why these four, and not three, or five, or another four?', the answer must be: because language is like that - because these four, and no others, are

^{2.} The problem of particles is dealt with by John T. Bendor-Samuel in an unpublished article. "Problems in the Analysis of Sentences and Clauses in Bimoba." Bendor-Samuel's solution is to make the particles syntagmatic features of the sentence or the clause, equivalent to such features as the order of elements of structure. In this way he seeks to preserve a hierarchical approach, as outlined in his article "A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases," Canadian Journal of Linguistics 8:59-70 (1963). model sets up grammatical units which are hierarchically arranged. The hierarchy consists of a series of levels of description Each...grammatical unit consists of one or more of the units next below it in the hierarchy." (P.59) This does not prevent him from setting up a grammatical "sub-unit". "The demonstrative expression is considered a grammatical 'sub-unit.' It is clearly useful to be able to group together a number of words and clitics of different classes and make general statements about their occurrence as elements of the nominal phrase. On the other hand, to set up another level between word and phrase would lead to a very It is quite unnecessary for redundant and cumbersome statement. all words to pass through an expression level en route to the The category of sub-level and sub-unit avoids this." phrase. It is difficult to see how this can be accommodated into a hierarchy, and unfortunately Bendor-Samuel does not attempt to clarify the matter by defining his use of the term 'hierarchy'.

needed to account for the data: that is, to account for all grammatical patterns that emerge by generalization from the data."

(CTG 2.2) In other words, the justification for the four categories is an empirical one. The theoretical categories are produced by a hyper-abstraction from what is known about the patterns in languages which have been analysed. Naturally it will not do to produce the categories first, force languages into them without regard to matters of descriptive economy, and then decide that the categories fit any language perfectly and provide a completely adequate frame of reference for all features found in them. As I have shown in 1.22 and 1.23, some features of Tho syntax can be forced into Halliday's mould, but only at the expense of complicating the description.

If the basis of our grammatical model lies no deeper than empirical considerations, we may expect that the model will have to be revised in the light of further evidence. My contention is that Halliday's model needs to be revised because of evidence such as that which I present in this thesis.

An analogy may be drawn here with geometry. Euclid's postulates comprise a system which generates a logical geometry. They are not, however, the only such system. One of the postulates may be changed, and a non-Euclidean geometry produced which is still non-contradictory. For instance, one of Euclid's postulates states that one and only one line may be drawn through a given point parallel to a given line. This may be waived, and a non-Euclidean geometry produced. Each geometry, whether Euclidean or not, has mathematical validity if it is not self-contradictory. The question, which geometry fits the universe we are living in? is a matter which stands apart from the validity of any geometry. It is an empirical question, to be decided by experiment and measurement.

The system produced by Halliday's four categories and three scales of abstraction is not self-contradictory. It may be reduced to mathematical logic. At the same time we may not expect that it is the only such system which may be devised. Other non-contradictory systems may be produced by altering some of the categories and scales of abstraction. Each theory of grammar needs to be tested empirically to see which best fits the data.

1.3 Suggested modifications to Halliday's model

The drawbacks to Halliday's model outlined in 1.2 arise because different classes are united in the units. This is done in order that the units might constitute a hierarchy arranged on the rank scale. This hierarchy is also a taxonomy because one unit "consists of" other units. (See 1.11, p.10) Let us redefine the unit so that it separates different classes.

Definition A unit is the correlation between a class of items and the structure or structures they display.

On this definition the verbal group and the nominal phrase in English are different units. The units of a language are no longer arranged in a single dimension, and therefore they can no longer constitute a hierarchy. Note that the units are defined on the basis of a common syntactic function, which is the essence of class. A unit on this definition has two sides, like the faces of a coin. One is the class aspect, abstracted from the syntactic function of all the exponents of the unit. The other is the structure aspect, abstracted from the structures which all the exponents of the unit display.

Let us now examine the repercussions of this new definition of the unit on the other categories and scales. Structure and system, together with the scales of exponence and delicacy, will be unaffected. In order to see the effect of the change on the scale of rank, we will first consider a replacement for the relation "consists of".

^{3.} See R.M.W. Dixon, "A Logical Statement of Grammatical Theory," Language 39:4:654-68 (1963).

A class may operate at an element of structure. As a unit is a class, it too may operate at an element of the structure of another unit. This, then, is the way in which one unit "consists of" other units.

Units are classes, but there are some classes which are not units. An example in Tho is the class of final particles. These have no structure, so they cannot be units. They may, however, operate at an element of structure of a unit.

An analogy may be drawn with electric adaptor plugs. An adaptor is essentially a plug on the one side, and one or more sockets of varying shape and size on the other side. The plug side may fit into a socket on another adaptor. Here the plug is the class, fitting into (operating at) one of the sockets (an element of structure) of an adaptor (a unit). Appliances have a plug but no sockets, and correspond to the classes which have no structure, and so are not units. The adaptor which fits into the mains may be compared with the sentence, which operates in discourses or situations.

For Halliday the relation "consists of" is that constant relation existing between successive terms in a hierarchy. For me it shows the interrelation of the units with no hierarchy being involved. The units and classes form a network of interrelations, such as that shown in 3.6, p.48. Not every unit or every class may operate at every element of structure of every unit. A large part of the grammar of a language consists of a description of the different elements at which each unit and class may operate. This may be done in greater or lesser detail, i.e. at secondary or primary delicacy. The two-dimensional array shown in 3.6 is the analogue of Halliday's one dimensional rank scale, showing what units and classes any given unit may consist of.

^{1. &}quot;Classes" here means those classes which are not units.

^{5.} The array in 3.6 should not be looked upon as intrinsically two-dimensional. A good case might be made for considering it as

We can no longer define class as "that grouping of menbers of a given unit which is defined by operation in the structure of the unit next above" (CTG 5.1) as there is now no unit above or below. The array in 3.6 should be considered topologically: it may be distorted in any fashion desired, so long as no ruptures occur. However we distort it, it is impossible to arrange the units so that each one only operates in the structure of the unit next above.

We may revise the definition of class in the following way:

Definition A class is a grouping of items which are alike in their grammatical function.

Absolute identity of function is not required. Differences of function are dealt with at secondary delicacy by setting up subclasses.

The sentence often causes difficulty in linguistic description because of the unique position in which it stands. We have defined a unit as the correlation between a class of items and the structure or structures they display. It is obvious that the sentence displays structures: does it have a class aspect to qualify it for consideration as a unit?

R.H. Robins says that, "Traditionally the longest structure within which a full grammatical analysis is possible has been taken as the <u>sentence</u>, or potentially complete utterance." The word "potentially" is an important qualification here. Not every

basically three-dimensional (as this would allow lines to pass each other without intersecting). However, the main point here is that it would be impossible to represent the information given in 3.6 in a one-dimensional array, as is possible with Halliday's units.

^{6.} It is hard to see how this is possible even for Halliday, as he permits down ranking

^{7.} General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey. London 1964. 5.2, p.190.

sentence can stand as a complete utterance. However, there is a certain completeness about the structure of a sentence. It is the brick which is used to build longer stretches of speech, such as conversations and discourses, but these have not yet been as exhaustively studied as the sentence.

Sentences do. then, comprise a class, as they are alike in their grammatical function. They operate in longer stretches of speech, though not at elements of structure, and they can potentially function as complete utterances. This is, of course, a direct consequence of the completeness of structure which they display. This does not mean, however, that classes are being established on the basis of similarity of structure. Two radically different structures may each exhibit this completeness, and therefore would be able to operate in discourses, or in situations as free utterances.

1.4 Comparison with Tagmemics

1.41 Form or function

The unit as I have defined it is the correlation between a class of items and the structure(s) they display. As such, it it is strikingly similar to the tagmeme, which is a correlative between the slot and the class which fills the slot. Both the unit and the tagmeme are form-function correlatives. Function is the aspect which both Halliday 10 and Longacre 11 claim to be primary.

^{8.} Cf. R.E. Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures, The Hague (1965), p.17 fn.14. "Sentences are characterized by a degree of closure... not characteristic of lower levels."

^{9.} Cf. CTG 3.3. "There will always be one unit which, more than any other, offers itself as an item for contextual statement because it does the language work in situations: so it might as well always have the same name: 'sentence.'"

^{10.} Cf. R.H. Robins, "Some Considerations on the Status of Grammar in Linguistics," Archiuum Linguisticum XI (1959), p.109. "When there is a conflict of classification of morphological paradigm and syntactic function, the latter is given preference in assigning words to word classes." This is quoted in CTG 5.3 fn. 48, with

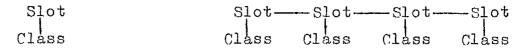
What then is the difference between my unit, based partly on Halliday, and Longacre's tagmeme?

In order to compare the two, we must bring the terminology together. 'Slot' corresponds to 'element of structure', whereas 'class' is common to both theories. 'Tagmeme' corresponds to an element of structure together with the class which operates there (i.e. which 'fills the slot'). 'Syntagmeme' almost corresponds to 'structure', being a string of tagmemes. This is clearly seen in Longacre's words:

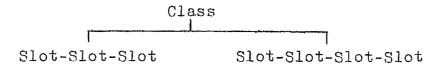
"Pattern and pattern point therefore are properly primitives of linguistic structure. The particular linguistic theory here followed terms the former SYNTAGMEME (construction) and the latter TAGMEME (element of a construction)."

The difference between syntagmeme and structure is that whereas structure is merely a string of ordered slots, syntagmeme includes the attendant classes.

We may represent tagmeme and syntagmeme diagrammatically as follows:



The representation for my unit would then be:



the comment, "I would add 'groups to group classes, etc.'"

^{11. &}quot;Tagmemics makes grammatical functions focal, but associates such functions with sets of items and constructions. A function may be considered a defining property of a set while the set may be said to manifest a function." "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics," Language 41:1:65-76 (1965).

^{12.} Grammar Discovery Procedures, The Hague (1964), p.15. Not all things are to be clearly seen from the words of tagmemicists. One feels that their theories would be better understood and their value far more appreciated if they were not hedged in by an almost impenetrable mass of unnecessarily complex terminology.

This brings to light certain key differences. Tagmemes, syntagmemes and units are all combinations of slots and classes, but the former two have their slots 'above', and the latter has the slots 'below'. This means in effect that in Tagmemics the classes are subordinated to the structures, whereas in my theory the structures are subordinated to the classes.

This may be seen by means of an example from Tho. The equative and predicative clauses (pp.41-43) have radically different structures, but form one class, as both operate at the head element of sentence structure. The clause is therefore a single unit in this grammar. According to tagmemic theory, they would be different clause level syntagmemes, and would only be drawn together as the fillers of the slot of the head tagmeme on the sentence level. That is to say, they would be united at the sentence level but at their own level, that of the clause, they would be separated because of their differing structures. Thus, although Tagmemics pays lip service to the supremacy of function over form, the nature of the tagmeme countermands this.

1.42 Hierarchy or non-hierarchy

In a recent article 13 Longacre defends the concept of hierarchy. Although Tagmemics (unlike Halliday) allows upranking (or level-skipping, as Longacre calls it) as well as down ranking, 14

^{13. &}quot;Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics," Language 41:1:65-76 (1965).

^{14. &}quot;Hierarchical structuring as commonly conceived involves distribution of lower-level units into higher-level units... Recursive layerings may occur on the same level: word within word ('compounds'), phrase within phrase..., clause within clause, etc.

There may be backlooping from higher levels. Occurrence of a subordinate clause which manifests a phrase level tagmeme (the boy who came yesterday), or of a sentence within a clause (when heads-I-wintails-you-lose is the order of the day) exemplify first-order backlooping.

Occurrence of a sentence within a phrase (his heads-I-wintails-you-lose attitude) exemplifies second-order backlooping.

Level-skipping may also occur: a sentence-level tagmeme manifested by a phrase or a clause-level tagmeme by a word exemplifies first-order level-skipping, while a sentence-level tagmeme manifested by a word exemplifies second-order level skipping." Op.cit. 73-4.

this does not mean that they cling less tenaciously to the notion of hierarchy. Longacre rounds off his article by bringing matrix theory to the defence of hierarchy, as follows:

"In diagram 5, T symbolizes tagmemes identified by sub- "clause level, phrase scripts", S, C, P, and W as paragraph level, clause level, phrase level, and word level. D and M symbolize discourse and morpheme as top and bottom points of reference. These six hierarchical levels (and morpheme, which is not a level) comprise the vertical coordinate of the chart. There is a central column labelled HIERARCHICAL with successive columns to the right and left. Cells are filled with symbols for levels. Thus, the intersection of Tc and HIERARCHICAL is cell P; we read: 'Clause-level tagmeme manifested by a set of phrase-level syntagmemes'.

	LEVEL- SKIPPING ²	LEVEL- SKIPPING ¹	HIERARCHICAL	RECURSIVE	BACK- LOOPING ¹
\mathbf{T}_{η}	Р	C	S	1	D
${ m T}_{ m g}$	W	P	C	S	e¶
$\mathrm{T}_{\mathbf{C}}$	M	W	P	C	S
$\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{p}}$		M	M_1	P	C
$\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{W}}$			<u>I</u> VI	ĬŃ	P

DIAGRAM 5. FIELD STRUCTURE OF HIERARCHY

"The field structure represented above has the following characteristics. (1) Every row is displaced one cell to the right in respect to the row above it and one cell to the left in respect to the row below it. (2) Every column is displaced one cell upwards in respect of the next column to the right, and one cell downwards in respect to the next column on the left. (3) All left-to-right descending diagonals have the same cells....

"Notice...that all varieties of mutual imbedding of constructions from various levels find their place in a periodic matrix like that in diagram 5 and none need be considered aberrant or extrasystemic. Rather, the apparent exceptions to hierarchy (recursiveness, back-looping, and level-skipping) are part of a field structure in which hierarchy finds its ultimate justification. The relative spacing - which is possibly the fundamental notion in hierarchy - is preserved regardless of the horizontal cr vertical shifting of rows and columns."

The argument here needs to be considered closely. The intersection of $T_{\mathbf{c}}$ and HIERARCHICAL is cell P because Longacre

^{15.} Op.cit. 76. Diagram 5 has been reduced in size here by omitting Longacre's LEVEL-SKIPPING³ and BACK-LOOPING².

considers the manifestation of clause level tagmemes by phrase level syntagmemes to be normal. If he finds a syntagmeme a level below that which he expected (in this case, a word level syntagmeme), he calls it first-order level- skipping, and consigns the phenomenon to the column to the left of HIERARCHICAL in his matrix. If the clause level tagmemes are manifested by syntagmemes a level above that which he expected (in this case, clause) they are ipso facto placed in the column to the right of HIEPARCHICAL, and termed recursive. This is plainly seen from the quotation given here in footnote 14, page 25.

The explanation of the 'field structure' of the matrix is simply that what was fed into the matrix appears in it. The levels are fixed upon, and the analyst's determination that his hierarchy will not be spoiled causes him to deflect any apparent exceptions to columns other than the central one. The column the exception will be placed in is determined by the hierarchy originally decided on. In fact, the whole argument is a tautology.

1.5 Composite formulae

The purpose of grammatical analysis is to make abstractions based on similar but different events. If we find the structures MH, H, HO and MHO (where M signifies modifier, H head and O qualifier), then we can represent these four by a composite formula which is an abstraction from them: (M)H(Q). This is a valid means of expressing the facts in a more economical way. Our composite formula may then be used to 'generate' the original four structures.

If we also find the structures AMH, AH and AMHQ, we may amend our composite formula to read: (A)(M)H(Q) (where A signifies article, say). This will generate the seven structures which we have found so far, and also the structure AHQ, which has not yet been discovered in our corpus of data. However, this is not a drawback to the composite formula, because a grammar should in fact generate sequences which have not been found in the corpus analysed.

The better the grammar, the greater the number of these sequences which are found to be grammatical. 16

The structures of the nominal phrase in Tho provide us with some interesting problems when we try to make a composite formula. Let us consider the first two structures listed in 3.31, p.43, Nom and Nom Nom. Two composite formulae could be made:

(Nom)Nom and Nom(Nom)

The first formula suggests that the second nominal is the head, and the second formula suggests that the first nominal is the head. This in essence exemplifies one of the charges which transform grammarians level at a 'phrase structure' grammar; a PS grammar does not assign its 'P-markers' correctly. The structure is not shown without arbitrariness.

Perhaps one answer to the problem is that we should not take our composite formulae too seriously. They are, after all, mere devices for representing several structures in one formula. 18 When we use a descriptive device we should be able to make it mean (like Humpty Dumpty's words) just what we want it to mean - neither more nor less. So a composite formula such as Nom(Nom) should be

^{16.} If the composite formula generates ungrammatical sequences (e.g. if AHO is not found in text because it is not grammatical), then restrictions can be placed on the formula at secondary delicacy. The value of delicacy here is that highly generalised statements can be made without clouding the issue with a host of amendments, and yet the modifications may be made in their proper place.

^{17.} See for instance P. Postal, "Constituent Structure: a Study of Contemporary Models of Syntactic Pescription," IJAL 30 (1964), pp. 23,4; E. Bach, An Introduction to Transformational Grammars, New York (1964), pp. 67-8.

^{18.} However, in tagmemic theory a composite symbolisation is given a status of its own. Tagmemicists regularly speak of 'optional' or 'obligatory' tagmemes, as though there were an intrinsic difference between them. In tagmemics individual structures are not usually used (except in the initial stages of analysis). The composite formula is taken as an expression of what a structure actually is.

able to stand for the structures Nom and Nom Nom, and a composite formula such as

Nom Link Nom (Link Nom)

where n is an integer greater than or equal to zero, should be able to stand for the structures

- l. Nom Link Nom
- 2. Nom Link Nom Link Nom
- 3. Nom Link Nom Link Nom Link Nom etc.

without any implication that any nominal is more central to the structure than any other. The situation would be different if we had numbered the nominals Nom₁, Nom₂ etc., or in any other way shown them to be different elements of structure, so that one of the nominals in structure 2. (say) could be identified with one of the nominals in structure 3.

If the transform grammarian still contends that this problem arises because a phrase-structure-type grammar cannot deal with an infinitely recursive structure without imposing too much 'structure' on it, then the following course may be adopted. A composite formula for the nominal phrases above with links could be written as:

(Nom Link) m Nom Link Nom (Link Nom) n

where m and n are integers greater than or equal to zero. Now structure 3. above may be generated in three different ways from our composite. These may be seen by

- (a) making m = 2 and n = 0
- (b) making m = 1 and n = 1
- (c) making m = 0 and n = 2.

The structure 3. may be considered to be the result of oscillation between these various structures, just as the benzene molecule may be considered to oscillate between the forms

However, there is no need to resort to such extremes of ingenuity if we refuse to be the slaves of our descriptive techniques.

Chapter 2

PRACTICAL INTRODUCTION

2.0 Some of the subjects treated in this chapter may seem to be more theoretical in nature than would be expected in a practical introduction. They are, however, matters which affect the practical organisation of material in this thesis.

2.1 The corpus of data

The data used for this thesis were all gathered from one man, Hoàng Chung Minh, aged 56. He had lived most of his life in Kỳ Lửa, just outside the provincial capital of Lạng Sơn, Việt Nam. I met him when both he and I were living in the refugee resettlement village of Tùng Nghĩa, Tuyên Đức province. He would describe his language as Thổ, or Tây, as opposed to Nùng, or Phân Slìng, which latter two terms are used to describe a neighbouring language close to Thổ.

The corpus used for this analysis consisted of the 32 texts which were also used to make the concordance by computer (see Ackowledgements, p.3). Each of the texts were designated by a two letter code name for computer purposes. These are all mnemonic codes, sometimes based on the orthography for Tho which was devised for computer use. The text codes are here given with an explanation of the code, and a brief description of the subject.

BA Bắc 'North'

Life in the North.

BI Bi 'marble'

Description of children playing marbles, with comments on the value of recreation.

BU Burial

The religious ceremonies used at a burial.

CH Cho 'to name'

The customs with regard to giving names to children.

CU Cung 'to sacrifice' Description of a Tho sacrifice, with the implications to daily living.

HF Hai Phong

An imaginary letter to the North, telling about the journey from Hai Phong to the South.

- IL Illness What happened when Mr. and Mrs. Englishman went to Saigon because of illness.
- KH Khang 'a game with sticks' Description of a game of khang.
- KI Kiêng 'to fast' The ceremonies and fasting necessary for a Tho person becoming a priest.
- LM Lâu mâu 'drunk The necessity of living together as good, respectable members of the community.
- ME Mé 'mother' An imaginary conversation with an old Tho woman.
- ML Me lua 'daughter-in-law' Tho customs pertaining to the conduct of a daughter-in-law after she has gone to live with her husband's family.
- MO Mot 'woodworm' How to build a house so that it is free from woodworm.
- MT Man tay 'potatoes' The problems and hazards of growing potatoes.
- NA Na 'ricefield' A farmer's calendar in the North.
- PH P'i 'spirit' The different kinds of spirits in the world.
- PO Potatoes An imaginary conversation about potato growing.
- PR Priests The value and functions of different kinds of Tho priests.
- PT Phép-tác 'politeness' How parents teach their children to be polite.
- RE Return What happened when Mr. and Mrs. Englishman returned from Saigon.
- RP Reply An imaginary reply to HF.
- SA Saigon Visiting relations in Saigon.
- SK Slua khoá 'clothes' The different ethnic groups, means of transportation, and seasons in the North.
- SU Superstition The superstitions described by the Nung which are no longer regarded by the Tho.
- SV Sláo ví 'cleansing' The situations which bring ceremonial uncleanness, and how this can be cleansed.
- TE Tet 'celebration' The feast days and holidays during the Tho year.
- THe Then 'necromancer The function of woman necromancers, including a description of a seance.

TW Twice An appeal to divide our study time into two parts.

- VD Van day 'good days' The necessity for observing propitious and non-propitious days.
- WF Wedding feast The chagrin of discovering that you didn't invite all your friends to a wedding feast.
- ZI Di-cd'refugee' The refugee agrees to study with the Englishman.

These texts were each tape recorded and transcribed.

Each one was spontaneously spoken, although sometimes a topic was suggested beforehand.

The concordance of the texts listed each occurrence of each word in turn, with a line of context, and with the code name of the text and the sentence number. It was used to check rapidly all the occurrences of any word, in order to make generalisations about the function of that word.

Although spontaneous speech is among the most natural kinds of text material, it is almost the most difficult to analyse. Experience with this material has caused me to abandon the idea that a native speaker speaks nothing but grammatical utterances. It is obvious that on occasions a native speaker starts one sentence and abandons it for another before it is completed. There are other times when, having uttered an exponent of a certain element, he decides that another exponent would be more explanatory or otherwise preferable, so that the sentence ends up with two exponents instead of one. (See for instance the two locative elements in ME 7, p.120.) If all these utterances are taken to be fully grammatical, then the grammar of the language is obscured with a mass of irregular forms.

How are we to exclude such non-grammatical items on grounds other than notional? One way would be to check them over again with a native speaker, and test whether he wants to correct

^{1.} A more natural kind still, perhaps even more difficult to analyse, would be natural conversation recorded in situ.

them. Even this method is fraught with problems, as he may want to correct features which are truly grammatical. I was not able to use this method at all, as the analysis was not done until after I had returned from Viet Nam.

Other criteria can be used, however. The fact that a stretch of speech does not fit the pattern which is well established by abstraction from many other equivalent stretches, is usually the first indication that it may not be grammatical. A sudden pause (which may even occur in the middle of a word, leaving that word unfinished, as in PH 63b, p.139) after which the tempo of speech may be considerably increased, is another sign. We would not expect any such stretch of speech to be repeatable, especially if the speaker has not completed a grammatical unit. The meaning also is a valuable clue which, although we may not be able to formalise, we would be foolish to ignore.

2.2 Secondary delicacy

As the concept of delicacy is central to this thesis, and also as it is not very widely used, perhaps more should be said in way of explanation. Delicacy is the scale of depth of detail. At primary delicacy statements are made at the highest level of abstraction. Statements may also be made at a lower level of abstraction, giving more detail of the structures and classes. Any statement which is not at the highest level of abstraction is said to be at secondary delicacy.

Delicacy is a cline (i.e. a continuum), not in the sense that infinite and infinitesimal gradation is possible, but in the sense that there are no definite stopping places, nor any means of comparing the delicacy of two statements about different structures or classes. Or rather, there is only one point where comparison is possible: the point at which we can no longer make further abstractions, i.e. primary delicacy. The fact that secondary delicacy must remain a stretch of territory with no milestones constitutes a problem for the description. The practice in this thesis

will be to give all the information which is known at secondary delicacy, without attempting to divide it into further steps into depth of detail.

What changes might we expect in statements at primary delicacy if we subject them to an increase in delicacy? There are three changes which might affect the structures. These are:

- (1) Variations in the sequence of elements which are not significant at primary delicacy might be significant at secondary delicacy. The differences between the sentences "She saw him yesterday" and "Yesterday she saw him" would be dealt with by setting up different structures at secondary delicacy.
- (2) A structure may have repetitions of one element at primary delicacy, whereas at secondary delicacy these may have to be distinguished as different elements. One structure of the nominal phrase in English at primary delicacy might be written as $(M^n)H(Q^m)$, where M signifies modifier, H head and Q qualifier. At secondary delicacy we would have to recognise the fact of secondary differences between the consecutive M elements. We would then write the structure $(M_1)(M_2)(M_3)...H(Q^m)$.
- (3) One primary structure might have to be split up into two structures at secondary delicacy, with agreement between two elements. For instance, English clause structure might be written as SPOA (subject predicate object adjunct) at primary delicacy, but at secondary delicacy we might write two structures, $S_{g}P_{g}OA$ and $S_{pl}P_{pl}OA$ to show the agreement between subject and predicate elements for singular and plural number.

Cases (2) and (3) here affect the classes, too, as elements distinguished at secondary delicacy imply that the classes operating at these elements are also to be distinguished at secondary delicacy. There are an additional two reasons for which we might want to set up subclasses at secondary delicacy. These are:

(1) Subclasses of a class might be correlated with particular elements of structure. E.g. at primary delicacy in Tho,

verbs are said to operate at both verbal and adverb elements (7.47). At secondary delicacy different subclasses are seen to operate at each element (pp. 65-8).

(5) Subclasses of a class might be correlated with particular structures. E.g. a different subclass of clause may operate at the head of a structure PrH H (prehead head) from that which may operate at the head of the structure H. In the former case in Tho sentence structure, only a predicative clause may operate, whereas in the latter structure it may be either a predicative or an equative clause.

Of these five cases, (1) is dealt with in this thesis at primary delicacy. This is purely because of considerations of description, not theory. It is accepted that mere linear sequence may nor may not be relevant at primary delicacy. However, I suspect that it is easier for readers to follow a description which indicates any fluidity of sequence at the earliest opportunity, rather than one which states an order for the elements which may not correspond with the sequence of every exponent.

As to cases (2) to (5), it is possible for us to increase the delicacy of a description at one point (two or more points in the case of (3)), whilst keeping other things equal. This is the course which is followed in this description. We cannot describe structures which are uniformly increased in delicacy at every point, because we have no means of comparing the delicacy of one element of structure with another. We can, however, consider each element of structure at a time in more detail. This is why the divisions of Chapters four to eight, dealing with the various units at secondary delicacy, follow the elements of structure of those units.

2.3 Sundry points

2.31 The layout

In Chapter 3 all the units of Tho syntax are covered at primary delicacy, and succeeding chapters deal with each unit in

turn, at secondary delicacy. The fact that Chapter 3 starts with the sentence, and that Chapters 4 to 8 end with it, is of no theoretical importance: it is simply found easier to describe Tho syntax in that way.

The five units are named the sentence, the clause, the verbal group, the nominal phrase and the nominal figure. These should not be thought of as being arranged in any hierarchy, as explained in the theoretical introduction. This why I have avoided linking them together by using common terms such as verbal phrase and nominal phrase, in case any should think that these two units are of the same rank. The terms sentence, clause, group, phrase and figure could have been used, but these might not have been as clearly understood by the reader as the terms verbal group, nominal phrase and nominal figure.

2.32 Syntax

If, according to my theoretical standpoint, there are no ranks arranged in a hierarchy, how is it possible to speak of 'syntax'? This surely implies a contrast with 'morphology', both of which terms are dependent on a word rank.

The reason I have used the term 'syntax' rather than 'grammar' is that I do not want to imply that I have dealt with all possible kinds of structures occurring within Tho sentences. Although many of the basic classes of Tho consist of monosyllabic items which can without doubt be said to be single morphemes, there are some items which are of more than one syllable, e.g. phép-tác 'politeness', p'ō-mē 'parents' (literally 'father mother'). Some of these items are obviously bi-morphemic, and all of them may prove to be so on further research. There are no doubt structures to be investigated here which I am not able to investigate.

Although such structures would extend parts of the

^{2.} By 'basic' here I mean those classes in the diagram given in 3.6 (p.48) which are not counted as units. These are the classes for which I have not given any structures.

diagram in 3.6 (p.48), they would not radically alter it. In place of a word class operating at an element of a unit, we would have a unit with structures at which morpheme classes operate. This unit would itself operate at the element of the higher unit exactly as the word class did previously. My criteria for calling a polysyllabic item a word have been:

- (1) In function it behaves identically with many monosyllabic items.
- (2) It displays the combination of internal stability and external mobility expected in a word.

Hyphens are used for linking the syllables of such an item together. Perhaps the word is a special case, needing to be specially provided for in a theory of grammar, but Tho provides little in the way of evidence either for or against such an idea.

2.33 System

The term 'system' is only used for two or more subclasses which are all exponents of one class at primary delicacy. When a class consists of a closed set of items (and is technically therefore a system) it is still called a class. At secondary delicacy such closed classes are usually listed exhaustively. Examples are given from open classes.

2.34 Examples

Examples from text ME are often used. Reference should be made to Chapter 9 (p.115) where text ME appears parsed. Other examples are listed at the end of each chapter.

2.35 Index

An index of important subjects is given at the end of the thesis (p.144). Abbreviations are included there.

Chapter 3

THE UNITS AND THEIR INTERRELATIONS AT PRIMARY DELICACY

3.1 The sentence

members of the

The class of sentences have a unique grammatical equivalence. Any text may most conveniently be described in terms of a succession of sentences. It has not been found possible to analyse the structure of a text in terms of elements ordered in places, however, and it is suspected that any such analysis would at best be sketchy and incomplete.

Phonological features may indicate the beginning and end of sentences in the absence of grammatical markers. A major pause is one such phonological feature. However, there is not a one-to-one correlation between stretches of speech bounded by major pauses and grammatical sentences.

3.11 Sentence structures

Sentence structures may be made up of seven elements. These are termed Opener (Opnr), Introduction (Intr), Focus (Foc), Head (H), Pre-head (PrH), Post-head (PoH) and Final (Fin). The structures which have been found to date are listed below.

	Intr H H Intr H Opnr H	Fin Fin	(ME 13)p.122 (ME 5)p.119 (ME 18)p.124 (Ex. 1)p.49 (Ex. 2)p.49
Opnr	Intr H		(ME 9)p.121
	Opnr H	Fin	(ME 16)p.123
	Foc-→H		(Ex. 3)p.49
Intr	Foc H		(Ex. 4)p.50
Opnr	Foc→H		(Ex. 5)p.50
Opnr Intr	Foc H		(Ex. 6)p.50
Opnr	$Foc \rightarrow H$	Fin	(Ex. 7)p.50

^{1.} Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. 49-63. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.

```
Conr Intr Foc
                                     Fin
                                                             (Ex. 8)p.50
                            PrH
                                  H
                                                             (ME 8)p.120
                            PrH
                                  H
                                     Fin
                                                             (ME 22a)p.125
                       Intr PrH
                                  Ή
                                                             (Ex. 9)p.51
                       Opnr PrH
                                                             (ME 12)p.122
                       Opnr PrH
                                  H
                                     Fin
                                                             (ME 2)p.118
                       PrH
                            Foc
                                                             (Ex. 10)p.51
                 Intr PrH
                            Foc
                                  H
                                                             (Fx. 11)p.51
                 Opnr PrH
                            Foc
                                                             (Ex. 12)p.51
                 Opnr Foc→PrH
                                                             (Ex. 13)p.51
                 Opnr Foc->PrH
                                     Fin
                                                             (Ex. 14)p.52
                                     Fin
                 Opnr PrH
                            Foc
                                  H
                                                             (ME 10)p.121
            Opnr Intr Foc
                            Pall
                                     Fin
                                  \mathbf{H}
                                                             (Ex. 15)p.52
                       PrH
                            PrH
                                  H
                                                             (ME 23)p.126
                       PrH
                            PrH
                                  H
                                     Fin
                                                             (ME 26)p.127
                 Opnr PrH
                            PrH
                                  H
                                                             (Ex. 16)p.52
                 PrH
                       Foc
                            PrH
                                  H
                                                             (ME 11b)p.122
      Opnr Intr Foc
                       PrH
                            PrH
                                  Η
                                                             (Ex. 17)p.52
            Opnr PrH
                       PrH
                                  Η
                            PrH
                                                             (Ex. 18)p.53
Opnr Intr PrH Foc PrH PrH PrH
                                  Η
                                                             (Ex. 19)p.53
                                  Η
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 20)p.53
                            Intr H
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 21)p.53
                            Opnr H
                                     PoH
                                                             (ME 27a)p.127
                            Intr H
                                     PoH
                                          Fin
                                                             (Ex. 22)p.54
                            Foc→H
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 23)p.54
                            PrH
                                  H
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 24)p.54
                       Opnr PrH
                                  H
                                     PoH
                                                             (ME
                                                                  1)p.119
                 Opnr PrH
                            Foc
                                  H
                                     PoH
                                           Fin
                                                             (Ex. 25)p.54
            Opnr Intr PrH
                            Foc
                                  Η
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 26)p.55
                                  Н
                                     PoH
                                          PoH
                                                             (Ex. 27)p.55
                            Intr H
                                     PoH
                                           РоН
                                                             (Ex. 28)p<sub>2</sub>55
                                  H
                                     PoH
                                                Fin
                                                             (Ex. 29)p.55
                                           PoH
                            Opnr H
                                     PoH
                                                Fin
                                                             (Ex. 30)p.56
                                           POH
                            PrH
                                  H
                                     PoH
                                                             (Ex. 31)p.56
                                           POH
```

An arrow indicates that the focus element interrupts the (unit operating at the) element to which the arrowhead points. The focus is still considered an element of sentence structure in this case.

A composite formula can be derived from the structures listed above:

Brackets indicate elements which are optionally present. Superscript numbers indicate that a succession of such elements may occur up to the number shown. The sequence of the elements is the same as the sequence of the symbols in the composite formula, except in the case of the focus. The focus may follow the introduction, or the first prehead, or may interrupt the first prehead or the head. In such instances as PH 22b, PH 30a, PH 36b, PH 38 and PH 95a (see Chapter 10) there are several occurrences of the focus in one sentence. Insufficient evidence has been found to decide whether this should be taken account of in the composite formula, or whether these sentences are not fully grammatical.

3.12 Exponents of elements of sentence structure

The opener element is the place of operation of a class of opener particles. 2

The introduction element is the place of operation of a class of introduction particles.

The focus element is the place of operation of a one-term class, namely the item ní. A slight pause usually follows this item. It may help the reader to know that ní seems to throw emphasis of some kind on the preceding unit.

The prehead element is the place of operation of a clause or (rarely) a nominal phrase.

The head element is the place of operation of a clause. The differences between clauses operating at the head element from those operating at prehead and posthead will be explained at secondary delicacy in Chapter 8, p. 109.

The posthead element is the place of operation of a clause,

The final element is the place of operation of a class of final particles. These are usually accompanied by very weak

^{2.} For examples of these classes, please see the relevant examples from section 3.11, or see Chapter 8.

^{3.} I am departing here from Halliday's division of 'system' from 'class' (CTG 2.1). Please see 2.33, p. 37.

stress, together with a certain amount of centralisation of the vowels, making it very hard to determine their actual phonological form. It may be better to consider that different systems of vowels and tones operate in these particles from those which operate in the rest of the language. However, they are represented in this thesis by the common orthographic symbols.

3.2 The clause

The clause displays two radically different structures; so different in fact that we may give different names to them, the equative clause and the predicative clause. Difference of structure is not, however, the criterion for separating units. Predicative and equative clauses together form one class, which operates at the prehead and head elements of the sentence. The occurrence of clauses elsewhere in structures is limited to the predicative clause, but this is taken to be a matter of secondary delicacy, and is dealt with accordingly in Chapter 7.

3.21 The equative clause

3.211 Structure

The equative clause consists of an Implement (Impl) followed by a Complement (Compl). This may be represented by the formula:

Equative clauses are very rare in comparison with predicative clauses. See Exx. 32, 33 at the end of this chapter, p. 56.

3.212 Exponents of elements of structure

Both the implement and the complement are the places of operation of nominal figures.

3.22 The predicative clause

3.221 Structure

Predicative clause structures may consist of five elements.

These are Locative (L), Subject (S), Predicate (P), Object (O), Adjunct (A). The following structures have been found so far:

	S	P P			(ME 1) p.118 (ME 1) p.118
		P	0		(ME 6) p.120
	S	P	0		(ME 3) p.119
	${ m L}$	P			(Ex. 34) p.57
		P	${f L}$		(ME 11a) p.121
L	S	P			(Ex. 35) p.57
S	\mathbf{L}	P			(Ex. 36) p.57
	S	P	Ŀ		(Ex. 37) p.57
	L	P	0		(Ex. 38) p.57
		P	0	L	(Ex. 39) p.58
${ m L}$	S	P	0		(ME 2) p.118
S	Γ	P	0		(Ex. 40) p.58
		P	A		(Ex. 41) p.58
	S	P	\mathbf{A}		(Ex. 42) p.58
		p	0	Α	(ME 2) p.118
	ន	P	0	Α	(ME 4) p.119
	${f L}$	P	${\mathbb A}$		(Ex. 43) p.58
	.L	P	0	Α	(Ex. 44) p.58
L	S	P	0	A	(Ex. 45) p.59

In these structures the predicate may be in the place shown, or it may be divided between the place shown and the end of the clause (as for instance in ME 9).

A composite formula may be written as follows: (L)(S)P(O)(A)

with the accompanying comments that:

- (1) The locative element may occur preceding or following the subject (or preceding the predicate if there is no subject), or following the object if there is no adjunct (or following the first part of the predicate if there is no object or adjunct).
- (2) The predicate may be discontinuous. Part of it must occur at the place shown in the composite formula, but another part may also occur at the end of the clause.

In ME 7 two exponents of the locative occur. Allowance could be made for this by allowing repetitions of the locative element in our composite formula. However, as this is only a rare occurrence (in contrast, for instance, to a sentence with two preheads), it seems likely that ME 7 is not fully grammatical. A

notional explanation would be that the native speaker, after uttering an exponent of the locative element, repeats the element to explain the matter in greater detail. This is, however, only a notional suggestion. There is a pause between the two exponents of the locative, perhaps indicate of a structural discontinuity.

3.222 Exponents of elements of structure

The locative element is the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause. The features which distinguish the nominal phrase or clause operating at the locative element from those operating at other elements of structure (for instance, the subject and object elements of clause structure) will be dealt with at secondary delicacy in Chapter 7.

The subject element is the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause.

The predicate element is the place of operation of a verbal group.

The object element is the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause.

The adjunct element is the place of operation of a clause. This is in fact a highly specialised type of clause, but this will be dealt with at secondary delicacy in Chapter 7.

3.3 The nominal phrase

3.31 Structure

All nominal phrases contain nominals, and some also have links and counters. The following structures have been found:

Nom	(ME 6) p.120
Nom Nom	(Ex. 46) p.59
Nom Link Nom	(Ex. 47) p.59
Nom Link Nom Link Nom	(Ex. 48) p.59
Nom Link Nom Link Nom Nom	(Ex. 49) p.59
Link Nom Link Nom Link Nom	(Ex. 50) p.60
Nom Count Nom Count	(Ex. 51) p.60
Link Nom Count Link Nom Count	(Ex. 52) p.60
Nom Count Nom Count Link Nom Cou	ant (Ex. 53) p.60

Not very many examples of the more complex structures occur in any text. Rather than give a composite formula for the nominal phrase, we may say that a nominal phrase consists of nominals, links and counters with the following restrictions:

- (1) Neither links nor counters may be present unless there are two or more nominals.
 - (2) Each link must immediately precede a nominal.
 - (3) Each counter must immediately follow a nominal.
- (4) A link may occur in first place only if it is not the only link in the nominal phrase.
 - (5) If counters are present they must follow every nominal.
- (6) No more than two nominals may occur without links or counters.

3.32 Exponents of elements of structure

The nominal element is the place of operation of a nominal figure.

The link element is the place of operation of a class of conjunctions.

The counter element is the place of operation of the item $n\hat{e}$ 'counting particle'.

3.4 The nominal figure

3.41 Structure

Nominal figures are composed of elements which are termed Deictic (Deic), Possessive (Poss), Personal (Per), Quantifier (Q), Modifier (M)
Classifier (Class), Nucleus (Nuc) and Identifier (Iden). The following structures have been found in text material:

	Deic	(ME 30) p.128
	Per	(ME 3) p.119
Poss	Per	(Ex. 54) p.61
	Nuc	(ME 2) p.118
Class	Nuc	(ME 6) p.120
Q,	Nuc	(ME 13) p.122
Q Q	Nuc	(Ex. 55) p.61
ର ର ଚ	Nuc	(Ex. 56) p.61

Q Class	Muc		(Ex. 57) p.61
O Q Class	Nuc		(ME 7) p.120
	Muc	M	(ME 2) p.118
Class	Nuc	M	(Ex. 58) p.61
ବ	Nuc	M	(Ex. 59) p.61
0 0	Nuc	М	(ME 14) p.123
	Nuc	Iden	(Ex. 60) p.62
Class	Nuc	Iden	(Ex. 61) p.62
	Nuc	Iden M	(ME 11b) p.122
Q	Nuc	M Iden	(Ex. 62) p.62

On the basis of these structures the following composite formulae are set up:

- (1) Deic
- (2) (Poss)Per
- (3) $(Q^n)(Class)Nuc(M)(Iden)$

Structure 3 must be modified by the additional note that M may in rare cases follow Iden. It is also suspected that further investigation would lead us to write (M^m) in structure 3.

3.12 Exponents of elements of structure

The deictic element is the place of operation of the class of demonstratives.

The possessive element is the place of operation of a one-term class, namely the item hông 'to belong to, as to'.

The persons element is the place of operation of the class of pronouns.

The quantifier element is the place of operation of the class of numerals. These will be subclassified at secondary delicacy in Chapter 5.

The classifier and the nucleus elements are both places of operation of the class of nouns. Different subclasses of nouns may be set up at secondary delicacy on the basis of the operation of nouns at these two elements of structure, but at primary delicacy both classifier and nucleus elements may be considered to be the places of operation of one and the same primary class.

The modifier element is the place of operation of the

class of adjectives, the class of verbs, a nominal phrase or a clause.

The identifier element is the place of operation of the class of demonstratives.

3.5 The verbal group

3.51 Structure

Verbal groups may be composed of up to eight elements of structure. These are Preverbal (PrVbl), Reflexive (Refl), Verbal (Vbl), Continuation (Cont), Capability (Cap), Adverb (Adv), Intensive (Intens) and Closure (Clo). There are so many possible structures for this unit that the composite formula will be given first, and then examples. The composite formula is:

(PrVblⁿ)(Refl)Vbl³ ... (Cont)(Cap)(Adv)(Intens)(Clo)
The reflexive precedes the last verbal. The notation Vbl³ indicates that from one to three verbals may be present. The verbal group is discontinuous, the dots indicating that when the verbal group is operating as the predicate of a clause, the object, adjunct or locative may interrupt the predicate at the point indicated.

Examples of verbal group structures are as follows:

	_	PrVbl PrVbl	Vbl		(ME 2) p.118 (ME 2) p.118 (ME 1) p.118
PrVbl	PrVbl	PrVbl	Vbl	waa w	(ME 3) p.119
				Apr	(ME 4) p.119
		PrVbl	Vb1	Vbl	(ME 21) p.125
	PrVbl	PrVbl	Vbl	Vbl	(ME 13) p.122
	•		Vbl	Intens	(ME 26) p.127
		PrVbl	Vbl	Intens	(ME 8) p.120
	PrVbl	PrVbl	Vbl	Intens	(MF 28) p.128
PrVbl	PrVbl	PrVbl	Vbl	Intens	(ME 6) p.120
		PrVbl	Vbl	Vbl Intens	(ME 27b)p.128
			Vbl	Cap	(ME 11b) p.122
		PrVbl	Vbl	Cap	(ME 12) p.122
			Vbl	Vbl Cap Intens	(ME 14) p.123
			Vbl	Cont	(ME 1) p.118
			Vbl	Vbl Cont	(ME 16) p.123
			Vbl	Cont Cap	(ME 20) p.125
		PrVbl		Adv	(ME 4) p.119
			Vbl	Adv Intens	(ME 10) p.121

	PrVbl	Vbl	Cont	Adv	Intens	(ME 18) p.124
PrVbl	PrVbl	Vbl	Clo			(ME 9) p.120
		Vbl	Cont	Cap	Clo	(ME 22b)p.126
		Vbl	Refl	Vbl		(Ex. 63) p.62
PrVbl	Ref1	Vbl	Cap			(Ex. 64) p.62

Other examples are given at the end of Chapter 4, pp. 69-74.

3.52 Exponents of elements of structure

The preverbal element is the place of operation of the class of verbal auxiliaries. These will be subclassified at secondary delicacy.

The reflexive element is the place of operation of a one-term class, namely the item to 'reflexive'.

The verbal element is the place of operation of the class of verbs.

The continuation is the place of operation of the class of verbs or a clause. In fact highly specialised subclasses of verbs and clauses operate at this element, but this will be dealt with at secondary delicacy in Chapter 4.

The capability element is the place of operation of (a subclass of) the class of verbs.

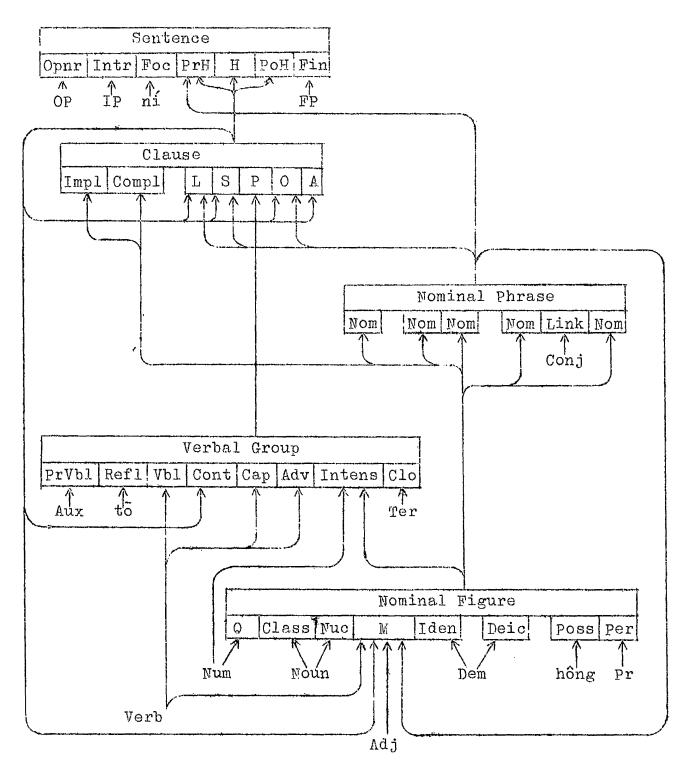
The adverb element is the place of operation of the class of verbs. The particular subclass which operates here will be described at secondary delicacy in Chapter 4.

The intensive element is the place of operation of the class of numerals or a nominal figure.

The closure element is the place of operation of the class of terminals.

3.6 Diagram of the units and their interrelations

As the units do not form a hierarchy, we cannot represent them as being in a one-dimensional relationship. The place of the one-dimensional hierarchy is taken by the following diagram. It must be emphasised that this is only a diagrammatic representation, is at primary delicacy only, and even then does not show all the possible structures.



Units are shown in boxes, with the class name above and the main structures underneath. Obligatory or optional elements of structure are not distinguished. Multiple occurrences of any element are not shown. Items not boxed in represent word classes.

The class at the base of an arrow operates at the element at the head of the arrow. For an explanation of the abbreviations used, please see Chapter 9, pp. 116-7, or see the index.

3.7 Examples

With each example, the first line is the free translation, the second is a word-for-word translation (where this is possible), and then follows the actual text, with parsing indicated below it. For an explanation of the parsing, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.

3.71 The Sentence (See pages 38-41)

Ex. 1

Now, I need to go home first.
Now I need go return first

Cơ-này ngò tê cấn pây mừa cón ló. WF 49

IP Clause FP

Intr H Fin

Sentence

Ex. 2

Now then, there is also the neighbourhood spirit. Now still have thing spirit neighbourhood

Tò (à)⁴ nhằng mì ăn p'i thó. PH 29 OP Clause Opnr H Sentence

Ex. 3

As for me, I want to speak lots of texts for you. 4a
As-to me also also right want speak give you many text

Hông ngò ní, cung tú sử ái chẳng hử nì lai bài. TM 9

The sentence

err refree

^{4.} Bracketed forms are not included in the analysis, as they are considered to be hesitation forms.

Aa. Dotted lines link together the parts of a discontinuous unit.

Ex , <u>1</u>			
Now, you have the tape-recorder there.	-		
Now also have thing sound like this	3		
Cơ-này ní cụng mì ăn phát-âm pần nây. TM I IP ní Clause	13a		
Intr Foc H			
Sentence			
Ex. 5			
Now as for me, I love all my friends very much. Now I also together love all friend much			
Tò ngò ní, cung sắy điếp kí p'i-nọng lai. OP : ní : Clause	SA 7		
Opnr Foc H			
Sentence			
Ex. 6			
So then I send a letter to my friends.			
So now I send letter go give friend			
Tò cơ-này ní ngò ngửi chia pây hử p'ī-nong.	SA 3a		
OP IP ni Clause Opnr Intr Foc H			
Sentence			
Fire 7			
Ex. 7			
Now today, that's what I say. Now day this as-to me right speak like that			
Tò vàn nấy ní, hông ngò sữ chẳng pần nận	ló.	SA	28
OP : ni : Clause	FP	O++	
Opnr Foc H	Fin		
Sentence			
Ex. 8			
But now, the road is rather long, you know. But now piece road then far little			
Tò (à) cơ-này ní lằm tàng dū quây-vi ing	ló.	SA	16
OP IP ní Clause	$\mathbf{F}\mathbf{P}$		
Opnr Intr Foc H	Fin		

Sentence

Ex. 9

Because to take it a little bit at a time is the only way to understand quickly.

Because self take little little self then know quickly

Bởi-vì	dầu	au	nọi	nọi	dâu	ching	chắc	khoái.	$\mathbf{T}\mathbf{M}$	21b
ΙP		C.	lause				ause			
Intr			PrH				H			
			5	Sentence						

Ex. 10

If your heart is good, your heart isn't bad.

Thing heart of self good self not right thing heart self bad

<u>An</u>	tọng hông	dàu	đây	ní,	dầu	mí	នជី	(à)_	ăn	tong	dàu	sấu	ι.
	Clause			ní				C.	Lause	9		mtt	- 6=
	PrH			Foc					H			TH	כט
*******			(Sent	ence			Total Property					_

Ex. 11

For instance, I go down the road and notice a gust of wind.
Instance go road self see thing gust gust wind

Ví-du	pây tàng	ní,	dầu hăn	ăn	phá	sá	làm.	PH 2	21a
IP	Clause	ní			ause	,			
Intr	PrH	Foc			H				
		Se	entence						

Ex, 12

If you speak about it openly, many friends don't believe it.
But speak out come friend many people not believe

oT	chang óc	mà ní	p'i-nong	lai	cần	mí	slín.	PH 12b
OP	Clause	ní		Cl	ause			
Opnr	PrH	Foc			H			
		Ser	itence		- - 100 1 	······································	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Ex. 13

Now there are some people, you know, who have experienced it, and they believe it.

But have people well see pass then believe

$\mathbf{E}\mathbf{x}$	o	1	. 4

But in the old days, to talk of money in tens and hundreds was a great deal, you know.

But day before right talk money ten and money hundred

Tò văn cón ní, sử chẳng chèn slíp sáu chèn pác
OP ní Clause

Opnr Foc PrH

Sentence

is very big very

là nhất-hạng cải lai ló. BA 23

Clause FP

H Fin

Ex. 15

Now then, I've said a lot, and there's still a lot to say.
But now talk much then also have much

chang lai, cơ-này ní. mi du lai lo. RP 30 Clause Clause FΡ OP. ΙP ni Intr Foc PrH Η Opnr Sentence

Ex. 16

Or if you do things roughly, it's just as good to call in a woman necromancer to do the job.

Or as-to self rough self take necromancer come do also well

Hay-là hông dầu đại-khái đầu au then mà hắt cung đẩy. BU 26

OP Clause Clause
Opnr PrH PrH H

Sentence

Ex. 17

And now, today being the seventh, and good, I came to start work this time.

But now day this number seven good I come begin time this

To co-nay ní vàn nay so chết, đây, ngo mà bắt-đầu pay nây.

OP IP ní Clause Clause Clause
Opnr Intr Foc PrH PrH H ZI 10

Sentence

^{5.} The arrows indicate that the sentence unit continues on the next line.

Ex.	18

Now if we lived together, night and morning when we had eaten breakfast or dinner, and had a little bit of spare time, then we'd certainly be able to chat together.

live reflexive near (self)

Sữ (à) <u>dú to sắư</u> (dầu) OP Clause Opnr PrH

morning night as-to self eat breakfast eat dinner already

naư khằm hông dầu kin pyầu kin ngài dá, Clause PrH

self well free one bit self also still well converse with each-other dàu đẩy váng slắc i, dàu tú nhằng đẩy chẳng-cổ đủy căn.

Clause

Clause

Clause Clause SA 17
PrH H
Sentence

Ex. 19

Because, to study like this, sitting down for an hour, recording this text, recording that text, is a little bit tedious. But (self) because study like this hour sit stay

Tò (dầu) bởi-vì <u>slon pần nấy ní, dờ nẵng dú</u> OP IP Clause ní Clause Opnr Intr PrH Foc PrH

take text this take text this then tiring little one

au bài nấy au bài nấy dữ ngắn ẩng nớng. TW 14

Clause Clause Clause

PrH PrH H

Sentence

Ex. 20

The buffalo have enough to eat, and keep fairly well. Animal buffalo still well full still better better well bit one

Tua vài nhằng đẩy ím, nhằng đơ đơ đẩy ểng nớng.

Clause
H
PoH
BA 13

Sentence

Ex. 21

Now our people make use of the women necromancers a lot, but we don't make use of the priests very much.

Now all peo	ple of mer	ight use w	oman	necroman	icer much	
Cơ-này <u>kí cầ</u>	n hông ngò		me	then	lai,	
IP		Clause				
Intr		H		the think the first of the particle described the		.
			3	Sentence		
		_				
not use all M	r. priest few	much				
mí dùng kí p	'ō thao ki	-lai. TH	1 1			
	Clause	THE WAR				
.	PoH					
Ex. 22						
	ed so much an nverse not we		f fin	ished ye	ե.	
Cơ-này dầu ch	ang-co mí đ	av thuốn	1ó.	SA 31		
		lause	FP			
Intr H	[РоН	Fin			
	Sentence					
Ex. 23						
Day and night	it watches e	verything	in o	ur villa	ge, and d	ioesn't
allow any spi	rit to come o	r go.			-	
Morning night	it well wa	tch thing	in v	illage se	elf with	each-other
Naư khẳm	ní mân đẩy n	goi ăn cl	າສກອ	han di	àu đủy	căn,
17000 1011011	ní .	Cla	iuse	D'AII CC	and day	0 0011
• •	• • • •					
	Foc		Ŧ.			
				Sen.	tence	
not mirro onin	al spirit any	come ent	an la	5770		
_	~ ~		_			
mí hử tua		ăngma khi	iu o	c. PH	31	
	Clause					
<i>(</i>	PoH		···			
Ex. 24						
After you've	spoken, I can	correct :	it, a	nd that'	s all rig	ght.
	self change					-
Chang dá	dàu khōi	thói số	ōi	theo, c	ung đảy.	TM 13b
Clause	COC VIIOT	Clause			Clause	T101 T 10
PrH		Н			Рон	
And the second s	Sen	tence			(W. 2.2.	

Ex. 25

But if your house doesn't have virtue, it will eat you, and after many days you will die.

door-house self virtue not have it also right eat But tu-dườn dâu (à) phúc - đức mi mì ní, mân tú To (a) รน์ kin. ní Clause O.P Clause Opnr PxHFoc Sentence long day also right die tú នាវិ thai vớ. hưng văn PH 7b Clause FP PoH Fin Ex. 26 If you summon him to come, then you must write characters and make it all complete. if summon come arrive also must write character But tắng mà cung phải viết Tò nêu-mà thâng ni ní IP Clause Clause OP Intr PrHFoc Opnr Sentence complete every thing finished thuốn. môi mon BU 9 Clause РоН Ex. 27 The grass all dies, it rains heavily, and you can't release the animals. Grass then die all then rain much release not possible pyuối dū thai thuôn, mí Nha du p'ân lai, BA 11 Clause Clause Clause Η PoH PoH Sentence Ex. 28 Now I'm planting potatoes, and very busy. I don't have an opportunity. I still plant tuber west busy very not-yet well free MoMCơ-này ngò nhằng chay tây, kếng đảy váng. măn bân lai, SA 3b ΙP Clause Clause Clause

Ex. 29

Intr

Night and day I have to shut my ears and my eyes and keep still.

Sentence

PoH

PoH

Η

I morning night still shut ear shut eye remain Ngo naư khẳm lắp tha (là) dú (à) ló. lắp su HF 25 Clause Clause FΡ Clause PoH Fin H PoH Sentence Ex. 30 So I have to shut my ears, shut my eyes and do nothing. also shut ear shut eye remain So Ι To (a), ngo cung lắp su lắp tha dú (à) ló. WF 10 Clause Clause QP. Clause FP H PoH Fin Opnr PoH Sentence Ex. 31 Some people come here with a lot of dependants and don't find enough to eat. Have people cross here come also have many people

cung mì lai Mì quá ma Clause Clause PrH Sentence

look not able eat

đẩy kin. HF 18 Clause Clause PoH PoH

3.72 The clause (See pages Al-3)

Today is the seventh. Day this number seven

Vàn nâv so ZI lo NF Compl Impl Clause

Ex. 33

Two thousand seven hundred, two thousand eight hundred plastres a nundred kilos.

^{6.} Examples from number 32 onwards may or may not comprise the whole sentence of which the reference number is given.

Two thousand seven two thousand eight money hundred kilo chết, slong siên Slong siên pét ngân pac cân PO 20 NFNFImpl Compl Clause Ex. 34 Then it's very hard to cast out. Time that then hard expel kho thep Bắt nân dü рн б NЪ VG L p Clause Ex. 35 In previous times, making a living was fun. Day before make eat happy Văn con hắt kin vui BA 2 VG NPClause S P Clause Ex. 36 The children in the house are still small. All child in house still small Kí luc dú dườn nhằng sláy RP 9 NPClause VG \mathbf{L} P Clause Ex. 37 I came to begin this time. time this come begin I mà bắt-đầu Mgo nây ZI lo NΡ S Clause Ex. 38 The use of money in previous times... Day before use money dung ngàn-chèn Vần cón BA 21 NP ٧G NP

0

Clause

Ex. 39

I also don't know what news there is of the North. Also not know news what in side North

Cung mí chắc tin-tức ca-dăng dú bưởng BắcHF 7VGNPClausePOLClause

Ex. 40

Morning and evening I shut my ears. I morning evening continue shut ear

Ngo	naư	khām	cứ		ấp si	ı HF	25
NP		NP,		٧G	N)	5	
S		L		P	0		
		Clar	ıse				

Ex. 41

And give to the buffaloes to eat. Come set give buffalo eat

Mà	sle	hử	vài	kin	BA	12
V	G		Claus	e		
P			A			
	C	lause	3			

Ex, 42

We would certainly talk together. Self then still well converse with each-other

Dàu	tú	nhằng	đay	chẳng-cổ	đui	căn	SA	17
NP			VG		Cla	use		
S			P		I	Ŧ		
			Claus	se				

Ex. 43

When your head aches a little bit, then it isn't agreeing with you. Time see thing head ache little then also not fit with it

<u> Pắt hăn</u>	ăn	hua	màu	ing	dày,	$d\bar{u}$	tú	mí slày ngám	sáu mân	
		N	P					VG	Clause	10
		L)					P.	A Ph	٠.٠
				Cla	use		********		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , 	

Ex. 44

Day after day we go to work for them. Day day go do work give of them

Vàn vàn	pây hắt	công	hử hông hâu	RP	7
NP	V.G	NP	Clause		
${f L}$	P	0	A		
Translands Liver and Delivery of	Cl	ause	The second secon		

Ex. 45

On an anniversary day he makes an anniversary for his mother and father.

Day anniversary he then makes anniversary give father mother parent

Vần độ	<u>mân</u>	dũ hắt	dô	hử	p'o-me	thầu
NP	NP	VG	Mb		Clause	א א בוויו
L	S	P	0		A	111)4

Clause

3.73 The nominal phrase (See pages 13-11)

Ex. 46

Money in thousands or money in ten thousands Money thousand money ten-thousand

Ngàn	siên	ngần	phan	$\mathtt{B}\mathtt{A}$	22
NI	ŋ	NE	1		
Nom			m		
	N	P	A property of the state of the		

Ex. 47

Money in tens and money in hundreds Money ten with money hundred

Chen	slíp	sáu	chèn	pác	BA	23
NE		Conj	N	F		
No	/1ii	Link		om		
		MЪ				

Ex. 48

Five days or three days or seven days
Five morning or three morning or seven morning

Ha nau	hay-la	slam nau	hay-la	chết naư	BU 3	3
NF	Conj	NF	Conj	NF		
Nom	Link	Nom	Link	Nom		
		Clause				

Ex. 49

Three times upside down or three times the right way up, or one upside down and one the right way up

Three time inverted or three time level or thing level

Slam bắt khoẳ	m hay-la slam	bắt ngai,	hay-là	ăn ngai
NF	Conj	NF	Conj	NF
Nom	Link	Nom	Link	Nom

NP

thing inverted

ăn khoẩm CU 24 NF Nom

Ex. 50

Either three times upside down or three times the right way up, or three times with one upside down and one the right way up. Either three time inverted or three time level or

Hay-là slam bắt khoẩm hay-là slam bắt ngai, hay-là Conj NF Conj Link Nom Link Nom Link

three time thing inverted thing level one

slam	bắt	ăn	khoằm	ăn	ngai nớng	CU	18
			NF		AND THE PERSON OF THE PERSON OF THE PERSON OF THE PERSON		
<i></i>			Nom				

Ex. 51

Bicycles, rickshaws

Vehicle kick vehicle hand

Se	T dap	nè nè	se	tay VF	nè nè	SK	38
NC	-	Count	-	Non Ar	Count		
			ИЪ				

Ex. 52

Either a birthday or an anniversary

Either day birthday or day anniversary

Hay-là	vằn độ	nè	hay-la	vằn khoăn	nề	BU 25
Conj	ME_{r}	nè	Conj	NF	nê	
Link	Nom	Count	Link	Nom	Count	
		1	NP			

Ex. 53

Gold, silver or flags

Gold silver orflag nê. nê hay-là ဝ်ဝ Kimngân CU 30 nè nè NF NF Conj NELink Nom Count MomCount Nom Count

ΝP

3.74 The nominal figure (See pages 44-6)

Ex, 54

We

0fself

Hông dầu WF 48 hông Pr ho._ Poss r NF

Ex. 55

All the onions Several all onion

Nhưng kí heng RE 6 Num Num Ń Muc

Ex. 56

Five or six or seven people Five six seven people

нa hốc chết cần BU 6 Num Num Num M (C) Q Nuc NF

Ex. 57

Three loads of grass Three load grass

háp nhắ Slam TH 11 Num N Class Nuc NF

Ex. 58

Our hearts Thing stomach of self

hông dầu An TH 65 N N NP M Class Nuc NF

Ex. 59

All the priests

All Mr. priest

Kí p'o thao TH 1

Num N V Q Nuc M NF

Ex. 60

This text

Text this

Bài nấy TW 15 N Dem Nuc Iden NF

Ex. 61

That word

Thing word that

An cầm nân WF 32 N N Dem Class Nuc Iden NF

Ex. 62

All these matters concerning making a living All matter make eat this

Kí mòn hắt kin nấy CH 66 Num N Clause Dem Q Nuc M Iden

3.75 The verbal group (See pages 46-7)

Ex. 63

Lives nearby

Live reflexive near

Dú to sau CU lb
Aux to V
PrVbl Refl Vbl

Ex. 64

Cannot reject each other

possible7 reflexive reject Not dåy ъo tō tō Mí MT 145 Aux V γ Cap PrVbl Refl Np1 VG

^{7.} The dots indicate the place at which the verbal group is interrupted by the object of the clause in which it operates.

Chapter A

THE VERBAL GROUP AT SECONDARY DELICACY

4.1 The preverbals

4.11 Structure

At primary delicacy the preverbals are represented in the structure of the verbal group as (PrVblⁿ). At secondary delicacy it is possible to distinguish between different preverbal elements, and the structure must be rewritten:

(PrVbl₆)(PrVbl₅)(PrVbl₄)(PrVbl₃)(PrVbl₂)(PrVbl₁)

It is theoretically possible for six elements to be present at the same time, but in practice no more than five have been found together, and two or three are more common. Examples are as follows:

PrVbl6PrVbl	(Ex.	1) p.69
PrVbl _A PrVbl ₁	(Ex.	2) p.69
PrVbl6PrVbl1	(Ex.	3) p.69
PrVbl6PrVbl3	(Ex.	4) p.69
PrVbl ₅ PrVbl ₄	(Ex.	5) p.69
PrVbl ₄ PrVbl ₃ PrVbl ₁	(Ex.	6) p.70
PrVbl3PrVbl2PrVbl1	(Ex.	7) p.70
PrVbl ₆ PrVbl ₄ PrVbl ₃ PrVbl ₂ PrVbl ₁	(Ex.	8) p.70

4.12 Exponents of elements of structure

Subclasses of the auxiliaries may be set up on the basis of their operation at these more delicate elements of structure. As the auxiliaries precede the verb, they are numbered (like the elements of structure) from those which immediately precede the verb up to those which may occur furthest from the verb, like orders

^{1.} For a description of the verbal group at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3. pp. 46-7.

^{2.} Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp.69-74. For examples from text ME, please see Chapter 9, p.118.

of affixes. In fact, we find it convenient to call these subclasses of the auxiliaries 'orders'. The number of the order of auxiliaries corresponds with the number of the preverbal element at which it operates, e.g. order 6 of auxiliaries operates at the element PrVbl6, and so on. A partial listing of auxiliaries by their orders is given here. Meanings are appended wherever these are known, but often the meanings of auxiliaries are rather elusive, and impart more of a 'flavour' to the clause. Some auxiliaries have not been subclassified because they have not been found with other auxiliaries in a sufficient number of environments to ascertain their order. Examples of such auxiliaries are ná 'do not', phåi 'must' and da 'past tense'.

Order 6 du 'then'	Order 5 khōi 'change'	Order 4 thói 'change'	Order 3 nhất 'very'	Order 2 vân 'still'	Order 1 mí 'not'
	thè	là 'is'	nhất-hạng 'very'	รนี้ 'is'	nhằng 'still'
	ching 'then'	cung 'also'	tú 'also'	say 'need'	kếng 'not yet'
	tê		cứ, cử 'to cont:	inue'	
	bú 'not'		táng 'alone'		
			thōi 'change'		

The sequence in which the auxiliaries may occur is not in fact as inflexible as the above chart makes it appear. Du may follow bu as well as precede it. Tu may precede du or bu, as well as follow them. Cung may precede or follow thoi, and so may là. Là may also follow nhất or su. However, in the majority of cases the above description holds good. The statistical nature of statements at secondary delicacy is apparent here.

4.2 The verbals

At primary delicacy the verbals in the verbal group may exhibit the structures Vbl, Vbl Vbl, or Vbl Vbl. Although

some sequences of verbals have not been analysed further, some aspects of patterning have been discovered. Some sequences of Vbl Vbl structure may be represented at secondary delicacy as Vbl₁ Vbl₂.

Vbl, is the place of operation of all verbs.

Vbl is the place of operation of a system of three subclasses of verbs. These are the stative verbs, the verbs of motion, and the verb $\frac{d^2y}{d^2y}$ to be acceptable.

The subclass called verbs of motion comprises only two members. These are:

pây 'to go'
mà 'to come'

Examples of the subclass of stative verbs are:

đây 'to be good'

kho 'to be difficult'

do 'to be sufficient'

p'ec, p'ec- p'e 'to be clean'

vui, vui-ve 'to be happy'

buồn, buồn-sau, buồn-bạ 'to be sad'

Of the stative verbs, only <u>dây</u>, <u>khổ</u> and <u>do</u> have been found operating at Vbl₁, so perhaps a subclass of the stative verbs should be set up. However, the number of instances is very small, and it could be that a larger sampling would show other stative verbs operating there.

For examples of stative verbs operating at Vbl_1 see examples 9-11. For examples of a verb of motion at Vbl_1 see examples 12 and 13. For an example of $\frac{2}{4}$ at Vbl_1 see example 14. (p.71)

1.3 The reflexive

It was said at primary delicacy that the reflexive

^{3.} Stative verbs, verbs of motion, and day are established as separate subclasses on the basis of their operation at the adverb, continuation and capability elements of the verbal group respectively.

precedes the last verbal. Usually there is only one verbal in the (p,71) verbal group, as in examples 15 and 16 An example of the structure Vbl Refl Vbl is given in example 17. The only exponent of the reflexive element is $t\bar{o}$ 'reflexive'.

4.4 The continuation

At primary delicacy the continuation was described as the place of operation of the class of verbs or a clause. The subclass of verbs which operates here is the verbs of motion, comprising two members:

The class of clauses which operates here is a highly specialised subclass, consisting only of the verb \underline{pan} 'to be like' followed by a demonstrative. The most common examples are:

but other examples are found, such as:

pần dừ-haư 'however (like how)' (ME 20) p.125

In each case the <u>pần</u> operates at verbal element in a verbal group, which in turn operates at the predicate element of the clause.

The demonstrative operates at the deictic element of a nominal figure, which operates at the nominal element of a nominal phrase, which operates at the object element of the clause.

4.5 The capability

The subclass of verbs which operates here comprises only one member, namely the verb $\frac{d^2y}{d^2y}$ 'to be possible, to be acceptable'. For an example, see ME 20. (P.125)

4.6 The adverb

The adverb element is the place of operation of a subclass of verbs, called the stative verbs. Examples of these operating at the adverb element are:

đai	'to be free'	(ME 2) p.118
kho	'to be hard'	(ME 18) p.124
đây	'to be good'	(Ex. 20) p.72
vui	'to be happy'	(Ex. 21)p.72

Other examples of the stative verbs (which may also occur at the adverb element) are given in 1.2, p.66.

4.7 The intensive

The intensive is the place of operation of

(1) an indefinite numeral, such as:

(2) a nominal figure of a very restricted kind. Only nominal figures of the structure (Q)(Q)Nuc(M) are permitted, and the exponents of these elements are severely limited. Some of the nominal figures which have been found are listed under example 22 at the end of this chapter, p.73.

4.8 The closure

The closure element is the place of operation of a class of terminals. These are:

thêm	'more'	(ME	9) p.121
dá	'already'	(Ex.	23)p.74
cón	'beforehand'	(Ex.	24)p.71
mí	'question indicator'	(Ex.	25)p.71
kéng	'yet?'	(Ex.	26)p.74

4.9 Examples

With each example, the first line is the free translation, the second is a word-for-word translation (where this is possible), and then follows the actual text, with parsing indicated below it. For an explanation of the parsing, please see Chapter 9, pp.115-7.

4.91 Preverbals (See pages 64-5)

Ex. 1

You hav	ve to hi	re	.in a	ddition			
then	change		hire	l .	more		
Aux	thói Aux PrVbl	(à)	có V Vbl		thêm Ter Clo	ME 9)
		VG					

Ex. 2

Also also	are still still	going go	to study study		
cung Aux PrVbl	nhằng Aux PrVbl _l	pây V Vbl	slon V Vbl	ME	13
	VG				

Ex. 3

Then then	you	don't not	have have		
dü Aux	(à)	mí Aux	mì V	ME	17
PrVbl	5	PrVbl.	l Apl		
	· ····································	VG			

Ex. 4

Ex. 5

Then s	ays				
then	change	speak	tell		
ching Aux PrVbl ₅	thói Aux PrVbl ₄	chẳng V Vbl	ca V Vbl	BU	18
	VG				

Ex. 6

Also isn't right Also also notright tú ธนั mí ME 6 cung V Aux Aux Aux PrVbl PrVbl PrVbl Vbl

Ex. 7

Continued to work still continue still work cứ hắt nhằng vân CU 12 Aux AuxAux V PrVbl2 PrVb1_z PrVbl, Vbl VG

Ex. 8

I really don't know then also also indeed not know tú mí $d\bar{u}$ say chắc SU 7 cung Aux Aux Aux Aux Aux V PrVbl3 PrVbl2 PrVbl1 Vbl PrVbl6 PrVbl

4.92 Verbals (See pages 65-6)

Ex. 9

That is also very hard to talk about. (final particle) Thing that also hard speak chẳng khō ló. Ăп nân TH 76 cung Aux V V Vbl₂ Vbl, PrVbl VG

Ex. 10

When you think about it, it's fit to laugh about, and also fit to cry about.

Time think then also also also good laugh good cry hay. đây Bắt tú đây khua dū tú nghi cung Aux V V Aux Aux VV MT 38 Λux Vbl₂ Apj¹ Ap₁⁵ Vbl, PrVbl PrVb1 PrVbl PrVbl VG VG

Ex. 11

Also they have enough to eat

also	enough	eat;		
cung	đo	kin	$\mathbf{B}\mathbf{V}$	5
Åих	Λ	Λ		
PrVbl	Vbl	Vbl ₂		
uggeddaue nasidas Pa HTTin	VG			

Ex. 12

Ex. 13

Ex. 14

4.93 The reflexive (See pages 66-7)

Ex. 15

We cannot reject each other.

Self not reflexive reject each-other acceptable

Dàu	mí	tō	po	căn	đảy.	MT 145
	Aux	\bar{to}	V		Λ	
	PrVbl	Ref1	Vbl		Cap	
			VC			

Ex. 16

We scold each other

Ah, then they go suing each other. Ah time this reflexive then go sue A. bắt nấy dū tê pây tō kiên ML 101 Aux Aux V to V Refl PrVbl PrVbl Vbl Vbl VG

1.94 The continuation (See page 67)

Ex. 18

If they have two metres, I also have two metres.

They have two metre self also have two metre go

Hâu mì slong síc, dầu cụng mì slong síc pây. SV 44

Aux V V

PrVbl Vbl Cont

Ex. 19

A person enters the house
Animal person enter house come

Tua can khau dươn mà PT 12

V V

Vbl Cont

4.95 The adverb (See pages 67-8)

Ex. 20

He converses very nicely
Converse good very
Chang-co dây lai ZI 2
V V Num
Vbl Adv Intens
VG

Ex. 21

I am very happy to see you.

```
(final particle)
 Ι
              happy
                       very
      see
                                   ló.
Ngo
                        lai
                                                IL 8
      hăn
               vui
                V
                        Num
       V
      Vbl
               Adv
                      Intens
                VG
```

1.96 The intensive (See page 68)

Ex. 22

But I forgot to go just a little bit.

But I forgot go little one

Tò ngò lūm pây i-tít nớng. WF 36
V V N Adj
Nuc M
NF
Vbl Vbl Intens

When I am the least bit free Self have freedom one bit đảy î Dàu váng slác SA 17 V Num Ŋ Nuc Intens

But I just forgot to go a little bit. little already also also forgot go But Ι sày ing dá. To (a) ngo tú pây lüm WF 17 cung V Ter Aux Aux Aux V N Nuc NF

PrVbl PrVbl PrVbl Vbl Intens Clo VG

Good means good in every way. (final particle) Good is good finish every thing thuốn mon là đây Đây môi CU 49 a. V Num Num N Nuc Intens Vbl

Then it's a bit tiring.

```
Then
        tiring
                  little
                           one
         ngan
                   ing
                           nơng
 Dũ
                                    TW 15
 Aux
                    N
                            Adj
                   Nuc
                            M
                        NF
                      Intens
PrVbl
         Vbl
              VG
```

4.97 The closure (See page 68)

Ex. 23

When it has come out It out already go óc pây Mân dá PH 5a V V Ter Vbl Cont Clo VG

Ex. 24

Then you're a bit sorry Self beforehand then sorry little go ing Dàu $\mathrm{d} \bar{\mathrm{u}}$ cón nhặn pây LM 28 Aux V V NF Ter PrVbl Vbl Intens Clo Cont ٧G

Ex. 25

Are you still growing anything in the garden at the back? At thing garden toward back this still grow anything not day Dú νè näy mí? ăn nhằng lăng chay lăng RE 2 V Aux Ter PrVbl Vbl VG

Ex. 26

Have you planted potatoes yet?
plant tuber western yet

Chay man tây kếng? PO 1

V Ter

Vb1 _____ Clo

Chapter 5

THE NOMINAL FIGURE AT SECONDARY DELICACY

5.1 The deictic

As stated at primary delicacy, one of the possible structures for the nominal figure is Deic. The deictic is the place of operation of the class of demonstratives. These are:²

nấy	'this'	(ME 11b)	p.122
nận	'that'	(ME 1)	p.118
dừ	'what?'	(Ex. 1)	p.84
haď	'what, how?'	(Ex. 2)	p.84
dừ-haư	'what, how?'	(ME 20)	p.125
läng, där	g 'what?'	(Ex. 3)	p.84
ca-lăng,	ca-dăng 'what, anything'	(Ex. 1)	p.84

Two other demonstratives, no 'the other' and kia 'yonder' have not yet been found at the deictic element.

5.2 The possessive

As stated at primary delicacy, another possible structure for the nominal figure is (Poss)Per. The possessive element is the place of operation of the item <u>hông</u>, which seems to have some such meaning as 'as to, as for' when at this element. (Ex. 5,p.84)

5.3 The person

The person element of structure is the place of operation of the class of pronouns. Examples of these are:

mé 'Mother, you (to an old woman)' (ME 1) p.118
mân 'he, she, it' (ME 2) p.118

^{1.} For a description of the nominal figure at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pages 44-6.

^{2.} Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp.84-96. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.

```
dàu
          'self, oneself'
                                        (ME 12) p.122
có
          'elder brother, you (to contemporary)(Ex.6)p.85
chài
          'elder sister, you (to contemporary) (Ex.6)p.85
          'Long (proper name)'
Long
                                        (ME
                                             2)
                                                 p.118
Phúc
          'Phuc (proper name)'
                                        (ME
                                             4)
                                                 p.119
```

The class of pronouns may be subclassified into proper names and kinship terms. Proper names may not operate at the person element of the structure Poss Per, whereas kinship terms may.

5.4 The quantifier

At primary delicacy this element was written as (Q^n) . The quantifier is the place of operation of the class of numerals At secondary delicacy the quantifier is the place of operation of a system of subclasses, the definite and indefinite numerals. These are subclassified on the basis of:

- (1) their occurrence in structures with more than one exponent of the quantifier (see the last paragraph in this section, p. 79), and
- (2) the fact that the indefinite numerals may also operate at the intensive element in verbal group structure (p.68).

The definite numerals are listed below. Examples are given of each numeral operating at the only quantifier element in a nominal figure, where this has been found.

slắc	'one'	(Ex.	7)	p.85
slong	'two'	(Ex.	8)	p.85
slam	'three'	(Ex.	9)	p.85
slí	'four'	(Ex.	10)	p.85
hå	'five'	(Ex.	11)	p.85
hốc	'six'	(Ex.	12)	88.a
chết	'seven'	(Ex.	13)	p.86
pét	'eight'	(Ex.	14)	p.86
cau	'nine'	(Ex.	15)	98.q
slíp	'ten'	(Ex.	16)	p.86
pác	' a hundred'	(Ex.	17)	p.86
siên	'a thousand'			

phan 'ten thousand'

The first nine numerals here, i.e. from slác 'one' to câu 'nine' inclusive, comprise a yet more delicate subclass, the units.

There are another two numerals, ét 'one' and nhī 'two'. The way these two numerals affect the subclasses already set up will be explained below.

The indefinite numerals are listed below, with examples of each one operating at the only quantifier element in a nominal figure.

ki	'a few'	(Ex. 18) p.87
kí	'all'	(Ex. 19) p.87
lai	'many'	(Ex. 20) p.87
ki-lai	'how many?, however many'	(Ex. 21) p.87
nọi	'a little, few'	(Ex. 22) p.87
mội	'every, each'	(Ex. 23) p.87
các	'every'	(Ex. 24) p.88

When there is more than one quantifier element in the nominal figure, certain patterns start to emerge. The first may be assigned the structure:

$$(Q_u)Q_{10}(Q_u)$$

 Ω_{10} is the place of operation of <u>slip</u> 'ten'. Ω_{u} is the place of operation of the units subclass of definite numerals, with the modification that <u>slac</u> 'one' and <u>slong</u> 'two' cannot occur here, but <u>ét</u> 'one' and <u>nhī</u> 'two'can. Examples of this structure are:

slíp ết 'el	even'	(Ex.	25)	p.88
slíp nhĩ 'tw	relve'	(Ex.	26)	p.88
slíp hả 'fi	fteen'	(Ex.	27)	p.88
nhī slíp ết	'twenty one'	(Ex.	28)	88.q
ha slíp 'fi	fty'	(Ex.	29)	p.89
hả slíp hả	fifty five'	(Ex.	30)	p.89

^{3.} I.e., we have here more delicate subclasses, one consisting of slác and slong, another consisting of ét and nhī, and the third consisting of the remaining units, from slam 'three' to câu 'nine'.

pét slíp 'eighty'

(Ex. 31) p.89

Another structure may be diagrammed as:4

$$(Q_{11})Q_{100}(Q_{11},)(Q_{10}(Q_{11},))$$

where Q_{100} is the place of operation of <u>pác</u> 'a hundred', Q_{10} the place of operation of <u>slíp</u> 'ten', Q_{u} the place of operation of the units subclass of definite numerals, and Q_{u} , the place of operation of the units subclass minus <u>slác</u> and <u>slong</u>, and plus <u>ét</u> and <u>nhi</u>. Examples of this structure are rare in the texts:

slong pác 'two hundred'

(Ex. 32) p.89

pác nhī 'a hundred and twenty'

(Ex. 33) p.89

Further structures such as 5

$$(Q_u)Q_{1000}(Q_u)(Q_{100}(Q_{u})(Q_{10}(Q_{u})))$$

and

are expected, where Q_{1000} is the place of operation of siên 'a thousand', and where $Q_{10,000}$ is the place of operation of phan 'ten thousand'. However, although such forms have been heard by the analyst, all the actual occurrences of this kind in the text may be subsumed under one structure:

$$(a_u)a_x(a_u)$$

where Q_x is the place of operation of the subclass comprising slip 'ten', pác 'a hundred', siên 'a thousand' and phân 'ten thousand'. Q_u is here the place of operation of the units subclass. We have to consider here that slắc and ết 'one' are allomorphs of the same morpheme, as are slong and nhi 'two'. Ét and nhi occur before or after slip, or after pác, where slắc and slong are never found.

This picture must be further modified by the comment that

^{4.} The nesting of brackets here means that the final $Q_{\rm u}$, may only occur if the optional element Q_{10} is present.

^{5.} The full structures are given here on the basis of the analyst's experience of other forms which have been heard, not on the basis of actual occurrence in the text material.

the Q_u element, or even the whole structure $(Q_u)Q_x(Q_u)$, may be repeated. We have, for instance, the structures:

Qu Qu	(Exx. 34, 35)	pp.89,90
Q Q Q	(Exx. 36, 37)	p.90
Q Q Q X	(Ex. 38)	p.90
a a a a a a	(Exx. 39, 40)	p.90

In the latter structure, the same lexical item must operate at each of the $\mathbf{Q}_{\mathbf{y}}$ elements.

Structures at whose elements definite numerals operate may be preceded or followed by $\Omega_{\bf i}$, at which an indefinite numeral operates. The only cases of this found in the texts are:

Q _x Q _i	(Ex. 41)	p.91
Qu Qx Qi	(Ex. 42)	p.91
QuQui	(Ex. 43)	p.91
ဂ္ _x	(Exx. 44, 45)	p.91

5.5 The classifier

As stated at primary delicacy, members of the class of nouns operate at both the classifier and the nucleus elements of the nominal figure. The number of nouns which can operate at the classifier element is severely restricted. On the basis of this fact we can set up a subclass of classifier nouns. A classifier noun may operate at either the classifier or the nucleus elements of structure, whereas a noun which is not a classifier noun may only operate at the nucleus element.

Examples of the main classifier nouns found in the text material are as follows:

ăn	'thing'
baď	'leaf'
chen	'cup, cupful'
co	'plant, tree'
háp	'a load carried suspended from the ends of a yoke'
khāo	'a heavy lump'

```
läm 'a long thing'
mui 'a seed; small round object'
pat 'bowl, bowlful'
thu 'kind, sort'
tua 'animal'
cân 'kilogramme'
```

Examples of the classifiers as they occur in text will be given in 5.6.

5.6 The nucleus

The nucleus element is the place of operation of the class of nouns. The nouns may be subclassified on the basis of those classifiers with which they occur. The classification is not clear-cut, however. Some nouns may be preceded by more than one classifier, e.g. cuối 'banana', which may be preceded by either ăn 'thing' or co 'plant, tree';

kí ăn cuối 'all the bananas' (SU 5)

kí co cuối ' all the banana trees' (SU 5)

This lack of clear-cut distinctions between subclasses is just what we would expect to find at secondary delicacy (see 1.17, p.13).

Many nouns have not been found preceded by a classifier noun, so these cannot be subclassified. The following list shows the nouns which have been found following the classifier nouns indicated:

Bau 'leaf	chia	'paper'	(BU 18)
	ဝဲ	'flag'	(CU 11)
cân 'kilo'	khẩu	'rice'	(MT 97)
chen 'cup'	lầu	'wine'	(CU 31)
co 'plant, tree'	cuối	'banana'	(SU 8)
	may	'wood'	(MO 7)
	thúa	'bean'	(MT 78)
háp 'yoke load'	phìn	'firewood'	(TH 11)
	nặm	'water'	(ML 29)
	nha	'grass'	(TH 11)

```
khao 'lump'
                  hin
                           'stone'
                                          (ME 7)
                  cuối
                           'banana'
                                          (SU 15)
                  làn
                                                       (KH 32)
lam 'long thing'
                           'string, thread, tape'
                           'wood'
                                           (TE 35)
                  may
                  hương
                           'incense'
                                           (TH 19)
                           'incense'
                                           (TH 19)
                  hoa
                  tang
                                           (SA 16)
                           'road'
múi 'seed'
                  bi
                           'marble'
                                           (BI
                                                7)
pat 'bowl'
                  hương
                           'incense'
                                           (TH 23)
                  khẩu
                           'rice'
                                           (CU
                                               7)
thứ 'sort'
                  càn
                           'people'
                                           (SK
                                               1)
                                           (PH 63)
                   p'i
                            'spirit'
                   vang
                           'gold'
                                           (CU
                                                7)
                   can
                                               6)
                                           (ME
tua 'animal'
                           'person'
                   cáy
                                           (CU 10)
                           'hen'
                   lan
                            'grandchild'
                                           (ML 29)
                            'child'
                                           (ML 27)
                   luc
                   mē
                            'woman, wife' (KI 43)
                   mò
                            'COW'
                                           (BU 15)
                                           (TH 29)
                   mu
                            'pig'
                   pất
                            'duck'
                                           (cu 6)
                   p'i
                            'spirit'
                                           (CU 37)
                   p'o
                            'man'
                                           (TH 33)
                   vài
                            'buffalo'
                                           (BA 13)
                   bàn
                            'table'
ăn 'thing'
                                           (PH 48)
                   ban-duon 'village'
                                           (ML 41)
                   bâm
                            'tray
                                           (CU 11)
                   bổn-phận 'obligation' (CU 54)
                   bươn
                            'month'
                                           (BA
                                                6)
                   cháo
                            'divining sticks'
                                               (CU 14)
                   etc.
```

 $\underline{\underline{\mathtt{Mn}}}$ occurs with more nouns than any other classifier noun.

5.7 The modifier

At primary delicacy it was stated that the modifier element is the place of operation of the class of adjectives, the class of verbs, a nominal phrase or a clause. These classes will be dealt with in turn.

5.71 Adjectives

The adjectives are a class of words which only operate at this element of structure. Examples are:

Eng	'English'	(Ex. 46)	p.91
nďng	'one'	(Ex. 47)	p.92
đậu-lun	'white bean'	(Ex. 48)	p.92
seng	'green bean'	(Ex. 48)	p.92
qåb	'bicycle'	(Ex. 19)	p.92
ô-tô	'motor vehicle'	(Ex. 50)	p.92

5.72 Verbs

The following are some of the verbs which have been found operating at the modifier element:

thai	'die'	(Ex.	51)	$b \cdot \delta S$
đây	'good'	(Ex.	52)	p.93
sau	'bad'	(Ex.	52)	p.93

5.73 Nominal phrases

The only nominal phrase of more than one nominal in structure which has been found operating at the modifier element is the following:

me then sau p'o thao 'the woman necromancer and the priest' (Ex. 53) p.93

Nominal phrases which consist of only one nominal are in effect nominal figures. Structures of nominal figures operating at (nominal element in a nominal phrase operating at) the modifier element include the following:

Poss Per	(Ex.	55)	p.93
Nuc	(Ex.	56)	p.94
Q Nuc	(Ex.	57)	p.94
Q Class Nuc	(Ex.	58)	p.91
Class Nuc M	(Ex.	59)	p.94

5.74 Clauses

Clauses do not often operate at the modifier element, so it is rather difficult to build up a picture of the possible structures. It seems that they may consist of subject, predicate and object elements only, and that the predicate element may only consist of a single verbal, or one preverbal (of which the exponent is \underline{mi} 'not') and a verbal. Examples are:

P (Ex. 60) p.95 P O (Ex. 61) p.95 S P O (Ex. 62) p.95

Example 60, being a single predicate, suggests that verbs operating at the modifier element in a nominal figure may be interpreted as clauses, consisting of just a predicate, consisting of a single verbal.

5.8 The identifier

At primary delicacy it was stated that the identifier element is the place of operation of the class of demonstratives. Examples of this class operating at this element are:

nận	'that'	(Ex. 63) p.95
nây	'this'	(Ex. 64) p.95
no	'the other'	(Ex. 65) p.96
kia	'yonder'	(Ex. 65) p.96
tàư	'any'	(Ex. 66) p.96
dăng	'any'	(Ex. 67) p.96

5.9 Examples

With each example, sufficient parsing is included to

illustrate the point under discussion. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.

5.91 The deictic (See page 75)

Ex. 1

What would you do?
Do what well

Hat du day? CU 52

Dem

Deic

NF

Ex. 2

Anyhow
Like how
pàn had CU 48
Dem
Deic
NF

Ex. 3

Have you still anything planted?
Still plant anything not
Nhằng chay lăng mí? RE 2

Dem

 $\frac{ exttt{Deic}}{ exttt{NF}}$

Ex. 4

There is nothing Not have anything

Mí mì ca-lăng WF 25

Dem

Deic

NF

5.92 The possessive. (See page 75)

Ex. 5

When we meet each other again As-to self change well reflexive meet each-other

Hông dầu thói đẩy to p'ống căn WF 48 hông Pr Poss Per NF 5.93 The person (See pages 75-6)

Ex. 6

You must address them as 'elder brother' or 'elder sister'. Must address become elder-brother become ender-sister

Phải sing pần có pần chài ML 164
Pr Pr
Per
NF

5.94 The quantifier (See pages 76-9)

Ex. 7

A gold bracelet
One thing bracelet gold
Slắc ăn myằm kim SV 38
Num N N NP
Q Class Nuc M
NF

Ex. 8

These two trays Twothing tray this nay bâm ăn CU 16 Slong Num Ν И Dem Class Nuc Iden \overline{NF}

Ex. 9

Three people
Three people
Slam cân KH 5
Num N
Q Nuc

Ex. 10

Four cakes
Four thing cake
Slí ăn peng TE 8
Num N N
Q Class Nuc
NF

Ex. 11

Five people

Five people Ha cần KH 5 Num N

() Nuc NF

Ex. 12

Six people Six people

Hốc cần BU 5 Num N Nuc

NF

Ex. 13

Seven piastres Seven piastre

Chết minMT 19 Num \mathcal{N} Q Nuc NF

Ex. 14

Eight flags Eight leaf

flag

Pét င်ပွဲ bau CU llc Num N N Class Ŋ Nuc NF

Ex. 15

Nine days

Nine day

Cau vàn SV 29

Num И NE MAG

Ex. 16

Ten years Ten year

Slíp рi CH 12 Num \bar{N}

Nuc NF

Ex. 17

A hundred kilos

Hundred kilo

Pác cân PO 20 Num N Q Nuc NF

Ex. 18

Several days
Few day

Ki van BA 20

Num N

Q Nuc

NF

Ex. 19

All of us
All person belong self

Kí cần hông dầu PH 44

Num N NP

Num N NP
Q Nuc M
NF

Ex. 20

Many lessons Many lesson

Lai bài TM 19 Num N O Nuc NF

Ex. 21

However many lessons However-many lesson

Ki-lai bai TM 16
Num N
Q Nuc

Ex. 22

Rather young Little year one

Noi pi nớng ML 169 Num N Adj O Nuc M NF

Ex. 23

Every tray

Every thing tray

Mội ăn bâm CU 7b

Num N N

O Class Nuc

NF

Ex. 24

Everything to do with trade Every matter trade

Các	នឬ	buôn-ban	$B\Lambda$	20
Num	N	Λ		
Ö	Nuc	M		
	NF			

Ex. 25

Ex. 26

Twelve months Ten two thing month Slip nhī bươn TE 69 ăn Num Num N N ٠, دو Class ^Q10 Nuc NF

Ex. 27

Fifteen minutes
Ten five minute
Slíp hå phút BI 1
Num Num N

Olo Qu. Nuc
NF

Ex. 28

Those twenty one days and nights Two ten one night-day that Nhī slíp ết cừn-vàn nân KI 36 Num Num Num М Dem Ω 10 Qu, Nuc Iden Qu. NB,

^{6.} Subclasses of the numerals are not represented, in order to avoid the multiplication of symbols.

Fifty kilos
Five ten kilo

Hå slíp cân MT 99

Num Num N

Qu' Q10 Nuc

Ex. 30

Fifty five piastres Five five tenpiastres Ηå hå slíp mi.nCH 2 Num Num Num N Q 10_ Nuc

Ex. 31

Eighty piastres
Eight ten piastre

Pét slíp min CH 3
Num Num N

Qu. Olo Nuc
NF

Ex. 32

Two hundred metres
Two hundred metre

Slong pác síc KH 5
Num Num N
Qu Q100 Nuc
NF

Ex. 33

A hundred and twenty days and nights Hundred two night-day

Pác nhị cừn-vàn TH 2 Num Num N Q₁₀₀ Q_u Nuc NF

Ex. 34

One or two metres of cloth
One two metre cloth
Slắc slong síc p'ải SV 38
Num Num N N
Ou Ou Class Nuc

Two or three lessons
Two three lesson

Slong slam bai TM l Num Num N Qu Qu Nuc NF

Ex. 36

One or two or three lessons One two three lesson

Slắc slong slam bài TM 6

Num Num Num N

Ou Ou Ou Nuc

NF

Ex. 37

Three or five or six days
Three five six day

Slam hả hốc văn BU 12 Num Num Num N Cu Qu Qu Nuc NF

Ex. 38

Thirty or fifty days Three five ten day

Slam hå slíp văn MO 24

Num Num Num N

Qu Qu Ox Nuc

NF

Ex. 39

Twenty three or twenty four piastres Two ten three two ten four piastre

Nhị slíp slam nhi slíp slí min MT 17 Num Num Num Num Num N Qu Ox Qu Qu Ox Qu Nuc

Ex. 40

Two thousand seven hundred or two thousand eight hundred piastres Two thousand seven two thousand eight piastre

Slong	siên	chết	slong	siên	pét	ngần	PO	20
Num	Num	Num	Num	Num	Num	\tilde{M}_{k}		
Q _u	Q _{xx}	Qu	വ u	$\dot{\mathcal{O}}^{\mathbf{X}}$	Q _u	Nuc		
			NF			A Prairie de la casa d		

More than ten days
Ten many day

Slip lai văn ZI 5
Num Num N

C

R

Q

NF

Ex. 42

These dozen or more posts One ten many stick post this Slắc slíp lai lăm slâu nây MO 29 Num Num Num N Dem М Class Q_i Nuc Iden NF

Ex. 43

One or three or more months
One three few month

Slắc slam ki bươn KI 64

Num Num Num N

Ou Qu Qi Nuc

NF

Ex. 44

Every hundred kilos of rice Every hundred kilo rice

Mội pác cân khẩu MT 100 Num Num N N O_i O_x Class Nuc

Ex. 45

Several thousand piastres Several thousand piastre

Κi	siên	ngàn	RP	25
Num	Num	$\widetilde{\mathbf{n}}$		
Q <u>.</u>	ດ ຼ	Nuc		
1.	X			
	NF			

5.95 The modifier (See pages 82-3)

5.951 Adjectives

Ex. 16

England

Side English

Bưởng Eng CU 2

N Adj

Nuc M

Ex. 47

A line
Thing line one
An vec nóng BI 3
N N Adj
Class Nuc M
NF

Ex. 48

Green beans, chopstick beans, white beans Plant bean green bean chopstick bean

Co	thúa	seng	nè,	thúa	myăm	nè,	thúa	đậu-lun	nè	MT 78
N	N	Adj		N	NP		${f N}$	Adj		
Class	Nuc	M		Nuc	M		Nuc	M		
	NF			ì	1F			NF		

Ex. 49

Bicycle Vehicle bicycle

Se	qab	SK	38
$N_{ m i}$	đạp Adj		
Nuc	M		
	NF		

Ex. 50

Motor vehicle Vehicle motor

5.952 Verbs

Ex. 51

That dead person Animal person die that

Tua	cần	thai	nận	BU	18
Й	\mathbf{N}	A	Dem		
Class	Nuc	M	Iden		
	न्म		·····		

Good days and bad days
Thing day good day bad

An văn đây văn sấu VD 16

N V N V

Nuc M Nuc M

NF NF

5.954 Nominal phrases

Ex. 53

The matter of priests and woman necromancers
Thing matter woman necromancer with mister priest

An	vấn-đề	mē	then	sáu	p'ō	thao	PR	1
N	N	N	Λ	Conj	\mathbf{N}	Λ		
		Nuc	M		Nuc	M		
]	IV		W	F		
		$N_{\rm c}$	om	Link	Ĭ.i	om		
				NP				
Class	Nuc			M				
			ЙЪ					

Ex. 54

One's lot Thing lot self dàu phúc-phận Хn CU 35 N M PrPer NF Nom NP Class Nuc P.ff NF

Ex. 55

One's house Thing house belong self dườn dàu hông TH 65 An hông N_{t} N Praaog Per NF Nom MЪ MClass Nuc NF

A person's life Thing life person

An thời cần WF 37
N N N

Nuc

NF

Nom

NP

Class Nuc M

NF

Ex. 57

The three years Thing three year

An slam pi TH 17

N Num N

Q Nuc

NF

Nom

NP

Nuc M

NF

Ex. 58

The tray with five cups Thing tray five thing cup

ha chen bâm ăn An CU 11 Ν N Num N N Class Nuc NF Nom ΝP Class Nuc M NF

Ex. 59

The matter of a dead person Thing matter animal person die

vấn-đề càn tua Ăη thai BU 21 N N N V N Class йпс M NF Nom ИP Mi Class Nuc NF

5.954 Clauses

Ex. 60

Things which are not good All thing speech not good mòn chuyện Kí mí đây рч 46b Num M N Aux PrVbl Apr VG Clause Class Nuc M NF

Ex. 61

The matter of building a house Thing matter build house

Ex. 62

The matter of women who have children Thing matter all person sex female have child

An	vấn-đề	kí	cần	tay	mē	mì	luc	sv 3	1
N	M		N	P		VG	NP		
			S			P	0		
				C.	Lause				
Class	Nuc				M				
			NF						

5.96 The identifier (See page 83)

Ex. 63

That dead person Animal person die that

Tua	cần	thai	nận	.BU	18
$\mathcal N$	\mathbf{N}	V	Dem		
Class	Nuc	M	Iden		
	NF				

Ex. 64

Today

Day this
Vàn nấy IL 15
N Dem
Nuc Iden
NF

Ex. 65

This thing and that thing Thing other thing yonder

Mon	no	mòn	kia	TE	45
N	Dem	<i>1</i> /1	Dem		
Nuc	Iden	Nuc	Iden		
N	F	N	F		

Ex. 66

Anywhere Place any

> Thi tad PH 55b N Dem Nuc Iden NF

Ex. 67

Any matter Matter any

Việc dăng KI 25 N Dem Nuc Iden

Chapter 6

THE NOMINAL PHRASE AT SECONDARY DELICACY

As few examples of this unit are found to display complex structures, little can be said in addition to what was revealed in 3.3, pp. 43-4. Rather than repeat the information given there, it is recommended that the reader turn back to those pages for the basic structures and exponents.

6.1 The links

At primary delicacy only one link element was described. At secondary delicacy we must distinguish two elements, Link, and Link, occurs in only one structure:

Nom Link, Nom (Ex. 1) p.98

Link, occurs in the structures:

Nom Link₂ Nom (Ex. 2) p.98

Nom Link₂ Nom Link₂ Nom (Ex. 3) p.98

Link₂ Nom Link₂ Nom Link₂ Nom (Ex. 4) p.98

Link₂ Nom Count Link₂ Nom Count (Ex. 5) p.98

Nom Count Nom Count Link₂ Nom Count (Ex. 6) p.99

 Link_{1} is the place of operation of a single formal item, sau 'and, with'.

Link₂ is the place of operation of a single formal item, hay-la 'or'.

Together, sau and hay-la comprise the class of conjunctions.

6.2 Examples

With each example, sufficient parsing is included to illustrate the point under discussion. For an explanation of the

^{1.} Examples are given in full in 6.2, pages 98-9.

parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.

Ex. 1

The paternal father and the daughter-in-law Mister paternal and Mrs. daughter-in-law

P'0	рú	sáu	mē	lùa	N	I.L	4
N	F	Conj	NF				
No	m	\mathtt{Link}_1	Nom				
		NP					

Ex. 2

Pomelo leaves or almond leaves Leaf pomelo or leaf almond

Rau puc	hay-là	baư tào	SV 4
NF	Conj	NF	
Nom	Link	Nom	
	NP ~		

Ex. 3

One ring or one gold bracelet or one or two metres of cloth² One thing ring hand or one thing bracelet gold or

Slắc ăn	pyóc	mù hay-là	slắc	ăn	myàm	kim	hay-là
N	F	Conj			NF		Conj
Nom		Link]	Nom		Link
				······································		NP	>

one two metre cloth

slác slong síc p'åi SV 38

NF

Nom

Ex. A

Either three times, or two times, or five times three time or two time orfive time slam bắt hay-la slong bắt hay-là Hay-la hà bắt BI 7 NFNF NF Conj Conj Conj Link₂ Link Link₂ Nom Nom Nom

NP

Ex. 5

Either a birthday or an anniversary

^{2.} The arrows signify that the unit is continued on the next line.

Or	day birth	birthday		or day anniversary				
Hay-là	văn dộ NF	nè,	hay-là	vàn	khoăn	nề nề	BU	25
Conj	NF	nê	Conj	ИF		nê		
Link ₂	Nom	Count	Link ₂	Nom		Count		
			NP					

Gold, silver or flags
Gold silver or flag

Kim nè, ngàn nè hay-là cở nè CU 30

NF nè NF nè Conj NF nè

Nom Count Nom Count Link, Nom Count

NP

Chapter 7

THE CLAUSE AT SECONDARY DELICACY

7.0 As so few examples of equative clause have been found, no more can be said about them than has already been said in Chapter 3, p.41. This chapter will be completely devoted to the predicative clause.

7.1 The locative

At primary delicacy it was stated that the locative was the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause. Details regarding both these kinds of exponents will be given separately.

7.11 Nominal phrases

The following structures have been found for nominal phrases operating at the locative element: 2

Nom	Nom		(Ex.	1)	p.103
Nom	Link	Nom	(Ex.	2)	p.103
Nom			(Ex.	3)	p.103

The most common structure is that of a single nominal. The structure of the nominal figure operating at this nominal may be:

- (1) Nuc. The only examples of this are do 'hour' Tw 14, and pay 'time, once' ME 2, p. 118.
 - (2) Nuc Iden. (Exx. 3-8, pp. 103-5)
- (3) Nuc M. The modifier element here may be the place of operation of an adjective (Ex. 9, p.105) or of a clause (Exx. 10, 11, p. 105).
 - (4) Class Nuc M. (Ex. 12) p.106

^{1.} For a description of the clause at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pp. A1-3.

^{2.} Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. 103-8. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.

7.12 Clauses

Clauses operating at the locative element may only have the structure P O. The verbal group operating at the predicate element may have the structure of from one to three verbals. None of the other elements of verbal group structure, such as preverbals (see 3.5, pp.46-7) have been found. See Exx. 13-6, p. 106.

7.2 The subject

It was stated at primary delicacy that the subject is the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause. No limitation on the type of nominal phrase operating here has yet been found. The reader is referred to text ME in Chapter 9 (pp.118-28) for examples of nominal phrases operating at the subject element.

Very few examples have been found of clauses operating at subject element. Two can be found in Chapter 9, in ME 6 (p. 120) and ME 1 (p.118). Another is given as Ex. 17 (p.107). At the moment the evidence for these being subject elements rather than prehead elements of sentence structure is rather uncertain. It is suspected that there is almost always a slight pause, or reduction of the tempo, at the end of a prehead element, but not following a subject element. Further criteria will no doubt come to light on investigation of more material.

7.3 The predicate

Nothing more can be added at secondary delicacy to the information given in Chapter 3 (pp.41-3) and that given on the verbal group in Chapter 4 (pp.64-74). It should be re-emphasised here that the verbal group operating at the predicate element is discontinuous, the preverbals, verbals and reflexive occurring at one place, and the other elements at the end of the clause.

7.4 The object

At primary delicacy it was stated that the object element is the place of operation of a nominal phrase or a clause. As

with the subject, no limitation has been found on the type of nominal phrase operating at the object element. The reader is referred to text ME in Chapter 9 (pp.118-28) for examples of nominal phrases operating here.

A number of examples of clauses operating at object element have been found. These have the following structures:

P	(ME	2)	p.118
S P	(Ex.	18)	p.107
P O	(Ex.	19)	p.107
SPO	(Ex.	20)	p.107

The clauses operating at the object element have not been found to include locative or adjunct elements in their structure. The structure of the verbal group operating at the predicate element of the clause is severely limited. The only preverbal which has been found has as exponent \underline{mi} 'not' (See Ex. 19, p. 107).

7.5 The adjunct

At primary delicacy it was stated that the adjunct element is the place of operation of a highly specialised clause. The only structures manifested by this clause are P and P O. In addition the verbal group operating at the predicate element may only have the structures Vbl or VblVbl. The only exponents of the predicate which have been found so far are:

đay	'to be acceptable'		
đuổi	'with, to be with'	(Ex. 21)	p.108
hử	'for, to give'	(Ex. 22)	p.108
khấu	'into, to enter'		
khin	'up, to ascend'		
lõng	'down, to descend'	(ME 18)	p.124
óc	'out, to go out'		
quá	'past, to go past,	to cross to	
sáu	'with, to be with'	(ME 2)	p.118
thâng	'to, to arrive'	•	
long chang	'down into'	(Ex. 23)	p.108
ngang lồng	'lengthwise in'		

tặt lồng 'put in'

pây hữ 'to go and give to' (Ex. 24) p.108

A distinct subclass of verbs (which may be termed 'adjunct verbs') is seen to operate here.

7.6 Examples

With each example sufficient parsing is included to illustrate the point in question. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.

7.61 The locative (See pages 100-1)

7.611 Nominal phrases

Ex. 1

We'll talk for three days and nights
Self converse three night three day

Dàu	chang-co	slam cừn	slam vän	SA 27
NP	VG	NF	NF	•
		Nom	Nom	
			ИЪ	
S	P		I.	
	Clai	188		

Ex. 2

I'll rest a day or two Also rest day two day orCung nghi văn hay-la slong văn ZI 8 VG NF Conj ИŁ Link Nom Mow \overline{NP} L Clause

Ex. 3

 \mathbf{L}

Today that's how it is Day this also also right like this

Vàn nấy cụng tú sử pân nấy WF 44

N Dem VG

Nuc Iden

NF

Nom

NP

P

I began this time
I come begin time this

Ngò mà bắt-đầu pày nẩy ZI 10

NP VG N Dem

Nuc Iden

NF

Nom

NP

S P L

Ex. 5

This morning you also came down to my house Morning this man also descend house belong me go

Naư N	nấy Dem	ông NP	cung Vo	lồng		hông NP	 <u>pây</u>	IL 10
Nuc	Iden			• •	* * * * * * * *	• • • • •	 • •	
\overline{N}	1							
Nc	m							
NI)							
<u>L</u>		S	P			0	 	
			Cl	ause			 	

Ex. 6

This time I just forgot a bit

Time this I also then rather forgot go little already

Ex. 7

Then it's hard to drive out Time that then hard expel

```
Bắt nân dũ khổ thep PH 5

N Dem VG

Nuc Iden

NF

Nom

NP

L P

Clause
```

^{3.} Dotted lines join together the parts of discontinuous units.

When you are free Time what you have liberty

Iúc tàư nì
đẩy
váng
ML 126

N Dem NP
VG
NP

Nuc Iden
NF
Nom

Nom
NP

L
S
P
O

Clause

Ex. 9

The other day I was good
Day before self good

Vàn cón dâu (à) đây WF 31
N Adj NP VG

Nuc M

NF

Nom

NP

L S P

Clause

Ex. 10

Before I had finished working, they were looking for me Time as-to self not-yet work well they then search

Lúc	hông dầu	kéng	hắt	đảy	hâu	dū	sa	MT 46	5
N		Clause			NP	VG			
Nuc		M							
-	NH	1							
	Νσ	m							
	NE)							
	<u>L</u>				S	P			
		Cl	lause						

Ex. 11

When you notice your head aching a little bit, it's then that it isn't agreeing with you.

Time see thing head ache bit ? then also not fit with it

Bắt hăn ăn hua mầu ỉng dầy dũ tú mí slày ngóm sáu mân PH 10

N Clause

Nuc M

NF

Nom

NP

P

Λ.

Clause

 \mathbf{L}

When I used to go to school, I also did this I thing time go study letter also like that

cung pàn nân VG NP Ngo ăn pay pây slon slu TM 11 NP N Clause NClass Nuc M ИE Nom $\overline{\text{NP}}$ L 0 Clause

7.612 Clauses

Ex. 13

Just rickshaws and bicycles come and go here Vehicle hand vehicle bicycle at here go return only

Se tay	se	đạp	dú nấy	рâу	theo	thôi	SK	74
	MЪ		AG MB		VG			
			P 0					
			Clause					
	S		<u>I</u> ,		P			
		Clause	3					

Ex. 14

I also do not know what news there is in the North. Also not know news what in side North

chắc tin-tức ca-dăng dú bướng Bắc HF 7 Clause 0

Clause

Ex. 15

When it gets past the twentieth of December, whatever I do... Exit go arrive month December twenty few I do whatever

Óc pây	thâng	bươn	Lap	nhī	ki	ngo	hắt	dừ	SA	4
Λ	G		MЪ			NP	VG.	$\overline{ ext{NP}}$		
	P		0							
		Clause								
		L				S	P	0		

Ex. 16

On the eight of September nineteen fifty I arrived in Haifong

From year five ten month nine no. eight I come arrive Haifong

Tự pi hả slíp bươn cấu so pét ngò mà thâng Hải-Phòng HF 1

VG NP NP VG NP

Clause

L S P O

Clause

7.62 The subject (See page 101)

Ex. 17

What you say is very true Talk like that also right

7.63 The object (See pages 101-2)

Ex. 18

Some people know how to drive them out Have people know expel

Ex. 19

If you say you don't believe in spirits... Talk not believe spirit

Ex. 20

I also didn't know where you were living

I also not know place you at place what

Ngò cung mí chắc thĩ nì dú thĩ tàư RE 14

NP VG NP
S P O

Clause
S P O

Clause

7.64 The adjunct (See pages 102-3)

Ex. 21

We are speaking together Self talk with each-other

Ex. 22

I reply to Mr. Englishman
I offer word give Mr. English

PH 25

Ex. 23

Then they put the dead man down into the grave Then take animal person die descend into thing hole go

Ching au	tua c	àn	thai	lồng	chang	ăn	cùm	pây	BU	18
VG:		<u>1</u> 15			VG.	-	NP	•		
*					P		0	•		
:	••••				Clau			•		
P	()			А		••••	• •		
			Claus	е						

Ex. 24

I send a letter to my friends
I send letter go give friend

Ngo	ngứi	chia	pây hử	p'i-nong	SA	3a
ИЪ	VG	ND	VG	ИЪ		
			P	0		
		•	C.	ause		
S	P	0		Λ		
-	***************************************	Claus	Θ			

Chapter 8

THE SENTENCE

AT SECONDARY DELICACY

8.1 The opener

It was stated at primary delicacy that the opener is the place of operation of a class of opener particles. The meaning of these particles is not always plain or easily translatable. Examples of the class are as follows:²

Τò	'Now, but, and'	(ME 2)	p.118
Ć	'Oh!'	(ME 3)	p.119
Nhé-	tú (meaning not known)	(ME 4)	p.119
Á	'Ohl'	(ME 9)	p.121
Oi-à	'Oh!(Expressing pain o	r regret)'	(ME 10) p.121
À	'Ah!'	(ME 16)	p.123

8.2 The introduction

The introduction particle is the place of operation of the class of introduction particles. Examples are as follows:

Cơ-này	'Now, now then'	(ME 3)	p.119
Boi-vì	'Recause'	(Wx. 1)	p.111
Néu-ma	'If'	(Ex. 2)	p.111
Ví-du	'For instance'	(Ex. 3)	p.111

8.3 The focus

Nothing can be added here to the description of the focus at primary delicacy. The reader is referred to Chapter 3, pp.38-40.

8.4 The prehead

At primary delicacy it was stated that the prehead

^{1.} For a description of the sentence at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pp. 38-40.

^{2.} Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. 111-4. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.

element is the place of operation of a clause or (rarely) a nominal phrase. For examples of nominal phrases operating here, see Exx. 4-6, p.112.

When the exponent of the prehead element is a clause, any one of the following criteria is sufficient to distinguish between the prehead and the head:

- (1) The prehead is an equative clause (Ex. 7) p.112
- (2) The prehead is followed by focus (ME 10) p.121
- (3) The predicate of the head clause contains a higher order auxiliary than that of the prehead (Exx. 8, 9, pp. 112-3) This does not hold true if the head clause only contains an order lauxiliary.

8.5 The head

At primary delicacy it was stated that the head element is the place of operation of a clause. This may be an equational clause only if there are no preheads or postheads in the sentence (Ex. 10. p. 113). If prehead or posthead elements are present in the sentence, then the exponent of the head element must be a predicative clause. There are no limits to the type of predicative clause acting as the head of the sentence. For examples, see text ME, Chapter 9 (pp. 118-28).

8.6 The posthead

The posthead element is the place of operation of a predicative clause without a subject. The auxiliaries in (the verbal group operating at) the predicate of the clause may not be of a higher order than those of the clause operating at the head element of the sentence. See Exx. 11, 12, p.113

8.7 The final

As was stated at primary delicacy, the final is the place

^{3.} For a description of the auxiliaries in their orders, please see 4.1, pp. 61-5.

of operation of the class of final particles. As with the opener particles, the meaning is not always clear. Examples are:

đế		(nm 0)	- 110
		(ME 2)	p.118
ló	'you know'	(ME 10)	p.121
a		(ME lla)	p.121
ní	'you know'	(ME 16)	p.123
dú-vè		(ME 26)	p.127
cá	'however'	(ME 28)	p.128
á	'then'	(ME 30)	p.128
vớ	(implies that the pers	son spoken t	o is not of
	the same mind as t	the speaker)	(Ex. 13) p.114

8.8 Examples

with each example, sufficient parsing is included to illustrate the point under discussion. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.

8.81 The introduction (See page 109)

Ex. 1

Because if you work, you haven't got the strength. Because work then not have strength

Bơi-vì	hất	$d\bar{u}$	mí	mì	deng.	MT	51
ΙP	Clause		Cl	ause			
Intr	PrH			Ħ			
	Sei	nten	ce				

Ex. 2

If you eat (the forbidden foods), then (your priesthood) will not take.

If eat then not become

Néu-mà kin ní, dū mí pàn. KI 30
IP Clause ní Clause
Intr PrH Foc H
Sentance

Ex. 3

For instance, suppose I'm sitting and talking like this. Instance as-to self continuous sit rest converse like this

Ví-dų ·	hông dầu	đang-slì	näng	dú	chẳng-cổ	pần nấy	ló.	PH	9a
IP			Cla	use			FP		
Intr			H			Ŧ	'in		

8,82 The prehead (See pages 109-10)

Ex. 4

There, that's the whirlwind spirit.

That that is animal spirit whirlwind

Nận ní, nân sử tua p'i slương á. PH 2lf NP ní Clause FP PrH Foc H Fin

Sentence

Ex. 5

Now the sorcerer, he is good at casting out the 'p'yan' spirit. 4

But Mr. sorcerer then he clever about expel all spirit

BU 28a

To p'o pháp ní, du mân hay mùa thep kí p'i p'yan nè.

OP NP ní Clause

FP
Opnr PrH Foc H

Sentence

Ex. 6

Oh, as to that, I've invited many people.
Oh thing this I also together call many people

ối, <u>ăn nấy ní, ngò cụng sấy ca lai cần</u>. TH 60 OP NP ní Clause Opnr PrH Foc H

Sentence

Ex. 7

And now, today being the seventh, and propitious, I came to start work this time.

But now day this no. seven good I come begin time this

To cơ-này ní vàn nấy so chết đây, ngò mà bắt-đầu pày nẩy. ZI 10

OP IP ní Clause (Equative) Clause

Opnr Intr Foc PrH

PrH

H

Sentence

Ex. 8

When it has come out, then it returns. It out go already it then return come

Mân óc pây mân thê da. theo ma. PH 5a A AM V Ter NP Aux V V Vbl Vbl Clo Vbl Vbl VG ۷G P Clause Clause PrH

Sentence

^{4.} In the head of this sentence, the auxiliary du of the verbal group operating at the predicate, precedes the subject mân.

TM 135

Ex. 9

When it comes back, if you drive it out, it will go. Come already then drive-out it then change go

Aux	thep V Vbl	mân NP	Aux	Aux	ı. V	PH 5b
VG P	-	0	ay gadanan made t ed hilling	VG P	Table	
				Clause	The garget deployments recovered	
S		e	dar variani, arma bilan dilah bilangan dari	H	***************************************	
	PrVbl ₅ VG P	Aux V PrVbl ₅ Vbl VG P Clause PrH	Aux V NP PrVbl ₅ Vbl VG P O Clause	Aux V NP Aux PrVbl ₅ Vbl PrVbl VG P O Clause PrH	Aux V NP Aux Aux PrVbl ₅ Vbl PrVbl ₆ PrVbl VG VG P O P Clause Clause PrH H	Aux V NP Aux Aux V PrVbl ₅ Vbl PrVbl ₄ Vbl VG VG P O P Clause PrH H

8.83 The head (See page 110)

Ex. 10

Two thousand seven hundred, two thousand eight hundred piastres a kilo.

Two thousand seven two thousand eight money hundred kilo

Slong siên chết, slong siên pét ngần pác cân. PO 20

NP

Impl

Clause

H

8.84 The posthead (See page 110)

Ex. 11

After you've spoken, I can correct it, and that's all right. Speak already self change change correct again also well

Sentence

Chang	dá	dầu	khōi	thói	sõi	thēo,	cung	đay.	1
Λ	Ter	NP	\mathtt{Aux}	Aux	V	A	Aux	Λ	
VbJ.	Clo		PrVblg	PrVbl	Vbl	Vbl	PrVbl	Vbl	
VG					~		VG		
P		G		ν;	<i>J</i>		V Ca	Г	
Clau	C A	2			ر 		P		
Olaa	50			Clause			Clau	lse	
PrH				H			PoF	T	
			S	entence					

Ex. 12

The buffalo have enough to eat and keep fairly well.

Anima	ıl huffalo	still	well	full	stilli	mprove	improve	well	bit one	
Tus	vài	nhằng	đảy	ím,	nhầng	ű ď	₫₫	đảy	ing nóng.	13
17	IB	Aux			Aux	Ā	Ą.	đảy	NF	
		PrVbl	Vbl	Vbl	PrVbl	Vbl.	ApJ	Cap	Intens	
			V.G.	- 11.09	And the state of t	**************************************	ΛĞ		Oracle of the state of the stat	
****	S		Þ				ģ			
	Cla	ıse				Clause				
	йой									
				Sente	ence					
8,85	The fina	L (Se	e pa	ges l	10-1)					
Ex. 1	<u>.3</u>									
	he is qui	-			_		_	pers	on.	
Tò	mân tú 1	khấu k	in '	tua	càn	đay	vớ.	РĦ	9b	
OP			Cla	ıse		·	\mathbf{F} P			
Opnr			H				Fin			
		S	ente	ace						

Chapter 9

ANALYSIS OF TEXT

Explanation

With each sentence of the text analysed in this chapter, a free translation is given first, then a word-for-word translation (as far as this is possible), and the the sentence of text, with its analysis underneath.

Units are shown by a solid line, with the elements of structure on the line and the class symbol below, e.g.

indicates an exponent of the class 'verbal group' with a structure consisting of two preverbals followed by a verbal. Similarly

represents an exponent of the class 'clause' with a structure consisting of a single predicate. The length of the line indicates the extent of the exponent of the unit in the text above. The stretch of Tho above a solid line is the exponent of the unit indicated by the line. Classes which are not units are indicated by the class symbol placed immediately below the Tho word with no intervening line.

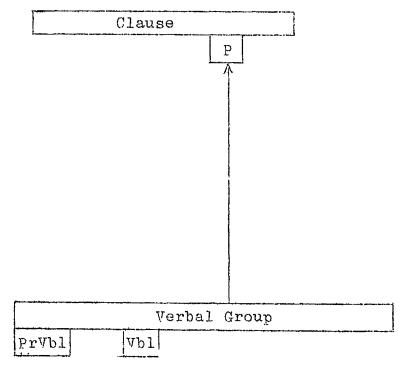
Symbols above elements of structure show the classes operating at those elements, e.g. $\underset{\text{PrVbl}}{\text{Aux}}$ indicates that a member of the class of auxiliaries operates at preverbal element of structure.

So then in sentence ME 1,

may be translated into words as follows: $\underline{t\acute{u}}$ and $\underline{s\grave{a}y}$ are both members of the class of auxiliaries operating at preverbal elements of structure, and $\underline{s\~{u}}$ is a member of the class of verbs, operating at

verbal element of structure. Together they make up an exponent of the class 'verbal group', which operates at predicate element of structure in a clause.

This parsing of the clause \underline{tu} say \underline{su} corresponds to the following section of the diagram of the interrelation of the units, given in 3.6, p.48:



The following abbreviations are used for units:

NF Nominal Figure
NP Nominal Phrase
VG Verbal Group

The following abbreviations are used for classes which are not units:

Adjactive Adj Auxiliary Дuх Conjunction Conj Demonstrative Dem FΡ Final particle IP Introduction particle N Noun Num Numeral 9P Opener particle PrPronoun Terminal Ter Verb

In the case of one-term classes, the item itself is used as a symbol for the class, e.g. \underline{ni} at focus element of sentence structure.

The following symbols are used for elements of structure:

Α Adjunct Λdv Adverb Cap Capability Classifier Class Clo Closure Compl Complement Cont Continuation Count Counter Deic Deictic Fin Final Foc Focus H Head Iden Identifier Impl Implement Intens Intensifierve Intr Introduction Ţ, Locative Link Link M Modifier N_{i} om Nominal Nuc Nucleus Object 0 Opnr Opener Predicate P Person Per PoH Post-head Possessive Poss PrH Pre-head PrVbl Preverbal Quantifier Q Reflexive Refl S Subject Vbl Verbal

A dotted line is used to join together the parts of a discontinuous unit.

TEXT ME

Situation: An old The grandmother calls in and pours out her troubles to Minh. When she goes I ask Minh to imagine himself replying to her.

What you say is very true Mother speak like that also true. chang Mé nŝq nân tú sū. say Pr V V Dem Aux Aux V Vbl Deic Per PrVbl PrVbl Vbl NF VG NF ΫĠ P Nom Nom NP NP Clause 0 Clause Vbl Cont VĠ Clause PrH H Sentence

ME 2 When you took over the ricefield with Mr. Long he once talked about doing it for nothing. Now take field with Mr. Long time he also say give free Tò chẳng (à) hữ đại dế. nā sáu Ông Long pay mân tú au OP V V N М PrAux N PrV V V Vbl Vbl Nuc Nuc Per PrVbl Vbl Vbl Adv Per VG VG NF NF NE NF VG VG P Nom Nom Nom Nom \overline{NP} ΝP $\overline{\mathrm{NP}}$ $\overline{\text{NP}}$ Clause Nuc M L S 0 NF Clause MomΝP 0 Clause P 0 A Clause PrHOpnr Η Fin Sentence

ME 3 Now he is going to change his mind and charge for it. nowhe then change take money. Oh! ớ cơ-này mân dū (à) thói thối chèn. au OP IP Pr Aux Aux Aux V NPrVbl PrVbl Vbl Per PrVbl Nuc $\overline{\mathrm{NF}}$ NF NomNom \widetilde{NP} \overline{NP} S P 0 Clause Opnr Intr H Sentence

ME 4 As Phuc entered into an adoption agreement with him, you would think he would do the garden without charging.

Phuc enter adoption with him he also give free come do garden.

Nhé-tú (à) Phúc khẩu luc-chương sáu mân mân tú (à) hử đại hắt dây. ma Q.P N V Pr \mathtt{Pr} Aux V PrV И Vbl Vbl Nuc Vhl Nuc Vbl Per Per PrVbl Vbl Adv Per VG NF VG VG ME NF VG NomNom Nom Nom Nom $\overline{\mathrm{NP}}$ NP ΝP NP $\overline{\text{NP}}$ 0 0 Clause Clause Clause 0 Clause nac0PrHΗ PoH Sentence

Now he is going to turn round and charge for it. he then change take money. thói thōi Cơ-này (à) mân dũ (à) chèn. au ΙP \mathtt{Pr} Aux Aux Aux Ν Per PrVbl PrVbl PrVbl Vbl Nuc NF VG NF Nom Nom NP NP S p 0 Clause Intr Η Sentence

ME 6	a pers	on acts	like	that	it isn	't ver	r good.		
		person					not		few much
Hắt V	tua N Class NF	cần N Nuc	pần V Vbl	nân Dem Deic NF	cung Aux PrVbl	tú Aux PrVbl	mí Aux PrVbl VG	sữ V Vbl	ki-lai. Num Intens
	No	n		Nom			P		
	NP		P	O M.B			Clause	€	
			Cla						
Vbl		-010/49 10/10/40 1444004 10	Co						
VG P	0								
. Г		ause							
		rH	***************************************				H		
			S	enten	ce				
ME 7 Now 3	you hav	e to go go	a lo	_	• ,	two or			etres.
Cơ-ng IP	Aux		V	ouây V	V	Num	Num	ĭĮ,	$I\!\!N$
	PrVb	l Vbl VG	Vbl	Vbl VG	$\frac{\mathtt{Vbl}}{\mathtt{VG}}$	<u>କ</u>	<u> </u>		ss Nuc
				P				om _	
			Cl	ause	_		N	Þ	
					<u>P</u>		Clause	2	
	•	P		L			L	-	
				C	lause				
Int	r			on ton	H				
			Ü	enten	.ce				
ME 8 It's	also v	ery far	to g	o to	work.				
		lso fa		ry.					
Pây l	V	ung ou Aux V	•	ai. um					
Vbl V		Apr Ap		tens					
V(<i>जं</i>	v P	G						
Claus	se		use	-					
Pr		H							
	Sent	ence							

```
And now you have to hire labour for money, in addition.
                  change
           then
                            hire money more.
                   thói (a)
                               có
   cơ-này
            d\bar{u}
                                     chèn thêm.
                               V
90
     IP
            Aux
                     Λux
                                      M
                                            Yer
                                     Muc
                                     NF
                                     \mathbb{N}om
                                     NP
           PrVbl
                    PrVbl
                              Vbl
                                            Clo
                           VG
                            P
                                      0
                            Clause
                              H
Opnr Intr
                  Sentence
```

ME 10 Oh, doing that kind of thing makes it very hard, you know. do like that do hard very Oi-à, hất pần nân ní, hắt khổ lai ló. ní V Dem V V Num Vbl Deic Vbl Adv Intens VG NF VG MomNP 0 Clause Cont Vbl VG

P P
Clause Clause
Opnr PrH Foc H Fin
Sentence

ME lla Oh, yes. Oh, yes ទំជ σ, a. OP V FP Vbl VG Ρ Clause Opnr H Fin Sentence

ME 11b Anywhere near here, if you do right, then that's good. do this well Live place any near like this then good. Dú pàn nây ní. hắt nấy đáy kê dū đây. N V V Dem V Dem Dem ni Aux PrVbl Vbl Muc Iden M Vbl Deic Deic NF प्रा VG NF VG Nom Nom Nom P NP $\overline{\mathrm{NP}}$ NP Clause Clause Cont 0 Clause H PrH Foc PrH Sentence ME 12 But if you don't do right, your household will be solitary. not do well house self then solitary. But Тò đảy, mí hắt dườn $d\bar{u}$ dàu đeo. OP Aux V V N Pr Aux V PrVbl Vbl Per PrVbl Vbl Cap VG NF VG P Nom Clause ИЪ Nuc M NF Mom ΝP S Clause Opnr PrH Η Sentence ME 13 The children still go to school, too. All child also still go study letter. Κí nhằng pây luc cung slon slu. Num N Aux Aux VŊ N PrVbl Vbl Nuc PrVbl Vbl Nuc VG NFNFNom Nom

Nom Nom
NP
S
P
Clause
H
Sentence

ME 14 How much work can just one person do? go work well few much. Only one person one qa'y ki-lai. nơng pây hắt môt cần Tan Adj A \mathbf{V} V Num Num Num N Cap Intens Vbl Vbl Nuc M Q Q NFVG NomNP S р. Clause Η Sentence

ME 15
If you hire someone, then you will spend all your money.
Hire person then all-gone money.

Có	cần,	dū	thuốn	chen.
Λ	N	Aux	V	$\bar{\mathbf{N}}$
Vbl	Nuc	PrVbl	Vbl	Nuc
VG	NF'		VG	NE
	Nom			Nom
	$\overline{\mathrm{N}\mathrm{B}}$			$\overline{ ext{NP}}$
P	0		P	0
Cla	ause		Clause	
	PrH		H	
	Ç	ontonao		

Sentence

ME 16 Ah, we must work like this. acceptable work like this đảy hắt pàn nay ní. À, OP V V V Dem Vbl Deic VG NF Nom NP 0 Clause Vbl Vbl Cont VG P Clause Fin Opnr Sentence

•		work, you have no food. then not have cook eat.					
TO 1.	work	tnen		not	nave	COOK	ear.
Mí	hắt,	dū	(à)	mí	mì	hung.	-kin.
Aux	V	Aux		Aux	Λ	M	
PrVbl	Vbl	PrVbl		PrVbl	Vbl	Nuc	
VG		VG				NF'	
P						Nom	
Clause						ΝP	
		P				0	
		Clause					
PrH		H					
Sentence							

ME 18 When you get down to work and it's left unfinished like this, it's very hard. unfinished like this hard very When work down go then do-do-dang-dang pan näy kho Bắt hắt lồng pây $\mathrm{d}\ddot{\mathrm{u}}$ lai ló. \overline{N} V V Aux V Dem Num \mathbf{FP} $\frac{\text{Vbl}}{\text{VG}}$ Vbl Deic NF $\frac{\text{Nom}}{\text{NP}}$ Clause Cont Clause Vbl Cont Adv Intens Pр PrVbl Clause VG Nuc M NF Nom NPL P Clause Fi.n Η Sentence

ME 19
It's also a waste.
Also waste.

Cung nhuc.
Aux V

PrVbl Vbl

VG

P

Clause H Sentence

PrH

But now, what can you do? how acceptable. But now do like Tò cơ-này hắt pan đảy. dù-hau OP ΙP V Α. Dem Vbl VG Deic मुष Nom NΡ 0 Clause Vbl Cont Cap VG P Clause H Opnr Intr Sentence You have been to work. Past-tense go work pây hắt Ðа dé Aux V V FP PrVbl Vbl Vbl VG Ъ Clause Fin H Sentence ME 22a However far it is, you have to bear it. also far must bear phải Quây quây chiu cung V V FP Aux Aux PrVbl PrVbl Vbl Vbl ۷G Ŗ Clause Clause

> H Sentence

Fin

```
ME 55p
What more can you do?
          how acceptable more.
   like
                    đay
Hất pần
          dù-haư
                              thêm.
           Dem
                              Ter
           Deic
    Vbl
           NF
           Nom
           NP
            0
       Clause
                              Clo
        Cont
Vbl
                    Cap
                VG
            Clause
                Η
           Sentence
When anyone gets down to work, if he doesn't have a lot, he has a
little.
Work down go
               he
                     not
                           have
                                  much
                                               also
                                                     have
                                                            little.
                                          he
                           đảy
     lồng pây, mân
                                                      đảy
Hắt
                                          mân cung
                       mi
                                  lai,
                                                            noi.
 V
                 Pr
                       Aux
                            V
                                  Num
                                          Pr
                                               Aux
                                                       Ų
                                                            Num
                 Per PrVbl Vbl
                                 Intens
                                          Per PrVbl
                                                     Vb.L
                                                            Intens
     VG
                 NF
                                          NF
                                                       VG
                 Nom
                                          Nom
                                          NP
    Clause
                 NP
                  S
                                           S
           Cont
                        Clause
                                                  Clause
   Clause
     PrH
                          PrH
                                                    H
                         Sentence
ME 24
That's how it is.
Then also like that
            pần
 \overline{Du}
       tú
                  nân
                        lo.
Aux
              V
                  Dem
       Aux
                        \mathbf{FP}
PrVbl PrVbl Vbl
                  Deic
      VG
                  NF
```

 \mathbb{N} om \overline{NP} 0 Clause Fin H Sentence

```
So then if you work you've got to stick at the job.
                    work self continue
              self
                                            job work
      nay
Pàn
                    hắt
                                    сú
              dàu
                          dàu
                                            viêc-hắt ló.
 V
                                               V
                                                      \mathbf{FP}
       Dem
              Pr
                      V
                          Pr
                                    Aux
                                              Vbl
                                   PrVbl
Vbl
       Deic
              Per
                     Vbl
                          Per
VG
       NF
              NF
                     VG
                          NF
                                           VG
       Nom
              Nom
                          Nom
       NP
              NP
                          NP
                            S
                                           P
               S
                                    Clause
  Clause
                Clause
                                                     Fin
   PrH
                 PrH
                                      Η
                     Sentence
```

ME 26 Much or little, it's your own. is possession self Have much have little also đay Đảy dú-ve. รนิ hú dâu lai noi cung FΡ V Num V Num Aux V N Pr Vbl Intens Vbl Intens PrVbl Per VG VG NF Mom Clause Clause \overline{NP} Nuc M NP 0 Clause PrH PrH Fin H

Sentence

ME 27a You spend your effort and your energy. lose work lose strength \mathtt{self} also go. But tốc deng tốc рâу. Ϋ́O dâu công cung Aux V N \mathbb{N} OP PrPrVbl Vbl Nuc Nuc Per NF VG NF NF Nom Nom Nom $\overline{ ext{NP}}$ NP NP 0 S Vbl Clause 0 Clause PoH Η Opnr Sentence

```
ME 27b
If you don't have much to eat, you have a little.
                         also have eat
 Not have eat
                 much
                                            little,
        đay kin
                                 đay kin
 Mí.
                  lai
                         cung
                                             noi.
 Aux
         V
             V
                  Num
                           Aux
                                   V
                                       V
                                             Num
PrVbl
        Vbl Vbl Intens PrVbl
                                 Vbl Vbl
                                            Intens
                                    ۷G
          VG
          P
                                    P
                                  Clause
        Clause
         PrH
                                    H
                   Sentence
ME 28
You don't have to worry unduly.
         not
                worry
                       few much
                         ki-lai
         mí
                                    cá.
                lao
 Cung
                 V
 Aux
         Aux
                           Num
                                    FP
                Vbl
PrVbl
        PrVbl
                          Intens
               ۷G
               P
             Clause
                                   Fin
               Η
                Sentence
ME 29
Rain or shine, you have something to eat.
Have rain have fine have
                                 acceptable eat
                                     đay
 Mì
             mì
                        mì
                              tê
      p'ân
                  đét
                                              kin
                                                     ne.
 V
        V
             V
                   V
                        Λ
                              Aux
                                      V
                                                V
                                                     \mathbf{F}\mathbf{P}
Vbl
       Vbl
           Vbl
                 Vbl
                        Vbl
                             PrVbl
                                     Vbl
                                              Vbl
     VG
                        VG
               VG
                                       VG
               P
                                       P
                                    Clause
  Clause
              Clause
                        P
                            Clause
                                                    Fin
    PrH
               PrH
                              Η
                    Sentence
ME 30
That's how it is.
 Then
        also
               like
                      that
  Dū
         tú
               pân
                       nân
                              á.
  Aux
        Aux
                V
                       Dem
                             FP
                      Deic
PrVbl PrVbl
               Vbl
          VG
                       NF
                       Nom
                       NP
                        0
            Clause
              Η
                            Fin
          Sentence
```

Chapter 9

TEXT PH

- PH la Now I'll talk about a common matter of this world.

 Now talk in common world

 Cơ-này (à) chẳng dú chung thiên-hạ nệ.
- PH 1b I'll talk about the spirits, this spirit and that spirit.

 Talk about matter all spirit, is about spirit what much

 Chang mùa sự kí p'i, là mùa p'i ca-dăng lai,

 about spirit what much.

 mùa p'i ca-dăng lai.
- PH 2a Now I'll begin from the beginning.

 Now talk beginning.

 Cơ-này ní, chẳng đầu-tiên.
- PH 2b The first is the 'p'yan' spirit.

 kind first is animal spirit

 (Là) thứ nhất ní là tua p'i p'yan.
- PH 3 It eats people, you know. It eat animal person

 Nân kin tua cần ní.
- PH 4a If there is someone who knows how to drive it out, then it's a speedy matter.

 Have person know drive-out then well fast.

 Mì cần chắc thep ní, dū đẩy khoái.
- But some people don't know how to drive it out.
 But have person not know drive-out
 To mi can mi chac thep a.
- PH 5a When it has come out, then it returns. It out go already it then return come. Mân óc pây dá, mân thể theo mà
- PH 5b When it comes back, if you drive it out, it will go.
 Come already then drive-out it then change go.

 Ma dá, thè thep mân dū thói pây.
- PH 5c However many times it goes, it will return. Go go it then change return come.

 Pây pây mân dū thói theo mà.

- PH 6 Then it's hard to drive out.
 Time that then hard drive-out

 Bắt nân du khổ thep à.
- PH 7a

 If you look to your own house and its virtue, then there's nothing for you to talk about.

 Is see thing door house virtue self then not talk

 Là ngòi ăn tu-dườn phúc-đức dầu ní, dū mí chẳng ló.
- PH 7b But if your house doesn't have virtue, it will certainly eat you, and after many days you will die.

 But door house self virtue not have it also right

 To (a) tu-dươn dâu (a) phúc-đúc mí mì ní, mân tú sử
 eat long day also right die
 kin, hưng văn tú sử thai vớ.
- PH 8a Now there's also the 'p'yan' spirit.

 Now have animal spirit

 To mi tua p'i p'yan.
- PH 8b It eats you alive, you know. It eat alive

 Mân kin đíp dà-vớ.
- PH 9a For instance, suppose I'm sitting and talking like this. Example of self continuous sit rest converse like this Ví-dụ hông dầu đang-slì năng dú chẳng-cổ pần nấy ló.
- Then it is quite possible for him to come in and eat a person.

 But he also enter eat animal person possible

 To man tu khau kin tua can day vó.
- PH 10 When you notice your head aching a little bit, it's then that it isn't agreeing with you. Time notice thing head ache little then also not Bất. tú mí slay hăn ăn mâu ing dây, dü hua fit with it ngám sáu mân vớ.
- PH 11 If it doesn't kill you, then you've got it to live with.

 Not die also well live with it

 Mí thai tú đẩy dú sấu mân (à) vớ.

- PH 12a But we don't talk widely about it, we don't talk about it.

 But self not talk out come then not talk

 To dau mi chang oc ma ni, du mi chang vo.
- PH 12b
 If you speak about it openly, many friends don't believe it.
 But speak out come friend many people not believe.
 To chang oc ma ní p'i-nong lai can mí slín.
- PH 13 But you must believe it!
 Then also believe.
 Du tú slín.
- PH 14a Now there are some people, you know, who have experienced it, and they believe it.

 But have people well see pass then believe.

 To mi can ní đay han quá du slín.
- But some people have not experienced it, and they don't believe in spirits like that.

 But have people not well see pass then also not believe To mi can mí đẩy hăn quá ní, du tú mí slín animal spirit like that tua p'i pần nận ló.
- PH 15 You must beware of them, you know. Also need must beware

 Tú sày cấn díu (à) vớ.
- PH 16a Whatever I have, it's my lot, that's all.
 Ah! self whatever also is thing lot self finished.
 À, dầu ca-dăng tú sử ăn phúc-phân dầu thôi.
- PH 16b I talk about spirits, but no one has ever seen one. Self talk animal spirit, then not have anyone see.

 Dâu chẳng tua p'i, dū mí mì cơ-nàư hăn.
- PH 17a

 If you are worthy of death, then you will die.

 But thing destiny it worthy die then also die.

 To (à) ăn mìng mân đẳng thai du tú thai.
- PH 17b If you are not worthy of death you will not die. But thing destiny not worthy die, then not die. To an ming mí đảng thai, du mí thai.

- PH 13 And then there are the whirlwind spirits.

 And still have all spirit whirlwind

 To nhang mi ki p'i slương ní.
- PH 19 For instance, I go down the road.

 Instance of self go road.

 Vi-du hông dầu pây tàng.
- PH 20 For instance, whatever happens, it's just your lot.
 Instance whatever also is thing number lot self.

 Ví-du ca-dăng cung là ăn số phúc-phận dầu.
- PH 2la For instance. I go down the road and notice a gust of wind.

 Instance go road self see thing gust gust wind.

 Vi-du pây tàng ní, dầu hăn ăn phá sá lầm.
- PH 21b It spins round.
 Of it make spin rise.
 Hông mân hất quắn khin.
- PH 21c That is, all the dust and dirt flies upwards. Is all rubbish all dirt fly up

 Là kí nhúp-nháp (à) kí tâm bân khin nề.
- Then all the trees shake.

 Then all whatever tree shake shake.

 Du (a) ki ca-dăng may nau nau.
- PH 2le It spins round and goes "Oh...oh".
 It also spin
 Mân tú quắn ôôôô....1
- PH 21f There, that's the whirlwind spirit.
 That that is animal spirit whirlwind
 Nân ní, nân sữ tua p'i slương á.
- PH 22a You must really beware of the whirlwind spirit.

 Animal spirit whirlwind need must beware

 Tua p'i slương say cấn díu á.
- PH 22b But you know, the person who is worthy of a whirlwind spirit eating him, he has to find someone to appease it.

^{1.} This sentence ends with a vowel approximately cardinal 7 and of approximately two seconds duration, gliding steadily in pitch from low to mid.

animal person that he worthy spirit come To (a) ma ni, tua nân ní, mân đẳng p'i cần whirlwind eat then also then seek person come appease dū cần ma khất nè. kin ní. dū tú sa sluong

- PH 22c They can appease it all right.
 Appease well good

 Khất đẩy đây đớ.
- PH 22d It must be on the day appointed.
 Well kind appointed

 Day thứ hen ló.
- PH 22e On the day appointed you must buy all the things and you must make a sacrifice to it for it to be really right.

 Arrive day that arrive thing day appointed that then

 Thâng vần nận, thâng ăn vần hẹn nận ní. dū

 must buy every thing come must sacrifice of it then well good

 phải dự mội mòn mà phải cúng hông mân chíng đẩy đây vớ.
- PH 23 If you don't, then you will have a dangerous time with it.

 Not have then also must dangerous with it

 Ná mì dū tú sày hấu-hiếm sáu mân vớ.
- Ah, you must really beware of the whirlwind spirit.

 Ah animal spirit whirlwind need must beware much

 À, tua p'i slương say cấn díu lai vớ.
- PH 25 We're talking together.
 Self speak with each-other
 Dau chang đuổi căn á.
- PH 26a
 If you don't believe it, you must believe it!
 Not believe also then also believe.
 Mí slín. cung dū tú slín.
- PH 26b

 If you say you don't believe in spirits, what do you believe in?

 Ah speak not believe spirit still believe what

 À. chang mí slín p'i nhàng slín nàư thế.
- PH 27 Yes.

 Right.

 PH 28 That is very true.

 Thing that word thing true really.

 Sữ An nận cầm ăn sử cà-lại.

- PH 29 There is also the neighbourhood spirit.

 Now still is thing spirit neighbourhood.

 To (a) nhang mi an p'i tho.
- PH 30a Now, in this village, everyone holds things in common.

 Now at in village this whoever also also need

 Co-nay niduchang ban nay ni, co-nau cung tu say

 together have.

 say-cha mì.
- PH 30b That is, we build houses together, and everything. Is of self together make house every road.

 Là hông dầu say-cha hắt dườn nề, môi tàng.
- PH 30c We make a shrine for the neighbourhood spirit in the village.

 Self found thing spirit neighbourhood at in village
 Dâu (là) lâp (là) ăn p'i thó dú chang ban ló.
- Day and night it watches everything in our village, and PH 31 doesn't allow any spirit to come or go. Morning night it well watch thing in village self with đuối kham mân đảy ngòi dàu ăn chang ban each-other not give animal spirit any come enter leave. mí p'i ca-lăng mà khấu căn. tua
- PH 32a The spirit in the neighbourhood is surely good.

 Animal spirit in neighbourhood also also right good

 Tua p'i dú thó ní cụng tú sử đây vớ.
- PH 32b It doesn't interfere with anyone else.
 Also also right it not discord ransack of them

 Cung tú sữ mân mí lạp-lùn chắo-nạo hông hâu ní.
- PH 33a The neighbourhood spirit is certainly good. Spirit neighbourhood also right good.

 P'i thó tú sử đây.
- Because everyone has concern for one another, we have things in common, that's how it is.

 Because every person has heart every person has stomach

 Boi-vì môi cần mì slim, môi cần mì tọng

^{2.} This sentence was spoken with great hesitation, and neither the structure nor the meaning are quite clear.

with each-other is of self together each-other is have thing đuổi căn, là hông dầu sẩy-cha căn, là mì ăn thing like that already mòn pần nận dá ló.

- PH 34 There is also the 'lòi' spirit.
 And still have spirit
 Tò nhằng mì p'i lòi.
- PH 35 You have to beware of that one.

 Animal that right need must beware.

 Tua nận sử sày cấn díu.
- PH 36a That one, the 'lòi' spirit, you must beware of.

 Animal that animal spirit also also need must

 Tua nận ní, tua p'i lòi ní, cụng tú sày cần
 beware much animal that

 díu lai vớ, tua nận vớ.
- PH 36b How is that?

 Because like how

 Vì pan had ní.
- PH 37a It's the 'lòi' spirit, you know!
 It also right animal spirit
 Mân tú sữ tua p'i lòi về.
- PH 37b How could you not need to beware of it?

 Do what not need beware.

 Hắt lăng mí cấn díu.
- PH 38 That one eats people, and makes them more and more sleepy. Animal that eat people more increase listen rest

 Tua nận ní kin cần ní, khẳng phát thẳng dú đèo.
- PH 39 You must really beware of it.

 Need must beware much

 Say can diu lai vó.
- PH 40a Don't talk about it.
 Not speak
 Mi chang a.

- PH 40b The 'lòi' spirit you must really beware of.
 Animal spirit need must beware much
 Tua p'i lòi sày cấn díu lai vớ.
- PH 41a Now there still remains the temple spirit.

 And now still remain animal spirit temple

 Tò (à) cơ-này ní nhằng dú tua p'i chùa ní.
- PH 11b But that's very good. But particularly good. To nhất-hang đây.
- PH 42 The temple spirit is really a good one.

 Animal spirit temple then then right good.

 Tua p'i chùa dū chíng sử đây.
- PH 43 Why is it good?
 Good is because like how
 Đây là vì pần haư ní.
- When it's a holiday or a feast day all of us go and make sacrifices to it.

 All person of self time day holiday day feast person

 Kí cần hông dầu bắt vằn nèn vằn lệ, cần person also right go sacrifice it

 cần tú sữ pây cúng mân cơ.
- PH 45
 We go to the ceremony, you know.
 Go ceremony
 Pây lệ cơ.
- PH 46a Now when we go to the ceremony, we must find good words to speak.

 Now go ceremony self must speak conversation is take

 To pây lệ ní, dầu phải chẳng chuyện, là au all word good come speak

 kí cầm đây mà chẳng (à) vớ.
- PH 46b But to speak things which aren't good in the temple isn't very good at all.

 But speak all thing speech not good at in temple

 To chang ki mon chuyện mi đây ni dú chang chùa also not ? good few much

 cụng mi slày đây ki-lai vờ.

- PH 47a But as to good people or bad people, it surely knows.
 But animal man good animal man bad of it also know.
 To tua can day tua can sau, hong man cung chac.
- PH 47b We enter the temple.

 Of self enter temple go.

 Hông dầu khẩu chùa pây.
- PH 47c We have incense, sticks and gold.

 Self have incense have stick have gold.

 Dau mi hương, mi lạp, mi vàng.
- PH 47d We go to the ceremony to burn incense, and then enter. Self go ceremony burn incense then enter go.

 Dâu pây lê tam hương, lai khẩu pây.
- PH 48a That is to say, where the temple spirit is you must be good. that is at spirit temple then right good.

 (Là) tức là dú p'i chùa chíng sữ đây.
- PH 48b If I go in and see any nice things in the temple, I must not steal them.

 Self enter go self see thing any good at in temple that Dâu khẩu pây, dâu hăn mòn dăng đây dú chang chùa nận self not eat steal it.

 ní. dầu mí kin lặc mân.
- PH 48c I mustn't take anything from the temple, even if I see good things, such as money on top of the temple altar. Self not take anything at in temple ignore see anything Dau mi au ca-dăng du chang chùa, mặc-kệ hăn ca-dăng good silver money at on thing table temple that đây, ngân-chèn du tèng ăn bàn chùa nân ni.
- PH 48d I mustn't take them, to be truly an honest person.
 But self also not take, then right animal person
 To dau tú mí au, chíng sữ (à) tua can vò.
- PH 49 Now a covetous person, a person whose heart is not good, who, if he sees anything in the temple, anything good, he takes it, oh, that person is not good.

 But animal person covetous animal person heart not good

 To tua can slim-tham, tua can slim mí đây (á),

is he see anything at in temple thing thing anything good he là mân hăn ca-dăng dú chang chùa, ăn mòn ca-dăng đây, mân take oh then right animal person that not good au ní, (ơi) dū sử tua cần nận mí đây lo.

- PH 50
 So then the temple spirit knows.

 Like then spirit temple he know

 Pan du p'i chùa mân chắc vớ.
- PH 51 The temple spirit surely knows.

 Spirit temple also know

 P'i chùa cụng chắc à.
- PH 52 Ah, that person isn't good.
 Ah animal person that not good.
 À, tua cần nân ní mí đây.
- PH 53 That person isn't good, he's ready to steal.

 He animal person that not good ready eat steal.

 Mân (à) tua cần nận mí đây, hay kin lặc.
- PH 54

 If I am in the temple and have anything, he takes it.

 I have at in temple have anything he also still take

 Ngò mì dú chang chùa, mì ca-dăng, mân tú nhằng au về.
- PH 55a

 He takes what belongs to the temple spirit, let it be known!

 Also still take possession animal spirit? talk

 Tú nhằng au của tua p'i về chẳng à.
- PH 55b So then, people in the village, or anywhere, must not steal. So-then is all people at in village or at place any Hóa-mà, là kí cần dú đâng bắn hay-là dú thị tàư they not go steal mân mí pây lặc á.
- PH 56 People like that are not good.

 All people like that then not good

 Ki can pan nan du mi đây ló.
- PH 57a You need to beware.

 Must beware

 Cân diu á.

- PH 57b You must also beware of the temple spirit.

 Animal spirit temple also need beware.

 Tua p'i chùa cung cấn díu.
- PH 57c But it only watches.
 But it also right watch come finish.
 To man cung su ngoi ma thôi.
- PH 57d It's nothing really.
 Also not have anything.
 Cung mi mì dăng.
- PH 58

 Now as to the ancestral spirits in your house, they are good.

 Now animal spirit ancestor house self also also need good.

 To tua p'i pâu-pú dườn dầu ní cụng tú sày đây.
- PH 59 Why is it good?
 Good because like how
 Dây vì pàn dù-hau ní.
- Because if you have children and grandchildren, night and day you offer incense, then the ancestral spirit is good.

 Because self have child have grandchild morning evening

 Bởi-vì dầu mì lục mì lan, naư khẳm

 self burn incense up go then spirit ancestor of self then good

 dầu tam hương khin pây. dū p'i pấu-pú hông dầu du đây dú-vè.
- PH 61 All of them like that are good. Several all like that then good

 Nhưng kí pần nân dū đây dú-vè.
- PH 62 If God helps you, you have nothing bad to speak of.

 Now still have Mr. sky do for then not speak

 To (a) nhang mi p'o pha hat hu ni, du bu chang day.
- PH 63a So there are all these kinds of spirits, but whatever kinds of spirits there are, they are really all good. But still have all spirit that come leave all kind To (à) nhằng mì kí p'i nận, mà kệ các thứ spirit anything also good.
 - p'i ca-dăng tú đây.
- PH 63b If you know how to sacrifice to them, you know how to appeare them, then you are...if your lot is not to die, then they are nothing but good.

Is of self know sacrifice know appease of them is of Là hông dầu chắc cúng, chắc khất hông mân ní, là hông them also also right thing lot of self not die they also also mân cụng tú sữ... ăn số-phận hông dầu mí thai, mân cụng tú good only.
đây thôi.

- But if it's your lot to die, you don't need to be bitten by the spirits.

 But thing lot of self die not need animal spirit bite.

 To (à) ăn số-phận hông dầu thai, mí sày tua p'i khốp.
- PH 64b If you're on the road and stub your toe, you will die, it will be enough to kill a person.

 Speak self still road then stub-toe also still die Chang dau nhang tang ve, du tong-dut tu nhang thai a, also still die person tu nhang thai can a.
- PH 65a There is no need to say anything.

 Not right speak speak

 Mí sử chẳng à, chẳng à.
- PH 65b Everything just depends on your fate.
 But thing whatever also is thing fate only.
 To an ca-dang tu su an ming thoi.
- PH 65c So I've just said those things. Then speak all like that only.

 Du chang ki pan nan thôi.
- PH 66

 If one doesn't believe, he must believe.

 Now self not believe he also also believe.

 To (à) dâu (à) mí slín. mân cung tú slín.
- PH 67 Ah, that's how it is. Ah like this
 À. pần nấy cơ.
- PH 68 Whether I say this correctly or incorrectly, you friends must consider.

^{3.} The voice fades out during the word \underline{su} .

I speak like that right or not right friend check come Ngò chẳng pần nận ní, sữ hay-là mí sữ, p'ĩ-nọng luận mà ló.

- PH 69a We tell each other it is right.

 Self change each-other tell right.

 Dau thói to ca sū.
- PH 69b What you say is very true.

 Speak like that also also right.

 Chang pan nan cung tu su.
- PH 70 In the area of the Tho people, there is this kind of situation with regard to spirits.

 But at thing locality all people Tho then also then To (a) dú ăn địa-p'ương kí cần Thổ ní, dū tú dū have arrive that animal spirit

 mì thâng nận tua p'i dầy-cơ.
- PH 71a But as to there being many spirits in various places, there certainly are.

 But speak many animal spirit many at place any then To (à) chang lai tua p'i ní, lai dú thi tàu, dū also have.

 tú mì.
- PH 71b As to the epidemic spirit, you must beware of it.
 But enter spirit epidemic must beware

 To khau p'i thai-da ní. cân díu á.
- PH 72a When your head aches, then it can kill a person.
 Time head ache then also die person
 Bắt hua mầu (à) vớ, dū tú thai cần vớ.
- PH 72b You don't talk about it, the epidemic spirit.

 Not speak animal spirit epidemic.

 Mí chẳng vớ, tua p'i thai-dā.
- PH 73

 I'm not speaking about an epidemic itself.

 Not have epidemic.

 Mí mì (à) thai-da.

- PH 7/1a The epidemic spirit is something you need to beware of.

 Spirit epidemic need must beware

 P'i thai-da say can diu a.
- PH 71b When your head aches, then you'll die.
 Time head ache then die

 Bắt hua mầu ní. dū thai ló.
- Now our Tho people, right or wrong, come to that PH 75a conclusion about the kinds of spirits, and as to saying that there are a lot, well there really aren't. all people Tho us right not right have arrive Thổ ngò ní, sữ mí To (a) kí cần នជិ mi that species animal spirit ? have speak have many then chung tua p'i ní dày mì chang mì nân also not have. mí tú mì.
- PH 75b Now I'm afraid there may be people in some places who have many spirits, and I don't know about it.

 But worry have person at place any worry still have To (a) lo mi can dú thi tau ní, lo nhang mi spirit anything many not know.

 p'i ca-dang lai, mí chác.
- But we Tho people have those spirits I've told you about, and we must really beware of them.

 But all people Tho us is have all spirit arrive that To (a) ki can Tho ngo sữ mì ki p'i thâng nận matter spirit also need must beware

 mòn p'i ní, tú sày cấn díu ló.
- I've talked a fair amount like this, and now I've finished.

 I speak like this improve improve also need finish

 Ngò chẳng pần nẩy tợ tợ, cụng sày thuốn á, like this.

 pần nẩy.

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INDEX

References are given to page numbers.

A Abbreviation for adjunct, q.v.

Adj Abbreviation for adjective, a.v.

Adjectives Operate at modifier element of NF structure, 45-6, 82.

Adjunct Element of clause structure, 12, 102-3.

Adjunct verbs Subclass of verbs, 102-3.

Adv Abbreviation for adverb, q.v.

Adverb Element of verbal group structure, 46, 67-8.

Aux Abbreviation for auxiliary, q.v.

Auxiliaries Operate at preverbal element of VG structure, 47.

Subclassified into orders, 64-5. Orders affect sentence structure, 110.

BA Name of text. 30.

Bach, E. An Introduction to Transformational Grammars, 28, 143.

Bendor-Samuel, J.T. "A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases," 18, 143. "Problems in the Analysis of Sentences and Clauses in Bimoba," 18, 143.

BI Name of text. 30.

BU Name of text. 30.

Cap Abbreviation for capability, g.v.

Capability Element of verbal group structure, A6, 67.

Categories 9ff.

CH Name of text, 30.

Class (1) Abbreviation for classifier, a.v.

Class (2) Fundamental category of grammar. As Halliday defines it. 11. Redefined, 22.

Classifier Element of nominal figure structure, 41, 79-80.

Classifier nouns Subclass of nouns, 79-80

Clause Unit described at primary delicacy, 41ff. At secondary delicacy, 100ff. Operates at prehead, head and posthead elements of sentence structure, 40, 110. Operates at locative (43, 101), subject (43, 101), object (43, 102) and adjunct (43, 102-3) elements of clause structure. Operates at modifier element of NF structure, 46, 83.

Operates at continuation element of VG structure, 47, 67.

Clo Abbreviation for closure, q.v.

Closure Element of verbal group structure, 46, 68.

Compl Abbreviation for complement, q.v.

Complement Element of equative clause structure, Al.

Composite formulae, theory of, 27-9.

Conj Abbreviation for conjunction, q.v.

Conjunctions Operate at link element of NP structure, AA. Subclassified, 97.

"Consists of" Relation between units, 10, 14, 15, 21.

Cont Abbreviation for continuation, q.v.

Continuation Element of verbal group structure, 46, 67.

Count Abbreviation for counter, q.v.

Counter Element of nominal phrase structure, 43, 97.

CU Name of text, 30.

Definite numerals Subclass of numerals, 76-9.

Deic Abbreviation for deictic, g.v.

Deictic Element of nominal figure structure. AA. 75.

Delicacy Scale of abstraction, 13, 33-5.

Dem Abbreviation for demonstrative, a.v.

Demonstratives Operate at deictic (45-6, 75) and identifier (45-6, 83) elements of nominal figure structure.

Dixon, R.M.W. "A Logical Statement of Grammatical Theory," 20, 143.

Element of structure, 11.

Eouative clause, 41.

Exponence Scale of abstraction, 12.

Fin Abbreviation for final, q.v.

Final Element of sentence structure, 38, 110-1.

Final particles Operate at final element of sentence structure, 40. 110-1.

Foc Abbreviation for focus, a.v.

Focus Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.

FP Abbreviation for final particle, q.v.

H Abbreviation for head. g.v.

Halliday, M.A.K. "Categories of the Theory of Grammar," 9ff, 143.

Halliday, M.A.K.. McIntosh, A., Strevens, P. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, 143.

Head Element of sentence structure, 38, 110.

HF Name of text, 30.

Fierarchy 10, 12, 16, 18, 25-7.

Iden Abbreviation for identifier, q.v.

Identifier Element of nominal figure structure.

IL Name of text. 31.

Impl Abbreviation for implement, g.v.

Implement Element of equative clause structure, Al.

Indefinite numerals Subclass of numerals, 68, 76-7, 79.

Intens Abbreviation for intensive, q.v.

Intensive Element of verbal group structure, 46, 48.

Intr Abbreviation for introduction, g.v.

Introduction Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.

Introduction particles Operate at introduction element of sentence structure, 40, 109.

IP Abbreviation for introduction particle, q.v.

KH Name of text. 31.

KI Name of text. 31.

L Abbreviation for locative, g.v.

Link Element of nominal phrase structure, 43, 97.

IM Name of text. 31.

Locative Element of clause structure, 42, 100-1.

Longacre, R.E. Grammar Discovery Procedures, 23-1, 113. "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics," 23-7, 123.

M Abbreviation for modifier, q.v.

ME Name of text. 31.

ML Name of text. 31.

MO Name of text. 31.

Modifier Element of nominal figure structure, AA, 82.

MT Name of text. 31

N Abbreviation for noun, o.v.

NA Name of text, 31.

NF Abbreviation for nominal figure, q.v.

Nom Abbreviation for nominal, g.v.

Nominal Element of nominal phrase structure, 43, 97.

Nominal figure. Unit described at primary delicacy, AAff. At secondary delicacy, 75ff. Operates at implement and complement elements in equative clause structure, Al. Operates at nominal element in NP structure, AA.

Nominal phrase Unit described at primary delicacy, A3ff. At secondary delicacy, 97ff. Operates at prehead element of sentence structure, A0, 110. Operates at locative (43, 100), subject (43, 101) and object (43, 101-2) elements of clause structure. Operates at modifier element of NF structure, A6, 82-3.

Operates at intensive element in VG structure, 47, 68.

Nouns Operate at nucleus (45, 80-1) and classifier (45, 79-80) elements of nominal figure structure.

NP Abbreviation for nominal phrase, q.v.

Nuc Abbreviation for nucleus, q.v.

Nucleus Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 80-1.

Num Abbreviation for numeral, q.v.

Numerals Operate at quantifier element of NF structure, 45, 76-9. Operate at intensive element of VG structure, 47, 68.

O Abbreviation for object, a.v.

Object Element of clause structure, 42, 101-2.

OP Abbreviation for opener particle, a.v.

Opener Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.

Opener particles Operate at opener element, 10, 109.

Opnr Abbreviation for opener, g.v.

Orders of auxiliaries, 65. Orders affect sentence structure, 110. Orthography, explanation of, 5.

P Abbreviation for predicate, q.v.

Parsing Explanation of, 115-7.

Particles, problem of, 16.

Per Abbreviation for person, q.v.

Person Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 75-6.

PH Name of text, 31.

PO Name of text, 31.

PoH Abbreviation for post-head, q.v.

Poss Abbreviation for possessive, q.v.

Possessive Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 75.

Postal, P. Constituent Structure: a Study of Contemporary Models of Syntactic Description, 28, 143.

Post-head Element of sentence structure, 38, 110.

PR Name of text, 31.

Pr Abbreviation for pronoun, q.v.

Predicate Element of clause structure, 42, 101.

Predicative clause, 41ff. See also Clause.

Pre-head Element of sentence structure, 38, 109-10.

Preverbal Element of verbal group structure, 46, 64.

PrH Abbreviation for pre-head, c.v.

Pronouns Operate at person element of NF structure, 45, 75-6.

PrVbl Abbreviation for preverbal, g.v.

PT Name of text, 31.

Abbreviation for quantifier, o.v.

Quantifier Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 76-9.

Rank Scale of abstraction, 12, 14. Analogue of, 21.

RE Name of text, 31.

Refl Abbreviation for reflexive, g.v.

Reflexive Element of verbal group structure, 46, 66-7.

Robins, R.H. General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey, 22, 143.
"Some Considerations on the Status of Grammar in Linguistics," 23, 143.

RP Name of text, 31.

S Abbreviation for subject, a.v.

SA Name of text, 31.

Scales of abstraction, 9ff.

Sentence Unit described at primary delicacy, 38ff. At secondary delicacy, 109ff. The sentence as a unit, 22.

SK Name of text, 31.

Stative verbs Subclass of verbs, 66, 67-8.

Structure Fundamental category of grammar, 10.

SU Name of text, 31.

Subject Element of clause structure, 42, 101.

SV Name of text, 31.

Syntax Explanation of term. 36.

System As Halliday uses it, 11. As used in this thesis, 37.

Tagmemics, 23-8.

TE Name of text. 31.

Ter Abbreviation for terminal, a.v.

Terminals Operate at closure element of VG structure, 47, 68.

TH Name of text, 31.

TM Name of text, 31.

TW Name of text. 31.

Unit As Halliday defines it, 10. Omits class nature, 14.

Redefined, 20. Units of Tho, 36. Diagram of inter-

relations of the units, 47-8.

Units Subclass of numerals, 77.

V Abbreviation for verb. a.v.

Vbl Abbreviation for verbal, q.v.

VD Name of text. 32.

Verbal Element of verbal group structure, 46, 65-6.

Verbal group Unit described at primary delicacy. 46ff. At

secondary delicacy, 64ff. Operates at predicate element

of clause structure, 43, 101.

Verbs Operate at verbal (47, 66), continuation (47, 66),

capability (47, 67) and adverb (47, 67-8) elements of

VG structure. Operate at modifier element of nominal

figure structure, 46, 82.

Verbs of motion Subclass of verbs, 66-7.

VG Abbreviation for verbal group, q.v.

WF Name of text. 32.

ZI Name of text, 32.