

NUNG GRAMMAR

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and
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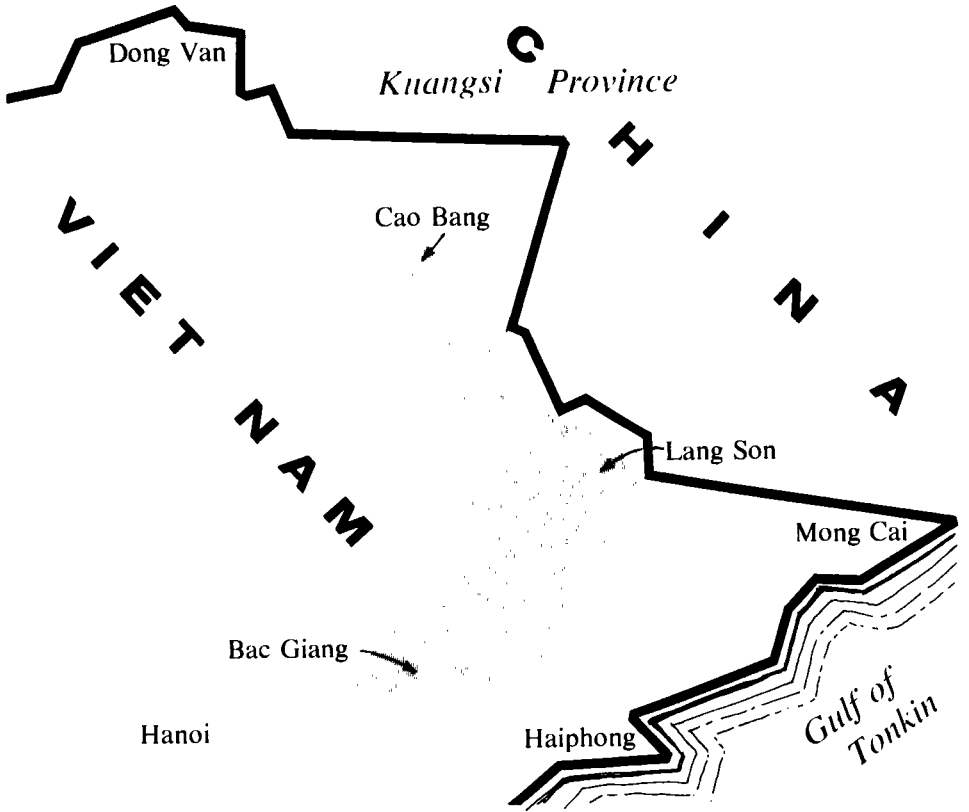
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Abbreviations and Symbols

In the text, capitals indicate a slot or a slot plus class; lower case indicates a class only; and single quotes indicate meanings.

A	Actor	Ext	Extension
AC	Accompaniment	I, Instr	Instrument
Adj	adjective	IndCl	independent clause
Alt	Alternate	Indq	Indirect quote
Anti	Antithesis	IntransCl	intransitive clause
B	Beneficiary	IO	Indirect Object
C	Complement	J	Juncture
C	Consonant	L, Loc	Locative
Cl	Classifier	M, Man	Manner
Cl	clause	Mod	Modifier
Comm	Command	MotionCl	motion clause
Comp	Compared	NH	Noun Head
ComplAct	Completed Action	NP	noun phrase
Con	Connector	Nuc, NUC	Nucleus
Conr	Container	Num	Number
Contd	Contained	O	Object
coord	'coordinator'	OR	Order
CurrAct	Current Action	ord	'ordinal designator'
D	Direction	P	Predicate
DAdd	Direct Address	Par	paragraph
Dem	Demonstrative	part	particle
DesCl	descriptive clause	Ph	phrase
Des VH	Descriptive Verb Head	pl	plural
DirQ	Direct Quotation	Poss	Possessor
Disc	discourse	Prep	Preposition
DV	directional verbal	Pro	Proposal
emph	emphatic particle	Prv, Pre Vb	Preverbal
EqCl	equational clause	Psv	Postverbal
ExistCl	existence clause	Q	Quote
Exp	Expansion	QI	Quotation Introducer

Qual	Quality	SP	sentence-closing particle
Recap	Recapitulation	SubsAct	Subsequent Action
recip	reciprocal	T	tone
RedCl	reduced clause	T, Tem	Temporal
rel	Relative Marker	TrCl, TransCl	transitive clause
S, Sent	sentence	V	Vowel
S, Subj	Subject	Var	Variant
SC	Shared Component	VH, VbHd	Verb Head
SF	sentence-functor particle	+	plus juncture
SI	sentence-introducing particle		single bar juncture
SimSen	simple sentence		double bar juncture
SimulAct	Simultaneous Action	#	double plus juncture
SO	Source		



Preface

This grammar is largely a tagmemic description of the Nùng language. It includes a phonemic description and an analysis of noun and verb phrases, clauses, and sentences.

We started studying the Nùng language in the village of Nam Sơn, Tuyên Đức province, in southern Vietnam in 1963. Until early 1968 it was possible to live in the village and to collect data in its cultural context, but since 1968 the collection of all data has been through the help of an informant living outside the village, sometimes at linguistic workshops.

This description is largely based on the speech of people from Bắc Giang, but a comparison with Nùng speech from Lạng Sơn showed no significant grammatical differences. The phonemic analysis is based on Bắc Giang speech. Most of the cited examples are taken from recorded text material, largely legends.

The analysis was facilitated by the use of a concordance made by an IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma from text material collected in Nam Sơn. The computer concordance was made by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Oklahoma Research Institute under the sponsorship of National Science Foundation grant GS-270.

We are grateful to Hứa Văn Slén, our main language informant, for helping us tape the stories later used for the concordance; to Hứ Thị Thềm for her information about the phonology and grammar; and to Vy Thị Bé for help on phonology.

We are indebted to Robert Longacre and William Merrifield of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and to Henry Lee Smith, Jr., of the State University of New York at Buffalo for encouragement and assistance. Elisabeth Preisig and Annick Levi of the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-est et le Monde Insulinien assisted in finding and checking bibliographic items.

Nancy Freiburger Wilson wrote the basic drafts on phonology, clause, and sentence; Janice Saul wrote on noun phrase and verb phrase. David Thomas aided with fairly extensive drafting and rewriting of several chapters. The clause and sentence sections were originally an M.A. thesis for the State University of New York at Buffalo.

The outlook and terminology throughout the volume is basically tagmemic with emphasis on the string and hierarchy structures of the language. Occasional comments are made about transforms of certain structures. Opportunity did not permit the inclusion of higher-level phonological and grammatical structures.

Positions in a structure may be legitimately viewed alternatively as involving items filling slots in a linear string, or as items manifesting points (tagmemes) in a basically semantic, nonlinear structure. In certain descriptive contexts the position-filler point of view seemed more appropriate; in other contexts the tagmeme-manifestation point of view seemed more appropriate. These shifts of viewpoint, while still reflecting the same objective material, may be observed in the terminology throughout the volume.

1 Introduction

The name “Nùng” has been used to refer to a variety of closely related and unrelated dialects in the Vietnam-China border areas. A dialect of rural Chinese closely related to Cantonese is often called Nùng, especially in Vietnam; speakers of this dialect we will refer to as “Chinese Nùng.” (It has sometimes been said that these were Chinese laborers who came to Vietnam to work in the early twentieth century, and that for reasons of international diplomacy the French authorities preferred to call them *Nùng* ‘tribal people’, rather than Chinese. The Saigon Chinese also sometimes call themselves Nùng.) The name Nùng is also used for the Tai dialects usually called Thờ or Tày, which are linguistically very close to what we are calling Nùng proper. This larger grouping, including the Thờ and Nùng proper, is apparently the basis of Savina’s (1924) dictionary and the recent (1974) dictionary compiled by Hoàng Văn Ma, Lục Văn Pao, and Hoàng Chi.

1.1 Language setting

Nùng proper, which is the subject of this grammar, is sometimes referred to by the Thờ as Nùng Fan Sling. It is composed of at least three very similar dialects: Nồng, centered in Lạng Sơn; Phen, in Bắc Giang; Sai, in Cao Bằng. Li’s (1940) Lungchow Tai appears to be almost identical lexically with these three dialects, but is tonemically somewhat different. Lạng Sơn Thờ has fairly high mutual intelligibility with the Nùng from the Lạng Sơn area (Nồng).

Population reports on the Nùng are difficult to assess, owing to the confusion in names, the difficulty of tribal censuses, and the international boundary running through the area. Savina (1924:v) gives 300,000 for the total, with 200,000 in Kwangsi, Kweichow, and Yunnan, and 100,000 in Vietnam. It is not clear whether his figures are intended to include the Thờ. North Vietnamese sources (NNCDT 1959:242–43) report 437,019 Thờ (Tày) and 270,810 Nùng, but it is not clear whether these figures separate out the Chinese Nùng.

Nùng is clearly a member of the Tai (Thai, Daic) language family. Haudricourt (1967:165–82) places Nùng with Thờ as the components of his Tày language group, which in turn is coordinate with the Thai (Siamese, Lao, White Tai, etc.) group, within the larger Thai group, which in turn is coordinate with

Chuang and Cao-lan. Li (1959:21) classifies Thò, Nùng, and Lungchow Tai as Central Tai languages in contrast with the Northern Tai languages (Chung-chia, Chuang, etc.), Southern Tai languages (Siamese, Shan, Lao, etc.), and Kam-Sui languages. Voegelin and Voegelin (1965:6–14) adopt a simple grouping of the Tai languages into Southwestern (Siamese, Shan, Lao, etc.), Central (Thò, Nùng, Kadai), and Northern (Kam, Sui, Chuang, Dìoi, etc.). LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave (1964:187–90) confess the difficulty of making an adequate classification of the Tai groups, so resort to a mainly geographical (with cultural implications) grouping: Western (Shan, Ahom), Southern (Siamese, Khorat, Pak), Central Mekong (Nứa, Lứ, Lao, etc.), Central Upland (Phuthai, Phuan, White Tai, etc.), and Eastern (Chung-chia, Thò, Nùng, etc.).

1.2 Historical setting

The history of the Nùng, like that of most tribal peoples, has not been well documented. But Savina (1924:ii–iv) and Schrock et al. (1972:365–71) trace several likely threads. Their ancestors were among the Tai-speaking groups living in the Yangtze and Si Giang river basins in the third millenium B.C. Around 2300 B.C. the Chinese crossed the Yangtze from the north, conquering or pushing before them the Tai peoples, concentrating them in what is now southern China. The Chinese reached the Si Giang area in the third century B.C., and in 111 B.C., despite the efforts of the Vietnamese and Tai, captured Nam Viet (Canton). But throughout the next millenium the Tai groups, especially the Nùng, continued to rebel against the Chinese at every opportunity. Lunet de Lajonquière (1904 quoted in Savina 1924) cites Tai revolts in A.D. 780–794, 816, 821, and 822. The principal Tai tribes at that time were the Quei, Chàu, Hoàng, and Nùng. The Nùng lived mainly in western Kwangsi and Kwangtung, including adjacent mountainous regions of Vietnam (Giao Chi). Apparently one of their main centers was the upper basin of the Bang Giang River (then known as the Yo Le); this region had formerly been the kingdom of Ba Thuc, but in A.D. 242 was attached by the Chinese to their Giao Chàu military region and called Chàu Quang Uyên (Quang Nguýên).

In 939 the Nùng of Quang Uyên threw off the Chinese yoke and declared themselves an independent kingdom, though the Vietnamese claimed nominal suzerainty. About a century later, in 1038, the Nùng chief Nùng Tôn Phúc declared full independence from the Vietnamese, so the Vietnamese king intervened and carried off the Nùng chief to Giao Chi. In 1041 his son (stepson?) Nùng Tri Cao aroused the tribes and had himself proclaimed king of Ta Li (Dai Lich). His kingdom didn't last long, and he was soon captured by the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese, following Chinese practice, tried to win him and his people over by sending him back to Nùng country as their vassal ruler. Nùng Tri Cao, however, once he got home, refused the Vietnamese gifts and titles and set about organizing a new uprising. In 1053, at the head of an army of Tai tribespeople from both sides of the border, he descended from the mountains, burning his villages behind him to prevent any thought of return, and killing all Chinese officials, soldiers, and merchants that he met. Reaching Canton, and maintaining

a two-month siege of it, he had himself proclaimed king of the Great South (Đại Nam). But the Chinese and Vietnamese armies combined against him, and many of his supporters deserted him. His efforts then to arrange a treaty that would leave him as a vassal king failed, so he fled to Yunnan (Nan Chao) and the upper Mekong valley. In 1057 other Nùng chiefs resumed the fight, but halfheartedly, and quickly made peace with the Chinese, incorporating their land into the Chinese empire and becoming dutiful Chinese citizens. This was the end of the independence movements among the Tai groups of the Si Giang basin. (Much of the preceding information is taken from Savina's quotation [1924:iii-iv] from Lunet de Lajonquière and Ma Tuan Lin.) Since then the Nùng have lived on the China-Vietnam frontier in relatively peaceful coexistence with both neighbors.

1.3 Cultural setting

The Nùng are highly regarded as hard-working, dependable, enterprising people and are sought after as soldiers and bodyguards. Apparently they have displaced other Tai people in parts of northern Vietnam. They have a saying, "We Nùng came here walking and carrying our firewood, but the Tày came riding on horses; now the roles are reversed" (Savina 1924:v).

Various subdivisions of the Nùng have been named by Savina (1924:v) by LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave (1964:236), and by Schrock et al. (1972:366), most of the names being place names in China. It is not known how closely these subdivisions correspond to any linguistic reality. These subgroups (all cited from northern Vietnam) include the Nùng Ing, Nùng An, Nùng Lôi, Nùng Fàn Sling, Nùng Chan, Nùng Chao, Nùng Tung (Nùng Xuong), and Nùng Qui-rin. This grammar represents the speech of the Nùng Fàn Sling. Typical Nùng (Tày) family names include Vy, Nông, Lý, Fan, Hứa, and Tãng. Prominent Thờ family names include Phu and Hứa; and prominent White Tai family names include Đèo and Lò.

The Nùng have lived in proximity to the Chinese for two millenia and have been loyal Chinese citizens for one millenium, to which their speech and writing bear ample evidence. A glance at Savina's dictionary shows the overwhelming majority of the entries have related Cantonese forms, though the word order within phrases is frequently different. In Vietnam the Nùng sacrificial priests study Chinese characters and use them in their rites, but spoken Chinese is not generally understood by the Nùng people in Vietnam today unless they have lived with Chinese people or have soldiered with them.

In northern Vietnam (before 1954) some Nùng children went to Chinese schools, but since the Nùng are a farming people to whom an education was not considered necessary, most did not finish school. In 1954 many Nùng refugees came south and settled in Nam Sơn (Tuyên Đức province) and in Long Khánh province. Many of their children now attend Vietnamese schools, and so perhaps more will complete at least an elementary education. Perhaps Vietnamese schooling, as well as living in closer proximity to the Vietnamese, has contributed to the increase in borrowings from Vietnamese into Nùng. There has been very little French influence on Nùng.

1.4 Orthographic setting

Chinese characters are often seen around Nùng villages and in Nùng homes, but literacy in Nùng via Chinese characters does not seem to be a common concept.

Some primers were introduced in northern Vietnam (around 1960) in Tày-Nùng dialects, using a romanized alphabet, but it is not clear how widely they were used. Tones were marked using the Vietnamese diacritics, but the long/short contrast is indicated by doubling the vowel rather than by using a breve in the Vietnamese fashion.

Savina's dictionary (1924) generally follows Vietnamese spelling principles. He recognizes only five tones in Nùng, so doesn't use the *ngã* (˜). He distinguishes between slightly aspirated stops (*kh*) and strongly aspirated stops (*k'*). The lateral fricative he writes *xl*. The only short vowels he distinguishes are *ă* and *â*.

The dictionary of Hoàng Văn Ma, Lục Văn Pào, and Hoàng Chi (1974) reflects current spellings in northern Vietnam, as used in books and newspapers. It follows Vietnamese spellings generally, but adds *f* and *sl*. The introduction mentions a *t'*, but the body of the dictionary doesn't appear to have used it. (Is it perhaps a carry-over from Savina's spellings?) For the low back vowel, *oo* is used before velars, following the Vietnamese convention. Palatalized labials are written *bj*, *mj*, *pj*, and *phj*. The only short vowels distinguished are *ă* and *â*, as in Vietnamese.

This grammar uses a spelling system developed in southern Vietnam in the last few years. Prior to 1975, this orthography was used in primers and other materials, but as yet it has had no chance to be disseminated very widely. Several scripture portions (see Bibliography) have been published using this spelling system.

Li (1940) uses a phonetic transcription, a spelling intended for linguists, not for popular use.

Besides the dictionaries of Savina and Ma, other linguistic studies of Nùng include Freiberger on phonemes (1966) and on clause and sentence (1970); and Saul on classifiers (1965). More recently a booklet of conversational lessons (Saul and Vy Thj Bé, 1974), a vocabulary (Wilson and Bé 1976), and a dictionary in manuscript (Vy Thj Bé, Wilson, and Saul 1976) have appeared.

2 Phonology

Phonological words in Nùng are monosyllabic, as are also most morphemes, though there are a few disyllabic morphemes. Syllables have the form CV(C)T±C; that is, they have an initial consonant, a vowel, and a tone, and may have a final consonant. There are no consonant clusters or vowel clusters. The description given here is that of the Nồng (Bác Giang) dialect.

2.1 Consonants

There are twenty-four consonants and semivowels (or twenty-one if /w y ɨ/ are combined with /v ʒ h/, respectively). They are /p t ʔ k ʔ, ph th kh, b d, f s ʔ h, v l ʒ, w y ɨ, m n ñ ng/ (see Table 2). Of these, all but the semivowels w, y, and ɨ occur as initial consonants. In final position, only the unaspirated stops /p t k/, the nasals /m n ng/, and the semivowels /w y ɨ/ occur. Final /ɨ/ is very restricted, occurring only after short /a/.

The approximate phonetic value of these consonants and the spelling system used for them are listed in Table 1. Their arrangement within the Nung phonemic system is illustrated in Table 2.

2.2 Vowels

There are fifteen vowels, with length contrasts in six of nine positions (see Table 4). All fifteen vowels occur in closed syllables, but only the nine long vowels occur in open syllables. The high vowels are usually short, but there are just enough examples of long high vowels (some of them loans from Vietnamese) to force the writing of a length contrast. No examples of long *u* in closed syllables have yet been found, but the precedent of *i* and *u* would lead us to expect some to show up eventually (see Table 6).

The approximate phonetic value of these vowels and the spelling system used for them are listed in Table 3. Their phonemic system is given in Table 4.

TABLE I

NUNG CONSONANT PHONEMES, WITH THEIR PHONETIC VALUE AND ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLIZATION

Phoneme	Pronunciation	Orthography
/p/	[p]	p
/p ^h /	[p ^h]	ph
/b/	[ʔb]	b
/f/	[f]	f
/v/	[v]	v
/w/	[w]	o after long vowels u after short vowels
/m/	[m]	m
/t/	[t]	t
/t ^h /	[t ^h]	th
/d/	[ʔd]	đ
/s/	[s]	s
/ʃ/	[ʃ]	sl
/l/	[l]	l
/n/	[n]	n
/č/	[tʃ]	ch
/ž/	[ʒ]	d
/y/	[i]	y after short vowels i after long vowels
/ñ/	[ñ]	nh
/j/	[w]	ư changes to h (only after a)
/k/	[k]	k before front vowels c elsewhere
/k ^h /	[k ^x]	kh
/ng/	[ŋ]	ng
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	unmarked
/h/	[h]	h

Examples of initial contrasts: pa.y 'offer to spirits', pha.y 'straight row', ba.y 'lesson', fa.y 'to row', va.y 'buffalo', mà.y 'widow', ta.y 'help sit up', thà.y 'dead', dá.y 'nothing', sa.y 'cut', ɬa.y 'sand', la.y 'spotted', na.y 'mist', cá.y 'to fast', ža.y 'hand to someone', ña.y 'slow eater', ka.y 'itch', khà.y 'sell', nga.y 'lunch', ʔà.y 'oh!', ha.y 'spit out'.

TABLE 2
PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF NUNG CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	č	k	
	p ^h	t ^h		k ^h	
	b	d			ʔ
Oral Continuants	f	s, ʃ			h
	v	l		ʒ	
	w			y, i	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

Examples of final contrasts: táp 'liver', tát 'cut with scissors', ták 'break', tám 'pound with pestle', tán 'hollow stick', táng 'bunker', mảy 'bamboo', maw 'dizzy', mải 'new'.

TABLE 3

NUNG VOWEL PHONEMES, WITH THEIR PHONETIC VALUE AND SYMBOLIZATION

Phoneme	Pronunciation	Orthography
/iː/	[iː]	i
/i/	[i]	ih
/eː/	[eː] in open syllables [e ^o] in closed syllables	ê
/æː/	[æː]	e
/æ/	[ɛ]	eh
/iː/	[uː]	ư
/i/	[ũ]	ưh
/əː/	[əː] in open syllables [ə [^]] in closed syllables	ơ
/aː/	[aː]	a
/a/	[ã] before consonants	ah
/uː/	[u ^o] before /n/ [uː] elsewhere	u
/u/	[ũ]	uh
/oː/	[o ^o] before /n/ [oː] except before /n/	ô
/ɔː/	[ɔː]	o
/ɔ/	[ɔ ^w] before /ng/ [ɔ̃] elsewhere	oh

Examples of vowel contrasts: lɪt (cry of small pig), ít 'grape', žet 'stretch', pæt 'eight', pæt 'duck', tɪk 'put', phək 'white', phək 'to dry', phək 'vegetables', pút 'sexual intercourse', put 'lungs', nòk 'deaf', mək 'reach in hole', mək 'cotton'.

2.3 Tones

The Nồng (Bác Giang) dialect has six contrastive tones; four of them contrast before stops: (1, 4, 6, 3), and all six contrast in all other environments (see Table 5).

Tone 1 (ˊ) is a high-rising tone which starts about mid height and rises.

Tone 2 (ˊ̣) is a high-glottal tone which also starts about mid height and rises, but which usually ends in a glottal stop. Utterance medially it may occur with the glottal, or it may rise to a peak and then fall slightly without the glottal. It does not occur with final stops, and there are very few examples of it with initial aspirated stops.

Tone 3 (unmarked) is a mid-level tone, approximately in the middle of the voice range. It is usually sustained as a level pitch, but may be modified by certain intonational patterns at the end of an utterance.

Tone 4 (ˋ) is a low-rising tone which starts below mid height, usually rising very slightly. After aspirates and sibilants the rise is more pronounced. Glottal initials /b d ʔ/ rarely occur with this tone.

Tone 5 (ˋ̣) is a low-falling tone which starts below mid height and falls slightly. It does not occur with final stops.

Tone 6 (ˋ̣̣) is a low-glottal tone which starts below mid height, sometimes seeming to fall slightly, but at other times remaining level. It may end with a glottal, especially in open syllables, or laryngealization may occur over all voiced phonemes of the syllable.

Examples of tone contrasts: má 'dog', mā 'horse', ma 'come', mà 'soak rice', mà 'adult', mə 'no longer afraid'; mát 'flea', mat (classifier for boards), măt 'conceive', mət 'socks'; mán 'barren woman', măn 'apricot', man 'potato', mản 'sturdy', mản 'bloody dysentery', mạn (plural); púk 'filled to brim', puk 'grapefruit', hỏk 'six', pụk 'tomorrow'.

There is some correlation between vowel length and tone before final stops: with tone 1, the vowel is usually short except after /ng/; with tone 3, the vowel is always short; with tone 4 the vowel is short after aspirates, long after all others; and only with tone 6 are long and short vowels in full contrast before a stop. So although there is clearly a four-tone contrast before stops, the contrast sets are not complete (see Table 6).

2.4 Juncture

Four kinds of juncture may be distinguished: plus, single bar, double plus, and double bar. Plus juncture (+) is the normal connector within phrases and within clauses. A longer pause, the single bar juncture (|), may occur anywhere within the clause when the speaker hesitates about the next item. A single bar juncture may also be used when a tagmeme is not in its usual order within the clause. A single bar juncture may optionally revert to a simple plus juncture.

There are two kinds of terminal juncture. The first is the double plus (#) which represents the normal ending on all declarative sentences; however the last word in the sentence retains its own tone contour.

TABLE 4
PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF NUNG VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	ị i	ị, ị	ụ u
Mid	ẹ	ə̣	ọ
Low	e æ̣	a ạ	ɔ ɔ̣

TABLE 5
NUNG TONES AND THEIR ORTHOGRAPHY

1	2	3	4	5	6
high-rising	high-glottal	mid-level	low-rising	low-falling	low-glottal
/˥˥/	/˥˥̎/	(unmarked)	/˩˩/	/˩˩˥/	/˩˩̎/

With reference to Table 6 (opposite):

Counts based on a dictionary of approximately 5,000 entries

X = 5 or more instances, i.e., solidly attested

1-4 = fewer instances, i.e., less well attested

TABLE 6

CORRELATION BETWEEN VOWEL LENGTH AND TONE BEFORE FINAL STOPS IN NUNG

	Tone 1 /			Tone 3 (unmarked)			Tone 2 ~		
	p t k	m n ng	y w i 0	p t k	m n ng	y w i 0	m n ng	y w i 0	
i	4		X			X		X	
ih	X X X	4 4 X	X	1 1 1	4 X X	3	1 X	3	
ê		4 X X	X X		4 X 3	X X	1 4	3 X	
e	1 1 1	3 X X	X	2	1 X X X	X	1 X 3	X 1	
eh	4 X X	1 X 3		X 3 2	1 X 2		1 3		
u			X			X		X	
uh	1 X X	1 X X		4 X	1 X X		3 1		
o	1	2 X X	X X		1 X X	X X	3 X	2	
a	1 1 2	X X X	X X X	1 2	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	
ah	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X 2	X X 3	
u	2		X		1		X	X	
uh	X X X	X X	1	4 X	X 3 X		3 1 1		
ô	1 1	3 4 X	X X		2 4 4	X X	3 3 3	X	
o	1 1 1	X X X	X	2 3	3 X X	X	1 2 X X	X 1	
oh	3 X X	4 X X		X X X	X 4 X		2 X X		

	Tone 4 ?			Tone 6 .			Tone 5 \		
	p t k	m n ng	y w i 0	p t k	m n ng	y w i 0	m n ng	y w i 0	
i	1		X			X		X	
ih	1 3 2	1 X	4	3 1	4 2 X	2	1 4 X	X	
ê	3 2	X X X	X X	3 X 4	X	X X	3 3 4	3 X	
e	X X X	X X X	X	X X X	3 4 X	X X	4 X X	X	
eh	4 1	1 2 2		2 4	1 1 4		4 1		
u			X			X		X	
uh	2 1	X 4		X 3	X X		2 3		
o	2 X 4	1 X X	X X	3 4 X	1 3 X	X 1	2 4 X	2	
a	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	4 X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	
ah	X 3 X	X X X	X X 3	1	X X X	X X 4	X X X	X X X	
u			X		1		X	X	
uh	2 2 X	X 3 X		X 4 X	X 3 X		X 2 X		
ô	2 X	X X	X X	4 4 X	2 X 4	2 X	2 X 1 4	X	
o	4 X X	4 X X	X 1	X X X	2 X X	X 3	3 X 4 X	4	
oh	1 2 2	4 3 X		X	4 X X		X X X		

The second kind of terminal juncture is the double bar (||). This frequently, but not always, occurs at the end of an interrogative sentence (Sec. 8.18). The interrogative or double bar juncture is manifested by a rising contour on words that have a falling tone, or a falling-rising contour on words that have a mid-level tone. Other tones do not seem to be affected.

This interrogative juncture may superimpose an interrogative contour on the last word of an otherwise declarative sentence, thereby making the sentence interrogative. Thus, if S112 ended with the double plus juncture, it would be a declarative sentence, meaning 'It smells of humans like this'. (Illustrative sentences are presented in Chapter 8 below.) The double bar juncture sometimes occurs on an enumeration particle sentence final (S113).

Unlike the terminal double bar juncture, the nonterminal junctures (+, |) never affect the tone contour of a word within a sentence.

A double plus juncture within a sentence represents an obligatory pause. It usually separates clauses within certain sentence types or is used in the absence of certain connectors. It, too, may have two manifestations: the long definite pause, or the slighter pause represented by the single bar juncture. Whereas the single bar juncture seems to be optional, the single bar variant of the double bar juncture manifests an obligatory occurrence of juncture (i.e., it cannot become just a simple plus juncture).

2.5 Other analyses

Savina's (1924) Nùng is of unstated provenance and is probably a mixture of several dialects. His consonant inventory appears similar to Nồng. He indicates several alternate pronunciations in the preface: *ch* may become *ky* or *khy* (e.g., *chàng*, *kyàng*, *khyàng* 'speak'); *nh* may become *y* (*nhìn*, *yìn* 'avow'); *th* and *kh* may become *h* (*tha*, *ha* 'eye'; *khò*, *cò*, *hò* 'neck'); *sl* may become *l* (*slừn*, *lừn* 'house') or may become *s* (*slang*, *sang* 'bed'); and *khy* may become *s* (*khyòt*, *sòt* 'near').

That there are consonant/semivowel clusters is indicated by words such as *khiang* 'steel', *phêai* 'walk', *kiàng* 'speak', *ngoài* 'outside', *khoay* 'rule', *quai* 'perverse', *pêóng* 'depose'. (Savina appears to use *i* and *y* interchangeably in this position.)

Savina's vowel inventory appears to be identical with Vietnamese, i.e., nine long and two short vowels and three offglides. The major vowel alternation that he mentions is *ư* and *u* becoming long *ư* and long *u* (*lừn*, *lừn* 'house'; *khu*, *khu* 'laugh'); his specification of these as long *ư* and *u* may possibly indicate a length contrast with simple *ư* and *u*. (Note that in Nồng *ư* and *u* are almost always short in closed syllables.)

Savina's Nùng has five tones, which he says are like the tones of Vietnamese but lacking a *ngā* tone. Like Vietnamese, he has only *sắc* (´) and *nặng* (,) tones with final stops. The tones do not match the Nồng tones: his *ma* 'dog' is Nồng *má*, his *mạ* 'horse' is Nồng *mã*, his *mà* 'come' is Nồng *ma*, his *tha* 'eye' is Nồng *thả*, his *khóa* 'trousers' is Nồng *khạ*, and his *khả* 'kill' is Nồng *khà*. These tone correspondences are not consistent throughout the vocabulary.

Li's (1940) Lungchow Tai inventory lacks the consonant \tilde{n} , and the Nõng \tilde{z} is Lungchow j (y), thus clearly the same phoneme as the final y (i). The v appears to be a fricative, as in Nõng, and b and d are preglottalized. There are consonant clusters: py , phy , by , my , ky , khy , hy , kw , and khw . Final u ($ʉ$) occurs only after a . There are only eleven vowels: i ː, i , e ː, u ː, $ə$ ː, $ə$, a ː, a , u ː, u , o ː, but $/e/$ and $/o/$ have allophones ε and ɔ . Lungchow Tai apparently has six tones: high-level, mid-level, low-level, high-rising, low-falling, and low-glottal. Thus the tone manifestations seem somewhat similar to Savina's.

The Tày-Nùng dictionary of Hoàng Văn Ma et al. (1974) is a mixture of dialects spoken on the Vietnam side of the border. The consonant inventory is identical with Nõng. Consonant clusters include pj , phj , bj , mj , kw , khw , hw . The vowel inventory is the same as Vietnamese. (One is tempted to see in both Savina and Ma an uncritical use of *quốc-ngữ* (Vietnamese) spelling conventions without careful phonemic analysis.) Before velars $/o/$ is spelled oo to show that it is not labialized like Vietnamese. The offglided vowels $i\text{̥}$, $u\text{̥}$, $u\text{̥}$ are in complementary distribution with the consonant clusters, suggesting that it is just a shifting of the vowel center, not a structural contrast between the two types of phenomena. Ma's Tày-Nùng writes only five tones, lacking a $ng\tilde{a}$, like Savina's Nùng. Only two tones occur with final stops, the mid tone and the *nặng tone*.

Nõng differs from the dialects described by Li, Savina, and Ma in having lost the semivowels between the initial consonant and the main vowel. Thus: Nõng *kâm* 'forbid', *kàng* 'speak', *may* 'exchange', *khạ* 'trousers', *khại* 'quick', *kâu* 'save', *kau* 'request', *chàng* 'inside', *chản* 'lazy' corresponds to Lungchow *kiam*, *kia:ng*, *mia:i*, *khwa*, *khwa:i*, *kiau*, *kiau*, *kia:ng*, *kian*'.

Freiberger's 1966 analysis of Nõng differs from the present analysis in that final $-ʉ$ had not been found in contrast with $-w$ in 1966, and in that a length contrast had not been found in the high vowels.

3 Nominal and Prepositional Phrases

3.1 Types of nominal phrase

A nominal position in a clause may be filled by a word, a phrase, or a clause. These may be divided into four types: simple nominal phrase, nominalized clause, appositive nominal, and coordinate nominal phrase.

3.1.1 Simple nominal phrase. A simple nominal phrase consists of an obligatory Head tagmeme, manifested by a noun or pronoun, and its optional modifiers. The Number (Num) position is filled by cardinal and nonspecific numerators. The Classifier (Cl) position is filled by general and specific classifiers. The Noun Head (NH) position is filled by simple and compound nouns; personal, relative, and demonstrative pronouns; and nonspecific numerators. The Modifier (Mod) position is filled by adjectives, nouns, ordinal and nonspecific numerators, noun phrases, and clauses. The Possessive (Poss) position is filled by personal pronouns, kinship terms, noun phrases, and clauses. The Demonstrative (Dem) position is filled by definite and indefinite demonstratives. When the Head is a noun, the formula is:

$$\pm \text{Num} + (\pm \text{Cl} \pm \text{NH}) \pm \text{Mod} \pm \text{Poss} \pm \text{Dem}$$

The order is usually: Number, Classifier, Noun Head, Modifier, Possessive, and Demonstrative (see example N1, below). However, with the numeral 'one' the order is changed as follows: Classifier, Noun Head, Modifier, Number. Possessive and Demonstrative do not occur with the numeral 'one' (N2).

(N1) *lêo khà slóng tú má lưc*
then kill two cl. dog child
'Then kill two puppies.'

(N2) *cáu hản tú vai đqng nưng*
I see cl. buffalo white one
'I see a white buffalo.'

When the Head is a pronoun, the nominal phrase consists of only an optional Number and a personal (N3) or demonstrative pronoun (N4). The Number position may be filled by *mahn* 'plural', a specific numerator, or *hohng* 'inferior status particle' (N5).

(N3) *slú mi dày áu*

you not able take

'You can't take it.'

(N4) *áu mahn này páy slū đồ kihn ma*

take pl. this go buy thing eat come

Take these and go buy things to eat.

(N5) *téc hohng phủ páy*

let part. we go

'Let us go.'

When a simple nominal phrase is used in direct address, it is limited to an optional Number, a Noun Head, and the particles *à* or *ôi* (Sec. 8.1).

(N6) *muhng à*

you oh

'Oh you!'

(N7) *slóng sláo ôi*

two sister oh

'Oh you two sisters!'

When a nominal phrase is used in a prepositional phrase (Sect. 3.8), the Number is omitted (N8). Only one example of *mahn* 'plural' in a prepositional phrase has been found (N9).

(N8) *muhn nqng tihng cộn thihn*

he sit upon cl. stone

'He sat on a stone.'

(N9) *muhn páy sahc khừn tàh mahn vai pay*

he go butt up under pl. buffalo go

He butted underneath the buffalo.

In some respects, the nominal phrase with an adjectival modifier resembles a descriptive clause (Sect. 5.5).

3.1.2 Nominalized clause. A nominalized clause consists of a clause with a demonstrative, a focus marker added to the end of it (Sect. 3.7), or both. The

demonstrative or focus marker usually occurs when the nominalized clause is acting as the Subject or Actor (N10, N11), and is optional when acting as the Object (N12).

Either an indefinite or a definite relative clause (Sects. 6.1, 6.2) may function in a nominal position (N13).

(N10) *lêo vahng khi bè té chihng áu tú bè hừ kè Hòhng*
 then boy ride goat that then take cl. goat give man Hòhng
khi mã té
 ride horse that

‘Then that boy riding the goat gave the goat to that man Hòhng riding the horse.’

(N11) *cáh tú pá dụ cháng áhn hờn nỉ, mừn vạ. . .*
 cl. cl. fish at inside cl. house foc. he say

‘The fish inside the house said. . .’

(N12) *lêo ma háhn háu hêht mạhn hờn đáy*
 then come see they make pl. house good

‘Then they came and saw they made good houses.’

(N13) *bô mi táhc củn hah hủ*
 not have any person which know

‘There is no one who knows.’

3.1.3 Appositive nominals. An appositive nominal in indirect speech consists of a simple nominal phrase (N14) or clause (N15) with a pronoun in apposition. In direct speech (N16) it consists of an optional Number and a Noun Head with a pronoun in apposition. Or it may consist of a pronoun or noun phrase expanded by an additional noun phrase or clause containing an obligatory Demonstrative (N17, N18). The pronoun is generally adjacent to the Predicate.

(N14) *kè có vahng té | mừn | chihng ma*
 man father boy that | he | then come

‘Then that boy’s father came.’

(N15) *vahng khi tú bè té | mừn | chúhng páy*
 boy ride cl. goat that | he | lead go

‘That boy riding the goat led it away.’

(N16) *slóng tú lực | slú | dụ cáhm khàu têu sình*
 two cl. child | you | then hold enter cl. green

‘You two children hold the green one.’

(N17) *mính hồ | hầu | mahn cứn hầu tẻ*
 he beg | them | pl. person they that
 'He begged them, those people.'

(N18) *mính hồn | mahn cứn lông | hầu hèn vai tẻ*
 he beat | pl. person big | they tend buffalo that
 'He beat the big people, those tending buffalo.'

3.1.4 Coordinate nominal phrase. A coordinate nominal phrase may have: (a) two or more noun phrases with or without the conjunction *sau* 'together, with, and' (N19, N20, N34) or (b) two or more noun phrases with the particle *nè* (Sect. 3.7). *Sau* is rarely used, being found only twice in our texts. *Nè* occurs only in Object position or in existential clauses (N21, N161, N162).

(N19) *pị bạo pị nang đạ lái*
 elder brother elder sister-in-law scold much
 'The elder brother and sister-in-law scolded much.'

(N20) *áu có mảc này sau bảh mây này ma kình*
 take plant fruit this and leaf tree this come eat
 'Bring this fruit and this leaf and eat them.'

(N21) *páy chều mahn khâu nè mahn chữ nè mahn lao nè páy hah*
 go look pl. grain part.pl. salt part. pl fat part. go which
 'Go see where the grain, salt, and fat went.'

3.2 Noun head

The fillers of the Noun Head position are nouns, pronouns, and numerators.

3.2.1 Nouns. There are two main classes of nouns: simple and compound. Nouns may also be countable or noncountable. Countable nouns include any noun that can be preceded by a Number and a Classifier (N1, N16). Noncountable nouns are usually not classified and may only be quantified with measure classifiers (N30–34).

Simple nouns consist of one (N1, N2) or two (N22) morphemes, and most are countable. When a simple noun consists of two morphemes, neither morpheme may stand alone as a Noun Head. Simple nouns include: *bàn* 'village', *bọc* 'flower', *hơn* 'house', *péht* 'duck', *pá* 'fish', *mệ* 'wife', *lựhc* 'child', *đáu-đị* 'star', *đáhc-đị* 'navel'.

(N22) *cáu hahn áhn đáu-đị hèn ọc ma hựng lái*
 I see cl. star appear out come bright much
 'I saw a very bright star appear.'

Ambivalent verb/nouns are simple nouns. This class includes words such as: *ví* 'a comb, to comb' (N23, N24), *thạp* 'a load, to carry a load (carried in two containers with a shoulder pole)', *cộc* 'a hoe, to hoe', *củ* 'a saw, to saw', *sliu* 'a chisel, to chisel', *thầy* 'a plow, to plow'.

(N23) *mũhn páy ví thủ sòng*
 he go comb head finish
 'He finished combing his hair.'

(N24) *nhahng mi táhc áhn ví mi*
 still be any cl. comb not
 'Are there any combs left?'

Units of time are simple countable nouns which occur without classifiers when modified (N25) or counted (N26, N27). The classifier *áhn*, may occur before a unit of time when not modified or counted (N28). Some ordinal numerals follow *bôn* 'month' to designate months of the year (N29). Units of time include *mu* 'season', *bạt/hoi/pay/sli* 'time, period of time', *fúht* 'minute', *dơ* 'hour', *dáhp* 'second', *vahn* 'day', *tũhn* 'week', *bôn* 'month', *pí* 'year', *khộp* 'one year'.

(N25) *thũhng pí té páy thí*
 arrive year that go examination
 'That year they went to take an examination.'

(N26) *páy học đày pí nũhng*
 go study able year one
 'He went to study for one year.'

(N27) *đày slám pí vahng tế thài*
 able three year boy that die
 'In three years that boy died.'

(N28) *áhn vahn kihn slám tòn*
 cl. day eat three meal
 'Eat three meals a day.'

(N29) *bôn slám phủ tẹo mơ Đalat*
 month three we again return Dalat
 'In March we returned to Dalat.'

Noncountable nouns are usually simple nouns which cannot occur with a number unless preceded by a measure classifier (N30–N32). A noncountable noun is usually not classified, but the general classifier *cáh* (N33) and *mahng*

'plural' (N34) may occur with noncountable nouns. Noncountable nouns include: *fã* 'sky', *kíhm* 'gold', *ngũhn* 'silver', *nãhm* 'water', *tóhm* 'soil', *làu* 'wine', *môi* 'cooked rice', *khàu* 'grain', *chũ* 'salt', *nĩ* 'meat', *lao* 'fat', *lọt* 'blood', *dái* 'steam', *hời* 'air', *qon* 'smoke'. Occasionally these may be counted when they have a special meaning (C75).

- (N30) *mũhn mi slám cộn kũhm*
 he have *three lump gold*
 'He has three lumps of gold.'
- (N31) *mũhn áu slám đéht lợt ma thi?*
 he take *three drop blood come test*
 'He took three drops of blood to test.'
- (N32) *mũhn táhc qng nãhm nũhng ma*
 he drew *basin water one come*
 'He drew a basin of water.'
- (N33) *mũhn áu cáh lợt má páy*
 he take *cl. blood dog go*
 'He took the dog's blood.'
- (N34) *kíhn mahn khàu mahn lao mahn chũ kíhn lèo*
 eat *pl. grain pl. fat pl. salt eat all*
 'Eat the rice, the fat, and the salt; eat it all.'

Compound nouns consist of two morphemes, one or both of which may stand alone as a Noun Head. When one of the morphemes of a compound noun stands alone in the Noun Head position, it may (N35, N36) or may not (N37, N38) have the same meaning as the compound unit. Some morphemes in compound nouns are dependent and may never stand alone as a Noun Head in a noun phrase (e.g., *thàu* of *kè thàu* 'father'). Compound nouns include: body parts (*lehp mư* nail-hand 'finger-nail'), generic terms for people (*toi pộ* 'male'), kinship terms (*lũhc sláo* child-girl 'daughter'), fruit (*mắc cãm* 'orange'), tools (*mạc pã* 'knife'), *sihn-này* 'now', *khả lộ* 'road'.

- (N35) *mũhng hẻht ca-lahng này*
 you do *what this*
 'What are you doing?'
- (N36) *hẻht lahng này*
 do *what this*
 'What are you doing?'

(N37) *có mé dụ hah*
father-mother stay where
 'Where are your parents?'

(N38) *có páy hah*
father go where
 'Where did father go?'

3.2.2 Pronouns. There are three classes of pronouns: personal, relative, and demonstrative. A personal pronoun may be quantified by *mahn* 'plural' (N39).

A personal pronoun is a nonspecific noun which may substitute for, or refer back to, another noun (N2, N3, N5, N6, N12, N39, N43). This class is limited to the following:

first person singular: *cáu, ngô*, 'I', *hau* 'myself'

second person singular: *muhng* 'you'

third person singular: *muhn* 'he/she/it'

first person plural: *phủ* 'we' (exclusive), *hau* 'we' (inclusive)

second person plural: *slú* 'you'

third person plural: *muhn* 'they' (specific referent), *hau* 'they' (nonspecific referent).

Kinship terms (N40) and some nouns (N41) are used as pronouns. *Hòhng* (inferior status particle) is used in first person address of one's self in addressing elders, and in second person address to equals or to persons of lower social status. It occurs with pronouns *hau* 'we' (inclusive), *phủ* 'we' (exclusive) (N5), *muhng* 'you' (singular), *slú* 'you' (plural). It also occurs with kinship terms in first person address: *lùhc* 'child', *lán* 'nephew/niece/grandchild', *nông* 'younger sibling' (N42).

(N39) *mahn hâu mi cháhc*
pl. they not know
 'They didn't know.'

(N40) *sláo ca páy hạng*
sister about go market
 'I am about to go to market.'

(N41) *téc khòì hểht hừ*
let servant do for
 'Let me do it for you.'

(N42) *hòhng lán páy hên vai*
part. nephew go tend buffalo
 'I am going to tend buffalo.'

The relative pronoun *hah* 'where' may occur as the filler of the locative position (N43) and as a question indicator. *Hah* also occurs as an indefinite demonstrative 'which' following a classifier or noun (Sect. 3.7) or as a non-specific numerator 'every' (Sect. 3.5). It is the marker of an indefinite relative clause (Sect. 6.2) or of a relative question (Sect. 8.18).

- (N43) *ngô veo dụ hah, dụ áhn tẻ lỏ*
 I call at *where*, then cl. that emphatic
 'Where I call, then that's it!'

Demonstrative pronouns *này* 'this' and *tẻ/tẻ* 'that' may occur as single fillers of the Noun Head (N44) or noun phrase (N45, N46). They also occur in the Demonstrative position of the noun phrase. *Tẻ* is the marker of a definite relative clause (Sect. 6.1).

- (N44) *lẻo mảhn tẻ chửng áu ma kỏhn.*
 then *pl.* that then take come eat
 'Then he brought those and ate them.'

- (N45) *mi hử dụ này lỏ*
 not let stay *this* emphatic
 'I won't let you stay here!'

- (N46) *dạ lão tẻ vạ tẻ*
 grandmother that say *that*
 'That grandmother said that.'

3.3 Numerators

The numerator class is divided into specific and nonspecific numerators. The specific numerators are the cardinal numerals.

3.3.1 Specific numerators. Cardinal numerals occur in the phrase-initial Number position (N1, N16) with the exception of 'one' which occurs phrase final (N2, N52–55). (For ordinal numerals see Sect. 3.5.) The number 'one' may be expressed by *nỏng~nửnhng~nửnhng*, *tỏc*, or *ẻht*. *Nỏng* occurs only in isolation. *Nửnhng* occurs after a high rising tone /' / (N52); *nửnhng* occurs elsewhere (N2, N53). *Tỏc* may occur following a noun (N54) or a classifier (N55). Cardinal *ẻht* precedes the noun (N56, but cf. N137).

- (N52) *kẻ nữ hỏn tẻo khỏ tú má nửnhng*
 man in house again kill cl. dog *one*
 'The man in the house killed a dog.'

- (N53) *mửhn cáhm mạc pả nửnhng*
 he hold cl. knife *one*
 'He held a knife.'

(N54) *mũhn hêht bqt tọc*
he do time one

'He did it one time.'

(N55) *mũhn hêhng áu áhn tọc*
he just take cl. one

'He just took one.'

(N56) *éht vahn páy kihh hò ma*
one day go eat beg come

'Every day they went begging and returned.'

The other numerals are: *slóng* '2', *slám* '3', *slí* '4', *hà* '5', *hòhc* '6', *chéht* '7', *pét* '8', *càu* '9', *slíhp* '10'. These combine as in (N57). *Nhị* is the combining form of *slóng*. *Slíhp* 'ten' and its powers (*suhc* 'group of ten', *pác* 'hundred', *sèn* 'thousand') can co-occur with nonspecific numerators *kì* 'several, more than' and *kì-lái* 'how much, how many' (N67).

<i>slíhp éht</i>	'11'
<i>slíhp nhị</i>	'12'
<i>nhị slíhp</i>	'20'
<i>nhị slíhp éht</i>	'21'
<i>slám slíhp</i>	'30'

3.3.2 Nonspecific numerators. Nonspecific numerators normally occur in the Number position of the noun phrase. They may also occur in the Noun Head and Modifier positions. These include:

đó 'enough' precedes the noun (N58).

ì 'small amount/little' may occur with numeral 'one' (N59).

íht 'small amount' may also occur with numeral 'one' (N60).

kì 'several' may occur before noun (N61) or classifier (N62) and with powers of ten (N63).

kì 'more than' occurs after powers of ten (N64) or after measures (N65).

kì-lái 'how much/how many' (N66) also may occur with powers of ten (N67).

lái 'much/many' precedes the noun (N68) and is occasionally repeated immediately after the noun (N69).

lêo 'all' precedes noun or classifier (N70).

máhn 'plural' may occur with countable nouns (N12), noncountable nouns (N32), demonstrative pronouns (N44), personal pronouns (N39), and the general classifier *cáh* (N71). Classifiers are usually omitted after *máhn* (N12) (Sect. 3.4.1).

môi 'every' precedes the noun or classifier (N72).

nôi/nôi 'small amount' precedes the noun (N73).

táhc 'any' occurs with countable nouns (N13), measure classifiers (N74), and before general classifiers *áhn* (N38), *óhng* (N75), and *tú* (N76).

NH/Cl + NH/Cl 'every' occurs before preverbal *tô* 'also' (N77, N78) (Sect. 4.2).

thêm 'more' (N51).

(N51) *hầu tẹo páy chừ ma hừ thêm*
they again go cook come give more
'They went again, cooked more, and brought it.'

(N58) *lùhc sahnng đố pí*
child not-yet enough year
'The child isn't old enough yet.'

(N59) *kíhn ì năhm nũhng*
eat little water one
'Drink a little water.'

(N60) *kíhn íht nũ nũhng*
eat little meat one
'Eat a little meat.'

(N61) *lèo đày kì pí mi slóng tú lùhc*
then able several year have two cl. child
'Then after several years they had two children.'

(N62) *áu kì áhn ma tếc này*
take several cl. come place here
'Bring several and put them here.'

(N63) *mi kì pác cũhn lùhc-đéhc*
have several hundred person child
'There are a few hundred children.'

(N64) *slíhp kì (óhng) cũhn lihng tô thài*
ten more-than (cl.) person soldier also die
'More than ten soldiers died.'

(N65) *mi slám kí kì mahn*
have three kilo more-than potato
'There are more than three kilos of potatoes.'

- (N66) *mư̄hn dầy kì-lái pí dả*
 he able *how-many year* already
 'How old is he?'
- (N67) *mi cháhc kì-lái pác áhn, lái lái*
 not know *how-many hundred cl.*, many many
 'I don't know how many hundred, very many.'
- (N68) *mi lái cư̄hn páy*
 have *many person* go
 'Many people went.'
- (N69) *lái cư̄hn lái ma này*
many person many come this
 'Very many people come here.'
- (N70) *kíhn lēo áhn mớ khàu tể*
 eat *all cl. pot grain* that
 'He ate all of that pot of rice.'
- (N71) *cáhc mạhn khỏhn đáh-m-đítc*
cl. pl feather black
 'The feathers were pitch black.'
- (N72) *mư̄hn hừ mớ cư̄hn mớ báh chỉ sláy thòi*
 he give *every person every cl. paper small* only
 'He gave each person only a small piece of paper.'
- (N73) *mi nôi cư̄hn thòi*
 have *few person* only
 'There are only a few people.'
- (N74) *lựhc nhahng mi táhc báh thớ mi*
 child still have *any cl. letter* not
 'Do you still have a letter?'
- (N75) *mi táhc óhng cư̄hn páy mi*
 have *any cl. person* go not
 'Is anyone going?'
- (N76) *mi thài táhc tú*
 not die *any cl.*
 'Not one died.'

(N77) *vahn vahn tô páy*
day day also go
 'They went every day.'

(N78) *óhng óhng tô ma chêu*
cl. cl. also come look
 'Everyone came to look.'

3.4 Classifiers

There are two distinct types of classifiers: general and measure. A classifier identifies the noun that it precedes, and connotes counting of that noun. Non-countable nouns are usually not classified.

3.4.1 General classifiers and rules of usage. General classifiers *áhn* (inanimate), *cáh* (general), *óhng* (human), and *tú* (animate) may substitute for a Noun Head in a noun phrase (N78, N79), but are usually accompanied by a numeral (N80), a modifier (N81), a possessive (N82), or a demonstrative (N83).

(N79) *óhng tú sâng páy*
cl. cl. elephant go
 'Each went on an elephant.'

(N80) *lêo tú nũhng hã vạ. . .*
 then *cl. one* tell say
 'Then one said. . .'

(N81) *cáhm áhn dêng tê khữhn ma*
 hold *cl. red that* up come
 'Hold that red one up.'

(N82) *mi sự áhn hau*
 not correct *cl. myself*
 'It's really not mine.'

(N83) *lêo tú tê chíhng ma*
 then *cl. that* then come
 'Then that one came.'

Áhn occurs before nouns which denote inanimate objects (N84) or body parts (N85), with the exception of 'tooth' and 'intestine'. It may occur with some ambivalent nouns (N38).

(N84) *mi áhn bộ nãhm nũhng*
 have *cl. well water one*
 'There is a well of water.'

- (N85) *áhn tông cáu chéhp đày kì pí lỏ*
cl. stomach 1 pain able several year emphatic
 'My stomach ached for several years!'

Tú occurs before names of children (N88) and nouns which denote animate beings, including animals (N1, N15), humans (N16, N86), and spirits (N87).

- (N86) *lèo tú mệ đạ tú pộ vạ.*
then cl. wife scold cl. husband say
 'Then the wife scolded her husband saying. . .'
- (N87) *mứn lảo tú phi lái*
he fear cl. spirit much
 'He is very afraid of evil spirits.'
- (N88) *tú Chộ páy hạng đã*
cl. Chộ go market already
 'Chộ went to market already.'

Cách is the most general classifier. It may occur before animate beings including both animals (N89) and humans (N90), and before inanimate objects (N91). It also occurs with noncountable nouns (N31). *Cách* may also occur with the general classifier *tú* (N11), a measure classifier (N92), or with *mạhn* 'plural' (N71). When *cách* occurs with *mạhn*, the Number and Classifier positions are reversed (N71).

Cách has not been found with numerals other than 'one' (N91). There is no lexical difference between *tú* and *cách* in the same environment (N11, N15, N89).

- (N89) *lèo páy háhn cách cá đấhm*
then go see cl. crow black
 'Then he went and saw a black crow.'
- (N90) *cách vahng tế chihng hàỵ*
cl. boy that then cry
 'Then that boy cried.'
- (N91) *mứn chihng viht cách thihn nứhng lohng tạ páy*
he then throw cl. stone one down river go
 'He then threw a stone into the river.'
- (N92) *lèo cách đản cày tạo đếu*
then cl. flock chicken again alive
 'Then the flock of chickens revived.'

Óhng only occurs with terms for people (N75, N93).

- (N93) *áu hừ slóng óhng đéhc té*
take give two cl. child that
'Give it to those two children.'

The general classifiers *cáh*, *óhng*, and *tú* are optional when used with generic terms for people.

Cáh and *tú* also classify kinship terms; they are optional.

- (N94) *mi cháhc (óhng) củhn hah lahç*
not know (cl.) person which steal
'I don't know which person stole.'

Cáh and *tú* also classify kinship terms; they are optional.

- (N95) *nem thàng (cáh) khởi mứn ma*
after tail (cl.) husband she come
'Afterwards her husband came.'

- (N96) *hã slóng (tú) lùhc bạo mứn vạ*
tell two (cl.) child boy he say
'Tell his two sons that. . .'

General classifiers with specific numerators. If no numeral is present or implied, the general classifiers are omitted (N97). When classifiable nouns are numbered, the general classifiers *áhn* and *tú* are obligatory (N1), but with powers of ten (ten, hundred, thousand, etc.) the classifier is optional (N98). When numeral 'one' occurs, the general classifiers are obligatory (N99) except with powers of ten (N100). When a classifier occurs with a noun without a numeral, the numeral 'one' is automatically understood (N101).

- (N97) *có láo má lái*
father fear dog much
'Father is very much afraid of dogs.'

- (N98) *mi slám pác (áhn) hờn*
have three hundred (cl.) house
'There are three hundred houses.'

- (N99) *áu áhn táhng nứng ma*
take cl. chair one come
'Bring a chair.'

(N100) *mi pác (áhn) hớn nưhng*
 have *hundred (cl.) house one*
 'There are one hundred houses.'

(N101) *mưhñ khàu hehn áhn bộ páy dụ*
 he enter side *cl. mine go stay*
 'He entered the side of the mine and stayed.'

General classifiers with nonspecific numerators. When *kì* 'several' occurs before a noun, the classifiers *áhn* and *tú* are obligatory (N102) except with powers of ten (N103).

(N102) *áu kì áhn táhng ma*
 take *several cl. chair come*
 'Bring several chairs.'

(N103) *mi kì pác (áhn) hớn màý*
 have *several hundred (cl.) house burn*
 'There were several hundred houses burned.'

When *kì* 'more than' occurs after powers of ten, the general classifiers are optional (N64, N104); with measures, the classifier is omitted (N65, N105).

(N104) *mi suhc kì (áhn) nẹp*
 have *ten more (cl.) clothespins*
 'There are more than ten clothespins.'

(N105) *cáu khài pác kì kí mahn*
 I sell *hundred several kilo potato*
 'I sold more than a hundred kilos of potatoes.'

When *lái* 'much/many' occurs before a noun, the classifier is omitted (N68, N106).

(N106) *mưhñ kihn lái mahn lái*
 he eat *many potato many*
 'He ate many potatoes.'

When *kì-lái* 'how many' occurs before a countable noun, the classifier is obligatory (N107); with powers of ten, the classifier is optional (N108).

(N107) *kihn kì-lái áhn chòi*
 eat *how-many cl. banana*
 'How many bananas did you eat?'

- (N108) *mi ki-lái pác (áhn) hờn dụ này*
 have *how-many hundred (cl.) house* at this
 'How many hundred houses are here?'

When *mạh* 'plural' occurs before a countable noun, the classifier is usually omitted (N12, N17, N109). General classifier *cáh* may occur before *mạh* (N71); then the Number and Classifier positions are reversed.

- (N109) *mạh má hụ lái*
pl. dog bark much
 'The dogs are barking very much.'

General classifiers with measure classifiers. When measure classifiers occur before countable nouns, the general classifier which would have occurred with the noun is omitted; i.e., measure classifiers and general classifiers are mutually exclusive.

- (N110) *slám áhn bọc*
 three *cl. flower*
 'three flowers'
- (N111) *slám nhám bọc*
 three *bunch flower*
 'three bunches of flowers'
- (N112) *slám tú vai*
 three *cl. buffalo*
 'three buffaloes'
- (N113) *slám đán vai*
 three *herd buffalo*
 'three herds of buffaloes'

When classifiable nouns act as ad hoc measures, the classifier which would have occurred with the noun is omitted.

- (N114) *slám áhn vệt*
 three *cl. spoon*
 'three spoons'
- (N115) *slám vệt nặm*
 three *spoon water*
 'three spoonfuls of water'

(N116) *slám áhn pôn*
 three *cl.* plate
 'three plates'

(N117) *slám pôn pá*
 three *plate* fish
 'three platefuls of fish'

General classifiers with units of time. *Áhn* occurs before a unit of time when not modified or counted (N23, N24, N25, N26).

(N118) *áhn hoi ni mi tú lých sláo nữhng*
cl. time focus have cl. child girl one
 'Once there was a girl. . .'

General classifiers in a locative tagmeme. When a locative tagmeme (Sect. 7.4) has a singular Noun Head without Modifiers, the general classifier is omitted (N119). In a locative tagmeme with a singular Noun Head with Modifiers, the classifier is optional (N120). In a locative tagmeme with a counted Noun Head, with or without Modifiers, the general classifier is obligatory (N121).

(N119) *ma nąhng táhng*
 come sit *chair*
 'Come sit on the chair.'

(N120) *nąhng (áhn) táhng slây này*
 sit (*cl.*) *chair small this*
 'Sit on this small chair.'

(N121) *páy cả slóng áhn slèng té*
 go across *two cl. province that*
 'Pass through those two provinces.'

3.4.2 Measure classifiers. Measure classifiers may be divided into descriptive measures (N28, N122, N123), conventional measures (N29, N125, N126), and ad hoc measures (N30, N115, N117). There are classifiable and nonclassifiable measures. Measure classifiers are natural or imposed units which occur with countable (N122) and noncountable nouns (N28). The classifier can substitute for the Noun Head (N123). When no numeral is used, the classifier is omitted but the unit is understood (N124). When a numeral is used, the classifier is obligatory (N122). Measure classifiers are usually not preceded by general classifiers, except *cáh* (N92).

Descriptive measures include:

bách (leaf-like object)

bách mạy 'leaf of tree'

bách chì 'leaf of paper'

bách slờng 'photograph'

bách tóng 'large leaf'

bách thờ 'letter'

cộn (lump-shaped object)

cộn kím 'lump of gold'

cộn khâu chề 'lump of cooked glutinous rice'

cộn thỉn 'stone'

hông (clothing)

hông khạ 'trousers'

hông slừ 'shirt'

hông slừ khạ 'clothes'

hông slừ phỏhn 'raincoat'

maht

maht pèn 'board'

maht kềc 'brick'

maht phài 'piece of material'

maht phỏhn 'raindrop'

maht khâu 'kernel of grain'

mỏi (bean-like object without shell)

mỏi đăn 'bullet'

mỏi kím 'nugget of gold'

mỏi khâu 'kernel of grain'

mỏi ngừhn 'nugget of silver'

mỏi nhà 'pill (medicine)'

phỏhn (bedding)

phỏhn đềm 'mattress'

phỏhn chờhng 'small mosquito net'

phỏhn slừht 'large mosquito net'

phỏhn fa 'blanket'

phỏhn fựhc 'large mat'

têu (stick or string-like object)

têu cò 'story'

têu đứhc 'bone'

têu fừhn 'firewood'

têu khả-lộ 'road'
têu lihn 'tongue'
têu slây 'intestines'
têu máy 'thread'

(N122) *áu slám tiêu fúhn ma*
 take three cl. firewood come
 'Bring three sticks of firewood.'

(N123) *áu slám cộn ma hêht*
 take three cl. come do
 'Bring three lumps to make.'

(N124) *múhn páy tô fúhn*
 she go gather firewood
 'She went to gather firewood.'

Conventional measures include: *síhc* 'meter', *fáhn* 'centimeter', *chạp* 'span', *mâu* 'acre', *slao* '1/10 acre', *khúhng* '1/100 acre'; *đón hạy* 'field', *hạh na* 'paddy (one owner)', *lông na* 'small paddy', *tộhng na* 'group of paddies'; *kí* 'kilo', *chang* '100 grams', *tā* '100 kilos'; *liht* 'liter', *đéht* 'drop', *qam* 'mouthful'; *khả* 'one of a pair', *khả thụ* 'one chopstick', *khả hai* 'one shoe', *cụ* 'pair', *cụ hai* 'pair of shoes'; *bôn* 'group of people (2–100)', *đan* 'group, herd, flock, covey, etc., of people, animals, birds', *nhom* 'small group of people (20–30)', *tông* 'large group of people (50–100)'.

(N125) *múhng páy slữ slóng ví chôi*
 you go buy two hand banana
 'Go buy two hands of bananas.'

(N126) *múhn áu cụ thụ kím nửhng*
 he take pair chopstick gold one
 'He took a pair of gold chopsticks.'

Ad hoc measures include: *qng* 'wash basin', *bau* 'gourd', *bè* 'tank', *bí* 'cloth bag', *bùhng* 'basket', *công* 'large bamboo basket', *chồc* 'cup', *cúhc* 'glass', *chái* 'bottle', *hęc* 'frying pan', *lam* 'market basket', *lên* 'porcelain jar', *mò* 'cooking pot', *páo* 'sack', *pôn* 'plate', *thuhng* 'bucket', *thạp* 'two baskets carried on pole', *thời* 'bowl', *vãi* 'earthenware jar'.

3.5 Modifiers

A Modifier describes the Noun Head in a nominal phrase. It may be an adjective, a noun, a pronoun, a numerator, a noun phrase, a locative, or a clause.

3.5.1 Adjectives. Adjectives are simple (N127), reduplicated, or complex (N128) descriptive verbs. Adjectival noun phrases are often identical in form to descrip-

tive clauses (Sect. 5.5), but they may be differentiated by the addition of a Demonstrative—in an adjectival noun phrase the Demonstrative follows the adjective (N129).

Adjectives include: *đáy* 'good', *lóng* 'big', *slây* 'small', *khong* 'poor', *fât-sai* 'rich', *kê* 'old', *òn* 'young', *hi* 'long', *têhn* 'short', *bóhng* 'hot', *cáht* 'cold', *kihm* 'salty', *ván* 'sweet', *sàu* 'bad', *slúhng* 'tall', *tâhm* 'short (height)', *cái* 'clever', *bà* 'stupid'.

Adjectives frequently occur in doublets for intensification. The second word in the doublet usually has no meaning of its own (N71, N130). Adjective doublets include: *bóhng-thêc* 'very hot', *chông-slũhc* 'bright yellow', *đáhm-đihc* 'pitch black', *vêng-sjhc* 'very quiet', *hũhng-pũhc* 'very bright', *hi-hoht* 'very long', *pời-lát* 'very wet', *jhm-pũhng* 'very full (after eating)', *ham-nhâhn* 'very cold', *đáy sláo* 'pretty' (lit. good girl), *đáy bọc* 'handsome (lit. good boy)', *tông đạc* 'hungry' (lit. stomach hunger), *hồ khạh* 'thirsty' (lit. throat thirst) (V8, C52).

Adjective phrases such as *đáy lái* 'very good', *lái đáy* 'better', and *đáy nhêht* 'best' can also be used in the Modifier position. *Lái* 'much' acts as an intensifier following the adjective (N128, N131) and denotes a comparative preceding the adjective (N132). *Nhêht* 'most' following the adjective denotes superlative (N133).

Complex adjectives are a close-knit combination of an adjective and a noun resulting in an idiomatic adjectival meaning used in modifier positions:

(N127) *vahng lóng dụ hã vạ. . .*

boy big then tell say. . .

'The big boy then said. . .'

(N128) *mũhn tẹc pèn pehn tú đêhc-sláo đáy-sláo lái*

she again become like cl. child-girl good-girl much

'She then became a very pretty girl.'

(N129) *áú sẹc cầu tẻ ma páhng cớ*

take book old that come pay father

'Bring that old book and give it to Father.'

(N130) *mỉ cáh dạ nũhng ma lehp-mừ lehp-khả hi-hoht*

be cl. woman one come nail-hand nail-foot long

'There came a woman with very long fingernails and toenails.'

(N131) *mũhn hêht áhn hờn đáy lái*

he make cl. house good much

'He made a very good house.'

(N132) *kẻ này hêht hờn lái đáy*

man this make house more good

'This man made a better house.'

(N133) *mũhn ầu tú lông nhéht ma hêht mẹ*
 he take cl. *big most* come make wife
 'He married the biggest woman.'

3.5.2 Nouns and pronouns. Nouns (N134) and pronouns (N135) may also act as Modifiers in a noun phrase.

(N134) *mi áhn bộ năhm nưhng*
 be cl. well water one
 'There was a well of water.'

(N135) *măhn cữhn hẩu ọc ma thạp năhm*
 pl. person *they* out come carry water
 'The people (out group) came out to carry water.'

3.5.3 Numerators. Both specific and nonspecific numerators occur in the Modifier position. The specific numerators which act as Modifiers are the ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals usually occur with *tại* (ordinal designator) and may follow a classifier (N136, N137) or noun (N138). Ordinal numerals are like the cardinals except the ordinal numeral *nhị* 'second', which is different from the cardinal. *Nưhng* 'one' is not used as an ordinal. Ordinal numerals are also used with *bôn* 'month' to designate the months February through April and August through November (N29).

(N136) *mũhn pây ầu tú tại chéht tẻ*
 he go take cl. *ord. seven* that
 'He went and married the seventh girl.'

(N137) *sỉ áhn éht sạhm cọt*
 pull cl. *first* also sever
 'He pulled the first one and it severed.'

(N138) *vahng tại slám dụ ầu áhn bí sen*
 boy *ord. three* then take cl. bag money
 'Then the third boy took the bag of money.'

Other numerators which act as Modifiers following the Noun Head include: *hah* 'which', *một* 'one, every', and *thêm* 'more'. *Hah* occurs after a noun (N139) or classifier (N140), or between reduplicated Noun Heads or classifiers (N141) preceding the preverbal *tô* 'also' (Sect. 4.2). *Một* occurs after a noun (N142). *Thêm* occurs after a noun (N143) or a classifier (N144).

- (N139) *vahn **hah** tô páy*
 day *which* also go
 'Every day they went.'
- (N140) *tú **hah** tô đáy*
 cl. *which* also good
 'Every one was good (pretty).'
- (N141) *nohc **hah** nohc tô mi bọc*
 bird *which* bird also have flower
 'Every bird had flowers.'
- (N142) *vahn **một** tô khqhm pehn té*
 day *one* also ask like that
 'Every day he asked like that.'
- (N143) *nâh **thêm** mưhn ma hã*
 morning *more* he come tell
 'The next morning he came to tell.'
- (N144) *hữ lán hò áhn **thêm***
 let nephew beg cl. *more*
 'Let me beg another one.'

3.5.4 Nominal modifiers. A simple (N145) or a coordinate (N146) noun phrase may fill the Modifier position.

- (N145) *lúhc mự-ni mi tú má **câu thàng***
 time once-foc be cl. dog *nine tail*
 'Once there was a dog with nine tails.'
- (N146) *mưhn hãhn tú má **câu thủ câu thàng***
 he see cl. dog *nine head nine tail*
 'He saw the dog with nine heads and nine tails.'

3.5.5 Locative modifiers. A locative modifier may consist of a noun phrase (N147), a preposition with noun phrase (N148, N171), or *du* 'at' plus an optional preposition and a noun phrase (N149).

- (N147) *tú vai bô mi áhn khèo **bờng nữ***
 cl. buffalo not have cl. tooth *side above*
 'Buffaloes have no upper teeth.'

(N148) *cáh kè nữ hơn tẻ kè lái đã*
 cl. man *inside house that* old much already
 'The man in that house is very old already.'

(N149) *veo cữn dụ nữ này sí áu khiẽn ma*
 call person *at inside this* pull take up come
 'Call the person in here to pull it up.'

3.5.6 Clausal modifier. A clausal modifier is a normal clause functioning as Modifier of the Noun Head (cf. Sect. 6.1). It describes a characteristic quality or activity of the Noun Head.

(N150) *páy thiẻng áhn pô mản cữn háu lỏc chà*
 go arrive cl. mountain *pl. person they transplant seedlings*
 'He arrived at the mountain where the people (out group) were transplanting rice.'

3.6 Possessives

The Possessive position may be filled by a personal pronoun (N151), a kinship term (N152), a noun phrase (N153), or a clause (N154). Possessive markers *củ* and *hỏng* are sometimes used with personal pronouns (N155) or kinship terms (N156).

(N151) *pị nang mản tẻ slỏn slỉ*
 older sister-in-law *his that* teach letters
 'His older sister-in-law teaches.'

(N152) *mỏn tỏc hỏng slỉ pị bạo*
 he lose cl. shirt *older brother*
 'He lost his older brother's shirt.'

(N153) *pộ mẹ thầu mản cữn lỏng tẻ, mỏn ma*
 male female parent *pl. person big that* they come
 'The parents of those big people came.'

(N154) *hảhn áhn mộ đạ-mẻ mỏn khả-cỏn thỏi tẻ*
 see cl. grave *mother his before died that*
 'He saw the grave of his mother who had died before.'

(N155) *tú mẹ hỏng mỏn slẻng ọc áhn hạy ma*
 cl. wife *of his* bear out cl. egg come
 'His wife was born out of an egg.'

(N156) *tởi cữn củ lỏc sảng đỏ pí*
 life person *of child* not-yet enough year
 'The child's life wasn't long enough yet.'

3.7 Demonstratives

Demonstratives may be divided into four classes: definite and indefinite demonstratives, a nominal coordinator, and a focus marker.

The definite demonstratives are *này* 'this' (N157) and *tê* 'that' (N158). When there is an embedded noun phrase or clause within a main noun phrase, it is often ambiguous as to whether the Demonstrative is modifying the embedded phrase or the main phrase (N153, N154).

(N157) *tú má này đây lái đây tài*
cl. dog *this* good very good exceedingly
'This dog is very very good.'

(N158) *lêo vahng tê ní páy*
then boy *that* flee go
'Then that boy fled.'

The indefinite demonstrative *hah* 'which' occurs following a classifier (N159) or a noun (N160).

(N159) *mi cháhch hừ tú hah đây*
not know give cl. *which* able
'I don't know to whom to give it.'

(N160) *mi cháhch áu cữhn hah ma*
not know take person *which* come
'I don't know which person to take.'

The nominal coordinator *nè* occurs following each noun of a logically coordinate series. These nouns may be in the same clause (N21, N161) or in separate parallel clauses (N162).

(N161) *mứhn áu mảhn thòi nè thụ nè, pôn nè, áu ma*
she take pl. bowl *coord.* chopstick *coord.* plate *coord.* take come
'She brought bowls, chopsticks, and plates.'

(N162) *ựhc mi nừ nè, ựhc mi pá nè, ựhc mi phảhc nè*
wish have meat *coord.* wish have fish *coord.* wish have vegetable *coord.*
'He wished, and he had meat; he wished, and he had fish; he wished, and he had vegetables.'

The focus marker *nỉ/ni* occurs at the end of noun phrases (N11, N145, N163–166; C74–76, N87–99; S6) or clauses (N167, N169; S27, S31). Its function is not yet fully understood, but it apparently serves to focus or give prominence to an item or to a clause. With time words *mự* and *bạt* (N165–166) the mid tone

nī is used; in other environments *nī* and *nī̄* appear to be used interchangeably, with *nī̄* being the more common.

(N163) *cáu təc nī̄ hơn nī̄*
I place inside house *focus*
'I put it in the house.'

(N164) *lóng cay tú vai nī̄*
big equal cl. buffalo *focus*
'It was as big as a buffalo.'

(N165) *mự nī mi pộ mệ*
long time *focus* be husband wife
'Once upon a time there was a husband and wife.'

(N166) *lèo bặt nī mữhn chihng hêht áhn keu nửng*
then time *focus* he then make cl. whistle one
'Then that time he made a whistle.'

(N167) *tẹo mững kihn hay lohng pay nī̄, . . .*
again you eat egg down go *focus*
'If you ever eat another egg, . . .'

3.8 Prepositional phrases

The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and a noun phrase. The noun phrase may include one or more of the following: a Classifier, a Noun Head, a Modifier, a Possessive, or a Demonstrative. The Number position of the noun phrase is usually left unfilled following a preposition, except for *mảhn* 'plural', the only number that has been found in a prepositional phrase.

A prepositional phrase may occur in the Directional (N168–169) (see Sect. 7.3) and Locative (N170) positions of a clause (see Sect. 7.4). Prepositions include: *cháng* 'inside', *đáh* 'beyond, below', *hehn* 'aside', *nọc* 'out', *nử* 'in, above', *tàh* 'under, below', *tihng* 'on, above', *dụ* 'at'.

(N168) *slóng vahng tẻ khữhn tihng pô pay*
two boy that ascend on mountain go
'Those two boys went up the mountain.'

(N169) *mữhn chihng tữhc tú tẻ lohng cháng áhn hom pay*
he then place cl. that down inside cl. box go
'He then put that animal down inside the box.'

(N170) *mữhn non dụ hehn áhn mộ dạ-mẻ mữhn thài tẻ*
he sleep at side cl. grave mother his die that
'He slept at the side of his dead mother's grave.'

- (N171) *kè vù dụ đáh té*
man king abide *beyond that*
'The king lives down there.'
- (N172) *múhn slahc slừ nọc té*
she wash clothes *out there*
'She is washing clothes out there.'
- (N173) *pị nông nữ bàn hầu hã vạ. . .*
older younger *inside village their tell say. . .*
'The brethren in their village said. . .'
- (N174) *múhn nqhnq táh có bọc nĩ*
he sit *below tree flower focus*
'He sat under the flower tree.'

4 Verb Phrase

The verb phrase consists of a main verb and the elements directly modifying it. The modifying elements are seldom separable from the main verb by other clause level elements (V1, V5).

- (V1) Prv VH Psv Mod
cáu | mi kihn đay lái
I | *not eat able much*
'I can't eat much.'

4.1 Types of verb phrases

Verb phrases are of four types: active, descriptive, copulative, and extended.

4.1.1 Active verb phrase. The structure of a verb phrase is essentially the same in transitive (V1), intransitive (V2), ditransitive (V3), and motion (V4) clauses. It consists of an obligatory nuclear Verb Head, optional Preverbals, and optional Postverbals. Optional Modifiers occur with a restricted group of verbs.

± Prv + VH ± Psv ± Mod

- (V2) Prv VH Mod
tú pộ | chihng nqng lohng pay
cl. husband | *then sit down go*
'The husband then sat down.'

- (V3) Prv VH
dạ tài | chihng áu | nữ | hiừ mủhn
grandmother | *then take | meat | give him*
'Grandmother then took meat and gave it to him.'

- (V4) Prv VH Psv
mũhn | mi ní đày
 he | *not flee able*
 'He couldn't flee.'

When a transitive verb fills the Verb Head, the verb phrase can be discontinuous; i.e., a Modifier can occur after the Object (V5).

- (V5) S VH O Mod
mũhn | láo | tú slĩ | lái
 he | *fear* | cl. tiger | *much*
 'He fears tigers very much.'

There are also complex active Verb Heads, in which two verbs or a verb and a noun combine as an idiomatic close-knit nucleus: *non leng* 'siesta' (lit. sleep midday), *phài khà* 'walk' (lit. step foot).

- (V6) VH
mũhn | non leng
 he | *sleep midday*
 'He took a siesta.'

4.1.2 Descriptive verb phrase. A verb phrase which can fill the Predicate slot of a descriptive clause (Sect. 5.5) consists of an obligatory Verb Head, optional Preverbals, and an optional Modifier:

$$\pm \text{Prv} + \text{DesVH} \pm \text{Mod}$$

The Descriptive Verb Head may be a simple adjective (V7) or a complex one (V8, V9) (see Sect. 3.5). Simple adjectives are forms such as *đáy* 'good', *hi* 'long'. Complex adjectives are idiomatic close-knit combinations of an adjective and a noun (V8), such as *đáy-sláo* 'pretty' (lit. good-girl), *đáy-bạo* 'handsome' (lit. good-boy), or of a bound plus a free adjective (V9), such as *ĩ-slói* 'dirty', *ĩ-ác* 'dirty', *slĩ-non* 'sleepy'.

- (V7) VH Mod
sláo tẻ | đáy lái
 sister that | *good much*
 'She is very good.'

- (V8) Prv VH Mod
mũhn | mi đáy-sláo lái
 she | *not good-girl much*
 'She is not very pretty.'

- (V9) VH Mod
áhn mư̄ mư̄hng | í-slói lái
 cl. hand your | *dirty much*
 ‘Your hand is very dirty.’

The comparative is formed by *lái* ‘much’ occurring before the Descriptive Verb Head (V10); all other Modifiers follow the Head (V7–9, V108) (cf. Sect. 4.4).

- (V10) Mod VH
vahng này | lái dôi
 boy this | *much clever*
 ‘This boy is cleverer.’

4.1.3 Copulative verb phrase. Copulative verb phrases fill the Predicate slot in equative and existential clauses. They consist of an optional Preverbal with an obligatory Verb Head:

± Prv + VH

In an equative clause (Sect. 5.6) the only permitted Preverbals are *mi* ‘not’ and *tẹo* ‘again’ (V11; C67), and the Verb Head slot is filled by forms such as *hẻht* ‘do’, *váht* ‘resemble’.

- (V11) Prv VH
tú má này | mi cay | tú má hau
 cl. dog this | *not equal* | cl. dog our
 ‘This dog is not the same size as our dog.’

- (V12) VH
óhng này | váht | óhng tẻ
 cl. this | *resemble* | cl. that
 ‘This one resembles that one.’

In an existential clause (Sect. 5.7) the only permitted Preverbal is *nhahng* ‘still’ (V13), and the Verb Heads are *mi* ‘be’ and *lờm* ‘remain’.

- (V13) Prv VH
nhahng lờm | pj nờng
still remain | older younger sibling
 ‘There still remained the brother and sister.’

(V14) VH

mī | *câu áhn phá vahn**be* | nine cl. cover day

'There were nine suns.'

4.1.4 Extended verb phrase. The extended verb phrase may denote intensification or repeated action. The extended verb phrase consists of an obligatory Verb Head, an obligatory Extension₁, the Verb Head repeated, and an obligatory Extension₂:

+ VH + Ext₁ + VH + Ext₂

In intensified action, the Extensions are the intensifiers *lái... tãi* 'much... exceedingly' (V15, V109). In repeated or continuative action, the Extensions are directional verbals with their opposites: *páy... ma* 'go... come', *páy... tẹo* 'go... again', *khàu... ọc* 'enter... exit', *khữhn... lohng* 'ascend... descend' (V16, V17).

(V15) VH Ext₁ VH Ext₂*tú má* | *hau lái hau tãi*

cl. dog | bark much bark exceedingly

'The dog barks very much.'

(V16) VH Ext₁ VH Ext₂*thây páy thây ma* | *đày slám nánh*

plow go plow come | able three morning

'He plowed back and forth for three mornings.'

(V17) VH Ext₁ VH Ext₂*sihm khữhn sihm lohng* | *chihng háhn*

search ascend search descend | then see

'He searched up and down, and then saw it.'

A further variety of extended verb phrase is the repetition of a verb to indicate that an action is repeated or continued (cf. Watson 1966:179–89). The most common words used in this manner are *hủ* 'laugh' and *hày* 'cry'. A repeated verb, even though transitive, cannot take an Object.

(V18) VH

mữhn | *hủ hủ hủ*

he | laugh laugh laugh

'He laughed and laughed.'

4.2 Preverbals

Forty-five preverbals have been found which can occur in one or more of thirteen positions before the main Verb Head. There are normally only one or two preverbals per verb phrase, but there can be as many as five. The positions of the preverbals are charted in Table 7 with position 1 closest to the main verb. In position 2 are intentional verbals, and in position 4 are negatives; the other positions have not yet been classified.

The Preverbals are presented below in alphabetical order, each described briefly and illustrated.

Āi 'want' occurs in position 2 as an intentional verbal (V19). It may also be an independent Verb Head (V20).

(V19) *sláo | mi āi tō say páy*
 sister | not want together go
 'I don't want to go with (you).'

(V20) *mūhng | āi phọc mi*
 you | want white neg.
 'Do you want to be white?'

Bạt 'time/when' occurs in position 5 and precedes *dàng sli* when they come together.

(V21) *ngâm chông bậ ma tẹo páy*
 just then when come again go
 'He had just come, when he went again.'

Bô 'also' occurs in position 6, usually in a comparison with *pehn tē* 'like that' (V22), or occurring with *sahm* 'also' (V23) for emphasis. *Bô* precedes *sahm* when they occur together.

(V22) *sláo bô càng pehn tē*
 sister also speak like that
 'I also said that.'

(V23) *sláo bô sahm kihn dày*
 sister also-also eat able
 'I can also eat it.'

Bô 'not' occurs in position 4.

- (V24) *cáu bô mơ ðày*
I *not* return able
'I can't return.'

Bô-mi 'not' is an emphatic negative occurring in position 4 (V25). It may occur with negative *sahng* 'not yet' indicating anger (V26). It precedes *sahng* when they occur together.

- (V25) *mũhn bô-mi khâi hừ*
he *not* sell give
'He won't sell it.'

- (V26) *cáu bô-mi sahng ðày hêht*
I *not* not-yet able do
'I can't do it yet!'

Ca 'about to' occurs in position 9 (V27, S85).

- (V27) *ngô ca pây non*
I *about* go sleep
'I'm about to go to sleep.'

Cháhn 'truly' occurs in position 3.

- (V30) *mũhng cháhn táhng pây mi*
you *truly* alone go neg.
'Are you truly going alone?'

Chihng 'then, at that time' (conditional) occurs in position 12. It occurs frequently in narrative (V31, S50–52, S57, S68, S74, S82).

- (V31) *náhc-thày chihng ngám tẹo ma*
just previous *then* just again come
'A moment ago I just came back.'

Chòn 'together' (abiding in one place) occurs in position 1. *Chòn* occurs frequently with *tô* 'reciprocal', but more commonly *tô chòn* occurs as a post-verbal. *Tô* precedes *chòn* when they occur together (V33).

- (V32) *slám cữhn chòn dụ hơn nũhng*
three person *together* stay house one
'Three persons stay together in one house.'

- (V33) *pác cữnh tộ chôn dụ bàn nửng*
 hundred person recip. together stay village one
 'One hundred persons live together in one village.'

Chông 'then' (repetitive action) normally occurs in position 10, except that the order of *chông* and *sahm* 'also' is freely reversible (V34, V35).

- (V34) *câu pây chều chông sahmi hahn mưhn ma*
 I go look then also not see him come
 'I went to look, and then I also didn't see him coming.'

- (V35) *câu sahmi chông mi hahn mưhn*
 I also then not see he
 'I also didn't see him.'

Cọi 'will' (conditional/definite time) occurs in position 12 (V28, S81).

- (V28) *mưnhg pây slừ nử ma cọi kình*
 you go buy meat come will eat
 'You go buy meat; when you return we'll eat.'

Cử 'to continue' occurs in position 8 (V29, S32, S38, S114).

- (V29) *sláo cử nhahng tảnh pây*
 sister continue still alone go
 'I'm still going alone.'

Đa 'don't' (negative imperative) occurs in position 4 (V36, S62, S77, S119–122). There are no occurrences of other preverbals with *da*.

- (V36) *đả hễht pehn tẻ*
 don't do like that
 'Don't do that!'

Dam 'dare' is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2.

- (V37) *vahng tẻ mi dàm tảnh pây*
 boy that not dare alone go
 'That boy doesn't dare go alone.'

Dau 'not' is a negative occurring in position 4. It denotes sarcasm such as: "How can it be true...?" or "What do you mean...?" It questions the veracity of a statement, implying the negative. It often occurs together with *đày* 'able', but more frequently with *hah* 'how' (V38).

- (V38) *cũhn cớhng hau dau ma hah*
 person work self *not* come how
 'What do you mean, our servant has come?'

Đị... ị 'both... and' occurs in position 1. It precedes two parallel verbs denoting simultaneous action (V38, S11).

- (V39) *muhn ị hày ị hủ*
 she *both* cry *and* laugh
 'She was crying and laughing.'

Dụ 'then' (introduces the result) occurs in position 6.

- (V40) *slóng tú nohc dụ tô chéhng*
 two cl. bird *then* recip. fight
 'The two birds then fought together.'

Đáng-sli 'in the process of' occurs in position 5.

- (V41) *phủ đấng-sli tô say hêht hơn*
 we *in process* together make house
 'We're building a house together.'

Đày 'able' (permission) is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2 (V42). It may also occur as an independent verb (V43) or as a postverbal.

- (V42) *lộ ca-lahng câu tô đày kihn*
 thing what I also *able* eat
 'I can eat anything.'

- (V43) *đày kì lái pí dà*
able few many year already
 'How old are you?'

Đohc 'only' (limited act) occurs in positions 3 and 8. When *đohc* occurs with *tan* 'only', their order is freely reversible (V45–46).

- (V44) *mũhn páy đohc tèm pá ma*
 he go *only* catch fish come
 'He only went fishing, then returned.'

- (V45) *mũhng đohc tan páy lệu*
 you *only* only go play
 'All you do is play!'

- (V46) *tan đohc mi mahn má cang lihng*
 only *only* have pl. pig deer monkey
 'There are only pigs, deer, and monkeys.'

Đoi 'crave' is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2 (V47). It may also be an independent transitive verb (V48).

- (V47) *sláo đoi páy đoi*
 sister *crave* go with
 'I want to go along.'

- (V48) *muhn đoi sen*
 he *crave* money
 'He craves money.'

Fài 'must' is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2.

- (V49) *óhng óhng tô fài páy*
 cl. cl. also *must* go
 'Everyone must go.'

Hèng/hèhng 'just now' (within the last two or three days) occurs in position 11. It may occur with *ngám* 'just now' for emphasis (V51). *Hèng/hèhng* also limits the object of the verb it precedes (V52). *Ngám* precedes *hèng* when they occur together.

- (V50) *muhn hēhng lohng này ma đày*
 he *just* down this come able
 'He was just able to come down here.'

- (V51) *sláo ngám hēhng ca chừ ngai*
 sister just *just* about cook lunch
 'I am just about to cook lunch.'

- (V52) *muhn hēng áu áhn tọc*
 he *just* take cl. one
 'He just took one.'

Lê 'coordinator' occurs in position 1. It is used to coordinate simultaneous actions by different people.

- (V53) *óhng lê đẹt khừn song, óhng lê đẹt lohng tàh lạng pay*
 cl. coord. jump up table cl. coord. jump down below house go
 'One jumped up on the table, another jumped down under the house.'

- (V54) *óhng lê veo thèn, óhng lê veo tị pehn này*
 cl. coord. call something cl. coord. call something like this
 'Some called out one thing, some called out another.'

Mi 'not' is a negative occurring in position 4. It is also a postverbal occurring with *đầy* 'able'.

- (V55) *óhng óhng tô mi lão*
 cl. cl. also not fear
 'Each one was unafraid.'

Mi 'have' occurs in position 5 and occurs with negative *sahng* 'not yet' for emphasis (V56). It may also occur as an independent verb head (V57).

- (V56) *sláo sáhm mi sahng kihn*
 sister also have not-yet eat
 'I also haven't eaten yet.'
- (V57) *tán mi áhn bàn tế lóng nhéht*
 only have cl. village that big most
 'Only that village is the largest.'

Náhc-hày/náhc-thày 'just previously' (action within the past thirty minutes) is a movable particle which may occur as a preverbal (V58) in position 13, or before the subject (V59).

- (V58) *sláo náhc-thày hēhng ma*
 sister just-prev. just come
 'I just came.'
- (V59) *náhc-hày sláo hēhng ma*
 just prev. sister just come
 'I just came.'

Ngám 'just now' is a movable particle which may occur as a preverbal in position 11. It may occur with *hēhng* 'just' (V51). *Ngám* limits the object of the verb it precedes (V61). It may also occur before the subject (V62). *Ngám* precedes *hēhng* when they occur together.

- (V60) *múhn ngám đày ma*
 he just able come
 'He was just able to come.'

(V61) *mũhn ngám áu áhn tọc*
 he just take cl. one
 'He just took one.'

(V62) *ngám sláo táhng ma*
 just sister alone come
 'Only I came alone.'

Nhahng 'still' occurs in position 7 (V63, C77, S28, S53).

(V63) *páy đày slám pí vữhn nahng hũ*
 go able three year continue still know
 'Go for three years and you'll still know it.'

Sahm 'also' (nonsimultaneous act) occurs normally in position 6 (V64, S37, S38), but is in freely reversible order with *chông* 'then' (V34, V35). *Bô* precedes *sahm* when they occur together (V23).

(V64) *mũhn ma hơn chihng sahм páy non*
 he come house then also go sleep
 'He came home; then he went to sleep.'

Sahng 'not yet' occurs in position 4. It may occur with negative *bô-mi* 'not' for emphasis and anger (V26). It is also a postverbal, occurring with *đày* 'able'. *Bô-mi* precedes *sahng* when they occur together.

(V65) *cáu sahng đày kihn*
 I not-yet able eat
 'I can't eat yet.'

Say 'together' (simultaneous act) occurs in position 1 (V66) and frequently occurs with *tô* 'reciprocal' (V67, C96). *Tô* precedes *say* when they occur together.

(V66) *páy hạng chihng say ma*
 go market then together come
 'Go to the market, then come back together.'

(V67) *páy hạng sghm tô say ma*
 go market also recip. together come
 '(We) went to the market and also came back together.'

Sết 'more' occurs in position 1. It is seldom used alone, usually either being repeated in consecutive clauses in a covariation sentence (S87–89) or else being combined with *đụ* (V68, V69).

(V68) *slò cữhn slữhn dụ sệt mi lái*
 number person believe then *more* be much
 'The number of people who believed increased much.'

(V69) *sệt dụ sệt mi lái cữhn slữhn*
more then more be much person believe
 'More and more people believed.'

Si 'also' occurs in position 6. In combination with *pehn hư* 'like what' (V71), *hah* 'how' (V72), *hềht lahng* 'do what' (V73) and *vớ* (final emphatic particle; V74), it denotes sarcasm, questioning the veracity of a statement, and implies a negative interpretation (V71–74).

(V70) *thỏhn iht nữhng si nằhng*
 move little one *also* sit
 'Move over a little so I can also sit.'

(V71) *ngô si kỉnh đày pehn hư*
 I *also* eat able like what
 'How can I eat?'

(V72) *sláo si hữ hah*
 sister *also* know how
 'How should I know?'

(V73) *cáu si páy heht lahng*
 I *also* go do what
 'Why would I go?'

(V74) *cáu si đày tô say mớ vớ*
 I *also* able reciprocal together return emph.
 'How can I return with you?'

Slày 'need' occurs in position 2, usually following *mi* 'not'. *Slày* has a weaker meaning than *fải* 'must'.

(V75) *mữhng mi slày kỉnh lỏ*
 you not *need* eat emph.
 'You don't have to eat!'

Slờng 'desire' is an intentional verbal which occurs in position 2.

(V76) *lờo mữhn ca tẹo slờng hềht vú*
 then he about again *desire* do king
 'Then he wanted to be king again.'

Sự 'correct' occurs in position 3 (V77). It may also act as an independent copulative verb (V78).

(V77) *có sự páy mi*
 father *correct* go not
 'Is it correct that you're going, Father?'

(V78) *sự mi | mi sự*
correct not | not correct
 'Is it correct? It's not correct.'

Tàhng 'alone' occurs in position 1 (V84). It also occurs in a double construction before the subject and before the verb (V85). *Tô* precedes *tàhng* when they occur together (V89).

(V84) *tán sláo tàhng páy*
 only sister *alone* go
 'Only I go alone.'

(V85) *tàhng óhng tàhng cànng tàng*
alone cl. alone speak different
 'Each one speaks differently.'

Tại-cá 'together' (simultaneous act) occurs in position 1.

(V79) *slóng sláo tại-cá páy mớ*
 two sister *together* go return
 'The two sisters returned together.'

Tan 'only' (limited act) occurs in positions 3 and 8 (V80). When *tan* occurs with *đoàc* 'only', their order is freely reversible (V45, V46).

(V80) *sláo tan dụ hơn mi páy táhc tị*
 sister *only* stay house not go any place
 'I only stay at home; I don't go anywhere.'

Tán 'only' has the same meaning as *tan* 'only'. It is a movable particle which occurs preverbally in position 8 to limit the object (V81) or the locative (V82). It also may occur before the subject to limit the subject (V83).

(V81) *tán nahng mi óhng tộc páy*
only still have cl. one go
 'There is still only one going.'

(V82) *cáu tán páy hạng*
I only go market
'I'm only going to market.'

(V83) *tán ngô mi páy*
only I not go
'Only I didn't go.'

Tẹo 'again' occurs in positions 3 and 8 (V86, S12, S18). It may also act as a postverbal (cf. antithetical *tẹo*, Sect. 8,8).

(V86) *mũhn láo lái chõng tẹo ma*
she fear much then again come
'She was very afraid, so she came back.'

Tô 'also' (nonsimultaneous act) occurs in position 6 (V87, S7-9, S39, S75).

(V87) *cũhn hah tô páy*
person which also go
'Everyone is going.'

Tô 'reciprocal/reflexive' (simultaneous act) occurs in position 1. It occurs frequently with *chòn* 'together' as preverbal (V33) and postverbal; with *say* 'together' as preverbal (V67) and postverbal; and with *tảhng* 'alone' as preverbal (V89). *Tô* precedes *chòn*, *say*, or *tảhng* when they occur together.

(V88) *mũhn ma hơn tô bay*
he come house recip. argue
'He came home and argued.'

(V89) *cáu tô tảhng hẻht*
I reflex. alone do
'I do it myself.'

Vửhn 'continue' occurs in position 8. It frequently occurs with *nhahng* 'still' (V63).

(V90) *mũhn vửhn hẻht pehn tế*
he continue do like that
'He continues to do it that way.'

4.3 Postverbals

Four postverbals have been found: *chòn*, *đày*, *tẹo*, *tô say*. They may also act as preverbals. The meaning may be the same or slightly different when in preverbal or postverbal positions.

4.3.1 *Chòn* 'together in one place' frequently occurs with the verbs *đụ* 'abide' (V91), *tữhc* 'to place into' (V92), and *téc* 'to place on or in' (V93). *Chòn* frequently occurs with *tô* 'reciprocal' following the Verb Head (V93), after the object (V94), or after the locative (V95).

- (V91) *sli cữhn đụ chòn hơn nửng*
four person live together house one
'Four persons live together in one house.'
- (V92) *áu mảhn phảhc tửhc chòn thòi tọc*
take pl. vegetables place together bowl one
'Put the vegetables together in one bowl.'
- (V93) *mảhn vai mảhn mã áu ma téc tô chòn*
pl. buffalo pl. horse take come put recip. together
'Bring the buffaloes and horses and put them together.'
- (V94) *kỉhn phảhc sạu nử tô chòn*
eat vegetable and meat recip. together
'Eat vegetables and meat together.'
- (V95) *áu mảhn phảhc tửhc áhn tời tọc tô chòn*
take pl. vegetable place cl. bowl one recip. together
'Put the vegetables together into one bowl.'

4.3.2 *Đày* 'able, physically possible' may occur immediately after the Verb Head (V96, C12), or following the Beneficiary (V97) or the Object (V98). The negatives *mỉ* 'not' and *sảng* 'not yet' can also occur with *đày* to denote physical inability or impossibility (V99, V100). When the negative occurs preverbally and *đày* is postverbal, this denotes inability due to circumstances (V1, V101).

- (V96) *mửhn hẻht đày áhn hơn đáy*
he do able cl. house good
'He made a good house.'
- (V97) *tán pán hử cáu đày cố mảc nửng*
only divide for me able tree fruit one
'He gave me only one fruit tree.'
- (V98) *mửng cằng slỏng vam đày lỏ*
you speak two sentence able all
'You can speak both sentences.'

(V99) *sláo khây tú mi đày*
 sister open door *not able*
 'I can't open the door.'

(V100) *cáu mớ sahnđ đày*
 I return *not-yet able*
 'I can't return yet.'

(V101) *cáu mi non đày*
 I *not sleep able*
 'I can't sleep.'

4.3.3 *Tẹo* 'again' may occur before an object (V102) or after it (V103). It may also occur in an extended verb phrase.

(V102) *sláo khqhm tẹo vam tẻ*
 sister ask *again* sentence that
 'I asked that sentence again.'

(V103) *mủhn phuhng áhn hỡn tẹo*
 he roofs cl. house *again*
 'He roofed the house again.'

(V104) *hẻht páy hẻht tẹo chihng lẻo*
 do go do *again* then all
 'He did it back and forth, then finished.'

4.3.4 *Tỏ say* 'together' (simultaneous act) may occur immediately following the Verb Head (V105), a nonmodified object (V106), or a locative (V107).

(V105) *slám cữhn kỡhn tỏ say*
 three person eat *together*
 'Three persons eat together.'

(V106) *slám cữhn kỡhn pau tỏ say*
 three person eat supper *together*
 'Three people eat supper together.'

(V107) *slám cữhn páy hạng tỏ say*
 three person go market *together*
 'The three people went to market together.'

4.4 Modifiers

Modifiers in a verb phrase are of two main types: intensifiers and direction orienters.

4.4.1 Intensifiers. There are three nonspecific numerators which act as intensifiers: *lái* 'much', *tāi* 'exceedingly', and *thêm* 'more'. These intensifiers may occur in descriptive verb phrases and in extended verb phrases, and may occur in active verb phrases with a limited number of verbs such as: *áy* 'cough', *cháhc* 'know', *hày* 'cry', *hạu* 'bark', *hủ* 'laugh', *láo* 'fear'.

Lái 'much' occurs as intensifier with transitive verbs following the object (V1, V5), with intransitive verbs (V108), with descriptive verbs following the verb (V7–9), as a comparative before the verb (V10), and in the extended verb phrase (V15).

(V108) *mạh্ন má | hạu lái*
pl. dog | bark much
'The dogs bark a lot.'

Tāi 'exceedingly' occurs only in the extended verb phrase (Sect. 4.1.4) as intensifier (V15, V109).

(V109) *mủh्न | lóng lái lóng tái*
he | big much big exceedingly
'He is very, very big.'

Thêm 'more' occurs as an intensifier with descriptive verbs.

(V110) *mủh्नg hẻht peh्न té | chửhng peh्न tỏi thẻm*
you do like that | then state sin more
'When you do that, you're more sinful.'

4.4.2 Direction orienters. The action of the clause may be oriented in specific directions by the use of directional verbals (DV) which are a subset of the motion verbs (Sect. 5.2). The directional verbals may be divided into three classes: the DV₁ (*khàu khửh्न*) class, the DV₂ (*páy ma*) class, and the DV₃ (*mở*) class.

The common DV₁ verbals are four: *khàu* 'in, on', *ợc* 'out', *khửh्न* 'up', and *lohng* 'down, into', plus the less common *cả* 'across'.

(V111) *mủh्न hỏhp tú khàu*
he close door in
'He closed the door.'

(V112) *kẻ cáu ợc*
release me out
'Release me.'

(V113) *ỏh्न thỏng mỏy fỏt khửh्न*
cl. branch tree swing up
'The branch of the tree swung up.'

(V114) *mũhn vaht áhn phá-vahn lohng*
 he hit cl. cover-day down
 'He knocked the sun down.'

(V115) *mũhn viú cả pay*
 he swim across go
 'He swam across.'

The DV₂ verbals are two: *páy* or *pay* 'going', *ma* 'coming'. The allomorph *pay* is used when there is a DV₁ preceding it in the clause; otherwise *páy* is used.

(V116) *mũhn tợ ní páy*
 he again flee go
 'He fled again.'

(V117) *mũhn áu sẹc ma*
 he take book come
 'He brought the book.'

There is only one DV₃ verbal: *mớ* 'return'. It is less common than DV₁ or DV₂ verbals (V118; C63).

(V118) *mũhn tợ áu mớ*
 he again take return
 'He brought it back again.'

There may be combinations of two directional verbals in a verb phrase, combining classes 1 and 2, 2 and 3, and 1 and 3.

(V119) *hảp tú khàu ma* (DV_{1,2})
 close door in come
 'Close the door.'

(V120) *mũhn pem khữhn pay* (DV_{1,2})
 he climb up go
 'He climbed up.'

(V121) *bạo chihng tài páy mớ* (DV_{2,3})
 older brother then lead go return
 'The older brother then led him back.'

(V122) *chihng áu cả mớ* (DV_{1,3})
 then take across return
 'Then bring it back across.'

Some main verbs may take only *páy* of the DV₂ verbals, others only *ma*, and some may take both. Verbs taking only *páy* include: *tao* 'dig', *đũhm* 'dive', *tũhc* 'place into', *kĩhn* 'eat', *pem* 'climb', *vĩht* 'discard', *viu* 'swim', *tóhc* 'drop', *nghng* 'sit', *non* 'sleep'. Verbs taking only *ma* include: *khãy* 'open', *đều* 'live, revive'. Verbs taking both of them include: *tải* 'lead', *áu* 'take', *béhn* 'fly', *téc* 'set down', *nĩhp* 'pick (fruit)', *lòt* 'drop', *dẹt* 'jump', *sihm* 'search', *thảy* 'plow', *lũ* 'sneak', *tũhc* 'wish'. Of the verbs found with *mơ*, perhaps the only one unique to *mơ* is *fãn* 'turn around'; the others occur with both *páy* and *ma*.

With some verbs the directional verbals come either after the Verb Head and before the Object (V123), or after the Object (V124). With other verbs the directional verbals always come after the Object (V119), making the verb phrase discontinuous.

(V123) VH DV DV O
mũhn | *sléng ọc ma* | *tú lựhc nửng*
 she | bear out come | cl. child one
 'She gave birth to a child.'

(V124) VH O DV DV
mũhn | *sléng* | *tú lựhc nửng* | *ọc ma*
 she | bear | cl. child one | out come
 'She gave birth to a child.'

This use of directional verbals as Modifiers within the verb phrase must be distinguished from their use in the Direction tagmeme in a clause (Sects. 5.2; 7.3), and from their use as imperative markers (Sect. 8.1). As direction-orienting Modifiers, their function is only to indicate the general direction of the action moving toward or away from the speaker. The Direction tagmeme introduces a specific source or destination. If there is a Direction tagmeme in the clause, the DV₂ of the Predicate precedes the DV₁ of the Direction (V125). There can be a maximum of only three directional verbals in a clause, regardless of what functions they are serving (V125, V126).

(V125) VH Mod Dir
mũhn | *vĩht* | *cộn thìn* | *páy* | *lohng tạ pay*
 he | throw | cl. stone | go | into river go
 'He threw the stone away into the river.'

(V126) VH Mod L Imp
ọc pay | *cháng thũhn* | *pay*
 out go | in courtyard | go
 'Go out into the courtyard!'

5 Clause Nuclei

Nüng independent clause types include four active (predicative) types: intransitive, semitransitive, transitive, and ditransitive; and three stative types: descriptive, equative, and existential (or topic introducer). Clauses may be full with all their nuclear tagmemes manifested, or they may be reduced with one or more of their nuclear tagmemes left unstated. Independent clauses often manifest a simple sentence, but may also be found in compound or complex sentences.

Each clause type has certain nuclear tagmemes (enclosed in parentheses in the formulas). In nonpredicative clauses these nuclear tagmemes are obligatory when the clause is used as a simple sentence, but in predicative clauses some may be left unstated, and they are often left unstated in complex or compound sentences when more than one clause shares the same tagmeme.

The nuclear nominal positions in clauses are: Actor, Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Beneficiary, Locative/Directional (in semitransitive clauses), and Complement. The peripheral positions include Temporal₁, Temporal₂, Directional, Locative, Accompaniment, Instrument, Manner, and Order. Predicative clauses may have several peripheral tagmemes, but nonpredicative clauses usually have few.

Plus juncture is the normal connector within phrases and clauses. A longer pause, the single bar juncture, may occur anywhere within the clause when the speaker hesitates. A single bar juncture may also be used when a tagmeme is not in its usual order within the clause (see Sect. 2.4).

Most particles pertain to the sentence level, but the focus particle *ni* may function on either the clause or the sentence level. On the sentence level it may link two clauses. On the clause level it may occur at the end of a noun phrase to put focus or emphasis on that one participant in the action.

Clauses normally fill positions in a sentence, but they may also recursively fill positions in a clause.

5.1 Intransitive clause

The nucleus of an intransitive clause consists of an Actor (A) and a Predicate (P). The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁ (T), Temporal₂,

Locative (L), Accompaniment (AC), Manner (M), and Order (OR). The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ (A P) L AC T₂ M OR

Most clauses tend to be short, though as many as four tagmemes have been found in an intransitive clause. The Predicate occasionally precedes the Actor, probably for reasons of prominence. A Temporal₁ tagmeme has occasionally been found following the nucleus, but other peripheral tagmemes rarely come between the Actor and the Predicate. When the Accompaniment tagmeme occurs, there are usually no other tagmemes after the Predicate.

The Actor position is usually filled by an animate noun phrase (C1) or by a pronoun (C2).

(C1) A P T₂
tú tẻ | non | cả nưn
 cl. that | sleep | all night
 'That one slept all night.'

(C2) A P L
mưn | nặng | hẻn fay ni
 she | sit | side fire focus
 'She sat by the side of the fire.'

The Actor may follow the Predicate when the emphasis is on the number.

(C3) P A L
non | củhn | slang
 sleep | person | bed
 'They slept one person to a bed.'

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as *non* 'sleep', *tửhn* 'awake', *nặng* 'sit', *dửn* 'stand', as the main verb. Sometimes the Predicate may be omitted if it has been stated in a previous clause or sentence (C6).

(C4) A P
tú pộ | chửng nặng lohng pay
 cl. husband | then sit down go
 'The husband sat down.'

(C5) A P
tú pộ mửhn | tửhn ma
 cl. husband her | awake come
 'Her husband woke up.'

- (C6) A PreVb M
mũhn | sahng | đăhc
 he | not-yet | deep
 'He was not yet sound asleep.'

5.2 Motion (semitransitive) clause

The nucleus of a motion clause consists of an Actor, a Predicate, and a Location, Source, or Direction. The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁, Temporal₂, Accompaniment, Manner, and Order. The Predicate is the only obligatory tagmeme, though a Location (L), Source (SO), or Direction (D) is usually present, and all the nuclear tagmemes are normally restorable from the context if they are not actually present in the clause. Four tagmemes is the normal maximum in a motion clause.

The normal relative order of these tagmemes is as follows, except that SO normally precedes P:

T₁ (A P L SO D) AC T₂ M OR

The Actor position is usually filled by an animate noun phrase or by a pronoun (C10), but may occasionally be filled by an inanimate noun phrase (C11).

- (C7) A P D
vahng nǝng | khàu | khả năhm sláh
 boy younger sibling | enter | cl. water clear
 'The younger brother entered the clear stream of water.'

- (C8) A SO P D
vahng té | hỏn na | ní | khừhn pỏ pay
 boy that | from field | flee | up mountain go
 'That boy fled from the field up the mountain.'

- (C9) A SO P
slỏng vahng té | páy đòng | ma
 two boy that | go field | come
 'Those two boys came back from the field.'

- (C10) A P D
mũhn | tỏ ní | khàu hỏn pay
 she | also flee | into house go
 'She also fled into the house.'

- (C11) A P L (P) OR
áhn khả | khừhn | láchng mã | pay | đã
 cl. leg | rise | back horse | go | already
 'One leg was already on the horse's back.'

The Actor may follow the Predicate when the emphasis is on the number (C12). When the Actor follows the Predicate, *đày* 'able' always follows the verb and precedes the Actor.

- (C12) P A
páy đày | kè nưhng
 go able | man one
 'One man was able to go.'

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as *béhn* 'fly', *ní* 'flee', *lẹn* 'run', *láy* 'flow', *dẹt* 'jump', *téc* 'put', *khàu* 'enter', *ọc* 'go out', *khừhn* 'rise', *lohng* 'descend', *páy* 'go', *ma* 'come', *mơ* 'go home', *dụ* 'abide, reside'. All of these except the last are verbs of motion. Most of these verbs may have Directional Verbals modifying them in the verb phrase (Sect. 4.4 and C13–15). Verbs of motion do not always signal motion clauses; they also occur in transitive clauses (C30–32).

The directional verbals themselves comprise a subset of motion verbs. It therefore follows that when the main verb of a clause is a DV verb, it cannot be followed by another DV of the same class (C14, C15). For other distributional restrictions of directional verbals, see Sect. 4.4. The DV₂ orienter may follow the Location (C11).

- (C13) A P
nāhm | láy ọc ma
 water | run out come
 'The water runs out.'

- (C14) A P D
vahng tế | khàu | cháng hờn pay
 boy that | enter | inside house go
 'That boy entered the house.'

- (C15) A P
áhn phủ vahn | khừhn ma
 cl. cover day | rise come
 'The sun comes up.'

A complex motion verb may be formed by adding a modifier such as *lẹn* 'run' or *khị mã* 'ride horse' before the main verb. When a Source is present, the modifier precedes it, but the verb follows.

(C16) A (P) SO P D
mũhn | lẹn | hòhn Nam Sơn | páy | Tùng Nghĩa
 he run from Nam Sơn go Tùng Nghĩa
 'He ran from Nam Sơn to Tùng Nghĩa.'

(C17) A (P) SO P D
Mũhn | khị mã | hòhn Nam Sơn | ma | Tùng Nghĩa
 he | rid horse | from Nam Sơn | come | Tùng Nghĩa
 'He rode a horse (came) from Nam Sơn to Tùng Nghĩa.'

The Source position is filled by a directional phrase introduced by a DV₁ or by *hòhn* 'from'. The nucleus of the directional phrase may be a noun (C18), a verb (C19), or both (C20).

(C18) A SO P
mũhn | khữhn đống | ma
 he | from forest | come
 'He returned from the forest.'

(C19) A SO P
vahng tẻ | páy lêu | ma
 that boy | go play | come
 'That boy returned from playing.'

(C20) A SO P
dạ tải | lohng tạ slahc slừ | ma
 grandmother | from river wash clothes | come
 'Grandmother came back from washing clothes at the river.'

(C21) A SO P
tú tẻ | ọc áhn hạy | ma
 cl. that | out cl. egg | come
 'She came out of the egg.'

If a Direction tagmeme occurs together with Source, the main verb may be *ma* or *páy* 'go' (C16, C17). If there is no Direction tagmeme present, then the main verb must be *ma* 'come' (C18–19). The Direction position (see Sect. 7.3) is usually filled by a directional phrase introduced by a DV₁ and closed by a DV₂ (C22, C23), except that if the nucleus is a place name, no DVs are used (C16–17). When the main verb is a DV₁ it serves simultaneously as the DV₁ of the Direction (C24).

(C22) A P D
mũhn | páy | khàu đóhng páy
 he | go | into forest go
 'He went into the forest.'

(C23) A P D
vahng tại nhị | dẹt | khiũhn song pay
 boy number two | jump | up table go
 'The second boy jumped onto the table.'

(C24) A P D
áhn phủ vahn | lohng | hu pay
 cl. cover day | descend | hole go
 'The sun set.'

The Location position (Sect. 7.4) is filled by a prepositional phrase introduced by *cháng* 'inside', *nọc* 'outside', *hehn* 'beside', *tảh* 'under', *tihng* 'above', *nĩ?* 'up at, above', *đấh* 'inside (something long)', *cahng* 'around'.

(C25) S P L
cáu | tếc | nũ hợn nĩ
 I | put | up house focus
 'I put it up at the house.'

5.3 Transitive clause

The nucleus of a transitive clause consists of an Actor, a Predicate, and an Object (O). The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁, Temporal₂, Direction, Accompaniment, Beneficiary, Manner, and Order. There may be either an Accompaniment or a Beneficiary, but not both. The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ (A P O) D AC,B T₂ M OR

This order may alternate with O A P (C34), or occasionally with O P A (C37). As many as six of these tagmemes have been found in one clause, but three or four is more usual. The Predicate is almost always present, but Actor and Object are sometimes left unstated, to be understood from the context (C31, C35). For variations in the order of the peripheral tagmemes, see the introduction to Chapter 7.

The Actor position is usually filled by an animate noun phrase (C26), a name (C27), or a pronoun (C28).

- (C26) A P
vahng tẽ | kihn lái.
 boy that | eat much
 'That boy ate a lot.'
- (C27) A P
kè Hông Tây | kihn lohng pay
 cl. Hông Tây | eat down go
 'Hông Tây ate it up.'
- (C28) T₁ A P O
vahn lánhng | hầu | tẹo sihm | vahng tẽ
 day back | they | again search | boy that
 'The next day they again searched for the boy.'

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as *hōhn* 'hit', *kihn* 'eat', *tẽm* 'catch', *sléng* 'give birth', *hạp* 'close', *viht* 'throw', *hahn* 'see', *hẻn* 'watch', *chừ* 'cook', *càng* 'say', *ùhm* 'hold', *mi* 'have', *slữ* 'buy', *khải* 'sell', *láo* 'fear'. Motion verbs are sometimes used in transitive clauses (C30–32), as are intransitive verbs like *hủ* 'laugh' (C33).

- (C29) A P O
mũhn | ca hỡhn | lỵc bọo mũhn
 he | about hit | child boy his
 'He was about to hit his son.'
- (C30) T₁ P O (P)
thửhng hợm tẽ | lohng | song | ma
 arrive night that | down | tray | come
 'That night they set the table' (lit. downed the tray).
- (C31) P O
lohng | chà
 down | seedlings
 'They planted seedlings.'
- (C32) A P O
tú nohc tú hú | chừhng ợc | hợy
 cl. bird cl. owl | then out | egg
 'The owl then laid an egg.'
- (C33) A P O
mũhn | hủ | cáu
 he | laugh | me
 'He laughed at me.'

The Object position, like the Actor, is filled by noun phrases, names, and pronouns. It normally follows the Predicate (C29–33), but for emphasis may be placed in front of the Actor (C34, C35). When ambiguous, as in C35, only the context makes it clear that it is Object, not Actor, as there are no overt markers to distinguish these two tagmemes.

(C34) O A P T₂
tú vai | vahng té | hōhn | bqt nưhng
 cl. buffalo | boy that | hit | time one
 ‘It was the buffalo the boy hit once’ or ‘The buffalo was hit once by the boy.’

(C35) O P
vam té | càng mi đày
 word that | say not able
 ‘I am not able to pronounce that word.’

The positions of Object and Actor may be reversed (C36, C37), but this is very rare. In this example permissiveness is being emphasized.

(C36) A P O
mệ kè | ùhm | éng
 woman old | hold | baby
 ‘The aunt holds the baby.’

(C37) O P A
éng | ùhm | mệ kè
 baby | hold | woman old
 ‘The baby is held by the aunt.’

5.4 Ditransitive clause

The nucleus of a ditransitive clause consists of an Actor, a Predicate, an Indirect Object (IO), and an Object. Temporal₁ and Temporal₂ are the only peripheral tagmemes that have been found with a ditransitive clause. The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ (A P IO O) T₂

The Object sometimes precedes the Indirect Object (C39) or the Actor (C41, C42). The Actor tagmeme is frequently omitted, and occasionally the Object tagmeme is omitted.

The Actor slot is usually filled by an animate noun phrase, a name, or a pronoun.

- (C38) A P IO O
mũhn | áu ma | hữ cáu | áhn tohng mãy nưhng
 he | get come | for me | cl. piece stick one
 'He got me a stick.'

- (C39) T₁ A P O IO
sihn-này | tú sữ | chihng áu | áhn mác | hữ tú nohc té
 now | cl. tiger | then take | cl. fruit | for cl. bird that
 'Now the tiger gave the fruit to the bird.'

The Predicate slot is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as *hữ* 'give', *páhn* 'divide', *áu* 'take', *sỉ* 'write', *vẽ* 'draw', *páhng* 'give back', *bén* 'wrap', *khài* 'sell'.

- (C40) P IO O
hữ | hâu | pác nưhng
 give | them | hundred one
 'Give them one hundred (piastres).'

The Object position is usually filled by a simple animate noun phrase, a name, or a pronoun. In normal order, following the Indirect Object it may be a full noun phrase, and usually contains a numeral (C38, C40, C44–46). When it precedes the Indirect Object it is usually short and without a numeral (C39; S25). The Object is sometimes placed before the Actor for emphasis (C41), and occasionally even leaving its demonstrative behind in the normal post-Indirect Object position (C42). Not infrequently the Object is entirely omitted (C43).

- (C41) O A P IO
bén pá | lán | áu ma | hữ cóhng
 package fish | grandchild | take come | for grandfather
 'I brought a package of fish for grandfather.'

- (C42) O A P IO (O)
íht mòi | mưhng | áu | hữ cáu | té
 few kernels | you | take | for me | that
 'You bring me those few kernels.'

- (C43) P IO
khài | hữ cáu
 sell | for me
 'Sell it to me.'

The Indirect Object position is usually filled by the verbal *hữ* 'to, for' with its accompanying object (C41–44), but either *hữ* or the noun phrase is sometimes omitted (C45, C46). When the verb *hữ* 'give' is the main verb in its clause, the

Indirect Object and Object tagmemes immediately follow without an additional verbal being supplied (C40) and always in that order. When the Indirect Object is preceded by the Object (C39), *hữ* is obligatory. The Indirect Object is usually a noun phrase, a name, or a pronoun, but can also be a nominalized clause (C47).

5.5 Descriptive clause

The nucleus of a descriptive clause consists of a Subject (S) and a Predicate. Possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁, Temporal₂, and Order. The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ (S P) T₂ OR

Usually only two or three tagmemes occur in one clause, though as many as four have been found. The descriptive clause in isolation seldom has any peripheral tagmemes. The descriptive clause does not have a Location tagmeme, but location can be expressed within a nominalized clause in the Subject position (C49). No examples have been found of peripheral tagmemes occurring between the Subject and the Predicate.

The descriptive clause has many of the same components as a simple nominal phrase (Sect. 3.1), and the nucleus of the descriptive clause is transformationally equivalent to a nominal phrase. But in addition to their difference in function as clause and phrase, the clause may include peripheral tagmemes which the phrase may not, and the possessor follows the noun in a descriptive clause (C50), while the possessor follows the modifier in a nominal phrase.

(C44) P IO O
páhn | hữ vahng tẻ | mạp phụ nữhng
 divide | for boy that | cl. axe one
 'Give that boy an axe.'

(C45) P IO O
páhn | vahng tẻ | mạp phụ nữhng
 divide | boy that | cl. axe one
 'Give that boy an axe.'

(C46) A P IO O
mứn | chihng áu | hữ | áhn vi nữhng
 she | then take | for | cl. comb one
 'She then gave them a comb.'

(C47) A P O (P) IO
mạhnh cữhnh hâu | áu | mớỉ | ọc ma | hữ slóng óhng đéhc kỉnh hồ tẻ
 pl. person they | take | rice | out come | for two cl. child eat beg those
 'They brought out rice for those two begging children.'

- (C48) P IO (P) O
tân pahn | hữ câu | đày | có mặc fong nưhng
 only divide | for me | able | tree fruit starfruit one
 'Just let me have one starfruit (carambola) tree.'

The Indirect Object tagmeme is similar in many ways to the Beneficiary tagmeme (Sect. 7.6).

The Subject position is usually filled by an animate noun phrase (C51) or by an inanimate noun phrase (C49), a name, or a pronoun (C52, C53). In a descriptive clause the Subject is simply being described; it does not initiate any action.

- (C49) T₁ S P
vahn này | áhn bộ dụ lánhng hơn | dách lái
 day this | cl. well at back house | deep very
 'Today the well at the back of the house is very deep.'

The Predicate position is filled by descriptive verb phrases whose head is an adjective such as *dách* 'deep', *đồ* 'bald', *đáy* 'good', *chéhp* 'sore', *phóc* 'white', *sihng* 'green', *hưhng* 'bright'. The descriptive verb may be simple (C49–51) or complex (C52, C53). The negative used with descriptive verbs is *mi* (C53).

- (C50) S P OR
áhn thủ mưhn | đồ | đã
 cl. head his | bald | already
 'His head is already bald.'

- (C51) S P
sláo | đáy lái
 girl | good very
 'The girl is very good.'

- (C52) S P
mưhn | đáy-sláo lái
 she | good-girl very
 'She is very pretty.'

- (C53) S P
mưhn | mi đáy-sláo lái
 she | not good-girl very
 'She is not very pretty.'

When a body part and its possessor are involved (C54), the body part is usually the head of the Subject phrase (C54b), but is occasionally made part of a complex Predicate leaving the possessor as head of the Subject phrase (C54c). The juncture agrees with the grammatical break in each instance.

(C54) (a) NH Mod Poss
áhn tōng | chéhp | tú slŭ
 cl. stomach | sore | cl. tiger
 'the tiger's sore stomach'

(C54) (b) S P
áhn tōng tú slŭ | chéhp lái
 cl. stomach cl. tiger | sore very
 'The tiger's stomach was very sore.'

(C54) (c) S P
tú slŭ | chéhp áhn tōng lái
 cl. tiger | sore cl. stomach very
 'The tiger was very sore in his stomach.'

The peripheral tagmemes T₁, T₂, and OR are all regular (see Chap. 7).

5.6 Equative clause

The nucleus of an equative clause consists of a Subject, a Predicate, and a Complement (C). The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁, Temporal₂, Accompaniment, and Order. The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ (S P C) AC T₂ OR

Usually only two or three tagmemes occur in one clause, though as many as five have been found.

The Subject position is filled by an animate noun phrase (C55), a pronoun (C56), or a clause (C72). No examples of an inanimate noun phrase Subject have been found.

(C55) S P C
vahng pi bqo mŭhn | hěht | cŭhn sláy
 boy older brother his | do | person priest
 'His older brother is a sorcerer.'

(C56) S C OR
mŭhn | lŭhc đêhc | thòi
 he | cl. child | only
 'He is only a child.'

The Predicate position may be absent (C56), or may be filled by a copulative verb (C55, C58) or a comparative verb (C59, C60). The absence of a predicate generally indicates an important or intrinsic characteristic of the Subject; this construction is very similar in both form and meaning to the descriptive clause.

The copulative verbs are *hêht* 'make, do', *dụ* 'is', *sự* 'correct', *slùhc* 'be a member of'; these generally indicate an acquired or alienable characteristic or function of the Subject (C55, C57–59) or they emphasize the truth of the Complement (C60). *Dụ* is occasionally omitted (C61).

- (C57) S P C
mùhn | dụ | cùhn sláy
 he | is | person priest
 'He is a sorcerer.'
- (C58) S P C
mùhn | hêht | lùhc đêhc
 he | do | cl. child
 'He pretends to be a child.'
- (C59) S P C
mùhn | dụ | cùhn Mỹ
 he | is | person American
 'He is an American.'
- (C60) S P C
mùhn | sự | thài đã
 he | true | dead already
 'He certainly is dead already.'
- (C61) S C
mùhn | cùhn sláy
 he | person priest
 'He is a sorcerer.'

Slùhc 'be a member of' generally takes a modifying directional verbal (Sect. 4.4). If the speaker is also a member of the group of which the Subject is a member, then *ma* is used (C62); otherwise *mơ* is used (C63).

- (C62) S P C
mùhn | slùhc ma | đã-điêng câu
 he | member come | family my
 'He belongs to my family.'
- (C63) S P C
mùhn | slùhc mơ | đã-điêng mừnh
 he | member return | family your
 'He belongs to your family.'

Verbs of comparison include *cay* 'equal', *tỗ* 'equal', *váht* 'resembles', *tông* 'like', *lùhm*, *lùhm vạ* 'like', *pehn* 'like', indicating a comparison of size or quality.

(C64) S P C
tú má này | cay | tú má hau
 cl. dog this | equal | cl. dog our
 'This dog is the same size as our dog.'

(C65) S P C
óhng này | váht | óhng té
 cl. this | resemble | cl. that
 'This person resembles that one.'

An equative clause is normally negated by adding *mi* before the verb of the Predicate (C66). To negate a clause with a zero predicate, such as C56, *mi sủ* is added before the Complement (C67). (If simply *mi* were used in the absence of a predicate, it would be ambiguous with a transitive clause with *mi* 'have' (C68).

(C66) S P C
tú má này | mi cay | tú má hau
 cl. dog this | not equal | cl. dog our
 'This dog is not the same size as our dog.'

(C67) S P C
mủhn | mi sủ | lựhc đéhc
 he | not true | cl. child
 'He is not a child.'

(C68) S P O
mủhn | mi | lựhc đéhc
 she | have | cl. child
 'She has children.'

The Complement position is filled by a noun phrase (never a pronoun C69–71), by a verb phrase (S62), or by a clause (C72).

(C69) S P C
mủhn | hểht | củhn thả hựng
 he | do | person eye bright
 'He is a sorcerer.'

(C70) S C
mủhn | củhn thả đáhm
 he | person eye dark
 'He is a common person' (not a sorcerer).

- (C71) S C
tú lưhc | tú lán lưhc sláo kè tẻ
 cl. child | cl. niece child girl man that
 'I am that man's niece.'
- (C72) S P C
mừng hẻht nhuhc hừ hủu | lừm vạ | hẻht khỏ hừ cáu
 you do persecute to them | like | do difficult to me
 'Your persecuting them is as if you hurt me.'

Of the peripheral tagmemes, T₁ occurs only clause initial (C126). T₂ may occur only when the Predicate indicates that it is a played role rather than an intrinsic role (C136). AC seldom occurs (C152). In the OR slot *dả* 'already' never occurs in clauses expressing an intrinsic role, but may occur when expressing a played role (C186).

5.7 Existential clause

The nucleus of an existential clause consists of a Predicate and a Subject. The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁ and Locative. The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

T₁ L (P S)

Temporal₁ may not occur with Locative, resulting in a maximum of three tagmemes in any existential clause. Such a clause is mainly used to introduce persons or objects into a discourse.

The Predicate position is filled by one of a small set of verbs, of which the most common are *mi* 'have, be' (C73–76) and *lừm* 'remaining' (C77). This existential *mi* is to be distinguished from the negative *mi* and from the transitive *mi* 'have' (Sect. 5.3).

- (C73) P S
mi | câu áhn phả vahn
 be | nine cl. cover day
 'There were nine suns.'
- (C74) T₁ P S
mự-ni | mi | pị nõng
 once-focus | be | older younger siblings
 'Once there were some siblings.'
- (C75) L P S
dự áhn bảntẻ ni | mi | áhn nảhm nừng
 at cl. village that focus | be | cl. water one
 'In that village there was a pool of water.'

The Subject position is always filled by a noun phrase (C73–75) or by a nominalized clause (C76, C77). When it is filled by a clause, it parallels the Container sentence type except that the nominalized clause here is a postposed Subject rather than an Object.

(C76) T₁ P S
một-ni | mi | kẻ nường pehn bínhng
 once-focus | be | man one state sick
 'Once there was a sick man.'

(C77) P S
nhahng lờm | pị nõng khàu cháng áhn pu pay mi thài
 still remain | older younger sibling in inside cl. gourd go not die
 'There still remained the siblings in the gourd who didn't die.'

Of the peripheral tagmemes, T₁ always precedes, never follows, the Predicate (C76). L can be introduced only by *dụ* 'in, at', and it precedes the Predicate (C75).

5.8 Comparative clause

The nucleus of a comparative clause consists of a Subject, *lái*, a Quality, *hờn*, and a Compared. The only departure from this order is occasional interchange between *lái* and the Quality.

Subj:NP,C1 *lái:lái* Qual:Adj *hờn:hờn* Comp: NP,C1

The Subject position is filled by a noun phrase (C78, C79) or a clause (C80–82). Sometimes when the Subject is a clause, the *lái* may function simultaneously as the postverbal *lái* (Sect. 4.4) of the Subject clause and the *lái* of the comparative clause formula (C81); in this case the Object of the Subject clause may come either before or after the *lái*.

(C78) S *lái* Qual *hờn* Comp
cáu | lái | heng | hờn | mứng
 I | much | strong | than | you
 'I am stronger than you.'

(C79) S *lái* Qual *hờn* Comp
áhn hờn cáu | lái | lóng | hờn | áhn hờn mứng
 cl. house my | much | big | than | cl. house your
 'My house is bigger than your house.'

- (C80) S lái Qual hờn Comp
bạo Mai bảhn thỉhn | lái | cháy | hờn | Lai (bảhn)
 brother Mai throw stone | much | far | than | Lai (throw)
 ‘Mai threw the stone farther than Lai.’

Lái is normally present in comparative clauses, though occasionally it may be omitted (C86).

- (C81) S lái (S) hờn Comp
kề sủhc Mai áu hữ (ca) | lái | ca | hờn | kề sủhc San (hữ)
 cl. uncle Mai take give | much | gift | than | cl. uncle San (give)
 ‘Uncle Mai gave more gifts than Uncle San.’

The Quality (Qual) position is filled by an adjective (Sect. 3.5) such as *heng* ‘strong’, *lóng* ‘big’, *nhéhng* ‘fast’, *cháy* ‘far’, *cái* ‘smart’, *dỏi* ‘clever’, *dáhc* ‘deep’, *đáy* ‘good’ (C78–80, C82). When the Quality is a complex adjective such as *đáy sláo* (C85), it is placed before the *lái*. When the Subject is a clause, the Quality may be just a general “more,” in which case there need not be an overt filler of the Quality position since the *lái* and *hờn* effectively convey the “more” meaning (C81, C84, C86). When the Quality is an adjective doublet (C83), a *lái* follows each member of the pair.

- (C82) S lái Qual hờn Comp
tú mã cáu phạo | lái | nhéhng | hờn | tú mã mừhng
 cl. horse my run | much | fast | than | cl. horse your
 ‘My horse runs faster than your horse.’

- (C83) S Qual lái Qual lái hờn Comp
mừhn | cái | lái | dỏi | lái | hờn | kề vú
 he | smart | much | clever | much | than | cl. king
 ‘He is smarter and cleverer than the king.’

Hờn ‘than’ is obligatorily present in all comparative clauses. The *hờn* in C86 is possibly functioning simultaneously as a numerator (Sect. 3.3) with the noun *hờn* and as the *hờn* of the comparative clause; the absence of both *lái* and a Qualifier makes this possible.

The Compared slot is filled by a noun phrase or a clause, matching the Subject filler. If it is a noun phrase, it closely matches the form of the Subject; if it is a clause, it may omit one or more tagmemes or add *ni*.

- (C84) S lái hờn Comp
mế đệp cáu | lái | hờn | nờng-nạ đệp cáu (ni)
 mother love me | much | than | sister love me focus
 ‘My mother loves me more than my sister does.’

(C85) S Qual lái hờn Comp
tú tẻ | đấỵ sláo | lái | hờn | tú mẹ khả-còn
 cl. that | good girl | much | than | cl. wife before
 ‘That one is prettier than the previous wife.’

(C86) S hờn (S) Comp
mừn mi | hờn | hờn | pị bọ
 he have | than | house | older brother
 ‘He has more possessions than his older brother.’

6 Dependent Clauses

Of the Nùng dependent clauses, the repeated action and temporal clauses are distinctive clause types. The other dependent clauses are transforms of independent clauses. The transformed (or modified) clauses may in turn be divided into two groups: those which are modified to fill a nominal slot in a clause, and those which are modified to fill a dependent clause slot in a sentence. The former are the definite relative and the unmarked nominalized clauses; the latter are the indefinite relative, the contraexpectancy relative, and the reduced clauses.

6.1 Definite relative clause

Definite relative (rel) clauses refer to specifically identified people or items. Independent clauses differ from definite relative clauses (see Sect. 3.1) by the addition of *tê* 'that' or *ni* 'this, focus' to the end of the clause and *tj* or *tj vq* 'who, which' after the new Noun Head (NH). Thus the clause elements combine with noun phrase structure in various ways to highlight the various elements. Generally speaking, the highlighted element is placed at the front of the phrase, and the nonhighlighted elements follow the *tj-vq* in their normal clause order.

The Actor is highlighted with the structure:

NH: A rel: *tj* Mod: (P-IO-O) Dem: *tê, ni*

(C87) NH:A rel Mod:P - O Dem
kê | tj-vq | tóhc cộn thihh | tê ni
 man | who | lost cl. stone | that focus
 'The man who had lost the stone. . .'

The Object is highlighted with the structure:

NH: O rel: *tj* Mod: (A-P) Dem: *tê, ni*

(C88) NH:O rel Mod:A - P Dem
kè | tị-vạ | slú lợc ma | tẻ
 man | who | you choose out | that
 'The man whom you chose. . .'

When the Indirect Object (C89) or the Beneficiary (B: C90) is highlighted, the introducer *hừ* 'to, for' is at the end of the relative clause, though the Indirect Object and Beneficiary themselves are at its beginning. An anaphoric *mừhn* is often inserted before the main predicate (C89).

(C89) NH:IO rel Mod:A P O (IO) Dem (IO)/A
kè | tị-vạ | cái áo | sẹc slừ | hừ | ni | mừhn
 man | who | I gave cl. | book | to | focus | he
 'The man I gave the book to, he. . .'

(C90) NH:B Mod:A P O (B) Dem
ớhng kè | cái slừ áhn tu | hừ | ni
 cl. man | I bought cl. hat | for | focus
 'the man for whom I bought the hat. . .'

Highlighted Subject (C91) or Direction (C92) usually take an anaphoric *mừhn* 'he' or a noun such as *nảhm* 'water', but the relative *tị-vạ* is optional. A highlighted Direction does not bring its DV₁ and DV₂ forward with it, but leaves them in the normal postpredicate position (C93).

(C91) NH:S rel Mod:P - C Dem (S)/A
kè | (tị) | hẻht sláy thà hựng | ni | mừhn
 man | who | do priest eye bright | focus | he
 'the man who is a sorcerer, he. . .'

(C92) NH:D rel Mod:A - P Dem (D)/A
khà tạ | tị | nõng - ợo khàu | ni | nảhm
 cl. river | that | yg.sib.male enter | focus | water
 'the river that the younger brother entered, it. . .'

(C93) NH:D Mod:A - P Dem
áhn hờn | cái lện khàu pay | tẻ
 cl. house | I run into go | that
 'the house I was running into. . .'

When other clause elements such as Source (C94), Peripheral Locative (C95), Accompaniment (C96), Temporal₁ (C97), and Temporal₂ (C98) are highlighted, the relative *tị-vạ* occurs less often.

- (C94) NH:SO rel Mod:A - P Dem
áhn hơn | (tị) | câu ní ọc khọi | ni
 cl. house | that | I run out | this
 'the house I was running from. . .'
- (C95) NH:L rel Mod:A - P - O Dem
áhn bàn | tị | câu đàng hểht vệc | té ni
 cl. village | that | I was do work | that focus
 'the village where I was working. . .'

To highlight the Accompaniment clause element, the reciprocal preverbal clause particles *tô say* 'with together' (see V32 and V44) are used as relatives, and the anaphoric *mừn* 'he' is also used.

- (C96) NH:AC rel Mod:A - P Dem (AC)/A
kề | tô say | câu hểht | ni | mừn
 man | with together | I work | focus | he
 'the man with whom I was working, he. . .'

To highlight a Temporal₁ element, *lúhc* 'time' is used as the relative.

- (C97) NH:T₁ rel Mod:A - P - D Dem
áhn vahn | lúhc | câu páy Saigon | ni
 cl. day | time | I go Saigon | focus
 'the day I went to Saigon. . .'

To highlight a Temporal₂ element, *hah* 'which' is used as the relative, so that it is distinguishable from the indefinite relative clause (Sect. 6.2) only by final *ni*.

- (C98) NH:T₂ rel Mod:A - P - L Dem
pí | hah | câu hểht dụ Saigon | ni
 year | which | I work in Saigon | focus
 'the year I worked in Saigon. . .'

When highlighting the possessor (Poss) of one of the participants in a clause, since the possessor is not by itself a full clause participant, its position must be additionally marked by a pronoun following the possessed participant:

NH: Poss rel: *tị* Mod: (A-Poss-P-10-0) Dem: *té, ni*

- (C99) NH:Poss rel Mod:A - Poss - P Dem
kề | tị-vạ | mẹ mừn thái | ni
 man | who | mother his died | focus
 'the man whose mother died. . .'

The relative *tj* or *tj-vạ* is occasionally omitted if the Noun Head is Actor (N10, N11) or peripheral Location (N150). The demonstrative *tế* or *ni* may sometimes be omitted when the relative clause is filling the Object position (C100).

- (C100) A P O
cáu | hâhn | kè tj-vạ mẹ mữn thài
 I | see | man who mother his died
 'I saw the man whose mother had died.'

The Noun Head may be preceded by a numeral and classifier, as in ordinary noun phrases.

- (C101) Num Cl NH rel Mod Dem
slông | tú | vahng | tj-vạ | páy Sài Gòn | tế
 two | cl. | boy | who | go Saigon | that
 'the two boys who went to Saigon. . .'

6.2 Indefinite relative clause

Indefinite relative clauses may refer to general situations or conditions in which the Noun Head has an indefinite universal quantifier. Independent clauses may be modified into indefinite relative clauses by substituting *hah* 'whoever, whichever' for the demonstrative in a noun phrase. Indefinite relative clauses are often used in the Base position of a relative-referent sentence (Sect. 8.7). When *hah* is used in a noun phrase, there may not be any other number or modifier. (For interrogatives with *hah* see Sect. 8.18).

- (C102) A P
cữhn hah | páy đày
 person which | go able
 'whoever is able to go. . .'

- (C103) T₁ A P Dem
vahn hah | mẹ mững | thài | ni
 day which | mother your | die | focus
 'whichever day it was that your mother died. . .'

With a Location or a Direction, the *hah* substitutes for the whole noun phrase.

- (C104) A P D
mững | páy | hah. . .
 you | go | which
 'wherever you want to go. . .'

(C105) A P D
m̄hng | t̄o ău p̄y | hah. . .
 you | again take go | which
 'wherever you take it. . .'

(C106) P L
k̄hn | đ̄u hah. . .
 eat | at where
 'wherever we eat. . .'

Indefinite relative clauses may also refer to specific but unidentified situations. No *hah*, relative, or *ni* is used.

(C107) NH:Poss Mod:A - Poss P
ôhng k̄e | m̄e m̄hn th̄ai đ̄a
 cl. man | mother his died already
 'a man whose mother had died. . .'

6.3 Contraexpectancy relative clause

An unexpected result may be signaled in the antecedent clause with *pehn h̄* 'like what' in the Manner slot (C108, C109; S37, S38). This is used in the Base position of the Relative-referent sentence (Sect. 8.7).

(C108) A P M
vahng t̄e | c̄i? nḡăo | pehn h̄
 boy that | continue pry | like what
 'However that boy would pry' (he still couldn't get it open).

(C109) P O M
s̄li | s̄j s̄l̄? | sl̄y pehn h̄
 write | cl. word | small like what
 'However small he wrote the words' (he still couldn't get them all on the page).

6.4 Reduced clause

Reduced clauses (RedCl) function in many sentence types and are characterized by the deletion of the Subject or Actor tagmeme. For Sentence Functors (SF) see Sect. 8.1.

(C110) P D
t̄o l̄ôt | lohng t̄ôhm pay
 also fall | down dirt go
 . . . 'and fell down to the ground'

- (C111) P O SF
kính | mảc | lờo
 eat | fruit | complete
 'after he had eaten the fruit. . .'

The Container clause of a container sentence is a special kind of reduced clause. The clause is reduced in that there cannot be a simple Object. Yet at the same time, the Object slot may be said to be filled by the entire Contained clause (see Sect. 8.12).

6.5 Repeated action clause

The repeated action clause indicates a repeated action of nonspecific duration. The reason for termination of the action is often stated in the following clause, but not always. A simple independent clause is transformed into a repeated action clause by the deletion of all participant tagmemes (A, O, IO, S, etc.), with doubling of the verb and addition of directionals. The only peripheral tagmeme permitted is a Temporal₂.

(P: VbHd *páy* VbHd *ma*) T₂

This type of clause always occurs as a dependent clause, and only at the beginning of a sentence.

The Verb Head position is usually filled by a transitive verb (C112, C113), though directional verbs sometimes occur (C114). The focus in this clause type seems to be upon the repeated action of the verb, perhaps emphasized by the lack of accompanying tagmemes.

- (C112) P T₂
thây páy thây ma | đày slám nánh
 plow go plow come | able three morning
 'after he had plowed for three mornings. . .'

- (C113) P
kính páy kính ma
 eat go eat come
 'he ate and ate until. . .'

- (C114) P
páy páy ma ma
 go go come come
 'after he had gone back and forth several times. . .'

The principle is sometimes adopted in linguistic description of considering a string as two clauses whenever there are two main verbs. But in Nùng the reduplication of a Verb Head, with or without verbals, does not always warrant such an analysis. In the Transitive clause, for example, the verb head may be repeated either to show continued action (V18), or greatness of quantity or quality (V15–17). The use of directional verbs within a clause tagmeme does not imply back-looping simply because the verb may be used as a verb head in another clause (Day 1966:64–74). In the repeated action clause it would seem unnecessary to try to separate the reduplicated verb head and the accompanying verbs into more than one clause since this is just another way of expanding the predicate phrase.

6.6 Temporal clause

The temporal clause emphasizes the time element in an event; it is chiefly used to introduce a Simultaneous Action sentence. It is composed of a time element plus an independent clause nucleus. The temporal clause is often used in Simultaneous Action sentences (Sect. 8.11).

T₁, T₂, *bət* Ind. Cl. Nuc.

The temporal slot is most often filled by *thững lúhc* 'arrive moment', or *bət* 'time' plus a numeral, or simply *bət* 'when'. *Thững lúhc* (T₁) precedes the nucleus (C116, C117; S54), *bət* plus numeral (T₂) follow the nucleus (C118; S55), and simple *bət* is usually inserted between the Actor and the Predicate (C115, C119; S56).

The independent clause nucleus is an action clause (transitive, intransitive, semitransitive, or ditransitive), not a stative or descriptive clause.

(C115) A T P O
tú cá | *bət* | *hahn* | *tú nohc tang-na*
 cl. crow | when | see | cl. bird moorhen
 'when the crow saw the moorhen. . .'

(C116) T A P O (P)
thững lúhc | *tú té* | *mi* | *lúhc* | *qc ma*
 arrive moment | cl. that | have | child | out come
 'when the time came for that one to have a child. . .'

(C117) T A P
thững lúhc | *tú ngợc* | *lohng ma*
 arrive moment | cl. sea-monster | descend come
 'when the time came for the sea monster to come down. . .'

(C118) A P T
vahng té | hōhn | bqt cam-kên nưhng
boy that | hit | time fist one
‘when the boy hit once with his fist. . .’

(C119) T P
bqt | nqhnq lohng pay
when | sit down go
‘when he sat down. . .’

7 Clause Periphery

The peripheral tagmemes of the clause are Temporal₁ (time setting), Temporal₂ (duration), Directional (destination), Locative (spatial setting), Accompaniment, Beneficiary, Instrument, Manner, and Order, most commonly in the order: T₁ L T₂ I M B AC OR. The peripheral tagmemes are not obligatory to a clause, but they add information and setting for the action. Most predicative clauses have several possible peripheral tagmemes, but nonpredicative clauses have few.

The peripheral tagmemes usually come before or after the clause nucleus, but some of them may sometimes come between the nuclear tagmemes, as in:

Illustration 177

A L P O (C146)

A P M O (C171)

A T₁ P O (C121)

The two setting tagmemes, Temporal₁ and Locative, though usually occurring before and after the nucleus (NUC) respectively, may sometimes change their position relative to the nucleus or to T₂, as in:

Illustration 178

L (NUC) (C143)

(NUC) T₁ T₂ (C123)

(NUC) T₂ L

(NUC) L T₂ (C170)

7.1 Temporal setting

There are two temporal tagmemes, one stating the point of time of the action (T₁), and the other the duration of the action (T₂). Temporal₁ gives the time setting for the action and usually precedes the nucleus (C120, C122, C125, C126).

The Temporal₁ tagmeme is usually manifested by noun phrases such as *vahn lánhng* 'the next day', *vahn éht* 'the first day', *sāu nâh* 'early in the morning', *sihn-nây* 'now'.

- (C120) T₁ A P
vahn lánhng | hâu | tɛo sihm páy
 day back | they | again search go
 'The next day they again searched.'

- (C121) A T₁ P
vahng éng Hohng | vahn nây | hōhn
 boy baby Hohng | day this | hit
 'The little boy Hohng hit them today.'

- (C122) T₁ P T₂
vahn éht | hōhn | thǔhng dǎhm
 day first | hit | until dark
 'The first day he fought until dark.'

- (C123) P T₁ T₂
hōhn | vahn éht | thǔhng dǎhm
 hit | day first | until dark
 'He fought the first day until dark.'

- (C124) T₁ A P
sāu nâh | dǎ chǎn | tǔhn ma
 early morning | cl. witch | awake come
 'Early in the morning the witch woke up.'

- (C125) T₁ P
slóng vahn | chíhng páy ðày
 two day | then go able
 'After two days we can go.'

- (C126) T₁ S P C OR
sihn-nây | mǔhn | tɛo pehn | tú mệ | thòi
 now | it | again like | cl. woman | only
 'Now it's again like a woman.'

T₁ always precedes the nucleus in equative and existential clauses (C74, C76, C126). In other clause types it is occasionally found within or following the nucleus (C121, C123). In motion clauses T₁ not infrequently follows the Actor.

(C127) A T₁ P P O
slú | hahm này | ma | hêht | lahng
 you | evening this | come | do | what
 'What did you come to do this evening?'

(C128) A T₁ P D
vahng tẻ | hahm va | ní páy | đờng
 boy that | evening last | flee go | fields
 'Last evening that boy fled to the fields.'

7.2 Temporal duration

Temporal₂ gives the duration of the action, which with a repeated action, may include the number of times it is repeated (C131, C132). For combination of Temporal₂ with Instrument, see Sect. 7.7.

The Temporal₂ tagmeme may be manifested by a noun phrase (C129–132) or a prepositional phrase (C122), although it normally follows the clause nucleus. If both temporal tagmemes occur after the Predicate, T₁ precedes T₂ (C123).

(C129) A P O T₂
mihn | kihn | khàu tây | slóng vahn
 he | eat | cl. corn | two day
 'He ate corn for two days.'

(C130) P T₂
tẻc | íht vahn
 put | few days
 'Leave it a few days.'

(C131) A P O T₂
tú má | khỏhp | dạ tẻ | slóng bặt
 cl. dog | bite | woman that | two time
 'The dog bit that woman twice.'

(C132) A P T₂ D
vahng tẻ | tihm | bặt nửhng | lohng áhn bộ tẻ pay
 boy that | dive | time one | into cl. well that go
 'That boy dived once into the well.'

(C133) A P T₂
tú tẻ | non | cả hứnh
 cl. that | sleep | all night
 'That one slept all night.'

(C134) A P T₂
mứnh | ma đày | kì vahn
 he | come able | few day
 'He's able to come for a few days.'

(C135) A P T₂
mứnh | páy học đày | pí nứnhng
 he | go study able | year one
 'He went and studied for a year.'

Temporal₂ can be used with an equative clause (Sect. 5.6) only when the Predicate indicates that it is a played role rather than an intrinsic role. T₂ does not occur with descriptive clauses.

(C136) S P C T₂ OR
mứnh | hẻht | cứnh thả hứnhng | đày pí nứnhng | đã
 he | do | person eye bright | able year one | already
 'He has been a sorcerer for one year already.'

Temporal₂ may sometimes merge with the Instrument (I, Instr), especially when there are verbs of striking in the Predicate (C137, C165, C166). Temporal₂ is then filled by *bạt* 'time' preceding the Instrument. The numeral 'one' follows the Instrument, but may be omitted (C137); all other numerals precede *bạt* (C166). Temporal₂ may be combined with Manner in the same way (C176).

(C137) A P T₂ I
mứnh | tạng | bạt | lehp mứ
 he | stab | time | nail hand
 'He stabbed once with his fingernail.'

7.3 Directional

The Directional tagmeme is nuclear in motion clauses but peripheral in other clause types. It is bracketed by directional verbs: introduced by a DV₁, followed by a prepositional or noun phrase, and closed by a DV₂ (V125). It is always post-nuclear in the clause.

The DV₁ position is filled by one of certain motion verbs which specify the direction of the action. The most frequent to occur are *khâu* 'on, in', *lởnh* 'into, downward', *ọc* 'out', *khứnh* 'up', *cả* 'across', and (with certain verbs) *mở* 'return, about'. Occasionally *chàng* 'inside' is used with a Direction (C14), especially if the main verb is a directional verbal.

The DV₂ position follows the noun phrase and is filled by either *pay/páy* 'direction away from the speaker' or *ma* 'direction toward the speaker' (*pay* is used when DV₁ is present, *páy* elsewhere). DV₂ is omitted in some dependent clauses. When a DV₂ and the command particle *páy* occur together at the end of a clause, neutralization takes place and the form (being the same) is not repeated (see Sect. 8.19).

When the main verb is an intransitive directional verbal, the use of a DV₂ in the Directional tagmeme is optional (C14, C22, C93) and the use of a DV₁ is rare (C22, C92). In many cases the DV main verb is apparently functioning simultaneously as the DV₁ of the Direction (C24). A transitive directional verbal (C139) does not have these restrictions.

The Directional tagmeme is used when the verb head implies some directed movement such as throwing or hitting.

(C138) A P O D
mũhn | víht | cộn thĩhn | khàu cớ mây té pay
 he | throw | cl. stone | into cl. tree that go
 'He threw a stone into that tree.'

(C139) A P O D
tú nohc tú hú | ọc | hạy | lohng hu pay
 cl. bird cl. owl | lay | egg | into hole go
 'The owl laid an egg in the hole.'

If the noun phrase within the Directional tagmeme refers to a body part, the Object tagmeme may either occur after the verb, or it may be expressed within the Directional tagmeme as the possessor; i.e., the Object/Possessor contrast being neutralized, the Directional tagmeme may occur freely in either Object or Possessor position.

With verbs of speaking or thinking such as *càng* 'speak', *slì* 'write', *ngàhm* 'think', and *khạhm* 'ask', the object of the speaking is introduced by *mơ*, with no DV₂ at the end.

(C140) A P D
mũhn | càng | mơ cáu
 he | speak | about me
 'He spoke about me.'

7.4 Locative

The Locative tagmeme specifies the physical setting in which the clause action takes place. It may be introduced by *dụ* 'at' (C75), by a preposition (N174, C141, V126), or by both (C142, C143). The most common locative prepositions are: *chàng* 'inside', *nọc* 'outside', *hehn* 'side', *tàh* 'under', *tihng* 'above', *nỉ* 'up at, above', *đáh* 'inside something long', and *cahng* 'around'. If the verb is

a verb of motion, the preposition may be omitted (C8). The location itself is a noun phrase.

(C141) A P L
vahng té | non | cháng pác tú ní
 boy that | sleep | inside mouth door focus
 'The boy slept in the doorway.'

(C142) A P L
tú bè té | dính | dụ hehn pác tú lạng vai
 cl. goat that | stand | at side mouth door shed buffalo
 'The goat stood beside the door of the buffalo shed.'

The Locative usually follows the clause nucleus (C141, C142), but may occasionally precede the nucleus (C75, C143). In existential clauses it always has *dụ* and precedes the nucleus (C75).

(C143) L A P O
dụ cháng tạ dụ hehn ánh hu ni | cáu | tèm | pá
 at inside river at side cl. hole focus | I | catch | fish
 'In the river at the side of the hole I catch fish.'

7.5 Accompaniment

The Accompaniment tagmeme refers to action performed by the Actor either jointly with someone else, or action which is oriented to the location of someone else. *Sqư* 'together', *đời* 'with', or *nem* 'after' usually introduces the noun phrase. *Đời* and *nem* can stand alone at the end of the clause, leaving the rest of the noun phrase to be understood from the context (C145).

(C144) A P O AC
ớhng lựhc | si táhm | khàu | đời mẹ kè
 cl. child | also pound | rice | with woman old
 'I'll also pound rice with you, Aunt.'

(C145) A P O AC
ớhng lựhc | si táhm | khàu | đời
 cl. child | also pound | rice | with
 'I'll also pound rice with you.'

(C146) A L P O AC
vahng té | nahng dụ hơn | càng | cò | sqư kè nữ hơn té
 boy that | still at house | speak | story | together cl. up house that
 'That boy was still at the house speaking to the old man at that house.'

- (C147) A P O D AC
mũhn | viht | cộn thihh | lohng tạ pay | nem pộ kè
 he | throw | cl. stone | into river go | after man old
 'He threw the stone into the river after the old man.'

Accompaniment in the Intransitive and Motion clauses tends to refer more to the simultaneous location of two or more people rather than to their simultaneous activity.

- (C148) A P AC
cáu | ma | sqa sláo
 I | come | together older-sister
 'I came to be with my older sister (who came first).'

- (C149) T_i A P AC
sihn-nây | nōng | ma | đời pị khời
 now | younger sibling | come | with older brother-in-law
 'Now I've come with my older brother-in-law.'

- (C150) A P AC
dạ lão | non | đời slóng lán mũhn
 cl. grandmother | sleep | with two grandchild her
 'Grandmother sleeps with her two grandchildren.'

- (C151) A P AC
mũhn | nạhng | sqa tú mệ mũhn
 he | sit | together cl. wife his
 'He sat with his wife.'

The Accompaniment tagmeme is not often used in the Equative clause, but if used it then follows the Complement. It tends to mark a one-way relationship rather than a reciprocal one.

- (C152) A P C AC
mũhn | hẻht | cứnh thền sléng | đời óhng tẻ
 he | do | person sky born | with cl. that
 'He acted like a creator with that person.'

7.6 Beneficiary

The Beneficiary tagmeme indicates a person for whose benefit the action is done. It is usually manifested with *hi?* 'for' plus a noun phrase or a pronoun (C153–155). It usually follows the Object.

(C153) P O B
hên | vai | hừ trâu
 tend | buffalo | for me
 ‘Tend the buffalo for me.’

(C154) A P O B
lão | chừ | ngai | hừ lán
 grandmother | cook | lunch | for grandchild
 ‘Grandmother cooks lunch for me.’

(C155) P O B
pao | vi | hừ lựhc
 wave | fan | for child
 ‘Please fan me.’

The noun phrase or pronoun is often omitted when it is understood from the context, but the *hừ* remains.

(C156) P O B
hêht | si | hừ
 do | rice-cake | for
 ‘Make a rice-cake for (him).’

(C157) A P B O
lựhc | cọi hêht | hừ | có sen nưhng
 child | will do | for | tree money one
 ‘I will make a money tree for (him).’

When the Object contains a numeral, the Beneficiary may precede the Object.

(C158) A P B O
lán | thạp | hừ kè | bọ lộ nưhng
 grandchild | carry | for man | section road one
 ‘I will carry it part of the way for you.’

The Beneficiary has the same form as the Indirect Object and has a somewhat similar meaning, but it occurs at a different place in the clause. The Indirect Object is a nuclear tagmeme in the Ditransitive clause; the Beneficiary is a peripheral tagmeme that may occur with all clause types. The Indirect Object normally precedes the Object except when the Indirect Object is long; the Beneficiary normally follows the Object. The relationship between Indirect Object and Beneficiary is not unlike that between the nuclear and peripheral Direction tagmemes. At times the distinction between Beneficiary and Indirect Object is neutralized (C160, C164). Further examples of the Beneficiary:

(C159) P B
áu khữhn pay | hữ câu
 take up go | for me
 'Take it up for me.'

(C160) P M B
áu ma | khqi | hữ câu
 take come | fast | for me
 'Bring it up fast for me.'

(C161) P O B
têc | áhn này | hữ câu
 place | cl. this | for me
 'Place this for me.'

(C162) P O B
đợt | mò năhm foht nưhng | hữ câu
 heat | pot water boil one | for me
 'Boil a pot of water for me.'

(C163) P O B
tém | fay dên | hữ câu
 light | fire tobacco | for me
 'Light a cigarette for me.'

(C164) P B
khải | hữ câu
 sell | for me
 'Sell it to me.'

7.7 Instrument

The Instrument (I) is most often expressed by using an Instrument sentence (Sect. 8.13), but may be expressed in a transitive clause in conjunction with a Temporal₂ tagmeme (C137, C165, C166). *Bạt* 'time' and numerals above 'one' precede the Instrument; *nưhng* 'one' follows the Instrument.

(C165) A P O D T₂ I (T₂)
vahng té | hữhn | sláo té | khàu thủ pay | bạt | têu mây | nưhng
 boy that | hit | girl that | on head go | time | cl. stick | one
 'That boy hit that girl on the head once with a stick.'

(C166) A P T₂ I
Cáu | tồ tạng | slóng bạt | lehp mư
 I | also stab | two time | nail hand
 'I will stab you twice with my fingernail.'

7.8 Manner

The Manner tagmeme is an optional one filled by a descriptive verb phrase or by an adverb describing the manner in which the action is performed. It is not considered simply a part of the Predicate tagmeme because at least three other tagmemes may separate the verb head of the Predicate from the descriptive phrase of the Manner. Although there is considerable position variation possible following the Predicate, the Manner tagmeme tends to be toward the end of the clause. It may sometimes precede the Object, Temporal₂, or Locative, but it is usually at the end of the clause. In interrogatives Manner may sometimes precede the Predicate (S103).

(C167) P L M
non | dụ tihng thàng mây té | đâhc
 sleep | at above tail tree that | deep
 'He was sound asleep in the top of that tree.'

(C168) A P M
tú bè | páy | nhéhng
 cl. goat | go | fast
 'The goat went fast.'

(C169) A P M
tú mã | páy | chũhm lái
 cl. horse | go | slow very
 'The horse goes very slowly.'

(C170) A P O L T₂ M
mũhn | càng | cò | dụ cháng hơn | cả vahn | heng lái
 he | speak | story | at inside house | all day | strong very
 'He was speaking very loudly in the house all day.'

(C171) A P M O
mũhn | càng | heng lái | kì văm té
 he | speak | strong very | few word that
 'He spoke those few words very loudly.'

(C172) A P O M T₂
mũhn | càng | cò | heng lái | cả vahn
 he | speak | story | strong very | all day
 'He spoke loudly all day.'

(C173) A P M L
mũhn | càng | heng lái | dụ cháng hơn
 he | speak | strong very | at inside house
 'He spoke very loudly in the house.'

(C174) P M
têc | pehn này
 leave | like this
 'Leave it like this.'

(C175) A P M
mũhn | nqnhg lohng | nác lái
 he | sit down | heavy very
 'He sat down very heavily.'

When Temporal₂ indicates the number of times an action was performed, Manner is sandwiched inside T₂ in the same way as Instrument (Sect. 7.7).

(C176) A P O T₂ M (T₂)
tú má | khòhp | dạ tẻ | bặt | heng | nũhng
 cl. dog | bite | woman that | time | strong | one
 'The dog bit that woman once hard.'

When a Manner follows the Predicate and there is a preverb in the Predicate, the verb head is sometimes omitted if understood from the context.

(C177) A PreVb M
mũhn | sahng | đáhç
 he | not-yet | deep
 'He was not yet sound asleep.'

7.9 Order

The Order tagmeme always comes at the end of the clause. It is manifested by adverbs such as *coi* 'first', *còn* 'before', *dã* 'already', *say* 'only', and *thòi* 'only'.

(C178) A P O OR
mẻ | chừ | pau | coi
 mother | cook | supper | first
 'Mother will cook supper first.'

(C179) A P B OR
cáu | tẻm | hừ mũnhg | cỏi
 I | paint | for you | before
 'I'll paint for you first (before you paint for me).'

(C180) A P O ÓR
mũnhg | kihn | hqy | đã
 you | eat | egg | already
 'You ate the egg already.'

(C181) A P O OR

câu | hōhn | mư̄hn | say

I | hit | him | only

'I only hit him.'

(C182) P D OR

thảm páy | bộ ngūhn | thòi

carry go | well silver | only

'Only carry him to the silver mine.'

(C183) A P M OR

óhng tế | non | đảhc | đã

cl. that | sleep | deep | already

'That person is sleeping soundly already.'

(C184) A P OR

mư̄hng | nạhng | cón

you | sit | before

'You sit first.'

(C185) A P OR

mư̄hng | lohng pay | cón

you | descend go | before

'You descend first.'

In an equative clause (Sect. 5.6) *đã* 'already' may be used only with a played role.

(C186) A P C OR

dạ này | hểht | mẹ mư̄hn | đã

woman this | do | mother his | already

'This woman was his foster mother already.'

8 Sentences

Nùng sentence types fall into several groups based on their component clause types and linkage:

- 1) one-clause sentences: Simple (8.2)
- 2) fused-clause sentences: Container (8.12), Quotation (8.16)
- 3) one-subject sentences: Multiple action (8.3), Instrument (8.13)
- 4) juxtaposed clause sentences: Completive-subsequent (8.10), Simultaneous (8.11), Purpose (8.14), Recapitulation (8.15)
- 5) optional conjunction sentences: Alternative (8.4), Relative-referent (8.7), Antithetical (8.8)
- 6) obligatory conjunction sentences: Cause-result (8.5), Conditional (8.6), Reluctant permission (8.9)

Operating on these sixteen sentence types are the sentential particles and junctures: demarcative prosodies (8.1), and the interrogative and imperative illocutionary transforms (8.18, 8.19).

Sentences contain clauses which may be independent, reduced, or subordinate. A full independent clause (Chap. 5) has all of the nuclear tagmemes overtly manifest. A reduced clause (Sect. 6.4) has one or more of the nuclear tagmemes deleted. A subordinate clause (Sects. 6.2, 6.3) may be either full or reduced, but the presence of certain morphemes makes it subordinate to the following clause.

8.1 Sentence particles and junctures

Optional demarcative prosodies, operating on all sentence types, include introductory and closing particles, functor particles, terminal and nonterminal junctures.

Sentence-introducing particles (SI) include *l̄əo* 'then', *ô* 'oh', *a* 'oh'. These are not permitted in the first sentence of a discourse but are permitted elsewhere. The particle *l̄əo* is common in both formal and informal speech and writing; *ô* and *a* are used more informally.

Sentence-closing particles (SP) include *l̄ô* 'emphatic', *đô* 'emphatic (with

preverbal negative)', *vở* or *vớ* 'surprise', *lúc* 'I told you so', *dễ* 'of course', *na* 'won't you', and *nè* 'isn't it so'.

Sentence functor particles (SF) include *pay*, *á* 'imperative' (see Sect. 8.19), *lẽo* 'completed' (see Sect. 8.10), *à*, *ôi* 'vocative' (N6, N7, S82), and *nĩ*, *ni* 'focus' (N163–167; S6, S27, S31). The imperative and vocative are always sentence final; *lẽo* is usually sentence medial. Focus may appear at various points in the sentence (Sect. 3.7).

Junctures may be either terminal or nonterminal (Sect. 2.4); terminal juncture may be either double plus juncture or double bar juncture. Double plus juncture is the normal ending on a declarative sentence, so it is not marked in the examples. Double bar juncture normally ends an interrogative sentence.

Nonterminal junctures may be either plus, single bar, or double plus. Plus juncture is normally found on the word or clause level, but is in some cases used in joining sentence elements. Single bar juncture is the most common connector of sentence elements, as well as being a means of marking clause elements not in normal order. Sometimes a simple plus juncture functions in these ways also.

Nonterminal double plus juncture signals an obligatory pause. It usually separates clauses within certain sentence types (Sects. 8.5, 8.7, 8.15, 8.16), or is used in the absence of certain connectors. Alternatively, a single bar juncture functions in these contexts.

8.2 Simple sentence

The simple sentence (SimSen), which is a one-clause sentence, may be any independent clause type. It may also be an elliptical form of a longer sentence. Its single tagmeme, a Base, is manifested by an independent clause.

(S1) Base:TransCl

hạh m này câu ca hèht pau
 evening this I about make supper
 'This evening I'll make supper.'

(S2) Base:IntransCl

tú slứ non thừhng slái
 cl. tiger sleep until noon
 'The tiger slept until noon.'

(S3) SI Base:MotionCl

lẽo chừhng viú cả tạ pay
 then then swim across river go
 'After that he swam across the river.'

(S4) SI Base:DescCl

lẽo tú cá đảh m đừh c
 then cl. crow black intensive
 'Then the crow was exceedingly black.'

(S5) Base:EqCl

hông này hông sử tú mẹ
cl. this cl. shirt cl. woman

‘This shirt is a woman’s shirt.’

(S6) Base:ExistCl.

lúhc mự ni mi tú má cầu thàng
moment once focus be cl. dog nine tail

‘Once there was a nine-tailed dog.’

(S7) SI Base:ExistCl

lẽo cả mành nohc ca-lahng tô mi dụ tế
then all pl. bird what also be at there

‘Then all the birds of whatever kind were there.’

8.3 Multiple-action sentence

In a multiple-action sentence a single Actor is performing more than one action. It has a Base and an Expansion (Exp), joined by a single bar juncture (J); and both clauses usually have a preverb of the *tô* class:

Base: *tô* Cl, Sent J: | Exp: *tô* RedCl, Sentⁿ

The Base may be almost any independent clause type, including the transitive (S8, S9, S13), intransitive (S11), and motion (S10) clauses, or occasionally a sentence (S12). The predicate of the Base generally contains the preverbal *tô* ‘also’, *chihng* ‘then’, *tợo* ‘again’, or *dị... dị* ‘both... and’.

(S8) SI Base J Exp

lẽo áhn mự tú lúhc tô cọt | tô lỏt lohng tóhm páy
then cl. hand cl. child also sever also fall down dirt go

‘Then the child’s hand was severed and fell down to the ground.’

(S9) Base J Exp J Exp

nohc hah nohc tô mi bợc | tô phợc | tô đấy
bird which bird also have flower also white also good

‘Every bird has decorations and is white and good to look at.’

A single bar juncture usually separates the Base from the first and succeeding Expansions (S9). With the preverbal *dị*, however, only plus juncture is used (S11).

(S10) Base J Exp

ớhng cớhn tế chihng ma hơn | chihng veo tử sử páy
cl. person that then come house then call cl. tiger go

‘That person then came home and then called the tiger to go.’

- (S16) Alt₁ J Con Alt₂
mi áu pã | hay mi áu phạ
 not take knife or not take hammer
 'I won't take a knife or a hammer.'

A single bar juncture usually occurs before Connector. When Con is omitted, Juncture is usually a plus (S17). In a complex sentence a double plus juncture may be inserted between Connector and the second Alternate (S18).

- (S17) Alt₁ J Alt₂
áu pã + áu phạ
 take knife take hammer
 'Do you want a knife or a hammer?'

Connector is manifested by *hay* or *hay vạ* 'or'. If Object is under alternation, Connector is optional, and both Predicate and Object are obligatory in the second clause (S15–17). Connector is obligatory elsewhere.

- (S18) Alt₁ J Con J Alt₂
mừng tợ páy hah tài ma pehn này | hay vạ # páy nem mừng
 you again go which lead come like this or go after you
 'Did you go somewhere to lead them back like this, or did they follow you?'

The second Alternate follows the Connector (when present) and may be reduced to one tagmeme if the item under alternation is in the Locative tagmeme (S20). Otherwise Predicate and the tagmeme under alternation are obligatory. The clause tagmemes in Alt₂ need not come in the same order as in Alt₁ (S21, S22).

- (S19) Alt₁ J Con Alt₂
thảm páy bộ ngừnh | hay thảm páy bộ kím
 carry to well silver or carry go well gold
 'Shall we carry him to the silver mine or the gold mine?'

- (S20) Alt₁ J Con Alt₂
thảm páy bộ ngừnh | hay bộ kím
 carry go well silver or well gold
 'Shall we carry him to the silver mine or the gold mine?'

- (S21) Alt₁ J Con Alt₂
mừng hờn hựng chíng ma | hay ma sấu
 you house bright then come or come early
 'Will you come when it's light, or earlier?'

- (S26) Con Cause J Result
vị mừn kihn lái # mừn bô mi sen kihn
 because he eat much he not have money eat
 'Because he ate so much, he didn't have money to eat.'

8.6 Conditional sentence

The Conditional sentence consists of Connector, Condition, Juncture, and Result, most often in that order:

Con: *Sáhn* Condition: Cl,S J: | Result: Cl,S

Connector *sáhn*, *sáhn nà*, or *củ sáhn* 'if' usually introduces Condition (S27, S31, S32). It may be omitted if Condition precedes Result (S28–30), but otherwise not (S32).

- (S27) Con Condition J Result SP
sáhn vạ# thài lờo ni | ngừn hah | mừng tóhc kihn lỏ
 if say die complete focus silver where you lose eat emphatic
 'If it's said "They're all dead", wherever the silver was put you'll lose it!'

- (S28) Condition J Result
nhahng lử | tả cọi kihn
 still remain grandfather shall eat
 'If there is anything left, then grandfather will eat.'

Condition may be either a clause or a simple or complex (S29, S30) sentence.

- (S29) Condition J Result
áu kihn ma | ném pác tú || cáu chừng páy kihn
 take gold come stick mouth door I then go eat
 'If you take gold and put it at the threshold of the door, then I'll go and eat.'

- (S30) Condition J Result SP
áu ma | kihn lohng pay || dụ mắt lựhc pehn này lỏ
 take come eat down go then conceive child like this emphatic
 'I took it and ate it and then conceived a child like this!'

A single bar juncture normally separates Condition and Result in simple conditional sentences (S28), or separates embedded clauses (S27, S29, S30, S32). A double plus juncture separates embedded sentences (S32) or precedes an embedded quotation (S27, S31). A double bar juncture separates Condition and Result when there is a complex Condition (S29, S30).

Result may be a clause (S28), a simple, or a complex sentence. S32 embeds two parallel conditional sentences within the Condition of a matrix sentence.

- (S35) Relative J Con Sequel SP
mũhng páy hah | dụ páy lỏ
 you go where then go emphatic
 'Wherever you are going, then go!'
- (S36) Relative J Sequel SP
mũhng páy hah # páy lỏ
 you go where go emphatic
 'Wherever you are going, go!'
- (S37) Relative J Con Sequel
tú mệ mũhn vạ pehn hư | sạhm mi tịhng
 cl. wife his say like what also not listen
 'Whatever his wife says, he still doesn't listen.'
- (S38) Relative J Con Sequel
vahng té cử ngão pehn hư | sạhm mi ọc
 boy that continue pry like that also not go-out
 'However that boy pried, it wouldn't come out.'
- (S39) Relative J Con Sequel
lộ ca-lahng | tô mi
 thing what also have
 'Whatever the thing, they also had it' (i.e., they had everything).
- (S40) Relative J Con Sequel
vạ ca-lahng | dụ mi
 say what then have
 'Whatever you say, then you'll have (it).'

8.8 Antithetical sentences

The Antithetical (Anti) sentence consists of Thesis, optional Connector *tẹo*, Juncture before and after Connector, and Antithesis, always in this order:

Thesis: IndCl,S J: | Con: *tẹo* J: | Anti: IndCl,S

Thesis may be an independent clause or dependent sentence.

- (S41) Thesis J Con J Anti
kỉhn hạy đã | tẹo vạ | vữhn nahng mi lựhc
 eat egg already again say still remain have child
 'The eggs were eaten, but she still had offspring.'

- (S42) Thesis J Con J Anti
pô pô tô háhn ôhn | tẹo vạ | bô mi fay
 mountain mountain also see smoke again say not have fire
 'Mountain after mountain he saw smoke, but no fire.'

A single bar juncture usually precedes Connector and may also follow it. After *tẹo* juncture is usually plus (S44, S45).

Connector is *tẹo* or *tẹo vạ* 'again, but'. Antithetical relationship may also be expressed without Connector (S46).

- (S43) Thesis J Con J Anti
ôhng cithn muthn slây | tẹo vạ | muthn cái lái
 cl. person he small again say he smart very
 'He's small, but very smart.'

- (S44) Thesis J Con J Anti
mi đây tọc slừ | tẹo + muthn cháh c lái đã
 not able study word again he know much already
 'He wasn't able to study, but he knows a lot already.'

The Antithesis tagmeme may be manifested by a reduced clause, an independent clause, or a dependent sentence.

- (S45) Q Thesis J Con J Anti
hêht lahng nâhm ván | tẹo + nừ mi ván
 do what water sweet again meat not sweet
 'Why does the water taste good, but not the meat?'

- (S46) Thesis J Anti
muthn chán kihn thòi | sahng thài
 he swallow eat only not-yet die
 'He only swallowed them whole; they weren't dead yet.'

8.9 Reluctant Permission sentence

The Reluctant Permission sentence is a dependent sentence in which the first clause repeats a proposal which had been offered by someone other than the speaker, and the second clause is a command granting permission reluctantly. It consists of Proposal (Pro), Connector *du*, Juncture before and after Connector, and Command (Comm), always in this order:

Pro: RedCl J: + Con: *du* J: + Comm: RedCl

Proposal is generally a reduced clause. The reduced clause most often consists of just the main verb of the preceding sentence (S47, S49), but may also

have the Subject/Actor (S48). The Connector *du* 'then' is obligatory. Junctures before and after the Connector are always plus. Command is generally just the verb of Proposal.

(S47) Pro J Con J Comm
tóc + du + tóc
 hammer then hammer
 'If you want to hammer, then hammer!'

(S48) Pro J Con J Comm
mũhng áu + du + áu
 you take then take
 'If you want to take it, then take it!'

(S49) Pro J Con J Comm
mở + du + mở
 go-home then go-home
 'If you want to go home, then go home!'

8.10 Completive–Subsequent Action sentence

The Completive–Subsequent Action sentence emphasizes the sequential nature of the actions. It consists of Completed Action (ComplAct), Sentence Functor *lẽo*, Juncture, and Subsequent Action (SubsAct), always in that order:

ComplAct: RedCl SF: *lẽo* J: | SubsAct: IndCl,S

Completed Action is a reduced clause which repeats part or all of the preceding sentence. This introductory clause or sentence is not considered to be a filler of the T₁ position of a clause because it does not seem to fulfill the requirement of being a point-of-time reference. Example S50 shows the preceding Sentence to illustrate how its verb is repeated in the following Completed Action tagmeme.

(S50) Sentence₁ ComplAct SF J
vahng tẻ chihng khữhn pay kihn. # kihn mắc lẽo |
 boy that then ascend go eat. eat fruit complete
 SubseqAct
chihng non dụ tihng cóhc mẫy tẻ
 then sleep in above cl. tree that
 'The boy then went up (the tree) to eat. After he had eaten the fruit, he then fell asleep in the top of that tree.'

Sentence Functor, which is common though not obligatory, is *lẽo* 'complete' (see also Sect. 8.1). In narrative discourse, it marks the end of one action

and the beginning of the next; in hortatory or explanatory discourse it marks the end of one point and the beginning of the next.

- (S51) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
ma chêu lèo | chihng hahn
 come look complete then see
 'After he came and looked, he saw it.'

Juncture is usually single bar, sometimes varying to plus.

Subsequent Action is a clause or an embedded sentence. It indicates a subsequent action which may start at that point or may have started earlier but with continuing or later results.

- (S52) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
ma hơn lèo | thừhng vahng đở kè-thàu vahng nờng qo
 come house complete arrive day death father boy younger brother
chihng hểht đở
 then make death-ceremony
 'After he came home, on the day of the anniversary of his father's death, the younger brother prepared the ceremony.'

- (S53) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
kihn sỏng lèo | nhahng lữ
 eat finish complete remain leftovers
 'After they had eaten, there were still leftovers.'

8.11 Simultaneous Action sentence

The Simultaneous Action sentence expresses two or more actions happening at the same time. It consists of Current Action, Juncture, and Simultaneous Action, always in that order:

CurrAct: TemCl J: | SimultAct: IndCl

Current Action (CurrAct) is usually a temporal clause (Sect. 6.6). The most common temporal markers found before the main verb of the clause are *bạt* 'time, when' (S56) and *thừhng lủhc* 'arrive moment' (S54). This preverbal temporal indicates point of time. *Bạt* 'time' may also occur postverbally, indicating the number of occurrences (S55). Juncture is single bar.

- (S54) SI CurrAct J SimultAct
lèo thừhng lủhc tú tẻ mi lủhc qc ma | pehn tú bẻ
 then arrive moment cl. that have child out come like cl. goat
 'Then when the time came for that one to have a child, it was like a goat.'

- (S55) SI CurrAct J SimAct
l̄eo tú cá h̄ahn tú nohc tang-na b̄at n̄uhng | l̄áo l̄ái
 then cl. crow see cl. bird moorhen time one fear much
 ‘Then the crow saw the moorhen once and was very afraid.’

Simultaneous Action is usually an independent clause. Although a series of clauses may presumably occur in this position, it is usually a single clause describing a single action which is performed either simultaneously or almost simultaneously with the action of the Current Action clause.

- (S56) SI CurrAct J SimultAct
l̄eo m̄uhn b̄at h̄ahn cáh sl̄ũ | m̄uhn l̄áo l̄ái
 then he when see cl. tiger he fear much
 ‘Then when he saw the tiger he was very afraid.’

8.12 Container sentence

A Container sentence is a semiclausal sentence. It is clauselike in that its nucleus is a particular class of verbs; it is sentencelike in that it requires two clauses. Like quotatives, it could be considered either a fused-clause sentence or an obligatorily complex clause. It consists of Container (Contr) and Contained (Contd):

Contr: RedCl J: + Contd: RedCl

Container is a transitive clause with a main verb such as *h̄ahn* ‘see’, *h̄ũ* ‘allow’, *mi* ‘have’, *p̄áht* ‘force’, or *p̄i* ‘compare’. The Object of the Container clause is usually a shared component (SC) with the Subject/Actor of the Contained clause (S57, S58, S60–62).

- (S57) SI Contr (SC) Contd
l̄eo m̄ẽ f̄a chíhng p̄áht óhng c̄ũhn t̄ẽ lohng ma
 then cl. sky then force cl. person that down come
 ‘Then the sky forced him to come down.’

- (S58) Contr (SC) Contd
cóhng h̄ũ lán hò áhn th̄êm
 grandfather allow grandchild beg cl. more
 ‘Grandfather, let me beg another one.’

- (S59) Contr Contd
k̄ẽ t̄ẽ h̄ahn kh̄êu
 man that see stink
 ‘That man saw that it stank.’

There is only a simple plus juncture throughout the sentence, giving the whole sentence the intonation continuity of a simple clause.

The Contained tagmeme may be almost any type of clause or sentence. The Actor/Subject of the Contained clause is usually a shared component with the Object of the Container clause, though sometimes it may be omitted (S59).

(S60) Conr (SC) Contd

hàhn cáh slí? ọc ma

see cl. tiger out come

'He saw a tiger come out.'

(S61) SI Conr (SC) Contd

lèo hàhn mặhn kịhm mi lái

then see pl. gold be much

'Then they saw there was much gold.'

(S62) Conr (SC) Contd

da pì mặhn cặhn lặhm-vạ slựhp-slạp

don't compare pl. person like dirty

'Don't compare people to dirty things.'

(S63) Conr Contd

slóng óhng cặhn slú hàhn mi táhc óhng cặhn cả này pay mi

two cl. person you see be any cl. person cross this go no

'Have you two seen if there was anyone who went across here?'

8.13 Instrument sentence

An Instrument sentence is the normal means of expressing an instrument, though an instrument clause (Sect. 7.7) is occasionally used. The Instrument sentence (Instr) consists of Instrument, Juncture, and Action, always in that order:

Instr: *áu*Cl J: | Action: TrCl

Instrument is always a transitive clause with *áu* 'take' as its main verb. The Object of the clause is the instrument used to perform the action of the Action clause, and the Actor is the same in both clauses.

Juncture is normally a single bar, though it often is a simple plus.

Action is a reduced transitive clause. Actor or Instrument is never overtly expressed in the Action clause.

(S64) Instr J Action

áu tèo mặy ma | hỏhn mặhn khàu thủ pay

take cl. stick come hit him on head go

'Bring a stick and hit him on the head.'

(S65) SI Instr J Action
l̄eo k̄e t̄e ău t̄eu s̄oc ma | ph̄uhc kh̄au m̄ahn kh̄a nohc pay
 then man that take cl. string come tie on pl. leg bird go
 ‘Then that man tied up the bird’s legs with string.’

(S66) Instr J Action
ău sen ma | sl̄i k̄ihn
 take money come buy eat
 ‘He brought money to buy something to eat.’

8.14 Purpose sentence

The Purpose sentence expresses an action and its purpose. It consists of Action, Juncture, and Purpose, always in that order:

Action: IndCl J: + Purpose: RedCl

Action is usually a transitive or motion clause. It often contains a directional verbal.

(S67) SI Action J Purpose
l̄eo t̄u m̄a k̄e n̄i h̄on t̄e ma + k̄ihn
 then cl. dog man up house that come eat
 ‘Then the dog of the man up at that house came to eat.’

(S68) Action J Purpose
m̄uhn chihng p̄áy + t̄ec b̄en p̄a t̄e
 he then go put package fish that
 ‘He then went to leave that fish package.’

(S69) SI Action J Purpose
l̄eo vahng l̄uhc b̄ao m̄uhn s̄oi p̄áy + l̄eu
 then boy child male his walk-around go visit
 ‘Then his son went around to visit.’

Juncture is just a simple plus thereby giving a close unity to the sentence. Purpose is usually a reduced clause. If the Actor/Subject is the same as in the Action clause (as is most often the case), it is omitted (S67–70); if different, it is introduced by *h̄i* ‘for’ (S71, S72).

(S70) SI Act J Purpose
l̄eo p̄áy + veo sl̄am t̄u l̄uhc sl̄ao ma
 then go call three cl. child girl come
 ‘Then he went to call his three daughters here.’

(S71) Action J Purpose
páy slao khả + hừ câu hỏhn
 go wash foot for I see
 'Go and wash your foot so I can see it.'

(S72) Action J Purpose
mủhn dá + hừ câu đáy
 he treat for I well
 'He treated me so I would get well.'

8.15 Recapitulation sentence

The Recapitulation (Recap) sentence is used to express a paraphrase or expansion of a thought, giving more detail. It consists of Base, Juncture, and Recapitulation, always in that order:

Base: IndCl,S J: # Recap: RecCl,S

Base is an independent clause, usually a transitive or motion clause, or a sentence. Juncture is always double plus.

(S73) Base J Recap
cầu tán hỏhn hà tú pú # hỏhn khỏu pỏc tú ma
 I only see five cl. crab see enter mouth door come
 'I only saw five crabs, saw them coming in the door.'

(S74) SI Base J Recap
lờo bỏt nỏ kờ tẻ chỏnhng may hừ mủhn # ỏu tú mỏ hừ vỏnhg khỏ bẻ tẻ
 then time this man that then exchange for him take cl. horse give boy ride goat that
 'Then that time the man traded for him, giving the horse to the boy riding the goat.'

Recapitulation usually repeats the main verb of Base (S73, S75) and adds new information or makes explicit something referred to previously. If Base is a multiclausal sentence, the recapitulated verb is usually the last main verb before Juncture. The new information is usually added after the recapitulated verb (S73, S75), but may come before it. Very rarely is the recapitulated verb omitted (S76).

(S75) Base J Recap
vỏhn hỏh tỏ páy `páy # hỏc đỏy pỏ nửnhg
 day which also go go study able year one
 'Every day he went to study, for a year.'

- (S76) SI Base J Recap
lêo mư̄hn hōhn # m̄qhn cư̄hn lóng hâu hên vai tẻ
 then he hit pl. person big they watch buffalo that
 ‘Then he hit; he hit those adults who were tending the buffalo.’

8.16 Quotation sentence

Quotation sentences, like container sentences, are semiclausal. Direct quotations (DirQ) consist of Quotation Introducer (QI), *vạ*, two Junctures, Direct Address (DAdd), and Quote (Q). Indirect quotations (Indq) lack *vạ* and Direct Address (DAdd), and have a single shorter Juncture.

DirQ QI: Cl *vạ*: *vạ* J: # DAdd: NP J: # Q: S, Par, Disc

IndQ QI: Cl J: | Q: S, Par, Disc

Quotation Introducer is a transitive clause with a main verb such as *vạ* ‘say’, *khqhm* ‘ask’, *càng* ‘speak’, *veo* ‘call’, *đạ* ‘scold’, *hã* ‘tell’, or *hồ* ‘beg’. Actor (speaker) and Indirect Object (addressee) may be present (S77) or omitted (S78, S79).

- (S77) QI J Q
mư̄nhg hã tú pộ mư̄nhg # sihn-kĩ da khà cẩu
 you tell cl. man your decide don’t kill me
 ‘You tell your husband, “Surely don’t kill me!”’

- (S78) SI QI J Q
lêo vạ # mi
 then say have
 ‘Then they said, “Yes”.’

- (S79) QI J Q
vạ # áhn hqy cảy
 say cl. egg chicken
 ‘He said, “A chicken egg”.’

Absent in indirect quotations (S80), *vạ* ‘saying’ is optional in direct quotations (S81).

- (S80) QI J Q
mư̄hn veo có mư̄hn | ma kihn
 he call father his come eat
 ‘He called his father to come and eat.’

- (S81) QI vạ J Q
câu hã vạ # câu cọi páy
 I tell say I will go
 'I said, "I will go."'

Direct quotations have an obligatory double plus juncture before Direct Address (if any) and before Quote. Indirect quotations have just a single bar or a plus juncture before Quote. This is one of the most significant differences between direct and indirect quotations.

Direct Address is a simple noun phrase, usually containing *ôì* or *à* 'oh'. It is present only in direct quotations (S82), and is optional there. Direct Address usually precedes, but may follow Quote, with a double plus juncture between them. In final position it is frequently derogatory.

- (S82) QI J D Add J Q SP
mũhn chihng veo # có ôì # ma kình si lỏ
 he then call father oh come eat bread emphatic
 'Then he called, "Father! Come and eat bread!"'

Quote may be anything from a single word (S78) or phrase (S79) to an entire discourse. In indirect quotations Actor is not repeated in Quote if it is the same person as Subject of the QI clause (S85–86), but in direct quotation it may be repeated (S81).

- (S83) QI vạ J Q
mũhn hã câu vạ # hẻht áhn pỏ bẻng tẻ
 he tell me say make cl. mountain side that
 'He told me, "Make the mountain on that side".'

- (S84) QI J Q
mũhn vạ | pị bạo mũhn ma
 he say older brother his come
 'He said that his older brother came.'

- (S85) QI J Q
mũnhng vạ | ca ma
 you say about come
 'You said you would come.'

- (S86) QI J Q
câu vạ | cọi páy Sài Gòn
 I say will go Saigon
 'I said that I will go to Saigon.'

8.17 Covariation sentence

The Covariation sentence is used to describe two or more events whose intensities of action vary together. It consists of Variant₁, Juncture, and Variant₂:

Variant₁: *sət*CI J: | Variant₂: *sət*CI

Each Variant (Var) contains the preverb *sət* 'the more', but the rest of the clause structures need not be parallel (S88). If the Actor is the same in both clauses, he is named only in the first clause (S89).

(S87) Var₁ J Var₂
Phao-lô sət cəng | vahng tɛ sət lái sli-non
 Paul more speak boy that more more sleepy
 'The more Paul spoke, the more the boy got sleepy.'

(S88) Var₁ J Var₂
Sau-lɔ sət slɔn | sət mi lái cihɲ slɔhn thəm
 Saul more teach more be much person believe more
 'The more Saul taught, the more people believed.'

(S89) SI Var₁ J Var₂ Var₁ J Var₂
lēo miɲn sət cihɲ | sət nhéhng # sət cihɲ | sət nhéhng
 then he more step more fast more step more fast
 'Then with each step he went faster.'

8.18 Interrogatives

There are four main types of interrogative sentence: (1) Yes/no questions, (2) Why questions, (3) Relative questions, and (4) Intonational questions. Any type of declarative sentence may be transformed to an interrogative sentence.

In addition to morphemic interrogative markers discussed below, interrogative sentences are also usually marked by double bar juncture, which adds a rising or falling-rising contour to the unmarked and (´) tones; but this juncture is not obligatory. The interrogative formations are illustrated here with simple sentences, but the same transformations may be applied to all sentence types.

8.18.1 Yes/no questions. Interrogatives may be formed by adding *mi* 'no' or *sɪ mi* 'true no' to the end of the sentence. *Mi* is neutral, implying neither a yes nor a no answer, but *sɪ mi* expects a yes answer.

(S90) *cóhng bahng-long mi*
 grandfather agree no
 'Does grandfather agree?'

(S91) *pô kè hɛht áhn hơn mi*
 man old make cl. house no
 'Is uncle building a house?'

- (S92) *pộ kê hễht áhn hơn sự mi*
 man old make cl. house true no
 'Uncle is making a house, isn't that true?'

Sự may also be placed before the Actor/Subject to show that it is the item under question (S93), or before the Predicate to emphasize the action (S94). With an equative clause *sự* may be sentence initial (S95).

- (S93) *sự pộ kê hễht áhn hơn mi*
 true man old make cl. house no
 'Is it true that uncle is building a house?'

- (S94) *pộ kê sự hễht áhn hơn mi*
 man old true make cl. house no
 'Is it true that it's a house that uncle is building?' or 'Is uncle truly building a house?'

- (S95) *sự táhc óhng sự mệ mừn mi*
 true any cl. true wife his no
 'Is any one of them truly his wife?'

8.18.2 Why questions. Interrogatives may be formed with *hễht lahng* or *hễht ca-lahng* 'do what, why', in final position or before the main verb. There is a slight difference of emphasis in each position, though there is an overlap of meaning. Occasionally it is found in initial position (S45).

- (S96) *mừng hàỵ hễht lahng*
 you cry do what
 'What are you crying for?'

- (S97) *mừn tạc áhn hơn cáu hễht ca-lahng*
 he measure cl. house my do what
 'Why is he measuring my house?'

- (S98) *mừng hễht lahng hàỵ*
 you do what cry
 'What made you cry?' or 'Why are you crying?'

- (S99) *mừn hễht ca-lahng tạc áhn hơn cáu*
 he do what measure cl. house my
 'Why is he measuring my house?'

8.18.3 Relative questions. Interrogatives may be formed with *pehn hư* 'like what, how' in the Man position, especially when *hềht* is the main verb in the clause. They may occasionally precede the main verb (S103).

- (S100) *sihn-này cóhng hềht pehn hư*
 now grandfather do like what
 'Now what will you do, Grandfather?'
- (S101) *tú má.cóhng kihn hềht pehn hư*
 cl. dog grandfather eat do like what
 'Grandfather, if your dog eats it, what will you do?'
- (S102) *tú hệt ma áu lựhc sláo cáu đày pehn hư*
 cl. toad come take child girl my able like what
 'How can a toad come and marry my daughter?'
- (S103) *mứhng dụ hơn mứhng tẹo pehn hư lam-đáng*
 you at house you again like what pregnant
 'If you were at home, how could you become pregnant?'
- (S104) *cáu hềht pehn hư*
 I do like what
 'How shall I do it?'

Hah 'which' is used with classifiers or nouns (S105, S106, S108) to ask who or what; with *lựhc* to ask when (S109); and with or without *tị* (S107, S110–111) to ask where.

- (S105) *cứhnh hah áu mặc kéo páy*
 person which take cl. scissors go
 'Who took the scissors?'
- (S106) *vahn hah páy*
 day which go
 'When are you going?'
- (S107) *ngứhnh phợc tếc hah*
 silver white put where
 'Where was the silver put?'
- (S108) *óhng cứhnh hah đày sláo pehn tẻ*
 cl. person which good girl like that
 'Who is pretty like that?'

- (S109) *lúhc hah páy hạng*
time which go market
'When are you going to market?'
- (S110) *tj hah khài khàu*
place which sell rice
'Which place sells rice?'
- (S111) *páy hah*
go which
'Where are you going?'

Relative questions and indefinite relative clauses (Sect. 6.2) have the same form. Sarcasm implying a negative answer to the question is connoted by the preverbal particle *si* as seen in Chapter 4 (V71–73).

8.18.4 Intonational questions. Interrogatives may also be formed simply by adding double bar juncture to the last word of the sentence.

- (S112) *khèu hị dịnhng-cán lái pehn này ||*
stink odor human very like this
(Tiger says) 'What smells of humans like this?'
- (S113) *áhn này nè ||*
cl. this enumerator
'What about this one?'

8.19 Imperatives

Declarative sentences may be transformed to imperatives by the use of final functors *pay* or *á*, medial prohibitive *da*, or simply by intonation. Imperative sentences tend to be short, commonly being one-clause sentences without an Actor (but see S120).

Pay and *á* are sentence functors (Sect. 8.1) which occur sentence final. Both indicate a command.

- (S114) *cữ dè pay*
keep push imperative
'Keep pushing!'
- (S115) *hừ hau đố pác pay*
give us enough hundred imperative
'Give us a full hundred!'
- (S116) *páy pay*
go imperative
'Go away!'

(S117) *kíhn á*
eat imperative
'Eat!'

(S118) *páy hêht á*
go work imperative
'Go and work!'

Preverbal *da* 'don't' may occur with emphatic sentence-closing particles *vớ* or *lỗ* (but not with final imperatives *pay* or *á*.)

(S119) *da vạ sàu vớ*
don't say bad emphatic
'Don't talk bad!'

(S120) *da áu lỗ*
don't take emphatic
'Don't take it!'

A sentence may also be marked as imperative simply by the use of a short sharp intonation.

(S121) *ma này!*
come here
'Come here!'

(S122) *dụ ém!*
stay quiet
'Stay still!'

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