THE SYNTAX OF THO, A TAI LANGUAGE OR VIETNAN

## Thesis

submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London by

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The grammatical model underlying this analysis of tho syntax closely resembles the scale and category grammar developed by M.A.K. Halliday. This thesis does, however, suggest some major modifications to Halliday's model, and seeks to apply the modified theories to the analysis of Tho, in order to test whether they comprise a usable basis for the description of a language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The thesis ends with a bibliography and an index.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor E.J.A. Henderson, whose stimulus and encouragement have not only helped greatly in the writing of this thesis, but have also taught me much about helping others with their technical linguistic writing.
I. am grateful to my informant, Hoang Chung Minh, for his great patience in telling me about Tho life and culture whilst I tape-recorded his speech.

My colleagues in the Viet Nam branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have been a great source of help and advice, particularly during the time when my wife and I were in Viet Nam collecting data.

For the greater part of the time spent on this thesis I have been receiving a Governing Body Postgraduate Exhibition from the School of Oxiental and African Studies, for which I am extremely thankful.

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

I have been very thankful for the comments and reactions of David Thomas of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Viet Nam, and for those of my wife, Jean, whose speaking knowledge of tho has been a valuable check on my first guesses.

## TABEE OR COTPDETS

Page
Abstract ..... 2
Acknowledgements ..... 3
Explanation of Orthography ..... 5
Chapter One: Theoretical Introduction ..... 9
Chapter Two: Practical Introduction ..... 30
Chapter Three: The Tnits and Their Interrelations at Primary Delicacy ..... 38
Chapter Four: The Verbal Group at Secondary Delicacy ..... $6 A$
Chapter Five: The Nominal Figure at Secondary Delicacy ..... 75
Chapter Six: The Nominal Phrase at Secondary Delioacy ..... 97
Chapter Seven: The Clause at Secondary Delicacy ..... 100
Chapter Right: The Sentence at Secondary Delicacy ..... 109
Chapter Nine: Analysis of Text (Text ME) ..... 115
Chapter Ten: Text PH. ..... 129
Dibliography ..... 143
Index ..... 144

## EXP LANATION OF ORTHOGRAPHY

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

The orthography may be described in terms of the syllable. Each syllable must have a vowel ${ }^{1}$ and a tone. There may also be a consonantal onset and/or a consonantal ending to the syllable. These are represented by orthographical symbols in the following way. ${ }^{2}$

## Onsets



1. The only exception is that nóng 'one' in fast speech becomes ńg.
2. The fact that a particular sequence is provided for in the orthography should not be taken as evidence that it actually occurs in any Tho word.
Orthography Approximate phonetic equivalent
h$k$ (before $i, \hat{e}, e)$
kh ..... kn
kho (before a, $\bar{a}, ~ e)$
khu (before all vowels except a, ă, e)10 (before a, ar, e)h
```
ho (before a, ă, e)
```

ho (before $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{e}$ ) ..... how (M)
ho (before all vowels except $a, \breve{a}, e)$$\mathrm{h} w$ (M)k
khz (km)khz (ka)
1 ..... 1
lu (before all vowels except a, ar, e) ..... lwlw
m ..... m
my ..... mb
n ..... n
ing (before all vowels except $i, \hat{e}, e)$ ..... 角
ugh (before i, $\hat{e}, e$ )
ago (before a, ar, e) ..... now角
ngu (before all vowels except $a, ~ \breve{a}, ~ e)$ ..... gi
nh ..... $\mathcal{J}$
o (before a, ă, e) ..... w
p ..... p
Dy ..... nj
ph ..... f
$p^{\prime}$ ..... ph
$p^{\prime} y$
qu ..... kw
s ..... $s$
so (before a, ar, e) ..... sw
su (before all vowels except $a, ~ a ̆, ~ e)$ ..... sw
sI1
silo (before a)
$t$ ..... t${ }_{0}{ }^{1} \mathrm{~W}$
thth
tho (before a, ar, e) ..... the (tm)
Orthography Approximate phonetic equivalent
thu（before all vowels except $a, ~ \breve{a}, ~ e)$ ..... thw（ $t_{\text {M }}$ ）
to（before a，ă，e） ..... tw
tu（before all vowels except $a, \breve{a}$, e） ..... tw
u（before all vowels except $a$, a，e） ..... w
v ..... v
Vowels
a（when followed by $y, u$ ）$\breve{a}^{3}$
a（except when followed by $y, u$ ） ..... a
ă ..... ă
â ..... ъ
e ..... $\varepsilon$
ê ..... e
i ..... i
ia（syllable finally） ..... iə
iê（not syllable finally） ..... io
$\circ$ ..... 0
ô ..... －
$\sigma$ ..... $\theta$
u ..... u
ua（syllable finally） ..... иө
uô（not syllable finally） ..... иә
u ..... 主
ưa（syllable finally） ..... 主
ưo（not syllable finally） ..... 主
$y$（after $u$ or qu） ..... i
ya（after u or qu，syllable finally） ..... ia
yê（after u or qu，not syllable finally） ..... iə

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

Endinge

| Orthography Ap | Approximate phonetic equivalent |
| :---: | :---: |
| c | $k^{4}$ |
| i (after all vowels except $\hat{a}$ ) | $j^{5}$ |
| m | m |
| ng | $\checkmark$ |
| - (after a, e) | W |
| p | p |
| $t$ | t |
| u (after a, $\left.\hat{a}, \hat{e}, i, i \hat{e}, u^{\prime}, u^{\prime} \sigma^{\prime}\right)$ | W |
| $y$ (except after $u$ ) | j |

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

Tones (Shown with the vowel a)

| á | High rising |
| :---: | :---: |
| ( $\tilde{a}$ | High rising, glottalised medially ${ }^{6}$ ) |
| a | Mid level |
| $\stackrel{2}{2}$ | Low rising |
| à | Mid falling |
| a (without a final stop) | Mid falling, glottalised finally |
| a (with a final stop) | Low level or low falling |
| $\overline{\mathrm{a}}$ (without e final stop) | Low level or low falling |

4. Final stops are unreleased.
5. Vowels glide towards final $j$ and $w$, but may not reach these positions.
6. This tone only occurs in a very few loans from Vietnamese.

## Chapter 1

## THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

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

### 1.1 Halliday's model

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

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

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

[^0]each of the others. There is no relation of precedence or logical priority among them. They are all mutually defining." (CTG 2.2) The categories are called 'unit', 'structure', 'class' and 'system'. The scales of abstraction are 'rank', 'exponence' and 'delicacy'.
1.11 Unit

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

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

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

### 1.13 Class

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

### 1.14 System

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

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

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

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

### 1.16 Exponence

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

1a. Where $M$ is modifier and $H$ is head.

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

### 1.17 Delicacy

"Delicacy is the scale of differentiation, or depth in detail." (CTG 7.4) This has already been mentioned whilst dis. cussing system in l.l4. The least differentiated (most abstracted) structures and classes are spoken of as being at primary delicacy. For instance, SPO could be regarded as a clause structure at primary delicacy in English, whereas $S_{S g} P_{S g} 0$ and $S_{p l} P_{p l} O$ would be the corresponding secondary structures. The class of nominal phrases is a primary class, but singular nominal phrases and plural nominal phrases are secondary classes. Successively more delicate structures and classes may be described, all of which are also covered by the term "secondary". The more delicate the stage, the more likely the statements are to be statistical, until eventually the point is reached where distinctions are so fine that they can no longer be drawn, even statistically.

The difference between delicacy and exponence needs to be clearly distinguished, as there is great similarity between them. Briefly, delicacy shows the range of structures and classes in greater and greater detail, whereas exponence in its way from the category to the data may select one from among the range of more delicate possibilities. Thus, if SPO is a clause structure at primary delicacy, and $S_{S g} P_{s g} O$ and $S_{p l} P_{p l} O$ are the corresponding
 as delicacy shows the differentiation among structures and classes, exponence traces out one of each choice to be made. Delicacy is the map of the river, showing successive branching until each tributary is lost in an inland bog, whereas exponence takes a journey from the mouth of the river to one point on the watershed.
1.2 Drawbacks to Halliday's model
1.21 Iogical priority of unit and rank

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

Consider now the following grammar of English:
"A sentence consists of one or more clauses. A clause consists of one or more phrases. A phrase consists of one or more words. A word consists of one or more morphemes."

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

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

For Halliday's units to be arranged in the hierarchy he desires, there must be a constant relationship between one unit and the next. The nature of this relationship, he tells us, is that one unit "consists of" one or more of the units next below. In what sense does one unit "consist of" other units? Suppose we consider how a clause in English consists of phrases. To go from the clause to the phrase in one leap leads us to the pseudo-grammar described in 1.2l. The alternative to going in one leap is to follow these steps:

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

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

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

[^1]from the nominal phrase. Why must the verbal group "consist of" words in the same way as the nominal phrase, when the classes of words involved are so distinct? Why may not the verbal group consist of some word classes, whilst the nominal phrase consists of nominal figures, which then in turn consist of other word classes? If this state of affairs is discovered in a language, Halliday's theory requires that a verbal figure be set up. Every verbal group will then consist of one and only one verbal figure. In other words, the verbal group will descend unchanged through this rank. As far as the verbal group is concerned, this is a 'dummy' rank, but this is quite valid according to Halliday's theory because "The only theoretical restriction is that each unit must carry at least one structure that consists of more than one place." (CTG4.2) As the nominal phrase carries a structure which consists of more than one nominal figure, it is of no consequerse that the verbal group does not.

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

### 1.23 The problem of particles

In Tho, as in other languages, there are certain particles which appear to belong to units as a whole, such as sentences. If every sentence consists of clauses, with nothing left over, how should we treat a sentence particle? Halliday's theory provides for two possibilities here.
(1) Each sentence particle is a clause in its own right, consisting of one phrase, which consists of one word, which consists of one morpheme.
lc. 'Figure' being a unit between phrase and word.
(2) The sentence particle enters into the structure of one of the component clauses of the sentence. Possibility (2) again leaves us with two possibilities.
(1) The particle enters into the structure of the clause as a phrase in its own right, consisting of one word, which consists of one morpheme.
(2) The particle enters into the structure of one of the component phrases of the clause.

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

To say that a particle is a clause consisting of one phrase consisting of one word consisting of one morpheme, raises the same problem as the hypothetical invention of a verbal figure, considered in l.22. In effect, we are inventing 'dummy' ranks for particles. It would be much more economical for the description if we were able to make the sentence consist of clauses and morphemes, rut this we are forbidden to do. "A unit can include, in what it consists of, a unit of rank higher than or equal to itself but not a unit of rank more than one degree lower than itself." (CTG 3.2)

If we consider the sentence particle to enter into the structure of a word in a phrase in a clause in the sentence, then immediately we must face the question "Which word in which phrase in which clause?" The most natural choice, other things being equal, is the head word of the head phrase of the head clause. To deoide which is the head we may use criteria such as obligatory versus optional. elements of structure. The net result of these manipulations will be that one word in the sentence will bear an
excessive load of complexity in the desoription. We would rather put such complexity at the rank of the sentence, because the particles concerned seem to be associated with the sentence rather than with any particular word, but Halliday's model forces us to this unsatisfactory result. What is more, we introduce artificial differences between, for instance, the head and non-head clauses. These might otherwise have been very similar in structure, but we have to distinguish between them because the head clause contains the particle and the non-head does not. ${ }^{2}$

### 1.24 The raison d'être

Halliday has anticipated the question "Why are 'unit', 'structure', 'class' and 'system' the four categories needed by the theory of grammar?" "If one asks: "why these four, and not three, or five, or another four?', the answer must be: because language is like that - because these four, and no others, are
2. The problem of particles is dealt with by John T. Bendor-Samuel in an unpublished article, "Problems in the Analysis of Sentences and Clauses in Bimoba." Bendor-Samuel's solution is to make the particles syntagmatic features of the sentence or the clause, equivalent to such features as the order of elements of structure. In this way he seeks to preserve a hierarchical approach, as outlined in his article "A Structure-Function Description of Terena Phrases," Canadian Tournal of Linguistics 8:59-70 (1963). "This model sets up grammatical units which are hierarchically arranged. The hierarchy consists of a series of levels of description.... Each...grammatical unit consists of one or more of the units next below it in the hierarchy." (P.59) This does not prevent him from setting up a grammatical "sub-unit". "The demonstrative expression is considered a grammatical 'sub-unit.' It is clearly useful to be able to group together a number of words and clitics of different classes and make general statements about their occurrence as elements of the nominal phrase. On the other hand, to set up another level between word and phrase would lead to a very redundant and cumbersome statement. It is quite unnecessary for all words to pass through an expression level en route to the phrase. The category of sub-level and sub-unit avoids this." ( P .67 ) It is difficult to see how this can be accommodated into a hierarchy, and unfortunately Bendor-Samuel does not attempt to clarify the matter by defining his use of the term 'hierarchy'.
needed to account for the data: that is, to account for all grammatical patterns that emerge by generalization from the data." (CTG 2.2) In other words, the justification for the four categories is an empirical one. The theoretical categories are produced by a hyper-abstraction from what is known about the patterns in languages which have been analysed. Naturally it will not do to produce the categories first, force languages into them without regard to matters of descriptive economy, and then decide that the categories fit any language perfectly and provide a completely adequate frame of reference for all features found in them. As I have shown in 1.22 and 1.23 , some features of tho syntax can be forced into Halliday's mould, but only at the expense of complicating the description.

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

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

The system produced by Halliday's four categories and three scales of abstraction is not sedf-contradjotory. It may be reduced to mathematical logic. ${ }^{3}$ At the same time we may not expect that it is the only such system which may be devised. Other non-contradictory systems may be produced by altering some of the categories and scales of abstraction. Each theory of grammar needs to be tested empirically to see which best fits the data.

### 1.3 Suggested modifications to Halliday's model

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

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

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

Let us now examine the repercussions of this new definition of the unit on the other categories and scales. structure and system, together with the scales of exponence and delicacy, will be unaffected. In order to see the effect of the change on the scale of rank, we will first consider a replacement for the relation "consists of".
3. See R.M.W. Dixon, "A Logical Statement of Grammatical Theory," Language 39:4:654-68 (1963).

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

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

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

For Halliday the relation "consists of" is that constant relation existing between successive terms in a hierarchy. For me it shows the interrelation of the units with no hierarchy being involved. The units and classes ${ }^{4}$ form a network of interrelations, such as that shown in 3.6 , p. 48. Not every unit or every class may operate at every element of structure of every unit. Alarge part of the grammar of a language consists of a description of the different elements at which each unit and class may operate. This may be done in greater or lesser detail, i.e. at secondary or primary delicacy. The two-dimensional array shown in 3.6 is the analogue of Halliday's one dimensional rank scale, showing what units and classes any given unit may consist of . 5

[^2]We can no longer define class as "that grouping of manbers of a given unit which is defined by operation in the structure of the unit next above* (CTG 5.1) as there is now no unit above or below. The array in 3.6 should be considered topologically: it may be distorted in any fashion desired, so long as no ruptures occur. However we distort it, it is impossible to arrange the units so that each one only operates in the structure of the unit next above.

We may revise the definition of class in the following way:
Definition A class is a grouping of items which are alike in their grammatical function.

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

The sentence often causes difficulty in linguistic description because of the uniaue position in which it stands. we have defined a unit as the correlation between a class of items and the structure or structures they display. It is obvious that the sentence displays structures: does it have a class aspect to qualify it for consideration as a unit?
R.H. Robins says that, 7 "Traditionally the longest structure within which a full grammatical analysis is possible has been taken as the sentence, or potentially complete utterance." The word "potentially" is an important qualification here. Not every

[^3]sentence can stand as a complete utterance. Fowever, there is a certain completeness about the structure of a sentence. ${ }^{8}$ It is the brick which is used to build longer stretiches of speech, such as conversations and discourses, but these have not yet been as exhaustively studied as the sentence.

Sentences do, then, comprise a class, as they are alike in their gramatical function. They operate in longer stretches of speech, though not at elements of structure, and they can potentially function as complete utterances. This is, of course, a direct consequence of the completeness of structure which they display. This does not mean, however, that classes are being established on the basis of similarity of structure. Two radically different structures may each exhibit this completeness, and therefore would be able to operate in discourses, or in situations as free utterances. ${ }^{9}$
1.4 Comparison with Tagmemics

### 1.41 Form or function

The unit as I have defined it is the correlation between a class of items and the structure(s) they display. As such, it it is strikingly similar to the tagmeme, which is a correlative between the slot and the class which fills the slot. Both the unit and the tagmeme are form-function correlatives. Function is the aspect which both Halliday ${ }^{10}$ and Longacre ${ }^{l l}$ claim to be primary.
8. Cf. R.E. Longaore, Grammar Discovery Procedures, The Hague (1965), p. 17 fn.l4. "Sentences are characterized by a degree of closure... not characteristic of lower levels."
9. Cf. CTG 3.3. "There will always be one unit which, more than any other, offers itself as an item for contextual statement because it does the language vork in situations: so it might as well always have the same name: 'sentence.'"
10. Cf. R.H. Robins, "Some Considerations on the Status of Grammar in Linguistics," Archjuum Linguisticum XI (1959), p.109. When there is a conflict of classification of morphological paradigm and syntactic function, the latter is given preference in assigning mords to word classes." This is auoted in CTG 5.3 fn. 48 , with

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

In order to compare the two, we must bring the terminology together. 'Slot' corresponds to 'element of structure', whereas 'class' is common to both theories. 'Tagmeme' corresponds to an element of structure together with the class which operates there (i.e. which 'fills the slot'). 'Syntagmeme' almost corresponds to 'structure', being a string of tagmemes. This is clearly seen in Iongacre's words: 12
"Pattern and pattern point therefore are properly primitives of linguistic structure. The particular linguistic theory here followed terms the former SYNTAGMENE (construction) and the latter TAGMENE (element of a construction)."
The difference between syntagmeme and structure is that whereas structure is merely a string of ordered slots, syntagmeme includes the attendant classes.

We may represent tagmeme and syntagmeme diagrammatically as follows:


The representation for my unit would then be:

the comment, "I would add 'groups to group classes, etc."" 11. "Tagmemics makes prammatical functions focal, but associates such functions with sets of items and constructions. A function may be considered a defining property of a set while the set may be said to manifest a function." "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics," Language 41:1:65-76 (1965).
12. Grammar Discovery Procedures, The Hague (1964), p.15. Not all things are to be clearly seen from the words of tagmemicists. One feels that their theories would be better understood and their value far more appreciated if they were not hedged in by an almost impenetrable mass of unecessarily complex terminology.

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

This may be seen by means of an example from Tho. The equative and predicative clauses (pp.4l-43) heve radically different structures, but form one class, as both operate at the head element of sentence structure. The clause is therefore a single unit in this grammar. According to tagmemic theory, they would be different clause level syntagmemes, and would only be drawn together as the fillers of the slot of the head tagmeme on the sentence level. That is to say, they would be united at the sentence level but at their own level, thet of the clause, they would be separated because of their differing structures. Thus, although Tagmemics pays lip service to the supremacy of function over form, the nature of the tagmeme countermands this.

### 1.42 Hierarchy or non-hierarchy

In a recent article ${ }^{13}$. Longacre defends the concept of hierarchy. Although Tagmemics (unlike Halliday) allows upranking (or level-skipping, as Longacre calls it) as well, as down ranking, ${ }^{1 / A_{r}}$

## 13. "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics," Language 41:1:65-76 (1965).

14. "Hierarchical structuring as commonly conceived involves distribution of lower-level units into higher-level units.... Pecursive layerings may occur on the same level: word within word ('compounds'), phrase within phrase..., clause within clause, etc. There may be backlooping from higher levels. Occurrence of a subordinate clause which manifests a phrase level tagmeme (the boy who came yesterday), or of a sentence within a clause (when heads-I-win-tails-you-lose is the order of the day) exemplify first-order backlooping. Occurrence of a sentence within a phrase (his heads-I-win-tails-you-lose attitude) exemplifies second-order backlooping. Level-skipping may also occur: a sentence-level tagmeme manifested by a phrase or a clause-level tagmeme by a word exemplifies firstorder level-skipping, while a sentence-level tagmeme manifested by a word exemplifies second-order level skipping." Op.cit. 73-4.
this does not mean that they ching less tenaciously to the notion of hierarchy, Longacre rounds off his article by bringing matrix theory to the defence of hierarchy, as follows 15 level, and word level. $D$ and $M$ symbolize discourse and morpheme as top and bottom points of reference. These six hierarchical levels (and morpheme, which is not a level) comprise the vertical coordinate of the chart. There is a central column labelled HIERARCHICAL with successive columns to the right and left. Cells are filled with symbols for levels. Thus, the intersection of $T_{c}$ and HIERARCHICAL is cell $P$; we read: Clause-level tagmeme manifested by a set of phrase-level syntagmemes'.

LEVEL- 2 LEVEL- I AnARCHICAL RECURSIVE BACKSKIPPING ${ }^{2}$ SKIPPING

| $T_{\text {\% }}$ | $P$ | $C$ | $S$ | $W$ | $D$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $T_{S}$ | $W$ | $P$ | $C$ | $S$ | $M$ |
| $T_{C}$ | $M$ | $W$ | $P$ | $C$ | $S$ |
| $T_{p}$ |  | $M$ | $W$ | $P$ | $C$ |
| $T_{W}$ |  | $W$ | $W$ | $P$ |  |

## DIAGRAM 5. FIELD STRUCTURE OF HIRRARCHY

"The field structure represented above has the following characteristics. (1) Every row is displaced one cell to the right in respect to the row above it and one orel to the left. in respect to the row below it. (2) Every column is displaced one cell upwards in respect of the next column to the right, and one cell downwards in respect to the next column on the left. (3) All left-to-right descending diagonals have the same cells....
"Notice...that all varieties of mutual imbedding of constructions from various levels find their place in a periodic matrix like that in diagram 5 and none need be considered aberrant or extrasystemic. Rather, the apparent exceptions to hierarchy (recursiveness, back-looping, and level-skipping) are part of a field structure in which hierarchy finds its ultimate justification. The relative spacing - which is possibly the fundamental notion ir hierarchy - is preserved regardless of the horizontal or vertical shifting of rows and columns."

The argument here needs to be considered closely. The intersection of $T_{C}$ and HIERARCHICAL is cell $P$ because Longacre
15. Op. cit. 76. Diagram 5 has been reduced in size here by omitting Longacre's LEVEL-SKIFPING3 arid BACK-LOOPING2.
considers the maxifestation of clause level tegmenca by phrase level syntagmemes to be normal. If he finds a syntagmeme a level. below that which he expectied (in this oase, a mord level syntagmere), he calls it first-order level- skipoing, and consigns the phenomenon to the column to the left of HIEPARCHICAL in his matrix. If the clause level tagmemes are manifested by syntagnemes a level above that which he expected (in this case, clause) they are ipso facto placed in the column to the right of HIERARCHICAL, and termed recursive. This is plairly seen from the quotation given here in footnote 14, page 25.

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

### 1.5 Compositte formulae

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

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

The better the grammor, the greator the number of these sequences which are found to be prammatical. 16

The structures of the nominal phrase in Tho provide us with some interesting problems when we try to make a composite formula. Let us consider the first two structures listed in 3.31, p. 13 , Nom and Nom Nom. Two composite formulae could be made:
(Nom)Nom and Nom(Nom)

The first formula suggests that the second nominal is the head, and the second formula suggests that the first nominal is the head. This in essence exemplifies one of the charges which transform grammarians level at a 'phrase structure' grammar; a PS grammar does not assign its 'P-markers' correctly. 17 The structure is not shown without arbitrariness.

Perhaps one answer to the problem is that we should not take our composite formulae too seriously. They are, after all, mere devices for representing several structures in one formula. ${ }^{18}$ When we use a descriptive device we should be able to make it mean (like Humpty Dumpty's words) just what we want it to mean - neither more nor less. So a composite formula such as Nom(Nom) should be
16. If the composite formula generates ungrammatical seguences (e,g. if AHO is not found in text because it is not grammatical), then restrictions can be placed on the formula at secondary delicacy. The value of delicacy here is that highly generalised statements can be made without clouding the issue with a bost of amendments, and yet the modifications may be made in their proper place. 17. See for instance P. Postal, "Constituent structure: a Study of Contemporary Models of Syntactic Nescription," IJAL 30 (1964), pp. 23,4; E. Bach, An Introduction to Transformational Grammars, New York (1964), pp. 67-8.
18. However, in tagmemic theory a composite symbolisation is given a status of its own. Tagmemicists regularly speak of 'optional' or "obligatory" tagmemes, as though there were an intrinsic difference between them. In tagmemios individual structures are not usually used (except in the initial stages of analysis). The composite formula is taken as an expression of what a structure actually is.
able to stand for the structures Nom and Nom Nom, and a composite formula such as

Nom Link Nom (Link Nom) ${ }^{\text {Th }}$
Where $n$ is an integer greater than or equal to zero, should be able to stand for the structures

1. Nom Link Nom
2. Nom Link Nom Link Nom
3. Nom Link Nom Link Nom Link Nom etc.
without any implication that any nominal is more central to the structure than any other. The situation would be different if we had numbered the nominals $\mathrm{Nom}_{1}, \mathrm{Nom}_{2}$ etc., or in any other way shown them to be different elements of structure, so that one of the nominals in structure 2. (say) could be identified with one of the nominals in structure 3 .

If the transform grammarian still contends that this problem arises because a phrase-structure-type grammar cannot deal with an infinitely recursive structure without imposing too much 'structure' on it, then the following course may be adopted. A composite formula for the nominal phrases above with links could be written as:
(Nom Link) ${ }^{m}$ Nom J,ink Nom (T,ink Nom) ${ }^{\text {n }}$
where $m$ and $n$ are integers greater than or eaual to zero. Now structure 3. above may be generated in three different ways from our composite. These may be seen by
(a) making $m=2$ and $n=0$
(b) making $m=1$ and $n=1$
(c) making $m=0$ and $n=2$ 。

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


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

## Chapter 2

## PRACPICAL TETRODUCTYOA

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

### 2.1 The corpus of data

The data used for this thesis were all gathered from one man, Hoàng Chung Minh, aged 56. He had lived most of his life in Kỳ Lừa, just outside the provincial capital of Lạng Sơn, Việt Nam. I met him when both he and I were living in the refugee resettlement village of Tung Nehĩa, Tuyên Đríc province. The would describe his language as Thồ, or tầy, as opposed to Nùng, or Phān Slìng, which latter tro terms are used to describe a neighbouring language close to Thô.

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

BA Bắc 'North'
Tife in the North.
BI Bi 'marble'
Description of children playing marbles, with comments on the value of recreation.
BU Burial
burial.
The religious ceremonies used at a
CH Cho 'to name'
Tho customs with regard to giving names to children.
CU Cúng 'to sacrifice' Description of a Tho sacrifice, with the implications to daily living.
HF Hải Phòng
An imaginary letter to the North, telling about the journey from Hai Phong to the South.

II Tllness
What heppened when Mro and Wrs. Englishman went tio Saigun besause of illness.
KH Khăng' 'a game with sticks' Descriplion of a game of khĕng.
KI Kiêng 'to fast" The ceremonies and fasting necessary for a Tho person becoming a priest.
LM Lâu mâu 'drunk The necessity of living together as good, respectable members of the community.
ME Mé 'mother' An imaginary conversation with an old Tho women.
ML Më liva 'daughter-in-law' Tho customs pertaining to the conduct of a daughter-in-law after she has gone to live with her husband's family.
MO Mot 'woodworm' How to build a house so that it is free from woodworm.
MT Mă̈n tầy 'potatoes' The problems and hazards of growing potatoes.
NA Nà ricefield' A farmer's omlendar in the North.
PH P'i 'spixit' The different kinds of spirits in the world.

PO Potatoes
An imaginary conversation about potato growing.
PR Priests
The value end funotions of different kinds of Tho priests.
PT Phép-tắc 'politeness' How parents teach their children to be polite.
RJ Return
What happened when Mr. and Mrs. Englishman returned from Saigon.
RP Reply
An imaginary reply to HF.
SA Saigon
SK Slưa khoá 'clothes' The different ethnic groups, means of transportation, and seasons in the North.
SU Superstition
The superstitions described by the Nung which are no longer regarded by the Thoo
SV Sláo ví 'cleansing' The situetions which bring ceremonial uncleanness, and how this can be cleansed.
$T E$ Tét 'celebration' The feast days and holidays during the tho year.
TH Then 'necromancer
The function of woman necromancers, including a description of a seance.
TM Too much
A complaint about having to give too many texts.

TW Trice
An appeal to divido our strudy time into two parts.
VD Vằn đây 'good days' The neoensily for observing propitious and non-propitions deys.
WF Wedding feast
The chagrin of discovering that you didn't invite all your friends to a wedding feast.

ZI Di-cu' 'refugee'
The refugee agrees to study with the Englishman.
These texts were each tape recorded and transcribed. Each one was spontaneously spoken, although sometimes a topic was suggested beforehand.

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

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

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

1. A more natural kind still, perhaps even more difficult to analyse, would be natural conversation recorded in situ.
them. Even this method is fraught with problems, as he may want, to correct features which are truly grammalical. I was not able to use this method at all, as the analysis was not done until after I had returned from Viet Nam.

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

### 2.2 Secondary delicacy

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

Delicacy is a cline (i.e. a continuum), not in the sense that infinite and infinitesimal gradation is possible, but in the sense that there are no definite stopping places, nor any means of comparing the delicacy of two statements about different structures or classes. Or rather, there is only one point where comparison is possible: the point at which we can no longer make further abstractions, i.e. primary delicacy. The fact that secondary delicacy must remain a stretch of territory with no milestones constitutes a problem for the description. The practice in this thesis
will be to give all the infomation which is known at secondary delicacy, without ettempting to divice it into firther steps into depth of detail.

What changes might we expect in statements at primary delicacy if we subject them to an increase in delicacy? There are three changes which might affect the structures. These are:
(1) Variations in the sequence of elements which are not significant at primary delicacy might be sigrificant at secondary delicacy. The differences between the sentences "She saw him yesterday" and "Yesterday she saw him" would be dealt with by setting up different structures at secondary delicacy.
(2) A structure may have repetitions of one element at primary delicacy, whereas at secondary delicacy these may have to be distinguished as different elements. One structure of the nominal phrase in Figlish at primary delicacy might be written as $\left(M^{n}\right) H\left(Q^{m}\right)$, where $M$ signifies modifier, $F$ head and $Q$ qualifier. At secondary delicacy we would have to recognise the fact of secondary differences between the consecutive $M$ elements. We would then write the structure $\left(M_{1}\right)\left(M_{2}\right)\left(M_{3}\right) \ldots H\left(Q^{m}\right)$.
(3) One primary structure might have to be split up into two structures at secondary delicacy, with agreement between two elements. For instance, English clause structure might be written as SPOA (subject predicate object adjunct) at primary delicacy, but at secondary delicacy we might write two structures, $S_{S_{g}} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{sg}} \mathrm{OA}$ and $S_{p l} P_{p l} O A$ to show the agreement between subject and predicate elements for singular and plural number.

Cases (2) and (3) here affect the classes, too, as elements distinguished at secondary delicacy imply that the classes operating at these elements are also to be distinguished at secondary delicacy. There are an additional two reasons for which we might want to set up subclasses at secondary delicacy. These are:
(4) Subclasses of a class might be correlated with particular elements of structure. E.g. at primary delicacy in tho,
verbs are said to onerate at both reabal and adverb elements (y. 47). At secondary delicacy different subclasses are seen to operate at each element (pp, 65-8).
(5) Subclasses of a class might be correlated with particular structures. E.g. a different subclass of clause may operate at the head of a structure PrH H (prehead head) from that which may operate at the head of the structure $H$. In the former case in Tho sentence structure, only a predicative clause may operate, whereas in the latter structure it may be either a predicative or an equative clause.

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

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

### 2.3 Sundry points

### 2.31 The layout

In Chapter 3 all the units of Tho syntax are covered at primary delicacy, and succeeding chapters deal with each unit in
turn, at scoondary delicacy. The fact that Chapter 3 starts with the sentence, and that Chapters 4 to 8 end with it, is of no theoretical importance: it is simply found easiex to describe Tho syntax in that way.

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

### 2.32 Syntax

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

The reason I have used the term 'syntax' rather than 'grammar' is that I do not want to imply that I have dealt with all possible kinds of structures occurring within Tho sentences. Although many of the basic classes ${ }^{2}$ of Tho consist of monosyllabic items which can without doubt be said to be single morphemes, there are some items which are of more than one syllable, e.g. phép-tác 'politeness', p'ō-me 'parents' (literally 'father mother'). Some of these items are obviously bi-morphemic, and all of them may prove to be so on further research. There are no doubt structures to be investigated here which I am not able to investigate.

Although such structures would extend parts of the
2. By 'basic' here I mean those classes in the diagram given in 3.6 ( $p .48$ ) which are not counted as units. These are the classes for which I have not given any structures.
diagram in $3.6(p .48)$, they would not radically alter it. In place of a word class operating at an element of a unit, we would have a unit with structures at which morpheme classes operate. This unit would itself operate at the element of the higher unit exaotly as the word class did previously. My criteria for calljng a polysyllabic item a word have been:
(1) In function it behaves identically with many monosyllabic items.
(2) It displays the combination of internal stability and external mobility expected in a word.

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

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

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

An index of importent subjects is given at the end of the thesis (p.144). Abbreviations are included there.
menbers of the
The (class of sentences $\begin{aligned} & \text { are } \\ & \text { a }\end{aligned}$
valence. Any text may most conveniently be described in terms of a succession of sertences. It has not been found possible to analyse the structure of a text in terms of elements ordered in places, however, and it is suspected that any such analysis would at best be sketchy and incomplete.

Phonolopical features may indicate the beginning and end of sentences in the absence of grammatical markers. A major pauso is one such phonological feature. However, there is not a one-toone correlation hetween stretches of speoch bounded by major pauses and grammatical sentences.

### 3.11 Sentence structures

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

|  |  | H |  | (ME13)r.122 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Intr H |  | $\left(\begin{array}{lll}\text { ME }\end{array}\right.$ |
|  |  | E | Fin |  |
|  |  | Intr F | Fin | ( Fx .1 ) p. 19 |
|  |  | Opnr H |  | (Ex. 2) p. 4.9 |
|  | Oonr | Inter H |  | (ME 9)p.121 |
|  |  | Opne H | Fin | (ME 16)p.123 |
|  |  | $\mathrm{FOC} \rightarrow \mathrm{H}$ |  | (Ex. 3) p. 49 |
|  | Intr | Foc H |  | ( F.x. 4) p. 50 |
| Opnr | Opnr | $\mathrm{Foc} \rightarrow \mathrm{H}$ |  | (Ex. 5) p. 50 |
|  | Intr | Foc H |  | (Ex. 6) p. 50 |
|  | Opnr | $\mathrm{FOO} \rightarrow \mathrm{H}$ | Fin | (Tx, 7) p. 50 |

[^4]

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

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

$$
(O p n r)(\operatorname{Intr})(F O C)\left(\mathrm{PrH}^{4}\right) \mathrm{H}_{( }\left(\mathrm{POH}^{2}\right)(\mathrm{Fin})
$$

Brackets indicate elements which are optionally present. Supersoript numbers indicate that a succession of such elements may occur up to the number shown. The seauence of the elements is the same as the sequence of the symbols in the composite formula,
excopt in the case of the rocus. The focus mey follow the intro.. duction, or the first prehead, or may intorcupt the first prehead or the head. In such instances as PY 220, PH 30a, PH 36b, PH 38 and PH 95a (see Chapter 10) there are several occurrences of the focus in one sentence. Insufficient evidence has been found to deoide whether this should be taken account of in the composite formula, or whether these sentences are not fully grammatical.

### 3.12 Exponentis of elements of sentence structure

The opener element is the place of operation of a class of opener particles. ${ }^{2}$

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

The focus element is the place of operation of a one-term class, ${ }^{3}$ namely the item ní. A slight parse usually follows this item. It may help the reader to know that ní seems to throw emphasis of some kind on the preceding unit.

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

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

The posthead element is the place of operation of a clause.
The final element is the place of operation of a class of final particles. These are usually accompanied by very weak
2. For examples of these classes, please see the relevant examples from section 3.1l, or see Chapter 8.
3. I am departing here from Halliday's division of 'system' from 'class' (CTG 2.1). Please see 2.33, p. 37.
stress, together with a certain amont of centralisation of the vowels, making it very hard io determine their actual phonological form. It may be better to consider that different systems of vowels and tones operate in these particies from those which operate in the rest of the language。 However, they are represented in this thesis by the common orthographic symbols.

### 3.2 The clause

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

### 3.21 The equative clause

### 3.211 Structure

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

Impl Compl
Bauative clauses are very rare in comparison with predicative clauses. See Exx. 32,33 at the end of this chapter, p. 56.
3.212 Exponents of elements of structure

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

### 3.22 The predicative clause

3.221 Structure

Predicative clause structures may consist of five elements.

These are tocative ( I ), Subject ( S ), Predicate ( P ), Object ( 0 ), Adjunct (A). The following structures have been found so far:

|  |  | P |  |  | ( ME 1) | p.118 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | S | P |  |  | (ME 1) | p. 118 |
|  |  | P | 0 |  | (ME 6) | p. 120 |
|  | S | P | 0 |  | (ME 3) | p. 119 |
|  | L | P |  |  | (Ex. 34) | p. 57 |
|  |  | P. | L |  | (ME 1 la) | p. 121 |
| L | S | P |  |  | (Ex. 35) | p. 57 |
| S | L | P |  |  | (Ex. 36) | p. 57 |
|  | S | P | I |  | (Ex.37) | p. 57 |
|  | L | P | 0 |  | (Ex. 38) | p. 57 |
|  |  | P | 0 | I. | (Ex. 39) | p. 58 |
| L | S | P | 0 |  | (ME 2) | p. 118 |
| S | L | P | 0 |  | (Ex. 40) | p. 58 |
|  |  | P | A |  | (Ex. 41) | p. 58 |
|  | S | P | A |  | (Ex. 42) | p. 58 |
|  |  | p | 0 | A | (ME 2) | p. 118 |
|  | S | p | 0 | A | (ME 4) | $p .119$ |
|  | L | P | A |  | (Ex. 43) | p. 58 |
|  | L | P | 0 | A | (Ex. 44) | p. 58 |
| L | S | P | 0 | A | (Ex. 45) | p. 59 |

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

A composite formula may be written as follows:

$$
\left(I_{1}\right)(S) P(0)(A)
$$

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

In ME 7 two exponents of the locative occur. Allowance could be made for this by allowing repetitionsof the locative element in our composite formula. However, as this is only a rare occurrence (in contrast, for instance, to a sentence with two preheads), it seems likely that $M E 7$ is not fully grammatical. A
notional explanation would be that the native seaker, after uttexing an exponent of the locative element, repeabs the element to explain the matter in greater detail. lhis is, however, only a notional suggestion. There is a pause between the two exponents of the locative, perhaps indicate of a structural disconvinuity.

### 3.222 Exponents of elements of structure

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.3 The nominal phrase

### 3.31 Structure

All nominal phrases contain nominals, and some also have
links and counters. The following structures have been found:
Nom (ME 6) p.120
Nom Nom (Ex. 46) p. 59
Nom Link Nom (Ex. 47) p. 59
Hom Link Nom Lirk Nom (Tx. 48) p.59
Nom Link Nom Link Nom Nom (Ex. 49) p. 59
Link Nom Link Nom Link Nom (Ex, 50) p. 60
Nom Count Nom Count
(Ex. 51) p. 60
Link Nom Count Link Nom Count (Ex. 52) p.60
Nom Count Nom Count Link Nom Counts (Ex, 55) p. 60

Not very many examples of the more complex structures ocour in any text. Rather than give a composito formula for the nominal phrase, we may say that a nominal phrase consists of nominals, links and counters with the following restrictions:
(1) Neither links nor counters may be present unless there are two or more nominels.
(2) Each link must immediately precede a nominal.
(3) Each counter must immediately follow a nominal.
(4) A link may occur in first place only if it is not the only link in the nominal phrase.
(5) If counters are present they must follow every nominal.
(6) No more than two nominals may occur without links or counters.

### 3.32 Exponents of elements of structure

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

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

The counter element is the place of operation of the item nề 'counting particle'.

### 3.4 The nominal figure

3.41 Structure

Nominal figures are composed of elements which are termed Deictic (Deic), Possessive (Poss) Mersone (Per), Nuantifier (0), Clessifier (Class), Nucleus (Nuch, and Identifier (Iden). The following structures have been found in text material:

Deic
per
Poss Per
Nuc
Class Nuc
Q. Nuc

Q Q Nuc Q Q Q Nuc
(ME 30) p. 128
(ME 3) p.l19
(Ex. 54) p. 61
(ME 2) p.ll8
(ME 6) p.120
(ME 13) p.122
(Tx. 55) p. 61
(Ex. 56) p. 61

|  | () Cless | Nuc |  | (Ex. 57) p.61 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\bigcirc$ | O. Class | Nuc |  | (ME 7) p.120 |
|  |  | Nu.c | M | (MEL 2) p.118 |
|  | Class | Nuc | M | (Ex. 58) p.61 |
|  | 0 | Nuc | M | (Ex. 59) p.61 |
|  | Q. 0 | Nuc | M | (ME 14) p. 123 |
|  |  | Nuc | Iden | (Ex. 60) 0.62 |
|  | Class | Nuc | Iden | (Ex.61) p. 62 |
|  |  | Nuc | Iden li | (NE 1 1b) p.l22 |
|  | Q | Nuc | M Iden | (Ex. 62) p. 62 |

On the basis of these structures the following composite formulae are set up:
(1) Deic
(2) (Poss)Per
(3) (Q ${ }^{\text {n }}$ (Class) Muc(M) (Iden)

Structure 3 must be modified by the additional note that $M$ may in rare cases follow Jden. It is also suspected that further investigation would lead us to write ( $M^{m}$ ) in structure 3.
3.12 Exconents of elements of structure

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

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

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

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

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

The modifier element is the place of operation of the
class of adjectives, the class of verbs, a nominal phrase or a clause.

The identificr element is the place of operation of the class of demonstratives.
3.5 The verbal group
3.51 Structure

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

$$
\left(\operatorname{PrVbl}{ }^{n}\right)(\operatorname{Refl}) \mathrm{Vbl}^{3} \ldots(\text { Cont })(\operatorname{Cap})(\text { Adv })(\text { Intens })(\mathrm{ClO})
$$

The reflexive precedes the last verbal. The notation $\mathrm{Vbl}{ }^{3}$ indicates that from one to three verbals may be present. The verbal group is discontinuous, the dots indicating that when the verbal group is operating as the predicate of a clause, the object, adjunct or locative may interrupt the predicate at the point indicated. Examples of verbal group structures are as follows:



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

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

The reflexive element is the place of operation of a oneterm class, namely the item tö 'reflexive'.

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

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

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

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

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

The closure element is the place of operation of the class of terminals.
3.6 Diagram of the units and their interrelations

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


Adj

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

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

### 3.7 Examples

With each example, the first line is the free translation, the second is a word-for-word translation (where this is possible), and then follows the actual text, with parsing indicated below it. For an explanation of the parsing, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7. 3.7. The Sentence (See pages 38-41)

Ex. 1
Now, I need to go home first.
Now I need go return first
Cơ-nầy nolo te cân pây mưa conn ló. WF 49
IP Clause EP
Intr H Fin
Sentence

## Ex. 2

Now then, there is also the neighbourhood spirit.
Now still have thing spirit neighbourhood
To (a) ${ }^{4}$ nhăng mì ăn pi tho.
OP
clause
Opnr H
Sentence
Ex. 3
As for me, I want to speak lots of texts for you. Aa
As-to me also also right want speak give you many text
Hong neo ní, cuing tú sur ái chang hử nì lei bài. TM 9 :.ni.: clause

Foo
Sentence
4. Bracketed forms are not included in the analysis, as they are considered to be hesitation forms.
Aa. Dotted lines link together the parts of a discontinuous unit.

Ex, 1
Now, you have the tape-recorder there.

> Now also have thing sound like this

Cónầy ní cong mì ăn phát-âm pần nay. TM 13a
IP ní Clause

Intr FOC H Sentence

## Ex. 5

Now as for me, I love all my friends very much. Now I also together love all friend much


Opnr
Fob H
Sentence
Ex. 6
So then I send a letter to my friends.
So now send letter go give friend To cơ-nà̀y ní ngò ngứi china pây hư pi i-nong. SA 3 a OP IP ní Clause
Opnr Intr FOC
Ex. 7
Now today, that's what I say.
Now day this as-to me right speak like that

Opnr FOC $\quad \mathrm{H} \quad$ Fin

## Sentence

Ex. 8
But now, the road is rather long, you know.
But now piece road then far little


Tx x. 9
Because to take it e little bit at a time is the only way to understand quickly.
Because self take little little self then know quickly


Sentence
Ex. 10
If your heart is good, your heart isn't bad.
Thing heart of self good self not right thing heart self bad


Sentence
Ex. 11
For instance, I go down the road and notice a gust of wind.
Instance go road self see thing gust gust wind
Ví- dux $\frac{p a ̂ y ~ t a ̀ n g ~ n i ́, ~ d a ̀ u ~ h a ̆ n ~ a ̆ n ~ p h a ́ ~ s a ́ ~ l a ̀ m . ~ P H ~}{\text { Clause }}$ nina

Intr Pry FOC
H
Sentence
Ex. 12
If you speak about it openly, many friends don't believe it. But speak out come friend many people not believe


Sentence

## Ex. 13

Now there are some people, you know, who have experienced it, and they believe it. But have people well see pass then believe

Opnr $\quad$ Fo Pr H $\quad \mathrm{H}$

Ex. 14
But in the old days, to talk of money in tens and hundreds was a great deal, you know.
But day before right talk money ten and money hundred

is very big very
là nhât-hang cai laic lob. BA 23
Clause FP
$\mathrm{H} \quad$ Fin

Ex. 15
Now then, I've said a lot, and there's still a lot to say. But now talk much then also have much
To cónà̀y ní, chang lain
OP
IP
Clause $\frac{\text { dū tú mì mai }}{\text { Clause }} \frac{\text { FP }}{\text { FP }} 30$

Opnr Intr Foo $\mathrm{Pr} \mathrm{H} \quad \mathrm{H}$
Sentence
Ex. 16
Or if you do things roughly, it's just as good to call in a woman necromancer to do the job.

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


Sentence
Ex. 17
And now, today being the seventh, and good, I came to start work this time.
But now day this number seven good $I$ come begin time this


Sentence
5. The arrows indicate that the sentence unit continues on the next line.

Ex. 18
Now if we lived together, night and morning when we had eaten breakfast or dinner, and had a little bit of spare time, then wed certainly be able to chat together. live reflexive near (self)

morning night as-to self eat breakfast eat dinner already

self well free one bit self also still well converse with each-other


Sentence
Ex. 19
Because, to study like this, sitting down for an hour, recording this text, recording that text, is a little bit tedious.
But (self) because study like this hour sit stay

take text this take text this then tiring little one

$\longleftarrow$ Sentence
Ex. 20
The buffalo have enough to eat, and keep fairly well. Animal buffalo still well full still better better well bit one


Sentence
Ex. 21
Now our people make use of the women necromancers a lot, but we don't make use of the priests very much.

Now all people of me right use woman necromancer much Cơ-nầy ki cần hông neo sừ dùng mem then lain,

IP
Intr
clause
H
not use all Mr . priest few much


Ex. 22
Now I've talked so much and I've not finished yet. Now self converse not well finish
Co-nầy dầu chàng-co mi day thuổn ló. SA 31
IP Clause Clause FP
Intr $\mathrm{H} \quad$ Po II Fin
Sentence
Ex. 23
Day and night it watches everything in our village, and doesn't allow any spirit to come or go.
Morning night it well watch thing in village self with each-other


Sentence
not give animal spirit any come enter leave mí hus tue pi ca-dăngmà khẩu óc. PH 31 Pot

Ex. 24
After you've spoken, I can correct it, and that's all right.
Speak already self change change correct again also well

Sentence
Ex. 25
But if your house doesn't have virtue, it will eat you, and after many days you will die.

But door-house self virtue not have it also right eat

lone day also right die
$\frac{\text { hung vằn tu sur thai }}{\text { Clause }} \underset{\mathrm{FP}}{\text { Claus } 7 \mathrm{~b}}$
$\leftarrow \mathrm{POH} \quad \mathrm{Fin}$
Ex. 26
If you summon him to come, then you must write characters and make it all complete.
But if summon come arrive also must write character

complete every thing finished


Ex. 27
The grass all dies, it rains heavily, and you can't release the animals.
Grass then die all then rain much release not possible $\frac{\text { Nhà } \quad \text { de thai thuônn }}{\text { Clause }} \frac{d \bar{u} p^{\prime} \hat{a} n l a i}{\text { Clause }} \frac{\text { pyuôi mí day }}{\text { Clause }}$ BA 11
H

Ex. 28
Now I'm planting potatoes, and very busy. I don't have an opportunity.

Now I still plant tuber west busy very not-yet well free Cơ-nầy ngò nhằng chay măn tây, bân lain, kếng day váng. SA 30 IP
 Clause
Intr
H
POH Po H Sentence

Ex. 29
Night and day I have to shut my ears and my eyes and keep still.


Sentence
Ex. 30


Sentence
Ex. 31
Some people come here with a lot of dependants and don't find enough to eat.
Have people oross here come also have many people

look not able eat
$\substack{\text { Sa } \\ \begin{array}{l}\text { Clause } \\ \text { POH day kin. } \\ \text { Clause } \\ \text { PoH }\end{array}}$


Ex. 33
Two thousand seven hundred, two thousand eight hundred piastres a nindred kilos.
6. Examples from number 32 onwards may or may not comprise the whole sentence of which the reference number is given.

Two thousand seven two thousand eight money hundred kilo
Sling sièn chét, slong siên pét ngần $\frac{\text { pac cân }}{\mathbb{N F}}$ PO 20
$\qquad$
Clause
Ex. 34
Then it's very hard to cast out.
Time that then hard expel


Ex. 35
In previous times, making a living was fun.
Day before make eat happy
$\frac{\text { Văn conn }}{\mathbb{N P}} \frac{\text { hắt kin }}{\text { Clause }} \frac{\text { vul }}{V G}$ BA 2


Clause
Ex. 36
The children in the house are still small.
All child in house still small
$\frac{\text { Kí luce }}{\text { NP }} \frac{\text { du dươn }}{\text { Clause }} \frac{\text { nhà̀ng sláy }}{\text { VG }}$ RP 9
$\xrightarrow{S} \frac{\mathrm{~L}}{\text { Clause }}$

Ex. 37
I came to begin this time.
I come begin time this

Ex. 38
The use of money in previous times...
Day before use money
$\frac{V \text { àn coon }}{\mathbb{N P}} \frac{\text { dùng }}{V G} \frac{\text { ngàn-chèn }}{N \mathrm{~N}}$ BA 21
$-\frac{\mathrm{C}}{\mathrm{Cl} \text { apse }}$

Ex. 39
I also don't know what news there is of the North. Also not know news what in side North
$\frac{\text { Cung míchắc tin- tức ca-dăng du bưởng Bắc }}{\text { VG }} \frac{\text { HP } 7 \text { ouse }}{\text { ( }}$


Clause
Ex. 40
Morning and evening I shut my ears.
I morning evening continue shut ear

Clause
Ex. 41
And give to the buffaloes to eat.
Come set give buffalo eat


Ex. 42
We would certainly talk together.
Self then still well converse with each-other


Ex. 43
When your head aches a little bit, then it isn't agreeing with you.
Time see thing head ache little then also not fit with it $\frac{\text { Bắt hăn ăn hue mầu ing dây }}{\mathrm{NP}} \frac{\text { d } \bar{u} \text { tú míslày ngám sáu mân }}{\text { Clause }}$


Clause
Ex. 41
Day after day we go to work for them. Day day go do work give of them


| I | P | O |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Px: 45
On an anniversary day he makes an anniversary for his mother and father.
Day anniversary he then makes anniversary give father mother parent


Clause

### 3.73 The nominal phrase (See pages 13-1)

Ex. 46
Money in thousands or money in ten thousands
Money thousand money ten-thousand

Nom Nom

Ex. 47
Money in tens and money in hundreds
Money ten with money hundred


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


Ex. 49
Three times upside down or three times the right way up, or one upside down and one the right way up Three time inverted or three time level or thing level

thing inverted


Ex. 50
Either three times upside down or three times the right way up, or three times with one upside down and one the right way up.
Either three time inverted or three time level or
Fay-là slam bắt khoắm hay-là slam bắt, ngai, hay-là

three time thing inverted thing level one
$\frac{\text { slam bắt ăn khoẳm ăn ngai nơng }}{\text { NF }}$ CU 18


Ex. 51
Bicycles, rickshaws
Vehicle kick vehicle hand


Nom Count Nom Count

Ex. 52
Either a birthday or an anniversary
Either day birthday or day anniversary


Ex. 53
Gold, silver or flags


### 3.74 ?he nominal figure (See pages 41.6)

Ex. 54
We
Of self
Hông dầu WF 48
hong Pr
$\frac{\text { Poss Per }}{\mathrm{NF}}$
Ex. 55
All the onions
Several all onion


Ex. 56
Five or six or seven people
Five six seven people


Ex. 57
Three loads of grass
Three load grass
Slam háp nhà TH ll
Nom $\mathbb{N} \quad \mathbb{N}$
$\frac{\text { Q_Class True }}{\mathrm{NE}}$
Ex. 58
Our hearts
Thing stomach of self


## Ex. 59

All the priests

All Mr. priest

| Kí | p'ö | thão |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Mum $N$ | $V$ |  |
| 0 | Tue | $M$ |
| $N \mathrm{MF}$ |  |  |

Ex. 60
This text
Text this
Bail nây TW 15
N Dem
$\frac{\text { Nus Aden }}{N \mathrm{~F}}$
Ex. 61
That word
Thing word that

| An | căm | nân | WW 32 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $N$ | $N$ | Dem |  |
| Class | Nuc | Iden |  |

Ex. 62
All these matters concerning making a living
All matter make eat this

| Kí mon | hắtkin | nay |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nun | $\mathbb{N}$ | Clause | Dem |
| $Q$ | Nus | M | Eden |

3.75 The verbal group (See pages $46-7$ )

Ex. 63
Lives nearby
live reflexive near

| Dú | to | saul | CU lb |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aux | to | $V$ |  |  |
| PrVbl | Refl | Vb |  |  |

Ex. 64
Cannot reject each other

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

## Ghapter 4 <br> THE VIGRBAT. GROGP <br> AT SECONDARY DESICACY

4.1 The preverbals

### 4.11 Structure

At primary delicacy the preverbals are represented in the structure of the verbal group as ( $\operatorname{PrVbl}{ }^{\mathrm{n}}$ )。 At secondary delicacy it is possible to distinguish between different preverbal elements, and the structure must be rewritten:

$$
\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6}\right)\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{5}\right)\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{4}\right)\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{3}\right)\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{2}\right)\left(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{1}\right)
$$

It is theoretically possible for six elements to be present at the same time, but in practice no more than five have been found together, and two or three are more common. Examples are as follows: ${ }^{2}$

```
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{\Lambda}\)
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{4} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{1} \quad\) (Ex. 2) p .69
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6} \mathrm{PaVbl}_{1}\)
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{3}\)
\(\mathrm{PrObl}_{5} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{4}\)
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{4} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{3} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{1}\) (Ex. 6) p .70
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{3} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{2} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{1}\) (Ex. 7) p .70
\(\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{4} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{3} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{2} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{1} \quad\) (Ex. 8) p .70
```


### 4.12 Exponents of elements of structure

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

1. For a description of the verbal group at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3. pp. 46-7.
2. Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp.69-74. For examples from text ME, please see Chapter G, p.ll8.
of affixes. In fart, we find it convenient to call these gabclasses of the auxiliaries 'orders'. lha number of the order of auxiliaries corresponds with the number of the preverbal element at which it operates, e.g. order 6 of auxiliaries operates at the element $\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6}$, and so on. A partial listing of auxiliaries by their orders is given here. Meanings are appended wherever these are known, but often the meanings of auxiliaries are rather elusive, and impart more of a 'flavour' to the clause. Some auxiliaries have not been subclassified because they have not been found with other auxiliaries in a sufficient number of environments to ascertain their order. Examples of such auxiliaries are ná "do not', phái 'must' and da 'past tense'.
$\frac{\text { Order } 6}{\text { dü }} \frac{\text { Order } 5}{\text { khōi }} \frac{\text { Order 4 }}{\text { thói }} \frac{\text { Order } 3}{\text { nhất }} \quad \frac{\text { Order } 2}{\text { vậ }} \frac{\text { order } 1}{\text { mí }}$
'then' 'change' 'change' thề là
chíng
'then' 'also'
têe
'is'
cung
'also' bú
'not'
'very'
'still'
nhất-hang sü
'very' 'is' tú
'also'
say
cú, cú
'to continue'
táng
'alone'
thōi
'change'

The sequence in which the auxiliaries may occur is not in fact as inflexible as the above chart makes it appear. Dü may follow bú as well as precede it. 保 may precede dū or bú, as well as follow them. Cung may precede or follow thói, and so may là. Là may also follow nhât or sü. However, in the majority of cases the above description holds good. The statistical nature of statements at secondary delicacy is apparent here.
4.2 The verbals

At orimary delicacy the verbals in the verbal group may exhibit the structures $\mathrm{Vbl}, \mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl}$, or Vbl Vbl Vbl . Although
some sequences of verbais have not been aralysed further, some aspects of patterning have been discovered. Some sequences of Vbl Vbl structure may be repxesented at seoondary delicacy as $\mathrm{Vbl}_{1} \mathrm{Vbl}_{2}$.
$\mathrm{Vbl}_{2}$ is the place of operation of all verbs.
$\mathrm{Vbl}_{1}$ is the place of operation of a system of three subclasses of verbs. These are the stative verbs, the verbs of motion, and the verb day to be acceptable'. ${ }^{2}$

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

| pây | 'to go' |
| :--- | :--- |
| mà | to come' |

Examples of the subelass of stative verbs are:
đây 'to be good'
kho ${ }^{2}$ 'to be difficult.
do 'to be sufficient'
p'ec, p'ec- p' $\vec{e}$ 'to be clean'
vui, vui-vé 'to be happy'
buồn, buồn-sầu, buồn-bą to be sad.
Of the stative verbs, only đây, khö and do have been found operating at $\mathrm{Vbl}_{1}$, so perhaps a subclass of the stative verba should be set up. However, the number of instances is very small, and it could be that a larger sampling would shov other stative verbs operating there.

For p .70 ) mples of stative verbs operating at Vb$]_{1}$ see examples 9-11. For examples of a verb of motion at $\mathrm{Vbl} l_{1}$ see examples 12 and $1 \frac{(p \cdot 71)}{4}$ For an example of day at $\mathrm{Vbl}_{1}$ see example 14 .
1.3 The reflexive

It was said at primary delicacy that the reflexive

[^5]precedes the last verbeul. Usually there is only one verbal in the verbal group, as in examples 15 sind $16 /(p, 72)$ An example of the structure Vbl Refl Vbl is given in example $l^{\prime} 7 /$ The only exponent of the reflexive element is tō 'reflexive'.

### 4.4 The continuation

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

| pây | to go' | (Ex. 18) p.72 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mà | to come' | (Ex. 19) p.7? |

The class of clauses which operates here is a highly specialised subclass, consisting only of the verb pần 'to be like' followed by a demonstrative. The most common examples are:
pần nện "like that" (ME 1) p.118
pần nåy 'like this' (ME ILb) p. 122
but other examples are found, such as:
pần dư-haú 'however (like how)' (ME 20) p. 125
In each case the pần operates at verbal element in a verbal group, which in turn operates at the predicate element of the clause. The demonstrative operates at the deictic element of a nominal figure, which operates at the nominal element of a nominal phrase, which operates at the object element of the clause.

### 4.5 The capability

The subclass of verbs which operates here comprises only one member, namely the verb day 'to be possible, to be acceptable'. For an example, see ME 20. (p.125)

### 4.6 The adverb

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

| dai | "to be treer | (ME 2) p.11.8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| khó | 'to be hard. | (ME 1.8) p.124 |
| đây | 'to be good' | (Ex. 20) p. 72 |
| vui | 'to be happy" | (Ex, 21)p.72 |

Other examples of the stative verbs (which may also occur at the adverb element) are given in $4.2, \mathrm{p} .66$.
4.7 The intensive

The intensive is the place of operation of
(1) an indefinite numeral, such as:

| lai 'much, many' | (ME 8) p.120 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| noi | 'a littie' | (ME 27b) p.128 |
| kí-lai 'how much, how many' (ME 14) p.123 |  |  |

(2) a nominal fioure of a very restricted kind. Only nominal figures of the structure ( 0 ) ( $O$ )Nuc (M) are permitted, and the exponents of these elements are severely limited. Some of the nominal figures which have been found are listed under example 22 at the end of this chanter, p.73.

### 4.8 The closure

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

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

### 4.9 Bxamples

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

### 4.91 Preveroals (See pages 6^-5)

Ex. 1


Ex. 2


Ex. 3

> Then you don't have then not have Aux Aux V | $\mathrm{PrVbl}_{6}$ | $\mathrm{PrVbl}_{1} \quad \mathrm{Vbl}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Ex. 4


Ex. 5
Then says
then change speak tell

$\frac{\mathrm{PrVbI}_{5} \mathrm{PrVbl}_{4} \mathrm{Vbl} \quad \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}$

Ex: 6


Ex. 7 Continued to work

| continue | still | still | work |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cứ | Vân | nhằng | nắt | CU 12 |
| $A_{\text {aux }}$ | Aux | Aux | V |  |
| $\mathrm{PrVb1}_{3}$ | $\mathrm{PrVbl}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{PrVbl}_{1}$ | Vbl |  |
|  | VG |  |  |  |

Ex. 8

4.92 Verbals (See pages 65-6)

Ex. 9
That is also very hard to talk about.
Thing that also hard speak (final particle)


| Aux V V <br> $\operatorname{PrVbl}$ Vbl $\mathrm{Vbl}_{2}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Ex, 10
When you think about it, it's fit to laugh about, and also fit to cory about. Time think also also good laugh then also good cry Bắt nghị cuing tú dêy khua dū tú dây hay.


Ex. 11
Also they have enough to eat


Ex. 12
Go and work
go work
pây hắt ME 8
v V
$\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}_{1} \mathrm{VbI}_{2}}{\mathrm{VG}}$
Ex. 13


Ex. 14
something to:eat acceptable eat

| day | kin | ME |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| v | V |  |

Aux V V

| PrVbl | $\mathrm{Vbl}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{Vbl}_{2}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

4.93 The reflexive (See pages 66-7)

Ex. 15
We cannot reject each other.
Self not reflexive reject each-other acceptable

$\underline{\mathrm{PrVbl} \text { Refl }} \frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots$ Cap
Ex. 16
We scold each other

| of self. reflexive | scold |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hong | danu | to | da | Lng 20 |
|  |  | to | $V$ |  |
|  |  | Refl | $V b]$ | $V G$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Ex. 17
Ah, then they go suing each other. Ah time this then go reflexive sue
 PrVbl PrVbl Vol Refl Vbl
4.94 The continuation (See page 67)

Ex. 18
If they have two metres, I also have two metres. They have two metre self also have two metre go
Hâu mi slong síc, dâu cuing mì slong síc pây. SV 41 Aux $V$ V $\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}-\cdots-\cdots-\frac{\mathrm{Cont}}{}$

Ex. 19
A person enters the house Animal person enter house come
Tue cần khẩu dươn mà PTTM2 $\frac{\mathrm{V}}{\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{V G}-\cdots-\frac{\mathrm{V}}{\mathrm{Cont}}}$
4.95 The adverb (See pages 67-8)

Ex. 20
He converses very nicely
Converse good very
$\begin{array}{ccc}C h a ̀ n g-c o ̀ ~ d a ̀ y ~ & \text { lei } & \text { ZI 2 } \\ V & V & \text { Nun }\end{array}$
$\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{Adv}} \underset{\mathrm{VG}}{ }$
Ex. 21
I am very happy to see you.

4.96 The intensive (See page 68)

Ex. 22
But I forgot to go just a little bit.
But I forgot go little one

$\frac{\text { Nun } \quad \mathrm{M}}{\mathrm{NF}}$
$\frac{\mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \quad \text { Intens }}{\mathrm{VG}}$
When $I$ am the least bit free
Self have freedom one bit
Dầu đảy vang slắc in
V $\quad \frac{\mathrm{Num} \stackrel{\mathrm{N}}{\mathrm{Q}} \mathrm{Nu}}{\mathrm{NB}}$
Dbl $-\cdots-\frac{\text { Intens }}{\mathrm{VG}}$
But I just forgot to go a little bit.
But I also also forgot go little already
To (is) ngc pung tum say iūm pây ing ing dá, vp li
$\frac{\text { Nus }}{\text { NF }}$
PrVbl PrVbl PrVbl Vol Vol Intens Clog VG

Good means good in every way. Good is good finish every thing (final particle) Đây là đây thuốn môi $\begin{gathered}\text { N um } \\ \\ \\ \mathrm{V} \\ \text { Nom } \\ \text { Nun } \\ \text { N }\end{gathered}$


Then it's a bit tiring.

4.97 The closure (See page 68)

Ex. 23
When it has come out
It out go already
Mân óc pay dá $\begin{array}{llll}\text { V } & \text { V } & \text { Pa } \\ & \text { Ter } & & \end{array}$
$\frac{\text { Vb Cont Clog }}{V G}$
Ex. 24
Then you're a bit sorry
Self then sorry go little beforehand

Aux $V \quad V \quad N F \quad$ Ter
PrVbl Vol Cont Intens Cleo

Ex. 25
Are you still growing anything in the garden at the back? At thing garden toward back this still grow anything not
Dú ăn dà̀y vè lăng nẩy nhằng chay lăng mí? RE 2 Aux $V$ Ter $\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \ldots-\cdots \mathrm{Clo}}{}$

Ex. 26

> Have you planted potatoes yet? plant tuber western yet
Shay mă̈n tây kêng? PO 1
$V$ Ter
$\frac{\mathrm{Vb} 1}{\mathrm{VG}}-----\cdots \mathrm{ClO}$

## Chapter 5

## THE NOMINAL FIGURE

AT SECONDARY DELICACY ${ }^{1}$

### 5.1 The deictic

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

| nẩy | 'this' | (ME 17b) | p. 122 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nận | 'that' | (ME 1) | p. 118 |
| dư | 'what?' | (Ex, 1) | p. 84 |
| heut | 'what, how?' | (Ex. 2) | p. 84 |
| dừ-hau | 'what, how?' | (ME 20) | p. 125 |
| lăng, | 'whe.t?' | (Ex. 3) | p. 84 |
| a-1ăn | a-dăng 'what, anything' | (Ex. 4) | p. 84 |

Two other demonstratives, no_ 'the other' and kia 'yonder' have not yet been found at the deictic element.

### 5.2 The possessive

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

### 5.3 The person

The person element of structure is the place of operation of the class of pronouns. Examples of these are:
mé
'Mother, you (to an old woman)' (ME

1) $p .118$
mân 'he, she, it' (ME 2) p.ll8
1. For a description of the nominal figure at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pages 44-6.
2. Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp.84-96. For exampleṣ taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.

| dầu | 'self, oneselfy | (ME 12) p.122. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| có | 'elder brother, you (to contemporary)(Ex.6)p. 85 |  |
| chài | 'elder sister, you (io contemporary)(Ex.6)p.85 |  |
| Long | 'Long (proper name)' | (ME 2) p.118 |
| Phúc | 'Phuc (proper name)' | (ME 4) p.119 |

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

### 5.4 The quantifier

At primary delicacy this element was written as ( $0^{n}$ ). The quantifier is the place of operation of the class of numerals At secondary delicacy the quantifier is the place of operation of a system of subclasses, the definite and indefinite numerals. These are subclassified on the basis of:
(1) their occurrence in structures with more than one exponent of the quantifier (see the last paragraph in this section, p. 79), and
(2) the fact that the indefinite numerals may also operate at the intensive element in verbal group structure ( $p, 68$ ).

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

| slắc | 'one' | (Ex.7) p.85 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| slong | 'two' | (Ex. 8) p. 85 |
| slam | 'three' | (Ex. 9) p. 85 |
| slí | - four' | (Ex. 10) p. 85 |
| ha ${ }^{2}$ | 'five' | (Ex, 11) p. 85 |
| hôc | 'six' | (Ex. 12) 0.86 |
| chêt | 'seven' | (Ex.13) p.86 |
| pét | 'eight' | (Ex.14) p.86 |
| caú | 'nine ${ }^{\text {P }}$ | (Ex. 15) p.86 |
| slíp | 'ten' | (Ex. 16) p.86 |
| pác | ' a hundred' | (Ex. 17) p.86 |
| siên | 'a thousand' |  |

phän＇ter thousand＇
The first nine numerals here，ie．from slắc＇one＇to cẩu＇nine＇ inclusive，comprise a yet more delicate subclass，the units． There are another two numerals，et＇one＇and nh＇two＇．The way these two numerals affect the subclasses already set up will be explained below．

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


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

$$
\left(\Omega_{u}\right) \Omega_{10}\left(O_{u}\right)
$$

$Q_{10}$ is the place of operation of slip＇ten＇．$Q_{u}$ is the place of operation of the units subclass of definite numerals，with the modification that slắc＇one＇and long＇two＇cannot occur here，but ext＇one＇and nhī＇two＇can．${ }^{3}$ Examples of this structure are：

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { slíp êt 'eleven' } & \text { (Ex. 25) p. } 88 \\
\text { slíp nhī 'twelve' } & \text { (Ex. 26) p. } 88 \\
\text { slíp hah 'fifteen' } & \text { (Ex. 27) p.88 } \\
\text { nhī slíp êt 'twenty one' } & \text { (Ex. 28) p. } 88 \\
\text { hah slíp 'fifty' } & \text { (Ex. 29) p.89 } \\
\text { hah slíp hà 'fifty five' } & \text { (Ex. 30) p.89 }
\end{array}
$$

3．I．e．，we have here more delicate subclasses，one consisting of sl⿳亠口冋ac and slong，another consisting of ết and hi，and the third consisting of the remaining units，from slam＇three＇to cẳu＇nine＇．

$$
\text { pét s]Lp "eighty' (Ex. 31) p. } 89
$$

Another structure may be diagrarmed as: 4

$$
\left(Q_{u}\right) \theta_{100}\left(\theta_{u^{\prime}}\right)\left(\theta_{10}\left(Q_{u^{\prime}}\right)\right)
$$

where $Q_{100}$ is the place of operation of páo 'a hundred', $Q_{10}$ the place of operation of slíp 'ten', $Q_{u}$ the place oi operation of the units subclass of definite numerals, and $\theta_{u}$, the place of operation of the units subclass minus slác and glong, and plus êt and nhi. Examples of this structure are rare in the texts:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { slong pác 'two hundred' } & \text { (Ex. 32) p. } 89 \\
\text { pác nhī 'a hundred and twenty' } & \text { (Ex. 33) p. } 89
\end{array}
$$

Further structures such as ${ }^{5}$

$$
\left(Q_{u}\right) Q_{1000}\left(Q_{u}\right)\left(Q_{100}\left(Q_{u},\right)\left(Q_{10}\left(\theta_{u},\right)\right)\right)
$$

and

$$
\left(Q_{u}\right) Q_{10,000}\left(Q_{u}\right)\left(Q_{1000}\left(Q_{u}\right)\left(Q_{100}\left(Q_{u},\right)\left(\theta_{10}\left(Q_{u},\right)\right)\right)\right)
$$

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

$$
\left(Q_{u}\right) Q_{x}\left(Q_{u}\right)
$$

where $Q_{x}$, is the place of operation of the subclass comprising slíp 'ten', pác 'a hundred', siên 'a thousand' and phān 'ten thousand'. $Q_{u}$ is here the place of operation of the units subclass. We have to consider here that slác and êt one are allomorphs of the same
 after slíp, or after pác, where slác and slong are never found.

This picture must be further modified by the comment that
4. The nesting of brackets here means that the final $Q_{u}$, may only occur if the optional element $\Omega_{10}$ is present. 5. The full structures are given here on the basis of the analyst's experience of other forms which have been heard, not on the basis of actual occurrence in the text material.
the $Q_{u}$ element, or even the whole structure $\left(D_{u}\right) Q_{x}\left(Q_{u}\right)$, may be repeated, Te have, for instance, the structures:


In the latter structure, the same lexical item must operate at each of the $Q_{x}$ elements.

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

| $Q_{x} Q_{i}$ | $(E x .41)$ | $p .91$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $Q_{u} Q_{x} Q_{i}$ | $(E x .42)$ | $p .91$ |
| $Q_{u} Q_{u} Q_{i}$ | $($ Ex. 43) | $p .91$ |
| $Q_{i} Q_{x}$ | $(E x x .44,45)$ | $p .91$ |

### 5.5 The classifier

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

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

| ăn | 'thing' |
| :--- | :--- |
| baú | 'leaf' |
| chén | 'cup, cupful' |
| co | 'plant, tree' |
| háp | 'a load carried suspended from the ends of a |
| yoke' |  |
| kāo | 'a heavy lump' |


| lä̈m | 'a long thing' |
| :--- | :--- |
| múi | 'a seed; small round object' |
| pát | 'bowl, bowlful' |
| thú | 'kind, sort' |
| tua | 'animal' |
| càn | 'kilogramme' |

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

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

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { kí ăn cuôi } & \text { 'all the bananas' (SU 5) } \\
\text { kí co cuôi } & \text { ' all the banana trees' (SU 5) }
\end{array}
$$

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

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

| Rau 'leaf | chìa | 'paper' | (BU 18) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | cơ' | 'flag' | ( CU 11) |
| cân 'kilo' | khẩu | 'rice ${ }^{\prime}$ | (MT 97) |
| $\operatorname{chen}^{2} \text { 'oup' }$ | $1{ }_{\text {a }}^{\text {Ru }}$ | ' wine' | ( CU 31) |
| co 'plant, tree' | cuỗi | 'banana' | ( SU 8) |
| háp 'yoke load' | may | 'mood' | $\left(\begin{array}{ll}\text { MO } & 7\end{array}\right)$ |
|  | thúa | - bean ${ }^{\text {P }}$ | (M778) |
|  | phìn | 'firewood' | (TH 11) |
|  | năm | 'water' | (ML 29) |
|  | nha ${ }^{2}$ | 'grass' | (TH 11) |



An occurs vith more nouns than any other classifier noun.

### 5.7 The modifier

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

### 5.7.1 Adjectives

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

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

5.72 Verbs

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

| thai | 'die' | (Ex. 51) | p.92 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| đây | 'good' | $($ Ex. 52) | p.93 |
| sâu | 'bad' | (Ex. 52) | 0.93 |

### 5.73 Nominal phrases

The only nominal phrase of more than one nominal in structure which has been found operating at the modifier element is the following:
mè then sáu p'ö thāo 'the woman necromancer and the priest' (Ex. 53) p.93

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

Pr ( Px . 54) p.93

| Poss Per | $($ Ex. 55) p.93 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Nuc | $(\mathrm{Dx} .56) \mathrm{p} .94$ |
| Q Muc | $(\mathrm{Ex} .57) \mathrm{p} .94$ |
| Q Class Nuc | $(E x .58) \mathrm{p} .94$ |
| Class Nuc M | $(\mathrm{Ex} .59) \mathrm{p} .94$ |

5.74 Clauses

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

P (Ex. 60) p.95
PO (Ex. 61) p.95
SPO (Ex. 62) p.95
Example 60, being a single predicate, suggests that ver'bs operating at the modifier element in a nominal figure may be interpreted as clauses, consisting of just a predicate, consisting of a single verbal.
5.8 The identifier

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

| nận | 'that' | (Tx. 63) | p. 95 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nay | 'this' | (Ex. 64) | p. 95 |
| no | 'the other' | (Ex. 65) | p. 96 |
| kia | ' yonder' | (Ex. 65) | p. 96 |
| tau | 'any' | (Ex. 66) | p. 96 |
| dăng | 'any' | (Ex. 67) | p. 96 |

### 5.9 Examples

With each example, sufficient parsing is included to
illustrate the point under discussion. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.
5.91 The deictic (See page 75)

Ex. 1

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { What would you do? } \\
\text { Do what } & \text { well } \\
\text { Hast } & \text { dur } & \text { days } & \text { CU } \\
\text { He } & 52 \\
& \text { Dem } & & \\
& \frac{\text { Deice }}{\text { NF }} & & \\
\end{array}
$$

Ex. 2

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
\text { Anyhow } & & \\
\text { Like } & \text { how } & & \\
\text { pain } & \text { haul } & \text { CU } & 48 \\
& \begin{array}{lll}
\text { Dem } & & \\
& \frac{\text { Deice }}{\mathrm{NF}} &
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$

Ex. 3

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Have you still anything planted? } \\
& \text { Still plant anything not } \\
& \text { Nhằng shay lang min? Re } 2 \\
& \text { Dem } \\
& \frac{\text { Desc }}{\mathrm{NF}}
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 4

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { There is nothing } \\
& \text { Not have anything } \\
& \begin{array}{cc}
\text { Mit mi calăng } \\
\text { Dem } \\
\text { Deice } \\
\hline
\end{array} \quad \text { WY } 25 \\
& \hline \text { NF }
\end{aligned}
$$

5.92 The possessive: (See page 75)

## Ex. 5

When we meet each other again
As-to self change well reflexive meet each-other
Hông dầu thói day too prông căn w. 48
hông Pr
$\frac{\text { Poss } \mathrm{Per}}{\mathrm{NF}}$
5.93 The person (See pages 75-6)

Ex. 6
You must address them as 'elder brother' or 'elder sister'. Must address become elder-brother become ender-sister
Phåi sing pần
có pần pr $\frac{\mathrm{Per}}{\mathrm{NF}}$ chài $\begin{aligned} & \text { Mr } 164 \\ & \text { Per } \\ & \overline{\mathrm{NF}}\end{aligned}$
5.94 The quantifier (See pages 76-9)

Ex. 7
A gold bracelet
One thing bracelet gold
$\begin{array}{llclll}\text { Slăc } & \text { ăn } & \text { myà̀m } \\ \text { Num } & \mathbb{N} & \frac{\mathrm{kim}}{\mathrm{N}} & \text { SV } 38 \\ \mathrm{NP} & \end{array}$


Ex. 8


Ex. 9

| Three people |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Three people |  |  |
| Slam | càn | KH 5 |
| Num | N |  |
| Q | Nuc |  |
|  |  |  |

Ex. 10
Four cakes
Four thing cake

\[

\]

Ex. 11
Five people

Five people
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { Hán } & \text { cần } & \text { KH } 5 \\ \text { Num } & \text { NT } & \\ 0 & \text { Nixac }\end{array}$
Ex. 12

$$
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text { Six people } & \\
\text { Six } & \text { people } & \\
\text { Hốc } & \text { càn } & \text { BU } \\
\text { Num } & \text { N } & \\
Q & \text { Nuc } & \\
\hline & &
\end{array}
$$

Ex. 13
Seven piastres
Seven piastre

| Chêt | min |
| :---: | :---: |
| Num | $\mathbb{N}$ |
| Q | Nuc |
| $N T H$ |  |

Ex. 14

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text { Fight } & \text { flags } & & \\
\text { Eight } & \text { leaf } & \text { flag } & \\
\text { Pét } & \text { baú } & \text { cò } & \text { CU llc } \\
\text { Num } & \text { N } & N & \\
0 & \text { Class } & \text { Nuc } &
\end{array}
$$

Ex. 15

| Nine days |
| :--- |
| Nine day |
| Cẩu vằn |
| MumNT <br> Nuc <br> Q Nuc |
| NF |

Ex. 16

| Ten years |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ten year |  |
| Slíp pi | CH 12 |
| Num N |  |
| Q Nuc  <br> NF  |  |

Ex. 17
A hundred kilos

Fundred kilo

| Pác | cân | PO 20 |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| Num | N |  |
| Q | Nuc |  |

Ex. 18
Several days
Few day
Kí vằn BA 20
Num N
$\frac{\text { Q Nuc }}{\mathrm{NF}}$
Ex. 19
All of us
All person belong self
Kí cần hông dâu PH 4.4

Num N NP
Q Nuc M

NF
Ex. 20
Many lessons
Many lesson
Jai bà TM 19
Num $\mathbb{N}$
$-\frac{0 \quad N u c}{N F}$
Ex. 21
However many lessons
However-many lesson

| Kílai  <br> Num bài <br> Q NT <br> NH 16 <br>  Nuc |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Ex. 22
Rather young
Little year one
Noi pi nớng ML 169
Num $\quad N \quad \operatorname{Adj}$


Ex. 23

```
Every thing tray
Mội ăn bâmn CU 70
Num N N
OCClass Nuc
```

Ex. 24
Everything to do with trade Every matier trade

| Các | sư | buôn-bán | BA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tum | N | 0 |  |
| 0 | Nuc | $V$ |  |

Ex. 25


Ex. 26


Ex. 27

| Fifteen minutes |
| :--- |
| Ten five minute |
| Slíp ha |
| Mum |
| Mum |
| $Q_{10}^{2}$ |

Ex, 28
Those twenty one days and nights Two ten one night-day that

| Ni | slip | êt | cưn-vằn | nân |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | ---: |
| Mum | Nun | Num | N | Dem |
| Qu. | $O$ | 10 | $O_{0}$ | Nus |

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

Ex. 29
Fifty kilos
Five ten kilo
Hah slíp cân WT 99
Tum Nom N
$\frac{Q_{0}, \frac{Q_{10} \quad \text { Nuc }}{N E}}{\frac{N a}{}}$
Ex. 30
Fifty five piastres
Five ten five piastres


Ex. 31
Eighty piastres
Eight ten piastre
Pét slip min CH 3

Mum Mum N
$\frac{{ }^{\text {Out }}, \quad{ }^{0_{10}} \quad \text { Nun }}{N F^{2}}$
Ex. 32
Two hundred metres Two hundred metre

| Slung | pác sic | NH 5 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mum | Tum | $N$ |  | $\frac{\mathrm{Qu}_{0} \quad \mathrm{n}_{100} \text { NuT }}{\mathrm{NF}}$

Ex. 33
A hundred and twenty days and nights Hundred two night-day

| Pác | nh | cưn-vằn | TH 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Mum | Mum | $N+$ |  |
| $Q_{100}$ | $Q_{u}$ | Nus |  |

Ex. 34


EX. 35


Tx. 36
One or two or three lessons One two three lesson
Slắc along slam bài TM 6

Mum Nim Nom N


Ex. 37
Three or five or six days
Three five six day
Slam hah hốc vằn BU 12

| Nom | Mum | Rum | N |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $n_{u}$ | $Q_{u}$ | $O_{u}$ | Nus |

Ex. 38
Thirty or fifty days
Three five ten day
Slam hah slíp vằn MO 24

Hum fum Nom ${ }^{\text {N }}$
$\frac{Q_{u} \quad Q_{u} \quad{ }_{x} \quad \text { Nus }}{N F}$

Ex. 39


Ex. 40
Two thousand seven hundred or two thousand eight hundred piastres Two thousand seven two thousand eight piastre


Ex: 41

| More than ten days |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ten many day |  |  |  |
| Slíp ai vằn | XI 5 |  |  |
| Mum Mum N |  |  |  |
| $O_{x}$ | $Q_{i}$ | Nus |  |

Ex. 42
These dozen or more posts One ten many stick post this Slắc slíp lat lăm slâu nầy MO 29
Nom Nom Nom $\mathbb{N}$ N Dem
$\frac{\Omega_{u} \quad 0_{x} \quad \theta_{i} \quad \text { Class Nrc Aden }}{N F}$

Ex. 43
One or three or more months
One three few month
Slắc slam ki bươn KI 64
Nim Nim Nom N


Ex. 44
Every hundred kilos of rice Every hundred kilo rice

| Mội | pac | cân | khâu | MT P |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mum | Nom | N | N |  |
| $O_{i}$ | $O_{x}$ | class Nus |  |  |

Ex. 45
Several thousand piastres Several thousand piastre

| Ki | siên | ngàn | RP 25 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mum | Mum | N |  |
| $Q_{i}$ | $Q_{x}$ | Nrc |  |

5.95 The modifier (See pages 82-3)
5.95. Adjectives

Ex. 46
England

Side English

| Buơng Eng <br> $\mathbb{N}$ Adj <br> Nuc $M$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NF |  |

Ex. 47
A line
Thing line one

| An | vec | nớng |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N | $\dot{\mathrm{N}}$ | Adj |
| Class | Nue | M |

Ex. 48
Green beans, chopstick beans, white beans
Plant bean green bean chopstick bean

Ex. 49

| Bicycle |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Vehicle bicycle |  |  |  |
| Se | dap | SK | 38 |
| $N$ | $A d j$ |  |  |
| Nuc $M$  |  |  |  |

Ex. 50
Motor vehicle
Vehicle motor

| Se | ô-tô | SK | 70 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| N | Adj |  |  |
| Nuc | $M$ |  |  |

5.952 Verbs

Ex. 51

| That dead person |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Tua | cân | thai | nận | BU 18 |
| N | N | V | Dem |  |
| Class | Nuc | M | Iden |  |
|  | NT |  |  |  |

Ex. 52

> Good days and bad days Thing day pood day bad

| An | vằn | đây | vằn | sẩu | VD 16 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | V | NT | V |  |
|  | Nuc | M | Nue | 1 H |  |
|  | NF |  |  |  |  |

5.954 Nominal phrases

Ex. 53
The matter of priests and woman necromancers Thing matter woman necromancer with mister priest


Ex. 54
One's lot
Thing lot self.

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { An } \\ & \mathrm{N} \end{aligned}$ | phúc-phận | dầu | CU 35 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | Pr |  |
|  |  | per |  |
|  |  | $\overline{\mathrm{NF}}$ |  |
|  |  | Nom |  |
|  |  | NP |  |
| Class | Nue | M |  |
|  | NF |  |  |

Ex. 55
One's house
Thing house belong self
An dưởn hông dầu TH 65
$N$ N hông Pr $\frac{\text { Poss Per }}{\mathrm{NF}}$ $\frac{\text { Nom }}{\operatorname{MP}}$
Class Nuc

Ex. 56


Ex. 57
The three years
Thing three year


EX. 58
The tray with five cups Thing tray five thing cup
An bâm hah ăn chen CU 11

N N Mum in N
Q Class Nus Nom

|  |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Class $\quad$ Nus | Nom |

Ex. 59


### 5.954 Classes

Ex. 60
Things which are not good All thing speech not good
Kí moon chuyện mí đây pr 46b Nom N N Aux $V$ $\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}$

| Q Class Nut |
| :--- |
| NF |

Ex. 61
The matter of building a house Thing matter build house

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{\mathrm{P} \quad 0}{\text { Clause }} \\
& \frac{\text { Class Nun } \quad \mathrm{M}}{\mathrm{NF}}
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 62
The matter of women who have children
Thing matter all person sex female have child

5.96 The identifier (See page 83)

Ex. 63
That dead person
Animal person die that

| Twa | $c a ̀ n$ | thai | nân | BU |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18 |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathbb{N}$ | $N$ | $V$ | Dem |  |
| Class | Nus | $M$ | Aden |  |

Ex. 64

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Day thinis } \\
& \text { Vằn nẩy IL } 1.5 \\
& \text { N Dem } \\
& \frac{\text { Nuc Iden }}{N \mathrm{~F}}
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 65
This thing and that thing Thing other thing yonder


Ex. 66
Anywhere
Place any
Th $\vec{i}$ tàu PH 55b
$N \quad$ Dem
$\frac{\text { Nuc Iden }}{N H}$

Ex. 67
Any matter
Matter any
Viêc dăng KI 25
$N^{\circ}$ Dem
Nuc Iden NT

## Chapter 6

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

### 6.1 The links

At primary delicacy only one link element was described. At secondary delicacy we must distinguish two elements, Link ${ }_{1}$ and Link $_{2}$. Link ${ }_{1}$ occurs in only one structure: ${ }^{1}$

Nom Link ${ }_{1}$ Nom (Ex. 1) p.98
Link ${ }_{2}$ occurs in the structures:
Nom T.ink ${ }_{2}$ Nom (Ex. 2) p.98
Nom Link ${ }_{2}$ Nom Link 2 Nom (Ex. 3) p. 98
Link $_{2}$ Nom Link 2 Nom Link 2 Nom (Ex. 4) p. 98
Link ${ }_{2}$ Nom Count Link 2 Nom Count (Ex. 5) p. 98
Nom Count Nom Count Link 2 Nom Count (Ex. 6) p.99
Link ${ }_{1}$ is the place of operation of a single formal item, sáu 'and, with'.

Link ${ }_{2}$ is the place of operation of a single formal item, hay-là 'or'.

Together, sáu and hay-là comprise the class of conjunctions.

### 6.2 Examples

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

1. Examples are given in full in 6.2, pages 98-9.
parsing and the abbreviations, please see chapter 9, pp. 115-7.
Ex. 1
The paternal father and the daughter-in-law Mister paternal and Mrs. daughter-in-law


Ex. 2

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pomelo leaves or almond leaves } \\
& \text { Leaf pomelo or leaf almond } \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\frac{\text { Pau puce }}{\text { NF }} \begin{array}{l}
\text { hay -la } \\
\text { Nom }
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{l}
\text { Conj } \\
\text { Link }
\end{array} \\
\mathrm{NP}
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 3
One ring or one gold bracelet or one or two metres of cloth ${ }^{2}$
One thing ring hand or one thing bracelet gold or

one two metre cloth
slăc flong síc plait SV 38
NF


Ex. 1
Either three times, or two times, or five times Or three time or two time or five time


Ex. 5
Either a birthday or an anniversary
2. The arrows signify that the unit is continued on the next line.


Ex. 6

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Gold, silver or flags } \\
& \text { Gold silver or flag }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Nom Count Nom Count Link } 2 \text { Nom Count } \\
& \text { NP }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Chaptor 7

## THE CLIASE

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

### 7.1 The locative

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

### 7.11 Nominal phrases

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

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

The most common structure is that of a single nominal. The structure of the nominal figure operating at this nominal may be:
(1) Nuc. The only examples of this are dơ 'hour' Tw 14 , and pày 'time, once' $\mathrm{MF} 2, \mathrm{p} .118$.
(2) Nuc Iden. (Exx. 3-8, pp. 103-5)
(3) Nuo M. The modifier element here may be the place of operation of an adjective (Ex. 9, p.105) or of a clause (Exx. 10, 11, p. 105).
(4) Class Nuc M. (Ex. 12) p. 106

1. For a description of the clause at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pp. 4l-3.
2. Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. 103-8. For examples taken from text $\mathbb{N E}$ please see Chapter 9, pp. 1].8-28.

### 7.12 Clauses

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

### 7.2 The subject

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

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

### 7.3 The predicate

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

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

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

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

| P | $\left(\begin{array}{ll}\text { ME }\end{array}\right.$ | p. 118 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S P | (Ex. 18) | p. 107 |
| P 0 | (Ex. 19) | p. 107 |
| S P O | (Ex. 20) | p. 107 |

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

### 7.5 The adjunct

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

tact long 'put in'
pây hus 'to go and give to' (Ex. 24) p.l08
A distinct subclass of verbs (which may be termed 'adjunct verbs') is seen to operate here.
7.6 Examples

With each example sufficient parsing is included to illustrate the point in question. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.
7.61 The locative (See pages 1.00-1)
7.611 Nominal phrases

Ex. 1
Weill talk for three days and nights
Self converse three night three day


Ex. ?

> Isl rest a day or two
> Also rest day or two day
> jung nodi $\frac{\text { Vằn hay-là long vằn }}{\mathrm{VF}}$ aI 8
> Nom Link Nom

NP
$\mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{L}$
Clause
FiX. 3
Today that's how it is Day this also also right like this
Vằn nẩy cuing tu sur pần nả̉y WF 44
N Dem

$\frac{\text { Nuc Idem }}{\mathrm{NF}}$
Nom
NP
$L \quad P$

## Ex. 4

I began this time
I come begin time this


Ex. 5

> This morning you also came down to my house ${ }^{3}$ prorning this man also descend house belong me go
> $\frac{\text { Nyc bIden }}{\mathrm{NF}^{\mathrm{F}}}$
> $\xrightarrow{\text { Nom }}$
> NP

Ex. 6
This time $I$ just forgot a bit
Time this I also then rather forgot go little already

$\frac{\text { Nus Eden }}{\text { NT }}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }}$


Clause
Ex. 7
Then it's hard to drive out
Time that then hard expel

3. Dotted lines join together the parts of discontinuous units.

Ex. 8
When you are free Time what you have liberty
 Nus Iden

NF
$\frac{\mathrm{Nom}}{\mathrm{NP}}$
Clause $\quad P \quad 0$

Ex. 9
The other day I was good Day before self good

| $V$ | cón |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $N$ | Adj | $\frac{d a ̂ u}{N P}(\dot{e}) \frac{d a ̂ y}{V G}$ | WE 31 |

$\frac{\text { Nus } M}{N \mathrm{M}}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }}$

| L $\quad \frac{S}{\text { Clause }}$ |
| :---: | :---: |

Ex. 10
Before I had finished working, they were looking for me Time as-to self not-yet work well they then search


Clause
Ex. 11
'When you notice your head aching a little bit, it's then that it isn't agreeing with you. Time see thing head ache bit ? then also not fit with it Băt hăn ăn hue màu ing dầy duh tu mí slay ngém sáu mân PH lo N Clause VG Clause


L

Ex. 12
When I used to go to school, I also did this I thing time go study letter also like that

$\frac{\text { Class Nus }}{\frac{\text { NF }}{\substack{\text { Nom }}}}$
$S \quad \mathrm{~L} \quad \mathrm{P} \quad 0$
Clause
7.612 Clauses

Ex. 13
Just rickshaws and bicycles come and, go here
Vehicle hand vehicle bicycle at here go return only


Ex. 14
I also do not know what news there is in the North. Also not know news what in side North Cung mí chắc $\frac{\text { tin-tức ca-dăng }}{V G} \frac{d u ́}{N P} \frac{b u ̛ o ̛ ̉ n g ~ B a ̆ ́ c ~}{N G} \quad$ HF 7 $\frac{\mathrm{P} \quad 0}{\text { Clause }}$
$\qquad$
Clause
Ex. 15
When it gets past the twentieth of December, whatever I do... Exit go arrive month December twenty few $I$ do whatever


Ex. 16
On the eight of September nineteen fifty I arrived in Haifong

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

7.62 The subject (See page 101)

Ex. 17
What you sexy is very true
Talk like that also right
$\frac{\text { Châng_pần nan }}{V G} \frac{\text { cong sừ }}{V G}$ MO 21
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$
$\xrightarrow[\text { Clause }]{\text { S }}$
7.63 The object (See pages l01-2)

Ex. 18
Some people know how to drive them out Have people know expel

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{M i}{V G} \frac{\text { cần }}{N P} \frac{\text { chắc then }}{V G} \text { PH } \Delta \mathrm{a} \\
& \frac{\mathrm{~S}}{\mathrm{P}} \frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }} \\
& \\
& \\
& \text { Clause }
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 19
If you say you don't believe in spirits...
Talk not believe spirit
$\frac{\text { Chang }^{2}}{V G i} \frac{\text { min }}{V G} \quad \frac{p^{\prime} i}{N P} \quad$ PH 26b


Ex. 20
I also didn't know where you were living

I also not know place you at place what


$\mathrm{S} \quad \mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{O}$

Clause
7.64 The adjunct (See pages 102-3)

Ex. 21
We are speaking together
Self talk with each-other
$\frac{D \text { âu }}{\mathrm{NP}} \frac{\mathrm{cha}^{2}{ }^{2} \mathrm{~g}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\mathrm{duô} \mathrm{i}}{\mathrm{VG}} \quad \frac{\mathrm{căn}}{\mathrm{NP}} \quad \mathrm{PH} 25$


| $S \quad$ P | $A$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Ex. 22

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { I reply to Mr. Englishman } \\
& \text { I offer word give Mr. English } \\
& \frac{N g \dot{O}}{N P} \frac{0^{n} O}{V G} \quad \frac{\text { loci }}{N P} \quad \frac{h^{2}}{\overline{V G}} \frac{\text { org Eng }}{N P} \quad B \Lambda 3 \\
& \frac{\mathrm{P} \quad 0}{\text { Clause }} \\
& \begin{array}{llll}
S & P & 0 & A \\
\hline
\end{array} \\
& \text { Clause }
\end{aligned}
$$

Ex. 23
Then they put the dead man down into the grave
Then take animal person die descend into thing hole go Chíngau tue cần thai lồng chang. an cùm pây BU 18


Clause
P
0
A

Ex. 24
I send a letter to my friends
I send letter go give friend


$S \quad \mathrm{~S} \quad \mathrm{O} \quad \mathrm{Cl}$

## Chapter 8

## Thet smateras

## AT SBCONDARY DELTCACY ${ }^{1}$

### 8.1 The opener

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

| To | ' Now, but, and | ( ME 2) | p. 118 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ớ | ' Oh! ${ }^{\prime}$ | (ME 3) | p. 119 |
| Nhé-tú | (meaning not known) | $\left(\begin{array}{ll}\text { ME 4 }\end{array}\right.$ | p. 119 |
| Á | 'Oh!' | (ME 9) | p. 121 |
| Oi-à | 'Oh! (Expressing pain | regret)' | (VE 10) p. 121 |
| À | 'Ah!' | (ME 16) | p. 123 |

8.2 The introduction

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

| Cơ-nầy | ' Now, now then | ( ME 3) | p.119 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bóji-vì | ${ }^{\text {Precause }}$ | ( F . 1) | p. 111 |
| Nếu--mà | 'If' | (Fx. 2) | p.lll |
| Ví-dụ | 'For instance. | (Ex.3) | p.111 |

### 8.3 The focus

Nothing can be added here to the description of the focus at primary delicacy. The reader is referred to Chapter 3, pp.38-40. 8.4 The prehead

At primary delicacy it was stated that the prehead

1. For a description of the sentence at primary delicacy, please see Chapter 3, pp. 38-40.
2. Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. lll-4. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.
elemert is the place of operation of a clause oc (rarely) a nominal phrase. For examples of nominal phrases operating here, see Exx. 4-6, 0.112.

When the exponent of the prehead element is a clause, any one of the following criteria is surficient to distinguish between the prehead and the head:
(1) The prehead is an equative clause (Ex. 7) p.ll2
(2) The prehead is followed by focus (ME 10) p.l2l
(3) The predicate of the head clause contains a higher order auxiliary than that of the prehead ${ }^{3}$ (Exx. 8, 9, pp. 112-3) This does not hold true if the head clause only contains an order J. auxiliary.

### 8.5 The head

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

### 8.6 The posthead

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

### 8.7 The final

As was stated at primary delicacy, the final is the place
3. For a description of the auxiliaries in their orders, please see 4.1. pp. 6ィ-5.
of operation of the class of final particles. As with the opener particles, the meaning is not always clear. Examples are:


With each example, sufficient parsing is included to illustrate the point under discussion. For an explanation of the parsing and the abbreviations, please see Chapter 9, pp. 115-7.
8.81 The introduction (See page l09)

Ex. 1
Because if you work, you haven't got the strength. Because work then not have strengtin


Ex. 2
If you eat (the forbidden foods), then (your priesthood) will not take.

If eat then not become

Ex. 3
For instance, suppose I'm sitting and talking like this. Instance as-to self continuous sit rest converse like this Ví-dụ hông dàu dang-slì năng dú chảng-cón pần nảy ló. PH ga IP Clause FP
Intr

```
8.82 The prehead (See pages l09m1.0)
```

Ex: 4
There, that's the whirlwind spirit. That that is animal soirit whirlwind

| Nân ní, | nậ sư tua | p'i | sluóng | á. | PH 21 f |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NP ní | C. | e |  | P |  |

$\mathrm{PrH} \mathrm{FOC} \quad \mathrm{H}$

Sentence
Ex. 5
Now the sorcerer, he is good at casting out the 'p'yăn' spirit. ${ }^{4}$ But Mr. sorcerer then he clever about expel all spirit


Opnr PrH Foc H In
Sentence
Ex. 6
Oh, as to that, I've invited many people.
Oh thing this I also together call many people


Sentence
Ex. 7
And now, today being the seventh, and propitious, I came to start work this time.
But now day this no. seven good I come begin time this
To cơ-nầy ní vằn nây so chêt dây, ngò mà bắt-đầu pày nẩy. TI IO $O P$ IP ní Clause (Equative) Clause Clause
Opnr Intr Foc $\mathrm{PrH} \quad \mathrm{PrH} \quad \mathrm{H}$
Sentence
Ex. 8

4. In the head of this sentence, the auxiliary d $\vec{u}$ of the verbal group operating at the predicate, precedes the subject mân.
Ix. 9

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

8.83 The head (See page 110)

Ex: 10
Two thousand seven hundred, two thousand eight hundred piastres a kilo.
Two thousand seven two thousand eight money hundred kilo


| Clause |
| :---: |

Sentence
8.84 The posthead (See page lo)

Ex. 11
After you've spoken, $I$ can correct it, and that's all right. Speak already self change change correct again also well


Ex. 12
The buffalo have enough to eat and keep fairly well.

Animal buffalo still wolf full still improve improve well bit one


Sentence
8.85 The final (See pages 110-1)

Ex. 13
Then he is quite capable of coming in and eating a person. But he also enter eat animal person possible


## Chapter 9

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

Units are shown by a solid line, with the elements of structure on the line and the class symbol below, e.g.
$\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}$
indicates an exponent of the class 'verbal group' with a structure consisting of two preverbals followed by a verbal. Similarly
$\qquad$
P
Clause
represents an exponent of the class 'clause' with a structure consisting of a sinole predicate. The length of the line indicates the extent of the exponent of the unit in the text above. The stretch of Tho above a solid line is the exponent of the unit indicated by the line. Classes which are not units are indicated by the class symbol placed immediately below the sho word with no intervening line.

Symbols above elements of structure show the classes operating at those elements, e.g. Aux indicates that a member of the class of auxiliaries operates at preverbal element of structure.

So then in sentence $M E 1$,

| tú | sày | sü |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aux | Aux | $V$ |
| PrVbl | PrVbl | Vbl |
| $\frac{V G}{}$ | Clause |  |

may be translated into words as follows: tú and sày are both members of the class of auxiliaries operating at preverbal elements of structure, and $s \vec{u}$ is a member of the class of verbs, operating at
verbal element of structure. Together they rake up an exponent of the class 'verbal group', which operetes at predicate element of structure in a clause.

This parsing of the clause tú say sư corresponds to the following section of the diagram of the interrelation of the units, given in 3.6 , $p .18$ :


The following abbreviations are used for units:

| NF | Nominal Figure |
| :--- | :--- |
| NP | Nominal Phrase |
| VG | Verbal Group |

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

| Adj | Adjactive |
| :--- | :--- |
| Aux | Auxiliary |
| Conj | Conjunction |
| Dem | Demonstrative |
| FP | Final particle |
| IP | Tntroduction particle |
| $N$ | Noun |
| Num | Numeral |
| OP | Opener particle |
| Pr | Pronoun |
| Ter | Terminal |
| V | Verb |

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

The followirg symbols are used for elements of structure:

| A | Adjunct |
| :---: | :---: |
| Adv | Adverb |
| Cap | Capabiliby |
| Class | Classifier |
| Clo | Closure |
| Compl | Complement |
| Cont | Continuation |
| Count | Counter |
| Deic | Deictic |
| Fin | Final |
| Foc | Focus |
| H | Head |
| Iden | Identifier |
| Impl | Implement |
| Intens | Intensi ve |
| Intr | Introduction |
| I | Locative |
| Jink | Tink |
| M | jrodifier |
| Nom | Nominal |
| ntuc | Nucleus |
| 0 | Object |
| Opnr | Opener |
| p | Predicate |
| Per | Person |
| POH | Post-head |
| Poss | Possessive |
| Pry | Pre-head |
| PrVbl | Preverbal |
| Q | Ouantifier |
| Refl | Reflexive |
| S | Subject |
| Vb 1 | Verbal |

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

Situation: An old tho grandmother calls in end pours out her Troubles to Minho. When the goes I ask Mink lo imagine himself replying to her.

MF 1
What you say is very true
Mother speak like that also true.


Sentence
ME 2
When you took over the ricefield with mr. Long he once talked about doing it for nothing.
Now take field with Mr. Long time he also say give free
To au nā sáu ông Long pày mân tú chang (a) hử ai dê. $O P V \quad V \quad N \quad \operatorname{Pr} \quad \mathrm{IV} \operatorname{Pr} \operatorname{Aux} \quad V \quad V \quad V \quad F P$ $\frac{\text { Dbl }}{V G} \frac{\text { Nruc }}{N F} \frac{\text { Dbl }}{\mathrm{VG}} \quad \frac{\text { Per }}{N \mathrm{~N}} \frac{\text { Nus }}{\mathrm{Ne}} \frac{\text { Per }}{\mathrm{NF}} \frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \quad \frac{\mathrm{Vbl} \Delta \mathrm{AV}}{\mathrm{VG}}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }} \quad \frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }} \frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }} \frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }} \quad \frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$
$\frac{\text { Nus } M}{\mathrm{NF}} \xrightarrow{\mathrm{I}} \mathrm{S} \quad \mathrm{P} \quad 0$


Opnr $\mathrm{PrH} \quad \mathrm{H} \quad$ Fin


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

Phuc enter adoption with him he also give free come do garden. Nhé-tú (ar) Phúc khâu lục-chương sáu mân man tú (à) hư ai ma hắt dầy. OP Pr $V \quad N \quad V \quad \operatorname{Pr} \operatorname{Pr} A u x \quad V \quad V \quad V \quad V \quad N$



ME 5
Now he is going to turn round and charge for it.
Now he then change take money. Cơ-nầy (à) mân duh (à) thói thōi au chen.

IP


|  | S | P |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Intr | Clause | H |

ME 6
When a person acts like that it ism t very good.
Make animal person like that also also not right few much.

$\frac{\mathrm{VbI}}{\mathrm{VG}}-\ldots-\ldots-\frac{\mathrm{P} 0}{\frac{\text { Clause }}{\text { Cont }}}$
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$ Pr

## ME 7

Now you have to go a long way off, two or three kilometres. Now then go live far distant two three lump stone. Cơ-nầy duh (à) pây dú auây, lần slong slam khäo hin. IP Aux $V$ V $V$ Mum Mum $\quad$ iN $N$ $\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \mathrm{Vbl} \frac{\mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \quad \frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \xrightarrow{Q} \quad \mathrm{Q} \quad$ Class Nuc


Clause
Intr H
Sentence
ME 8


[^6]$\frac{3}{} 9$
And now you have to hire labour for money, in addition. Oh now then change hire money more. Á cơnnầy dū thói (à) co chèn thêm. OP IP Aux Aux V N Yer
$\frac{\mathrm{Nuc}}{\mathrm{NF}}$
Nom
$\overline{\mathrm{NP}}$
$\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{PrVbl} \quad \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}-\cdots-\frac{\mathrm{Clo}}{}$
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\underset{\mathrm{H}}{\mathrm{Cl} \text { Ease }}}$

One Intr
Sentence
ME 10
Oh, doing that kind of thing makes it very hard, you know. Oh, do like that do hard very
Oi-à, hắt pần nận ní, hắt khô la loo.
$O P \quad V \quad V$ Dem ní $V \quad V$ Nim $F P$ $\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\text { Deice }}{\mathrm{NT}} \quad \frac{\mathrm{Vh} 1 \text { Adv Intens }}{\mathrm{VG}}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }}$
$\frac{\mathrm{P} \quad 0}{\text { Clause }}$
Dbl $\frac{\text { Cont }}{\text { VG }}$

ME $11 a$
oh, yes.
Oh, yes
of, şūu à.
OP V FP
Vb
VG
Cl $\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { arse }}$
Opnr II Fin
Sentence

ME 11 b
Anywhere near here, if you do right, then that's pood.
Live place any near like this do this well then good.


MT 12
But if you don't do right, your household will be solitary. But not do well house self then solitary.
To mí hắt day, dươn dầu dū deco.
OP Aux $V$ V $V$ Pr Aux $V$
$\frac{\text { PrVbl Vol Cap }}{V G} \frac{\text { Per }}{\mathrm{VF}} \frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{V G}$


Nus $\quad \mathrm{N}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { NP }}$
$\frac{S}{\text { Clause }}$

Sentence
ME 13
The children still go to school, too. All child also still go study letter.
Kí luce cưng nhằng pây sion slut.
Nom $N$ Aux Aux $V \quad \geqslant \quad \mathbb{N}$
$\frac{\text { Q NuT }}{\mathrm{NF}} \frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\mathrm{Nuc}}{\mathbb{N F}}$


Clause
H

MI 14
How much work can just one person do?
Only one person one go work well few much.
Can một cần nởng pay hắt day kílai
Nom Nim $\mathbb{N}$ Adj $V \quad V \quad V \quad$ Tum


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


ME 16
$\overline{A h}$, we must work like this.
Ah acceptable work like this
$\begin{array}{cccccc}\text { A, day } & \text { dắt } & \text { pần } & \text { nẩy } & \text { ní. } \\ 0 p & V & V & V & \text { Dem } & F P\end{array}$
$\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\text { Deice }}{\mathrm{NF}}$
$\frac{\text { Nom }}{\text { INT? }}$
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\mathrm{Cl} \frac{0}{0}}$
$\underline{\mathrm{Vb} 1 \quad \mathrm{Vbl} \quad \text { Cont }}$
$\rightarrow \frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$
Opnr $\quad \mathrm{H} \quad$ Fin


ME 18
When you get down to work and it's left unfinished like this, item very hard.
When work down go then unfinished like this hard very


ME 19
It's also a waste.
Also waste.
Cong nhuc.
Aux $V$
$\mathrm{PrVbl} \quad \mathrm{Vbl}$ VG
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$
H
Sentence


ME 22b
What more can you do?
Do like how acceptable more.


ME 23
When anyone gets down to work, if he doesn't have a lot, he has a little.
Work down go he not have much he also have little.
Hắt lồng pây, mân mí day lain, mân cụng day no.
$V \quad V \quad V \quad \operatorname{Pr} \quad A u x \quad V$ Tum $\operatorname{Pr} A u_{x} V$ Numb $\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \quad \frac{\text { Per }}{\mathrm{NF}} \underset{\mathrm{VrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \text { Intens }}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\text { Per }}{\mathrm{NF}} \frac{\mathrm{Prbl} \mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}$ Intens
$\frac{\mathrm{P}}{\mathrm{Clause}} \frac{\mathrm{Nom}}{\mathrm{NP}} \quad \frac{\text { Nom }}{\mathrm{NP}}$
$\frac{\mathrm{Vbl}}{\mathrm{VG}}--\frac{\mathrm{Cont}}{\mathrm{S}} \frac{\mathrm{P}}{\text { Clause }}$
$\frac{\mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{A}}{\text { Clause }}$
$\mathrm{PrH} \quad \mathrm{PrH}$
H

ME 24
That's how it is.
Then also like that
Duh tú pần nận ló.
Aux Aux $V$ Dem $F P$
$\frac{\text { PrVbl } \mathrm{PrVblVbl}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\text { Deice }}{\mathrm{NF}}$
$\frac{\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{T}} \mathrm{m}}{\mathrm{NP}}$


Sentence

My 25
So then if you work you 'veg got to stick at the job. Like this self work self continue job work


Sentence

Mi 26
Much or little, it's your own.
Have much have little also is possession self


Sentence

ME 27a
You spend your effort and your energy.
But self also lose work lose strength go.
To dồu pung tốc cong tốc deng pay.
OP Pr Aux V $\begin{array}{llllll}\mathrm{N} & \mathrm{N} & \mathrm{V}\end{array}$

Opnr $\quad \mathrm{H}$
$\frac{M B}{\operatorname{If}} \frac{27}{}$ you don have much to eat, you have a little 。
Not have eat much also have eat little,
Mi dáykin lei dung day kin nọi.
Aux $V \quad V$ Fum Aux $V \quad V \quad$ Nim
$\frac{\mathrm{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Intens}}{\mathrm{VG}} \frac{\operatorname{PrVbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \mathrm{Vbl} \text { Intens }}{\mathrm{VG}}$

| P |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Clause | P |

## Sentence

ME 28
You don't have to worry unduly. Also not worry few much
Cuing mí lao kílaj cá.
Aux Aux V Nom FP
PrVbl PrVbl Vol Intens
VG
P
Clause
H
Fin
Sentence
ME 29
Rain or shine, you have something to eat. Have rain have fine have acceptable eat

$\xrightarrow{\mathrm{PrH}} \mathrm{PrH} \quad \mathrm{H} \quad$ Fin Sentence
ME 30
That's how it is.
Then also like that


## TEXT PH

PH la Now Ill talk about a common matter of this world. Now talk in common world
Cơ-nầy (à) chang dú chung thiên-hạ nệ.
PH Ib I'll talk about the spirits, this spirit and that spirit. Talk about matter all spirit, is about spirit what much Chang mưa sự kí pit, la mưa pi ca-dăng lei, about spirit what much. mưa phi ca-dăng lei.

PH Ra Now I'll begin from the beginning. Now talk beginning.
Cơ-nầy ní, chang đầu-tiên.
PH 2 b The first is the 'p'yắn' spirit. kind first is animal spirit
(Jà) thu nhât ní là tux p'i p'yắn.
PH 3 It eats people, you know.
It eat animal person
Mân kin tue càn ní.
pH Aa If there is someone who knows how to drive it out, then it's a speedy matter. Have person know drive-out then well fast. Mi cần chắc thẹ ní, du day khoái.

PH 4 b But some people don't know how to drive it out. But have person not know drive-out To mi cần mí chắc thẹ à.

PH 5a When it has come out, then it returns. It out go already it then return come. Mân óc pây dá, mân thê thēo mà

PH Sb When it comes back, if you drive it out, it will go. Come already then drive-out it then change go.
Mè dá, thè̀ the mân du thói pây.
PH Sc However many times it goes, it will return. Go go it then change return come.
Pay pà̀y man du thói thēo mà.

PH 6 Then it's hard to drive out. Time that then hard drive-out, Bắt nận du who ${ }_{o}^{2}$ thep $a_{0}$.

PH Ta If you look to your own house and its virtue, then there's nothing for you to talk about.
Is see thing door house virtue self then not talk Là ngòi ăn tu-dươn phúc-dức dầu ní, dū mí chang ló.

PH Tb But if your house does t have virtue, it will certainly eat you, and after many days you will die. But door house self virtue not have it also right To (à) tu-dươn dầu (à) phúc-đúc mí mi ní, mân tú sur
eat long day also right die
kin, hưng vằn tú sur thai vớ.
PH Ba Now there's also the 'p'yắn' spirit. Now have animal spirit To mi tue pic p'yắn.

PH Bb It eats you alive, you know. It eat alive
Mân kin díp da -vớ.
PH ga For instance, suppose I'm sitting and talking like this. Example of self continuous sit rest converse like this Ví-dư hong dầu đang-slì nẵg du chàng-có pần nẩy ló.

PH Yb Then it is quite possible for him to come in and eat a person.
But he also enter eat animal person possible To man tú khẩu kin tu cần day vớ.

PH 10 When you notice your head aching a little bit, it's then that it isn't agreeing with you.
Time notice thing head ache little then also not Bắt hăn ăn hue mâu ing dà̀y, dū tú mí slày
fit with it
ngám sáu mân vớ.
PH Il If it doesn't kill you, then you've got it to live with. Not die also well live with it Mí thai tú day dú sáu mân (ar) vớ.

PH 12a But we cont balk widely about it, we doubt talk about it.
But self not talk out come then not lille
To dầu mí chang oc ma ní, duh mí ohẳng vớn
PH I2b If you speak about it openly, many friends don't believe it.
But speak out come friend many people not believe. Too chang óc mà ní p'īnọng laic cần mí slín.

PH 13 But you must believe it!
Then also believe.
Dü tu slín.
PH 14a Now there are some people, you know, who have experienced it, and they believe it.
But have people well see pass then believe. To mì cần ní day hăn quá du slín.

PH 14 b But some people have not experienced it, and they don't believe in spirits like that.
But have people not well see pass then also not believe To mì cân mí day hăn quá ní, duh tú mí sin
animal spirit like that
tue pi pàn nận ló.
PH 15 You must beware of them, you know.
Also need must beware Tú sày cẩn díu (a) vớ.

PH 16a Whatever I have, it's my lot, that's all. Ah! self whatever also is thing lot self finished. A, dầu ca-dăng tux sừ ăn phúc-phận dầu thôi.

PH 16 b I talk about spirits, but no one has ever seen one. Self talk animal spirit, then not have anyone see. Dầu chang ta pi, du mí mì cơ-nàưhăn.

PH 17a If you are worthy of death, then you will die But thing destiny it worthy die then also die. To (à) ăn mìng mân dang thai div tú thai.

PH 17 b If you are not worthy of death you will not die. But thing destiny not worthy die, then not die. To ăn mìng mí đáng thai, duh mí thai.

PH IO And them there are the whirlwind spirits.
And still have all spirit whil.rwind
To nhà̛ng mi kí p io slương ní.
PH 19 For instance, I go down the road. Instance of self go road.
Ví-dụ hong dầu pây tang.
PH 20 For instance, whatever happens, it's just your lot. Instance whatever also is thing number lot self. Ví-dụ ca-dăng cụng la ăn sô phúc-phận dầu.

PH ila For instance, I go down the road and notice a gust of wind. Instance go road self see thing gust gust wind. Ví-dụ pây tàng ní, dầu hăn ăn phá sá lầm.

PH 21b It spins round.
Of it make spin rise.
Hông mân hắt quẳn khỉn.
PH 21 c That is, all the dust and dirt flies upwards. Is all rubbish all dirt fly up Là kí nhúp-nháp (à) kí tâm bân khîn nê.

PH 2ld Then all the trees shake. Then all whatever tree shake shake. Dū (a) kí ca-dăng mẹy nâu nâư.

PH 2le It spins round and goes "Oh....oh". It also spin
Mân tú quẳn ôôôô.... ${ }^{\text {l }}$
PH $21 f$ There, that's the whirlwind spirit. That that is animal spirit whirlwind Nận ní, nện sừ tua pi slương á.

PH 22a You must really beware of the whirlwind spirit. Animal spirit whirlwind need must beware The pi slương sày cẩn díu á.

PH 22b But you know, the person who is worthy of a whirlwind spirit eating him, he has to find someone to appease it.

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

But come animal person that he worthy spirit To (ar) mà ní, tu cần nậní, mân dang pi whirlwind eat then also then seek person come appease slương kin ní, du tú dū sa càn mà khất nề.

PH 22c They can appease it all right.
Appease well good
Khât đây đây đớ.
PH 22d It must be on the day appointed.
Well kind appointed
Đáy thứ hen ló.
PH 22e On the day appointed you must buy all the things and you must make a sacrifice to it for it to be really right. Arrive day that arrive thing day appointed that then Thâng vằn nận, thâng ăn vằn hẹn nận ní, duh must buy every thing come must sacrifice of it then well good phåi dự mội mon mà phåi cuing hông mân chíng đây đây vớ.

PH 23 If you don't, then you will have a dangerous time with it. Not have then also must dangerous with it
Ná mì dū tú sày hẩu-hiểm sáu mân vớ.
PH 24 Ah, you must really beware of the whirlwind spirit. Ah animal spirit whirlwind need must beware much
À tue pi slương sày cẩn díu lei vớ.
PH 25 We're talking together.
Self speak with each-other
Dàu chang đuổi căn á.
PH 26a If you don't believe it, you must believe it!
Not believe also then also believe.
Mí slín, cụng duh tú slín.
PH 26b If you say you don't believe in spirits, what do you believe in?
Ah speak not believe spirit still believe what
A, chang mí slín pi nhằng slín naư thế.
PH 27 Yes.
PH 28 That is very true.
Right.
$s \bar{u}$
Thing that word thing true really. An nận cằm ăn sư cà-lai.

PH 29 There is also the neighbourhood spirit. Now still is thing spirit neighbourhood. To (a) nhä̀ng mi an pi i thó。

PH 30a Now, in this village, everyone holds things in common. Now at in village this whoever also also need Cơ-nầy ní dúchang ban nả̉y ní, coonàư cụng tú say
together have.
såy-cha mì.
PH SOb That is, we build houses together, and everything. Is of self together make house every road. La hông dầu sây-cha hắt dườn nèe, mọi tàng.

PH 30c We make 2 shrine for the neighbourhood spirit in the village.
Self found thing spirit neighbourhood at in village Dầu (là) lập (là) ăn pi $\mathfrak{i}$ tho du chang ban ló.

PH 31 Day and night it watches everything in our village, and doesn't allow any spirit to come or go.
Morning night it well watch thing in village self with Naư khăm mân đãy ngòi ăn chang ban dầu duổi each-other not give animal spirit any come enter leave. căn, mí hừ tue phi ca-lăng mà khẩu óc.

PH $32 a$ The spirit in the neighbourhood is surely good. Animal spirit in neighbourhood also also right good Tue pi du tho ní cụng tú sur đây vớ.

PH 32b It doesn't interfere with anyone else. Also also right it not discord ransack of them Cưng tú sur mân mí lap-lùn chão-nạo hông hâu ní.

PH 33a The neighbourhood spirit is certainly good. Spirit neighbourhood also right good. pi tho tu sur dây.

PH $33 b$ Because everyone has concern for one another, we have things in common, that's how it is. Because every person has heart every person has stomach Bới-vì mội cần mì slim, mội cain mì tong
2. This sentence was spoken with great hesitation, and neither the structure nor the meaning are quite clear.
with each-other is of self together each-other is have thing đuôi căn, là hông dâu sảy-cha căng jà mì ăn
thing like that already
mòn pần nận dá ló.
PH $3 \Lambda$ There is also the 'loi' spirit. And still have spirit
Tò nhằng mì pii lòi.
PH 35 You have to beware of that one. Animal that right need must beware.
Tua nận sü sày cẩn díu.
PH 36 a That one, the 'loi' spirit, you must beware of. Animal that animal spirit also also need must
Tua nận ní, tua pii lòi ní, cụng tú sày cản beware much animal that
díu lai vơ, tua nận vớ.
PH 36b How is that?
Because like how
vì pàn haư ní.
PH 37 It's the 'loi' spirit, you know!
It also right animal spirit
Mân tú sử tua p'i lòi về.
PH $37 b$ How could you not need to beware of it? Do what not need beware. Hắt lăng mí cẩn díu.

PH 38 That one eats people, and makes them more and more sleepy. Animal that eat people more increase listen rest Tua nận ní kin cần ní, khāng phát thīng dú deo.

PH 39 You must really beware of it.
Need must beware much
Sày cẩn díu lai vó.
PH 4Oa Don't talk about it.
Not speak
Mí chåne á.

PH 40 b The "Li: spirit you must really beware of. Animal spirit need must beware much
Tue pix lois say cẩn díu tai vó.
PH Ala Now there still remains the temple spirit. And now still remain animal spirit temple Tot (ai cơ-nầy ní nhằng dú tue pi chùa ní.

PII Alb But that's very good.
But particularly good.
To nhét-hang dây.
PH 42 The temple spirit is really a good one. Animal spirit temple then then right good.
Tue pi chùa du ching sū dêy.
PH 43 Why is it good?
Good is because like how
Đây là vì pần heư ní.
PH $4 \Lambda$ When it's a holiday or a feast day all of us go and make sacrifices to it.
All person of self time day holiday day feast person Kí cần hông dầu bắt vằn nèn vằn lệ, cain
person also right go sacrifice it
cần tú sư pây cúng mân cớ.
PH 45 We go to the ceremony, you know. Go ceremony
Pây lê coo.
PH 46a Now when we go to the ceremony, we must find good words to speak.
Now go ceremony self must speak conversation is take To pây lệ ní, dầu phài chang chuyện, là au
all word good come speak
ki cằm đây mè chang (ar) vó.
PH 46b But to speak things which aren't good in the temple isn't very good at all.
But speak all thing speech not good at in temple To chang kí mon chuyện mí đây ní du chang chùa
also not ? good few much
cuing mí slay đây kílai vờ.

PH ATe But as to good people or bad people, it surely knows. But animal man good animal man bad of it also know. To tue cần đây tue cần sâu, hông mân cưng chắc.

PH 47b We enter the temple. Of self enter temple go.
Hong dầu khẩu chufa pây.
PH 47c We have incense, sticks and gold. Self have incense have stick have gold. Dầu mì hương, mì lap, mì vàng.

PH 47d We go to the ceremony to burn incense, and then enter a Self go ceremony burn incense then enter go. Dầu pay lệ tam hương, la khẩu pây.

PH 48a That is to say, where the temple spirit is you must be good. that-is at spirit temple then right good. (Là) tức-là du pi chùa ching sừ đây.

PH 48b If I go in and see any nice things in the temple, I must not steal them. Self enter go self see thing any good at in temple that Dầu khẩu pây, dầu hăn mon dăng âây du chang chùa nận
self not eat steal it.
ní, dầu mí kin lặ mân.
PH 480 I mustn't take anything from the temple, even if I see good things, such as money on top of the temple altar. Self not take anything at in temple ignore see anything Dâu mí au ca-dăng du chang chùa, măc-kệ hăn ca-dăng good silver money at on thing table temple that đây, ngàn-chèn dú têng ăn bàn chùa nận ní.

PH 48d I musth t take them, to be truly an honest person. But self also not take, then right animal person To dầu tú mí au, chíng sừ (a) tue cần vờ.

PH 49 Now a covetous person, a person whose heart is not good, who, if he sees anything in the temple, anything good, he takes it, oh, that person is not good. But animal person covetous animal person heart not good Tot tue cần slim-thám, tue càn slim mí dây (á),
is he see anything at in temple thing thing anything good he là mân hăn ca-dăng dú chang chưa, ăn mon ca-dăng đây, mân take oh then right animal person that not good au ní, (ơi) duh sur tue cần nận mí dây lo.

PH 50 So then the temple spirit knows. Like then spirit temple he know pần dū poi chufa mân chắc vớ.

PH 51 The temple spirit surely knows.
Spirit temple also know
pi chufa cụng chắc à.
PH 52 Ah, that person isn't good.
Ah animal person that not good.
A, tua cà̀n nận ní mí đây.
PH 53 That person isn't good, he's ready to steal. He animal person that not good ready eat steal. Mân (à) tue cần nận mí đây, hay kin lặ.

PH 54 If $I$ am in the temple and have anything, he takes it. I have at in temple have anything he also still take Ngò mì dú chang chưa, mì ca-dăng, mân tú nhằng au vè̀.

PH 55a He takes what belongs to the temple spirit, let it be known Also still take possession animal spirit ? talk Tú nhằng au cúa twa pi về chang à.

PH 55 b So then, people in the village, or anywhere, must notsteal. So-then is all people at in village or at place any Hóa-mà, là kí cần dú đâng ban hay-là due this tau
they not go steal
mân mí pây lặc á.
PH 56 People like that are not good.
All people like that then not good
Kí cần pần nận duh mí dây ló.
PH 57a You need to beware.
Must beware
Cẩn díu á.

PE 57b You must also beware of the temple spirit. Animal spirit temple also need beware.
Tue pi i chùs cong cain diu.
PH 57c But it only watches.
But it also right watch come finish.
To man cựg sǜ ngòj ma thôi.
PH 57d It's nothing really.
Also not have anything. Cưng mí mi dăng.

PH 58 Now as to the ancestral spirits in your house, they are good. Now animal spirit ancestor house self also also need good. To twa pi pẩu-pú dưởn dầu ní cuing tu sày dây.

PH 59 Why is it good?
Good because like how
Đây vì pàn dư-haư ní.
PH 60 Because if you have children and grandchildren, night and day you offer incense, then the ancestral spirit is good. Because self have child have grandchild morning evening Bới-vì dầu mi lục mì lan, naư khăm
self burn incense up go then spirit ancestor of self then good dầu tam hương khỉn pay, du p'i pâumpu hong dầu du dây dút-vè

PH 61 All of them like that are good. Several all like that then good
Nhựng kí pần nận duh đầ dư-vè.
PH 62 If God helps you, you have nothing bad to speak of. Now still have Mr. sky do for then not speak To (à nhằng mì p'ō phat hắt hư ní, duh bu chang dấy.

PH 63a So there are all these kinds of spirits, but whatever kinds of spirits there are, they are really all good. But still have all spirit that come leave all kind To (ar) nhằng mì kí $p^{i} i \quad n a ̣ ̂ n, ~ m a ̀ ~ k e ̂ ̣ ~ c a ́ o ~ t h u ̛ ́ ~$ spirit anything also good.
pi i ca-dăng tu đây.
PH 63b If you know how to sacrifice to them, you know how to appease them, then you are...if your lot is not to die, then they are nothing but good.

Is of self know sacrifice know appease of them is of Là hông dầu chắc cúng, chắc khất hông mân ní, là hông them also also right thing lot of self not die they also also mân cưng tú sư... ăn sốphận hông dầu mí thai, mân cưng tú good only.
đây thôi.
PH 64a But if it's your lot to die, you don't need to be bitten by the spirits.
But thing lot of self die not need animal spiritbite. Tò (à ăn sốphân hông dầu thai, mí sày tua p'i khôp.

PH 64b If you're on the road and stub your toe, you will die, it will be enough to kill a person.
Speak self still road then stub-toe also still die
Chảng dầu nhằng tàng về, dū tơng-đứt tú nhằng thai à,
also still die person
tú nhằng thai cần à.
PH 65a There is no need to say anything. Not right speak speak
Mí sừ chàng à, chång à.
PH 65b Everything just depends on your fate. But thing whatever also is thing fate only. To ăn ca-dăng tú sư ăn mìng thôi.

PH 65c So I've just said those things.
Then speak all like that only.
Dū chàng kí pần nận thôi.
PH 66 If one doesn't believe, he must believe.
Now self not believe he also also believe.
Tò (à) dâu (a) mí slín, mân cưng tú slín.
PH 67 Ah, that's how it is.
Ah like this
A, pàn nầy có.
PH 68 Whether I say this correctly or incorrectly, you friends must consider.
3. The voice fades out during the word sū.

I speak like that right or not right friend check come No chang pần nận ní, sữ hay-là mí sử, p pï̀-nọng luận mà lo.

PH 69a We tell each other it is right. Self change each-other tell right.
Dầu thói too ca sur.
PH 69b What you say is very true. Speak like that also also right. Chang pần nận cụng tú sừ.

PH 70 In the area of the Tho people, there is this kind of situation with regard to spirits. But at thing locality all people Tho then also then Too (à) du ăn địa-p'ương kí cần Thổ ní, du tú duh
have arrive that animal spirit
mi thâng nận ta phi dầy-cơ.
PH Fla But as to there being many spirits in various places, there certainly are.
But speak many animal spirit many at place any then Too (ar chang lei tua p'i ni, laid du this tau, du
also have.
tú mi.
PH 7 lb As to the epidemic spirit, you must beware of it. But enter spirit epidemic must beware To khẩu pi thai-dà ní, cẩn díu á.

PH 72a When your head aches, then it can kill a person. Time head ache then also die person Bắt hue mầu (à) vớ, du tú thai cần vớ.

PH '72b You don't talk about it, the epidemic spirit. Not speak animal spirit epidemic. Mí chang vớ, tua pei thai-dā.

PH 73 I'm not speaking about an epidemic itself. Not have epidemic. Mí mì (à) thai-dà.

P甘 7 ha The epidemic spirit is something you need to beware of. Spirit epidemic need must beware fri thai-dä say cả̉n díu á.

PH 7 Ab When your head aches, then yourll die.
Time head ache then die
Bắt ha mầu ní, du thai lon.
PH 75a Now our Tho people, right or wrong, come to that conclusion about the kinds of spirits, and as to saying that there are a lot, well there really aren't. Now all people Tho us right not right have arrive To (ar) kí cần Thổ ngo ní, sur mí sur mì thâng that species animal spirit ? have speak have many then nận chững tue pi ní, dầy mì chang mì lain ní, du also not have. tú mí mì.

PH 75b Now I'm afraid there may be people in some places who have many spirits, and I don't know about it. But worry have person at place any worry still have Tò (à) lo mì cần dú this tau ní, lo nhằng mì spirit anything many not know.
p'i ca-dăng lei, mí chắc.

PH 75 c But we Tho people have those spirits I've told you about, and we must really beware of them.
But all people Tho us is have all spirit arrive that To (ar) kí cần Thồ ngò sur mi kí poi thâng nận
matter spirit also need must beware moon poi ní, tú say cẩn díu loo.

PH 76 I've talked a fair amount like this, and now I've finished.
I speak like this improve improve also need finish Ngò chang pần nẩy tợ tợ, cụng say thuổn á,
like this. pần nẩy.

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## INDEX

References are given to page numbers.
A Abbreviation for adjunct, $q \cdot v$.
Ad.j Abbreviation for adjective, $\quad$. $v$.
Adjectives Operate at modifier element of $N F$ structure, $45-6,82$. Adjunct Element of clause structure, 12, 102-3.

Adjunct verbs Subclass of verbs, 102-3.
Adv Abbreviation for adverb, a.v.
Adverb Element of verbal group structure, 46, 67-8.
Aux Abbreviation for auxiliary, g.v.
Auxiliaries Operate at preverbal element of $V G$ structure, 47.
Subclassified into orders, 6ム-5. Orders affect sentence
structure, 110.
BA Name of text, 30.
Bech, E. An.Introduction, to Pransfometicnal Gommars, 28, 143.
Bendor-Samue1, J.T. "A Structure-Function Description of Terena
Dhrases," 18, 1^3. "Problems in the Analysis of
Sentences ind Clauses in Bimoba," 18, 143.
BI Name of text, 30.
BTT Name of text, 30.
Cap Abbreviation for capability, a.v.
Capability Element of verbal group structure, $46,67$.
Categories 9ff.
CH Name of text, 30.
Class (l) Abbreviation for classifier, $a . v$.
Class (2) Fundamental category of grammar. As Halliday defines it. 11. Redefined, 22.
Classifier Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 79-80。
Classifier nouns Subclass of nouns, 79-80
Clause Tnit described at primary delicacy, $4 l f f$. At secondary delicacy, looff. Operates at prehead, head and posthead elements of sentence structure, 40, 110. Operates at locative ( 43,101 ), subject (43, l 1 l), object (43, l02) and adjunct ( $13,102-3$ ) elements of clause structure. Operates at modifier element of $N F$ structure, $46,83$.

Operates at continuation element of VG structure, 47,67 .
Clo Abbreviation for closure, q.v.
Closure Element of verbal group structure, $16,68$.
Compl Abbreviation for complement, $\mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{v}$.
Complement Element of equative clanse structure, Al.
Composite formulae, theory of, 27-9.
Conj Abbreviation for conjunction, q.v.
Conjunctions Operate at link element of NP structure, $\triangle A$.
Subclassified, 97.
"Consists of" Relation between units, 10, 14, 15, 21.
Cont Abbreviation for continuation, $q \cdot v$.
Continuation Element of verbel sroup structure, $46,67$.
Count Abhreviation for counter, q.v.
Counter $\operatorname{llement}$ of nominal phrase structure, $13,97$.
CU Name of text, 30.
Definite numerals subclass of numerals, 76-9.
Deic Abbreviation for deictic, q.v.
Deictic Element of nominal figure structure, $40,75$.
Delicacy Scale of abstraction, 13, 33-5.
Dem Abbreviation for demonstrative, a.v.
Demonstratives Operate at deictic (45-6, 75) and identifier (45-6, 83) elements of nominal figure structure.

Dixon, R.M.W. "A Logical Statement of Grammatical Theory," 20, 143. Element of structure, 11.

Eouative clause, 4l.
Exponence Scale of abstraction, 12.
Fin Abbreviation for final, $q$.v.
Final Element of sentence structure, 38, 110-1.
Final particles Operate at final element of sentence structure, 40, 110-1.
Foc Abbreviation for focus, a.v.
Focus Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.
FP Abbreviation for final particle, $q . v$.
H Abbreviation for head, q.v.
Halliday, M.A.K. "Categories of the Theory of Grammar," 9ff, IA3.

Halliday, M.A.K.. McIntosh, A., Strevens, P. The Tinguistic Sciences and Janguage Teaching, 143.
Head Flement of sentence structure, 38, 1l0.
HF Name of text, 30.
Fierarchy 10, 12, 16, 18, 25-7.
Iden Abbreviation for identifier, $q . v$.
Identifier Element of nominal figure structure.
IL Name of text, 31.
Impl Abreviation for implement, g.v.
Implement Element of eauative clause structure, 41.
Indefinite numerals Subolass of numerals, 68. 76-7, 79.
Intens Abbreviation for intensive, q.v.
Intensive Element of verbal group structure, 46, 48.
Intr Abbreviation for introduction, q.v.
Introduction Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.
Introduction particles Operate at introduction element of sentence structure, $10,109$.

IP Abbreviation for introduction particle, q.v.
KH Name of text, 31.
KI Name of text. 31.
L. Abbreviation for locative, a.v.

Link Element of nominal phrase structure, 43, 97.
MM Name of text, 3l.
Tocative Element of clause structure, 12, 100-1.
Longacre, R.E. Grammar Discovery Procedures, 23-1, 143. "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemjes," 23-7, 143.
$M$ Abbreviation for modifier, $q \cdot v$.
ME Name of text, 3l.
ML Name of text, 31.
MO Name of text, 31.
Wodifier Element of nominal figure structure, $14,82$.
MT Name of text, 31
$N \quad$ Abbreviation for noun, o.v.
NA Name of text, 31.
NF Abbreviation for nominal figure, q.v.

Nom Abbreviation for nominal, q.v.
Nominal Element of nominal phrase structure, 13, 97.
Nominal figure. Tnit described at primary delicacy, MAff. At secondary delicacy, 75ff. Operates at implement and complement elements in equative clause structure, 41. Operates at nominal element in NP structure, AA. Operates at intensive element in VG structure, 17, 68.
Nominal phrase Unit described at primary delicacy, $13 f f$. At secondary delicacy, 97ff. Operates at prehead element of sentence structure, 10,110 . Operates at locative (13, 100), subject (43, 101) and object (A3, lol-2) elements of clause structure. Operates at modifier element of NF structure, 46, 82-3.
Nouns Operate at nucleus (15, 80-1) and classifier (45, 79-80) elements of nominal figure structure.

NP $\quad$ ibbreviation for nominal phrase, $\quad$. $v$.
Nuc Abbrevietion for nucleus, a.v.
Nucleus Flement of nominal figure structure, 1A, 80-1.
Num Abbreviation for numeral, q.v.
Numerals Operate at auantifier element of NF structure, 45, 76-9. Operate at intensive element of VG structure, $17,68$.
0 Abbreviation for object, a.v.
Object Element of clause structure, 42, lol-2.
OP Abbreviation for opener particle, $\quad$. $v$.
Opener Element of sentence structure, 38, 109.
Opener particles Operate at opener element, $10,109$.
Opnr Abbreviation for opener, g.v.
Orders of auxiliaries, 65. Orders affect sentence structure, 110.
Orthography, explanation of, 5 .
P Abbreviation for predicate, $\mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{v}$.
Parsing Explanation of, 115-7.
Particles, problem of, 16.
Per Abbreviation for person, $\mathrm{q} \cdot \mathrm{v}$.
Person Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 75-6.
PH Name of text, 31.

PO Name of text, 31.
PoH Abbrevietion for post-head, a.v.
Poss Abbreviation for nossessive, $\quad$. $v$.
Possessive Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 75.
Postal, P. Constituent Structure: a Study of Contemporary Models of Syntactic Description, 28, 143.
Post-head Blement of sentence structure, 38, 110.
PR Name of text, 3l.
Pr Abbrevietion for pronoun, q.v.
Predicate Element of alause structure, 42, IOL.
Predicative clause, 4lff. See also Clause.
Pre-head Element of sentence structure, 38, 109-10.
Preverbal Plement of verhal group structure, 46, 64.
Pry Abbreviation for pre-head, o.v.
Pronouns Operate at person element of NF structure, 45, 75-6.
PrVbl Abbreviation for preverbal, $\mathrm{a} . \mathrm{V}$.
PT Name of text, 3l.
0
Abbreviation for cuantifier, o.v.
Cuantifier Element of nominal figure structure, 44, 76-9.
Rank Scale of abstraction, 12, 14. Analogue of, 21.
RE Name of text, 31.
Refl Abbreviation for reflexive, a.v.
Reflexive Flement of verbal groug structure, 46, 66-7.
Robins. R.H. General Einguistics: An Introductory Survey, 22, 113.
"Some Considerations on the Status of Crammar in Linguistics," 23, 1^3.

RP Name of text, 31.
S
ibbreviation for subject, q.v.
Sh Name of text, 31.
Scales of abstraction, 9ff.
Sentence Unit described at primary delicacy, 38ff. At secondary delicacy, lo9ff. The sentence as a unit, 22.

SK Name of text, 31.
Stative verbs Subclass of verbs, 66, 67-8.
Structure Fundamental category of ©rammar, 10.

SU Name of text, 31.
Subject Element of clause structure, 42, lol.
SV Name of text, 31.
Syntax Explanation of term, 36.
System As Halliday uses it, 11. As used in this thesis, 37.
Tacmemics, 23-8.
Trin Name of text, 31.
Ter Abbreviation for terminal, a.v.
Terminals Operate at closure element of $V G$ structure, 47, 68.
TH Name of text, 31 .
TM Name of text, 3l.
TMI Name of text, 31.
Unit As Halliday defines it, lo. Omits class nature, 14. Redefined, 20. Units of tho, 36. Diagram of interrelations of the units, 47-8.
Units Subclass of numerals, 77.
$V \quad$ Abbreviation for verb, a.v.
Vbl Abbreviation for verhal, q.v.
VD Name of text, 32 .
Verbal Element of verbal oroup structure, 16, 65-6.
Verbal group unit described at primary delicacy, 46ff. At
secondary delicacy, 6aff. Operates at predicate element of clause structure, 13, 101.

Verbs Operate at verbal ( 17,66 ), continuation (47, 66),
capability (47, 67) and adverb (47, 67-8) elements of
$V G$ structure. Operate at modifiex element of nominal
fiepure structure, 46, 82.
Verbs of motion Subclass of verbs, 66-7.
$V G \quad$ Abbreviation for verbal group, $q \cdot v$.
WF Name of text, 32.
ZI Name of text, 32.


[^0]:    1. Word 17;241-92 (1961), henceforth abbreviated to CTG.
[^1]:    1b. In CTG 3. 3 Falliday suggests that 'group' and 'phrase' have been used interchangeably for the same unit. He proposes using the terms for different classes of the same unit.

[^2]:    4. "Classes" here means those classes which are not units.
    5. The array in 3.6 should not be looked upon as intrinsically two-dimensional. A good case might be made for considering it as
[^3]:    basically three-dimensional (as this would allow lines to pass each other without intersecting). However, the main point here is that it would be impossible to represent the information given in 3.6 in a one-dimensional array, as is possible with Halliday's units.
    6. It is hard to see how this is possible even for Falliday, as he permits down ranking
    7. General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey. London 1964. 5.2, p.190.

[^4]:    1. Numbered examples are given in full at the end of this chapter, pp. 49-63. For examples taken from text ME please see Chapter 9, pp. 118-28.
[^5]:    3. Stative verbs, verbs of motion, and day axe established as separate sulclasses on the basis of their operation at the adverb, contirnation and capability elements of the verbal group respectively.
[^6]:    Sentence

