NUNG GRAMMAR

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NUNG GRAMMAR

by

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## Abbreviations and Symbols

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

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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>SF</td>
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<td>sentence-introducing particle</td>
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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nancy Freiberger Wilson wrote the basic drafts on phonology, clause, and sentence; Janice Saul wrote on noun phrase and verb phrase. David Thomas aided with fairly extensive drafting and rewriting of several chapters. The clause and sentence sections were originally an M.A. thesis for the State University of New York at Buffalo.
The outlook and terminology throughout the volume is basically tagmemic with emphasis on the string and hierarchy structures of the language. Occasional comments are made about transforms of certain structures. Opportunity did not permit the inclusion of higher-level phonological and grammatical structures.

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

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

1.1 Language setting

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

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

Nùng is clearly a member of the Tai (Thai, Daic) language family. Haudricourt (1967:165–82) places Nùng with Thổ as the components of his Tày language group, which in turn is coordinate with the Thai (Siamese, Lao, White Tai, etc.) group, within the larger Thai group, which in turn is coordinate with
Chuang and Cao-Ian Li (1959:21) classifies Thơ, Nùng, and Lungchow Tai as Central Tai languages in contrast with the Northern Tai languages (Chung-chia, Chuang, etc.), Southern Tai languages (Siamese, Shan, Lao, etc.), and Kam-Sui languages. Voegelin and Voegelin (1965:6–14) adopt a simple grouping of the Tai languages into Southwestern (Siamese, Shan, Lao, etc.), Central (Thơ, Nùng, Kadai), and Northern (Kam, Sui, Chuang, Diao, etc.). LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave (1964:187–90) confess the difficulty of making an adequate classification of the Tai groups, so resort to a mainly geographical (with cultural implications) grouping: Western (Shan, Ahom), Southern (Siamese, Khorat, Pak), Central Mekong (Nuă, Lư, Lao, etc.), Central Upland (Phuthai, Phuan, White Tai, etc.), and Eastern (Chung-chia, Thơ, Nùng, etc.).

1.2 Historical setting

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

In 939 the Nùng of Quang Uyên threw off the Chinese yoke and declared themselves an independent kingdom, though the Vietnamese claimed nominal suzerainty. About a century later, in 1038, the Nùng chief Nùng Tôn Phúc declared full independence from the Vietnamese, so the Vietnamese king intervened and carried off the Nùng chief to Giao Chi. In 1041 his son (stepson?) Nùng Tri Cao aroused the tribes and had himself proclaimed king of Ta Li (Dai Lich). His kingdom didn’t last long, and he was soon captured by the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese, following Chinese practice, tried to win him and his people over by sending him back to Nùng country as their vassal ruler. Nùng Tri Cao, however, once he got home, refused the Vietnamese gifts and titles and set about organizing a new uprising. In 1053, at the head of an army of Tai tribespeople from both sides of the border, he descended from the mountains, burning his villages behind him to prevent any thought of return, and killing all Chinese officials, soldiers, and merchants that he met. Reaching Canton, and maintaining
a two-month siege of it, he had himself proclaimed king of the Great South (Đại Nam). But the Chinese and Vietnamese armies combined against him, and many of his supporters deserted him. His efforts then to arrange a treaty that would leave him as a vassal king failed, so he fled to Yunnan (Nan Chao) and the upper Mekong valley. In 1057 other Nùng chiefs resumed the fight, but halfheartedly, and quickly made peace with the Chinese, incorporating their land into the Chinese empire and becoming dutiful Chinese citizens. This was the end of the independence movements among the Tai groups of the Si Giang basin. (Much of the preceding information is taken from Savina’s quotation [1924:iii–iv] from Lunet de Lajonquière and Ma Tuan Lin.) Since then the Nùng have lived on the China-Vietnam frontier in relatively peaceful coexistence with both neighbors.

1.3 Cultural setting

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1 Consonants

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

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

2.2 Vowels

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

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

**Nung Consonant Phonemes, with Their Phonetic Value and Orthographic Symbolization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
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<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[u̯]</td>
<td>o after long vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u after short vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>[n̥]</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɕ/</td>
<td>[ɕ]</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z̥/</td>
<td>[z̥]</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>y after short vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i after long vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ń/</td>
<td>[ń]</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u̯]</td>
<td>u' changes to h (only after a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k̥]</td>
<td>k before front vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ng/</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of initial contrasts: pa.y 'offer to spirits', pha.y 'straight row', ba.y 'lesson', fa.y 'to row', va.y 'buffalo', mà.y 'widow', ta.y 'help sit up', thà.y 'dead', dá.y 'nothing', sa.y 'cut', ła.y 'sand', la.y 'spotted', na.y 'mist', cà.y 'to fast', ża.y 'hand to someone', nhà.y 'slow eater', ka.y 'itch', khà.y 'sell', nga.y 'lunch', ṭà.y 'oh!', ha.y 'spit out'.
### Table 2

**Phonemic System of Nung Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oral Continuants</strong></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s, ř</td>
<td></td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ř̃</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of final contrasts: tá́p 'liver', tá́t 'cut with scissors', tá́k 'break', tá́m 'pound with pestle', tá́n 'hollow stick', táng 'bunker', má́y 'bamboo', máw 'dizzy', mà́i 'new'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i']</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>ih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ɛ'] in open syllables</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɛ²] in closed syllables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[æ']</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>eh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u']</td>
<td>u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ɔ'] before /n/</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɔ'] except before /n/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[ɔ']</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[ɔʷ] before /ŋ/</td>
<td>oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɔ'] elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Tones

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

2.4 Juncture

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

There are two kinds of terminal juncture. The first is the double plus (#) which represents the normal ending on all declarative sentences; however the last word in the sentence retains its own tone contour.
## Table 4

**Phonemic System of Nung Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>( \text{i} )</td>
<td>( \text{i}', \text{i} )</td>
<td>( \text{u}' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{i} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>( \text{e}' )</td>
<td>( \text{ə}' )</td>
<td>( \text{o}' )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td>( \text{a} )</td>
<td>( \text{ə} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{əe}' )</td>
<td>( \text{a}' )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Table 5

**Nung Tones and Their Orthography**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high-rising</td>
<td>high-glottal</td>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>low-rising</td>
<td>low-falling</td>
<td>low-glottal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/\, / /' / \, (unmarked) /\, / /\, /

With reference to Table 6 (opposite):

Counts based on a dictionary of approximately 5,000 entries
\( X = 5 \) or more instances, i.e., solidly attested
\( 1-4 \) = fewer instances, i.e., less well attested
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 1</th>
<th>Tone 3 (unmarked)</th>
<th>Tone 2</th>
<th>Tone 4</th>
<th>Tone 6</th>
<th>Tone 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jh</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'h</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2 X X X</td>
<td>2 X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'h</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>1 1 1 X X X X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
<td>1 2 X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'h</td>
<td>3 X X X</td>
<td>3 X X X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3 X X X</td>
<td>3 X X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 4</th>
<th>Tone 6</th>
<th>Tone 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jh</td>
<td>1 3 2</td>
<td>3 1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>3 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh</td>
<td>4 1 1</td>
<td>1 X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'h</td>
<td>2 X X X</td>
<td>2 X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>X X X</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'h</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
<td>4 X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>2 X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second kind of terminal juncture is the double bar (||||). This frequently, but not always, occurs at the end of an interrogative sentence (Sec. 8.18). The interrogative or double bar juncture is manifested by a rising contour on words that have a falling tone, or a falling-rising contour on words that have a mid-level tone. Other tones do not seem to be affected.

This interrogative juncture may superimpose an interrogative contour on the last word of an otherwise declarative sentence, thereby making the sentence interrogative. Thus, if S12 ended with the double plus juncture, it would be a declarative sentence, meaning 'It smells of humans like this'. (Illustrative sentences are presented in Chapter 8 below.) The double bar juncture sometimes occurs on an enumeration particle sentence final (S113).

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

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

### 2.5 Other analyses

Savinia's (1924) Nùng is of unstated provenance and is probably a mixture of several dialects. His consonant inventory appears similar to Nỏng. He indicates several alternate pronunciations in the preface: ch may become ky or khy (e.g., chảng, kyảng, khyảng 'speak'); nh may become y (nhin, yin 'avow'); th and kh may become h (tha, ha 'eye'; khò, čò, hò 'neck'); sl may become l (slùn, lèn 'house') or may become s (slang, sang 'bed'); and khy may become s (khýnh, sòh 'near').

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

Savinia's vowel inventory appears to be identical with Vietnamese, i.e., nine long and two short vowels and three offglides. The major vowel alternation that he mentions is uáu and uò becoming long i ù and long u (luôi, lèn 'house'; huua, kuu 'laugh'); his specification of these as long ú and ù may possibly indicate a length contrast with simple ū and ū. (Note that in Nỏng ủ and ư are almost always short in closed syllables.)

Savinia's Nùng has five tones, which he says are like the tones of Vietnamese but lacking a nga tone. Like Vietnamese, he has only sác (ı̌) and năng (ı̌) tones with final stops. The tones do not match the Nỏng tones: his ma 'dog' is Nỏng mà, his ma 'horse' is Nỏng mà, his mà 'come' is Nỏng ma, his tha 'eye' is Nỏng tha, his khá 'trousers' is Nỏng khá, and his khá 'kill' is Nỏng khá. These tone correspondences are not consistent throughout the vocabulary.
Li’s (1940) Lungchow Tai inventory lacks the consonant ŋ, and the Nùngč is Lungchow j (y), thus clearly the same phoneme as the final y (i). The v appears to be a fricative, as in Nùng, and b and d are preglottalized. There are consonant clusters: py, phy, by, my, ky, khy, hy, kw, and khw. Final uw (ut) occurs only after a. There are only eleven vowels: iː, i, eː, uː, œː, œ, aː, a, uː, u, oː, but /e/ and /o/ have allophones e and o. Lungchow Tai apparently has six tones: high-level, mid-level, low-level, high-rising, low-falling, and low-glottal. Thus the tone manifestations seem somewhat similar to Savina’s.

The Tày-Nùng dictionary of Hoàng Văn Ma et al. (1974) is a mixture of dialects spoken on the Vietnam side of the border. The consonant inventory is identical with Nùng. Consonant clusters include pj, phj, hj, mj, kw, khw, hw. The vowel inventory is the same as Vietnamese. (One is tempted to see in both Savina and Ma an uncritical use of quốc-ngã (Vietnamese) spelling conventions without careful phonemic analysis.) Before velars io is spelt oo to show that it is not labialized like Vietnamese. The offglided vowels iê, uôt, uô are in complementary distribution with the consonant clusters, suggesting that it is just a shifting of the vowel center, not a structural contrast between the two types of phenomena. Ma’s Tày-Nùng writes only five tones, lacking a ngã, like Savina’s Nùng. Only two tones occur with final stops, the mid tone and the nặng tone.


Freiberger’s 1966 analysis of Nùng differs from the present analysis in that final -ut had not been found in contrast with -w in 1966, and in that a length contrast had not been found in the high vowels.
3 Nominal and Prepositional Phrases

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

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

\[ \pm \text{Num} \pm (\pm \text{Cl} \pm \text{NH}) \pm \text{Mod} \pm \text{Poss} \pm \text{Dem} \]

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

(N1) lèo khả sóng đầu mùa lyhec
then kill two cl. dog child
‘Then kill two puppies.’

(N2) câu hân đầu vai đồng nùnh
I see cl. buffalo white one
‘I see a white buffalo.’
When the Head is a pronoun, the nominal phrase consists of only an optional Number and a personal (N3) or demonstrative pronoun (N4). The Number position may be filled by mahn ‘plural’, a specific numerator, or hông ‘inferior status particle’ (N5).

(N3) slú mi dby áu
    you not able take
    ‘You can’t take it.’

(N4) áu mahn này pèy sï dò kihôn ma
    take pl. this go buy thing eat come
    Take these and go buy things to eat.

(N5) tèc hông phù pày
    let part. we go
    ‘Let us go.’

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

(N6) mûhng à
    you oh
    ‘Oh you!’

(N7) sîng sîào òi
    two sister oh
    ‘Oh you two sisters!’

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

(N8) mûhng nàhng tíhng côn thîhn
    he sit upon cl. stone
    ‘He sat on a stone.’

(N9) mûhng pèy sàhc kîhôn tâh mahn vâi pày
    he go butt up under pl. buffalo go
    He butted underneath the buffalo.

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

3.1.2 Nominalized clause. A nominalized clause consists of a clause with a demonstrative, a focus marker added to the end of it (Sect. 3.7), or both. The
demonstrative or focus marker usually occurs when the nominalized clause is acting as the Subject or Actor (N10, N11), and is optional when acting as the Object (N12).

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

(N10) lèo vahng ᵒₕ⁽²⁾⁻⁴ thê chihng àu tu bè huít kè Hôhng
then boy ride goat that then take cl. goat give man Hôhng
khi mà té
ride horse that

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

(N11) cãh tu pá dū châng áhn hôn nǐ, muhn vq. . .
cl. cl. fish at inside cl. house foc. he say
‘The fish inside the house said. . .’

(N12) lèo ma hàhn hâu héht mahn hôn đày
then come see they make pl. house good
‘Then they came and saw they made good houses.’

(N13) bò mi táhç cuhn hah hû
not have any person which know
‘There is no one who knows.’

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

(N14) kè có vahng té | muhn | chihng ma
man father boy that | he | then come
‘Then that boy’s father came.’

(N15) vahng khi tu bè té | muhn | chihng pây
boy ride cl. goat that | he | lead go
‘That boy riding the goat led it away.’

(N16) sîông tu lûhc | sâ | dû cáhm khau têu sìhng
two cl. child | you | then hold enter cl. green
‘You two children hold the green one.’
3.1.4 Coordinate nominal phrase. A coordinate nominal phrase may have: (a) two or more noun phrases with or without the conjunction sau ‘together, with, and’ (N19, N20, N34) or (b) two or more noun phrases with the particle nè (Sect. 3.7). Sau is rarely used, being found only twice in our texts. Nè occurs only in Object position or in existential clauses (N21, N161, N162).

3.2 Noun head

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

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

Simple nouns consist of one (N1, N2) or two (N22) morphemes, and most are countable. When a simple noun consists of two morphemes, neither morpheme may stand alone as a Noun Head. Simple nouns include: bàn ‘village’, boc ‘flower’, hồn ‘house’, pếht ‘duck’, pà ‘fish’, mê ‘wife’, lộc ‘child’, đâu-dị ‘star’, đà-hc-dị ‘navel’.

(N22) câu hành ánh đâu-dị hên qç ma hóang lài
I see cl. star appear out come bright much
‘I saw a very bright star appear.’
Ambivalent verb/nouns are simple nouns. This class includes words such as: vĩ ‘a comb, to comb’ (N23, N24), thap ‘a load, to carry a load (carried in two containers with a shoulder pole)’, còc ‘a hoe, to hoe’, cỉt ‘a saw, to saw’, slu ‘a chisel, to chisel’, thây ‘a plow, to plow’.

(N23) mühn páy vĩ thà sòng
he go comb head finish
‘He finished combing his hair.’

(N24) nhânh mi táhc áhn vĩ mi
still be any cl. comb not
‘Are there any combs left?’

Units of time are simple countable nouns which occur without classifiers when modified (N25) or counted (N26, N27). The classifier áhn, may occur before a unit of time when not modified or counted (N28). Some ordinal numerals follow bôn ‘month’ to designate months of the year (N29). Units of time include mu ‘season’, bâthoi/pay/slí ‘time, period of time’, fúht ‘minute’, đò ‘hour’, dáhp ‘second’, vahn ‘day’, thhn ‘week’, bôn ‘month’, pí ‘year’, khôp ‘one year’.

(N25) thânhng pí té páy thí
arrive year that go examination
‘That year they went to take an examination.’

(N26) páy hoc dây pí nūnh
go study able year one
‘He went to study for one year.’

(N27) dây slâm pí vahn té thài
able three year boy that die
‘In three years that boy died.’

(N28) áhn vahn kinh slâm tôn
c. day eat three meal
‘Eat three meals a day.’

(N29) bôn slâm phù têo mo Dalât
month three we again return Dalat
‘In March we returned to Dalat.’

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

(N30) mûnh mi sâm côn kîhm

he have three lump gold

‘He has three lumps of gold.’

(N31) mûnh âu sâm dêh lôt ma thîê

he take three drop blood come test

‘He took three drops of blood to test.’

(N32) mûnh tâhc qang nâm nûnh ma

he drew basin water one come

‘He drew a basin of water.’

(N33) mûnh âu cáh lôt má páy

he take cl. blood dog go

‘He took the dog’s blood.’

(N34) kîhn mahn khâu mahn lao mahn chá kîhn lêo

eat pl. grain pl. fat pl. salt eat all

‘Eat the rice, the fat, and the salt; eat it all.’

Compound nouns consist of two morphemes, one or both of which may stand alone as a Noun Head. When one of the morphemes of a compound noun stands alone in the Noun Head position, it may (N35, N36) or may not (N37, N38) have the same meaning as the compound unit. Some morphemes in compound nouns are dependent and may never stand alone as a Noun Head in a noun phrase (e.g., thâu of kê thâu ‘father’). Compound nouns include: body parts (lêh pût nail-hand ‘finger-nail’), generic terms for people (tôi pô ‘male’), kinship terms (lṳc sãô child-girl ‘daughter’), fruit (mác câm ‘orange’), tools (mác pá ‘knife’), sîhn-nây ‘now’, khá lô ‘road’.

(N35) mûnhg hêht ca-lahng này

do what this

‘What are you doing?’

(N36) hêht lahng này

do what this

‘What are you doing?’
(N37) có mé dy hah
father-mother stay where
‘Where are your parents?’

(N38) có páy hah
father go where
‘Where did father go?’

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

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

- first person singular: câu, ngo, ‘I’, hau ‘myself’
- second person singular: mihn ‘you’
- third person singular: mihn ‘he/she/it’
- first person plural: phú ‘we’ (exclusive), hau ‘we’ (inclusive)
- second person plural: slú ‘you’
- third person plural: mihn ‘they’ (specific referent), hàu ‘they’ (nonspecific referent).

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

(N39) mahn hàu mi châhc
pl. they not know
‘They didn’t know.’

(N40) sláo ca páy hâng
sister about go market
‘I am about to go to market.’

(N41) tèc khôi héht hût
let servant do for
‘Let me do it for you.’

(N42) hôhng lân páy hêñ vai
part. nephew go tend buffalo
‘I am going to tend buffalo.’
The relative pronoun hah ‘where’ may occur as the filler of the locative position (N43) and as a question indicator. Hah also occurs as an indefinite demonstrative ‘which’ following a classifier or noun (Sect. 3.7) or as a nonspecific numera tor ‘every’ (Sect. 3.5). It is the marker of an indefinite relative clause (Sect. 6.2) or of a relative question (Sect. 8.18).

(N43) ngò veo du hah, du ₁ uhν te lô
   I call at where, then cl. that emphatic
   ‘Where I call, then that’s it!’

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

(N44) lèo mahn té chîng áu ma kînh.
   then pl. that then take come eat
   ‘Then he brought those and ate them.’

(N45) mi hîr du này lô
   not let stay this emphatic
   ‘I won’t let you stay here!’

(N46) dà lão té vâ té
g randmother that say that
   ‘That grandmother said that.’

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

3.3.1 Specific numerators. Cardinal numerals occur in the phrase-initial Number position (N1, N16) with the exception of ‘one’ which occurs phrase final (N2, N52–55). (For ordinal numerals see Sect. 3.5.) The number ‘one’ may be expressed by nông~niêng~niêng, tôc, or êht. Nông occurs only in isolation. Niêng occurs after a high rising tone /’/ (N52); niêng occurs elsewhere (N2, N53). Tôc may occur following a noun (N54) or a classifier (N55). Cardinal êht precedes the noun (N56, but cf. N137).

(N52) kê nà hôn téq khà tà mà niêng
   man in house again kill cl. dog one
   ‘The man in the house killed a dog.’

(N53) niêng cáhm màc pà niêng
   he hold cl. knife one
   ‘He held a knife.’
(N54) mën hêht bôt têc
  he do time one
  'He did it one time.'

(N55) mën hêhng ãu áhn têc
  he just take cl. one
  'He just took one.'

(N56) éht vahn pây kihn hò ma
  one day go eat beg come
  'Every day they went begging and returned.'

The other numerals are: sóng '2', slâm '3', sli '4', hà '5', hòhc '6', chéht '7', pê '8', câu '9', sílp '10'. These combine as in (N57). Nhì is the combining form of sóng. Slíhp 'ten' and its powers (suhc 'group of ten', pâc 'hundred', sèn 'thousand') can co-occur with nonspecific numerators kí 'several, more than' and kí-lài 'how much, how many' (N67).

| slíhp éht  | '11' |
| slíhp nhì  | '12' |
| nhì slíhp  | '20' |
| nhì slíhp éht | '21' |
| slâm slíhp | '30' |

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

dô 'enough' precedes the noun (N58).
i 'small amount/little' may occur with numeral 'one' (N59).
iht 'small amount' may also occur with numeral 'one' (N60).
ki 'several' may occur before noun (N61) or classifier (N62) and with powers of ten (N63).
ki 'more than' occurs after powers of ten (N64) or after measures (N65).
kí-lài 'how much/how many' (N66) also may occur with powers of ten (N67).
lài 'much/many' precedes the noun (N68) and is occasionally repeated immediately after the noun (N69).
léo 'all' precedes noun or classifier (N70).
mâhn 'plural' may occur with countable nouns (N12), noncountable nouns (N32), demonstrative pronouns (N44), personal pronouns (N39), and the general classifier cãh (N71). Classifiers are usually omitted after mâhn (N12) (Sect. 3.4.1).
môi 'every' precedes the noun or classifier (N72).
nomi/ndi 'small amount' precedes the noun (N73).

táhc 'any' occurs with countable nouns (N13), measure classifiers (N74),
and before general classifiers áhn (N38), óhng (N75), and tú (N76).
NH/Cl + NH/Cl 'every' occurs before preverbal tô 'also' (N77, N78) (Sect.
4.2).
thêm 'more' (N51).

(N51) hâu téo páy chít ma hít thêm
    they again go cook come give more
    'They went again, cooked more, and brought it.'

(N58) lýhc sahng dó pí
    child not-yet enough year
    'The child isn't old enough yet.'

(N59) kihn i náhm nhông
    eat little water one
    'Drink a little water.'

(N60) kihn iht ná nhông
    eat little meat one
    'Eat a little meat.'

(N61) lêo dây kí pí mi slông tâ lýhc
    then able several year have two cl. child
    'Then after several years they had two children.'

(N62) âu kí áhn ma tèc này
    take several cl. come place here
    'Bring several and put them here.'

(N63) mi kí pác cuhn lýhc-déhc
    have several hundred person child
    'There are a few hundred children.'

(N64) sîhp kí (óhng) cuhn lihng tô thài
    ten more-than (cl.) person soldier also die
    'More than ten soldiers died.'

(N65) mi slâm kí kí mahn
    have three kilo more-than potato
    'There are more than three kilos of potatoes.'
(N66) mûhn dày kî-lái pî dà
    he able how-many year already
    'How old is he?'

(N67) mi cháhc kî-lái pác âhn, lâi lâi
    not know how-many hundred cl., many many
    'I don't know how many hundred, very many.'

(N68) mi lâi cuûn pây
    have many person go
    'Many people went.'

(N69) lâi cuûn lâi ma này
    many person many come this
    'Very many people come here.'

(N70) kîhn lêo áhn mò khâu té
    eat all cl. pot grain that
    'He ate all of that pot of rice.'

(N71) cûnh mahn khôhn dähm-dîhc
    cl. pl feather black
    'The feathers were pitch black.'

(N72) mûhn hû môi cuûn môi báh chi sáy thòi
    he give every person every cl. paper small only
    'He gave each person only a small piece of paper.'

(N73) mi nôi cuûn thòi
    have few person only
    'There are only a few people.'

(N74) lûhc nhahng mi táhc báh thô mi
    child still have any cl. letter not
    'Do you still have a letter?'

(N75) mi táhc óhng cuûn pây mi
    have any cl. person go not
    'Is anyone going?'

(N76) mi thài táhc tû
    not die any cl.
    'Not one died.'
(N77) vahn vahn tô pây
day day also go
‘They went every day.’

(N78) ónhg ónhg tô ma chêu
cl. cl. also come look
‘Everyone came to look.’

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

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

(N79) ónhg tô sàng pây
cl. cl. elephant go
‘Each went on an elephant.’

(N80) lêo tô nülhng hà va... then cl. one tell say
‘Then one said...’

(N81) cähm áhn dêng té khühn ma
hold cl. red that up come
‘Hold that red one up.’

(N82) mi sfá áhn hau
not correct cl. myself
‘It’s really not mine.’

(N83) lêo tô té chîhng ma
then cl. that then come
‘Then that one came.’

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

(N84) mi áhn bô nülhng nülhng
have cl. well water one
‘There is a well of water.’
(N85) ánh tông câu chép dấy ki pí lồ
   cl. stomach I pain able several year emphatic
   'My stomach ached for several years!'

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

(N86) lèo tú mé đa tú pó və.
   then cl. wife scold cl. husband say
   'Then the wife scolded her husband saying...'

(N87) məhn ləo tú phi lái
   he fear cl. spirit much
   'He is very afraid of evil spirits.'

(N88) tú Chọ pày hạng də
   cl. Chọ go market already
   'Chọ went to market already.'

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

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

(N89) lèo pày hánh cǎh cá dəhm
   then go see cl. crow black
   'Then he went and saw a black crow.'

(N90) cǎh vəhŋ té chỉhn hày
   cl. boy that then cry
   'Then that boy cried.'

(N91) məhn chỉhn viht cǎh thỉhn nʊhn lʊhn tə pəy
   he then throw cl. stone one down river go
   'He then threw a stone into the river.'

(N92) lèo cǎh dən cây təo dəu
   then cl. flock chicken again alive
   'Then the flock of chickens revived.'
Only occurs with terms for people (N75, N93).

(N93) ău-hit lòng ông để tê
        take give two cl. child that
    'Give it to those two children.'

The general classifiers cãh, ông, and tû are optional when used with generic terms for people.
Cãh and tû also classify kinship terms; they are optional.

(N94) mì chánh (ông) cùnh hâm lahc
        not know (cl.) person which steal
    'I don't know which person stole.'

Cãh and tû also classify kinship terms; they are optional.

(N95) nem thằng (cãh) khói muôn ma
        after tail (cl.) husband she come
    'Afterwards her husband came.'

(N96) hà lòng (tû) lực bao muôn vs
        tell two (cl.) child boy he say
    'Tell his two sons that...'

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

(N97) cô lão mà lãi
        father fear dog much
    'Father is very much afraid of dogs.'

(N98) mì slamming (âhn) hôn
        have three hundred (cl.) house
    'There are three hundred houses.'

(N99) âu âhn tâng nûng ma
        take cl. chair one come
    'Bring a chair.'
(N100) **mi pác (áhn) hòn náchng**  
    have hundred (cl.) house one  
    'There are one hundred houses.'

(N101) **nǔhn kháu hehn áhn bò pày dũ**  
    he enter side cl. mine go stay  
    'He entered the side of the mine and stayed.'

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

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

(N103) **mi ki pác (áhn) hòn mày**  
    have several hundred (cl.) house burn  
    'There were several hundred houses burned.'

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

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

(N105) **ců khái pác ki kö mahn**  
    I sell hundred several kilo potato  
    'I sold more than a hundred kilos of potatoes.'

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

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

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

(N107) **kihn ki-lái áhn chòi**  
    eat how-many cl. banana  
    'How many bananas did you eat?'
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(N108) *mi kí-lái Đức (ánh) hòn dự này*  
*have how-many hundred (cl.) house* at this  
‘How many hundred houses are here?’

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

(N109) *mahn má hâu lái*  
*pl. dog bark much*  
‘The dogs are barking very much.’

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

(N110) *slám áhn bóc*  
*three cl. flower*  
‘three flowers’

(N111) *slám nhám bóc*  
*three bunch flower*  
‘three bunches of flowers’

(N112) *slám tú vai*  
*three cl. buffalo*  
‘three buffaloes’

(N113) *slám đàn vai*  
*three herd buffalo*  
‘three herds of buffaloes’

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

(N114) *slám áhn vét*  
*three cl. spoon*  
‘three spoons’

(N115) *slám vét nànhm*  
*three spoon water*  
‘three spoonfuls of water’
(N116) *slám áhn pôn*
  three cl. plate
  'three plates'

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

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

(N118) *áhn hoi ní mi tú lyhc slâo năhng*
  cl. time focus have cl. child girl one
  'Once there was a girl...'

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

(N119) *ma năhng tăhng*
  come sit chair
  'Come sit on the chair.'

(N120) *năhng (áhn) tăhng slây náy*
  sit (cl.) chair small this
  'Sit on this small chair.'

(N121) *páy cā slông áhn slêng tê*
  go across two cl. province that
  'Pass through those two provinces.'

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

*bāh* (leaf-like object)
- *bāh mây* ‘leaf of tree’
- *bāh chi* ‘leaf of paper’
- *bāh slòng* ‘photograph’
- *bāh tòng* ‘large leaf’
- *bāh thô* ‘letter’

*còn* (lump-shaped object)
- *còn kîhm* ‘lump of gold’
- *còn khaû chè* ‘lump of cooked glutinous rice’
- *còn thîhn* ‘stone’

*hồng* (clothing)
- *hồng kha* ‘trousers’
- *hồng slî* ‘shirt’
- *hồng slî kha* ‘clothes’
- *hồng slî phôhn* ‘raincoat’

*maht*
- *maht pèn* ‘board’
- *maht kéc* ‘brick’
- *maht phài* ‘piece of material’
- *maht phôhn* ‘raindrop’
- *maht khaû* ‘kernel of grain’

*môi* (bean-like object without shell)
- *môi dàn* ‘bullet’
- *môi kîhm* ‘nugget of gold’
- *môi khaû* ‘kernel of grain’
- *môi nghiûn* ‘nugget of silver’
- *môi nhà* ‘pill (medicine)’

*phôhn* (bedding)
- *phôhn dêm* ‘mattress’
- *phôhn chôhn* ‘small mosquito net’
- *phôhn slích* ‘large mosquito net’
- *phôhn fâ* ‘blanket’
- *phôhn fûhc* ‘large mat’

*tèu* (stick or string-like object)
- *tèu cô* ‘story’
- *tèu dûhc* ‘bone’
- *tèu sîhn* ‘firewood’
tèu khá-lộ ‘road’
tèu lihn ‘tongue’
tèu s lý ‘intestines’
tèu máy ‘thread’

(N122) âu slâm tèu fūhn ma
take three cl. firewood come
‘Bring three sticks of firewood.’

(N123) âu slâm còn ma hếht
take three cl. come do
‘Bring three lumps to make.’

(N124) mthn pày tô fūhn
she go gather firewood
‘She went to gather firewood.’


(N125) mthng pày slū slūng vi chōi
you go buy two hand banana
‘Go buy two hands of bananas.’

(N126) mthn âu qy thuy kīhm nūhng
he take pair chopstick gold one
‘He took a pair of gold chopsticks.’


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

3.5.1 Adjectives. Adjectives are simple (N127), reduplicated, or complex (N128) descriptive verbs. Adjectival noun phrases are often identical in form to descrip-
tive clauses (Sect. 5.5), but they may be differentiated by the addition of a Demonstrative—in an adjectival noun phrase the Demonstrative follows the adjective (N129).


Adjective phrases such as dây lâi ‘very good’, lâi dây ‘better’, and dây nhêht ‘best’ can also be used in the Modifier position. Lâi ‘much’ acts as an intensifier following the adjective (N128, N131) and denotes a comparative preceding the adjective (N132). Nhêht ‘most’ following the adjective denotes superlative (N133).

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

(N127) vahng lông dî yà wà... boy bîg then tell say... ‘The big boy then said...’

(N128) mûhn têq pèn pehn tü dêh-ch slào dây-slâo lâi she again become like cl. child-girl good-girl much ‘She then became a very pretty girl.’

(N129) aû sêc cãu té ma páhng cê take book old that come pay father ‘Bring that old book and give it to Father.’

(N130) mî cåh dêq nîhdng ma lehph-mì lehph-khà hi-hoht be cl. woman one come nail-hand nail-foot long ‘There came a woman with very long fingernails and toenails.’

(N131) mîhnh hêht áhnh hôn dây lâi he make cl. house good much ‘He made a very good house.’

(N132) kê này hêht hôn lâi dây man this make house more good ‘This man made a better house.’
(N133) mën ăn từ lòng nét ma heht mế
    he take cl. big most come make wife
    'He married the biggest woman.'

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

(N134) mi ăn bò nähm nilih
    be cl. well water one
    'There was a well of water.'

(N135) mahn cihn hâu qç ma thap nähm
    pl. person they out come carry water
    'The people (out group) came out to carry water.'

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

(N136) mihn pay ăn từ tài chêh té
    he go take cl. ord. seven that
    'He went and married the seventh girl.'

(N137) sl ăn êht sãhm cot
    pull cl. first also sever
    'He pulled the first one and it severed.'

(N138) vahng tài släm dy ăn ăn bį sen
    boy ord. three then take cl. bag money
    'Then the third boy took the bag of money.'

Other numerators which act as Modifiers following the Noun Head include: hah 'which', môt 'one, every', and thêm 'more'. Hah occurs after a noun (N139) or classifier (N140), or between reduplicated Noun Heads or classifiers (N141) preceding the preverbal tō 'also' (Sect. 4.2). Môt occurs after a noun (N142). Thêm occurs after a noun (N143) or a classifier (N144).
(N139) vahn hah tò pây
day which also go
‘Every day they went.’

(N140) tǔ hah tò dây
cl. which also good
‘Every one was good (pretty).’

(N141) nohc hah nohc tò mì bòc
bird which bird also have flower
‘Every bird had flowers.’

(N142) vahn mót tò khähm pêhn tê
day one also ask like that
‘Every day he asked like that.’

(N143) náh thêm mûhn ma hâ
morning more he come tell
‘The next morning he came to tell.’

(N144) hû làn hò áhn thêm
let nephew beg cl. more
‘Let me beg another one.’

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

(N145) lûhc mût-ni mì tû mà cû thâu
 time once-foc be cl. dog nine tail
‘Once there was a dog with nine tails.’

(N146) mûhn hûhn tû mà cû thâu cû thâu
he see cl. dog nine head nine tail
‘He saw the dog with nine heads and nine tails.

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

(N147) tû vai bò mì âhn khêo bông nú
cl. buffalo not have cl. tooth side above
‘Buffaloes have no upper teeth.’
(N148) cánh kề nữ họn té kề lại dà
   cl. man inside house that old much already
   ‘The man in that house is very old already.’

(N149) veo cùnh đụ nữ này sị ụu khụhn ma
   call person at inside this pull take up come
   ‘Call the person in here to pull it up.’

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

(N150) pày thọng ụh pọ màhn cùnh hàu lóhc chà
   go arrive cl. mountain pl. person they transplant seedlings
   ‘He arrived at the mountain where the people (out group) were transplanting rice.’

3.6 Possessives

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

(N151) pị năng màhn tê slôn sị
do old sister-in-law his that teach letters
   ‘His older sister-in-law teaches.’

(N152) màhn tọhc hông sị pị bọọ
   he lose cl. shirt older brother
   ‘He lost his older brother’s shirt.’

(N153) pọ mét Thu màn cùnh lông té, màhn mà
   male female parent pl. person big that they come
   ‘The parents of those big people came.’

(N154) hơng ụh nọ da-mẹ màhn hà-cọn thài té
   see cl. grave mother his before died that
   ‘He saw the grave of his mother who had died before.’

(N155) tụ mét hơng màhn sêng qe ụh hy mà
   cl. wife of his bear out cl. egg come
   ‘His wife was born out of an egg.’

(N156) tị cùnh cù lụhc sahn dọ pị
   life person of child not-yet enough year
   ‘The child’s life wasn’t long enough yet.’
3.7 Demonstratives

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

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

(N157) tú mả này đây lại đây tài
cl. dog this good very good exceedingly
‘This dog is very very good.’

(N158) lèo vahng té ní pây
then boy that flee go
‘Then that boy fled.’

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

(N159) mi cháhc hí ch quá hah đây
not know give cl. which able
‘I don’t know to whom to give it.’

(N160) mi cháhc áu cuhn hah ma
not know take person which come
‘I don’t know which person to take.’

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

(N161) muthn áu mahn thòi nê ihy nê, pôn nê, áu ma
she take pl. bowl coord. chopstick coord. plate coord. take come
‘She brought bowls, chopsticks, and plates.’

(N162) ñhch mi nur nê, ñhch mi pâ nê, ñhch mi pháhc nê
wish have meat coord. wish have fish coord. wish have vegetable coord.
‘He wished, and he had meat; he wished, and he had fish; he wished, and he had vegetables.’

The focus marker ní̃/ni occurs at the end of noun phrases (N11, N145, N163–166; C74–76, N87–99; S6) or clauses (N167, N169; S27, S31). Its function is not yet fully understood, but it apparently serves to focus or give prominence to an item or to a clause. With time words mĩ and bat (N165–166) the mid tone
ni is used; in other environments nị and nị appear to be used interchangeably, with nị being the more common.

(N163) câu tắc nị hơn nị
   I place inside house focus
   'I put it in the house.'

(N164) lòng cay tạ vai nị
   big equal cl. buffalo focus
   'It was as big as a buffalo.'

(N165) mù nị mi pô mê
   long time focus be husband wife
   'Once upon a time there was a husband and wife.'

(N166) lẹo bất nị mủ hinh hểt áhn keu nưng
   then time focus he then make cl. whistle one
   'Then that time he made a whistle.'

(N167) tẹo mưng hinh hay lọng pay nị, . . .
   again you eat egg down go focus
   'If you ever eat another egg, . . .'

3.8 Prepositional phrases

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

A prepositional phrase may occur in the Directional (N168-169) (see Sect. 7.3) and Locative (N170) positions of a clause (see Sect. 7.4). Prepositions include: chăng 'inside', dâh 'beyond, below', hehn 'aside', nóc 'out', nị 'in, above', tạh 'under, below', tịng 'on, above', dụ 'at'.

(N168) sűng vahng té khịn hịng pọ pay
   two boy that ascend on mountain go
   'Those two boys went up the mountain.'

(N169) mưn hịng tịhc tạ té lọng chàng áhn hom pay
   he then place cl. that down inside cl. box go
   'He then put that animal down inside the box.'

(N170) mưn non dù hehn áhn mọ dọ-mẹ mưn thài té
   he sleep at side cl. grave mother his die that
   'He slept at the side of his dead mother's grave.'
(N171) kề vụ dự dãh té
    man king abide beyond that
    'The king lives down there.'

(N172) mún slaèc sli nóc té
    she wash clothes out there
    'She is washing clothes out there.'

(N173) pį nőng nũ bàn hâu hà vq. . .
    older younger inside village their tell say. . .
    'The brethren in their village said...'

(N174) múnh nùng tãh cô bôc nĩ
    he sit below tree flower focus
    'He sat under the flower tree.'
4 Verb Phrase

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

(V1) Prv VH Psv Mod
câu | mi kihn dày lăi
1 | not eat able much
‘I can’t eat much.’

4.1 Types of verb phrases

Verb phrases are of four types: active, descriptive, copulative, and extended.
4.1.1 Active verb phrase. The structure of a verb phrase is essentially the same in transitive (V1), intransitive (V2), ditransitive (V3), and motion (V4) clauses. It consists of an obligatory nuclear Verb Head, optional Preverbs, and optional Postverbs. Optional Modifiers occur with a restricted group of verbs.

± Prv + VH ± Psv ± Mod

(V2) Prv VH Mod
tụ pố | chình nhang lônh pay
cl. husband | then sit down go
‘The husband then sat down.’

(V3) Prv VH
dạ tài | chình áu | mạ | hít měhn
grandmother | then take | meat | give him
‘Grandmother then took meat and gave it to him.’
(V4) \[\text{Prv} \ V \text{H} \ \text{Psv}\]
\[
\text{mu湟n} \ | \ \text{mi ni дay}
\]
\[
\text{he} \ | \ \text{not flee able}
\]

‘He couldn’t flee.’

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

(V5) \[\text{S} \ V \text{H} \ O \ \text{Mod}\]
\[
\text{mu湟n} \ | \ \text{lдo} \ | \ \text{tд slд} \ | \ \text{lдi}
\]
\[
\text{he} \ | \ \text{fear} \ | \ \text{cl. tiger} \ | \ \text{much}
\]

‘He fears tigers very much.’

There are also complex active Verb Heads, in which two verbs or a verb and a noun combine as an idiomatic close-knit nucleus: \text{non leng} ‘siesta’ (lit. sleep midday), \text{phдi khд} ‘walk’ (lit. step foot).

(V6) \[\text{VH}\]
\[
\text{mu湟n} \ | \ \text{non leng}
\]
\[
\text{he} \ | \ \text{sleep midday}
\]

‘He took a siesta.’

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

\[\pm \text{Prv} + \text{DesVH} \pm \text{Mod}\]

The Descriptive Verb Head may be a simple adjective (V7) or a complex one (V8, V9) (see Sect. 3.5). Simple adjectives are forms such as \text{dдy} ‘good’, \text{hi} ‘long’. Complex adjectives are idiomatic close-knit combinations of an adjective and a noun (V8), such as \text{dдy-slдo} ‘pretty’ (lit. good-girl), \text{dдy-bдo} ‘handsome’ (lit. good-boy), or of a bound plus a free adjective (V9), such as \text{i-slдi} ‘dirty’, \text{i-qд} ‘dirty’, \text{sдi-non} ‘sleepy’.

(V7) \[\text{VH} \ \text{Mod}\]
\[
\text{slдо tд} \ | \ \text{dдy лдi}
\]
\[
\text{sister that} \ | \ \text{good much}
\]

‘She is very good.’

(V8) \[\text{Prv} \ \text{VH} \ \text{Mod}\]
\[
\text{mu湟n} \ | \ \text{mi dдy-slдo лдi}
\]
\[
\text{she} \ | \ \text{not good-girl much}
\]

‘She is not very pretty.’
(V9) \[ \text{VH Mod} \]
\[ \text{áhn mut muthng | i-slóí lái} \]
\[ \text{cl. hand your | dirty much} \]
\[ \text{‘Your hand is very dirty.’} \]

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

(V10) \[ \text{Mod VH} \]
\[ \text{vahng náy | lái dòi} \]
\[ \text{boy this | much clever} \]
\[ \text{‘This boy is cleverer.’} \]

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

\[ \pm \text{Prv + VH} \]

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

(V11) \[ \text{Prv VH} \]
\[ \text{tú má náy | mi cay | tú má hau} \]
\[ \text{cl. dog this | not equal | cl. dog our} \]
\[ \text{‘This dog is not the same size as our dog.’} \]

(V12) \[ \text{VH} \]
\[ \text{óhng náy | váht | óhng té} \]
\[ \text{cl. this | resemble | cl. that} \]
\[ \text{‘This one resembles that one.’} \]

In an existential clause (Sect. 5.7) the only permitted Preverbal is \( \text{nhahng} \) ‘still’ (V13), and the Verb Heads are \( \text{mi} \) ‘be’ and \( \text{lôm} \) ‘remain’.

(V13) \[ \text{Prv VH} \]
\[ \text{nhahng lôm | pj nông} \]
\[ \text{still remain | older younger sibling} \]
\[ \text{‘There still remained the brother and sister.’} \]
4.1.4 Extended verb phrase. The extended verb phrase may denote intensification or repeated action. The extended verb phrase consists of an obligatory Verb Head, an obligatory Extension\textsuperscript{1}, the Verb Head repeated, and an obligatory Extension\textsuperscript{2}:

\[ + \text{VH} + \text{Ext\textsuperscript{1}} + \text{VH} + \text{Ext\textsuperscript{2}} \]

In intensified action, the Extensions are the intensifiers lài... tài 'much... exceedingly' (V15, V109). In repeated or continuative action, the Extensions are directional verbals with their opposites: pày... ma 'go... come', pày... teo 'go... again', kháu... qe 'enter... exit', khiñh... lohng 'ascend... descend' (V16, V17).

(V15) \hspace{1cm} \text{VH Ext\textsuperscript{1} VH Ext\textsuperscript{2}}
\[ \text{tú mà | hau lāi hau tài} \]
cl. dog | bark much bark exceedingly

'The dog barks very much.'

(V16) \hspace{1cm} \text{VH Ext\textsuperscript{1} VH Ext\textsuperscript{2}}
\[ \text{thày pày thày ma | dāy sām nāh} \]
plow go plow come | able three morning

'He plowed back and forth for three mornings.'

(V17) \hspace{1cm} \text{VH Ext\textsuperscript{1} VH Ext\textsuperscript{2}}
\[ \text{sīhn khiñh sīhn lohng | chīng hāhn} \]
search ascend search descend | then see

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

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

(V18) \hspace{1cm} \text{VH}
\[ \text{mūnh | hū hū hū} \]
he | laugh laugh laugh

'He laughed and laughed.'
4.2 Preverbals

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

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

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

(V19) slào | mi _ ai tò say páy_
   sister | not _want_ together go
   ‘I don’t want to go with (you).’

(V20) nuthng | _ai phóc mi_
   you | _want_ white neg.
   ‘Do you want to be white?’

_Bạt_ ‘time/when’ occurs in position 5 and precedes _dâng sî_ when they come together.

(V21) ngâm chông _bạt ma têo páy_
just then _when_ come again go
   ‘He had just come, when he went again.’

_Bô_ ‘also’ occurs in position 6, usually in a comparison with _pehn tê_ ‘like that’ (V22), or occurring with _sâhm_ ‘also’ (V23) for emphasis. _Bô_ precedes _sâhm_ when they occur together.

(V22) slào _bô cân pehn tê_
sister _also_ speak like that
   ‘I also said that.’

(V23) slào _bô sâhm kîhn dây_
sister _also-_also eat able
   ‘I can also eat it.’
**Table 7**

**Relative Positions of Preverbs in the Nung Verb Phrase**

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Bồ ‘not’ occurs in position 4.

(V24) **cảu bồ mot dày**

* I not return able

‘I can’t return.’

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

(V25) **mùnh bồ-mi khài hít**

he not sell give

‘He won’t sell it.’

(V26) **cảu bồ-mi sahng dày hêht**

I not not-yet able do

‘I can’t do it yet!’

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

(V27) **ngô ca pây non**

I about go sleep

‘I’m about to go to sleep.’

Cháhn ‘truly’ occurs in position 3.

(V30) **mùnh cháhn tâhng pây mi**

you truly alone go neg.

‘Are you truly going alone?’

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

(V31) **náh-chày chihng ngâm téo ma**

just previous then just again come

‘A moment ago I just came back.’

Chôn ‘together’ (abiding in one place) occurs in position 1. Chôn occurs frequently with tô ‘reciprocal’, but more commonly tô chôn occurs as a post-verbal. Tô precedes chôn when they occur together (V33).

(V32) **slâm cõhn chôn dự hồn mùhng**

three person together stay house one

‘Three persons stay together in one house.’
(V33) pác cihn tp chôn dê bân nûhng
    hundred person recip. together stay village one
    ‘One hundred persons live together in one village.’

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

(V34) câu pây chêu chông sâm mi hâhn nûhng ma
    I go look then also not see him come
    ‘I went to look, and then I also didn’t see him coming.’

(V35) câu sâm chông mi hâhn nûhng
    I also then not see he
    ‘I also didn’t see him.’

Côi ‘will’ (conditional/definite time) occurs in position 12 (V28, S81).

(V28) mûhng pây sâm nû ma côi kîhn
    you go buy meat come will eat
    ‘You go buy meat; when you return we’ll eat.’

Cîl ‘to continue’ occurs in position 8 (V29, S32, S38, S114).

(V29) sâm côi nâmng tâhng pây
    sister continue still alone go
    ‘I’m still going alone.’

Da ‘don’t’ (negative imperative) occurs in position 4 (V36, S62, S77, S119–
122). There are no occurrences of other preverbs with da.

(V36) da hêht pehn té
    don’t do like that
    ‘Don’t do that!’

Dam ‘dare’ is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2.

(V37) vahng té mi dâm tâhng pây
    boy that not dare alone go
    ‘That boy doesn’t dare go alone.’

Dau ‘not’ is a negative occurring in position 4. It denotes sarcasm such as:
“How can it be true...?” or “What do you mean...?” It questions the veracity
of a statement, implying the negative. It often occurs together with dêy ‘able’,
but more frequently with hah ‘how’ (V38).
(V38) *cuhn cóhng hau dau ma hah*
   person work self *not* come how
   ‘What do you mean, our servant has come?’

Di... di ‘both... and’ occurs in position 1. It precedes two parallel verbs
denoting simultaneous action (V38, S11).

(V39) *muhn di hày di hù*
   she *both* cry and laugh
   ‘She was crying and laughing.’

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

(V40) *sóng tů nohc du tő chêhn*
   two cl. bird then recip. fight
   ‘The two birds then fought together.’

Đăng-sli ‘in the process of’ occurs in position 5.

(V41) *phũ đang-sli tô say kêt hón*
   we *in process* together make house
   ‘We’re building a house together.’

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

(V42) *lô ca-lahng câu tô đây kihn*
   thing what I also *able* eat
   ‘I can eat anything.’

(V43) *đây kl lái pi dà*
   *able* few many year already
   ‘How old are you?’

Đôhc ‘only’ (limited act) occurs in positions 3 and 8. When đôhc occurs
with *tan* ‘only’, their order is freely reversible (V45–46).

(V44) *muhn pây đôhc têm pâ ma*
   he go only catch fish come
   ‘He only went fishing, then returned.’

(V45) *muhn đôhc tan pây lêu*
   you only only go play
   ‘All you do is play!’
(V46) 

						tan *doic mi mahn mû càng lihung
						\hspace{1cm} only have pl. pig deer monkey
						\hspace{1cm} ‘There are only pigs, deer, and monkeys.’

\textit{Dôi} ‘crave’ is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2 (V47). It may also be an independent transitive verb (V48).

(V47) 

						slao *doi pay dôi
						sister crave go with
						\hspace{1cm} ‘I want to go along.’

(V48) 

						mûhn *doi sen
						he crave money
						\hspace{1cm} ‘He craves money.’

\textit{Fâî} ‘must’ is an intentional verbal occurring in position 2.

(V49) 

						ôhng ôhng tò fâî pay
					
cr. cr. also must go
					\hspace{1cm} ‘Everyone must go.’

\textit{Hêng/hêng} ‘just now’ (within the last two or three days) occurs in position 11. It may occur with ngâm ‘just now’ for emphasis (V51). \textit{Hêng/hêng} also limits the object of the verb it precedes (V52). \textit{Ngâm} precedes \textit{hêng} when they occur together.

(V50) 

						mûhn hêng lohng nay ma dày
						he just down this come able
						\hspace{1cm} ‘He was just able to come down here.’

(V51) 

						slao ngâm hêng ca chût ngai
						sister just \textit{just} about cook lunch
						\hspace{1cm} ‘I am just about to cook lunch.’

(V52) 

						mûhn hêng âu âhn toc
						he just take cr. one
						\hspace{1cm} ‘He just took one.’

\textit{Lê} ‘coordinator’ occurs in position 1. It is used to coordinate simultaneous actions by different people.

(V53) 

						ôhng lê dzet khûihn song, ôhng lê dzet lohng tâh làng pay
					
cr. coord. jump up table cr. coord. jump down below house go
					\hspace{1cm} ‘One jumped up on the table, another jumped down under the house.’
(V54) ōng lê veo thèn, ōng lê veo tí pehn này
   cl. coord. call something cl. coord. call something like this
   'Some called out one thing, some called out another.'

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

(V55) ōng ōng tò mi lâo
   cl. cl. also not fear
   'Each one was unafraid.'

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

(V56) slâo sahm mi sahng kîhn
   sister also have not-yet eat
   'I also haven't eaten yet.'

(V57) tán mi áhn bân té lông nhéht
   only have cl. village that big most
   'Only that village is the largest.'

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

(V58) slâo nâhc-thày hêhng ma
   sister just-prev. just come
   'I just came.'

(V59) nâhc-hày slâo hêhng ma
   just prev. sister just come
   'I just came.'

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

(V60) mûhn ngâm dây ma
   he just able come
   'He was just able to come.'
Verb Phrase

(V61) mûhn ngâm áu àhn tòc
he just take cl. one
'He just took one.'

(V62) ngâm sâo tâhng mà
just sister alone come
'Only I came alone.'

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

(V63) pây dây slâm pì vîhn nhahng hà
go able three year continue still know
'Go for three years and you'll still know it.'

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

(V64) mûhn mà hòn chihng sâm pây non
he come house then also go sleep
'He came home; then he went to sleep.'

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

(V65) cû sâhm dây kiên
I not-yet able eat
'I can't eat yet.'

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

(V66) pây hông chihng say mà
go market then together come
'Go to the market, then come back together.'

(V67) pây hông sâm tô say mà
go market also recip. together come
'(We) went to the market and also came back together.'

Sêt 'more' occurs in position 1. It is seldom used alone, usually either being repeated in consecutive clauses in a covariation sentence (S87–89) or else being combined with dû (V68, V69).
(V68) sốn cùnh sốn đỗ sốt mi lại
   number person believe then more be much
   'The number of people who believed increased much.'

(V69) sốt đỗ sốt mi lại cùnh sốn
   more then more be much person believe
   'More and more people believed.'

Sỉ 'also' occurs in position 6. In combination with pến hủ 'like what' (V71),
ha 'how' (V72), hệt lahng 'do what' (V73) and v‖ (final emphatic particle;
V74), it denotes sarcasm, questioning the veracity of a statement, and implies a
negative interpretation (V71-74).

(V70) thồnh iht nhưng si nhăng
   move little one also sit
   'Move over a little so I can also sit.'

(V71) ngọ si kihn ñây pến hủ
   I also eat able like what
   'How can I eat?'

(V72) slâo si hủ hah
   sister also know how
   'How should I know?'

(V73) câu si pày hệt lahng
   I also go do what
   'Why would I go?'

(V74) câu si ñây tọ say mở v‖
   I also able reciprocal together return emph.
   'How can I return with you?'

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

(V75) mẻng mi slày kihn lộ
   you not need eat emph.
   'You don’t have to eat!'

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

(V76) lêo mặth câu tên slông hệt vủ
   then he about again desire do king
   'Then he wanted to be king again.'
Sự 'correct' occurs in position 3 (V77). It may also act as an independent copulative verb (V78).

(V77) cờ sự pay mi
      father correct go not
      'Is it correct that you're going, Father?'

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

Tành 'alone' occurs in position 1 (V84). It also occurs in a double construction before the subject and before the verb (V85). Tổ precedes tành when they occur together (V89).

(V84) tàn slào tành pay
      only sister alone go
      'Only I go alone.'

(V85) tành ông tành càng tảng
      alone cl. alone speak different
      'Each one speaks differently.'

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

(V79) lòng slào tái-cá pay motivate
      two sister together go return
      'The two sisters returned together.'

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

(V80) slào tan dư hơn mi pay tâhc tị
      sister only stay house not go any place
      'I only stay at home; I don't go anywhere.'

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

(V81) tàn nhânh mi ông tác pay
      only still have cl. one go
      'There is still only one going.'
(V82) cát tát páy hząng
    I only go market
    'I'm only going to market.'

(V83) t.nz mi páy
    only I not go
    'Only I didn't go.'

T. 'again' occurs in positions 3 and 8 (V86, S12, S18). It may also act as a postverbal (cf. antithetical t., Sect. 8,8).

(V86) mnθn líc lái chóng t. ma
    she fear much then again come
    'She was very afraid, so she came back.'

T. 'also' (nonsimultaneous act) occurs in position 6 (V87, S7–9, S39, S75).

(V87) mnθn hah t. páy
    person which also go
    'Everyone is going.'

T. 'reciprocal/reflexive' (simultaneous act) occurs in position 1. It occurs frequently with chón 'together' as preverbal (V33) and postverbal; with say 'together' as preverbal (V67) and postverbal; and with t.ang 'alone' as preverbal (V89). T. precedes chón, say, or t.ang when they occur together.

(V88) mnθn m. h. n t. bay
    he come house recip. argue
    'He came home and argued.'

(V89) cát t. t.ang h.éht
    I reflex. alone do
    'I do it myself.'

Vińh 'continue' occurs in position 8. It frequently occurs with nh.ang 'still' (V63).

(V90) mnθn vińh h.éht pehn t.
    he continue do like that
    'He continues to do it that way.'

4.3 Postverbals

Four postverbals have been found: chón, dáz, t., t. say. They may also act as preverbals. The meaning may be the same or slightly different when in preverbal or postverbal positions.
4.3.1 Chọn ‘together in one place’ frequently occurs with the verbs duy ‘abide’ (V91), tinh ‘to place into’ (V92), and têc ‘to place on or in’ (V93). Chọn frequently occurs with tô ‘reciprocal’ following the Verb Head (V93), after the object (V94), or after the locative (V95).

(V91) sị cịhị duy chọn họn mịhng
    four person live together house one
    ‘Four persons live together in one house.’

(V92) ạ u mịhn phâhc tinh chọn thọị tọc
    take pl. vegetables place together bowl one
    ‘Put the vegetables together in one bowl.’

(V93) mịhn vai mịhn mạ ạ u ma têc tô chọn
    pl. buffalo pl. horse take come put recip. together
    ‘Bring the buffaloes and horses and put them together.’

(V94) kịhn phâhc saqu nị tọ chọn
    eat vegetable and meat recip. together
    ‘Eat vegetables and meat together.’

(V95) ạ u mịhn phâhc tinh ạhn tô tọc tô chọn
    take pl. vegetable place cl. bowl one recip. together
    ‘Put the vegetables together into one bowl.’

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

(V96) mịhn hẹhc đay ạhn họn đay
    he do able cl. house good
    ‘He made a good house.’

(V97) tán pàn hịt câu đay có màc nịhng
    only divide for me able tree fruit one
    ‘He gave me only one fruit tree.’

(V98) mịhng càng słọng van đay lẹọ
    you speak two sentence able all
    ‘You can speak both sentences.’
(V99) slào khày tû mi dây
    sister open door not able
    'I can't open the door.'

(V100) cû mî sahng dây
    I return not-yet able
    'I can't return yet.'

(V101) cû mî mon dây
    I not sleep able
    'I can't sleep.'

4.3.3 Têo ‘again’ may occur before an object (V102) or after it (V103). It may also occur in an extended verb phrase.

(V102) slào khâm têo vam tê
    sister ask again sentence that
    'I asked that sentence again.'

(V103) mîhn phuhng âhn hom têo
    he roofs cl. house again
    'He roofed the house again.'

(V104) hêht pây hêht têo chîhng lêo
    do go do again then all
    'He did it back and forth, then finished.'

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

(V105) slâm cuhn kihn tô say
    three person eat together
    'Three persons eat together.'

(V106) slâm cuhn kihn pau tô say
    three person eat supper together
    'Three people eat supper together.'

(V107) slâm cuhn pây hûng tô say
    three person go market together
    'The three people went to market together.'

4.4 Modifiers
    Modifiers in a verb phrase are of two main types: intensifiers and direction orienters.
4.4.1 Intensifiers. There are three nonspecific numerators which act as intensifiers: läi ‘much’, tài ‘exceedingly’, and thêm ‘more’. These intensifiers may occur in descriptive verb phrases and in extended verb phrases, and may occur in active verb phrases with a limited number of verbs such as: ay ‘cough’, châhc ‘know’, hãy ‘cry’, hâu ‘bark’, hâu ‘laugh’, lão ‘fear’.

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

(V108) mahn mà | hâu läi
   pl. dog | bark much
   ‘The dogs bark a lot.’

Tài ‘exceedingly’ occurs only in the extended verb phrase (Sect. 4.1.4) as intensifier (V15, V109).

(V109) mûhn | lòng läi lòng tài
   he | big much big exceedingly
   ‘He is very, very big.’

Thêm ‘more’ occurs as an intensifier with descriptive verbs.

(V110) mûhn hêht pehn té | chînh pehn tôi thêm
   you do like that | then state sin more
   ‘When you do that, you’re more sinful.’

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

The common DV1 verbals are four: khâu ‘in, on’, qec ‘out’, khîhn ‘up’, and lohng ‘down, into’, plus the less common cêt ‘across’.

(V111) mûhn hàhp tô khâu
   he close door in
   ‘He closed the door.’

(V112) kê cût qec
   release me out
   ‘Release me.’

(V113) áhn thăng mây fêt khûhn
   cl. branch tree swing up
   ‘The branch of the tree swung up.’
(V114) mûhn vaht áhn phà-vahn lohn
    he hit cl. cover-day down
    'He knocked the sun down.'

(V115) mûhn viu cà pay
    he swim across go
    'He swam across.'

The DV\textsubscript{2} verbals are two: pây or pay 'going', ma 'coming'. The allomorph pay is used when there is a DV\textsubscript{1} preceding it in the clause; otherwise pây is used.

(V116) mûhn téo ni pây
    he again flee go
    'He fled again.'

(V117) mûhn âu sèc ma
    he take book come
    'He brought the book.'

There is only one DV\textsubscript{3} verbal: mô 'return'. It is less common than DV\textsubscript{1} or DV\textsubscript{2} verbals (V118; C63).

(V118) mûhn téo âu mô
    he again take return
    'He brought it back again.'

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

(V119) hâhp tû khâu ma (DV\textsubscript{1,2})
    close door in come
    'Close the door.'

(V120) mûhn pem kûhn pay (DV\textsubscript{1,2})
    he climb up go
    'He climbed up.'

(V121) bâo chîhng tài pây mô (DV\textsubscript{2,3})
    older brother then lead go return
    'The older brother then led him back.'

(V122) chîhng âu cà mô (DV\textsubscript{1,3})
    then take across return
    'Then bring it back across.'
Some main verbs may take only pây of the DV₂ verbals, others only ma, and some may take both. Verbs taking only pây include: tao ‘dig’, ðûhm ‘dive’, tûhc ‘place into’, kîhn ‘eat’, pem ‘climb’, viht ‘discard’, viu ‘swim’, tôhc ‘drop’, nûhng ‘sit’, non ‘sleep’. Verbs taking only ma include: khây ‘open’, ðêu ‘live, revive’. Verbs taking both of them include: tâi ‘lead’, âu ‘take’, bêhn ‘fly’, têc ‘set down’, nihp ‘pick (fruit)’, lôt ‘drop’, dêt ‘jump’, sihm ‘search’, thây ‘plow’, lît ‘sneak’, ðûh ‘wish’. Of the verbs found with ma, perhaps the only one unique to ma is fân ‘turn around’; the others occur with both pây and ma.

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

(V123) VH DV DV O
mûhn | sêng qe ma | tû lûhc nûhng
she | bear out come | cl. child one
‘She gave birth to a child.’

(V124) VH O DV DV
mûhn | sêng | tû lûhc nûhng | qe ma
she | bear | cl. child one | out come
‘She gave birth to a child.’

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

(V125) VH Mod Dir
mûhn | viht | côn thin | pây | lôhng tâ pay
he | throw | cl. stone | go | into river go
‘He threw the stone away into the river.’

(V126) VH Mod L Imp
qe pay | chûng thûhn | pay
out go | in courtyard | go
‘Go out into the courtyard!’
5 Clause Nuclei

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1 Intransitive clause

The nucleus of an intransitive clause consists of an Actor (A) and a Predicate (P). The possible peripheral tagmemes are Temporal₁ (T), Temporal₂,
Locative (L), Accompaniment (AC), Manner (M), and Order (OR). The normal relative order of these tagmemes is:

\[ T_1 \ (A \ P) \ L \ AC \ T_2 \ M \ OR \]

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

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

(C1) \[ A \ P \ T_2 \]
\[ tú te | non | cå mun \]
cl. that | sleep | all night
‘That one slept all night.’

(C2) \[ A \ P \ L \]
\[ mën | nàng | hën fay ni \]
she | sit | side fire focus
‘She sat by the side of the fire.’

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

(C3) \[ P \ A \ L \]
\[ non | cùnh | slang \]
sleep | person | bed
‘They slept one person to a bed.’

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as non ‘sleep’ tihn ‘awake’, nàhng ‘sit’, dihn ‘stand’, as the main verb. Sometimes the Predicate may be omitted if it has been stated in a previous clause or sentence (C6).

(C4) \[ A \ P \]
\[ tú pô | chihng nahng lohng pay \]
cl. husband | then sit down go
‘The husband sat down.’

(C5) \[ A \ P \]
\[ tú pô m̀ihn | tihn ma \]
cl. husband her | awake come
‘Her husband woke up.’
5.2 Motion (semitransitive) clause

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

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

\[ T₁ \quad (A \; P \; L \; SO \; D) \quad AC \quad T₂ \; M \; OR \]

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

(C7) \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
A & P & D \\
vahng nōng | khâu | khá nāhm slāh \\
\end{array} \]

‘The younger brother entered the clear stream of water.’

(C8) \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
A & SO & P & D \\
vahng té | hôn na | nī | khūhn pō pay \\
\end{array} \]

‘That boy fled from the field up the mountain.’

(C9) \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
A & SO & P \\
slōng vahng té | pây dōng | ma \\
\end{array} \]

‘Those two boys came back from the field.’

(C10) \[ \begin{array}{ccc}
A & P & D \\
mēhn | tō nī | kháu hōn pay \\
\end{array} \]

‘She also fled into the house.’
(C11) A P L (P) OR
áhn khá | kinh | lánh mà | pay | dà
cl. leg | rise | back horse | go | already
‘One leg was already on the horse’s back.’

The Actor may follow the Predicate when the emphasis is on the number (C12). When the Actor follows the Predicate, dầy ‘able’ always follows the verb and precedes the Actor.

(C12) P A
pày dầy | kè nhuong
go able | man one
‘One man was able to go.’

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as bểnh ‘fly’, nĩ ‘flee’, lên ‘run’, lấy ‘flow’, đết ‘jump’, tecz ‘put’, kháu ‘enter’, qç ‘go out’, kinhn ‘rise’, lánh ‘descend’, pay ‘go’, ma ‘come’, mô ‘go home’, dû ‘abide, reside’. All of these except the last are verbs of motion. Most of these verbs may have Directional Verbals modifying them in the verb phrase (Sect. 4.4 and C13–15). Verbs of motion do not always signal motion clauses; they also occur in transitive clauses (C30–32).

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

(C13) A P
nấm | lấy qç mà
water | run out come
‘The water runs out.’

(C14) A P
vahng té | kháu | chăng hên pay
boy that | enter | inside house go
‘That boy entered the house.’

(C15) A P
áhn phà vahn | kinhn ma
clo. cover day | rise come
‘The sun comes up.’

A complex motion verb may be formed by adding a modifier such as lên ‘run’ or kinh mà ‘ride horse’ before the main verb. When a Source is present, the modifier precedes it, but the verb follows.
(C16) A (P) SO P D
muôn | lên | hồn Nam Sơn |/pay | Tùng Nghĩa
he run from Nam Sơn go Tùng Nghĩa
‘He ran from Nam Sơn to Tùng Nghĩa.’

(C17) A (P) SO P D
Muôn | khí mây | hônh Nam Sơn | ma | Tùng Nghĩa
he | rid horse | from Nam Sơn | come | Tùng Nghĩa
‘He rode a horse (came) from Nam Sơn to Tùng Nghĩa.’

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

(C18) A SO P
muôn | khitnh đờng | ma
he | from forest | come
‘He returned from the forest.’

(C19) A SO P
vánh té | pay lêu | ma
that boy | go play | come
‘That boy returned from playing.’

(C20) A SO P
dà tài | lohng tạ slahe slít | ma
grandmother | from river wash clothes | come
‘Grandmother came back from washing clothes at the river.’

(C21) A SO P
tú té | qc ánh hay | ma
cl. that | out cl. egg | come
‘She came out of the egg.’

If a Direction tagmeme occurs together with Source, the main verb may be ma or pay ‘go’ (C16, C17). If there is no Direction tagmeme present, then the main verb must be ma ‘come’ (C18–19). The Direction position (see Sect. 7.3) is usually filled by a directional phrase introduced by a DV₁ and closed by a DV₂ (C22, C23), except that if the nucleus is a place name, no DVs are used (C16–17). When the main verb is a DV₁ it serves simultaneously as the DV₁ of the Direction (C24).
(C22) A P D
mûn | pây | khâu dônh pây
he | go | into forest go
‘He went into the forest.’

(C23) A P D
vahng t'ai nhî | dêt | khîhn song pay
boy number two | jump | up table go
‘The second boy jumped onto the table.’

(C24) A P D
âhn phâ vahn | lohng | hu pay
cl. cover day | descend | hole go
‘The sun set.’

The Location position (Sect. 7.4) is filled by a prepositional phrase introduced by chang ‘inside’, nóc ‘outside’, hehn ‘beside’, tâh ‘under’, tihng ‘above’, nît ‘up at, above’, dâh ‘inside (something long)’, cahung ‘around’.

(C25) S P L
câu | tîc | nît hên nî
1 | put | up house focus
‘I put it up at the house.’

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

T1 (A P O) D AC,B T2 M OR

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

The Actor position is usually filled by an animate noun phrase (C26), a name (C27), or a pronoun (C28).
(C26) A P
vahng té | kihn lāi.
boy that | eat much
'That boy ate a lot.'

(C27) A P
kè Hông Tây | kihn lohng pay
cl. Hông Tây | eat down go
'Hông Tây ate it up.'

(C28) T₁ A P O
vahn lāhng | hâu | tẹo sihm | vahng té
day back | they | again search | boy that
'The next day they again searched for the boy.'

The Predicate position is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as hōhn 'hit', kihn 'eat', tẻm 'catch', sêng 'give birth', hıp 'close', vih 'throw', hāhn 'see', hến 'watch', chũ 'cook', càng 'say', ưhm 'hold', mi 'have', sī 'buy', khāi 'sell', lāo 'fear'. Motion verbs are sometimes used in transitive clauses (C30–32), as are intransitive verbs like hù 'laugh' (C33).

(C29) A P O
miën | ca hōhn | lyhc bgo miën
he | about hit | child boy his
'He was about to hit his son.'

(C30) T₁ P O (P)
thēng hāhm té | lohn | song | ma
arrive night that | down | tray | come
'That night they down the tray.'

(C31) P O
lohn | chà
down | seedlings
'They planted seedlings.'

(C32) A P O
tū nohc tū hú | chihng qe | hày
cl. bird cl. owl | then out | egg
'The owl then laid an egg.'

(C33) A P O
miën | hù | cāu
he | laugh | me
'He laughed at me.'
The Object position, like the Actor, is filled by noun phrases, names, and pronouns. It normally follows the Predicate (C29–33), but for emphasis may be placed in front of the Actor (C34, C35). When ambiguous, as in C35, only the context makes it clear that it is Object, not Actor, as there are no overt markers to distinguish these two tagmemes.

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

(C35) O P
vam té | căng mi dây
word that | say not able
'I am not able to pronounce that word.'

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

(C36) A P O
mé kê | ühm | éng
woman old | hold | baby
'The aunt holds the baby.'

(C37) O P A
éng | ühm | mé kê
baby | hold | woman old
'The baby is held by the aunt.'

5.4 Ditransitive clause

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

T₁ (A P IO O) T₂

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

The Actor slot is usually filled by an animate noun phrase, a name, or a pronoun.
(C38) A P IO O
mu'n | àu ma | hịt c'âu | álln tohng mày nùnhng
he | get come | for me | cl. piece stick one
'He got me a stick.'

(C39) T1 A P O IO
sìhn-này | t'ì slì | chìngng àu | álln màc | hịt t'à nòhch tè
now | cl. tiger | then take | cl. fruit | for cl. bird that
'Now the tiger gave the fruit to the bird.'

The Predicate slot is filled by verb phrases with verbs such as hịt 'give', pàhn 'divide', àu 'take', slì 'write', vè 'draw', pàhng 'give back', bẹn 'wrap', khài 'sell'.

(C40) P IO O
hịt | hàu | pàc nùnhng
give | them | hundred one
'Give them one hundred (piastres).'

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

(C41) O A P IO
bẹn pà | l'àn | àu ma | hịt c'òhn
package fish | grandchild | take come | for grandfather
'I brought a package of fish for grandfather.'

(C42) O A P IO (O)
ih't mò | nùnhng | àu | hịt c'âu | tè
few kernels | you | take | for me | that
'You bring me those few kernels.'

(C43) P IO
khài | hịt c'âu
sell | for me
'Sell it to me.'

The Indirect Object position is usually filled by the verbal hịt 'to, for' with its accompanying object (C41–44), but either hịt or the noun phrase is sometimes omitted (C45, C46). When the verb hịt 'give' is the main verb in its clause, the
Indirect Object and Object tagmemes immediately follow without an additional verbal being supplied (C40) and always in that order. When the Indirect Object is preceded by the Object (C39), *hít* is obligatory. The Indirect Object is usually a noun phrase, a name, or a pronoun, but can also be a nominalized clause (C47).

### 5.5 Descriptive clause

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

\[ T₁ \quad (S \ P) \quad T₂ \quad \text{OR} \]

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

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

(C44)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
P & \quad \text{IO} & \quad \text{O} \\
páhn & | & hít vahng té & | & mäc phu nêhng \\
\text{divide} & | & \text{for boy that} & | & \text{cl. axe one} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Give that boy an axe.’

(C45)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
P & \quad \text{IO} & \quad \text{O} \\
páhn & | & vahng té & | & mäc phu nêhng \\
\text{divide} & | & \text{boy that} & | & \text{cl. axe one} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Give that boy an axe.’

(C46)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
P & \quad \text{IO} & \quad \text{O} \\
mêhń & | & chiêng áu & | & hít & | & àhn vi nêhng \\
\text{she} & | & \text{then take} & | & \text{for} & | & \text{cl. comb one} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘She then gave them a comb.’

(C47)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
A & \quad P & \quad \text{O} & \quad \text{(P)} & \quad \text{IO} \\
mähn cîthn hâu & | & áu & | & môi & | & qê ma & | & hít slông óhng ãêhe kihn hò té \\
\text{pl. person they} & | & \text{take} & | & \text{rice} & | & \text{out come} & | & \text{for two cl. child eat beg those} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They brought out rice for those two begging children.’
The Indirect Object tagmeme is similar in many ways to the Beneficiary tagmeme (Sect. 7.6).

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

The Predicate position is filled by descriptive verb phrases whose head is an adjective such as dāhc ‘deep’, dō ‘bald’, dāy ‘good’, chēhp ‘sore’, pholec ‘white’, sihng ‘green’, hűhng ‘bright’. The descriptive verb may be simple (C49–51) or complex (C52, C53). The negative used with descriptive verbs is mî (C53).

When a body part and its possessor are involved (C54), the body part is usually the head of the Subject phrase (C54b), but is occasionally made part of a complex Predicate leaving the possessor as head of the Subject phrase (C54c). The juncture agrees with the grammatical break in each instance.
(C54) (a)  NH  Mod  Poss  
ahn tông | chêhp | tû słà  
cl. stomach | sore | cl. tiger  
‘the tiger’s sore stomach’

(C54) (b)  S  P  
ahn tông tû słà | chêhp lái  
cl. stomach cl. tiger | sore very  
‘The tiger’s stomach was very sore.’

(C54) (c)  S  P  
tû słà | chêhp aihn tông lái  
cl. tiger | sore cl. stomach very  
‘The tiger was very sore in his stomach.’

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

5.6 Equative clause

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

T₁  (S  P  C)  AC  T₂  OR

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

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

(C55)  S  P  C  
vahng pi bao munh | hêht | cthn slày  
boy older brother his | do | person priest  
‘His older brother is a sorcerer.’

(C56)  S  C  OR  
munh | lyhc dêhc | thôi  
he | cl. child | only  
‘He is only a child.’

The Predicate position may be absent (C56), or may be filled by a copulative verb (C55, C58) or a comparative verb (C59, C60). The absence of a predicate generally indicates an important or intrinsic characteristic of the Subject; this construction is very similar in both form and meaning to the descriptive clause.
The copulative verbs are hēht ‘make, do’, dû ‘is’, sić ‘correct’, slûhc ‘be a member of’; these generally indicate an acquired or alienable characteristic or function of the Subject (C55, C57–59) or they emphasize the truth of the Complement (C60). Dû is occasionally omitted (C61).

(C57) S  P  C
    mûhn | dû | cûhn slây
    he | is | person priest
    ‘He is a sorcerer.’

(C58) S  P  C
    mûhn | hēht | lûhc dêhc
    he | do | cl. child
    ‘He pretends to be a child.’

(C59) S  P  C
    mûhn | dû | cûhn Mû
    he | is | person American
    ‘He is an American.’

(C60) S  P  C
    mûhn | sić | thài dâ
    he | true | dead already
    ‘He certainly is dead already.’

(C61) S  C
    mûhn | cûhn slây
    he | person priest
    ‘He is a sorcerer.’

Slûhc ‘be a member of’ generally takes a modifying directional verbal (Sect. 4.4). If the speaker is also a member of the group of which the Subject is a member, then ma is used (C62); otherwise mà is used (C63).

(C62) S  P  C
    mûhn | slûhc ma | dâ–đihn gâu
    he | member come | family my
    ‘He belongs to my family.’

(C63) S  P  C
    mûhn | slûhc mà | dâ–đihn múhn
    he | member return | family your
    ‘He belongs to your family.’

(C64) S P C
tù mà này | cay | tù mà hau
cl. dog this | equal | cl. dog our
‘This dog is the same size as our dog.’

(C65) S P C
óngh này | váht | óngh té
cl. this | resemble | cl. that
‘This person resembles that one.’

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

(C66) S P C
tù mà này | mi cay | tù mà hau
cl. dog this | not equal | cl. dog our
‘This dog is not the same size as our dog.’

(C67) S P C
mùhn | mi sùf | lứhc dêhc
he | not true | cl. child
‘He is not a child.’

(C68) S P O
mùhn | mi | lứhc dêhc
she | have | cl. child
‘She has children.’

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

(C69) S P C
mùhn | hêht | cùhn thà hyhng
he | do | person eye bright
‘He is a sorcerer.’

(C70) S C
mùhn | cùhn thà dâhm
he | person eye dark
‘He is a common person’ (not a sorcerer).
(C71) S C
tư locom | thư lăn tuệ | sau ngàn
clo. child | clo. niece child girl | man that
'I am that man's niece.'

(C72) S P C
mụng hệt nhuộc hữu hâu | lâm vã | hệt khó hứt câu
you do persecute to them | like | do difficult to me
'Your persecuting them is as if you hurt me.'

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

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

T₁ L (P S)

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

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

(C73) P S
mi | câu ánh phà vahn
be | nine clo. cover day
'There were nine suns.'

(C74) T₁ P S
mụ-ni | mi | pị nụng
once-focus | be | older younger siblings
'Once there were some siblings.'

(C75) L P S
dụ ánh bàntẹ nị | mi | áhn nähm nụhng
at cl. village that focus | be | cl. water one
'In that village there was a pool of water.'
The Subject position is always filled by a noun phrase (C73–75) or by a nominalized clause (C76, C77). When it is filled by a clause, it parallels the Container sentence type except that the nominalized clause here is a postposed Subject rather than an Object.

(C76)  Tı  P                  S
       mư-ni | mì | kè nǐthng pěnh bĩnhng
   once-focus | be | man one state sick
   'Once there was a sick man.'

(C77)  P                      S
       nhańng lŏm | pį nong khaw cháńg ánh pu pay mì thái
   still remain | older younger sibling in inside cl. gourd go not die
   'There still remained the siblings in the gourd who didn't die.'

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

5.8 Comparative clause

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

Subj:NP,C1 lăi:lăi Qual:Adj hŏn:hŏn Comp: NP,C1

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

(C78)  S  lăi Qual hŏn Comp
cău | lăi | hŏn | mṳhng
I | much | strong | than | you
'I am stronger than you.'

(C79)  S  lăi Qual hŏn Comp
áhn hŏn cău | lăi | lŏng | hŏn | áhn hŏn mṳhng
cl. house my | much | big | than | cl. house your
'Ves my house is bigger than your house.'
(C80)  S  lái  Qual  hồn  Comp
bào Mai bành thính | lái | chạy | hồn | Lai (bàn)
brother Mai throw stone | much | far | than | Lai (throw)
‘Mai threw the stone farther than Lai.’

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

(C81)  S  lái (S)  hồn  Comp
kè sùhc Mai áu hỉ (ca) | lái | ca | hồn | kè sùhc San (hỉ)
cl. uncle Mai take give | much | gift | than | cl. uncle San (give)
‘Uncle Mai gave more gifts than Uncle San.’

The Quality (Qual) position is filled by an adjective (Sect. 3.5) such as heng ‘strong’, lồng ‘big’, nhêng ‘fast’, chạy ‘far’, cái ‘smart’, dôi ‘clever’, dâhc ‘deep’, dây ‘good’ (C78–80, C82). When the Quality is a complex adjective such as dây slâo (C85), it is placed before the lái. When the Subject is a clause, the Quality may be just a general ‘more,’ in which case there need not be an overt filler of the Quality position since the lái and hồn effectively convey the ‘more’ meaning (C81, C84, C86). When the Quality is an adjective doublet (C83), a lái follows each member of the pair.

(C82)  S  lái  Qual  hồn  Comp
tù mà cão phao | lái | nhêng | hồn | tù mà múng
cl. horse my run | much | fast | than | cl. horse your
‘My horse runs faster than your horse.’

(C83)  S  Qual lái  Qual lái  hồn  Comp
mûtun | cái | lái | dôi | lái | hồn | kè vù
he | smart | much | clever | much | than | cl. king
‘He is smarter and cleverer than the king.’

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

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

(C84)  S  lái  hồn  Comp
mé dép câu | lái | hồn | nong-nq dép câu (ni)
mother love me | much | than | sister love me focus
‘My mother loves me more than my sister does.’
(C85) S Qual lái hồn Comp
tú tê | dầy slão | lái | hồn | tú mẹ khá-cọn
cl. that | good girl | much | than | cl. wife before
‘That one is prettier than the previous wife.’

(C86) S hồn (S) Comp
mẹnh mi | hồn | hồn | pê bạo
he have | than | house | older brother
‘He has more possessions than his older brother.’
6 Dependent Clauses

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

6.1 Definite relative clause

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

The Actor is highlighted with the structure:

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

(C87) NH:A rel Mod:P - O Dem
kê | ti-və | tóhc côn thinh | tê ni
man | who | lost cl. stone | that focus
‘The man who had lost the stone...’

The Object is highlighted with the structure:

NH: O rel: ti Mod: (A-P) Dem: tê,ni

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(C88) NH:O rel Mod:A - P Dem
kè  | tì-və | słu lọc ma | tẹ
man  | who   | you choose out | that

'The man whom you chose...'

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

(C89) NH:IO rel Mod:A P O (IO) Dem (IO)/A
kè  | tì-və | câu ạu | secute šlő | hịa | ni | mühn
man  | who   | I gave cl. book | to | focus | he

'The man I gave the book to, he...'

(C90) NH:B Mod:A P O (B) Dem
ông kè  | câu šlő ạhn tu  | hịa | ni
cl. man | I bought cl. hat | for | focus

'the man for whom I bought the hat...'

Highlighted Subject (C91) or Direction (C92) usually take an anaphoric mühn ‘he’ or a noun such as nähm ‘water’, but the relative tì-və is optional. A highlighted Direction does not bring its DV₁ and DV₂ forward with it, but leaves them in the normal postpredicate position (C93).

(C91) NH:S rel Mod:P - C Dem (S)/A
kè  | (tij)  | hêt šlő thạ hüğng | ni | mühn
man  | who    | do priest eye bright | focus | he

'the man who is a sorcerer, he...'

(C92) NH:D rel Mod:A - P Dem (D)/A
kḥà tə  | tì | nông ạ qọ khâu | ni | nähm
cl. river | that | yg.sib.male enter | focus | water

'the river that the younger brother entered, it...'

(C93) NH:D Mod:A - P Dem
ạhn ṭem | câu lẹn kháu pay | tẹ
cl. house | I run into go | that

'the house I was running into...'

When other clause elements such as Source (C94), Peripheral Locative (C95), Accompaniment (C96), Temporal₁ (C97), and Temporal₂ (C98) are highlighted, the relative tì-və occurs less often.
(C94) NH:SO rel Mod: A - P Dem
   áhn hòn | (tj) | câu nícoc khôi | ni
   cl. house | that | I run out | this
‘the house I was running from...’

(C95) NH:L rel Mod: A - P - O Dem
   áhn bàn | tj | câu dăng hệt vec | té ni
   cl. village | that | I was do work | that focus
‘the village where I was working...’

To highlight the Accompaniment clause element, the reciprocal preverbal clause particles tó say ‘with together’ (see V32 and V44) are used as relatives, and the anaphoric mủhn ‘he’ is also used.

(C96) NH:AC rel Mod: A - P Dem (AC) / A
   kè | tó say | câu hệt | ni | mủhn
   man | with together | I work | focus | he
‘the man with whom I was working, he...’

To highlight a Temporal1 element, lühr̪c ‘time’ is used as the relative.

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

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

(C98) NH:T₂ rel Mod: A - P - L Dem
   pí | hahr̪ | câu hệt duy Saigon | ni
   year | which | I work in Saigon | focus
‘the year I worked in Saigon...’

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

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

(C99) NH:Poss rel Mod: A - Poss - P Dem
   kê | tj-vã | mê mủhn thải | ni
   man | who | mother his died | focus
‘the man whose mother died...’
The relative *tì* or *tì-và* is occasionally omitted if the Noun Head is Actor (N10, N11) or peripheral Location (N150). The demonstrative *tê* or *ni* may sometimes be omitted when the relative clause is filling the Object position (C100).

(C100) A P O
cày | hânh | kê tì-và mé mûthn thài
I | see | man who mother his died
‘I saw the man whose mother had died.’

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

(C101) Num Cl NH rel Mod Dem
slông [tù | vahng | tì-và | pây Sàigôn | tê
two | cl. | boy | who | go Saigon | that
‘the two boys who went to Saigon...’

6.2 Indefinite relative clause

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

(C102) A P
cûhn hah | pây dûy
person which | go able
‘whoever is able to go...’

(C103) T1 A P Dem
vahng hah | mê mûthng | thài | ni
day which | mother your | die | focus
‘whichever day it was that your mother died...’

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

(C104) A P D
mûthng | pây | hah...
you | go | which
‘wherever you want to go...’
(C105)  A    P    D
  mỳnh   | tẹọ  áụ pày    | hah... 
you    | again take go | which
‘wherever you take it...’

(C106)  P    L
  kịhn   | dụ hah... 
eat    | at where
‘wherever we eat...’

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

(C107) NH:Poss   Mod:A - Poss   P
  ọhọg kê   | mẹ mỳnh thài dà 
cl. man    | mother his died already
‘a man whose mother had died...’

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

(C108)  A    P    M
  vahng tẹ   | cị ngảo   | pehn hut 
boy that | continue pry | like what
‘However that boy would pry’ (he still couldn’t get it open).

(C109)  P    O    M
  sị   | sị sịa   | sị ah pehn hut 
write | cl. word | small like what
‘However small he wrote the words’ (he still couldn’t get them all on the page).

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

(C110)  P    D
  tö lọt   | lohng tọhm pay 
also fall | down dirt go
‘...and fell down to the ground’
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(C111) P O SF
kihn | mac | leo
eat | fruit | complete
‘after he had eaten the fruit...’

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

6.5 Repeated action clause

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

(P: VbHd pay VbHd ma) T2

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

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

(C112) P T2
thay pay thay ma | day slam nah
plow go plow come | able three morning
‘after he had plowed for three mornings...’

(C113) P
kihn pay kihn ma
eat go eat come
‘he ate and ate until...’

(C114) P
pay pay ma ma
go go come come
‘after he had gone back and forth several times...’
The principle is sometimes adopted in linguistic description of considering a string as two clauses whenever there are two main verbs. But in Nùng the reduplication of a Verb Head, with or without verbals, does not always warrant such an analysis. In the Transitive clause, for example, the verb head may be repeated either to show continued action (V18), or greatness of quantity or quality (V15–17). The use of directional verbs within a clause tagmeme does not imply back-looping simply because the verb may be used as a verb head in another clause (Day 1966:64–74). In the repeated action clause it would seem unnecessary to try to separate the reduplicated verb head and the accompanying verbs into more than one clause since this is just another way of expanding the predicate phrase.

6.6 Temporal clause

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

\[ T_1, \ T_2, \ bat \ \text{Ind. Cl. Nuc.} \]

The temporal slot is most often filled by \textit{thięng lùhc} ‘arrive moment’, or \textit{bat} ‘time’ plus a numeral, or simply \textit{bat} ‘when’. \textit{Thiëng lùhc} (T$_1$) precedes the nucleus (C116, C117; S54), \textit{bat} plus numeral (T$_2$) follow the nucleus (C118; S55), and simple \textit{bat} is usually inserted between the Actor and the Predicate (C115, C119; S56).

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

(C115) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
A & T & P & O \\
\text{tù cả} & \text{bat} & \text{hành} & \text{tú nohc tang-na} \\
\text{cl. crow} & \text{when} & \text{see} & \text{cl. bird moorhen} \\
\text{‘when the crow saw the moorhen...’} \\
\end{array} \]

(C116) \[ \begin{array}{ccccc}
T & A & P & O & (P) \\
\text{thięng lùhc} & \text{tú té} & \text{mi} & \text{lyhc} & \text{qén ma} \\
\text{arrive moment} & \text{cl. that} & \text{have} & \text{child} & \text{out come} \\
\text{‘when the time came for that one to have a child...’} \\
\end{array} \]

(C117) \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
T & A & P \\
\text{thierre lùhc} & \text{tú ngòc} & \text{lohn ma} \\
\text{arrive moment} & \text{cl. sea-monster} & \text{descend come} \\
\text{‘when the time came for the sea monster to come down...’} \\
\end{array} \]
(C118) A P T
  vahng té | hōhn | bát cam-kênt nəhng
  boy that | hit   | time fist one
  'when the boy hit once with his fist . . . '

(C119) T P
  bát  | nəhng lohng pay
  when | sit down go
  'when he sat down . . . '
7 Clause Periphery

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

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

Illustration 177

\[
A \quad L \quad P \quad O \quad (C146)
\]

\[
A \quad P \quad M \quad O \quad (C171)
\]

\[
A \quad T₁ \quad P \quad O \quad (C121)
\]

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

Illustration 178

\[
L \quad (NUC) \quad (C143)
\]

\[
(NUC) \quad T₁ \quad T₂ \quad (C123)
\]

\[
(NUC) \quad T₂ \quad L \quad (C123)
\]

\[
(NUC) \quad L \quad T₂ \quad (C170)
\]
7.1 Temporal setting

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

The Temporal1 tagmemes is usually manifested by noun phrases such as vahn láhng ‘the next day’, vahn éht ‘the first day’, säß náh ‘early in the morning’, sihn-náy ‘now’.

(C120) T1 A P
vahn láhng hâu têo sihm páy
day back they again search go
‘The next day they again searched.’

(C121) A T1 P
vahn éng Hohnng vahn náy hohn
boy baby Hohnng day this hit
‘The little boy Hohnng hit them today.’

(C122) T1 P T2
vahn éht hohn thâhng dâhm
day first hit until dark
‘The first day he fought until dark.’

(C123) P T1 T2
hohn vahn éht thâhng dâhm
hit day first until dark
‘He fought the first day until dark.’

(C124) T1 A P
säß náh da chán tûhn ma
early morning cl. witch awake come
‘Early in the morning the witch woke up.’

(C125) T1 P
slông vahn chihng páy dây
two day then go able
‘After two days we can go.’

(C126) T1 S P C OR
sihn-náy muhn têo pehn tû mê thôi
now it again like cl. woman only
‘Now it’s again like a woman.’
T₁ always precedes the nucleus in equative and existential clauses (C74, C76, C126). In other clause types it is occasionally found within or following the nucleus (C121, C123). In motion clauses T₁ not infrequently follows the Actor.

(C127) A T₁ P P O
slú | њhm này | ma | hẽt | lahng
you | evening this | come | do | what
‘What did you come to do this evening?’

(C128) A T₁ P D
vahng té | њhm va | ní páy | dông
boy that | evening last | flee go | fields
‘Last evening that boy fled to the fields.’

7.2 Temporal duration

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

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

(C129) A P O T₂
mĩhn | kihn | khâu tây | slông vahn
he | eat | cl. corn | two day
‘He ate corn for two days.’

(C130) P T₂
tẽc | iht vahn
put | few days
‘Leave it a few days.’

(C131) A P O T₂
tú má | khôhp | dã té | slông.bat
cl. dog | bite | woman that | two time
‘The dog bit that woman twice.’

(C132) A P T₂ D
vahng té | tĩhm | băt nũhng | lohng ăhn bọ té pay
boy that | dive | time one | into cl. well that go
‘That boy dived once into the well.’
(C133) A P T₂

tú té | non  | cát hủih
cl. that  | sleep | all night
‘That one slept all night.’

(C134) A P T₂

mủih  | ma día  | kí vahn
he   | come able | few day
‘He’s able to come for a few days.’

(C135) A P T₂

mủih  | pây học día  | pí nínhng
he   | go study able | year one
‘He went and studied for a year.’

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

(C136) S P C T₂ OR

mủih  | hếht  | cuính thà hñhng  | día pí nínhng  | dà
he   | do | person eye bright  | able year one | already
‘He has been a sorcerer for one year already.’

Temporal clauses may sometimes merge with the Instrument (I, Instr), especially when there are verbs of striking in the predicate (C137, C165, C166). Temporal T₂ is then filled by bät ‘time’ preceding the Instrument. The numeral ‘one’ follows the Instrument, but may be omitted (C137); all other numerals precede bät (C166). Temporal T₂ may be combined with Manner in the same way (C176).

(C137) A P T₂ I

mủih  | tạng  | bät | lehp mät
he   | stab | time | nail hand
‘He stabbed once with his fingernail.’

7.3 Directional

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

The DV₁ position is filled by one of certain motion verbs which specify the direction of the action. The most frequent to occur are khâu ‘on, in’, lohng ‘into, downward’, qóc ‘out’, khiithn ‘up’, cát ‘across’, and (with certain verbs) mät ‘return, about’. Occasionally chăng ‘inside’ is used with a Direction (C14), especially if the main verb is a directional verbal.
The DV₂ position follows the noun phrase and is filled by either pay/páy 'direction away from the speaker' or mà 'direction toward the speaker' (pay is used when DV₁ is present, páy elsewhere). DV₂ is omitted in some dependent clauses. When a DV₂ and the command particle páy occur together at the end of a clause, neutralization takes place and the form (being the same) is not repeated (see Sect. 8.19).

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

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

(C138) A P O D
mùm | viht | còn thinh | khâu có máy té pay
he | throw | cl. stone | into cl. tree that go

'He threw a stone into that tree.'

(C139) A P O D
tú nohc tía hú | qç | hay | lohg hu pay
cl. bird cl. owl | lay | egg | into hole go

'The owl laid an egg in the hole.'

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

With verbs of speaking or thinking such as cang ‘speak’, sli ‘write’, ngâhm ‘think’, and khâhm ‘ask’, the object of the speaking is introduced by mò, with no DV₂ at the end.

(C140) A P D
mùm | cang | mò câu
he | speak | about me

'He spoke about me.'

7.4 Locative

The Locative tagmeme specifies the physical setting in which the clause action takes place. It may be introduced by dù ‘at’ (C75), by a preposition (N174, C141, V126), or by both (C142, C143). The most common locative prepositions are: chăng ‘inside’, nóg ‘outside’, hehn ‘side’, täh ‘under’, tihng ‘above’, mö ‘up at, above’, dâh ‘inside something long’, and cahng ‘around’. If the verb is
a verb of motion, the preposition may be omitted (C8). The location itself is a noun phrase.

(C141)   A  P  L
  vănh té | non | châng pác tũ nĩ
  boy that | sleep | inside mouth door focus
  'The boy slept in the doorway.'

(C142)   A  P  L
  tũ bể té | dihn | dũ hehn pác tũ lang vai
  cl. goat that | stand | at side mouth door shed buffalo
  'The goat stood beside the door of the buffalo shed.'

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

(C143)   L  A  P  O
  dũ châng tả dũ hehn âhn hu nĩ | câu | têm | pã
  at inside river at side cl. hole focus | I | catch | fish
  'In the river at the side of the hole I catch fish.'

7.5 Accompaniment

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

(C144)   A  P  O  AC
  óhng lũhc | si tãhm | khâu | dôi mẽ kẽ
  cl. child | also pound | rice | with woman old
  'I'll also pound rice with you, Aunt.'

(C145)   A  P  O  AC
  óhng lũhc | si tãhm | khâu | dôi
  cl. child | also pound | rice | with
  'I'll also pound rice with you.'

(C146)   A  L  P  O  AC
  vănh té | nhahng dũ hóm | cãng | cò | sau kẽ nã hóm té
  boy that | still at house | speak | story | together cl. up house that
  'That boy was still at the house speaking to the old man at that house.'
Accompaniment in the Intransitive and Motion clauses tends to refer more to the simultaneous location of two or more people rather than to their simultaneous activity.

'I came to be with my older sister (who came first).'

'Now I’ve come with my older brother-in-law.'

'Grandmother sleeps with her two grandchildren.'

'He sat with his wife.'

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

'He acted like a creator with that person.'

7.6 Beneficiary
The Beneficiary tagmeme indicates a person for whose benefit the action is done. It is usually manifested with hìi 'for' plus a noun phrase or a pronoun (C153–155). It usually follows the Object.
(C153) P O B
hèn | vai | hủ cảu
tend | buffalo | for me
‘Tend the buffalo for me.’

(C154) A P O B
lão | chửa |Netflix | hủ lân
grandmother | cook | lunch | for grandchild
‘Grandmother cooks lunch for me.’

(C155) P O B
páo | vi | hủ lýhc
wave | fan | for child
‘Please fan me.’

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

(C156) P O B
hèht | sì | hủ
do | rice-cake | for
‘Make a rice-cake for (him).’

(C157) A P B O
lýhc | có hèht | hủ | có sen nhng
child | will do | for | tree money one
‘I will make a money tree for (him).’

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

(C158) A P B O
lán | tháp | hủ kê | bğ lô nhng
grandchild | carry | for man | section road one
‘I will carry it part of the way for you.’

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

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

(C165) A P O D T2 I (T2)  
văn⁵ng té⁹ | hóżh₃n | săo⁴ té⁹ | kháu⁵ aʊ⁴ pay | bạ⁵ t̠ʰ̀u⁴ m̀êt⁴ | měnhng⁵  
boy that | hit | girl that | on head go | time | cl. stick | one
‘That boy hit that girl on the head once with a stick.’

(C166) A P T2 I  
Câu | tʊ̝́ŋ⁴ | slɔŋ⁴ bạ⁵ | lehp mut⁴  
1 | also stab | two time | nail hand
‘I will stab you twice with my fingernail.’
7.8 Manner

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

(C167) P L M
non | du tinh thang may te | danh
sleep | at above tail tree that | deep
‘He was sound asleep in the top of that tree.’

(C168) A P M
tu be | pay | nhenh
cl. goat | go | fast
‘The goat went fast.’

(C169) A P M
tu ma | pay | chahn lai
cl. horse | go | slow very
‘The horse goes very slowly.’

(C170) A P O L T2 M
muhn | cong | co | du chang hon | ca vahn | heng lai
he | speak | story | at inside house | all day | strong very
‘He was speaking very loudly in the house all day.’

(C171) A P M O
muhn | cong | heng lai | kl vam te
he | speak | strong very | few word that
‘He spoke those few words very loudly.’

(C172) A P O M T2
muhn | cong | co | heng lai | ca vahn
he | speak | story | strong very | all day
‘He spoke loudly all day.’

(C173) A P M L
muhn | cong | heng lai | du chang hon
he | speak | strong very | at inside house
‘He spoke very loudly in the house.’
(C174) P M
   tèc | pèhn này
leave | like this
   'Leave it like this.'

(C175) A P M
   mûhn | nâng lohng | nàhc lài
he | sit down | heavy very
   'He sat down very heavily.'

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

(C176) A P O T2 M (T2)
   tâ mà | khôhp | dâ té | bát | heng | nîhng
cl. dog | bite | woman that | time | strong | one
   'The dog bit that woman once hard.'

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

(C177) A PreVb M
   mûhn | sahn | dâhc
he | not-yet | deep
   'He was not yet sound asleep.'

7.9 Order
The Order tagmeme always comes at the end of the clause. It is manifested by adverbs such as coî ‘first’, côn ‘before’, dà ‘already’, say ‘only’, and thòi ‘only’.

(C178) A P O OR
   mè | chût | pau | coî
mother | cook | supper | first
   'Mother will cook supper first.'

(C179) A P B OR
   cãu | têm | hû mûhng | cói
I | paint | for you | before
   'I’ll paint for you first (before you paint for me).'

(C180) A P O OR
   mûhng | kîhn | høy | dà
you | eat | egg | already
   'You ate the egg already.'
(C181) A P O OR
câu | hởhn | muthn | say
I | hit | him | only
‘I only hit him.’

(C182) P D OR
thắm pay | hổng quhn | thòi
carry go | well silver | only
‘Only carry him to the silver mine.’

(C183) A P M OR
ôhng té | non | đâhc | dà
cl. that | sleep | deep | already
‘That person is sleeping soundly already.’

(C184) A P OR
muthng | nãhng | còn
you | sit | before
‘You sit first.’

(C185) A P OR
muthng | lohng pay | còn
you | descend go | before
‘You descend first.’

In an equative clause (Sect. 5.6) dà ‘already’ may be used only with a played role.

(C186) A P C OR
da nãy | hêht | mê muthn | dà
woman this | do | mother his | already
‘This woman was his foster mother already.’
8 Sentences

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

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

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

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

8.1 Sentence particles and junctures

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

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

Sentence-closing particles (SP) include lô ‘emphatic’, dô ‘emphatic (with
preverbal negative), vi or vọ 'surprise', lộc 'I told you so', dè 'of course', na 'won't you', and nè 'isn't it so'.

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

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

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

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

8.2 Simple sentence

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

(S1) Base:TransCl

hahm nay cau ca heht pau

evening this I about make supper

'This evening I'll make supper.'

(S2) Base:IntransCl

tu sla non thuong sloi

cl. tiger sleep until noon

'The tiger slept until noon.'

(S3) SI Base:MotionCl

leò chieng viu ca ta pay

then then swim across river go

'After that he swam across the river.'

(S4) SI Base:DescCl

leò tu ca dahm dихc

then cl. crow black intensive

'Then the crow was exceedingly black.'
(S5) Base:EqCl
   hông nay hông sû tê mē
cl. this cl. shirt cl. woman
   'This shirt is a woman's shirt.'

(S6) Base:ExistCl.
   lâhc mēf ni mi tū mā cāu thăng
moment once focus be cl. dog nine tail
   'Once there was a nine-tailed dog.'

(S7) SI     Base:ExistCl
   lēo cā māhn nohc ca-lahng tō mi dù té
then all pl. bird what also be at there
   'Then all the birds of whatever kind were there.'

8.3 Multiple-action sentence

In a multiple-action sentence a single Actor is performing more than one action. It has a Base and an Expansion (Exp), joined by a single bar juncture (J); and both clauses usually have a preverb of the tō class:

   Base: tō  Cl, Sent  J: |  Exp: tō  RedCl, Sentª

The Base may be almost any independent clause type, including the transitive (S8, S9, S13), intransitive (S11), and motion (S10) clauses, or occasionally a sentence (S12). The predicate of the Base generally contains the preverbal tō 'also', chīhng 'then', tẹọ 'again', or dị... dị 'both... and'.

(S8) SI     Base     J     Exp
   lēo âhn mût tâ luhc tō cót | tō lót lohnge tōhm pāy
then cl. hand cl. child also sever also fall down dirt go
   'Then the child’s hand was severed and fell down to the ground.'

(S9) Base     J     Exp     J     Exp
   nohc hah nohc tō mî bọc | tō phẹc | tō dāy
     bird which bird also have flower also white also good
   'Every bird has decorations and is white and good to look at.'

A single bar juncture usually separates the Base from the first and succeeding Expansions (S9). With the preverbal dị, however, only plus juncture is used (S11).

(S10) Base     J     Exp
   òhnge cāhn tē chīhng mā hōn | chīhng veo tē slēt pāy
cl. person that then come house then call cl. tiger go
   'That person then came home and then called the tiger to go.'
(S11) Base       J       Exp
  mûhn dû hay + dû hû
  he both cry and laugh
  ‘He both cried and laughed.’

The Expansion is a reduced clause (S8–11) or a sentence, frequently a purpose sentence (S12, S13). There is no Subject or Actor in the Expansion, because these are the same as in the Base. There may be more than one Expansion (S9). Generally the same preverbal as in the Base is repeated in the Expansion: tô and dû must be repeated (S8, S9, S11), chihng and têo occasionally are not repeated (S10, S12).

(S12) Base       J       Exp
  mûhn têo qç chûng thuûn pây vaht áhn màc lohng | têo khàu hûn mà sihng
  he again go-out inside yard go strike cl. fruit down again enter house come search
  ‘He again went out into the yard to strike a fruit down, and again entered the house to search.’

(S13) Base       J       Exp
  tô lûch slao Hông Tay hành | pây côt áû vahng tê ma hûn
  cl. child girl Hông Tay see go grab take boy that come house
  ‘Hông Tay’s daughter saw him and went and grabbed him and brought him home.’

8.4 Alternative sentence

The Alternative (Alt) sentence has two clauses, Alternate1 and Alternate2, and usually a Connector (Con) which may be hay or hay vq ‘or’. Apart from ellipsis, only one item is generally different in the two clauses—the item for which alternatives are being proposed.

  Alt1: SimSen  J: |  Con: hay  Alt2: RedCl

The Alternative1 is usually a simple sentence (S14–17, S19–22), but may be a complex sentence (S18). It always contains a predicate tagmeme.

(S14)  Alt1       J       Con       Alt2
  mûhn ca bênh môt | hay phài-khà môt
  he about fly home or walk-leg home
  ‘Is he about to fly home or walk home?’

(S15)  Alt1       J       Con       Alt2
  mû pû | hay mû phû mû
  have knife or have hammer no
  ‘Do you have either a knife or a hammer?’
(S16) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ \text{Con} \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$mi \ áu \ pá \ | \ hay \ mi \ áu \ phý$

not take knife or not take hammer

‘I won’t take a knife or a hammer.’

A single bar juncture usually occurs before Connector. When Con is omitted, Juncture is usually a plus (S17). In a complex sentence a double plus juncture may be inserted between Connector and the second Alternate (S18).

(S17) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$áu \ pá \ + \ áu \ phý$

take knife take hammer

‘Do you want a knife or a hammer?’

Connector is manifested by $hay$ or $hay \ \text{va} \ ‘or’$. If Object is under alternation, Connector is optional, and both Predicate and Object are obligatory in the second clause (S15–17). Connector is obligatory elsewhere.

(S18) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ J \ \text{Con} \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$mù\text{thng tẹ\text{o} pây hah tài ma pěhn nà\text{y}} | \ hay \ \text{va} \ # \ pây \ něm \ mù\text{thng}$

you again go which lead come like this or go after you

‘Did you go somewhere to lead them back like this, or did they follow you?’

The second Alternate follows the Connector (when present) and may be reduced to one tagmeme if the item under alternation is in the Locative tagmeme (S20). Otherwise Predicate and the tagmeme under alternation are obligatory. The clause tagmemes in $\text{Alt}_2$ need not come in the same order as in $\text{Alt}_1$ (S21, S22).

(S19) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ \text{Con} \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$thám pây bô ngu\text{hn} | \ hay \ thám pây bô kihm$

carry to well silver or carry go well gold

‘Shall we carry him to the silver mine or the gold mine?’

(S20) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ \text{Con} \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$thám pây bô ngu\text{hn} | \ hay \ bô kihm$

carry go well silver or well gold

‘Shall we carry him to the silver mine or the gold mine?’

(S21) $\text{Alt}_1 \ J \ \text{Con} \ J \ \text{Alt}_2$

$mù\text{thng hón hũ\text{hng} chihng ma} | \ hay \ ma \ sāu$

you house bright then come or come early

‘Will you come when it’s light, or earlier?’
(S22) Alt₁ J Con Alt₂
mùnh hồn hefting chính ma | hay sau ma
you house bright then come or early come
‘Will you come when it’s light, or earlier?’

8.5 Cause-result sentence

The Cause-result sentence consists of Connector, Cause, Juncture, and Result, most often in that order. When Connector and Cause are sentence initial, Cause and Result both have the same Actor/Subject (S23, S26). When Result is sentence initial, Cause and Result have different Actors/Subjects (S24, S25).

Con: vi Cause: IndCl,S J: Result: IndCl,S

Connector is always vi ‘because’. Cause may be almost any type of independent clause (S23, S26) or sentence (S24, S25).

(S23) Con Cause J Result
vi muthn khà pí bao sau da thàu lánh muthn té pehn tôi # mi dạy hieńg
because he kill older brother and cl. mother back his that like sin not able long
‘Because killing his older brother and foster mother was sin, he was not able (to reign) long.’

(S24) Result J Con Cause
tú hón vai lèo # vi vahng pang-dàu ma hệt hai vahng té
doors house destroy complete because boy friend come do harm boy that
‘The whole house was destroyed because his friend came to harm that boy.’

Juncture follows the first clause, whether Cause or Result. It may be either a double plus juncture or a single bar juncture, though the single bar is probably more frequent. The double plus J is considered more basic here, since junctures tend to shorten but not to lengthen.

Result may be almost any type of independent clause, but is frequently a descriptive one when sentence initial (S24, S25).

(S25) Result J Con
vahng pí bao khong hón vahng nong qo # vi
boy older brother poor more boy younger brother because

Cause
khà-cón pò-mè-thàu thài lèo | mi páhn na hay höi muthn khong
before parents die all not divide ricefield cornfield for him poor
‘The older brother is poorer than the younger brother because before the parents were both dead they didn’t divide the fields for the poor one.’
(S26) Con Cause J Result
   vi muthn kihn lâi # muthn bö mi sen kihn
because he eat much he not have money eat
   'Because he ate so much, he didn't have money to eat.'

8.6 Conditional sentence

The Conditional sentence consists of Connector, Condition, Juncture, and Result, most often in that order:

   Con: Sâhn  Condition: Cl,S  J: |  Result: Cl,S

Connector sâhn, sâhn nà, or ciê sâhn 'if' usually introduces Condition (S27, S31, S32). It may be omitted if Condition precedes Result (S28–30), but otherwise not (S32).

(S27) Con Condition J Result SP
   sâhn va# thài lêo ni | nguthn hah | muthng tôhc kihn lô
if say die complete focus silver where you lose eat emphatic
   'If it's said "They're all dead", wherever the silver was put you'll lose it!'

(S28) Condition J Result
   nhâhng lô | tà côi kihn
still remain grandfather shall eat
   'If there is anything left, then grandfather will eat.'

Condition may be either a clause or a simple or complex (S29, S30) sentence.

(S29) Condition J Result
   âu kihn ma | nêm pác tû | câu chihng páy kihn
take gold come stick mouth door I then go eat
   'If you take gold and put it at the threshold of the door, then I'll go and eat.'

(S30) Condition J Result SP
   âu ma | kihn lohng pay | dû màt lýhç pehn nây lô
take come eat down go then conceive child like this emphatic
   'I took it and ate it and then conceived a child like this!'

A single bar juncture normally separates Condition and Result in simple conditional sentences (S28), or separates embedded clauses (S27, S29, S30, S32). A double plus juncture separates embedded sentences (S32) or precedes an embedded quotation (S27, S31). A double bar juncture separates Condition and Result when there is a complex Condition (S29, S30).

Result may be a clause (S28), a simple, or a complex sentence. S32 embeds two parallel conditional sentences within the Condition of a matrix sentence.
(S31) Con  Condition  J  Result  SP
sāhn mēhn qa # cāu cāi ni | mēhn viht pāy dū vāi lō
if he say nine unlucky focus he throw go then spoil emphatic
‘If he says “Nine is unlucky”, he’ll throw it away and all his house will die!’

(S32)  Result  J  Con
lōhm fahm-khāhm | dū dāi # lōhm tāng-māi | dū dāy # sāhn nā
fall on-face then nothing fall backward then good if
Condition
mēhn cā tō lohm pehn tē
she continue whistle wind te
‘Falling on her face she’ll be childless, but if she falls backward she’ll have a child
if she continues to whistle like that.’

8.7 Relative-referent sentence
The Relative-referent sentence embodies a universal condition and its result. It consists of Base, Juncture, Connector, and Sequel, always in that order:

Base: RelCl, Ph  J: #,|  Con: dū, PreVb  Sequel: RedCl

The Base is a relative clause or phrase marked by hah ‘which, where’ (S33–36), pehn hūt ‘like what’ (S37, S38), or ca-lahng ‘what’ (S39, S40).

Double plus juncture usually alternates freely with connector dū (S35, S36). When dū is present it is usually preceded by single bar juncture (S33–35). The preverbals sāhm and tō are usually preceded by single bar or plus juncture (S37–40).

The Connector tagmeme is most frequently dū ‘then’ when the relative clause contains hah (S33–35). It is usually a preverbal sāhm ‘also’ or tō ‘also’ when the relative clause contains pehn hūt or ca-lahng. Sāhm frequently precedes a negative (S37, S38).

Sequel is a reduced clause. When pehn hūt occurs in the relative clause, there is frequently a negative in Sequel, since pehn hūt signals a contraexpectancy (S37, S38).

(S33)  Relative  J Con Sequel SP
ngō veo dū hah | dū āhn tē lō
I call at where then cl. that emphatic
‘Wherever I call from, then that’s the one!’

(S34)  Relative  J Con Sequel SP
tū hah veo còn | dū tū tē lō
cl. which call before then cl. that emphatic
‘Whichever one calls first, then that’s the one.’
(S35) Relative J Con Sequel SP  
\textit{màhng pày hah | dù pày lò} 
you go where then go emphatic  
‘Wherever you are going, then go!’

(S36) Relative J Sequel SP  
\textit{màhng pày hah | dù lò}  
you go where go emphatic  
‘Wherever you are going, go!’

(S37) Relative J Con Sequel  
\textit{tù mè màhng və̂ phn hût | sàhm mì tìhng}  
cl. wife his say like what also not listen  
‘Whatever his wife says, he still doesn’t listen.’

(S38) Relative J Con Sequel  
\textit{vàhng tê că̂ ngà̂ phn hût | sàhm mì qè}  
boy that continue pry like that also not go-out  
‘However that boy pried, it wouldn’t come out.’

(S39) Relative J Con Sequel  
\textit{lò că̂hng | tò mì}  
thing what also have  
‘Whatever the thing, they also had it’ (i.e., they had everything).

(S40) Relative J Con Sequel  
\textit{và̂ că̂hng | dù mì}  
say what then have  
‘Whatever you say, then you’ll have (it).’

8.8 Antithetical sentences
The Antithetical (Anti) sentence consists of Thesis, optional Connector \textit{tə̂o}, Juncture before and after Connector, and Antithesis, always in this order:

\text{Thesis: IndCl,S J: | Con: tə̂o J: | Anti: IndCl,S}

Thesis may be an independent clause or dependent sentence.

(S41) Thesis J Con J Anti  
\textit{kìhnh hày dà | tə̂o və̂ | và̂nh nhàhng mì lýhc}  
eat egg already again say still remain have child  
‘The eggs were eaten, but she still had offspring.’
(S42) Thesis J Con J Anti
pò pò tò hânh qhn | têo vã | bò mi fay
mountain mountain also see smoke again say not have fire
'Mountain after mountain he saw smoke, but no fire.'

A single bar juncture usually precedes Connector and may also follow it. After têo juncture is usually plus (S44, S45).
Connector is têo or têo vã 'again, but'. Antithetical relationship may also be expressed without Connector (S46).

(S43) Thesis J Con J Anti
ônhng cîthn mûhn slây | têo vã | mûhn câi lâî
cl. person he small again say he smart very
'He’s small, but very smart.'

(S44) Thesis J Con J Anti
mi dây têc slât | têo + mûhn châhâc lâî dâ
not able study word again he know much already
'He wasn’t able to study, but he knows a lot already.'

The Antithesis tagmeme may be manifested by a reduced clause, an independent clause, or a dependent sentence.

(S45) Q Thesis J Con J Anti
hêht lahng nâm vân | têo + nû mi vân
do what water sweet again meat not sweet
'Why does the water taste good, but not the meat?'

(S46) Thesis J Anti
mûhn chân kîhn thòi | sahng thài
he swallow eat only not-yet die
'He only swallowed them whole; they weren’t dead yet.'

8.9 Reluctant Permission sentence
The Reluctant Permission sentence is a dependent sentence in which the first clause repeats a proposal which had been offered by someone other than the speaker, and the second clause is a command granting permission reluctantly. It consists of Proposal (Pro), Connector dû, Juncture before and after Connector, and Command (Comm), always in this order:

Pro: RedCl J: + Con: dû J: + Comm: RedCl

Proposal is generally a reduced clause. The reduced clause most often consists of just the main verb of the preceding sentence (S47, S49), but may also
have the Subject/Actor (S48). The Connector du 'then' is obligatory. Junctures before and after the Connector are always plus. Command is generally just the verb of Proposal.

(S47) Pro J Con J Comm
tóc + du + tôc
hammer then hammer
'If you want to hammer, then hammer!'  

(S48) Pro J Con J Comm
muông áu + du + áu
you take then take
'If you want to take it, then take it!'  

(S49) Pro J Con J Comm
mọ + du + mọ
go-home then go-home
'If you want to go home, then go home!'  

8.10 Completive–Subsequent Action sentence

The Completive–Subsequent Action sentence emphasizes the sequential nature of the actions. It consists of Completed Action (ComplAct), Sentence Functor lẹo, Juncture, and Subsequent Action (SubsAct), always in that order:

ComplAct: RedCl SF: lẹo J: | SubsAct: IndCl,S

Completed Action is a reduced clause which repeats part or all of the preceding sentence. This introductory clause or sentence is not considered to be a filler of the Ti position of a clause because it does not seem to fulfill the requirement of being a point-of-time reference. Example S50 shows the preceding Sentence to illustrate how its verb is repeated in the following Completed Action tagmeme.

(S50) Sentence: ComplAct SF J
vahng té chihn khịhn pay kihn. # kihn mạc lẹo |
boy that then ascend go eat. eat fruit complete
SubseqAct
chihn non du tihn cóhc mạy té
then sleep in above cl. tree that
'The boy then went up (the tree) to eat. After he had eaten the fruit, he then fell asleep in the top of that tree.'

Sentence Functor, which is common though not obligatory, is lẹo 'complete' (see also Sect. 8.1). In narrative discourse, it marks the end of one action
and the beginning of the next; in hortatory or explanatory discourse it marks the end of one point and the beginning of the next.

(S51) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
  ma chèu lèo | chiăng hânh
  come look complete then see
  ‘After he came and looked, he saw it.’

  Juncture is usually single bar, sometimes varying to plus.
  Subsequent Action is a clause or an embedded sentence. It indicates a subsequent action which may start at that point or may have started earlier but with continuing or later results.

(S52) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
  ma hâm lèo | thîlhng vahn dô kê-thâu vahn nông qo
  come house complete arrive day death father boy younger brother
  chiăng hêht dô
  then make death-ceremony
  ‘After he came home, on the day of the anniversary of his father's death, the younger brother prepared the ceremony.’

(S53) ComplAct SF J SubsAct
  khih sông lèo | nahng là
  eat finish complete remain leftovers
  ‘After they had eaten, there were still leftovers.’

8.11 Simultaneous Action sentence

  The Simultaneous Action sentence expresses two or more actions happening at the same time. It consists of Current Action, Juncture, and Simultaneous Action, always in that order:

  \[ \text{CurrAct: TemCl J: | SimultAct: IndCl} \]

  Current Action (CurrAct) is usually a temporal clause (Sect. 6.6). The most common temporal markers found before the main verb of the clause are \( \text{bát} \) ‘time, when’ (S56) and \( \text{thîlhng lûhc} \) ‘arrive moment’ (S54). This preverbal temporal indicates point of time. \( \text{Bát} \) ‘time’ may also occur postverbally, indicating the number of occurrences (S55). Juncture is single bar.

(S54) SI CurrAct J SimultAct
  lèo thîlhng lûhc tû tê mi lûhc qc ma | pehn tû bè
  then arrive moment cl. that have child out come like cl. goat
  ‘Then when the time came for that one to have a child, it was like a goat.’
(S55) SI CurrAct J SimAct
lèo tů cá hánh tů nohc tang-na bát mủhng | lão lǎi
then cl. crow see cl. bird moorhen time one fear much
‘Then the crow saw the moorhen once and was very afraid.’

Simultaneous Action is usually an independent clause. Although a series of clauses may presumably occur in this position, it is usually a single clause describing a single action which is performed either simultaneously or almost simultaneously with the action of the Current Action clause.

(S56) SI CurrAct J SimultAct
lèo mủhng bát hánh cáh sīl | mủhng lǎo lǎi
then he when see cl. tiger he fear much
‘Then when he saw the tiger he was very afraid.’

8.12 Container sentence

A Container sentence is a semiclausal sentence. It is clauselike in that its nucleus is a particular class of verbs; it is sentencelike in that it requires two clauses. Like quotatives, it could be considered either a fused-clause sentence or an obligatorily complex clause. It consists of Container (Contr) and Contained (Contd):

Contr: RedCl J: + Contd: RedCl

Container is a transitive clause with a main verb such as hânh ‘see’, hít ‘allow’, mi ‘have’, pāht ‘force’, or pi ‘compare’. The Object of the Container clause is usually a shared component (SC) with the Subject/Actor of the Contained clause (S57, S58, S60–62).

(S57) SI Contr (SC) Contd
lèo mě fà chính pāht ôhng cühn tē lōhng mă
then cl. sky then force cl. person that down come
‘Then the sky forced him to come down.’

(S58) Contr (SC) Contd
côhng hít lăn hō âhn thēm
grandfather allow grandchild beg cl. more
‘Grandfather, let me beg another one.’

(S59) Contr Contd
kē tē hânh khēu
man that see stink
‘That man saw that it stank.’
There is only a simple plus juncture throughout the sentence, giving the whole sentence the intonation continuity of a simple clause.

The Contained tagmeme may be almost any type of clause or sentence. The Actor/Subject of the Contained clause is usually a shared component with the Object of the Container clause, though sometimes it may be omitted (S59).

(S60) **Conr** (SC) **Contd**
    *hânh cah slur oc ma*
    see cl. tiger out come
    He saw a tiger come out.*

(S61) **SI Conr** (SC) **Contd**
    *lêo hânh mahn kihm mi lái*
    then see pl. gold be much
    ‘Then they saw there was much gold.’

(S62) **Conr** (SC) **Contd**
    *da pi mahn cuhn lühm-vä sýchp-slap*
    don’t compare pl. person like dirty
    ‘Don’t compare people to dirty things.’

(S63) **Conr** **Contd**
    *sông ohng cuhn slû hânh mi tâhc ohng cuhn cà năng pay mi*
    two cl. person you see be any cl. person cross this go no
    ‘Have you two seen if there was anyone who went across here?’

8.13 **Instrument sentence**

An Instrument sentence is the normal means of expressing an instrument, though an instrument clause (Sect. 7.7) is occasionally used. The Instrument sentence (Instr) consists of Instrument, Juncture, and Action, always in that order:

    Instr: áu Cl     J: |     Action: TrCl

Instrument is always a transitive clause with *áu* ‘take’ as its main verb. The Object of the clause is the instrument used to perform the action of the Action clause, and the Actor is the same in both clauses.

Juncture is normally a single bar, though it often is a simple plus.

Action is a reduced transitive clause. Actor or Instrument is never overtly expressed in the Action clause.

(S64) **Instr**    **J**    **Action**
    *áu téu máy ma | hohn muthn khâu thû pay*
    take cl. stick come hit him on head go
    ‘Bring a stick and hit him on the head.’
(S65) SI Instr J Action
lêo kê té āu tên sếc ma | phüßc kháu mgunakan khá nohc pay
then man that take cl. string come tie on pl. leg bird go
‘Then that man tied up the bird’s legs with string.’

(S66) Instr J Action
āu sen ma | slī kihn
take money come buy eat
‘He brought money to buy something to eat.’

8.14 Purpose sentence
The Purpose sentence expresses an action and its purpose. It consists of
Action, Juncture, and Purpose, always in that order:

Action: IndCl J: + Purpose: RedCl

Action is usually a transitive or motion clause. It often contains a directional
verbal.

(S67) SI Action J Purpose
lêo tú má kê nê hën té ma + kihn
then cl. dog man up house that come eat
‘Then the dog of the man up at that house came to eat.’

(S68) Action J Purpose
muihn chihng páy + tèc bèn pà té
he then go put package fish that
‘He then went to leave that fish package.’

(S69) SI Action J Purpose
lêo vahng lýhc báo muihn sói páy + lêu
then boy child male his walk-around go visit
‘Then his son went around to visit.’

Juncture is just a simple plus thereby giving a close unity to the sentence.
Purpose is usually a reduced clause. If the Actor/Subject is the same as in the
Action clause (as is most often the case), it is omitted (S67–70); if different, it is
introduced by hỉi ‘for’ (S71, S72).

(S70) SI Act J Purpose
lêo páy + veo slâm tú lýhc sláo ma	hen go call three cl. child girl come
‘Then he went to call his three daughters here.’
(S71) Action J Purpose
páy slao khá + hỉt cǎu hâhn
 go wash foot for I see
 'Go and wash your foot so I can see it.'

(S72) Action J Purpose
mãnh đâ + hỉt cǎu dây
 he treat for I well
 'He treated me so I would get well.'

8.15 Recapitulation sentence

The Recapitulation (Recap) sentence is used to express a paraphrase or expansion of a thought, giving more detail. It consists of Base, Juncture, and Recapitulation, always in that order:

Base: IndCl,S  J: #  Recap: RecCl,S

Base is an independent clause, usually a transitive or motion clause, or a sentence. Juncture is always double plus.

(S73) Base J Recap
cǎu tăn hâhn hà tǔ pù # hâhn khâu pâc tǔ ma
 I only see five cl. crab see enter mouth door come
 'I only saw five crabs, saw them coming in the door.'

(S74) SI Base J Recap
lèo bât ni kē té chîhng may hỉt mãnh # âu tǔ mà hỉt vâhng khî bê tê
ten time this man that then exchange for him take cl. horse give boy ride goat that
 'Then that time the man traded for him, giving the horse to the boy riding the goat.'

Recapitulation usually repeats the main verb of Base (S73, S75) and adds new information or makes explicit something referred to previously. If Base is a multiclause sentence, the recapitulated verb is usually the last main verb before Juncture. The new information is usually added after the recapitulated verb (S73, S75), but may come before it. Very rarely is the recapitulated verb omitted (S76).

(S75) Base J Recap
váhn hah tò pây 'pây # hoc dây pì nîhng
day which also go go study able year one
 'Every day he went to study, for a year.'
(S76) SI Base J Recap
lèo muhn hohn # ınahn cuhn lông hậu hên vai té
then he hit pl. person big they watch buffalo that
‘Then he hit; he hit those adults who were tending the buffalo.’

8.16 Quotation sentence

Quotation sentences, like container sentences, are semiclausal. Direct quotations (DirQ) consist of Quotation Introducer (QI), və, two Junctures, Direct Address (DAdd), and Quote (Q). Indirect quotations (Indq) lack və and Direct Address (DAdd), and have a single shorter Juncture.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{DirQ} & \quad \text{QI: Cl} & və: və & \quad J: \# & \quad \text{DAdd: NP} & \quad J: \# & \quad \text{Q:S, Par, Disc} \\
\text{IndQ} & \quad \text{QI: Cl} & J: | & \quad Q: S, Par, Disc
\end{align*}
\]

Quotation Introducer is a transitive clause with a main verb such as və ‘say’, khahn ‘ask’, cang ‘speak’, veo ‘call’, đg ‘scold’, hà ‘tell’, or hdo ‘beg’. Actor (speaker) and Indirect Object (addressee) may be present (S77) or omitted (S78, S79).

(S77) QI J Q
muhn hà tū pò muhn # sihn-ki da hà cǎu
you tell cl. man your decide don’t kill me
‘You tell your husband, ‘Surely don’t kill me!’’

(S78) SI QI J Q
lèo və # mi
then say have
‘Then they said, ‘‘Yes’’.’

(S79) QI J Q
və # áhn háy cây
say cl. egg chicken
‘He said, ‘‘A chicken egg’’.’

Absent in indirect quotations (S80), və ‘saying’ is optional in direct quotations (S81).

(S80) QI J Q
muhn veo có muhn | ma kıhn
he call father his come eat
‘He called his father to come and eat.’
(S81) QI və J Q
câu hả vọ # câu côi pry
I tell say I will go
‘I said, ‘I will go.’’

Direct quotations have an obligatory double plus juncture before Direct Address (if any) and before Quote. Indirect quotations have just a single bar or a plus juncture before Quote. This is one of the most significant differences between direct and indirect quotations.

Direct Address is a simple noun phrase, usually containing ơi or à ‘oh’. It is present only in direct quotations (S82), and is optional there. Direct Address usually precedes, but may follow Quote, with a double plus juncture between them. In final position it is frequently derogatory.

(S82) QI J D Add J Q SP
mùnh chihng vẹo # có ơi # ma kihn si lọ
he then call father oh come eat bread emphatic
‘Then he called, ‘Father! Come and eat bread!’’

Quote may be anything from a single word (S78) or phrase (S79) to an entire discourse. In indirect quotations Actor is not repeated in Quote if it is the same person as Subject of the QI clause (S85–86), but in direct quotation it may be repeated (S81).

(S83) QI və J Q
mùhnh hả câu vọ # hếht áhn pọ biẹng té
he tell me say make cl. mountain side that
‘He told me, ‘Make the mountain on that side’.’

(S84) QI J Q
mùhnh vọ | pi bọ mùhnh má
he say older brother his come
‘He said that his older brother came.’

(S85) QI J Q
mùhng vọ | ca má
you say about come
‘You said you would come.’

(S86) QI J Q
câu vọ | côi pry Sàigòn
I say will go Saigon
‘I said that I will go to Saigon.’
8.17 Covariation sentence
The Covariation sentence is used to describe two or more events whose intensities of action vary together. It consists of Variant1, Juncture, and Variant2:

\[\text{Variant1: sêtCl J:} \quad \text{Variant2: sêtCl}\]

Each Variant (Var) contains the preverb sêt ‘the more’, but the rest of the clause structures need not be parallel (S88). If the Actor is the same in both clauses, he is named only in the first clause (S89).

(S87) \[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Var1} & J & \text{Var2} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
\[\text{Phao-lô sêt câng | vahng té sêt lài sli-non}\]
Paul more speak boy that more more sleepy
‘The more Paul spoke, the more the boy got sleepy.’

(S88) \[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Var1} & J & \text{Var2} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
\[\text{Sau-lô sêt slôn | sêt mi lài cühn sľên them}\]
Saul more teach more be much person believe more
‘The more Saul taught, the more people believed.’

(S89) \[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{SI} & \text{Var1} & J & \text{Var2} & \text{Var1} & J & \text{Var2} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]
\[\text{lêo mûnh sêt cühm | sêt néhng # sêt cühm | sêt néhng}\]
then he more step more fast more step more fast
‘Then with each step he went faster.’

8.18 Interrogatives
There are four main types of interrogative sentence: (1) Yes/no questions, (2) Why questions, (3) Relative questions, and (4) Intonational questions. Any type of declarative sentence may be transformed to an interrogative sentence.
In addition to morphemic interrogative markers discussed below, interrogative sentences are also usually marked by double bar juncture, which adds a rising or falling-rising contour to the unmarked and (’) tones; but this juncture is not obligatory. The interrogative formations are illustrated here with simple sentences, but the same transformations may be applied to all sentence types.

8.18.1 Yes/no questions. Interrogatives may be formed by adding mi ‘no’ or sîch mi ‘true no’ to the end of the sentence. Mi is neutral, implying neither a yes nor a no answer, but sîch mi expects a yes answer.

(S90) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{côhng bahng-long mi} \\
\text{grandfather agree no} \\
\text{‘Does grandfather agree?’}
\end{array}\]

(S91) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{pô kê heht áhn hôn mi} \\
\text{man old make cl. house no} \\
\text{‘Is uncle building a house?’}
\end{array}\]
(S92) Phó kẻ heht āhn hōn sūt mi
man old make cl. house true no
‘Uncle is making a house, isn’t that true?’

Sūt may also be placed before the Actor/Subj ect to show that it is the item
under question (S93), or before the Predicate to emphasize the action (S94).
With an equative clause sūt may be sentence initial (S95).

(S93) sūt phó ké heht āhn hōn mi
true man old make cl. house no
‘Is it true that uncle is building a house?’

(S94) phó ké sūt heht āhn hōn mi
man old true make cl. house no
‘Is it true that it’s a house that uncle is building?’ or ‘Is uncle truly building a
house?’

(S95) sūt tāhc ǒhng sūt mē mūhn mi
true any cl. true wife his no
‘Is any one of them truly his wife?’

8.18.2 Why questions. Interrogatives may be formed with heht lahng or heht ca-
lahng ‘do what, why’, in final position or before the main verb. There is a slight
difference of emphasis in each position, though there is an overlap of meaning.
Occasionally it is found in initial position (S45).

(S96) mūhn istringstreamend hōn heht lahng
you cry do what
‘What are you crying for?’

(S97) mūhn tāc āhn hōn cāu heht ca-
lahng
he measure cl. house my do what
‘Why is he measuring my house?’

(S98) mūhn heht lahng istringstreamend
you do what cry
‘What made you cry?’ or ‘Why are you crying?’

(S99) mūhn heht ca-
lahng tāc āhn hōn cāu
he do what measure cl. house my
‘Why is he measuring my house?’
8.18.3 Relative questions. Interrogatives may be formed with *pehn hut* ‘like what, how’ in the Man position, especially when *hèht* is the main verb in the clause. They may occasionally precede the main verb (S103).

(S100) *sihn-này cōhng hèht pehn hut*
now grandfather do like what
‘Now what will you do, Grandfather?’

(S101) *tù mà cōhng kihn hèht pehn hut*
cl. dog grandfather eat do like what
‘Grandfather, if your dog eats it, what will you do?’

(S102) *tù hèt ma ău lyhc slāo cǎu ăay pehn hut*
cl. toad come take child girl my able like what
‘How can a toad come and marry my daughter?’

(S103) *mūhng du hɔn mūhng tœo pehn hut lam-dâng*
you at house you again like what pregnant
‘If you were at home, how could you become pregnant?’

(S104) *cǎu hèht pehn hut*
do like what
‘How shall I do it?’

*Hah* ‘which’ is used with classifiers or nouns (S105, S106, S108) to ask who or what; with *lūhc* to ask when (S109); and with or without *tį* (S107, S110–111) to ask where.

(S105) *cūhn hah ău măc kêo pày*
person which take cl. scissors go
‘Who took the scissors?’

(S106) *vahn hah pày*
day which go
‘When are you going?’

(S107) *nguñh phyç tèc hah*
silver white put where
‘Where was the silver put?’

(S108) *ōhng cūhn hah ăay slāo pehn té*
cl. person which good girl like that
‘Who is pretty like that?’
(S109) lát hah pây hàng
   time which go market
   'When are you going to market?'

(S110) tį hah khái kháu
   place which sell rice
   'Which place sells rice?'

(S111) pây hah
   go which
   'Where are you going?'

Relative questions and indefinite relative clauses (Sect. 6.2) have the same form. Sarcasm implying a negative answer to the question is connoted by the preverbal particle si as seen in Chapter 4 (V71-73).

8.18.4 Intonational questions. Interrogatives may also be formed simply by adding double bar juncture to the last word of the sentence.

(S112) khěu ĕj dynasty-căn lái pehn này ||
   stink odor human very like this
   (Tiger says) 'What smells of humans like this?'

(S113) āhn nåy nè ||
   cl. this enumerator
   'What about this one?'

8.19 Imperatives

Declarative sentences may be transformed to imperatives by the use of final functors pay or á, medial prohibitive da, or simply by intonation. Imperative sentences tend to be short, commonly being one-clause sentences without an Actor (but see S120).

Pay and á are sentence functors (Sect. 8.1) which occur sentence final. Both indicate a command.

(S114) cĩ dép pay
   keep push imperative
   'Keep pushing!'

(S115) hũ hau_dependency pác pay
   give us enough hundred imperative
   'Give us a full hundred!'

(S116) pây pay
   go imperative
   'Go away!'
(S117) kihn à
eat imperative
‘Eat!’

(S118)/pay hēht à
go work imperative
‘Go and work!’

Preverbal da ‘don’t’ may occur with emphatic sentence-closing particles vô or lô (but not with final imperatives pay or â;)

(S119) da və səu vô
don’t say bad emphatic
‘Don’t talk bad!’

(S120) da âu lô
don’t take emphatic
‘Don’t take it!’

A sentence may also be marked as imperative simply by the use of a short sharp intonation.

(S121) ma nay!
come here
‘Come here!’

(S122) du êm!
stay quiet
‘Stay still!’
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