



1976

## An overview of Stiêng grammar

Vera Grace Miller  
SIL-UND

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers>



Part of the [Linguistics Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Miller, Vera Grace (1976) "An overview of Stiêng grammar," *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*: Vol. 20, Article 7.

DOI: 10.31356/silwp.vol20.07

Available at: <https://commons.und.edu/sil-work-papers/vol20/iss1/7>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session by an authorized editor of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact [und.common@library.und.edu](mailto:und.common@library.und.edu).



# AN OVERVIEW OF STIÊNG GRAMMAR

by

Vera Grace Miller

## WORK PAPERS

VOLUME XX

1976

SUPPLEMENT 3

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA SESSION

AN OVERVIEW OF STIÊNG GRAMMAR

by  
Vera Grace Miller

Bachelor of Science, Oregon State University, 1968

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August  
1976

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many for their patient help and advice while I worked on this study. Especially, I want to express my gratitude to Ralph and Lorraine Haupers for without their insight and understanding of Stiêng and their encouragement, I could not have accomplished this analysis. I also want to thank their family for their patience while I worked in their home.

I further wish to express my gratitude for all the comments and encouragement given by Dr. John Crawford throughout the numerous drafts of this thesis.

Above all, I want to thank God in whom is all wisdom, knowledge and strength, and without whom life is meaningless, for His enabling to accomplish this task.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	iv
Abstract .....	vi
Chapter I. Introduction .....	1
Chapter II. The Clause .....	9
Chapter III. The Sentence .....	16
Chapter IV. The Noun Phrase .....	21
Chapter V. The Verb Phrase .....	36
Chapter VI. 'Case' as Applied to Stiêng .....	46
Bibliography .....	62

## ABSTRACT

This overview of Stiêng, a Mon-Khmer language of Vietnam, was prepared from analysis of narrative text material and without the aid of a native speaker of Stiêng. It is, therefore, limited in depth as far as the semantic properties of Stiêng are concerned.

The overview is presented in a restricted tagmemic model, describing mostly the occurrence and co-occurrence of various tagmemes. Clause and sentence structure are briefly described, but major emphasis is on verb and noun phrases.

A section applying 'Case Grammar' as interpreted by Longacre and restricted to the Instrumental case gives some indication as to other features of Stiêng not seen in the restricted tagmemic description.

Throughout the overview reference is made to the similarities of Stiêng to related languages such as Chrau and Sedang.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The linguistic description of languages is often undertaken with no practical goal in mind . . . . [A linguist investigates language] because he wishes to contribute to human knowledge . . . . The desire to know more about this phenomenon is ample justification for investigating it. (Langacker 1968)

Among the grammatical descriptions completed for the world's languages are ones of languages of Vietnam such as those by Thomas, Manley, and Smith. In addition to these, many articles describe various aspects of other languages of Vietnam. However, there are still many languages that have yet to be described. One of these is the Stiêng language. If for no other reason than the desire to know more about Stiêng and to make this knowledge available to others interested in related languages, I have undertaken to investigate Stiêng and write this overview of Stiêng grammar.

Beginning in 1960, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Haupers worked with the Stiêng under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I joined the Haupers in 1972. In 1975 it became necessary to leave Vietnam and to discontinue direct work amongst the Stiêng people. Considerable work in the areas of literacy materials and translated scriptures has been completed and printed. Little, however, has been done in the way of linguistic description.

In undertaking this project several limitations which restrict the depth of analysis possible and which determine which linguistic model is used for the presentation must be recognized. Most critical of these limitations is the unavailability of native speakers of Stiêng. As far as we have been able to discover none of the Stiêng people came to the United States. Another limitation has been my own limited facility in Stiêng.

Despite the above limitations there are several factors which make the study feasible:

- A. The availability of text materials collected by Mr. and Mrs. Haupers. The main text used for study was a narrative of about 700 clauses.
- B. The availability of a Stiêng text concordance of 45,000 words prepared from folktales, dialogues and narratives collected by Haupers and prepared under NSF Grant GS-270 Linguistic Retrieval Project (University of Oklahoma IBM computer).
- C. The availability of some short narratives which I collected while in Vietnam.
- D. In addition to actual Stiêng data, much is available on the Chrau language (studied by Dr. David Thomas) which is closely related to Stiêng and some information on other Mon-Khmer languages less closely related to Stiêng, such as Sedang.
- E. The insight gained from my own study of the above data, and from supervision by Haupers while preparing this



overview.

The model used for presenting this overview is primarily early tagmemic, following somewhat the work done by Thomas. By preference a different model would have been used which would rely more heavily on Stiêng semantics and would show more clearly the inter-relationships involved. 'Case Grammar', as developed by Fillmore and interpreted by Longacre, combined with a TG model for syntax would be more adequate. However, in light of the fore-mentioned limitations, that is the lack of a native speaker of Stiêng and my own limited understanding of Stiêng culture and language, and with the availability of information on related languages which has been written following the tagmemic model, it was decided to follow a model similar to that used by Thomas in Chrau Grammar, although not as complete as Thomas'. Use of Thomas et al. allows the writer and the reader to support the analysis of Stiêng by similar analysis of related languages. A chapter describing Instrumental using Longacre's 'Case' model and insights from Fillmore, Nilsen and others will give some indication of what additional depth could be reached if using such a model were feasible.

### 1.1 General Background

The Stiêng are located along the Vietnam-Cambodia border north and west of Saigon in the provinces of Phuoc Long and Binh Long, Vietnam. They subdivide themselves into two major groups, the Bu-Lơ 'the people above', those residing in Phuoc Long province, and the Bu-Dêh 'the people

below', those residing in Binh Long province. (The major portion of texts used for this study were by Bu-Lơ Stiêng.) According to 1972 records there are about 36,000 Stiêng in Vietnam. (There are also Stiêng in Cambodia.) War disruptions, however make accurate census impossible.

The Stiêng language is a member of the Mon-Khmer language family of the sub-group 'South Bahnaric' (Thomas and Headley). Other South Bahnaric languages include Chrau, Koho, and Mnong which are also in Vietnam. Stiêng does not exhibit tonal qualities found in some Southeast Asian languages or register qualities common to many Mon-Khmer languages. However, it does show a trend to monosyllabics which is found in Southeast Asian languages. Stiêng has other characteristics common to Mon-Khmer languages, although not restricted to Mon-Khmer. The following are frequently used:

A. semantic pairing

1. teh . . . bri 'world'  
earth. . . jungle
2. sur . . . sôw 'domestic animals'  
pig . . . dog

B. expressive forms

3. han craac 'go expressive-of-traveling-briskly-for-a-long-distance-on-foot'

C. onomatopoetic forms

4. clôc clôc 'sound-of-artillery-shell-being-fired-off-at-a-distance'

D. internal rhyming

5. Sai toom cloom corpú 'Your first wife is the  
wife first liver carabao greatest'

## 1.2 Phonology Summary

### 1.2.1 Word Pattern

Stiêng words may be either monosyllabic (eg. poh 'village') or disyllabic (eg. porhêy 'red'). Disyllabic words are stressed on the final (main) syllable. The initial (pre-syllable) is never stressed.

The maximum presyllable may be symbolized POS where P may be any stop or /s/, O is a neutral vowel, and S is a syllabic consonant.<sup>1</sup> Disyllabic words include: mlo<sup>m</sup>m<sup>l</sup>molom 'thing', ndah 'not-yet', comôôch 'corpse', som-ut 'book', chowlay 'about'.

Main syllables can be symbolized CHWVF where C is any consonant. When there is no presyllable, C may be lengthened (eg. ttoop 'dove', cclêêt 'crush rock', ccôw 'neck'). H is /h,w,l,r/. W is /w,l/. V is any vowel. F is any consonant except voiced stops or glottalized consonants. Monosyllabic words include: maang 'night', ploq 'return', khay 'moon', oon 'what', bu 'he'. Clusters of up to three consonants may occur in the main syllable (eg. khwan 'dare', ggwaal 'herd', plooc 'open').

### 1.2.2 Vowels

Stiêng has both long and short vowels (cf. vowel chart below). Although there are articulatory differences between the two sets of vowels they are not considered

---

<sup>1</sup>Syllabic consonants are the nasal phonemes and /l/ and /r/, which, when in word-final position, are syllabic. (See Haupers (1962) for a complete discussion.)

significant. The phonemes /i/ and /u/ are phonetically long, but function phonemically as short vowels, whereas the glides [iə] and [uə] function phonemically as long /i/ and /u/ respectively. In open syllables vowels have non-contrastive length, and are written as short (eg. tti 'teach', bɔ 'build').

Stiêng vowels do not display register distinction common in many Mon-Khmer languages nor do they have distinctions of tonal qualities. (See Gregerson (1973) for more on register qualities.)

#### Short Vowels

Front		Central		Back	
		[ɨ]	/ú/ corpú 'carabao'		
[i·]	/i/ tih 'wrong'	[ɨ]	/u/ cut 'frog'	[u·]	/u/ ut 'hug'
[ʌ]	/ê/ chhêt 'dead'	[ʌ]	/ɔ/ cɔt 'to tie'	[o]	/ô/ ôm 'bathe'
[ɛ]	/e/ teq 'to place'	[a]	/a/ cat 'cut'	[ɔ]	/o/ boc 'mud'

## Long Vowels

Front		Central	Back	
		[ɨ̄·] /uú/ ?		
[īə] /iê/ ttiêh 'blind'		[ɨ̄·] /uo/ cuot 'able'	[ūə] /uô/ uôt 'sleep uncovered'	
[ɨ̄·] /êê/ chhêêt [ē·] 'mushroom'		[ʌ̄·] /oo/ coot 'sunrise'	[ō·] /ôô/ ôôm 'rotten'	
[ɛ̄·] /ee/ teet 'parakeet'		[ā·] /aa/ caat 'roughen'	[ɔ̄·] /oo/ coong 'bracelet'	

## 1.2.3 Consonants

Stiêng has twenty-five consonant phonemes. Lengthened consonants occur only in the C position. There are indications that many of these result from reduced presyllables in the shift to monosyllabism noted in Southeast Asian languages. The Bu-Dêh Stiêng does not have this feature. (eg. PSB\* koting 'bone' (Blood), Stiêng tting 'bone')

## Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	ch	k	
	b	d	j	g	
Nasals	m	n	nh	ng	
Glottalized	'b	ḏ	'j		
	m-	n-			
		l-			
Other	w	y			ʔ
		s			h
		r			
		l			

1.3 Emphasis

The main focus of this overview is on the syntactic units which fill Clause level slots. Noun and Verb Phrases will be discussed in considerable detail. A sketch of basic clause types and of peripheral clause level tagmemes will be presented first, followed by a brief description of how clauses change and combine to form Sentences. The final chapter will explore the application of 'Case Grammar' to Stiêng Instrumentals.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CLAUSE

Clause are those syntactic units which fill sentence level slots and consist of nuclear and optionally of peripheral elements. Nuclear elements are: Subject, Predicate, Direct Object, and Indirect Object. Peripheral elements include: Temporal, Manner, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument, and Final Particles. Whereas the nuclear elements define the clause type, the peripheral elements may occur with various clause nuclei regardless of the clause type. The normal order of clause tagmemes is:

Temp - SPO-IO - Manner - Accomp/Instru - Loc - Temp - FP

#### 2.1 The Clause Nucleus

The Stiêng clause nucleus has normally: Subject, Predicate, Object, Indirect Object order. When the Indirect Object is not marked it occurs before the Direct Object. Of these only the Predicate is obligatory.

#### 2.2 Basic Clause Types

##### 2.2.1 Verbal Clauses

Stative clauses. The formula for Stative Clauses is:  
‡S+P:VP<sub>S</sub>.

1. Hêy cormi. 'I am sick.'  
I sick

Intransitive clauses. Intransitive clauses have the

formula:  $\pm S + P : VP_i$ .

2. Bu han. 'He is going.'  
He go

Transitive clauses. Transitive clauses have the formula:  $\pm S + P : VP_t \pm O : NP/Cl/S$ .

3. Pang loh som-ut. 'He wrote the papers.'  
He do writing
4. Pang nhôp hêy loh caar. 'He captured me to work.'  
He capture I do work
5. Bu ôôp hêy: "Ay gôq a êch hôôm?"  
He ask I You stay at where already
- 'He asked me: "Where are you staying?'

Bitransitive clauses. The formula for Bitransitive clauses is:  $\pm S + P : VP_{bt} \pm O \pm IO$ .

6. Bu aan corya dah Yuôn.  
He give medicine to Vietnamese
- 'He gave the medicine to the Vietnamese.'
7. Bu aan Yuôn corya.  
He gave Vietnamese medicine
- 'He gave the Vietnamese the medicine.'
- (When dah is deleted IO precedes the O.)

### 2.2.2 Non-verbal Clauses

Below are two examples of non-verbal clauses.

8. Hêy a coi nêy. 'I stayed back there.' (Locative)  
I at back there
9. Brah Jê-su Crit (lah) coon Brah Un  
Spirit Jesus Christ (is) son Spirit Un
- 'Jesus Christ is the Son of God.'

### 2.3 Peripheral Clause Tagmemes

The peripheral tagmemes are: Temporal, Manner, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument, and Final Particles. They



can occur with most of the basic clause types. The maximum number of peripheral slots found filled in any one clause of the text material was three, most often Temporal, Location, and Final Particle. It is not uncommon to have Location filled by a series of location phrases or for Temporal to be filled by more than one temporal phrase.

10. A mbut toom n-au, a snam 1960, nêy geh bu.  
In begin trunk before, in year 1960, then have him  
'In the beginning, in 1960, he was here.'

### 2.3.1 Temporals

Temporals can occur either clause initially or before the Final Particle. They are used to indicate the time setting for the action and the duration of the action. Initially a temporal element sets the time of the action. The slot may be filled by a phrase, or a time word (elliptical phrase).

11. Cnông snam nêy, hêy gôq a poh.  
In year that, I stayat village  
'That year I stayed at the village.'
12. Ôi au, hêy sôông piêng. 'This morning I ate rice.'  
Morning this, I eat rice
13. Mbut nêy cơ-laang leq.  
Beginning then white all  
'In the beginning (I) was completely white.'

A series of temporal phrases may be juxtaposed pinpointing the time from more general to more specific (10).

Temporal may be filled by a clause, usually having the Predicate filled by tot 'reach'.

14. tot maang khwa 'when class was finished'  
reach end class

15. tot ôi 'when it was morning'  
reach morning

When the Temporal follows the Predicate, the preposition is often deleted. Location and Manner come before the Temporal, and after the Predicate.

After Location

16. Nêy gôq tu nêy pêy mang pêy nar.  
Then stay bunker there three night three day

'Then I stayed in the bunker three nights and days.'

Post Predicate Temporals usually specify the duration of the action.

The Temporal slot may be filled by a question which implies a negative answer.

17. ng-gut lah pal nar a cnông tu nêy  
not-know say how-many day in in bunker there

'who can say how many days (I) was in the bunker'

(implied answer: no one)

### 2.3.2 Location

Location normally occurs following the clause nucleus. It can identify the source, the goal, or the point setting of the action. Manner occurs before Location.

A. Location may be a phrase.

18. a nggoor pang su 'at his country down-there'  
at country he down-there

B. Location may be a locative or a demonstrative.

19. a ti 'above'  
at above

20. a nêy 'there'  
at there

C. Location may be a noun.

21. a Pleiku 'at Pleiku (city)'  
at Pleiku

### 2.3.3 Manner

Manner is filled by adverbs and expressives. Expressives are words which convey the Stiêng's perception of an event. Some of these are onomatopoeic such as: *phông phôw* 'expressive of the sound of rifle bullets being fired and hitting nearby'. Others convey the feeling of a situation such as: *druôch* 'expressive of the moon setting', or *kah* 'expressive of emptiness'. Still others include: *clooc* 'the expressive of being snug', *pruôt* 'expressive of one suddenly running away', and *croh* 'expressive of standing-up'. These forms are very common in Stiêng narratives. Normally, Manner occurs immediately following the clause nucleus, but frequently occurs in other places also.

22. *lôh dreet dreet*  
come slow slow
23. *dreet dreet lôh*  
slow slow come
24. *doq croh a nêy* 'stand there'  
stand expressive at there

### 2.3.4 Accompaniment

Accompaniment occurs before Location and preceding Manner. Fillers of this slot are obligatorily marked with either *n-hai* 'with', or *n-hai ô* 'with'.

25. *Porgum n-hai bôl oh bi nday.*  
Gather with plural young-brother old-brother other  
'Gather with relatives and others.'

## 2.3.5 Instrument

Instrument occurs in post Predicate position.

26. cot ô chhêy 'tie with the string'  
tie with string

Frequently instrument is described in a separate preceding clause.

27. Poos chhêy jhú, cot a blu nêy.  
Take string wood, tie at thigh there

'Took string of wood and tied it at thigh.'

A careful description of Instrumental appears in chapter six.

## 2.3.6 Final Particles

These close the clause. Their function is not fully understood. Final Particles include: ngan 'really', and nha 'again'.

2.4 Changes in Normal Order

Normal order of clause level tagmemes may be changed to bring either the object, or a peripheral clause element into focus. In this case the focused item is usually moved to pre-subject position and prepositional markers are deleted. Object tagmemes appear to always be moved to pre-subject position, whereas Location may be moved to the position between the Subject and the Predicate. If an ambiguity is possible, a phonological juncture usually follows the focused tagmeme.

## 2.4.1 Object Focus

28. Thiêc tôn, bu plooc. 'They removed the roof.'  
Roof, they remove
29. Comôôch bu đuc. 'They carried the corpse.'  
Corpse they carry

## 2.4.2 Location Focus

The following example shows the focused item occurring between the Subject and the Predicate.

30. Hêy a poh nêy cray nhi.  
I at village then watch house

'I, being at the village, watched the house.'

## 2.4.3 Subject Focus

Pronominal repetition is used to bring the Subject into focus.

31. D-ur Bác-Sĩ pang jhai đat.  
Woman doctor she skilled very

'The lady doctor she is very skilled.'

Addition of 'as-for' pang, is also used to bring the Subject into focus.

32. Pang hêy nêy gôq a nêy.  
As-for I then stay at there

'As for me, I stayed there.'

## CHAPTER III

### THE SENTENCE

A sentence is the syntactic unit made up of at least one clause with optional sentence finals and initial particles. Clauses may be joined by conjunctions or simply by juxtaposition.

1. Nêy grôw yau nêy, pang leet han tênh leq  
bôl co-coon, pang gôq a Mani, hoc a tôw.  
Then group grandfather that, they gone go follow all  
plural children, they stay at Manila, study at there  
  
'Then grandfather's group they're gone, they follow  
the children, they stay at Manila, and study there.'
2. Bu panh grap, ônh nêy geh côm-ja, nêy soor broos.  
He shoot bullet, fire then have peak, then burn  
immediately  
  
'He shot the bullet, the peak of the house caught  
fire, then it burned immediately.'

Not much has been studied on sentence intonation, but definite juncture and intonation patterns have been noted that differ from the patterns of smaller syntactic units.

#### 3.1 Simple Sentences

##### 3.1.1 Statement Sentence

The statement sentence may consist of a single clause, often introduced by the sentence particles, nêy 'then', or ja nêy 'after that', and ending with a final particle such as dêêl 'also'.

3. Nêy bu uon corya. 'Then he gave the medicine.'

### 3.1.2 Exclamatory Sentence

An exclamatory sentence has distinct intonation and may end with the final aq.

4. Hêy panh aq! 'I'll shoot!'  
I shoot
5. Ay sêq hui! 'You returned already!'  
You return already

### 3.1.3 Imperative Sentence

6. Ap a uon corya dêêl!  
Bad to give medicine also  
  
'Don't give the medicine!'

### 3.1.4 Questions

Content questions. These are formed by substituting within the clause the appropriate question word: boon 'who', oon 'what', khal êch 'when', a êch 'where', a hai 'why', lôh 'how is it that'.

7. Boon uon corya? 'Who gave the medicine?'  
Who give medicine
8. Bu uon pi oon? 'What did he give?'  
He give thing what
9. Bu uon corya oon?  
He give medicine what  
  
'What kind of medicine did he give?'
10. Khal êch bu uon? 'When did he give it?'  
When he give
11. Bu uon a êch? 'Where did he give it?'  
He give at where
12. A hai uon corya? 'Why was the medicine given?'  
Why give medicine
13. Uon corya aan boon?  
Give medicine give who  
  
'To whom was the medicine given?'

With the following construction a negative reply is expected:

14. Boon a uon corya?  
Who give medicine

'Who would give the medicine?'

Yes-no questions. The question is formed with the question final, lah 'bun or haanh, and question intonation. The answer to such if no, includes the negative, 'bun, followed optionally by the expanded negative sentence having the negative assertive final, laang. The finals are not obligatory.

15. Bu uon corya lah 'bun?  
He give medicine question

'Did he give the medicine?'

16. 'Bun. Bu 'bun uon corya laang.  
No He not give medicine at-all

'No. He did not give the medicine.'

17. Bu uon corya?  
He give medicine

'Did he give the medicine?'

The affirmative answer includes a reduced clause and optional expanded clause that has the final đêêl 'also'.

18. Uon. Bu uon corya đêêl.  
Give He give medicine also

'Yes. He gave the medicine.'

Perhaps question. This is similar to the yes-no question, except for the final which in this type is puon.

19. Bu uon corya puon?  
He give medicine perhaps

'Maybe he'll give the medicine?'



20. Pwon. Bu pwon uon corya.  
Perhaps He perhaps give medicine

'Perhaps. Perhaps he'll give the medicine.'

### 3.2 Action-Reason Sentences

Two clauses are joined together by duom 'because', or dah/jah 'in order to'. The first clause gives the action. The second introduced by the conjunction gives the reason.

21. Bu loh som-ut snaam, dah a maanh bu aan prac.  
He do papers, in-order-to command they give money

'He did the paperwork to order them to give the money.'

### 3.3 Coordinate Sentences

These often describe a sequence of actions. They may be run together without conjunction.

22. Bu pom tiêu taang leq a poh nêy.  
They strike burn destroy all at village there

'They attacked, burned and destroyed all the village there.'

Sentences involving a sequence of actions are among the most common in narrative text. They may be combinations of simple clauses (22) or several expanded clauses (1 and 2).

### 3.4 If-Then Sentences

The initial clause is introduced by moq 'if', the following clause has no conjunction.

23. Moq 'bun geh prac, 'bun geh pi een a sông.  
If not have money, not have thing what to eat.

'If I didn't have money, I wouldn't have anything to eat.'

### 3.5 Other Sentence Types

It is evident that more than the above sentence types exist in Stiêng. From the evidence in Thomas and in Smith

this is confirmed for Chrau and Sedang, and from the text studied it is evident that other sentence types exist. However for the purpose of this overview only the four already discussed will be covered.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases are those syntactic units which fill nuclear clause level slots of Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, and peripheral clause level slots of Temporal, Location, Instrument, and Accompaniment. They may be discussed in terms of these syntactic relationships and in terms of their internal structure. Stiêng noun phrases are composed of one or more words. The normal formula for Stiêng Noun Phrase is:

$\pm$  Prep + Noun Head  $\pm$  Qual Mod  $\pm$  (+Num +Class)  $\pm$  Dem

Smith (1975) defines Sedang Noun Phrases in five groupings:

- A. Basic Noun Phrase
- B. Preposition Phrase
- C. Pronoun Reference Phrase
- D. Count Noun Phrase
- E. Pluralized Noun Phrase

In Smith's groupings, prepositional phrases are considered as one form of the Noun Phrase rather than as relator-axis phrases. This seems to be an adequate way of looking at non-verb phrases in Stiêng also.

Item-apposition and coordinate phrases need to be

considered separately from the noun phrase, since these are composed of more than one noun phrase. However, these are very hard to understand from narrative text material with my limited experience with the language and without a Stiêng speaker's help. Therefore, I will not attempt to cover them in this overview.

The Basic Noun Phrase in Stiêng has a noun as head and normally has the order: Noun Head, Qualitative Modifier, Numeral, Classifier, Demonstrative. Only the Noun Head is obligatory. The Basic Noun Phrase formula is:

+NH ±Qual Mod ±(+ Num + Class) ± Dem

1. *nhi Yuôn pây oc nêy*  
house Vietnamese three classifier there

'three Vietnamese houses'

#### 4.1 The Noun Phrase Described

##### 4.1.1 The Basic Noun Phrase (modifier-head)

Following Smith, the Basic Noun Phrase may consist of only a Noun Phrase Head filled by a classified noun (one which has a specific classifier) such as:

2. A pronoun, bu 'third person singular'

*Bu han.*        'He went.'  
He go

3. A noun, nhi 'house'

*Bu pocc nhi.*     'He bought a house.'  
He buy house

4. A personal name, 'Bi

'*Bi sa.*        ''Bi ate.'  
Bi eat

The Noun Phrase Head is always in initial position in the Basic Noun Phrase. It may be modified by a second or infrequently by a third noun.

5.   nhi ba        'house for rice'  
     house rice
6.   nhi mir       'house in the field'  
     house field
7.   jhú 'jor     'bamboo'  
     wood bamboo
8.   nar Teet     'New Year's day'  
     day Têt
9.   trôm tu     'a hole which is a bunker'  
     hole bunker
10.  p-nir p-nang   'the wall'  
     wall siding
11.  som-ut snaam   'book, writings'  
     writing paper
12.  bồc trôm tu   'the opening of the bunker'  
     head hole bunker

The question that arises on examining the above examples is whether these are all sub-ordinate relationships to the head or whether some of these are compounds or appositions. Without a Stiêng speaker I am unable to answer that question. Nevertheless sequences of nouns in subordinate relationships do exist even if all of the above do not truly represent such relationships.

Following Smith, these noun noun relationships can be considered under four groups. A fifth group of modifiers is that of verbal description. These five groups of modifiers are Qualitative Modifiers:

- A. A personal name to identify a specific animate being.

13. Yau Hoop 'Grandfather Haupers'

B. A personal name, pronoun or kinterm to indicate a possessive relationship.

14. nhi Yau Luop 'Grandfather Luop's house'  
house Grandfather Luop

15. m̄y h̄y 'my mother'  
mother I

16. nggoor yau 'grandfather's country'  
country grandfather

C. A geographical name to identify a specific geographical feature.

17. poh Dakson 'Dakson Villlage'  
village Dakson

18. ct̄oc Kontum 'Kontum City'  
place Kontum

D. A noun to specify a specific rather than a generic term.

19. jhú Parang 'The French tree'  
tree France

20. toom co-su 'rubber tree'  
trunk rubber

21. chh̄y coltau 'string of vine'  
string vine

22. chh̄y keem 'wire'  
string wire

E. A verbal description being a Main Verb or a verbal adjective.

23. daac ôôn 'drinking water'  
water drink

24. nhi ḡêq 'a small house'  
house small

These modifiers may occur together. When co-occurring the

modifier of possession occurs last.

25. tu ndom bu 'their old bunker'  
bunker old they

The Basic Noun Phrase may optionally include a numeral, a classifier, and a demonstrative. Numerals will be discussed in detail in 4.3 and classifiers in 4.4. The most common demonstrative is, nêy 'that, then, there'. They fill the final phrase slot. The only other demonstrative known to me is, au 'this', which is also very common. Other demonstratives should exist considering the evidence of such in Chrau, Sedang, and other Mon-Khmer languages.

#### 4.1.2 Prepositional Phrase

The Prepositional Phrase is used as a filler of the Location, Temporal, Instrumental, and Accompaniment slots in the clause. Rather than consider these relator-axis phrases, in line with Cook, they are treated as one type of Noun Phrase. This is because the preposition seems to function as a marker of the noun phrase for the slot which the phrase will fill. The preposition occurs before a Basic Noun Phrase or a 'Count' Noun Phrase except in the case of Location fillers when a locative can stand alone for the Noun Phrase.

26. han a nhi tôw  
go to house over-there  
'went to the house over there'

27. han a tôw 'went over there'  
go to over-there

#### Common prepositions.

- A. Temporal: cnông 'in', a 'at/in'

- B. Location: *cnông* 'in', *tu/to* 'at'  
 C. Instrument: *n-hai* 'with', *ô* 'with'  
 D. Accompaniment: *n-hai* 'with', *n-hai ô* 'with'

Location fillers. Fillers may be a complete Noun Phrase marked by an initial preposition, a simple Noun Phrase, or a locative.

28. *a lo* 'above'  
     *at above*
29. *ô gaas* 'outside'  
     *at outside*
30. *cnông chhac hêy* 'in my body'  
     *in body I*
31. *a yau nêy* 'at grandfather's (place)'  
     *at grandfather there*
32. *a nggoor pang su đầu* 'from his country to here'  
     *from country he down-there here*

Locatives only occur in the Location slot. They may take the place of the Noun Phrase (28) or they may follow the Noun Phrase (32). Common Stiêng locatives are: *ti* 'up there', *coi* 'back there', *tôw* 'over there', *su* 'down there, below', *dêh* 'down there', *đau* 'here', *au* 'here', *lo* 'above'.

Temporal fillers. The prepositional marking of Temporal fillers is not obligatory. Most often it is absent when the Temporal tagmeme follows the clause nucleus rather than when it comes clause initially. When the Temporal tagmeme follows the clause nucleus the filler usually indicates the time of duration of the action. When the Temporal tagmeme precedes the clause nucleus it usually indicates the



point in time in which the action takes place.

33. Bu gôq tu nêy pêy mang pêy nar.  
He stay bunker that three night three day  
'He stayed in that bunker three days and nights.'
34. Cnông snam nêy, bu han a Saigon.  
In year that, he go to Saigon  
'That year he went to Saigon.'

Instrument filler. The preposition marking Instrument is not obligatory. In addition the markers are not limited to marking Instrument and therefore, ambiguity occurs. In chapter six of this paper, the Instrument will be discussed in more detail.

35. Bu cat pi ca ô peh.  
He cut thing fish with knife  
'He cut the fish with a knife.'

Accompaniment filler. Fillers of the Accompaniment slot are made up of a Basic Noun Phrase with an obligatory prepositional marker. The markers, however, are not restricted to Accompaniment, thus ambiguous forms like those below are formed.

36. n-hai pang                    or            n-hai pang  
    with he    from he
37. ô coon ô sai                    or            ô coon ô sai  
    with child with wife                    from child from wife

#### 4.2 Nouns

Following Thomas, I consider nouns to be those items which can occur in the Head position of a Noun Phrase.

38. Hêy pôôc pi ca.            'I buy fish.'  
    I buy thing fish

39. Bu han a nhi gêq. 'He went to the small house.'  
He go to house small

As with Chrau, Stiêng nouns may be simple:

40. combluong 'gun'  
41. Luop 'personal name'  
42. ju 'first person plural exclusive'  
43. oh 'younger brother'  
44. Yuôn 'Vietnamese'

Or a noun may be a two word complex which functions as a single unit:

45. mêy buop 'parents'  
mother father  
46. chhac jan 'body' (only chhac can occur alone)  
47. tiêc tôôn 'roof'  
tin metal  
48. troong bri 'path'  
road jungle

Morphologically changed compounds. Some nouns undergo morphophonemic change when they form compounds.

49. coon 'child', sna 'bow': coon na 'arrow'  
50. sai 'spouse', d-ur 'woman': sai ur 'wife'

Taxonomic generics. These are often formed by placing similar nouns together as described by Dorothy Thomas (1966) for Chrau. These did not occur in the main text used, but examples are found in the concordance.

51. teh . . . bri 'world'  
earth . . . jungle  
52. sur . . . sôw 'domestic animals'  
pig . . . dog

53. gôw . . . corpú 'cattle'  
 cow . . . carabao

Nominalization. Two forms of nominalization have been noted in Stiêng.

- A. Use of bol and a repeated verb.

bol jơ jơ Brah 'believers in God'  
 plural believe believe God

- B. Use of infixation.

- a. infix -op-

sa 'eat', sopa 'food'

sôm 'to wrap', sopôm 'package'

sêêt 'to plug', sopêêt 'a plug'

- b. infix -on-

par 'to fly', ponar 'wing'

ar 'to saw', r-nar 'a saw'

- c. infix -orn-

tom 'repay', tornom 'payment'

54. lanh prac tornom nhi nêy  
 receive money payment house then

'receive payment money for the house'

Another way to look at nouns is to discuss them in terms of their possible co-occurrence with specific classifiers. Thomas divides them into two types (1) classifiable, and (2) unclassifiable. Unclassifiable may be better called nouns which do not have specific classifiers. These include such items as units of time (eg. snam 'year').

Nouns which have classifiers require the use of a classifier when they are counted. These include:

personal names

55. 'Bi di mbu  
Bi one person

pronouns

56. ju baar du 'the two of us'  
us two people

Both Thomas, for Chrau, and Haupers (1964), for Stiêng, consider pronouns and kinterms as nouns on the basis that they require classifiers to be counted. Haupers groups these together because they fit the frame, (N di Class) where di is 'one'. In the text material studied here, such examples did not occur. Pronouns most often occurred when the phrase filled the clause Subject slot or in possessive constructions.

57. Hêy sa piêng. 'I eat rice.'  
I eat rice
58. nhi bu 'his house'  
house he

Common Stiêng pronouns. This is not a complete list of pronouns, but rather a listing of those found in the data studied.

	singular		plural
first person	hêy	inclusive	bon
		exclusive	ju
second person	ay/may		bêy
third person	bu/pang		bu/pang

A special form is used for the owner of something (ei. noom).

59. nhi noom 'his house', 'my house', 'their house'

The referent is learned from the immediate context of the story. There are two common indefinite pronouns: 'boon 'who', and gon 'what'.

Kinterms. In Stiêng, as in many Asian languages, kin-terms are used with a high degree of frequency. It is more common to refer to a person by the appropriate kinterm than by name. For this reason they can be compared with pronouns, and are used in similar manner. It is sometimes difficult to understand the relationship of two kinterms together. They may show possessive relationship as in (15) or form a compound as in (45) or be a series of participants as in (coon sai 'child and wife'). Stiêng kinterms include: yau 'grandfather, respected man', buop 'father', mêy 'mother', oh 'younger sibling', bi 'older sibling', rôh 'older married sister', clay 'brother-in-law', côônh 'maternal uncle', moom 'paternal uncle', mêy pôw 'mother-in-law', coon 'child', sai 'spouse', sai ur 'wife'.

#### 4.3 Numerals

Numeral and Classifier like those in Chrau (Thomas 1970) and those in Sedang (Smith 1975) function as a unit in that the Classifier does not occur without the Numeral.

60. nhi baar oc 'two houses'  
house two classifier

However, certain nouns, like Thomas' count nouns, do not have any classifiers of this type and can occur with the numeral. When this is the case the numeral comes before the noun it refers to.

61. pây snam 'three years'  
three year

Stiêng numerals. The numbers from one to ten are: muôi 'one', baar 'two', pây 'three', puôn 'four', pram 'five'; prau 'six', poh 'seven', phaam 'eight', sun 'nine', jomot 'ten'. Numbers above ten are formed by indicating the number of multiples of ten plus the remaining number under ten.

62. jomot baar 'twelve'  
ten two

63. pây jot puôn 'thirty-four'  
three ten four

Numbers above one hundred are formed by indicating the number of multiples of one-hundred, plus the number less than one-hundred indicated as described above.

64. di riêng poh jot muôi 'one-hundred seventy-one'  
one hundred seven ten one

A similar pattern is followed with, di ban 'one-thousand', and with, di mun 'ten thousand'.

Dates are formed in this same way. However, they fill only Temporal tagmemes.

65. di ban sun riêng poh jot prau '1976'  
one thousand nine hundred seven ten six

In counting or in isolation, muôi, is used for 'one'. In Noun Phrases or before higher multiples of ten, di, is used for 'one'.

66. Bu panh di wut. 'He shot once.'  
He shoot one time

67. di snam 'one year'

68. di mun 'ten-thousand'

Half of something is indicated by use of, pac. The

only examples found are with time, but since a similar term is found in Chrau with much wider usage, I expect pac to also have a wider usage.

69. di pac nar 'half a day'  
one half day
70. poh jơ ô pac '7:30'  
seven hour with half

Pal 'many' or pal (Classifier) 'how many' functions in the numeral slot of the Noun Phrase.

71. pal oc 'how many things'
72. pal du 'how many people'
73. bneh pal du 'how many people'  
people many classifier
74. pi iêr pal oc 'how many chickens'  
thing chicken many classifier

Ordinal numbers. Both Smith and Thomas describe ordinal number systems, but none were found in my Stiêng data.

Measurement. Stiêng uses body parts to indicate the size of other objects: a snake may be, *dông mêy ti* 'as thick as one's thumb'. Other terms are borrowed from Vietnamese: *cơ-sôw* 'kilometer'. Only a limited amount is known about this area. Thomas includes a detailed discussion of measurement in his grammar of Chrau.

#### 4.4 Classifiers

Classifiers are used to indicate the size and or the shape of nouns when a number is cited. Most general of Stiêng Classifiers is oc, which occurs with both animate and inanimate objects, but not with humans. The special form, mlom, is used with di 'one'.

75. pi sôw prau oc 'six dogs'  
thing dog six classifier
76. nhi di mlom 'one house'  
house one classifier

With humans the classifier du is used. The special form, mbu, is used with di 'one'.

77. Yuôn puôn du 'four Vietnamese'  
Vietnamese four people

Some common Stiêng Classifiers.

- toong 'pole shaped object'
78. combluong baar toong 'two guns'  
gun two classifier
- r-clôw 'clump'
79. piêng di r-clôw 'one clump of rice'  
rice one clump
- jar 'cord'
80. chhêy puôn jar 'four cords of rope'  
rope four cord
- pluop 'flat object'
81. la di pluop 'one leaf'  
leaf one classifier

4.5 Pluralized Noun Phrase

The Pluralized Noun Phrase is composed of a Basic Noun Phrase preceded by the plural bol. A Pluralized Noun Phrase fills the same clause level slots as the Basic Noun Phrase.

82. bol a Dakson 'those at Dakson'  
plural at Dakson
83. bol ôi au 'these mornings'  
plural morning here
84. bol ju Sđiêng 'we Stiêng'  
plural we Stiêng



#### 4.6 Nouns Without Specific Classifiers

These are similar to Thomas' count nouns, because they can be counted without a classifier. They occur following the numeral when they are counted. This appears to be a limited group. Three categories are known:

A. Units of time: khay 'month', nar 'day', snam 'year'

B. Units of money: sulung 'piastres'

C, Parts of a whole: pac 'half', pac jo 'half an hour'

Besides not having classifiers, these nouns are rarely modified. Examples of modification would be possession in the case of units of money. Smith has more than three categories in his description of Sedang, which indicates there is a possibility of more for Stiêng.

## CHAPTER V

### THE VERB PHRASE

The Verb Phrase in Stiêng consists of the Main Verb and all verbal elements occurring adjacent to the Main Verb which are not separated from the Main Verb by any clause level tagmeme - Subject, Object, Indirect Object, Location, Temporal, Accompaniment, Instrument, or Manner.

The Verb Phrase may be represented by the general formula:

‡ Preverb ‡ Auxiliary + Main Verb ± Post Verb

The above formula represents the maximum expansion of the Verb Phrase in Stiêng. Only the Main Verb is obligatory. It is possible to have more than one Preverb or Auxiliary Verb in the same phrase although it is not common for such to occur.

1. bun geh êch han 'don't want to go'  
not have want go

In the narrative text studied, the full expanded form is not found. Even phrases like (1) are not common.

The Main Verb may be simple (eg. sa 'eat', tuôt 'run', gliêc 'look', aan 'give') or compound (eg. teq lui 'abandon', sôông sa 'eat'). Main Verbs are the minimal unit of the phrase and the clause. Series of potential Main Verbs which are not subordinated to one another are multiple clauses reduced and juxtaposed within a single sentence. These

series usually are sequential actions (see Coordinate Sentence 3.3). Series of potential Main Verbs which are in subordinate relationships are discussed in the following sections on Auxiliaries and Post Verbs.

### 5.1 Preverbs

Preverbs normally occur in the initial slot of the Verb Phrase. They can occur with all classes of verbs. Except in answer to a specific yes-no question, in which case the negative alone can complete the answer, Preverbs do not occur without a Main Verb. Normally only one Preverb occurs in a phrase. However, more than one Preverb can occur in a Verb Phrase.

#### 2. Negative Preverb and temporal Preverb

Bu 'bun ja sôông. 'He hasn't eaten yet.'  
he not already eat

#### 3. Two manner Preverbs

Rdeh a ta chon. 'The cars collided.'  
car suffer reciprocal collide

#### 5.1.1 Preverb Classes

Preverbs can be categorized into three classes: negatives, temporals, and manner. Each of these three classes has only a small membership.

Negative Preverbs. The most common negative Preverbs are: 'bun 'not', and ndah 'not-yet'. They occur with most verbs. Often the final particles, laang and oom, co-occur with 'bun. Oom also often co-occurs with ndah. Other negative Preverbs are: pau, which is similar to 'bun but has much less frequent usage (only once in the 700 clause text)

and 'bun dan 'not-yet'. which is a compound occurring much less frequently than ndah. When more than one Preverb occurs in the Verb Phrase, the negative is the first of the sequence (2).

4. Bu 'bun sa piêng. 'He didn't eat rice.'  
He not eat rice
5. Bu 'bun geh hot teq. 'He hasn't thrown it away.'  
He not have throw
6. pau banh  
not dare
7. ndah aang 'It's not daylight yet.'  
not-yet shine
8. Ndah gut sorlah baac Brah  
not-yet know clearly word God  
  
'Don't understand the Bible yet.'

Temporal Preverbs. When more than one Preverb occurs in the same phrase, temporal Preverbs follow the negative Preverb. Both ja 'past action', and nha 'still' occur with any Main Verb. Êch doh 'almost, nearly' appears restricted to occurring with stative verbs.

9. Hêy ja sôông. 'I ate.'  
I past eat
10. Bu 'bun ja han. 'He didn't go.'  
He not past go
11. Nha jongôw. 'It's still dark.'  
Still dark
12. Bu êch doh chhut. 'He is nearly dead.'  
He nearly dead

Manner Preverbs. Repetitive manner Preverbs are: khaang 'keep-on', and khom 'keep-on'.

13. khaang maanh 'commanded repeatedly'  
keep-on command
14. khom han 'continue going'  
keep-on go

Other manner Preverbs include: a 'indicates unintentional, accidental, unfortunate action', ta 'reciprocal'. These may occur together in the same phrase (3). When both a and ta occur in the same phrase a precedes ta. When other Preverbs occur in the phrase, manner Preverbs occur last.

15. Troong a colbach.  
Bridge suffer closed  
'Unfortunately the bridge was closed.'
16. Hêy a jaq pi sdui.  
I suffer step thing scorpion  
'I accidentally stepped on a scorpion.'
17. Bu ta chhuôr bu.  
They reciprocal talk they  
'They talked with each other.'
18. Bu ta loh.  
They reciprocal work  
'They fought with each other.'

## 5.2 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs are a limited class of verbs that precede and are subordinate to the Main Verb. They differ from Preverbs in that they can also be Main Verbs although as such they often have a somewhat different meaning.

19. but 'become'  
but porhêy 'become red'  
but coon 'have a baby'  
give-birth child

There are three types of Auxiliary Verbs.

A. The first type are basically intransitive when Main Verbs and occur with any Main Verb as Auxiliaries. This type includes: han 'go', which as an auxiliary indicates the

progressiveness of the action; and lôh 'come', which indicates the arrival at the state of the Main Verb.

20. Bu han liêu hêy. 'He led me.'  
He go lead me

21. lôh bah 'stopped'  
come stop

B. The second type are those which occur with stative Main Verbs and indicate the coming into being or the state of the following stative verb. This type includes: hao 'climb', but 'create', and gôq 'stay'.

22. hao portanh 'become sick'  
climb sick

23. but teh 'become big'

24. gôq loh caar 'work'  
stay do work

C. The third type has only a single member: geh 'have'. Geh as an auxiliary means something like 'a simple statement of fact'. It is the most common of the Auxiliaries.

25. 'bun geh teq lui 'didn't abandon it'  
not have abandon

26. 'bun geh êch han 'don't want to go'  
not have want go

### 5.3 Main Verbs

Main Verbs may be either simple or compound (buôt 'tie', bon dan 'pray'). Other Mon-Khmer languages such as Chrau also have complex verbs. Stiêng may have similar verbs, but none occurred in the narrative text of this study. A compound verb is composed of two closely, semantically, related verbs which when together function as a unit. Both members of the compound may be able to occur independently.

27. sôông sa 'eat'

sôông 'eat rice', sa 'eat other than rice'

Other compounds are made up of one member that can occur independently and one which never does.

28. teq lui 'abandon'

teq 'to place', lui (never occurs alone)

Still other compounds are formed by altered reduplication. That is, the second member of the compound is a phonologically altered form of the first. Compounds of this type were found among the stative verbs.

29. khuch khaach 'destroyed'

Other common compounds include: bon dan 'pray', du sut 'return', and du leet 'go'.

The Main Verb is the only part of the Verb Phrase which is obligatory. It may be repeated to indicate the repetitive nature of the action or to emphasize the action, although only the story context makes clear what the repeated form is for.

30. han han han 'go on and on'  
go go go

31. rôp rôp cnông tu cō-su  
cover cover in hole rubber

'hide in the rubber tree hole'

### 5.3.1 Verb Classes

Main Verbs are placed into several classes which have been determined according to their ability to co-occur with the Clause level tagmemes: Subject, Object, and Indirect Object, and by other slots which they fill such as verbal

adjectives. Four classes have been determined on this basis: stative verbs, intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, and bi-transitive verbs.

Stative verbs. Stative verbs are those that occur optionally with a Subject and never with an Object. They also fill the Qualitative Modifier slot of the Noun Phrase functioning as adjectives. If we were using role participation which will be considered in chapter six, the fact that the subject of stative verbs is never agentive would aid in distinguishing this class. Common stative verbs are: ranh 'dry', co-laang 'white', clêêp 'stupid', cormi 'sick', chhut 'dead'.

32. la co-su ranh      'the rubber leaves were dry'  
leaf rubber dry
33. Hêy rôc n-hai la jhú ranh nêy.  
I cover with leaf tree dry there  
'I covered (it) with dry leaves.'

Intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs like stative verbs occur optionally with a subject and never with an object. Unlike stative verbs they are not verbal adjectives. In the case of role participation the subject of intransitive verbs is agentive. Common intransitives include: han 'go', du 'go', gliêc 'look', blôh 'bark', bêch 'sleep', and ndrau 'crow'.

34. Sôw blôh      'The dog barked.'  
Dog bark
35. Hêy bêch ccah.      'I slept well.'  
I sleep delicious



36. Bu 'bun han a tōw. 'He didn't go there.'  
He not go to over-there

Transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those Main Verbs which occur with both a subject and an object. Neither subject nor object is obligatory. Common transitive verbs are: wong 'search for', cray 'watch', pocs 'take', tēnh 'follow', ndun 'light', tuôt 'run', taach 'drop'.

37. Bu wong ctôc nêy. 'He searched for that place.'  
He look-for place that
38. Bu wong a lơ a dêh. 'He searched high and low.'  
He look at above at below
39. Hêy sa hui. 'I've eaten.'  
I eat already
40. Hêy sa piêng hui. 'I've eaten.'  
I eat rice already
41. Bu tuôt rdêh. 'He drove the car.'  
He run car

(tuôt is a very restricted transitive verb in that the object can only be a vehicle)

In addition to the transitive verbs above and ones similar to them, there are two other groups of transitive verbs. Using other criteria these would probably be classes themselves as in Chrau. These include quotative verbs: Those with which the object can be filled by direct or indirect discourse, such as: maanh 'command', ôôp 'ask', lah 'say', gênh 'think', khuôl 'call'.

42. Bu maanh hêy han moq cōw chhut.  
He order I go look cow dead  
  
'He ordered me to go look at the dead cow.'
43. Bu ôôp: "Ay han a êch?"  
He ask You go to where

'He asked: "Where are you going?"'

The second group are similar to those Thomas calls 'Container Verbs'. The subject of the dependent clause is not the subject of the independent clause. The embedded clause and its special relationship to the Main Verb are not an obligatory part of this group since the object slot may also be filled by a noun alone. Members of this group include: aan 'permit', hông 'fear', jun 'guide', sau 'see', nhôp 'capture'.

44. Bu aan sot hui. 'He allowed me to leave.'  
He allow exit already
45. Bu aan hêy sot hui. 'He allowed me to leave.'  
He allow I exit already
46. Hêy hông bu panh. 'I'm afraid he will shoot.'  
I fear he shoot
47. Hêy hông bu. 'I'm afraid of him.'  
I fear he
48. Bu jun han hoc a Saigon.  
He guide go study at Saigon  
  
'He took me to study at Saigon.'

Bitransitive verbs. Bitransitive verbs are those Main Verbs which can occur with both a Direct Object and an Indirect Object. As with transitive verbs neither object is obligatory. Bitransitive verbs include: tom 'repay', aan 'give', ti 'teach', uon 'give'.

49. Bu tom hêy iêr. 'He paid me back a chicken.'  
He repay I chicken
50. Bu tom iêr. 'He paid back a chicken.'  
He repay chicken
51. aan hêy corya 'give me medicine'  
give I medicine

52. aan hêy 'give to me'  
give I

#### 5.4 Post Verbs

Post Verbs are a limited class of verbs that occur following a non-stative Main Verb. The Post Verb is subordinate to the Main Verb. Like Auxiliary Verbs, they also occur as Main Verbs, although as such they have somewhat different meaning. Post Verbs are of two types.

The first type of Post Verb occurs frequently and all members seem to carry the meaning that the purpose of the Main Verb is completed. Which member of the class is used in a particular phrase is based on the semantic features of the Post Verb and of the Main Verb. Post Verbs include: teq 'to place', tot 'reach', gôq 'stay, live'.

53. sot teq ô gaas 'went outside'  
exit put at outside
54. Hêy sêq tot a Tênh. 'I returned to the Province.'  
I return reach at Province
55. porgum gôq a nhi 'gathered at the house'  
gather stay at house

The second type are those which describe the manner in which the action is carried out. Although only one example is given, Haupers indicates that there are others of this type. The only one known is mol 'play'.

56. Bu poos mol.  
He take play  
'He took it in fun (not to steal it).'
57. Hêy sôông mol.  
I eat fun  
'I ate for fun (not necessity).'

## CHAPTER VI

### 'CASE' AS APPLIED TO STIÊNG

#### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter on the Verb Phrase, it was noted that my grammatical description based on syntactic co-occurrence did not give a complete understanding of the inter-relationships between tagmemes, or between verb classes. Some verbs were grouped together when the semantic properties of them were such as to keep them separated (eg. transitive verbs). There are many other models of grammatical description, including the four cell tagmeme of Pike and Pike (1974), which now add the dimension of role participation. Another such model is 'Case Grammar', as begun by Fillmore, and developed by Longacre and others. The purpose, then, of this chapter is to explore a bit the added depth of understanding that 'Case' description provides. This chapter will not touch the way in which 'Case' description plugs into an overall description of the grammar.

Since 1968 and the presentation of Fillmore's 'Case for Case', the study of covert categories has gained in importance. Fillmore (1968a:3) said:

"Many recent . . . studies have convinced us of the relevance of grammatical properties lacking obvious 'morphemic' realizations but having a reality that can be observed on the basis of selectional constraints and

transformational possibilities. We are constantly finding the grammatical features found in one language in other languages as well, if we have the subtlety it takes to discover covert categories."

Longacre (1974:5) also points out the need to study covert roles in his statement that "certain peculiarities in surface structure are conditioned by the underlying structures which they reflect."

Chafe (1970), Longacre (1974), and Cook (1970) have emphasized the centrality of the verb in case relationships. Cook (1970:8) feels "We should be able to use this structure both to indicate similarities among sentences not apparently related and to indicate differences among sentences which seem to be the same without the assignment of deep case roles." Two questions need to be explored:

- A. Can the study of covert relationships between verbs and noun phrases really be of benefit to understanding Stiêng, especially verbs, where co-occurrence classification seems inadequate?
- B. If so, how can we discover these categories? Are the methods and models of Fillmore, Chafe, Nilsen, and Longacre applicable to Stiêng without 'ad hoc' rules?

In order to approach these questions, a study of Instrumental in Stiêng was undertaken. Why study Instrumental case and not another case? First, according to Nilsen (1973:13):

"Case grammarians have probably worked as much with Instrumental as with any other case. Because the study of the Instrumental case seems to be most advanced, I have chosen to examine it and the methods used to define

it. I am optimistic that insights into the definition and identification of the Instrumental case can be applied to the study of other cases as well . . . . Case grammarians have relied on a number of tests to define Instrumental. They have also made a number of observations including such things as co-occurrence restrictions and surface positioning of Instrumental."

Because of this I have chosen to work with the Instrumental case also. Nilsen presents in The Instrumental Case in English several well defined tests, syntactic and semantic, for the determination of cases. Some of these he feels are invalid and non-distinctive for English. This chapter is limited to checking Stiêng against the ideas of Nilsen and Longacre. It is necessary to be so limited because of the extensive and diverse material in the field, and because of the limitations noted in the Introduction to this overview.

The study will be presented in three parts:

- A. Specific examples of Stiêng Instrumentals
- B. Stiêng Instrumentals in Longacre's Case Model
- C. Problems - syntactic and semantic considerations

## 6.2 Specific Examples of Stiêng Instrumentals

### 6.2.1 What is Instrumental?

Longacre defines Instrument as follows:

"An inanimate entity or body part which an (animate) agent intentionally uses to accomplish an action or to instigate a process; any entity which triggers a change in emotional or physical state."

For this discussion Instrumental will follow Longacre's definition. That is tools, body parts, material and stimulus will be considered Instrumentals. Force nouns in Stiêng appear to have the inherent capability of initiating action and of functioning as agents. Thus force will not be considered here.

1. ônh sa 'fire eats'

### 6.2.2 Stiêng Instrumentals

There are four main ways that Instrumentals are expressed in Stiêng:

A. With no overt Instrumental: A specific Instrument is inherent in the verb.

2. daar 'to fish with a pole'

Daar pi ca. 'fishing'  
fish thing fish

3. jic 'to weed using a small hoe'

4. peh 'to pound rice with a mortar and pestle'

5. cach 'to pick rice with your hand'

6. chhoot 'to knock fruit from a tree with a pole'

7. dhot 'to kick with your foot'

This is by far the most common surface form for Instrumentals. As in English the Instrument is specified when it is unusual.

8. Clau troonh ô jal.  
Man loinclothes with net

'The man uses a net for a loincloth.'

In discourse when the Instrument is not vital to the theme this form is used. However, the humor of a story may be developed by the conflict of an expressed instrument with the implicit instrument which is later brought into focus explicitly. Stimulus is never found implicit in Stiêng verbs which leads one to question its inclusion as an Instrument.

B. As multiple clauses

This seems to be the most common way of overtly showing

Instrumentals. This form focuses on the Instrumental. There is not always a juncture between clauses (see eg. 12 and 14).

9. Geh sna, panh bnêh.  
Have bow shoot people  
  
'Shoot the people with the bow.'
10. Nhôq ruôs co-laang, soong rnai.  
Capture elephant white, repay staff  
  
'Repay the staff with the white elephant.'  
(repay here is closer to replace)
11. Puon chhêy, cot a jong chaam.  
Find string tie foot ant  
  
'Tie the ant's foot with string.'
12. Poos peh tap ca.  
Take knife stab fish  
  
'Stab the fish with the knife.'
13. Aan iêr, tom chaam.  
Give chicken repay ant  
  
'Replace the ant with a chicken.'
14. Poos peh dah cat chhêy.  
Take knife in-order-to cut string  
  
'Use a knife to cut the string.'

The verbs geh 'have', and poos 'take' are the most semantically neutral for expressing Instrumental.

C. With surface marker ô

Use of this marker is not limited to Instrumental.

15. Pooç ô Yuôn. 'Buy from the Vietnamese.'
16. Pooç ô prac. 'Buy with money.'
17. Han ô mir. 'Go to the field.'
18. Daar ô pi crah.  
Fish with thing cricket  
  
'(He) fished with a cricket (for bait).'



19. Bu gênh ô tồr. 'He remembered.'  
He think with/in ear
20. cọt ô chhêy 'tie (it) with string'  
tie with string

Ambiguous surface constructions can result when it is used.

Instruments can be moved to clause initial position for focus, this does not make the instrument Subject. When this happens the marker is deleted.

21. Sna, bon sau cla, bon panh dêêl.  
Bow, we see tiger, we shoot also
- 'If we have a bow, we'll shoot the tiger with it if we see the tiger.'

D. With no marker in a single clause.

This form results in the most ambiguity.

22. Tom iêr.  
Repay chicken
- 'Repay with a chicken' or 'Repay the chicken'
23. Daar pi mat.  
Fish thing eye
- 'Fish with eyes (as bait)' or 'Fish for eyes'
24. Bu cach coon ti  
He pick child hand
- 'He picks with his fingers' or 'He picks fingers'

### 6.3 Stiêng Instrumentals in Longacre's Case Model

#### 6.3.1 Introduction to Model

Fillmore (1968a) uses 'case frames' to identify related predicates. These 'case frames' consist of the cases which can co-occur with the predication. Fillmore (1968) has defined six cases. Longacre expands the inventory of cases to ten: Agent(A), Experiencer(E), Patient(P), Goal(G), Range(R), Source(S), Locative(L), Instrument(I), Measure(M),

and Path. In addition to the co-occurring cases, Longacre's case frame represents the predication as a complex of features including: State, Process, Action or Action-Process, and the additional characteristics such as physical, motion, directed, intentional, possession, reflexive, and completable. An example would be:

{S-PHYSICAL} P; the predication is State, physical, and occurs with the case Patient(P). For English, broken, fits this frame: The dish is broken.

Longacre has put together a matrix of case frames made up of twelve rows and four columns. The columns correspond to the predicate features; State, Process, Action-Process, and Action. All predications in any language should fit one of the cells of this matrix. For Stiêng the twelfth row which includes the case, Path, is not valid. Path in Stiêng is not a necessary distinction.

Below are given four rows of Longacre's matrix. These include the cells which have the characteristic (INSTRUMENT). and co-occur with I, Instrument case.

Row C

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S-EXPER} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} E(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P-EXPER} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} E(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AP-EXPER} \\ \text{INTENTION} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} AE(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A-EXPER} \\ \text{INTENTION} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} AE(I)$
--	--	--	---

Row E

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} P$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} P(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AP-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{(INTEENTION)} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} AP(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A-} \\ \text{DIRECTED} \end{array} \right\} AG(I)$
--	---	--	--

Row F

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{MEASURABLE} \end{array} \right\} PM$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{MEASURABLE} \end{array} \right\} PM$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AP-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{MEASURABLE} \end{array} \right\} APM(I)$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A-} \\ \text{MEASURABLE} \end{array} \right\} AM$
---	---	--	---

Row H

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{POSSESSION} \\ \text{DIRECTED} \end{array} \right\} PG$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{POSSESSION} \\ \text{DIRECTED} \end{array} \right\} PG$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AP-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{POSSESSION} \\ \text{DIRECTED} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{A/S PG} \\ \text{A/G PS} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A-PHYSICAL} \\ \text{POSSESSION} \\ \text{DIRECTED} \end{array} \right\} A/G P(S)$
--	--	---	--

## 6.3.2 Application of Model to Stiêng

In his matrix of cases Longacre has four rows which are characterized by an optional Instrument. This section will show where Stiêng verbs fit those frames. Other frames which Longacre characterizes as not having Instrumental, have been found to be without Instrumental in Stiêng also. Thus they will not be considered in this discussion.

Row C of Longacre's matrix.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{S-EXPER} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} \text{E(I)}$$

25. 'Bi 'buông mot, loh caar.  
Bi discouraged much, do work  
'Bi is discouraged by the work.'

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{P-EXPER} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} \text{E(I)}$$

26. Oh gêq bon-hông mot, (sau) têêp bolap.  
Young-brother fear much, (see) moustache stranger  
'Younger brother was very frightened by the  
stranger's moustache.'

The above two case frames are Instrumental-Stimulus. With states of emotion only dual clause structures are found.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{AP-EXPER} \\ \text{INTENTION} \\ \text{(INSTRU)} \end{array} \right\} \text{AE(I)}$$

27. Toh phao bon-hông mot.  
Explode rocket fear very  
'Frightened by the exploding rocket.'
28. Hêy bon-hông mot, bu toh phao nêy.  
I fear very, he explode rocket there.  
'I was frightened when he exploded the rocket.'

29. Hêy bon-hông mot, bu mol phao.  
I fear very, he play rocket

'I'm scared because he is playing with a rocket.'

The examples, (27), (28), and (29), contradict Longacre's case frame in that bon-hông 'fear' does not imply INTENTION.

{ A-EXPER  
INTENTION } AE(I)  
(INSTRU)

30. Hêy dhot pi sôw ô jong doom.  
I kicked thing dog with foot bare

'I kicked the dog with my bare foot.'

31. Bu dop coon jhú, pom oh.  
He took child wood, hit younger-brother

'He took the stick and hit his brother.'

{ A-EXPER  
INTENTION  
(REFLEXIVE) } A/E(I)  
(INSTRU)

32. Pom chhac noom ô jhú.  
Hit body his with wood

'He hit himself with the wood.'

Row E of Longacre's matrix.

{ P-PHYSICAL } P(I) No Stiêng examples.  
(INSTRU)

{ AP-PHYSICAL  
(INTENTIONAL) } AP(I)  
(INSTRU)

33. Bu cat chhêy ô peh.  
He cut string with knife

'He cut the string with the knife.'

34. Poos peh dah cat chhêy.  
Take knife to cut string

'Take the knife in order to cut the string.'

35. Tap sur ô taac.  
Stab pig with spear

'Stab the pig with the spear.'

{ AP-PHYSICAL  
(INTENTIONAL)  
(INSTRU)  
REFLEXIVE } A/P(I)

36. A paat chhac noom ô peh.  
Suffer cut body my with knife

'I accidentally cut myself with the knife.'

{ A-  
DIRECTED } AG(I)  
(INSTRU)

37. Bu dhot grêy ô jong doom.  
He kick chair with foot bare

'He kicked the chair with his bare foot.'

38. Bu dhot grêy.  
He kick chair

'He kicked the chair (with his foot).'

In (37) and (38) dhot 'kick' has the implicit instrument, foot. However, in (37) it is necessary to make the instrument explicit because of the further description involved, jong doom 'bare foot'.

Row F of Longacre's matrix. All of these case frames have the feature MEASURABLE. This includes verbs like, shorten, in English: I shorten it two inches with a knife. No examples of measure and instrument occurring in a single clause in Stiêng have been found. It is not known if this is because of verb feature differences, or because of syntactic co-occurrence and complexity restrictions.

Row H of Longacre's matrix.

{	AP-PHYSICAL	}	A/S PG(I)
	POSSESSION		A/G PS(I)
	DIRECTED		
	(INSTRU)		

39. Bu tach som-ut jah prac.  
He sell book for money

'He sold the book for money.'

40. Tom may ri iêr ih nêy.  
Repay you yourself chicken like that

'Repay yourself with a chicken like that.'

{	A-PHYSICAL	}	A/G P(S)(I)
	POSSESSION		
	DIRECTED		
	(INSTRU)		

41. Bu cum pi ca ô wiêm.  
He carry thing fish with mouth

'He carried the fish with his mouth.'

42. Bu keep chhah (ô pi keep)  
He pick-up coal (with thing tong)

'He picked up the coal with tongs.'

The implicit instrument pi keep 'tongs' can optionally be used.

### 6.3.3 Conclusions

It can be seen from the above examples, that use of case frames including features and role relations can provide a more complete understanding of the verbs of Stiêng and of their similarities to one another even when surface forms do not clearly show such relationships, than does the study of occurrence and co-occurrence presented in the earlier chapters of this overview.

#### 6.4 Problems: Syntactic and Semantic Considerations

In this section the relationships between deep and surface forms will be examined in more detail. In particular the application of the syntactic tests described by Nilsen (1973). Included will be a summary of Nilsen's syntactic and semantic tests with questions and comments as to how they might apply to Stiêng.

##### 6.4.1 Syntactic Considerations

Nilsen uses these five syntactic tests:

- A. Relative pronoun test
- B. Use-with test
- C. One case per simple predicate test
- D. Conjunction test
- E. Preposition test

What do each of these tests involve?

A. The relative pronoun test. According to Nilsen this test has been one of the most used by case grammarians for the determination of Instrumental. It consists of asking: "How?". The expected answer would yield the Instrumental noun phrase. This is not what happens in English. The answers for English may be Manner, Comitative, Extent, or Instrumental. One possible refinement of this test would be to ask: "With what, With whom, For how long, etc.". Such Specific questions would, however, expand the number of possible cases.

Nilsen (1973:15) considers this solution 'ad hoc' and unjustified for English. However, there is no way to



ask such a general question as, "How?", in Stiêng. You must ask: "With what?". Thus, I feel this test is of some validity. There are some Instrumentals though, Stimulus Instrumentals, which would not be discovered by this means. Perhaps Stimulus is not Instrumental in Stiêng and so would not invalidate this test.

B. The use-with test. In this test a clause with the Instrumental preposition 'with', is rewritten using a clause containing the verb 'use' and the 'with' noun phrase as object of that verb. The biggest objection to this test is that 'use' implies intent while 'with' is not necessarily intentional. In Stiêng there is no generic verb 'use'. Any other verbs would have to be specific and thus a lot of 'ad hoc' tests. The dual clause forms in 6.2.2 are examples of this.

C. The one-case per simple predication test. Case grammarians believe that in a simple clause there can be only one representation of any case, that is for example, only one Instrumental or only one Source can occur in the same clause. If there appears to be more than one, then these must be distinguishable from one another as different deep cases. Most Stiêng clauses have only one or two cases represented, so I have not found examples where a question of case needed to be resolved. Examples given by Nilsen involve abstracts which in Stiêng are clauses in themselves.

D. The conjunction test. It has been assumed that only nouns of the same deep case can be conjoined. Nilsen

gives examples from Thai (1973:30) in which Manner and Instrument are conjoined. No examples could be found in the Stiêng data.

E. The preposition test. Fillmore started with the proposition that prepositions signalled specific cases in English. This has been shown by many to be non-conclusive. The same preposition in English can signal several different cases. The same is true in Stiêng. This test can, however, be used to limit the range of possible cases, since a specific preposition only occurs with a limited number of cases even if it does not occur exclusively with any one. In Stiêng there is no preposition that exclusively and obligatorily marks the Instrumental case. For example, ô, can mark Goal, Comitative, Source, or Instrumental.

- 43. sêq ô poh 'return to the village' (Goal)
- 44. han ô mêy 'go to mother' (Goal)
- 45. han ô mêy 'go with mother' (Comitative)
- 46. póc ô Yuôn 'buy from the Vietnamese' (Source)
- 47. póc ô prac 'buy with money' (Instrumental)
- 48. cõt ô peh 'cut with a knife' (Instrumental)

One can agree with Fillmore (1968) and others that case forms cannot be determined by syntactic considerations alone. This would be even more obvious for Stiêng with a greater knowledge of surface structure features.

#### 6.4.2 Semantic Considerations

It is agreed, and from the previous discussion of Stiêng Instrumentals, it has been shown that syntactic tests

are not adequate to determine case relationships. Nilsen (1973:122) lists eight reasons for use of semantic tests rather than syntactic tests:

1. ". . . semantic features are universal and language independent . . . ."
2. ". . . semantic features provide a logical, and internally consistent, system for relating cases."
3. ". . . semantic features can help EXPLAIN the process of Subject-marking . . . ."
4. "Semantic features can explain the process of Direct object-marking . . . ."
5. "Semantic features can explain the process of passivication."
6. "Semantic features can explain the process of case deletion."
7. "Semantic features can explain how and why certain verbs have certain case frames . . . ."
8. "Semantic features will explain why certain verbs have certain case frames . . . ."

Case grammarians use a number of different feature lists. Some, however, seem generally accepted: INTENT; CAUSE; CONCRETE; ANIMATE; COUNT; LOCATIVE. Nilsen adds: CONTROLLER; CONTROLLED; and INALIENABILITY. Are these language independent? Without a native speaker of Stiêng and more detailed study, I cannot know if they are or are not for Stiêng.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banker et al. 1964. Mon-Khmer studies I. Publication of the Linguistic Circle of Saigon 1. Saigon: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Blood, Henry. 1968. A reconstruction of Proto-Mnong. Grand Forks, North Dakota: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of North Dakota.
- Cnafe, Wallace L. 1970. Meaning and the structure of language. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cook, Walter A. S.J. 1969. Introduction to tagmemic analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1973. Covert case roles. Languages and linguistic working papers 7.52-81. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Cooper, James. 1966. Halang verb phrase. In Thomas, ed. 28-34.
- Elson, Benjamin and Velma Picket. 1969. An introduction to morphology and syntax. Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1966. Toward a modern theory of case. Project on linguistic analysis report no.13, 1-24. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Research Foundation. (Reprinted with slight revision in Modern studies in English: readings in transformational grammar, ed. by David Reibel and Sanford Schane, 1969, 361-75. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1968a. The case for case. Universals in linguistic theory, ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, 1-88. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1968b. Lexical entries for verbs. Foundations of Language 4.373-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970. The grammar of hitting and breaking. Readings in English transformational grammar, ed. by R. Jacobs and Peter Rosenbaum, 120-33. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Company. (Originally published in Project on lin-

guistic analysis WPIL report 1, 9-29, (1967))

- Gregerson, Kenneth. 1973. Tongue root and register in Mon-Khmer. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics, Honolulu.
- Haupers, Ralph. 1962. Word-final syllabics in Stiêng. *Văn-Hóa Nguyệt San* 11.846-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1964. Stiêng nouns, noun constructions, and syntax. Unpublished manuscript.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1969. Stiêng phonemes. In Johnston et al. 131-7.
- Johnston, Richard et al. 1969. Mon-Khmer III. Publication of the Linguistic Circle of Saigon 4. Saigon: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Lambert, Dorothy Mack. 1969. The semantic syntax of metaphor: a case grammar analysis. Unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Lakoff, George. 1968. Instrumental adverbs and the concept of deep structure. *Foundations of Language* 4.4-29.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1968. *Language and its structure: some fundamental concepts*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1974. An anatomy of speech notions. Ms.
- Manley, Timothy. 1972. Outline of Sre structure. *Oceanic Linguistics special publication no. 12*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Nilsen, Don L.F. 1972. Toward a semantic specification of deep case. (*Janua Linguarum, series minor, 152.*) The Hague: Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1973. The instrumental case in English. (*Janua Linguarum, series minor, 156.*) The Hague: Mouton.
- Phillips, Richard L. 1973. A Mnong pedagogical grammar: the verb phrase and constructions with two or more verbs. In Thomas and Hoa, 127-38.
- Pike, Kenneth L. and Evelyn G. Pike. 1974. *Grammatical analysis*. Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Platt, John T. 1971. Grammatical form and grammatical meaning: a tagmemic view of Fillmore's deep structure case concepts. (*North-Holland linguistic series, ed.*

by S.C. Dik and J.G. Kooy) Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

- Smith, Kenneth. 1975. Phonology and syntax of Sedang, a Vietnam Mon-Khmer language. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Thomas, David D. 1971. Chrau grammar. Oceanic Linguistics special publication no. 7. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. 1966. Papers on four Vietnamese languages. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Thomas, David and Nguyễn Đình Hòa, eds. 1973. Mon-Khmer studies IV. Carbondale: Center for Vietnamese Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Thomas, David, Nguyễn Đình Hoà, and David Blood, eds. 1966. Mon-Khmer studies II. Publication of the Linguistic Circle of Saigon 2. Saigon: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Thomas, Dorothy. 1966. Chrau zoology: an ethnolinguistic study. In Thomas, ed, 1-14.

Other SIL/UND theses available on Southeast Asian languages:

A Reconstruction of Proto-Muong, by Henry F. Blood. 1966.

A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-East-Katuiic, by Dorothy M. Thomas. 1967.

A Grammatical Sketch of Brao, A Mon-Khmer Language, by Charles E. Keller. 1976.

English-Khmer Medical Dictionary by Sally E. Keller. 1976.

These and other similar publications may be obtained from:

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Mainland Southeast Asia Branch  
Box 2270, Manila, Philippines

or

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Huntington Beach CA 92648  
USA