

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF CLAUSES AND PHRASES IN PALE

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I. 1. *About the language analysed in this paper.*

The language described hereafter is that of the Southern Palaung, commonly known as Pale.

Palaung as a whole belongs to the Northern branch of the Mon-Khmer family.

The Southern Palaung live scattered in isolated groups, each group numbering several thousand people, throughout the Southern Shan States and towards the Salween in the Eastern Shan States.

There is no specific name for the Southern Palaung or their language. They call themselves "Di Ang". By the Burmese they as well as other smaller Palaung groups are referred to as "Pale". They are sometimes referred to as "Ngwe-Palaung" or "Silver Palaung" in contrast to the "Shwe-Palaung" or "Gold Palaung" living around Namsham. The name "Silver Palaung" refers to their distinctive dress and apparel.

The language of the Southern Palaung is so different from that of the Gold Palaung that the two peoples do not understand each other, so that for communication purposes Burmese or Shan has to be used. Phonologically, lexically, and grammatically Southern Palaung is so different from Northern Palaung that it can be regarded as a separate language rather than a dialect of the same language.

In this paper the name "Pale" will be used the Southern Palaung and their language.

2. The grammatical analysis presented in this er is based on some 7,000 words of continuous ken text and on about the same amount of data cited from various native speakers of Southern aung. The findings of the basic analysis have n checked against a wide variety of transcribed (spoken and literary) materials from this language.

3. The transcription used for the Pale species in this paper is nearly phonemic. The symbols e been chosen for ease of reading (for those who unfamiliar with phonetic symbols) and for ease printing. The symbols used therefore do not ays correspond to their IPA values.

Since this paper is concerned with phrase clause structure of grammar only, the given language data is not suitable for phonological interpretation and comparison.

The grammatical model.

The model used here is the Syntagmatic el, otherwise known as the "structure-function" el. This is a hierarchical model which has been eloped by experience in linguistic analysis. ights owing to other descriptive models, especially tagmemic and systemic grammar, have been elied in developing this model with the aim of elping it as simple and useful as possible.

Terms used here conform for the most part the other models mentioned above. The term "level" has been adopted from tagmemics and therefore s not correspond to the term "level" as used by iliday in the Systemic Grammar Model. The terms

"unit," "class," and "type" come close to the usage of the same terms in Systemic Grammar. The term "syntagmatic feature" is peculiar to the syntagmatic model. It is used as a means of describing grammatical relationships; thanks to it, the model becomes more simple, less rigid than in tagmemics and, in my opinion, more suited to the description of languages in South East Asia.

III. 1. *The clause level.*

The clause level consists of clauses which function as elements in the sentence. Clauses can also function as clause constructs in the nucleus or periphery of the nominal phrase. The functional classes are not stated in this paper since there is also no statement about the sentence in which clause classes function.

Generally, every clause in the language is marked by a pause in speech. According to its length, this pause signals different relationships in the next higher level. Every clause is also marked by a characteristic intonation pattern, which also marks different types of clauses.

The structure of the clause may be represented as:

Cl = + S: np + P: vp ± O: np ± R: pp + M: advp

1.2. According to its structure, the clause may be subdivided into 3 types:

- a. indicative
- b. imperative
- c. interrogative

1.2.1. *The indicative clause* is marked by a high-falling intonation at the end of the clause.

Actually, it may be further subdivided into 4 types. The first three subtypes are closer in their relationship to each other than the fourth; this is true of their structure as well as of their function. The four subtypes are:

- a. transitive
- b. intransitive
- c. descriptive
- d. equational

Each of these differs from the other in the occurrence of optional clause elements; also, the elements of verb phrases are filled by different verb classes, which are mutually exclusive.

On the basis of frequency and function at different places in the structure of the sentence as well as on the basis of structural similarity, the first three subtypes (transitive, intransitive and descriptive) may be grouped together as major clause types. The fourth subtype (equational) may be regarded as a minor clause type.

Major clause subtypes can function as either nucleus or periphery of a higher-level structure; the minor subtype functions only as a nucleus at a higher level. Frequency counts show that the most frequently occurring subtype of the statement clause is the transitive clause, after which the sequence follows the order given here.

1.1.1. *The transitive clause*, of highest frequency, may be described first in terms of its structure. On this basis the other two major clause subtypes may be described in terms of their restrictions.

The elements of the transitive clause are:

Cl tr = ± S: np + P: vp ± O: np ± R: pp ± M: advp

The arrangement and status of these elements may be diagrammed as follows:

-----/-or-----
↓ ↓

Manner advp	Subject np	Predicate vp	Object np	Relator pp	Manner advp
outer expans.	inner expans.		inner expans.		outer expans.
Periphery		Nucleus	Periphery		

There are never more than two elements occurring simultaneously in the post-nuclear periphery.

The subject nominal phrase is obligatory except in cases where a clause functions in a conditional sentence consisting of a string of clauses, where it is obligatorily absent but understood from the context.

Example:

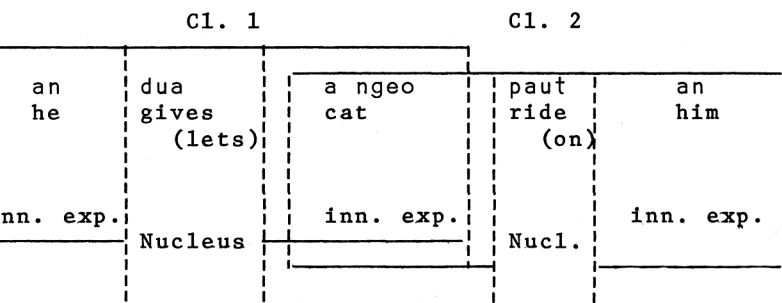
S:np	P:vp	O:np	R:pp
da i hmat ga	he hap	ou	kheng kasah an.
fisherman	has put	me	in basket-trap hi

'The fisherman has caught me in his trap.'

A special feature of the transitive clause is the possibility of two clauses overlapping. Overlap occurs at the post-verbal inner expansion of the clause. There are two different types of overlap:

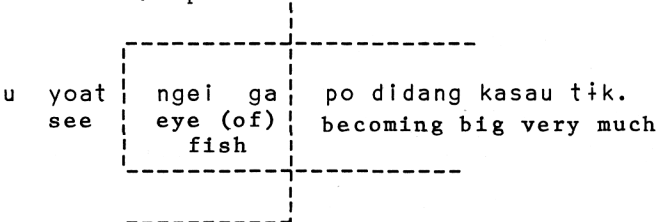
- a. the nominal extension clause
- b. the verbal extension clause

In a nominal extension clause the post-verbal inner expansion consists of a nominal phrase (subject) which is at the same time the pre-verbal inner expansion (subject) of a second statement clause. This construction of a nominal extension clause occurs only with a very limited number of transitive verbs functioning as nucleus of the transitive clause, which hence form a subclass of transitive verbs. The overlap in question can be demonstrated by a diagram:



e lets the cat ride on him.'

Example:---



see the eye of the fish, which appears to be very big.'

In a verbal extension clause the post-verbal inner expansion consists not of a nominal phrase but of a syntagmatic feature: di 'to' which is followed by a transitive or intransitive statement clause with an obligatorily absent pre-verbal inner expansion (subject). Whenever a verbal extension clause occurs the subject of the first clause is also the understood subject of the clause.

The verbal extension clause can be demonstrated in a formula as follows:

Cl v.ex=+S_{1, 2}: np + P: vp + O;/ Sfe di + (P: vp + O: np + R: pp)

Example:

Cl ₁	sf	Cl ₂
an yi pəan	di	dua di ma yun.
he asp. be able	to	give to the rabbit.

'He will be able to give (it) to the rabbit.'

1.2.1.2. *The intransitive subtype* of the indicative clause may be now described by stating the restrictions of the basic clause pattern as described for the transitive clause type.

The elements of the intransitive subtype can be diagrammed as follows:

Cl intr = + S:np + P:vp + R:pp + M:advp

Example:

p	R:pp	M:advp
an gai khriu di	tsouh long	deng kadam um.
iamond + gold this	falls-goes down	on bottom (of) water
e diamond and gold drop down to the bottom of the lake.'		

Emphasis. The order of elements in the transitive as well as the intransitive indicative clause given above may be changed if a particular element of the clause is emphasized. The emphasized element is shifted to the front, as follows:

- a. if the emphasized element is an element of the post-nuclear inner expansion (object), it is shifted to the head of the clause.
- b. if the emphasized element is the second element of the post-verbal inner expansion (relator) or the post-nuclear outer expansion of the clause (manner), it is moved forward to a position following the nucleus.

2.1.3. *The descriptive subtype* of the indicative clause has as its basic elements:

Cl des = + S:np + P:vp des

The verb phrase is manifested only by a certain subclass of verb phrases, namely the descriptive verb phrase.

In rare cases the descriptive clause type may have been an outer expansion (adverbial) or a relator element.

If the relator element occurs as a post-nuclear inner expansion, it is manifested by one subtype of the prepositional phrase, the causal prepositional phrase, which never occurs as a relator

in other indicative clauses.

1.2.1.4. *The Equational Clause* may be structurally subdivided, according to the presence or absence of a verbal phrase, into (1) positive subtype and (2) negative subtype.

Example:

P:vp eq		I ₂ :np
au muh		ou u vi.
(it) not is		I only.

'It is not only me.'

1.2.2. *The Imperative Clause* is set up on the basis of its function in the sentence as well as on structural differences from the statement clause. The basic feature of the imperative clause is an intonation pattern in which the pitch is the same as in the statement clause while the stress is heavy on the part of the clause which is emphasized.

Imperative clauses may, moreover, have an optional subject-referent which is an overtly marked syntagmatic feature of the imperative clause. In the transitive-imperative clause this syntagmatic feature occurs at the end of the clause, but in the intransitive-imperative clause it occurs following the nucleus (vp) and preceding other optional items of the post-nuclear inner and outer expansion of the clause.

The imperative clause may therefore be diagrammed as:

Cl imp = ± S:np + P:vp ± Sref:np ± O:np.

Example:

Intransitive Imperative.

S:pr	P:vpf intr	Sfe:np	R:pp
mei	gwoe	mei	di ti
you	sit-down	you	here!

'You!; come + sit down here!'

3. *The Interrogative Clause* can function only in contexts marked as direct speech. There are two types of interrogative clauses:

- a. the simple interrogative;
- b. the marked interrogative.

The simple interrogative clause has only one feature marking it as different from the statement clause, namely a rising intonation. The interrogative clause always requires a "yes" or "no" answer.

Since intonation is the only distinctive feature of the simple interrogative clause, this type of clause is marked in the orthography by the intonation mark.

The marked interrogative clause is distinguished by the presence of a question word. According to the choice of question words, this clause may be divided into two subtypes:

- a. interrogative marked by hmau 'how?'
- b. interrogative marked by mase 'what?'
- c. interrogative marked by aseɪ 'who?'

Example:

Q.w.

hmau di po pai kha ani
how (we) will manage occasion this.

'This time, how will we possibly make it?'

"Hmau" occurs at any point in the clause where more specific information is desired--more specifically, it occurs as head or modifier of any point in the clause calling for classification.

Example:

"hmau" as head of the object in a clause construct.

S:np		P:vp		O:cl constr.
mei		meh		are dzug hmau
you		have		matter called what?

'What kind of trouble do you have?'

The interrogative marked by mase may have the structure of an equation clause, where item₂ is filled by a subclass of the nominal phrase which is marked by the nominalizing particle "pi".

Example:

Q:qw		-P		I ₂ :np marked by "pi"
mase				pi lou mei sara
what		(is)		wanting yours, teacher?

'What (special) need do you have today, teacher?'

The question word aseI 'who' can be substituted for both question words, hmau and mase; it can therefore occur in any structure of the marked

errogative.

1. *The Phrase Level*

The phrase level is occupied by phrases functioning as elements of the clause. Phrases can also function as phrase constructs as nucleus or expansion on their own level. There are four functional classes of phrases:

- a. the nominal phrase
- b. the verbal phrase
- c. the prepositional phrase
- d. the adverbial phrase

The Nominal Phrase. The nominal phrase functions as a pre- or post-verbal inner expansion of the major indicative clause, the imperative clause, and the interrogative clause marked by "hmau". It can also function as Item 1 and 2 of the equational statement and the equational interrogative clause marked by "mase". On the phrase level the nominal phrase class may also function as a nominal phrase construct in the nucleus of the prepositional phrase, as possessive of the simple expanded nominal phrase.

According to its structure the nominal phrase may be subdivided into two types:

- a. the simple nominal phrase
- b. the complex nominal phrase

The status and relationships of the elements of the expanded np with two expansions may be diagrammed as follows:

noun cl. constr. compl. np add.	noun/pronoun np construct cl construct	dem pron
Nucleus	Possessive	Demonstr.
	inner exp	outer exp
	Periphery	

The demonstrative pronoun class is a delimiting syntagmatic feature of the expansive np with two expansions. Its occurrence signals the end of the phrase.

Example with head and two expansions present:

H:n	Pos:pr	D:dem pr	
nauh	an	tʉan	ne si tʉh kasau.
heart	his	that	has want take very-much.

'In his heart he wants very much to take it.'

Expanded nominal phrases with two expansions may also function as post-verbal inner expansion of the clause (object or relator).

Example as head of prepositional phrase, with head and two expansions:

	H:n	Pos:cl const	D:dem
lup loung kheng enter go-down into	Kasuh trap	da i hmat ga person catch fish	ti this

e goes down into the fisherman's trap.'

The expanded nominal phrase with one expansion may have a noun as its head and a positional word or a reversed-order clause^{*} as expansion. It may be diagrammed as:

s NP exp = + H:n + M:pos/rev cl.

This subtype of the nominal phrase is restricted in its function and can only occur as a post-nuclear inner expansion (object) of the transitive indicative clause and the transitive imperative clause.

	H:n	Pos:rev cl
am arrives	sthsai.n time	it da sathe. (of) sleeps rich-man

e arrives at a time when the rich man usually sleeps.'

* The reversed-order clause functioning in this place is a clause construct of a subtype of clauses which is relevant on the sentence level in the relational sentence. Hence it is not described in detail in this paper. The main feature of this clause is that the Subject follows the Nucleus (verb phrase).

The numeral subtype of the simple nominal phrase consists of two obligatory elements, namely a number followed by a noun-classifier. It can be diagrammed as:

Np nu + H:nu + M:n clas

Example:

	H:nu	M:n clas
he pwan	u	singei.
has become	one	day.

'It is (now) one day long.'

The numeral subtype of the nominal phrase frequently occurs in an appositional complex nominal phrase as np_2 , where np_1 consists of the noun to which the classifier of np_2 refers (see below).

The complex nominal phrase consists of two or more simple nominal phrases.

According to their structure, there are two further subtypes of complex nominal phrases:

- a. the additional complex nominal phrase
- b. the appositional complex nominal phrase

The additional nominal phrase is marked by distinctive syntagmatic features which combine two simple nominal phrases of the same subtype. There are three distinctive syntagmatic features which combine differently:

The feature gai 'and' occurs in a structure which may be diagrammed as;

compl add = + I₁/snp₂ + Sfe:gai + I₂:snp₁/snp₂

Example:

	I ₁ :snp ₁	Sfe	I ₂ :snp ₁
mæg tɛh	sean	gai	khriɯ da sathe tɛan.
also takes	diamond	and	gold (of) rich-man that.
e then takes the rich man's diamond and gold.'			

The feature po 'also' occurs in a structure which may be diagrammed as:

compl add = (+ Sf:po + I₁/2) + Sf:po + I₂:np_{1/2}

Example:

	I ₁ :n	Sfe	I ₂ :n
angeo	po	masou	vi karhom di jam pan ti.
so cat	also	dog	re-unite to weep after this.
fter this the cat and the dog are weeping together.'			

The feature di 'and' or 'plus' occurs the same structure as gai 'and', but it combines several subtypes only.

Example:

	I ₁ :np ₃	Sfe	I ₂ :np ₃
he pɛan	u singei	di	u hmɛg.
has become	one day	and	one night.
'It has been for one day and one night.'			

The appositional nominal phrase has no overt syntagmatic feature, but the order in which the elements occur shows the relationship of the elements

to each other. The first element is always the head and the second element is always an apposition to the head; an optional third element is always a repetition of the first element, while all three elements have the same referent. The elements of the appositional complex nominal phrase consist of different types of simple nominal phrases. The possible combinations of simple nominal phrases can be shown in the matrix below:

1. Place in Structure	2. Place in Structure		
	expans. np	pron. np	numeral np
expans. np	-	x	x
pron. np	x	-	x
add. compl np	-	x	x

Example:

I_1 :add compl	I_2 :rp np	
masou gai ma angeo	gai	mas he pnan pai ti.
dog and cat	they 2	also have got like thi

'This way the dog and the cat got (it) back.'

2.2 The verbal phrase functions as the predicate element in indicative, imperative, and interrogative clauses. According to their function in different clause types, there are three subclasses of the verbal phrase; as these differ structurally as well, they may also be called subtypes.

- a. the transitive/intransitive verbal phrase
- b. the descriptive verbal phrase
- c. the equational verbal phrase

2.1. *The transitive/intransitive verbal phrase*
 functions as the predicate in transitive or intransitive indicative clauses as well as in imperative clauses. Structurally transitive/intransitive verbal phrases may be diagrammed as:

tr/intr = $\pm M_3$:pre nuc adv $\pm M_2$:aspw $\pm M_1$:auxw +H:v
 tr/intr $\pm M_4$:adv/vdes

The arrangement and status of these elements may be diagrammed as follows:

pre-nuclear adverb	aspect	auxiliary/ tr. v ₂	verb or sequ. of verbs	post-nuclear adverb/ descr. verb
out. exp. 2	out. exp.	inner exp.		inner exp.
Periphery			Nucleus	Periphery

The pre-nuclear inner expansion (auxiliary) is distinguished from the outer expansion (pre-nuclear verb and aspect) by (a) its function in different types of verbal phrases and by (b) the different relationships their elements enter into.

a. The pre-nuclear adverb class and the aspect word class of the outer expansion of transitive/intransitive verbal phrases can occur

also in descriptive and equational verbal phrases, whereas the inner expansion (auxiliary word class and post-nuclear adverb) can function only in transitive/intransitive verbal phrases.

b. The relationship of the outer expansion (pre-nuclear adverb and auxiliary) in transitive/intransitive verbal phrases is such that it modifies the nucleus of the verbal phrase and also the pre- and post-nuclear inner expansion, whereas the inner expansion of the transitive/intransitive verbal phrase modifies the nucleus only.

The nucleus of the verbal phrase can have only two possible verbs in sequence. The nucleus of the transitive/intransitive verbal phrase can be distinguished from the inner expansion on the ground of the different relationships which verbs occurring in the nucleus can enter into, as well as on the ground of functional restriction of subclasses of words.

The relationship of the two verbs functioning as nucleus of the verbal phrase is always a close sequence of two actions. The relationship between the auxiliary pre-nuclear inner expansion and the verbs of the nucleus is such that the auxiliary verb modifies the verbal phrase nucleus as a whole. The adverbial post-nuclear inner expansion of the verbal phrase qualifies the nucleus, and if two verbs make up the nucleus, it qualifies the last verb only.

The functional restrictions of occurrence of word classes functioning as head and inner expansion of the verbal phrase are:

The head of the VP can have any member of the transitive or intransitive verb class. When two verbs form the head of the VP, the following sequences of verb classes are possible:

- a. intrans. + transit.)
 or) in VP functioning in
 descr. + transit.) transitive clauses
- b. intrans. + intrans.)
 or) in VP functioning in
 transit. + intrans.) intransitive clauses

The pre-nuclear inner expansion of the VP consist of any member of the auxiliary verb class a subclass of the transitive verb class (trv_2) which occurs also before a verbal extension clause (the verbal extension clause under 1.2.1.1.). The pre-nuclear inner expansion can either consist of a member of the adverb word class or a member of the descriptive verb class.

Generally there are not more than three words in sequence in the nucleus and inner expansion of the verbal phrase.

Example:

an	he	hoat	lup	long	kheng um
he	has	finish	enter +	go-down	into water
	asp	tr v_2	intr v + intr v		
	out exp	inner exp	nucleus		

'He has gone down into the water.'

2.2.2. *The descriptive verbal phrase functions as predicate of the descriptive indicative clause. Its structure can be diagrammed as:*

Vp des = $\pm M_2$:pre nuc adv $\pm M_1$:asp + H:des $\pm M_3$:emph
 $\pm M_4$:intens

The status and arrangement of the descriptive VP can be also diagrammed as:

pre-nucl adverb	aspect	descr. verb	kasau	tik
			emph.	intens.
expansion ₂	expansion ₁	nucleus	expansion	

The head of the descriptive verb phrase can consist of two descriptive verbs in sequence; in this case post-verbal expansion never occurs.

Example:

	M:asp	H:des v + des v	
prei	ko	vi ap vah	
jungle	became	re-dark, bright.	

'It became dark and bright again.'

2.2.3. *The equational verbal phrase functions as the predicate of equational clauses. Its structure consists of an optional aspect-modifier followed by the head consisting of the equational verb muh. This muh is the only member of the equational verb class.*

The equational verb phrase may be diagrammed

Vp equ. = + M:aspect + H:muh

The prepositional phrase class functions as
tor in the transitive, intransitive and descrip-
statement clause type.

Structurally, the prepositional phrase can
diagrammed as:

Pp = + R:prep + H:np / cl constr.

The preposition word-class functioning as
tor in the prepositional phrase is a delimiting
agmatic feature of the prepositional phrase.

Example:

	R:di H:cl constr	
u-g he nun kasau	di	hau dop 'n den....
so am tired very	from	walk along the road.
m also very tired		from walking on the road.'

The adverbial phrase functions as the manner
ment in major indicative clauses. Since it con-
s of a small class of more or less close-knit
hemes with merging semantic load, subdividing it
d have little practical value. Hence one may
that the adverbial phrase is filled by an adver-
expression.

Example:

u dzen 'at once'

IV. 2. *Word Level*

The level next below the phrase level in the hierarchy is the word level. To round out this analysis of the Pale clause and phrase levels it should be mentioned that there are 16 word classes, members of which function as elements of the phrase.

1. Nouns
2. Pronouns
3. Demonstratives
4. Positionals
5. Prepositions
6. Numerals
7. Noun classifiers
8. Phrase connectives
9. Aspect words
10. Auxiliary words
11. Verbs
12. Pre-nuclear adverbs
13. Post-nuclear adverbs
14. Emphatics
15. Intensifiers
16. Question words