

The Substantive Phrase in Brôu

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O. The substantive phrase in Brôu¹ may be defined as the filler of the subject, direct object, indirect object, or complement slots on the clause level. In this paper, first the tagmemic and tagmatic formulae for the Common Substantive Phrase will be presented. Then formulae will be given to show differences in ordering and differences in filler classes. The filler classes will be illustrated and restrictions on their cooccurrence will be mentioned. Finally, the Verb-centered Phrase, the Clause-filled Phrase, and the Speech-filled Phrase will be presented more briefly.

1. Tagmemic Formula

The tagmemic formula for the Common Substantive Phrase is: $\pm (\pm \text{NUM.} \pm \text{CLAS.}) \pm \text{N. H.} \pm \text{MOD.} \pm \text{DEM.} \pm \text{POS.} \pm \text{LOC.}$ ² in which NUM. represents Numeral, CLAS. represents Classifier, N.H. represents Noun Head, MOD. represents Modifier, DEM. represents Demonstrative, POS. represents Possessor, and LOC. represents Location.

1. Brôu is a language of the Mon-Khmer family. It is spoken by approximately 30,000 to 50,000 persons in the northwest corner of South Viet Nam and in neighboring areas of Laos and North Viet Nam. Data for this paper were collected in the Hương Hóa district of Quảng Trị province of South Viet Nam.

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2. NUM., CLAS., N.H., MOD., DEM., POS., and LOC. are understood to refer to complete tagmas when they occur in formulae throughout the paper, NU, CL, NH, M, D, P, and L refer to slots; and Nu, Cl, N, Mod, Dem, Pos, and Loc refer to fillers of slots.

In normal speech the fully expanded form is rarely found although its use is not incorrect. A native speaker prefers to break a long phrase and put the information into two separate clauses for ease in comprehension. The fully expanded form is more readily found in the direct object position than in the other positions. No one tagma is obligatory, but in any given phrase at least one of the tagmas must occur. In any case where the N.H. tagma is omitted it must be understood from previous context. CLAS. alone may not occur minimally but must occur with either NUM., N.H., or DEM.

Compound phrases are said to occur when two or more of the slots are used more than once and in a coordinate manner. For example, in the statement *Nheq alic cîrq nheq tariac môi cuchêit cho* 'All — pigs — my — all — buffalo — your — dead — already' 'All my pigs and all your buffalo died', the subject is a compound substantive phrase composed of NUM. — N.H. — POS. — NUM. — N.H. — POS.

2. Tagmatic Formulae

Tagmatic formulae will be presented in two main steps. The first step will show differences in ordering of the tagmas. The second will demonstrate differences within the fillers of the tagmas.

2. 1. Tagmatic Ordering

(NU — CL) NH (M — D — P — L)

The above formula demonstrates the most frequent or-

dering of the three main groups of items. In the above formula, NU — CL operates as a unit and always maintains the same internal ordering. The entire unit may occur either before the Noun Head or following any slot after it. The NU slot may be divided so that one part occurs in the customary position preceding the CL slot and the other part occurs in any position following the CL slot. Any Numeral filler presented under Section 3 except those in Numeral Class II may occur in this secondary position. e. g. (*Máh sa-ovi*) *lám alic cîq (nheq laung) cîq youn môi* '(Every — many) — Cl. — pig — mine — (all — entirely) — I — give — you' 'Every one of my many pigs I give you'.

Among the M, D, P, and L slots there is nearly free variation of order following the Noun Head. However, certain factors in their ordering need to be noted. All of these slots are understood to refer to and accompany the Noun Head. But when D follows P or L, and P or L is filled by a noun, D would seem to accompany the noun in the nearest preceding slot. To avoid this ambiguity, whenever a noun fills the P or L slot, D must precede it.

Likewise when M follows P or L an ambiguity might result. In this case M may either precede the P or L slots or remain following but be marked by juncture to accompany the Noun Head. (see 3. 5)

Another minor variation in ordering allows the Modifier slot to be split and the P, D, or L slot to be interposed be-

tween the two parts. e.g. *Tapoât lâm alic cîrq (toâr) ki (cuchêit) cîrq youn môi* 'Six - Cl. - pig - mine - (big) - those - (dead) - I - give - you' 'I'll give you those six big dead pigs of mine'.

2. 2. Tagmatic Filler Variants

- (1) \pm NU: (Nu IA/Nu IB/Nu IA+Nu IA/Nu IA+Nu IB/Nu IB+Nu IB/Nu II) \pm CL: (CL I/CL II) \pm NH: (NI/NII/ PPr/IPr) \pm M: (Mod I/ Mod II/ Mod III/ Mod IV)
 \pm D: (Dem) \pm P: (Pos I/ PPr) \pm L: (Loc)
- (2) \pm NU \pm CL \pm NH \pm D \pm P \pm L \pm M: (J+Mod I/ J+Mod II/ J+Mod III/ J+Mod IV)

Formula (1) above shows all filler classes occurring in each slot when the tagmas are arranged in one of the common orderings. The filler classes are discussed in Section 3. Formula (2) adds juncture to the Modifier fillers when the Modifier slot occurs in phrase-final position. In formula (2) where fillers are not stated they are understood to be the same as in formula (1).

3. Description of Fillers

3.1. Numeral. The Numeral slot may be either simple or complex. It is said to be simple if it is filled by just one Numeral. See examples 1, 2, 3, 6, 9. It is complex if it is filled by more than one Numeral as in examples 4, 5, 7, 8.

Class I Numerals may occur in combination with other Class I Numerals. Subclass IA fillers can occur preceded by or followed by any other Class I filler. (Examples 4, 5) This subclass includes *nheq* 'all', *clúng* 'many', *máh* 'all', *sa-oxi* 'many', *béiq* 'few', *dóu* 'every', and *nurm* 'only'. Of these, only *máh* can not occur after the NH. When standing alone in the Numeral slot, IA fillers can contain a following intensifier *lúq*, *tháng*, or *loáng*. (Examples 2, 3) Subclass IB includes the numbers such as *muoi* 'one', *pai* 'three', and *tapoát* 'six' which can be preceded by any Class I Numeral but can be followed only by another subclass IB filler. (Examples 7, 8)

In the examples given throughout the section only the substantive phrase is presented. Some of the examples could, if standing alone, be a complete clause, but all of them can be used to fill the subject, direct object, indirect object, or complement slot of a clause. Throughout this section and those following, only the portion of the example under attention has been underlined.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>Nheq</i> alic. . . | all — pig |
| IA | <i>All the pigs. . .</i> |
| (2) <i>Nheq loáng</i> alic. . . | all — completely — pig |
| IA int. | <i>All the pigs. . .</i> |
| (3) <i>Clúng lúq</i> alic. . . | many — very — pig |
| IA int. | <i>Very many pigs. . .</i> |

- (4) *Clúng nheq* alic. . . many — all — pig
IA IA *All the many pigs. . .*
- (5) *Nheq máh* alic. . . all — every — pig
IA IA *Every single pig. . .*
- (6) *Tapoát lám* alic. . . six — Cl. — pig
IB *Six pigs. . .*
- (7) *Clúng tapoát lám* alic IA IB many — six — Cl. — pig
All the six pigs. . .
- (8) *Nheq tapoát tapul* alic. . . all — six — seven — Cl. — pig
IA IB IB *All the six or seven pigs. . .*
lám alic. . .

Class II Numerals, which include *mah leq* 'how much' and *seiq* 'how many', occur only alone within the Numeral slot.

- (9) *Seiq lám* alic. . . how many — Cl. — pig
II *How many pigs. . . ?*

3.2. Classifier. Fillers of the Classifier slot fall into two classes. Class I Classifiers occur only with a preceding NUM. Examples of this class are *lám* and *noaq*.

- (10) *Tapoát lám* alic. . . six — Cl. I — pig
Six pigs. . .
- (11) *Nheq noaq côai. . .* all — Cl. I — person
All the people. . .

Class II Classifiers contain such fillers as *ploah*, *đc*,

- (19) *Darq...* water
Water...

The Personal Pronouns such as *cîr* 'I', *môi* 'you (sing.)', *ân* 'he, she, it', *hếq* 'we (excl.)', *hái* 'we (incl.)', *anhia* 'you (pl.)', *alói* 'they' can fill the NH slot.

- (20) *Cîr*... I... / ... me
- (21) Ma-noaq *cîr*... one — Cl. — I
I myself...
- (22) Tapoât noaq *anhia*... six — Cl. — you (pl.)
You six...

The Indefinite Pronouns *ntrou* 'what?, whatever, anything', and *nau* 'who?, whoever, anybody' may also fill the NH slot.

- (23) *Ntrou...* What...? / Anything...
- (24) *Ntrou o...* what — good
What that's good...? / Anything good...
- (25) *Ntrou phân cúq* what — of — me
What of mine...? / Anything of mine...

3. 4. Modifier. The Modifier slot has four classes of fillers. Class I Modifier consists of an adjective expression which is composed of an adjective such as *o* 'good', *toâr* 'big', *cusáu* 'red' ± intensive ± comparative ± tense marker.

- (26) Alic *toár lưq...* pig — big — very
Adj. Int. *Very big pigs...*
- (27) Alic *o clowi nheq...* pig — good — more — all
Adj. Comp. *Pigs better than any others...*
- (28) Alic *toár chor...* pig — big — already
Adj Tense *Pigs already big...*

Class II Modifier consists of a dependent verb expression which is composed of a verb such as *cuchêit* 'die', *chốq* 'tie', *táq* 'make', *cha* 'eat', \pm a tense marker or emphasis marker \pm location \pm instrument \pm object.

- (29) Alic *khoiq cuchêit chor...* pig — finished — dead — already
Tense Verb Tense *The dead pigs...*
- (30) Alic *cuchêit thánq...* pig — dead — completely
Verb Emph. *The completely dead pigs...*
- (31) Alic *cuchêit pa ki* pig — dead — at
Verb Loc. there — yesterday
mahái... *The pigs killed there yesterday..*
Tense
- (32) Alic *chốq cốp samou...* pig — tied — with — rope
Verb Instr. *The pigs tied with rope...*
- (33) Alic *cha doui pa ki...* pig — eat — rice
Verb Obj. Locat. at — there
The pigs eating rice there...

Class III Modifier consists of a Modifier Expression which is composed of the particle *ca* plus an adjective expression or *ca* plus a dependent verb expression as described above. When occurring in a position requiring juncture, the Modifier Expression requires an initial *ân*. (See 3. 5)

(34) Alic *ca toâr...* pig — part. — big
Adj. *Big pigs...*

(35) Alic *ca cuchêit...* pig — part. — dead
Verb *Dead pigs...*

Class IV Modifier consists of an entire clause.

(36) Alic *mpiq cîr q siem* pig — mother — my — feed
doui pa ki... — rice — at — there
The pigs my mother is feed-
ing rice there...

3. 5. Juncture. Juncture accompanies the Modifier slot when it is separated from the Noun Head by more than one slot or, as mentioned previously, in cases of ambiguity of antecedent. Juncture consists of either *ân* before the Modifier Expression (Class II Modifier) or a slight pause before the other filler classes.

(37) Alic *cûr q ki paung dổng* pig — my — those — above —
ariaih ân ca toâr... house — chief — J — part. — big
Those big pigs of mine above
the chief's house...

- (38) Alic *cưq ki paung đổng* pig — my — those — above —
ariaih (pause) toâr... house — chief — J — big
*Those big pigs of mine above
 the chief's house...*

3. 6. Possessor. The Possessor slot has two classes of fillers either of which can be preceded by the possessive marker *phân*. This marker is obligatory in normal speech when the slot is separated from the Noun Head or when the Noun Head is not stated, but it is optional when directly following the Noun Head. Class I Possessor is composed of the Common Substantive Phrase as described in this paper.

- (39) Alic *phân nheq côai* pig — of — all — people —
vil hếq. . . village — our
*The pigs of all the people of
 our village...*

- (40) Alic *ariaih...* pig — chief
The chief's pigs...

The Personal Pronouns as listed in Section 3.3 may also fill the Possessor slot.

- (41) Alic *phân cưq...* pig — of — me
My pigs...

- (42) Alic *cưq...* pig — me
My pigs...

3.7. Location. The Location slot is filled by a locative expression composed of a locative marker followed by *nái* ‘here’, *kí* ‘there’, or a noun \pm modification \pm possession (See 3.4; 3.6)

Locative markers include *paung* ‘above’, *pun* ‘under’, *tàng* ‘inside’, and *pa* ‘at’. *Paung* and *pun* can be preceded by *tàng* and can occur in this combination without a following noun.

(43) Alic *paung dǒng ariaih...* pig — above — house — chief
 Loc. N pos. *The pigs above the chief's house...*

(44) Alic *pa kí...* pig — at — there
 Loc. *The pigs there...*

(45) Alic *tàng paung...* pig — in — above
 Loc. Loc. *The pigs above...*

3.8. Demonstrative. The Demonstrative slot is filled by a demonstrative word such as *kí* ‘that, those’ and *nái* ‘this, these’.

(46) Alic *nái...* pig — this
This pig.. / These pigs...

4. Restrictions

In addition to the class cooccurrence restrictions already mentioned, three other restrictions of cooccurrence need to be mentioned. Numeral filler *máh* can not occur with a following Classifier. A Personal Pronoun, in the NH slot

can not be possessed by a Personal Pronoun. The Indefinite Pronouns can not occur with a Demonstrative.

Fillers of the NH, M, P, and L slots may be compounded so that two or more coordinate fillers occur. These may or may not be joined by a coordinating word *cóp* and are subject to the same restrictions as the single fillers.

Nheq <i>alic tariac...</i>	all — pig — buffalo
NH NH	<i>All the pigs and buffalo...</i>
Nheq <i>alic cóp tariac...</i>	all — pig — with — buffalo
NH NH	<i>All the pigs and buffalo...</i>
Nheq <i>alic cuchêit</i>	all — pig — dead — alive
M	<i>All the pigs dead and alive..</i>
<i>tamoong...</i>	
M	
Nheq <i>alic phân a-em</i>	all — pig — of — younger bro. —
P	of — older bro.
<i>phân ai</i>	<i>All the pigs of younger</i>
P	<i>brother and older brother...</i>
Nheq <i>alic yoang paurng</i>	all — pig — side — above —
L	side — below
<i>yoang purn...</i>	<i>All the pigs above and below...</i>
L	

The Classifier may be reduplicated to produce slight emphasis on the Noun Head.

Muoi <i>lám lám</i> con...	one — Cl. — Cl. — child
	<i>One child..</i>

5. Verb-centered phrase

One of the less common types of the substantive phrase may be called the Verb-centered Phrase. So far this type has been found only as the subject or complement of an equational-type clause. It consists of a verb \pm object \pm adverb \pm location \pm instrument. (See 3.4 Class II)

<i>Paŋq</i>	<i>chái</i>	<i>bôui</i>	<i>lŋq</i>	go — fast — happy — very
V		Adv.		<i>To go fast is a lot of fun</i>
<i>Táq</i>	<i>sarái</i>	<i>coat</i>	<i>lŋq</i>	make — field — difficult —
V		Obj.		very
				<i>To make a field is very difficult</i>
<i>Chŋq</i>	<i>cóp</i>	<i>samou</i>	<i>ien</i>	tie — with — string — easy —
V		Inst.		more
			<i>hauŋ</i>	<i>It is easier to tie with string</i>
<i>O</i>	<i>hauŋ</i>	<i>dŋq</i>	<i>táŋg</i>	good — more — put — in —
	V		Loc.	above
				<i>It is better to put it above</i>

The Verb-centered Phrase is similar in construction to the dependent verb expression mentioned earlier in section 3.4, but it differs basically in that the dependent verb expression must refer to a Noun Head either stated or understood. The Verb-centered Phrase cannot have a Noun Head.

6. Clause-filled phrase

The Clause-filled Phrase consists of an entire clause and occurs as object of a verb such as *horm* 'to see', *dang* 'to know', *chanchom* 'to think', or *pai* 'to say'. Extensive work has not yet been done on clause analysis, but it would appear that all clause types can occur in this position. Examples of some of the common clause types filling the phrase are :

Cúq dang *án ki ariaih* I — know — he — that —
chief

I know he is the chief

Cúq horm *nau táq adoir* I — see — someone — make —
basket

I see someone making a basket

Án horm *ariaih chu pa* He — see — chief — return —
đống. to — house

*He sees the chief returning
home*

One of the Clause-filled Phrase types is of particular interest. It consists of an adjective expression or dependent verb expression as presented in section 3.4 plus a noun.

Cúq horm *tiaq au* I — see — old — shirt

Adj. N *I see that the shirt is old*

Cúq houn *cuchêit alic* | — see — dead — pig
 V N *I see that the pig is dead*

This phrase type appears similar to the Common Substantive Phrase when the latter is filled by Noun Head — Modifier except that in this Clause-filled Phrase type the ordering of these two elements is different. By definition, the change in ordering from Noun — Modifier to Modifier — Noun results in the change from a Common Substantive Phrase to a Clause-filled Phrase. It also results in strong emphasis on the Modifier.

Cúq houn *acho dein* | — see — dog — short
 N Adj *I see the short dog*

Cúq houn *dein acho* | — see — short — dog
 Adj. N *I see that the dog is short*

7. Speech - Filled Phrase

The Speech-filled Phrase consists of anything from sentences to long utterances or whole speeches and occurs usually as the object of verbs of saying or thinking. Illustrating this phrase type is this section of narrative taken from a Brôu text :

Con ntroôq pái *ki cúq dâng / ki sambeit tâng atêi cúq nái*
 child cow say that I know / that ring on hand my this

ngu cóp cuyal háp líq tâng nâi / cuyal rapuq mia pril pril
 darken with wind strong very in here / wind violent rain light light

taur boun choân/cứq đáng

not have heavy I know

The cow's child said, 'thus I knew/the ring on my finger
 turned dark and the wind blew very strongly / there were
 violent winds and light rain / so I knew'