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C H R A U    G R A M M A R

A Mon-Khmer Language of Vietnam

David Dunton Thomas

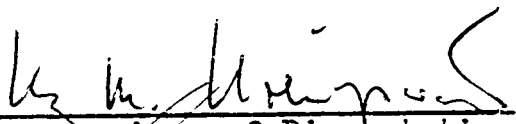
A DISSERTATION

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## PREFACE

This study of the Chrau language is based on field work in a Chrau village (Bàgiêng, Bìnhtuy) in 1959-60, and in the Vietnamese town of Xuânlộc, Longkhánh, intermittently from 1962 to 1966. In Xuânlộc I worked with a single informant but had occasional contacts with other Chrau in town or in trips to Chrau villages. Huỳnh Văn Nghi (1959-60) and Thổ Sảng Lục (1962-66) patiently taught me their language. Luc also recorded and typed up text material for me.

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Others such as my wife Dorothy, my mother, and my colleagues James Lorient and Robert Conrad read all or parts of the dissertation and offered helpful suggestions.

## Chapter 1

### THEORETICAL NOTES

- 1.1 Hierarchy
- 1.2 Bimodalism
- 1.3 Grammatical inventories

Partially following Pike (1954-60) we assume language to be composed of a hierarchical bimodal complex, with a limited set (inventory) of overt structures which are utilized in various ways in the formation of transformational paradigms. A distinction between emic and etic structures is posited in both phonology and grammar.

The modal hierarchical structure posited for Chrau may be diagrammed roughly as in Fig.1.

#### 1.1 Hierarchy

Levels: Specific languages may have different levels in their hierarchies, though the diagram in Fig.1 is probably fairly representative for many languages. Other languages may combine, add, or omit particular levels. And within a language the same levels may not apply throughout (cf. Day 1966:15-16).

Basic units: Phonemes and lexemes are considered the basic, or lower threshold, units of the phonological and

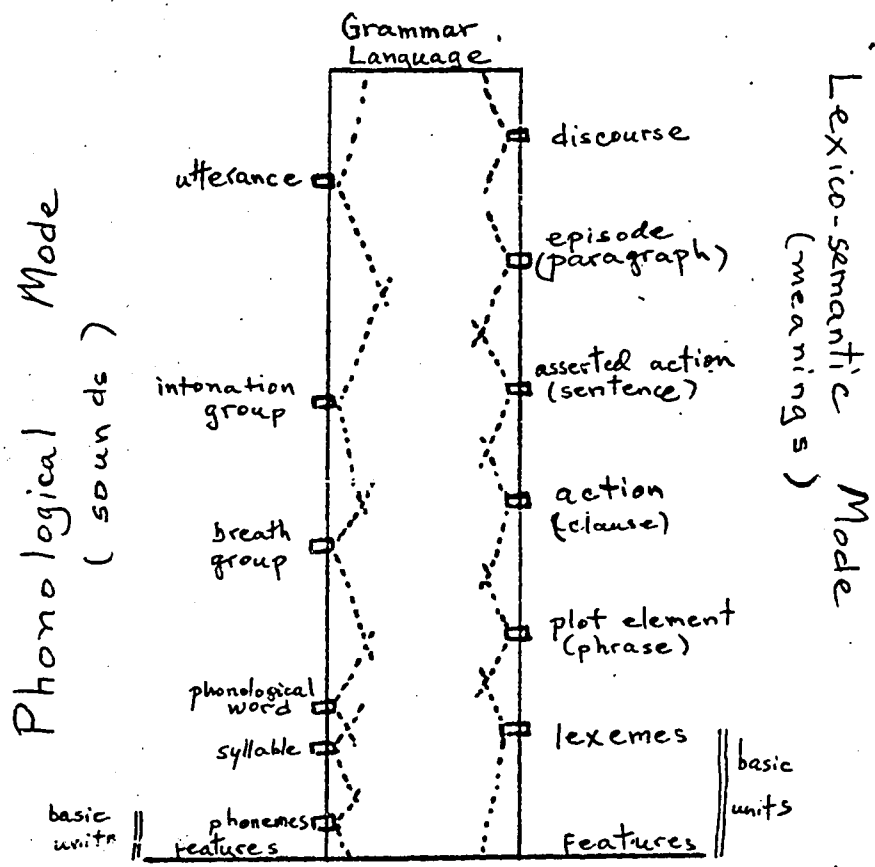


Fig. 1. Postulated Language Structure

lexical modes respectively. They are the smallest units which are pronounceable or usable alone. By this I mean that a phonological feature such as nasality cannot occur alone - features of voice, pitch, degree of closure, or point of articulation are necessarily simultaneous. Similarly a lexical feature such as person in the Greek verb does not occur alone but requires simultaneous number, tense, or mode features. And in Chrau kin terms, the sex features require simultaneous age features. So phonemes and lexemes are considered the basic units for their hierarchy.

Features: Phonological features such as pitch (e.g. in Chinese and Mixtec) or nasality (e.g. in Terena and Sundanese) may carry lexical meaning, so that they have sometimes been classified as full phonemes. An alternate suggestion would be to give both phonemes and features a place on the hierarchical threshold; these lexeme-carrying features can then be handled as a normal example of non-congruity between lexical and phonological modes. Both phonemes and features can serve in distinguishing lexemes. In an unstable system (cf. §3.7) description by phonemes and features may not do full justice to the synchronic data.

Freedom: A single phoneme or single lexeme is generally uttered by itself only in hypostasis. A phonological syllable or lexical phrase is a minimal construct and is more easily uttered. But it is not until one reaches the

levels of phonological word or lexical clause that there is normal utterability.

Slot-filling: In a hierarchy of the sort visualized (cf. Longacre 1966), units on a lower level normally fill slots in a higher level construction, as phonemes fill slots in a syllable, and phrases fill slots in a clause. But in the lexical mode it is not necessary that a slot always be filled by a unit of the next lower order, but may be filled by units of a higher, the same (§5.4), or any lower order, in theory indefinitely recursive. The phonological mode generally follows down the hierarchy in straightforward fashion, as there is neither the large inventory of units nor the need for recursive complexity that is encountered in the lexical mode.

Level-skipping: Let it be noted that in both phonological and lexical modes there may be features or basic units which do not enter into the levels immediately above them, but which enter directly into higher levels as markers, connectives, or meaning bearers on that higher level. In the phonological mode these would be items such as the lack of release marking word closure in Thai (Henderson 1949), or the contrastive stresses marking English stress groups, or the intonation on a Chrau intonation group (§4). In the lexical mode there would be items such as conjunctions on any of several lexical levels in English, or final particles on the clause or sentence levels in Vietnamese and Chrau

(§6.9). It might appear that phonological items in this sort of usage are always features, and lexical items in this usage are always lexemes.

Polysystemism: The "once a phoneme always a phoneme" dictum is overly rigid. We would subscribe, rather, to a position allowing for neutralization in situations where it would more easily handle the data, or allowing polysystemism where phoneme inventories vary considerably from slot to slot as happens frequently in Southeast Asia (cf. §3.4; 3.6; 3.8). Sequential polysystemism is essentially a slot-and-class approach similar to tagmemics in that each slot in the syllable (or word) is considered to be filled by its own unique class of fillers. Identical or near-identical classes are combined, and rather different classes are left distinct, and no necessity is felt for cross-identification between similar items in different classes. Thus the English verb show need not be identified with the noun show, and in Vietnamese initial f need not be identified with final p, and in Thai the debate over whether the final stops are voiced or voiceless becomes meaningless.

Tagmeme: I use the term "tagmeme" (Pike 1958) when referring simultaneously to a specific slot and its class of fillers. This term may be used at any level of either mode.



## 1.2 Bimodalism

As pointed out by Pike (1954-60), language is not just a single hierarchy building up from phonemes to morphemes to clauses, etc., but rather that language is composed of simultaneous parallel and interlocking hierarchies, each such hierarchy containing a full and independent set of levels from minimal threshold units up to units of discourse length. Each such hierarchy is called a mode.

We speak here in terms of only two modes, which we can call the phonological mode and the lexico-semantic mode. Pike's trimodalism treats distribution as a third mode, but we prefer to handle distribution as a mathematical concept like hierarchy and generality (delicacy), i.e., distribution is not language but is used by language. Phonology and lexicon are the raw materials of language on which these mathematical concepts operate. (Crawford's four modes are essentially reducible to these two. (Crawford 1963))

Phonology by itself, or lexicon (semantics) by itself, is not language. It is not language until there is a fusion or interlocking of the two modes at all levels in a "many:many" relationship (cf. Fig.1). This fused quasi-hierarchy is what we call grammar or language, and is a combination of two modes rather than being an independent third mode.

The phonological mode is by far the simpler of the two modes, being restricted to what the vocal apparatus can produce and the ear can efficiently discriminate. It has its extralinguistic setting in physiology and acoustics. On its lower threshold are phonological features (§3.9) describable in terms of articulation or of sound waves, and phonemes (§3.3-8) describable in terms of distribution and contrasts. In most languages the next level is the syllable (§3.2), a wave containing a single peak of resonance, usually called a vowel, and falling off to troughs on both sides, usually called consonants. There may be several structural slots (semivowels, etc.) on both slopes of the wave.

Above the syllable is usually the phonological word (§3.1), defined as a single emic chest pulse (Pike 1954-60: §9.2). It may contain several syllables, but one syllable will often be more prominent than the other syllables. The structure of major and minor (prominent and reduced, peak and trough) syllables is not always the same, so that different syllable patterns need to be set up in such cases (§3.2), and sometimes different phonemes. In languages such as Vietnamese (Thomas 1962b), but not Chinese or Thai, the syllable and the phonological word are identical.

Above the phonological word come such units as breath group, intonation group, utterance (§4.). There are frequently prosodic features that are tied to specific levels,

features such as intonation, stress, and devoicing, which may be simply markers of units or may also be paradigmatic and carry lexical functions (Henderson 1949).

The lexico-semantic mode has its extralinguistic setting in psychology and cultural anthropology, the sciences of what people think and do. On its lower threshold are lexical features (components), describable in terms of lexical matrices (Goodenough 1956), and lexemes, describable in terms of distribution and contrasts. Analysis in terms of slot distribution gives grammatical word classes (§6-8). Lexemes can also be analyzed in terms of lexical environment, producing semantic classes and subclasses (Conklin 1962, Frake 1961) in a folk taxonomy, or producing other types of groupings (D.M.Thomas 1966). The subclassification of Chrau lexemes and lexemic domains will not be discussed here (see Thomas and Luc 1966).

The next level above the lexeme in the lexical mode hierarchy is that of the lexical phrase (§7,8). Phrases identify plot elements: actions, locations, participants, and the like. (The term 'plot elements' was suggested by Pike.) Phrases can be described in terms of their internal slots and of their external functions.

Above the phrase is the clause (§5-6). This is identifiable as a single action (or state), or more accurately perhaps we should say that it is the conceptualization of

an action (or state). Here again we can say that we have a prominent peak, usually the action (verb), less prominent slopes (the other main participants), and troughs (the peripheral items). Smalley and Larson (1965) have suggested using the psychological terms of figure and ground to describe it.

Above the clause (action) come such levels as the sentence (asserted action, assertion) (§10.1-7), the paragraph (episode) (§10.8-12), and the discourse (§10.13). It should be noted that the higher levels are not just simply larger and larger units, but are different qualities of units.

One might say perhaps that the lexical mode presents the deep structure, and the fused quasi-mode presents the surface structure.

### 1.3 Limited inventories of forms

Languages apparently have a limited set or inventory of patterns which they utilize in different ways. The same clause types (§5) may appear in different paradigms with different functions (§11). Thus English I don't like his walking may be from the paradigm:

I don't like his walking.

I don't like the way he walks.

He walks in a way I don't like.

His walking is not the way I like it.

or from the paradigm:

I don't like his walking.

I don't like him to walk.

Walking is something I don't like him to do.

Some recent treatments would have said that there are two sentences I don't like his walking which are accidentally homophonous (e.g. Liêm 1966:xxiv). I would prefer, rather, to say that there is only one sentence, manifesting a single pattern, viz., Subject-Verb-Possessive-Gerund, which is one of a limited stock of surface structures used in English. This pattern is then utilized in at least two paradigms, and probably more, not necessarily with the same function in each. The inventory of such patterns is in the surface structure of the language. The basic structures are discovered through paradigms.

Thus we can say that things that look the same really are the same; homophonous forms are not just accidentally alike, they are occurrences of the same item in the inventory of surface structures in the language. This limited inventory of forms has no doubt contributed to the formation of the tree structure of the Chrau clause paradigms (§11), with elided transitive forms looking exactly the same as full intransitive forms.

Occasionally a pattern may even shift across phrase boundaries in the different paradigms, as in:

They are flying planes.

They have planes that they are flying.

It is planes that they are flying.

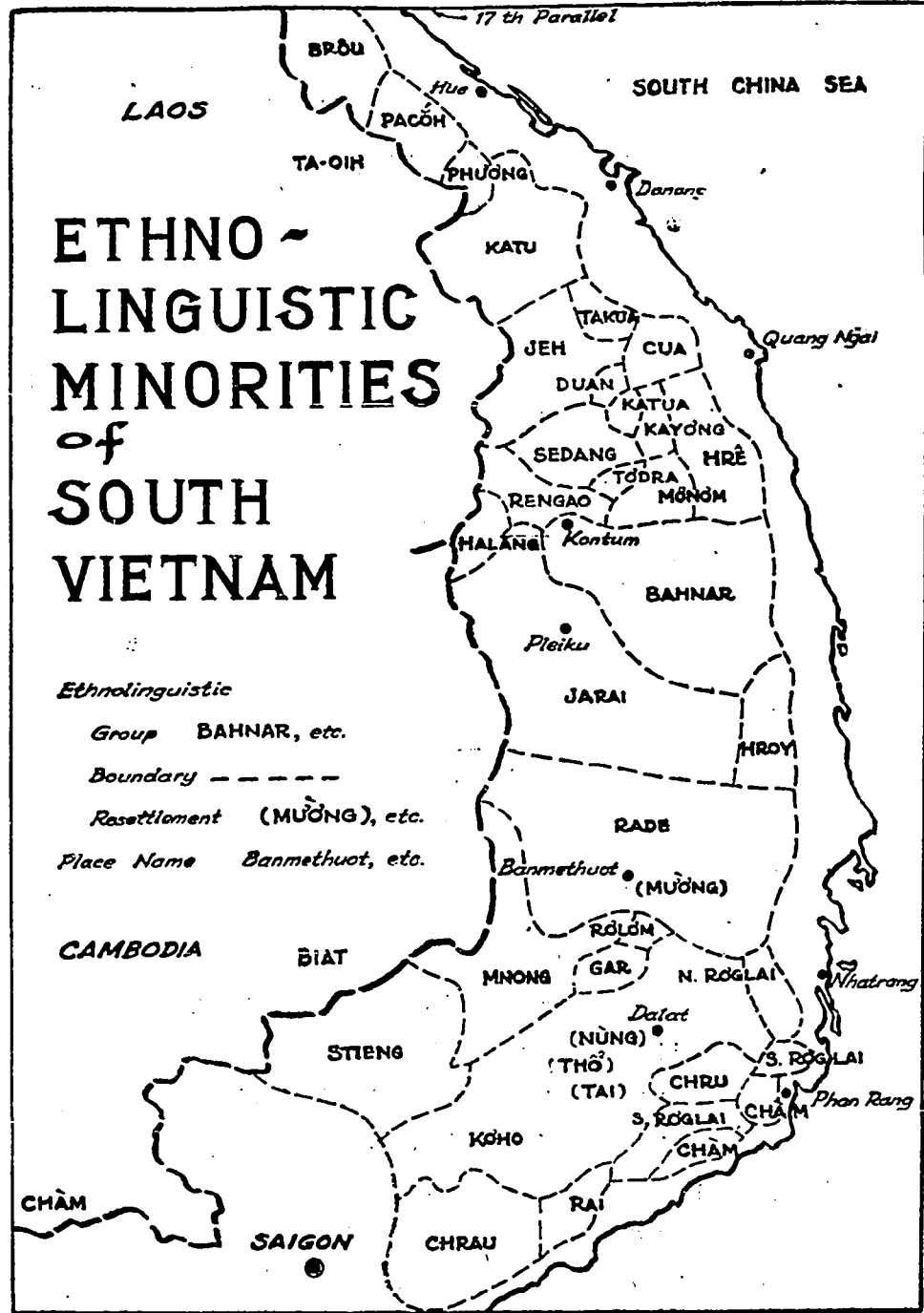
and:

They are flying planes.

The planes there are flying.

It is planes that are flying.

in which the participle may be part of a verb phrase or of a noun phrase.



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Fig. 2. Ethnolinguistic Minorities of South V.N.

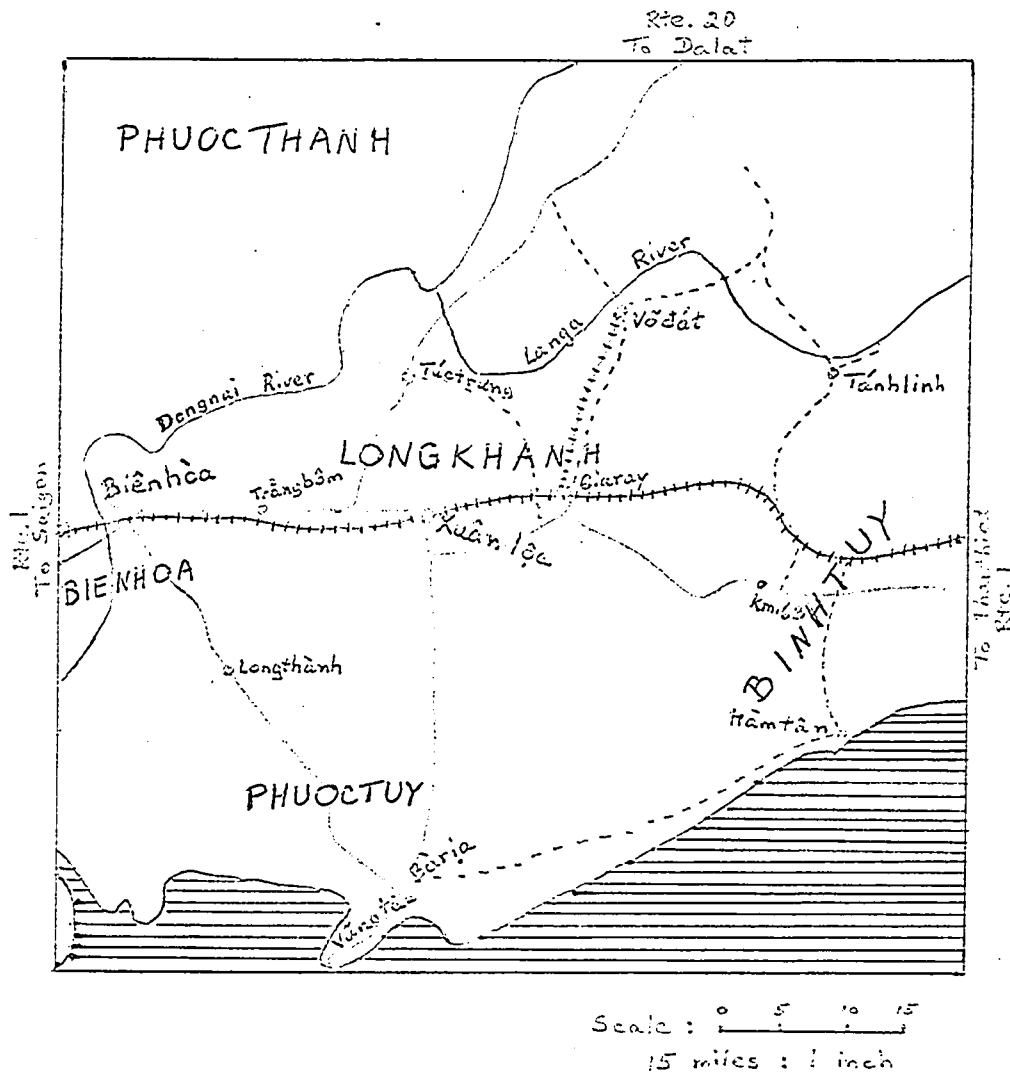


Fig. 3. Map of the Chrau Area



## Chapter 2

### THE WIDER CHRAU SETTING

- 2.1 Geographical setting
- 2.2 Genetic linguistic setting
- 2.3 Areal linguistic setting
- 2.4 Historical setting
- 2.5 Sociolinguistic setting
- 2.6 Dialectal setting

#### 2.1 Geographical setting

The Chrau (pronounced [čřăw]) live in South Vietnam in an area about 50 miles east of Saigon (Fig. 2). The Kóho-speaking area is to the north of the Chrau, the Róglai are to the east, the Vietnamese to the south and west. The northwest corner is not known, as it is an area presently inaccessible (Zone D), so it is possible that the Stiêng rather than the Kóho touch the Chrau at that point.

Geographically the Chrau area (Fig. 3) is bounded on the north by the Langa River east to Tánhlinh, then the Tánhlinh-Hàm tân road can be reckoned as the eastern boundary, though there are some Chrau east of the road and some Róglai west of the road. The southern Chrau boundary would be a few miles in from the seacoast from Hàm tân to Vĩngtau and Bàrĩa, then north along a line west of Longthành and Trángbôm to the Đốngnai River. The northwestern corner, as

mentioned above, is unsure, but it probably doesn't go very far beyond the Đờngnai River.

There is also reported to be a village or two of Chrau far to the west in Tayninh province (reported under the name of 'Tamun').

Thus the main Chrau area is composed of the southern half of Longkhánh province, the southwestern quarter of Bìnhtuy, the northern half of Phướctuy, the eastern edge of Biênhòa, and perhaps part of southeasterne Phướcthành. There are no Chrau towns; the towns and cities in and near the area are Vietnamese, but the Chrau look to them as their political, economic, and cultural centers. The town of Xuânlộc, the provincial capital of Longkhánh, is about in the middle of the Chrau area, and the Chrau seem to consider it their main center. The cities of Bàriạ and Biênhòa on the edge of the Chrau area are both considerably larger than Xuânlộc but are not considered Chrau centers. Bàriạ, Biênhòa, and Sài Gòn all figure in one of the Chrau legends I have obtained. The towns of Túctrùng and Vồđắt are also Chrau centers, but appear to have less prestige to the Chrau than Xuânlộc.

Two main highways and a railroad run through the area -- Route 20, the Biênhòa-Túctrùng-Đàlạt highway; and Route 1, the Sài Gòn-Biênhòa-Xuânlộc-Phanthiết-Huế highway; and the Sài Gòn-Huế railroad which runs through Xuânlộc and

has a spur to Vĩđát. The Chrau thus live astride the main communication lines between Sàigòn and central Vietnam. Recently there has been a gravitation of the Chrau toward the highways, though previously they were content to live far from civilization.

The Chrau country is rolling, a transition area between the flat lands of the Mekong delta and the mountains of central Vietnam. The southwestern area is fertile rubber country with a number of large rubber plantations. The northern area is largely rubber and jungle. The southeastern area is less fertile soil, with the sparse population getting their cash income from rattan and palm leaf work.

The seasons are the same as in Sàigòn, though it does not get as hot as in Sàigòn. The red soil in the rubber country changes quickly from deep dust to deep mud, frequently making living and traveling difficult.

## 2.2 Genetic linguistic setting

The Chrau language is a member of the South Bahnaric subgroup (Blood 1966), along with Kóho, Stieng, and the Mnong dialects. It is possible that Chrau and Kóho may form a separate subgrouping within this, but it is not clear. The break between the Kóho and Chrau language areas seems fairly sharp. Comparison of basic vocabulary between Chrau, Kóho, Mnong, and Stiêng yields consistently about 60% cognates.

South Bahnaric and North Bahnaric are the two main divisions of the Bahnaric group (formerly labeled Stiengan and Bahnaran (Thomas 1966a)). Comparison of basic vocabulary between North Bahnaric and South Bahnaric languages yields about 40-45% cognates. These two groups are separated geographically by about 200 miles of Malayo-Polynesian (Chamic) speakers of Radê and Jarai (cf. Lee 1966).

The Bahnaric group, which comprises the majority of the Mon-Khmer languages in South Vietnam, as well as some languages in southern Laos and eastern Cambodia, is one of the main divisions of Mon-Khmer, along with Katuic, Khmeric, and Mon (Thomas 1966a). Schmidt (1905) was the first to solidly establish the fact of a Mon-Khmer family, though others had suggested it before without carefully proving it. He established the membership of Mon, Cambodian, Bahnar, and Stieng in the Mon-Khmer family. The relationship of Khasi, Palaung-Wa and Khmu-Lamet to these groups is not clear (Pinnow 1963).

The Mon-Khmer family, in turn, is a member of the Austroasiatic phylum. The Austroasiatic phylum was also brought into prominence by Schmidt (1907), but since then there has been considerable debate as to which families belong in the phylum. Pinnow (1959) has shown Munda to be a member of Austroasiatic along with Mon-Khmer, and Haudricourt (1953) has proposed (and I would agree with him) the membership of Việt-Mường in Austroasiatic (cf. also Wilson 1966).

The Malacca languages and Nicobarese also apparently belong within Austroasiatic, though their precise status is not clear (Pinnow 1963).

### 2.3 Areal linguistic setting

Chrau has come under the characteristic Southeast Asian influences (Henderson 1965, Thomas 1966b). One such influence is the tendency toward monosyllabicity by reducing or dropping all but the final syllable. Pinnow's work on Austroasiatic (esp. 1959) shows clearly that Austroasiatic languages used to have polysyllabic words, yet the Mon-Khmer languages all show the monosyllabic trend. Mngong Rólóm has gone the farthest, becoming almost completely monosyllabic. Chrau would still be considered disyllabic, though the first syllable (presyllable) vowel is simply a noncontrastive shewa which, were it not for a few environments in which its presence contrasts with its absence, could almost be called simply an automatic open transition between certain consonants.

A second area trend is toward tones. This may be a trend coming down from China. Haudricourt (1954) has shown how Vietnamese tones probably came from consonantal features, and for Mon-Khmer languages he has shown (1965) how vowel registers develop from consonantal features and may lead to tones. Chrau has neither tones nor registers, but neighboring Cham and Kóho both are developing 2-tone systems (Smalley

1954), with the possibility of a third tone in Kɔho. With many loanwords coming in from Vietnamese, and with tonal concomitants of some syntactic slots currently effective in Chrau (§ 4.2-3), it is quite possible that Chrau may soon move into the category of a tonal language.

A grammatical characteristic of Southeast Asia (and China) is the large-scale use of classifiers. In Chinese and in most of the Vietnam languages, including Chrau (§ 7.3), the classifier is placed between the numeral and the noun. In other Southeast Asian languages it is not uncommon for the order to be noun-numeral-classifier.

Another areal feature, associated with the monosyllabic trend, is the scarcity of affixes. This is seen most strikingly in the Malayo-Polynesian languages of Vietnam when compared with the affix-rich languages of the Philippines and Indonesia. Among the Mon-Khmer languages of Vietnam, Katu, Pacoh, and Bahnar (Costello 1966, S. Watson 1966, E. Banker 1964a) still have some fairly active affixes, but Chrau has only one really active affix, and Mnong Rɔlɔm, like Vietnamese and the Tai languages, has none. Affixes in Vietnam are all prefixes or infixes; I do not know of a single suffix in any Vietnam language.

Another grammatical characteristic of the area is the syntactic tendency to weaken certain verbs so that they come to have one or more uses as auxiliary verbs, adverbs,

or prepositions, in addition to their use as main verbs. Thus in Chrau, verbs like cónh 'want', an 'give', chěg 'put' can take on preverbal or postverbal functions and meanings. (cf. J. Cooper 1966).

Also recurrent throughout this area is onomatopoeic reduplication (R. Watson 1966b; Emeneau 1951: 159-200; Thompson 1965: 151-178). In Chrau this appears most frequently in classical style (§ 9.2; 12.1).

#### 2.4 Historical setting

The Chrau are probably the original inhabitants of the area in which they are now living, though some scholars think that there may have been negritos aboriginally inhabiting Southeast Asia before the Mon-Khmers moved in.

Before the Vietnamese moved into what is now South Vietnam, the area was divided between Chamic (Malayo-Polynesian) and Mon-Khmer speakers, with the Chamic peoples settled along the coast from Hué to Phanhiét and inland on the high plateau from Banmethuot to Pleiku. North and south of the plateau live Mon-Khmer peoples. This gap between the Mon-Khmer groups could be explained as either a Chamic invasion of Mon-Khmer territory, breaking the continuity of the Mon-Khmer area, or else as a Mon-Khmer invasion into the outlying Chamic areas, leaving them only the plateau. Both theories have been advanced. I lean toward the first alternative geographically because an invader would gener-

ally tend to take for himself the level plateau rather than the steep mountainsides, and linguistically because the close relationship between Chamic and Malay would indicate the Chamic settlement in Vietnam (probably by ship) to be relatively recent (the first few centuries B.C.?). And the Chamic languages do not show the diversity that would be expected from an old settlement.

Recorded history in the area starts in the early centuries A.D. At that time Cambodia (Funan and Chenla) and Champa were the major powers, both of them having borrowed their civilization and religion from India (cf. Briggs 1951). These two were deadly rivals for many centuries, with warfare being waged back and forth. From one or two references it appears that there may have been a small buffer state on the coast between Champa and the Mekong delta (Cambodia), in the area near Bàrĩa; if so, this may constitute the first historical reference to the Chrau.

Whether or not the Chrau (or should we say the South Bahnars?) were ever organized into a state, it is clear that from earliest history the Chrau were in contact with both the Khmers and the Chams, as the main cross-country highway in those days, even as still today, led through the Chrau area. Evidence from loanwords would seem to indicate that the Chams had more influence on the Chrau than the Khmers, though the Túc-trung dialect of Chrau seems to show more Khmer influence. Some Chrau legends are clearly of



Cham origin and are found in other Cham-influenced tribal groups as far north as Đàng. On the other hand, remarks by my informant concerning recent 'Chrau kings' seem to point to an identification with the Khmers (Cambodians). The answer may possibly be that while Champa was powerful it tended to exert the major influence on the Chrau. Then after Champa succumbed to the Vietnamese (13-1500 A.D.), the Chrau identified themselves with the Cambodians, though Vietnamese cultural influence was making itself felt. And after the defeat of the Cambodians (17-1800), the Chrau came under the sole influence of, and began to identify themselves with, the Vietnamese.

There appears to have been a loose confederation among the Chau Ma (Kcho) for several centuries, to which the Chrau may have also belonged. It was a temporary political and military confederation of tribespeople. The Chau Ma were often attacked and enslaved by Khmer soldiers. In 1328 many tribespeople, especially Chrau, Kcho, and Stiêng, rose against their Cham overlords. But when the Vietnamese were pressing in on the Chams after 1471, the tribespeople rallied loyally to the support of the Chams. By the end of the 18th century the Chau Ma were practically encircled by the Vietnamese, and their confederation broke up and returned to anarchy. In 1755 the Vietnamese resettled 10,000 Chrau and Chau Ma in Gováp (near Sài Gòn), but the Cambodians attacked them, so that the 5,000 who were

rescued were moved to Tayninh province instead (Bourotte 1955:31-41).

According to Bourotte (p. 57), in 1833 the Cham, Sre, and Chrau revolted against the Vietnamese, but were suppressed in eight days, after which the Sre and Chrau rescued many of the Cham treasures and took them up to the hills. This account, however, probably refers to the Chru rather than the Chrau.

In 1862 the Chrau and Stiêng joined a Vietnamese anti-French revolt. But the excessive demands of the rebels upon the tribespeople eventually aroused their hostility, so that the tribespeople handed over 200 of the rebel leaders to the French (Bourotte, p. 68-9).

French influence in the Chrau area lasted less than a century, so had almost no effect on the Chrau language, and had little effect on Chrau culture other than setting up the rubber plantation system.

## 2.5 Current sociolinguistic setting

It would seem that the ancient Chrau practice was to live in small hamlets or in isolated houses in the jungle. Now probably half of the Chrau live in or on the edge of Vietnamese villages, many of them rubber plantation villages, with the remainder living in villages of 100-500 population, mostly near the highways and railroad. The total Chrau

population is estimated at 15-20,000.

The Chrau in the southwest are largely plantation workers, the Chrau in the center and north are largely small farmers, and the Chrau who are still living in the southeast are subsistence farmers and palmleaf workers. All are deeply involved in the Vietnamese cash economy.

Vietnamese influence on the Chrau has heavily affected every area of their life, and as a result Vietnamese loanwords are pouring into the language. Most Chrau are bilingual to some degree, some highly so, others less so.

There is very little French, and even less American, linguistic or cultural influence on the Chrau. On the plantations the French influence is usually mediated to the Chrau through the Vietnamese overseers or fellow-workers, but there are some Chrau who can speak French quite fluently. In American-trained military units probably a few words of English have been picked up by the Chrau, but contact is too recent for any influence to have filtered into general Chrau usage. The majority of French words in Chrau appear to have been mediated through Vietnamese, as Chr. vagai, Vn. ba gai, Fr. bagarre 'scuffle, brawl', Chr. laye, Vn. là vé, Fr. la bière 'beer', though some have come direct from French, as Chr. canũng, Fr. cannon 'cannon, howitzer'.

Vietnamese loans come into Chrau with a minimum of

phonetic change. There appear to be two layers of Vietnamese loans in Chrau, one showing affinities with Middle Vietnamese (Gregerson 1963) so probably dating back to the 17th or 18th centuries, and one containing modern loans from Southern Vietnamese. The older layer of loans have lost their tones and are accepted as pure Chrau, and they systematically show d and j for Middle Vietnamese (and orthographic) d and gi, even though modern Vietnamese, both Northern and Southern, has lost the distinction. The newer layer of loans does not distinguish d, gi, or v, rendering them all as y. Assimilation of Vietnamese loans into Chrau requires the dropping of tonal distinctions, so there is a clear tendency for less bilingual Chrau to drop the tones fairly quickly, while more bilingual Chrau tend to retain the Vietnamese tones.

The Chrau tend to be bilingual to the degree that they have contact with the Vietnamese. This means that in general the men are more bilingual than the women because they mix more with the Vietnamese at work and in the army. The degree of bilingualism also depends on the distance of the home village from the Vietnamese centers, especially from Xuânlộc.

Vietnamese is always used by all Chrau at the market (except in private conversations between Chrau) both because almost no Vietnamese know any Chrau, and because the Chrau language is considered by both Chrau and Vietnamese

to be an inferior language. In the home, however, Chrau is used almost exclusively. The general rule is to use Vietnamese in Vietnamese social situations, or when Vietnamese people are involved in any way in the discussion. Otherwise Chrau is used.

Vietnamese market talk is known by almost all Chrau; army talk would be known by most of the men; rubber plantation talk would be known by many men and women in the western area. Agriculture would be less known, hunting and fishing talk still less, and religious and ethical vocabulary probably the least.

The Chrau who are in frequent contact with the Vietnamese tend to have a low opinion of their own language, mainly I think because it was unwritten until recently. But with the introduction of Chrau writing there seems to be more pride in their language.

## 2.6 Dialectal setting

The Chrau area appears to be dialectally fairly homogeneous, possibly because of clan exogamy, except for the Túctrung area. Túctrung speech is laughed at, and sometimes called baby talk, by most Chrau; yet there is general mutual intelligibility in most contexts. (Christian records made in Túctrung, however, seemed quite unintelligible in Bìnhtuy.) Other dialects have slight intonational or vocabulary differences, but not to any serious degree. (cf. §12.

3,4 for more detailed discussion.)

Thus the speech in the Xuân lộc area is fairly representative of the majority of the Chrau speech community and also has the prestige of the administrative center, so we have taken the speech of the Xuân lộc area as the standard for the written language and as the norm for our description of Chrau.

## Chapter 3

### PHONEMES

- 3.1 Phonological words
- 3.2 Syllables
- 3.3 Consonant phonemes
- 3.4 Presyllable consonants
- 3.5 Presyllable vowels
- 3.6 Main consonants
- 3.7 Main vowels
- 3.8 Final consonants
- 3.9 Contrastive features
- 3.10 Comparisons

#### 3.1 Phonological words

A phonological word in Chrau (cf. Thomas 1962b) may be defined as a phonological stretch containing only one main (stressed) syllable. It may also contain one, only one, unstressed syllable (presyllable). It is similar to what Pike calls a stress group or abdomineme (1954-60:§9.3).

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc., may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic words. But connectives, verbal auxiliaries, final particles, and exclamations take only monosyllabic forms generally.

#### 3.2 Syllables

A syllable in Chrau may be defined as a phonological stretch containing only one vocalic peak. There are two

main types of syllables in Chrau, which we label presyllables and main syllables. Shorto (1963) calls them minor and major syllables.

A presyllable consists of a single initial consonant ( $C_p$ ) followed by a single neutral vowel ( $V_p$ ) (§3.4-5).

A main syllable consists of as many as three consonants in the main consonant position ( $C_m$ ), followed by a simple or complex vowel ( $V_m$ ), and optionally closed with a final consonant ( $C_f$ ). The order of the consonants in  $C_m$  position is governed by the following rules (cf. Thomas 1962a):

- 1) A nasal (m,n,nh,ng) in  $C_m$  is always first, and is usually homorganic with the following consonant. ndăh 'not yet', camlăh 'deny', nsyěq 'cough'.
- 2) A sonorant (r,l,w,y) in  $C_m$  is always last. glu 'leech', hwi 'wide', mprăng 'run', camhlăng 'strong'. There is an irregular /r/ which should be considered a vowel filling the  $V_p$  position (see §3.5).
- 3) Voiced stops (v,d,j,g), preglottals (b,đ), /s/, and /q/ come between nasals and sonorants. mva 'year', mvlôr 'throw up', vlăh 'split', candăl 'middle'.
- 4) Voiceless stops (p,t,ch,k) come after nasals and before /h/ and sonorants. ntu 'well', nthôr 'fragrant', trôh 'hand over'.
- 5) /h/ comes after nasals and voiceless stops and before sonorants. mhlôh 'window', khlang 'eagle'. (§3.6)



The vowels in  $V_m$  position may be short, long, or glided. The only glides are from a high vowel to a neutral mid vowel (iê, ươ, uô) (§3.7).

Only a single consonant may occur in  $C_f$  position (§3.8).

Final particles, as noted above (§3.1; 6.9), are generally monosyllabic. Their form is also restricted, in that there is never more than one consonant in  $C_m$ , the vowel quality tends toward a central position, and the final consonant tends to be weakly articulated.

### 3.3 Consonant phonemes

The total inventory of consonant phonemes is:

	lab.	dent.	pal.	vel.	glot.
voiceless stops	p	t	ch	k	q
preglottalized	b	đ			
lenis vd. stops	v	d	j	g	
nasals	m	n	nh	ng	
sonorants	w	l,r	y		
aspirates			s		h

/p,t,ch,k/ are normal voiceless stops at the bilabial, dental, palatal, and velar positions. They are generally unreleased in  $C_f$  position. For detailed contrasting of these and other phonemes see Thomas 1962a.

/b,đ/ are preglottalized or implosive voiced stops at the

bilabial and dental positions. They are rare in current Chrau, occurring mostly in Vietnamese loans. Other South Bahnaric languages have a solid contrast between simple and preglottalized stops, so Chrau probably did originally too, but then lost the contrast until it was reintroduced from Vietnamese.

/q/ is a glottal stop (glottal catch).

/v,d,j,g/ are usually lenis voiced stops, but can vary to a fricative or affricate pronunciation.

/m,n,nh,ng/ are nasals at the bilabial, dental, palatal, and velar positions.

/w,y/ are bilabial and palatal semivowels.

/l/ is a dental lateral, occasionally flapped.

/r/ is a dental retroflex, which can vary between semivocalic, flapped, and trilled pronunciations. The trill is seldom used except for emphasis.

/s/ is a sibilant, varying from dental to palatal. It tends to be fronted adjacent to front vowels. In C<sub>f</sub> position it usually loses its sibilant quality, becoming a flat fricative or simply palatalized aspiration.

/h/ is simple aspiration.

When a palatal (ch,j,nh,y,s) is in C<sub>f</sub> position, there is usually a phonetic y-glide between the vowel and the consonant.

[Citation of consonants in §3-4 (phonology) follows the consonant symbols in the above chart. In §5-12 (syntax)

the citations follow current Chrau orthography, which differs from the above as follows: k, c, g(w)=/k/; -u, -o=/-w/; -i, -y=/-y/; -ih, -yh=/-s/; medial hyphen =/q/.]

### 3.4 Presyllable consonants (C<sub>p</sub>)

The consonants that can occur in C<sub>p</sub> are:

p t ch k q  
v d j g  
m  
(w) l~r (y)  
s (h)

Presyllables with /w,y, and h/ are not well attested, having only one or two examples of them, and most of those examples are dubious. Presyllables with /b,d,n,nh,ng/ do not occur.

The distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and between /l/ and /r/ is unstable. There frequently appears to be free variation between them, as in words like gatr~katr 'cockscomb', dikang~takang 'beam', pataw~vataw 'king', lapŭng~rapŭng 'melon'. Yet there are minimal pairs such as gala 'foolish', kala 'bamboo'; dipa 'bamboo shoot', tapa 'turtle'; vaniêng 'jug', paniêng 'fatty'; lawa 'a fish', rawa 'spread around'. The l/r contrast seems to be the most unstable.

Shifting between points of articulation is also not infrequent, as vave~dive 'sheep', but this seems to be

usually a matter of dialect differences rather than a variation between phonemes within a single dialect or idiolect.

A morpheme may sometimes drop its presyllable, this presumably as part of the monosyllabic trend in Southeast Asia. It has been observed on words like ranăy-năy 'pestle', but no rules have been observed to determine when or on what words this dropping may take place. In direct address a presyllable will often be dropped, so that a nephew is often addressed as mon rather than kamon, and a rabbit (sipay) in the legends is often addressed as pay.

Occasionally also a presyllable may be dropped and a homorganic nasal added to  $C_m$  instead, or substituted for an existing  $C_m$  nasal. vongvăng-mvăng 'Mimosa invisa'.

Some Mon-Khmer languages, e.g. Jeh (Cohen 1966), have different restrictions if the presyllable is an affix, but this has not been found in Chrau. Similarly, reduplication does not change the rules, though there does seem to be some tendency in Chrau to dissimilate or drop reduplicative presyllables.

Consonant clusters have been found in  $C_p$  position only in elided pronouns like khamay (from khây may 'you'pl.), khaněh (from khây něh 'they'). This is a case where the phonological wave structure in rapid speech has weakened the vowel and final consonant of khây but has not yet reduced the initial cluster, though this too may be expected in time.

### 3.5 Presyllable vowels ( $V_p$ )

In general it can be said that only a mid-central (non-contrastive) vowel occurs in  $V_p$  position. The quality of the vowel may vary greatly, but it is almost entirely predictable from the quality of the surrounding consonants. After palatal consonants the vowel is usually fairly high and front; /d/ also tends to raise and front the vowel, though not as much as the palatals. A following palatal also has a high front influence on the presyllable vowel, though not as strongly as a preceding palatal. A preceding /w/ does not seem to have much influence on  $V_p$ , but a following /w/ tends to produce a high back quality.

If the main consonant position has a cluster starting with /n/, the presyllable vowel tends toward high central quality. If a main consonant cluster starts with /m/, the effect of an initial palatal will be nullified, producing a mid-central vowel.

There are a few exceptions like kungkiêng 'elbow', longtoy 'worm', where my informant insisted on a vowel quality different from what would have been expected and for which a mid-central pronunciation could not be substituted. The reason for this is not clear; possibly each one should be considered two phonological words?

Presyllable vowels are shorter than the short main vowels. And the presyllable vowel before a nasal-initial

$C_m$  cluster is even shorter than a presyllable vowel before a single  $C_m$  consonant or a stop-initial  $C_m$  cluster.

A presyllable vowel contrasts with its absence only before /l,r,w,y,h/. Compare Fig. 4 with the listing in §3.6.

It was suggested above (§3.2) that there is a rare irregular /r/ which might be considered a presyllable vowel rather than a consonant. One of the words containing it, prho 'red', is in everyday use. My second informant several times insisted that this word should be spelled praho rather than parho, and my first informant varied freely between parho and praho. In listening to their pronunciations of the word, I was hard put to detect any vowel at all in the presyllable apart from the /r/. An /r/ in this position is always flapped, hence both the onset and the coda of the sound have a somewhat vocalic quality. So phonemically it perhaps should be /pṛho/. Previously (1962a) I treated this as basically par-, freely varying to pra-; the possibility of considering it pr- had not occurred to me. My only examples of this phenomenon are prho 'red', prpḍr 'blue'(?), prhḅng 'supine', prhwa 'pulled'(?), prway 'forget one's sadness', krwat 'necktie', vrwäch 'pheasant', vrwanh 'striped', vrwǒq 'diligent', vryěng 'unlucky omen', irwâng 'a rattan'.

One possible confirmation of the pr- interpretation comes in my having noted a form viyěng with a meaning close to that of vryěng, which could be seen as the substitution

		c <sub>m</sub>		p		t		ch		k		b		d		v		d		j		g		m		n		nh		ng		s		h		q		l		r		y		w	
c	p	-	x	x	-	*	x	*	x	x	*	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-		
	t	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	x	x	x	*	x	x	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-		
	ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-		
	k	*	x	x	*	x	*	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x		
b	b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
v	v	-	x	x	x	-	x	*	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	x	x	-	x	x	-	*	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-		
	d	x	-	-	x	*	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	x	-	x	x	-	x	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*		
	j	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	*	-	*	x	*	-	*	x	*	-	*		
	g	x	x	-	-	-	-	*	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-		
m	m	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
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s	s	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	*	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
	h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*		
	q	-	x	-	*	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	*	-	x	*	x	-	x	*	x	-						
l	l	x	-	*	x	-	-	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*	x	-	-	*		
	r	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x						
	y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-						
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x = occurs, - = not yet found, \* = marginal occurrence

Fig. 4. Presyllable Consonant Cooccurrence

of a normal neutral presyllable vowel for the irregular /r/ presyllable vowel. An additional argument against the par-interpretation is that all words with an r--initial cluster in  $C_m$  must have a presyllable consonant before the r. None occur without a presyllable. This is contrary to the general rule that the same clusters occur with or without presyllables (§3.6).

### 3.6 Main consonants ( $C_m$ )

All consonant phonemes (§3.3) can occur alone in  $C_m$  position with or without a presyllable.

The general rules for  $C_m$  cluster formation were stated above in §3.2. The clusters actually observed to date are:

#### 2-consonant clusters

pl pr py -- ph  
 -- tr -- tw th  
 --- chr chy chw chh  
 kl kr ky kw kh  
 bl (br)(by) --  
 -- -- -- (đw)  
 vl vr vy vw  
 dl dr -- --  
 -- jr jy jw  
 gl gr gy gw  
 ml mr -- mw mh mb,mv,mp,(mt)  
 nl nr ny nw n'h nđ,nd,nt,(nb)



-- -- -- -- nhh nhj,nhch,nhs  
 ngl ngr(ngy)(ngw) -- ngg,ngk,(ngs,ngt)  
 -- -- (sy) sw  
 mhl (hr) hy hw  
 ql (qr) qy qw

## 3-consonant clusters

phl, phw, phy

chhw

khl, khw, khy

mph, mpr, mbl, mvl, mvr, mhl

nth, ntr, ndw, ndr, n'hl, n'hw, n'hy

nhchh, nhjr, nhhy

ngkh, ngkr, ngkw, nggl, nggr

## 4-consonant cluster

mphl

Note that no mpl has been found, so that the lone 4-consonant cluster mphl should possibly be put into the mpl structural slot.

The scarcity of t,d,d-initial clusters is interesting. dl occurs only in the word dlu, and dw is only in loans from Vietnamese. And no 3-consonant clusters with any of them occur.

The dental and palatal stops do not combine with l except in the word dlu, neither do palatals nh or s; and nl never stands word-initial, it always has a presyllable.

This would indicate a tendency against combining l with dentals and palatals, though not a firm law.

In general the clusters charted above occur either with or without a presyllable, with the exception that many 3-consonant clusters have been found only without a presyllable, and also that nasals with non-homorganic stops occur only with a presyllable.

All of the phoneme consonants occur alone in  $C_m$ ; 4/5 of the possible 2-consonant combinations occur in  $C_m$ ; and 1/3 of the possible 3-consonant combinations actually occur in  $C_m$ . In the actual dictionary utilization of  $C_m$  fillers, a count of 1568 vocabulary items showed 1048 with 1 consonant in  $C_m$ , 412 with 2 consonants in  $C_m$ , and only 76 with 3 consonants in  $C_m$ ; in other words, given the list of occurring fillers of  $C_m$ , there is uneven utilization of them, with a clear preference for single consonants and avoidance of triple clusters.

It should also be noted that hr occurs in no triple clusters and only in the word cahram with a double cluster. This seems to be more than an accidental gap; possibly historical reconstruction would reveal a specific factor operating to prevent the formation of this expected cluster.

### 3.7 Main vowels ( $V_m$ )

17 contrastive vowel phonemes can occur in  $V_m$  position,

11 of them in the long vowel set and 6 in the short vowel set. Long vowels can occur in either closed or open syllables, but short vowels occur only in closed syllables.

ia	ua	ua	
i		u	
ê	ó	ô	ĩ (ı) ü
			ă â
e		o	ě ö
	a		ǎ
	<u>Long</u>		<u>Short</u>

It might be suggested that the phoneme inventory could be reduced to 8 vowels by considering the long vowels as geminate clusters of short vowels (adding hypothetical  $\tilde{e}$  and  $\tilde{o}$ ) and combinations of a high vowel plus  $\hat{a}$ . This solution does not appeal to me because 1) hypothetical vowels have to be added, 2) the short vowels are not phonetically like their long 'counterparts', 3) the long vowels have wider distribution and more freedom of occurrence than the short vowels, so would be more rightly declared basic if one of them must be declared basic (Pittman 1948). Further, if a long vowel was said to be two separate coordinate vowels, then our definition of a syllable (§3.2) would no longer hold.

It might alternatively be suggested to set up 11 vowel phonemes plus a feature of shortness. This would avoid most of the previous objections, but 1) the phonetic differences between 'counterparts' are still being swept

under the rug, 2) the shortness feature would be restricted to only a limited number of the vowels. And further, from the point of view expressed in §1.1, these could not be called true phonemes, as they would constitute less than the total segment of a short vowel; they would be phonematic units in the Firthian sense (Robins 1964).

Vowel phonemes in Chrau are best described individually. General statements, as were made for the consonants, are difficult to make for the vowels.

/ia/ - high front gliding off to mid front or mid central [i<sup>e</sup>~i<sup>a</sup>]. This occurs quite freely in native Chrau words. For examples of this and the other phonemes see Thomas 1962a and Thomas and Luc 1966.

/i/ - high front [i]

/ê/ - close mid front [ɛ~e<sup>^</sup>]

/e/ - low front [ɛ~æ<sup>^</sup>]

/ua/ - high central gliding off to mid central [ɨ<sup>ə</sup>]. This is extremely scarce in native Chrau words, though not uncommon in loans from Vietnamese.

/ɔ/ - mid-high central or slightly backed [ə<sup>ɔ</sup>].

/a/ - low central [a].

/ua/ - high back gliding off to mid back or mid central [uo~u<sup>ə</sup>]. This is also rare in native Chrau words, though not as rare as /ua/.

/u/ - high back [u].

/ô/ - mid back close [ɯ~o].

/o/ - low back close [ɔ].

The short vowels are generally more tense than the long vowels, that is, there seems to be a tightening of the articulatory mechanism. Nguyễn Bật Tuy (1962) has suggested that all the Vietnam Mon-Khmer languages should be described in terms of a tense/lax contrast rather than a long/short contrast. In Chrau the short vowels also tend toward a more centralized pronunciation than the long vowels.

/ĩ/ - mid-front mid-high, varying to high or central [ĩ~ĩ̃~ĩ̄]. It is most distinctly central before a final dental, and most distinctly high before a final glottal. It is possible that a 3-way contrast in high vowels may be developing (ĩ/ĩ̃/ĩ̄) under the influence of Vietnamese, but at present no environment has been found where there is clearly more than a 2-way contrast, though this contrast will sometimes be ĩ/ĩ̃, or ĩ/ĩ̄, or ĩ̃/ĩ̄, or points in between these.

/ě/ - low-front [ě̃~ě̄]. Before palatal finals /ě/ appears to neutralize with /ě̄/, though occasionally an informant will insist that there is a distinction, but from one time to the next the same informant will not make the same distinctions. So I conclude that there is genuine neutralization, but possibly with some environmentally-conditioned variations in pronunciation.

/â/ - mid-central open [X~X̄] with a tendency toward back-

ing and lowering. The contrast between /â/ and /ô/ seems unstable, with my informant shifting his judgments back and forth on the same words, yet there are a handful of words where the contrast seems incontrovertible, so that phonemic status must be affirmed for them both, though it is marginal.

/ǎ/ - low central [ǎ].

/ǔ/ - mid-high back, varying to high or central [ǔ~ǘ~ǚ].

It is most distinctly high before a glottal.

/ô/ - low back close, with a tendency toward mid central [ô~ỗ].

Before /l,r/ there is neutralization reducing the 6 short vowels to 3: /ĩ~ũ, â~ô, ẽ~ǎ/. Before zero no short vowels occur. Before /p,m,t,n/ the ĩ/ũ contrast is marginal at best. Possibly the whole short vowel system in Chrau is reducing in the direction of the Vietnamese system, which has only 2 short vowels /ǎ,â/. It is not wholly surprising that the complex vowel systems found in so many Mon-Khmer languages are unstable systems, unstable to the point where it becomes difficult to describe them in terms of phonemes.

### 3.8 Final consonants (C<sub>f</sub>)

The consonants that can occur in C<sub>f</sub> are:

p	t	ch	k	q
m	n	nh	ng	

w l,r y  
s h

For phonetic details see §3.3.

In general all vowels can occur before all  $C_f$  consonants, though there are quite a few regular exceptions to this. Back vowels do not occur before /w/ nor front vowels before /y/. Long vowels before /h/ are quite rare in the Xuânlộc dialect, possibly being entirely absent in the low vowels.

-g is very common in Chrau, most of the words with South Bahnaric \*k having merged in Chrau with those in \*q (H.Blood 1966). Kớho and Rớglai have this same shift, as does also Cham, so this would appear to be an areal feature of southeastern Vietnam.

/s/ and /h/ are neutralized after high vowels, resulting in a light palatal fricative.

### 3.9 Contrastive features

In the consonant systems there is a systematic contrast between points of articulation: bilabial, dental, palatal, velar, glottal. This full contrast exists in  $C_p$ ,  $C_m$ , and  $C_f$  positions, though the nasal set of them is incomplete in  $C_p$ . The sets of consonants in these positions (see the chart in §3.3) are emic as seen by their systematic differences in relation to vowel neutralization (for details

see Thomas 1962a).

There is a feature of nasalization in the sounds m, n, nh, ng. These four act as a structural set in the rules for  $C_m$  clusters.

There is a feature of lenis plosion in the two sets p, t, ch, k, g, and v, d, j, g. In  $C_m$  there is a concurrent voiced /voiceless feature contrast, which is only weakly present in  $C_p$  and is absent in  $C_f$ .

The feature of fortis plosion, or preglottalization, is present only in b and d, and does not occur in  $C_p$  or  $C_f$  positions.

The feature of semi-vocoid articulation is present in w, l, r, y. The lateral/retroflex concurrent feature contrast on l and r is only weakly operative in  $C_p$  (and  $C_f$  in some dialects), but is fully contrastive in  $C_m$  position. These four sounds function as a structural set in the rules for clusters in  $C_m$ .

Possibly s and h could be said to be distinguished by a feature of aspiration or sibilance. That they are related sounds is shown by their neutralization in  $C_f$  after high front vowels. But they do not function as a single phonotactic set in the manner of the above sets.



### 3.10 Comparison with neighboring languages

The Chrau phonemic system is nearly identical with that of Kóho (Sre), except that Kóho has a combined tone-length feature and has one more low back vowel (Smalley 1954).

Mnong Rólm (H.Blood 1963) has additional vowels at mid-high front and back positions. It also has no presyllable. The other Mnong languages do have presyllables.

Cham (D.Blood 1964) has fewer vowels than Chrau. It has a tone feature connected with the voicing feature of the main consonant ( $C_m$ ). It allows two presyllables and may have 2 or 3 contrastive vowel qualities in  $V_p$ , as does closely-related Róglai.

Vietnamese lacks  $\underset{\sim}{i}, \underset{\sim}{e}, \underset{\sim}{u}, \underset{\sim}{o}$ , but adds a contrast between  $\underset{\sim}{o}$  and  $\underset{\sim}{u}$  (Ly 1948). It has no presyllable nor consonant clusters. The Vietnamese tone system may be working its way into Chrau.

Khmer (Henderson 1952, Martini 1942-45, Pinnow 1957, Jenner 1966, Jacob 1960) has 18 long vowels and 13 (14?) short vowels. (The exact number of vowel phonemes is still debated.) Some of the long vowels have a register contrast associated with their close/open articulation.

In Burma, Palaung and Riang-Lang permit two presyllables, but Praok permits only one (Shorto 1963). Riang-lang

has 2 tones. Palaung, like Chrau, has shifted \*k to g.

Mon (Shorto 1962) like Khmer has a 2-register system, though it seems more consistently regular than the Khmer system. (Cf. Haudricourt's comments on the development of registers, 1965.)

Halǎng and Jeh both have a consistent and thoroughgoing 2-register system in addition to a length contrast (Cooper and Cooper 1966, Gradin 1966). Sedang (Smith 1967) has a register system but no length contrast; register in Sedang is actualized as a contrast between laryngealized and clear vowels. In Halǎng and Jeh it is between breathy and clear vowels.

Katu, Pacóh, and Brôu (Wallace 1967, R. Watson 1964, J. Miller 1966) all have more complex vowel systems than Chrau, with Brôu having as many as 41 vowel phonemes. Katu permits 3 presyllables.

Khmu' vowels, consonants, and patterns are very similar to Chrau. It has additional vowel glides ie, ue, ae, and additional consonant clusters w', hm, hn, hñ, hŋ, 'm, 'n (Smalley 1961:1-10).

## Chapter 4

### INTONATION

- 4.1 Basic pattern
- 4.2 Inherent word raising
- 4.3 Inherent word lowering
- 4.4 Sentence slot variants
- 4.5 Sentence mood variants

Above the phonological word (stress group), it is convenient to recognize an intonation group (phonological sentence) level. This has some similarities with Pike's pause group (1954-60:§9.4).

We discuss all Chrau intonational phenomena together in one chapter, as it all appears to be part of a total intonational system, even though it is often related to specific words or word classes.

A still larger unit is the utterance, which has been observed frequently to end in a nonphonemic h after a final vowel or nasal. The more emphatic is the final word, the more pronounced is the h. Thus it is a question in some cases whether or not a final particle should be written with a final h.

#### 4.1 Basic intonation pattern

The basic intonation pattern in Chrau (see the fuller

description in D.M.Thomas 1965-66, from which much of the information in this chapter is taken) is a level mid tone over the sentence, with a rise or a rise-fall on the last syllable. Syllables with a short vowel and a voiceless final consonant take the sentence-final rise; all other syllable types take the sentence-final rise-fall.

Mai hōm gǔq u nǒq. 'You still live there.'

Chěq ănh vǐq u heq. 'Let me sleep here.'

This basic intonation pattern is found generally only on short sentences containing no inherently raised or lowered words and no mood or emphasis indications.

Chrau intonation is not readily described in terms of emic levels (contra the 4 levels usually recognized for English (Pike 1945, Wells 1945)). Chrau intonation is more readily described in terms of the above basic pattern, distorted by emic peaks (with gradual codas), emic drops (usually sharp), and an emic final rise. Generally there is only one peak in a sentence, other potential peaks being ironed out in the presence of a peak with higher priority. Content question words usually rank highest, with negatives and intensifiers taking next rank in that order. There are no restrictions on the number of drops in a sentence, as a drop is a sign of de-emphasis, and words or syllables with a drop can often be zeroed out completely. The ironing out of one of two competing peaks in a sentence accords with the pattern of other wave structures in language. Troughs, the

points of lowest influence, apparently exercise no influence on each other.

#### 4.2 Inherent word raising

As was mentioned previously (§2.3), Chrau does not have contrastive lexical tone. There are, however, words like lũh 'go out' (mid pitch) and lũh 'why?' (high pitch) where the pitch is a result of the grammatical classes to which they belong - verbs generally have a mid pitch and content questions have a high pitch. The inherent pitch in words of this sort makes a bulge or a peak in the normal intonation contour. There are several grammatical classes with inherent raised pitch.

Content question words almost invariably have the highest pitch in a sentence. These are words like lũh 'why?', vi 'where?', gốq, vagốq 'how much?', mốq 'how?', 'why?', camvú 'who?', tóm 'why?', pách n'hya 'what?'. A similar phenomenon has been noted for Central Mnong (Phillips 1963).

Ví mai saq 'Where are you going?'

The negatives éq 'not', sún 'not', ún (n-) 'not', jố 'not', vâng 'don't' have inherent high pitch, though this can be overridden by a content question. Occasionally in colloquial speech a verb may be negated by high pitch alone, omitting the negative particle, though our informant at first denied doing this.

Anh éq vlam si-ur mai 'I haven't met your wife.'

Anh sún sây nêh.	'I haven't seen him.'
Anh n'gút.	'I don't know.'
Váng hũch alăc vanhul.	'Don't get drunk.'

The intensifiers quá 'very', lũng 'very', trôq 'sky' generally have high pitch. In a conventional redundant pair or quadruplet (as in lũng nggôi, qua trôq), the first intensifier carries the intonation peak.

Jí quâ.	'Very painful.'
Jôq lũng nggôi.	'A very long time indeed.'
Hũch alăc quá trôq qua nêh.	'Drink wine exceedingly.' (lit. very sky very earth)

Numbers appear to have inherent high pitch too, though of low rank so that it is often overridden by higher-ranking peaks.

Pham ndêh va.	'Eight carts of rice.'
Saq éq gêh du lâm gông.	'Went not getting a single bit of meat.' <u>du</u> 'one'

Directional words tu 'to', a 'from, at', u 'in, at' often have raised pitch, though unstressed. (The previously discussed raised words generally have accompanying stress.) The vowel of directional words is frequently lengthened. Occasionally a directional is de-emphasized (4.3).

Simbông u nhi naq.	'The soap is in the kitchen.'
Anh gêh siq tu nhi.	'I have gone home.'

The particle đé 'contrary to expectation' is always on a high pitch. I have no instances of đé co-occurring with a content question word, so I do not know which would take

precedence as the peak.

Nhẽ gaih đé cô cốp.

'She became indeed a turtle.'

Đé nẽh ôp duq.

'Actually he was making a boat.'

#### 4.3 Inherent word lowering

The presyllable in disyllabic words is often lowered in pitch, or de-emphasized. This pitch drop is optional. Probably the proximity to the negative in the following example has kept the a of alăc from lowering.

Anh n'hũch alăc vănhũl. 'I don't drink wine drunken.'

The particle đi 'in order to, until' seems to have an inherent low pitch.

Anh gâm đaq đi khlũh. 'I boil water until bubbling.'

Similarly the connectives gâm 'and', và 'and', mà 'and', cả (ca-) 'like, as'. These particles are apparently never emphasized.

Anh gâm nẽh.

'I and he.'

Anh và nẽh.

'I and he.'

Mai panh canoq.

'You talk like that.'

The noun-phrase coordinator cô 'that which' has inherent de-emphasis. It can be emphasized (§4.4) but is apparently never neutral in pitch.

Nhẽ nhũp cô tiêng.

'He grabbed the tail.'

Gút vu cô tấq.

'(Don't) know who took (it).'

Another variety of drop is perhaps best explained as a lowering of pitch in order to sharpen the contrast with an immediately following peak.

Qua jǒq lǔng ngđi. 'Too long very indeed.'

The demonstratives tǐq 'that, there', nǒq 'that, there', tǒq 'that, there (farther)' at the end of a noun phrase will generally have de-emphasis, though they can sometimes have neutral or emphatic pitch. Heq 'this, here' is more often emphatic, especially when in contrast with nǒq 'that'.

Saq nggô tǐq. 'Go to the forest there.'

Tamun nǒq nêh saq. 'That man he went.'

Tamun nǒq tamun heq nhâng saq. 'That man this man both went'

Final particles (§6.8) such as en 'already', dơn 'already', âm 'indeed', vô 'polite imperative', vò 'indeed', lò 'so', hâng 'question particle', dǎng 'question particle', dè 'indeed', have inherent low pitch though they do not have the usual shortness of de-emphasized words (possibly because of their sentence-final position).

Anh vanhưi quá en dơn. 'I'm very drunk already already.'

Saq vô. 'Let's go.'

Saq âm. 'Yes, let's go.'

Mai saq dǎng? 'Are you going?'

#### 4.4 Sentence slot variants

A usually neutral word in a sentence may be emphasized,



especially in answer to a question, and also in other situations. Note the following contrast:

<u>Păch un de.</u>	'It's your thing.' (normal)
Păch un de.	'It's <u>your</u> thing.' (not mine)

Emphasis in cases like this consists of stress accompanied by high pitch, and by lengthening of the word unless the word has both a short vowel and a voiceless final consonant (cf. §4.1).

Other slots in a sentence, not restricted to specific words, may also have intonational characteristics. Pronouns or names in direct address at the end of a sentence usually start low and have an upglide. A doubled pronoun adds a final downglide.

Ví mai saq <u>nǎq, mai?</u>	'Where are you going, you?'
Saq gon, <u>Prăm.</u>	'Go hunting, Prăm.'
Saq gon tu nggô <u>tǐq, mai mai.</u>	'Go hunting to the forest there, you.'

A pronoun subject shifted to the end of the sentence usually takes de-emphasis. This is most common with vón 'we', and ănh 'I', but also occurs with něh 'he', and with ai 'you f.' and mai 'you m.' in declarative sentences.

Saq nggô <u>vón.</u>	'Let's go hunting.'
<u>Nôq</u> <u>ănh.</u>	'I don't want to.'

Similarly when a specifier subject is added at the beginning of a sentence (§6.5), the simple pronoun subject, usually něh 'he', is de-emphasized.

Pe ndu heq něh saq.

'These three people they went.'

#### 4.5 Sentence mood variants

Yes/no questions are usually marked by a final particle such as hâng. But sometimes in colloquial speech the final particle may be omitted, and a final rising glide will mark it as a question.

Mai gút ôp be?

'Do you know how to lumber?'

Mai gút ôp be hâng?

'Do you know how to lumber?'

Similarly, when the listener thinks he may not have properly understood a word, he may repeat that word with a final rising glide, as if to say, "Did you say ...?" or "What did you mean by ...?"

Nhi?

'Did you really mean to say nhi?'

In direct address, especially in questions with hâng, there seems to be an element of friendliness or personal appeal in a final rise after the normal drop on hâng. This may be related to the rise on direct address pronouns (§4.4).

Mai gút ôp be hâng?

'Do you know how to lumber?'

In commands the normal sentence intonation contour is usually followed by the attention-getting particle ơ on either a falling or a rising glide (cf. §10.10). And the usual response to such a command is usually again ơ with a falling glide.

Mai sĩa, ơ. ơ.

'You go home, hear!' 'O.K.'

## Chapter 5

### CLAUSE STRUCTURES (NUCLEI)

- 5.1 Clause fragments
- 5.2 Intransitive clauses
- 5.3 Transitive clauses
- 5.4 Bitransitive clauses
- 5.5 Container clauses
- 5.6 Reciprocal clauses
- 5.7 Quotative clauses
- 5.8 Equative clauses
- 5.9 Parallel clauses
- 5.10 Comparisons

We define a clause in Chrau lexico-semantically as a unit at the level of structure in the lexical mode (cf. §1.2) which combines a set of plot elements (phrases §7-8) into a single action.

A Chrau clause may be described in any of three sets of terms: its phrase structure manifestation, its etic semantic structure, and its emic (grammatical) semantic structure. The phrase structure describes a clause in terms of noun phrases, verb phrases, adverb phrases, etc., so that a Chrau clause may be characterized as near-obligatorily containing a verb phrase (simple or complex), plus usually one or more noun phrases, and frequently plus adverbs, particles, etc.

The etic semantic structure of a clause is described in terms like actor, action, recipient, beneficiary, goal,

means, etc. This is a description of the actual event in the real world. Chrau clauses generally contain an act, attribution, or identification, usually with an actor, and sometimes with a goal or recipient or location.

The emic semantic structure of a clause is described in terms like subject, predicate, object, referent, modifier, modal, immediate constituent, etc. Chrau clauses generally contain a subject, i.e. the person or item from among the *dramatis personae* (plot elements) which is in focus at the moment (or on the center of the stage, to continue the metaphor from drama), and a predicate, i.e. the act or description which is being predicated about the subject. In considering the clause as a wave of action with peak and troughs, the main verb in the predicate may usually be considered the peak of the action, though in some clause types, especially equative types, a noun may be the peak of the action wave.

The descriptions in this chapter are mostly in terms of phrase structure, but include other points of view where relevant.

The listing of clause types identifies only the nuclear slots, assuming peripheral slots to be optionally applicable to all types unless otherwise stated. This chapter states only the surface inventory of general structure types, i.e. the etic types. For discussion of transforma-

tional (emic) restrictions on the utilization of these structures see §11.

Since text frequency is a significant factor in the generation of natural text, I attempt to give indications of the relative frequency of the various grammatical elements, based on a computer concordance of 53,491 running words of text. (53,491 words represents about 4,000 sentences or 8,000 clauses, according to a sample count.) My frequency indications will be of 3 kinds: 1) a number in parentheses, indicating actual word count in the concordance; 2) c. plus a number, in parentheses, indicating a projection based on a narrative sample 112 clauses in length; 3) a number out of 112, indicating the count in my 112-clause sample.

### 5.1 Clause fragments

A Chrau clause may sometimes take the form of a single noun or a single verb. These are always elliptical forms of a longer clause. A single noun (subject) occurred only once in 112 clauses, and a single verb (predicate) occurred 3 times in 112 clauses.

Saq.

Go.

Pâm.

Hit.

Tamô.

A stone.

Panh,

Saying,

## 5.2 Surface intransitive clauses

The most common form of Chrau clause (45/112) is that of a single noun and a single verb. Of these the great majority represent Subject - Predicate (N-V) (41/112). Any noun can occur in the Subject position and any verb in the Predicate position (cf. §11.). Some clauses of this form are maximal intransitive clauses and others are elliptical types of longer clauses.

Anh saq.	I went.
Tamô tarõh.	A stone fell.
Něh pâm.	He hit.

Less common is the order V-N, representing Predicate-Object (3/112) or Predicate-Subject (2/112). Predicate-Object clauses are always elliptical types of transitive or bitransitive clauses (§11.3; 11.7). Predicate-Subject clauses are usually maximal clauses containing the verbs such as lũh 'appear', hôm 'remaining', and a non-pronoun Subject (§11.3).

Pâm něh.	Hit him.
An něh.	Give to him.
Lũh sigâr.	Appeared a drum.
Hôm ayh něh.	Remained only him.

A verb plus a final echo subject (§6.10) is considered to have only the verb in the clause nucleus, as the echo subject is considered peripheral, even when the nuclear subject has been deleted.

### 5.3 Surface Transitive clauses

Another major independent clause type consists of Subject-Predicate-Object (27/112). Any animate noun can occur in the Subject position, any transitive verb in the Predicate position, and any noun in the Object position. Some clauses of this form are maximal transitive clauses, and others are elliptical types of longer clauses (§11.).

Anh sa piêng.	I eat rice.
Něh pâm ănh.	He hit me.

Rarely (1/112), in order to bring the Object into focus as the peak of the action (§6.5), there may be a clause of the form Object-Subject-Predicate (N-N-V). It often has lěq 'completely' as an accompanying Final Particle (§6.9).

### 5.4 Bitransitive clauses

Bitransitive clauses in Chrau are clauses that contain iun or maq 'benefactive' or 3 nouns in the nucleus or 2 nouns following the Predicate (1/112). Bitransitive clauses are most commonly of the form Subject-Predicate-Object-Referent-iun/maq. Any animate noun can occur in the Subject position. Most transitive verbs can occur in the Predicate, though in 2/3 of the cases it is an 'give'; any noun can occur in the Object position; and in the Referent position is usually a pronoun or a name.

Anh ôp răm něh iun.	I make a field for him.
Anh an pih něh iun.	I gave a knife to him.

Anh an pǎch sa něh iuǎ. I gave food to him.

Patau an jên něh iuǎ. The king gave money to him.

Another fairly common form of bitransitive clause is Subject-Predicate-Referent-iuǎ-Object. This is frequently used when the Object is long or complex. It did not occur in the counted 112 sample.

Anh pǎh něh iuǎ pǎch khec nkhec. I cut for him a long dangling thing.

Occasionally (0/112) the Object may be put in focus in the form Object-Subject-Predicate-Referent-iuǎ (§6.5).

Pǎch sa ǎnh an něh iuǎ. Food I gave him.

A Referent is normally not deletable in the presence of iuǎ. Bitransitive clause forms occur in the benefactive and bitransitive batteries (§11.3,7).

### 5.5 Container clauses

Container clauses contain two separable parts of a single action (in contrast with two distinct clauses on the one hand, and a complex univerbal clause on the other hand.). The most common form is Subject-Verb-Clause. It has as its first verb a member of the small set of verbs like an 'give', wǐnh 'request', sǎng 'command'; these "container" verbs generally require the presence of an embedded "contained" clause within the main clause. The Subject slot may be filled by any animate noun. The Clause slot may be filled by any clause. Container clauses are restricted to the container battery (§11.5).



Anh an nễn sa.	I let him eat.
Anh sảng nễn saq ỏp.	I told him to get to work.
Anh phũng nễn pâm ảnh.	I'm afraid he will hit me.
Anh cớnh saq.	I want to go.
Nễn thềng saq.	He dared go.
Anh iao pảr mai sảq.	I invite fly you return home. (I'll fly you home.)
Anh chảng nễn nhai.	I hear him speak.
Anh chẻq nễn lảp.	I caused it to enter.

Container clauses are common (25/112). Very rarely the container verb may be complex, as in iao pảr 'invite fly'.

The contained clause can be simple or complex, and may even contain another container clause, as in Anh vớnh nễn an mai saq 'I asked him to allow you to go.'

If the contained clause is long, the container verb may come after the contained clause.

Khản mai nỏq vu khừn en đớn, ảnh gựt.

Your ~~handk~~erchief someone has stolen already, I know.

## 5.6 Reciprocal clauses

A reciprocal clause (0/112) is one that contains the reciprocal clitic tam. It generally has a multiple subject. The most common form of reciprocal clause is Subject<sub>pl</sub>-tam-Predicate. The Subject phrase usually contains a number or a plural pronoun. Seemingly any verb can occur in the Predicate (cf. reciprocal battery §11.4).

Var ndu nẻh tam-ẻcẻnh.	The two of them loved each other.
Vẻn tam-yup.	We help each other.
Vẻn tam-ỏp.	We will work together.

Separate specification of the principals will usually take the forms Subject-tam-Predicate-bay-Subject<sub>2</sub> or Subject<sub>1</sub>-gẻm-Subject<sub>2</sub>-tam-Predicate.

Yau tam-ẻoan bay sipai.	The tiger competed with the rabbit.
Nẻh tam-dah bay ẻnh.	He came hunting with me.
Yau gẻm sipai tam-ẻoan.	The tiger and the rabbit competed.
Anh gẻm mai tam-gẻl.	I and you will trade.

Some types with complex predicates include:

Subject<sub>1</sub>-(Pred-)-tam-(-Pred)-bay-Subject<sub>2</sub>

Nẻh nhai tam-ẻoan bay nẻh. He spoke competing with him.

Anh cal tam-phu. I'll chop to help (you).

Subject<sub>1</sub>-(tam-Verb-Object)-bay-Subject<sub>2</sub>

Nẻh tam-dẻp mẻt bay siklỏ. She exchanged glances with her husband.

### 5.7 Quotative clause

A quotative clause (7/122) is one that contains one of a small group of quoting verbs (such as nhai 'say', lủp 'ask', chih 'scold' §8.3; 11.8) followed directly or closely by panh 'say'. The most common quotative clause has the form Subject-Predicate-Subject-panh. The second Subject is a pronoun having the same referent as the first Subject.

Yau nhai nĕh panh...           The tiger spoke, he said...  
 Nĕh lŭp nĕh panh...           He asked he said...  
 Patau pŏq mĭnh nhai nĕh panh... The king opened his mouth  
   speaking saying...

A quotative clause may have an Addressee. A transitive verb treats the addressee as a direct object; an intransitive verb inserts bay before the addressee, i.e. treating the addressee as a location (§6.8). Nhai is the only intransitive quotative verb in my data.

Anh nhai bay nĕh ănh panh... I spoke with him saying...  
 Anh lŭp nĕh ănh panh...       I asked him saying...  
 Anh digat nĕh ănh panh...     I deceived him saying...

Occasionally a quotative clause will also contain caheq 'like this' in the formula Subject-Predicate-caheq-Subject-panh.

Nĕh nhai caheq nĕh panh... He spoke like this saying...

Forms similar to the above types but without the second Subject occur frequently.

Yau nhai panh...               The tiger spoke saying...  
 Anh lŭp nĕh panh...           I asked him saying...  
 Nĕh nhai caheq panh...       He spoke like this saying...

### 5.8 Equative clauses

The pure Chrau equative clause (1/112) is a simple juxtaposition of two nouns, the item followed by its identification. There is a slight pause between the two noun phrases.

Con la-u.	You, child, are a coconut.
Anh patau.	I am a king.
Patau ănh.	I am a king.

More commonly equative clauses have là 'is' (a loan from Vietnamese) between the two noun phrases (cf. §10.2).

Păch heq là rawâyh.	This is an elephant.
Khay heq là khay puôn.	This month is April.
Păch nỏq là păch sâq.	That thing is a dirty thing.

The connective túc là 'that is' (also a loan from Vietnamese) is occasionally used to state identity between two items. Noun-túc-là-Noun.

Păch mắq túc là rawâyh.	<u>Păch mắq</u> (elephant) is the same as <u>rawâyh</u> (elephant).
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Another type of equative clause has a clause in the second half: Noun-là-Clause.

Nỏq là chaq sa.	That is a demon eating (him).
Nhi vĩq nắq là palây ănh kiêng cư lũng.	A birth house is our country taboos it very much.

### 5.9 Parallel clauses

A clause type indicating regularly repeated action is môi-Time-môi-Clause. môi 'each' is a constant. In the Time slot only nắq 'day', mau 'night', and nđôi 'half-day' may occur. In the Clause slot any clause may occur.

Môi nắq môi lêng.	Each day each play. (Each day they played.)
Môi nắq môi nẻh cuôl.	Each day she called.

Môi nă̄r môi vu saq tăq khưn ănh je. Each day someone went  
and stole my things.

Similar to this is a clause type indicating a continuously increasing action or state, with the form Subject-du-nă̄r-du-Predicate. du 'one' and nă̄r 'day' are constants. The Predicate item is usually short, most often an adjective. Any noun may occur as Subject.

Anh du nă̄r du camvĩnh. Every day I'm getting more elderly. (I one day one old.)

Něh du nă̄r du cambet. With each day her absence became more evident. (She one day one missing.)

Anh du nă̄r du cớnh lăp chhũng. Each day I'm getting nearer the grave. (I one day one want enter hole.)

Něh du nă̄r du tăt. With each day his visits became more frequent. (He one day one come.)

### 5.10 Comparison with neighboring languages

In Mnong Rđlđm (E. Blood 1966) 8 clause types are listed, all having parallels in Chrau: transitive, Object Complement transitive (=bitransitive), fused (=container), nominal equative (=equative), quotative, intransitive, stative, and adjectival equative (these last three being similar to structures I have subsumed under intransitive).

In Cua (Burton 1966) the transitive clause type is equivalent to the Chrau transitive and intransitive clauses. Cua transitives also include a bitransitive type, but it lacks a bitransitive marker similar to Chrau itn. There is

an equational (=equative), fused (=container), and quotation introduction (=quotative) clause.

Thô (Day 1966:41) distinguishes only two main clause types - an equative clause (similar to Chrau) and a predicative clause (equivalent to Chrau intransitive, transitive, and bitransitive clauses). Its bitransitive clauses have no specific marker.

Vietnamese contains, among others, intransitive, transitive, and bitransitive clause types. As Thompson commented (1965:282), "beyond the fact that they all contain a predicate, clauses are infinitely varied as to their internal composition."

Gorgoniyev (1966:110-114) classifies Khmer clauses as follows:

I. One-part (=fragments)

II. Two-part

A. With a present or implied actor

1. Transitive

2. Intransitive

B. With no present or implied actor

1. Nominal sentence (equative) without a copula

2. Nominal sentences (equative) with a copula

3. Qualitative predicates (=verbal adjectives)

The structure of these clause types is very close to that of Chrau.

## Chapter 6

### PERIPHERAL CLAUSE SLOTS

- 6.1 Clause temporals
- 6.2 Initial adverbials
- 6.3 Initial modals
- 6.4 Presubject focus
- 6.5 Movable particles
- 6.6 Adverbs
- 6.7 Location
- 6.8 Final particles
- 6.9 Final echo
- 6.10 Comparisons

Around the clause nucleus, or occasionally inserted inside it, are a series of slots which are usually filled by simple particles, adding nuances or detail to the clause as a whole. These peripheral items can be added to almost any clause type. They occur in the following order:

Temp. - In. - PreS - S V O - Adv. - Loc. - Fin. - Fin.  
InAdv Mod. Foc. part. Echo

Initial modals may occasionally follow the Subject, adverbs may occasionally precede the Object, and Temporals may precede the final particles. Movable particles are not confined to a particular slot.

Other particles function on the sentence or paragraph peripheries. So in a one-clause paragraph the peripheral slots from all levels would have the order:

Excl.- Addr.- SenTem.- In.Part.- ClsTem.- InMod.- PreSFoc.-  
 S P O - Adv.- Loc.- FinPart.- Addr.- FinEcho- Excl.

### 6.1 Clause Temporals

Clause temporals may occur either before (9/112) or after (0/112) the clause nucleus. Before the nucleus they come between the initial particles and the initial modals. After the clause nucleus they come between the final particles and the terms of address. Cooccurrence with final particles is rare, but cooccurrence with initial particles is common. Temporals have been found with only the final particles wǒq (1) and wǒq pa (1). Tât 'arrive' plus a phrase or a clause can also function as a clause temporal.

A distinction is made here between clause temporals and sentence temporals (§10.2). The former are pertinent to the internal action of the clause, and can to some extent be optionally placed before or after the clause nucleus.

Clause temporals are words and phrases such as:

vrêq 'now'

năr heq 'today'

ta-au 'tomorrow'

a chǔp mvrêq 'until now'

vi ôi 'in the morning'

vi mau 'in the evening'

vrêq heq 'now'

avrêq 'now'



vrêq heq 'now'

avrêq 'now'

năr nŏq 'that day'

năr naq 'day before yesterday'

năr tŏq 'the other day'

năr ndau 'yesterday'

măng dŏh 'last night'

mva heq 'this year'

davôq 'first'

ta-au năr klag 'today or tomorrow'

... năr heq en '... days ago'

dŭng măng 'at night'

găq mvrêq heq 'until now'

vi ôi a măng rŭq 'in the morning before daybreak'

tât năng n'hlui 'come the following night'

hôm du ndêt 'soon, nearly'

tât ănh chŭt 'when I die'

Temporals may represent either the time at which the action takes place or the duration time of the action.

Năr heq ănh camlo.

Today I was foolish.

Ta-au ănh vanŏh.

Tomorrow I will be wise.

Vrêq ănh saq.

Now I'm going.

Pe năr heq en ănh saq.

Three days ago I went.

Vi ôi a măng rŭq nêh saq.

In the morning before daybreak he went.

A chŭp mvrêq vi mai gŭq?

Until now where have you been living?

Silang ta-au nẽh saq.            The next morning he went.

## 6.2 Initial adverbials

There is a series of highly specialized adverbial particles preceding the subject which occur mostly in legends, though also occasionally in highly animated colloquial speech. They each cooccur with only one or two verbs. They appear to fit in the same slot as the clause temporals.

- phũt (with lũh) 'suddenly appear' (6)  
phư (with hao, nchhât) 'suddenly up' (4)  
phâng (with cãh) 'suddenly awake' (6)  
pruh (with tao) 'attempting to rise' (3)  
prưt (with lũh) 'unexpectedly emerge' (3)  
phing-ling (with ũnh sa, vông) 'loud crackling, cracking, crashing' (3)  
phung-lung (with tarõh, thũc) 'falling kerplunk' (4)  
pheng-leng 'suddenly loud noise'  
gưr-nggưr (with huch, sa) 'devouringly' (2)  
chruh 'noisily into'  
chruh-ruh (with nchhât, jur) 'suddenly down' (1)  
kruih 'slidingly out' (with tãq)  
glưt (with doq) 'continuously around, in'  
vadũh (with yũn) 'unexpectedly pregnant' (1)

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>Phũt</u> nẽh lũh.         | Suddenly he appeared.        |
| <u>Phư</u> nẽh hao.          | Suddenly he rose.            |
| <u>Phung-lung</u> nẽh tarõh. | He fell kerplunk.            |
| <u>Gưr-nggưr</u> ũnh sa nhi. | The fire devoured the house. |

### 6.3 Initial modals

A set of modal particles occurs between the temporal and the subject, or occasionally after the subject. They occur 1115 times in the 8000 clauses of my text. Possibly several of these modal particles could be considered sentence functors rather than clause functors.

Aheq (329) 'then, after that' is the most common of the initial modals. Only aheq combines with other initial modals: chěq aheq (1), aheq pǎch (1), aheq nǎm (2), aheq mǒq (1), aheq chěq (2). Other particles that often accompany it are nhâng (33) and ncai (12).

Aheq nẻh saq.	Then he went.
Nẻh aheq saq sỉq tu nhi.	Then he returned home.
Nhâng aheq nẻh saq.	Indeed then he went.
Ncai aheq nẻh saq.	Then then he went.

Bớ (3) 'but instead, in fact' expresses surprise that what has been said or expected has in fact not turned out to be so, and the speaker is unhappy to find it so.

Bớ con mai hôm rih.	But in fact I see that your children are living. (you promised you would kill them)
Vrêq nẻh bớ lủh.	But now they have gotten out. (you said they were safely caught)

Chěq (122) 'so as a result, then, in that case' is seldom at the beginning of a scene, as there is usually the implication that the clause is related to or the result of

a preceding clause. It is clearly related semantically to the container verb chěq 'cause', and more distantly to the transitive verb chěq 'put' and the postverbal chěq 'being put away'.

Chěq ănh sa.	So then I ate. (I was hungry)
Chěq ănh tê con.	And I look after my children. (I stay at home)
Chěq nễh saq krưn.	So then he went to lie in wait. (the tiger had a grudge against the rabbit)

Đăng gal (9) 'truly, indeed not' strongly affirms or denies a statement.

Đăng gal nễh nhim.	Truly she wept.
Mai đăng gal con Dirô pa.	You aren't truly Dirô's child.
Đăng gal tởq.	Indeed not.

Lữh (with an intonation peak) (35) is a question indicator meaning 'why?'. Lữh (with neutral intonation) (5) is a causal indicator 'so, resulting in, as a result'. These modal particles are related semantically to the verb lữh 'go out'.

Lữh mai ôp canỏq?	Why are you doing that?
Lữh nễh saq?	Why did he go?
Lữh nễh saq.	So as a result of that he went.

Mỏq 'what?, how?' (173) occurs most often in the form Mỏq ôp 'What do we do now?, What can be done about it? It can't be helped' (103). It frequently cooccurs with vrêq 'now' (70), lâu (30), and đi 'to' (32). Lâu (§6.8) and đi

(§6.5) are mutually exclusive, with lâu cooccurring with mỏq only in the presence of ôp 'do'. Especially in clauses with di, mỏq is often used as a rhetorical question, expressing a strong denial.

Mỏq ảnh nhai?	What shall I say?
Mỏq ảnh ôp?	What can I do?
Vrêq mỏq ôp?	Now what?
Mỏq ôp lâu.	Now what? It can't be helped.
Mỏq ảnh di gút?	How would I know?
Mỏq ảnh saq di nôi?	How could I go? (I couldn't)
Mỏq con lủp di gẻh con patau de?	How could you ask for the princess? (don't be ridiculous!)

Mỏn 'of course, why not, naturally' (3) always has a negative occurring with it. It usually has a tinge of 'Why are you so stupid?' in its connotation.

Mỏn nẻh êq dip!	Of course he wouldn't catch anything. (his trap is in the wrong place)
Mỏn nẻh êq pâm!	Why wouldn't they hit you? (if you had an ounce of brains you should have expected it)

Nẻm 'what, how?' (23) is quite similar to mỏq. Like mỏq, nẻm usually occurs with ôp 'do' (18) or di (1), but it is not so strongly tied to vrêq 'now' as mỏq.

Nẻm nẻh ôp?	What could he do?
Vrêq nẻm ôp?	Now what?
Nẻm nẻh chit di chẻch?	How could he cut it effectively? (he couldn't)

Păch 'what?, how indeed?' (131) is also similar to mỏq and năm. It frequently cooccurs with đi (43) and ôp (41). Derived from it is the modal particle păch cớnh (12) 'why?, don't', a mild negative imperative which sometimes cooccurs with the final particle te (2). Also derived from it is the modal particle păch n'hya 'what?' (27), a content question indicator.

Păch nẻh saq di nời?	How could he go? (he couldn't)
Păch đaq?	What water? (I don't see any)
Păch ảnh ôp vrẻq?	What do I do now?
Păch cớnh mai saq?	Don't go.
Păch cớnh mai nhim te?	Don't cry.
Păch n'hya mai ôp?	What are you doing?
Păch n'hya chhe heq?	What is this string?
Păch n'hya canỏq?	What is that?

Tớm or atớm 'why' (13) is a question indicator.

Tớm mai saq?	Why are you going?
Anh tớm êq đíp ca?	Why don't I catch fish?
Tớm nẻh canỏq?	Why is he like that?

Vảng 'don't' (51) frequently cooccurs with the final particle vây (17). It is a strong imperative.

Vảng cắp nẻh vây.	Don't bite him!
Vảng mai saq.	Don't go!
Vảng an ảnh ji.	Don't make me sick.

Nhằng (= yảng in Bínhtuy dialect) 'also, then, similarly,

so indeed' (228) is related to the adjective nhâng 'true' and the adverb nhâng 'truly'. It often cooccurs with ahêq (31), usually in the order nhâng ahêq (28).

Nhâng nêh saq.	So he went.
Nhâng ahêq nêh saq.	So then he went.
Anh nhâng chiu.	I bear it too.

Ví (with an intonation peak) (68) is a strong (often indignant) denial. It often cooccurs with pa (35) or uy (4). Vi (with neutral intonation) (35) is a question indicator 'where?'. It often cooccurs with a term of address (16). Both are related semantically to the noun vi 'place, location'.

Ví ănh saq!	I didn't go. (don't malign me by saying that I did)
Ví ănh saq uy!	id.
Ví mắq pa.	It's not big, indeed.
Vi mai saq, Pe?	Where are you going, Pe?
Vi ca, Pe?	Where are the fish, Pe?
Vi nêh saq?	Where is he going?

Vacôn 'don't, not want' (2) is fairly similar in meaning to pắch côn and is possibly a contraction of it. It is related semantically to côn 'want'.

Vacôn tanh mắq.	Don't make it big. (you wouldn't want it like that)
-----------------	---

Vadâng 'how much?, how?' (2) can be a genuine question or a rhetorical question. It is related semantically to the

preposition dâng 'as far as'.

Vadâng mai sa?

How much did you eat?

Vadâng nêh saq?

How could he go? (he was just a child)

Vagõq 'how much?' (0) is a question indicator, related semantically to gõq 'much'.

Vagõq lit mai vro?

How many liters did you buy?

Vaju 'of course, why not, naturally' (0) is similar to mõn.

Vaju nêh saq.

Of course, why wouldn't he go?

#### 6.4 Presubject focus

To give special emphasis to one of the elements in the clause nucleus, that element may be removed from its normal place in the clause and put before the subject (1/112). Emphasis of the subject takes the form Noun plus nêh 'he' (6/112). Non-topic subjects (§10.11) generally appear as emphasized subjects.

Chhõ ảnh chẽq u nõq.

The wood I put there.

Khãn mai nõq vu khũn en dõn. Your cloth someone stole already.

Vi cõ ảnh mai chẽq chõ nào? Where my grandfather you put him what place?

Con la-õi nõq nêh saq.

The orphan boy he went.

Khlang nêh pãr.

The eagle it flew.

This presubject slot may also be used for stating contrast with another item, introducing it by õi 'as for' (7),



with or without cà và 'like' or bay 'with'. It is often preceded by còn 'but' (4). All instances of this đôi are from the Bìnhtuy dialect. The compared item may be a simple noun or a full clause.

Đôi bay ănh, mai jớ lo.      Compared with me, you don't  
have anything to worry about.

Đôi cà và Chrau khananh heq,... As for us Chrau,...  
(we're very poor)

Đôi nễh cô ngeo,...      As for him who is poor,...  
(what can he do?)

Còn đôi vớh ớp thi cà và vớh ớp canốq vớq,...

And as for our working hard as we work like this,  
... (if we get anything we eat it, if we don't we  
don't)

### 6.5 Movable particles

Some particles in Chrau are not restricted to a certain linear slot or to constituency with only one type of phrase. These particles do not form a unified class; each follows its own rules.

Ayh 'only' (110) usually occurs with nouns, but may occasionally also be found with verbs. Ayh precedes the noun or verb that it is constituent with, and often a final particle ngăn 'only' (33) or vớq 'indeed' (27) also coocurs. Ayh can accompany a noun in any regular noun slot.

Nễh sa ayh piêng.      He ate only rice.

Nễh sa ayh piêng ngăn.      id.

Nễh sa ayh piêng ngăn vớq. id.

Saq ayh ănh ngăn.      Only I went.

Ayh ănh saq ngăñ.	id.
Něh ayh saq ngăñ.	He only went. (and did nothing more)

Cà, cà mà, cà và 'like, as' (173) may precede nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or full clauses. It is frequently found in the phrase ca mpanh or ca vu mpanh 'as it is said, as they say, you know, as the saying goes' (54). Cà (except in the phrase ca mpanh) is often preceded by khoi 'also' (22).

sipam cà ănh heq	a shaman like me
khoi cà hôi nốq	also as in the old days
Chăng cà mỉnh con ănh.	It sounds like the voice of my child.
khoi cà Nhuôn	just like the Vietnamese
Gễh jên nhâng cà sủn gễh.	Have money truly as though not having.
mắq cà mắq	big as big (i.e., very big)
cà Nhuôn něh panh	as the Vietnamese say
cà mà Nhuôn něh panh	id.
cà và Nhuôn něh panh	id.
Hôm ayh du mvu, cà mpanh, con pút.	

Only one person is left, as they say, the youngest child.

Ví ănh cà vu mpanh ănh ndân sa uy!

Indeed I'm not a skinflint, as the saying goes!

Nốq đang-wang, cà vu mpanh, pham năng pham năñ.

Things were done properly, you know, eight nights and eight days.

Cô (584) is the most common, yet one of the most elusive particles in Chrau. It may precede nouns (428), or verbs (136), or occasionally the particle nhâng 'truly' (13), a postverbal particle (2), or a full clause. (2). With nouns cô usually occurs with an already identified noun (i.e. one previously introduced into the discourse), so may have some referential function. It has some similarities with the English article the. The noun is often followed by nỏq 'that' (128) or the particle iết 'indeed' (51), or occasionally by heq 'this' or tỏq 'that'. Cô may possibly also be exercising a secondary focus function; e.g. if the main clause focus is on a verb, the cô may put a noun in secondary focus.

Nẻh vlam cô ảnh.	He met me.
Nẻh vlam cô sipai.	He met the rabbit.
Cô sipai nỏq nẻh saq.	The rabbit (he) went.
Cô sipai iết tỏq nẻh saq.	That rabbit (he) went.
Nẻh cô tungdaq nỏq nẻh saq.	He who was the priest (he) went.
Nẻh nhủp cô tiẻng nẻh nỏq.	He grabbed its tail.

With verbs cô functions somewhat like our English pronouns who or he who, often indicating an embedded clause, and is found not infrequently with vu, camvu, or vu lây 'who, whoever'. The verb generally refers to a previous or known or assumed action, not stating a new action, so is seldom in the main clause of a sentence. Non-referentially with a verb cô usually indicates a future, indefinite, or

uncertain action. The subject of the clause must be stated when cô is used with a verb, except in the construction cô...cô... (4).

Camvu cô tê mê ănh? Who will look after my mother?

Êq gut vu cô tê. I don't know who is looking after her.

Nhâng mê cô tê ănh. Indeed mother has been looking after me.

Con sinau đở, vu lây cô tê? Children and grandchildren, who looks after them?

Nễh cô tê ănh, nễh nỏq saq en. He who looks after me, he has gone now.

Cô chừt nhâng nhớ mê, cô rih nhâng nhớ mê.

(If I) die indeed it is up to mother, (if I) live indeed it is up to mother.

With adverbs cô may have some emphatic function.

Nễh saq cô nhâng. He went indeed.

Anh saq cô sừn gễh. I go not able.

Cơ 'continuing, continually, without stopping' (46) most often is found in the modal particle slot before the subject (16), but can also come after the subject (7). It often cooccurs with the particles diệt 'continually' (11) or hoài 'continually' (2). It can also occur (without diệt) in the construction cơ-Num-N-Num-N (3).

Vrêq cơ ănh saq diệt. Now I went continually.

Cơ nễh tê con nễh. He looked after his child continually.

Cơ saq sỉq. Finally he returned home.

Vu cơ saq hoài. People went continually.

Cơ du mvu du rot nhi.           Each person one house.  
 Cơ mỗi nđôi mỗi jǎng piêng.   Each morning each cook rice.  
   (She cooked rice each morning.)

Cơ yiêc 'continue on as normal' (9) is compounded from cơ and yiêc 'work'. Diêt and hoài do not cooccur with it.

Cơ yiêc mai saq.                     You go (as expected).  
 Cơ yiêc đôq nỏq thỉ mai sai.     Go ahead and marry the  
   monkey. (you have been want-  
   ing to do it)  
 Cơ yiêc vớn lo.                      We go ahead and do our part.

Đi (290) is most often found before verbs or adjectives, but may also appear before final particles, adverbs, or kin terms. Its function is difficult to ascertain; sometimes it appears to have a directional or purposive meaning, other times it appears to have no meaning difference. It does not occur sentence initial. It is possible that the ordinal number indicator đi (§7.2) should be considered the same morpheme.

Păn̄h đí díp.                          Shoot to hit.  
 Hũch alăc đí gỏq.                  Drink wine much.  
 Mai sỉq đí mau.                      You come home late.  
 Anh đí sai si-ur ănh.               I married my wife.  
 Anh gũq đí đêq đí cô.               I live with uncles and grand-  
   fathers.  
 Mỏq ănh ôp đí gẻh jên?             What can I do to have money?  
 Păch vớn đí sây nẻh!               How could we see them?  
 Chôl pih đí sôt.                      Sharpen the knife sharp.

Huch di vanhul.	Drink until drunk.
Něh sa piêng di en.	He ate rice already.

Đé (63) is a particle of surprise. It can be placed before any phrase in a clause, indicating that that particular item was unexpected in the context. When placed before the subject, however, it seems to refer to the whole clause, not just to the subject. Not infrequently (11) cồ also occurs with the same noun.

Anh vlam <u>đé</u> cồ sipai.	I met (surprise!) the rabbit.
Něh dẻh <u>đé</u> la-u.	She gave birth to a coconut!
Anh saq <u>đé</u> maq gyao.	I went to the left.
Canji <u>đé</u> hao en.	Weeds had come up already.
<u>Đé</u> gống ca saq.	Animals will go.
<u>Đé</u> la-u ảnh an.	It was a coconut I gave him.
Něh panh <u>đé</u> la-u.	He said it was a coconut.

Iết 'indeed, then, this one, thereupon' (126) occurs most frequently after a noun preceded by cồ (50), or at the end of a clause (66), these two types of environment often coinciding. It combines with the shifting particle têq (27), and with the final particles tôq (10), vồ (3), lâu (2), and pa (1).

Cồ dôq iết saq.	The monkey went.
Něh tôq cồ dôq iết.	He obeyed the monkey.
Něh saq iết.	He went.
Dôq cắp cồ Canjâng iết.	The monkey bit Canjâng.
Něh saq bay dôq iết.	He went with the monkeys.

Něh raq dôq iět têtq.	He cursed the monkeys.
Něh nhũp cồ dôq iět tởq.	He got the monkey.
Něh n'hấp iết vô.	He was rich indeed.

Mớ 'indeed, very much so' (14) precedes the item being emphasized. It is most often used with adjectives (8), but may also be used with a noun (4), or with a clause containing an adjective (2). With adjectives, yăh 'good' is frequently added to the construction (6).

Něh păh dru mớ chwoc-rawoc.	He smashed the trap very splintered.
Něh vlam sipai mớ yăh mắq.	He met a rabbit very (good) big.
Mớ sipai nỏq.	Indeed that rabbit! (that dratted rabbit)
Mớ gống ănh.	Oh my flesh! (it hurts)
Mớ daq hor camhlăng.	Indeed water flowed strongly.
Mớ nẻh yăh ngon.	Indeed it was (good) tasty.

Nôi 'as far as, concerning, to the extent of' (42) draws attention to what follows it, usually not to just a single word. It is used in three main types of environment. In legend-telling style it can precede a compound parallel-constructed object, with the nôi being stated either once before the whole compound object or else repeated before each noun in the compound (17). This is generally in a listing of items, and nôi gives the feeling that a large number of items was involved, of which only a sampling is given.

The second main environment (11) is directly before

the subject, where nôi draws attention to the following clause, indicating that the situation under discussion has gone to such an extent (usually in the direction of getting out of hand) that the following clause was the result.

The third main environment is before the clause, introducing a specially emphasized referent or topic (usually a noun doublet) (10). Nôi also occurs occasionally to indicate ultimate resultant size, location, or action (1 each). Nôi, especially in its first and third uses, is often accompanied by lẽq 'completely' (16).

1) Nễh gảnh nôi chĩnh gong đờ. He carried even the big and small gongs.

Nễh mơi nôi vǎl gơng lôch lểq. He invited people people completely.

Nễh sa gờng nôi jun nôi jike nôi ramih nôi rawâyh. He ate meat of deer, boar, gaur, elephant.

2) Nôi nễh rính. So it growled. (getting angrier)

Nôi khây đờq chứt lẹq. Until all the monkeys were dead.

Nễh khoach ảnh nôi lểq can'hyeyh ti. He scratched me until he had no fingernails.

3) Nôi nhi la... As for your house...(if you go away, I want it)

Nôi du bon nỏq... As for the whole group... (there was no one who got as many fish as I did)

Nôi dâng nhi dâng la nễh mắq. To the extent of a house a house it was big. (i.e., as big as a house)

Têq (33) reinforces iết 'indeed, this one, then, there-



upon'. It is used almost invariably in clause-final position, only exceptionally (2) occurring earlier in the clause. Cồ frequently cooccurs with it (12).

Chroc cồ nễh iết têq.	Lost were they indeed.
Dôq cắp cồ Canjâng iết têq.	Monkeys bit Canjâng indeed.
Cồ dôq iết têq kiết nễh vô.	The monkeys indeed were itchy they were.
Taman iết têq saq yeng.	A man indeed went hunting.

Thiệt (8), thiệt là (7) 'truly' may come before the clause (4), after the clause (only thiệt) (4), or before an adjective (7). Qua thiêt (2) comes before the clause or before the second noun in an equative clause.

Thiệt nễh saq.	Truly he went.
Thiệt là nễh saq.	Truly he went.
Nễh saq thiêt.	He went truly.
Nễh mắq thiêt mắq.	He was big truly big.
Nỗq là qua thiêt vap nễh.	That is truly his father.

## 6.6 Adverbs

Adverbs in Chrau are words which usually follow the object, but which can freely precede the object. (This contrasts with postverbals, which cannot be separated from the verb, and final particles, which cannot precede the object.) Adverbs are of three main types: those that modify the action of the verb, those that modify the relationship between the subject and the action, and those that indicate the direction of the action.

The verb-modifying adverbs have meanings similar to English adverbs and are never negated. Like other major class words, they are used sometimes in doublets. Some of the more prominent adverbs are the following:

âr 'very much' (19) (never in the presence of an object)

bây, bây ba, tambây tamba (16) 'haphazardly, carelessly'

chhông 'finished' (24)

chhuôi 'action continued indefinitely or until reaching its destination' (39)

diêt 'continually, extendedly' (115)

hân 'indeed' (27) (usually before the object)

lễq, lễq lam, lễq trôn, lễq sách 'completely' (240)

lôch 'all' (48)

măq 'very much' (5) (only with ji 'sick')

môh 'very' (2)

ndêt, ndêt ndot, ndêt ndêt 'a little' (20)

ngăn ngăn 'alone' (2)

nhâng, cô nhâng 'truly' (24)

qua 'very much' (131)

thăng 'indeed, truly' (14)

uây 'very much' (1) (parallel with măq)

văq vâv 'haphazardly, carelessly, here and there' (6)

Anh ji âr.

I'm sick a lot.

Mai ôp bây canốq.

You are doing improperly like that.

Huch bây du vữm alăc.

Drink carelessly a mouthful of wine.

Nễh ôp bây ba.

He is working haphazardly.

Něh nhai <u>tambây</u> .	He is speaking improperly.
Něh sĩq <u>chhuôi</u> tu nhi.	He returned all the way home.
Něh ôp <u>diêt</u> canõq.	He worked continually like that.
Něh sĩq <u>hân</u> .	He returned indeed.
Anh ji <u>măq</u> .	I'm very sick.
Něh sa gõng <u>lễq trõn</u> .	He ate the meat completely.
Něh sa <u>lễq trõn</u> gõng.	id.
Něh sa <u>lễq sách</u> .	He ate it completely.
Něh sa <u>lõch lễq</u> .	He ate everything.
Něh ôp <u>ndêt ndot</u> .	He works a little.
Vu huch <u>ndêt</u> .	People drink a little.
Něh gũq <u>ngăn-ngăn</u> .	He lived alone.
Něh sĩq <u>nhâng</u> .	He returned indeed.
Něh saq cõ <u>nhâng</u> .	He went indeed.
Něh jina <u>qua</u> .	He is very rich.
Něh jina <u>thăng</u> .	He is rich indeed.
Anh ji <u>măq</u> ji <u>uây</u> .	I am very sick.
Anh ôp dăq <u>văq vâv</u> vòq.	I made traps here and there.
Anh ôp <u>văq</u> ôp <u>vâv</u> vòq.	I worked at this and that.

Occasionally verb-modifying adverbs are formed with du 'one' plus a noun or quantity.

Něh chễq du ðung.	He placed them in a heap.
Něh vĩq du ðung.	It was lying in a heap.
Něh chât du ðuq.	He stacked up a boatful.
Něh khoech du ndêt lapõng.	He bored a little in the door.
Něh pân du phong ðaq.	He notified all (the snails in) the river.

Other adverbs help to specify the relation of the subject to the action, particularly with regard to his ability to complete it. These are usually though not invariably negated, they never appear as doublets, and not infrequently have di before them. They may be negated by a simple negative particle (êq, ưn, sưn, id, tôq), or by an initial modal păch or môq and the particle di before the adverb. These adverbs, but not the verb-modifying adverbs, can be used by themselves as a complete response utterance. The main adverbs of this sort are:

gěh 'able, possible, permitted' (182) (This should be distinguished from the main verb gěh 'be, have'.)

nôi 'able, capable' (21)

truh 'able, capable, especially of physical exertion' (42)

This is used only in the negative.

Anh nhữp gěh nẻh.	I can get him.
Anh nhữp nẻh gẻh.	id.
Anh nhữp nẻh êq gẻh.	I can't get him.
Păch ảnh nhữp nẻh di gẻh?	id. (emphatic)
Mỏq ảnh nhữp nẻh di gẻh.	id. (emphatic)
Nẻh saq êq nôi.	He is physically unable to go.
Nẻh saq nôi.	He is able to go.
Păch nẻh saq di nôi?	How could he go indeed!
Nẻh saq êq truh.	He can't go. (because someone is holding him)
Nẻh pỏq êq truh tamô nỏq.	He can't lift that stone. (not strong enough)
Nẻh pỏq tamô nỏq êq truh.	id.

Păch nêh pơq di truh?            How could he lift it indeed!

The directional adverbs are a small subclass of verbs. They function in the adverbial slot only to indicate the general direction of the main action, not indicating a different specific action. This can be distinguished from container clauses (§5.5) in that directional verbs used adverbially are part of the action of the main verb; a directional verb in a container clause is a separate action.

Anh săng nêh hao.                    I told him to rise. (cont.)

Anh văt nêh hao.                    I lifted it up. (adv.)

hao 'upwards' (9)

jur 'downwards' (9)

lăp 'in' (4)

lũh 'out, appearing' (50?)

sĩq 'returning' (40?)    sĩq vlâq

Anh trồh nêh jur.                    I threw it down.

Anh văt nêh lăp.                    I brought it in.

Anh pơq nêh lũh.                    I drew it out.

Anh văt nêh sĩq.                    I brought it back.

## 6.7 Location

The location is usually placed between the clause nucleus and the final particles, though it may sometimes follow the final particle. It is a noun phrase usually introduced by u 'at' (411), a 'from, at', tu 'to' (332), sũng

'inside' (131), từ 'from' (22), tất (c.100), bay 'with' (c.450). This preposition tất is closely related semantically to the verb tất 'arrive'.

Anh saq tu tĩq.	I'm going there.
Anh chẻq nẻh u nhi.	I put it in the house.
Nẻh hao tu vớ en.	She had risen above already.
Nẻh gủq sủng nhi.	He sat in the house.
Nẻh gủq u sủng nhi.	id.
Nẻh saq chhuôi tu tĩq.	He went way over there.
Nẻh saq bay ảnh.	He went with me.
Nẻh saq tất nhi.	He went to the house.

### 6.8 Final particles

Final particles are a set of words, mostly monosyllabic, which follow the clause nucleus and add temporal or modal specifications to the clause. It is not infrequent to find two final particles cooccurring, but three is rare. Final particles were used in 16 of 112 narrative clauses (= c.1150).

The final particles âm, ớn, hà, hàng, lầu, ớn, uy, vây, vỏ, vu de appear to occur only in direct speech or direct quotation (§10.10). This may suggest a distinction between clause-final and sentence-final particles. Temporarily they are all being classified with the clause periphery, though further study may place many of them on other emic levels.

The final particle âm (25) denotes agreement or a mild assertion. It is often used in affirmative reply to a question, or as an invitation or exhortation, or as a firm but friendly assertion. It combines only as âm vô (7).

Dip đơ âm.	Yes, fishing is pretty good.
Jong âm.	Yes, it's long.
Mai lôt âm.	Now you run.
Coq mai pãnh chut âm.	Pheasants you should shoot dead.
Anh gũq âm.	I'm staying here.
Piêng mai sa âm vô.	Rice you should eat.
Vơn saq nêh âm vô.	We should go.

The final particle canỏq 'like that, so, thus' (234) is compounded from the words cà 'like' and nỏq 'that', but as a conventionalized compound it is losing its demonstrative force. It combines as canỏq wỏq (2), canỏq vô (4), canỏq vẫy (2), canỏq nỏq (5), canỏq lâu (3).

Anh ôp canỏq.	I work like that.
Anh sây canỏq.	I saw that it was like that.
Nêh du canỏq wỏq.	He ran away like that again.
Vơn ôp canỏq vôq.	We work like that.
Vâng mai saq canỏq vẫy.	Don't go like that.
Vơn ôp canỏq nỏq.	We work like that.

Final particle chớ 'indeed' (4) is usually used in conjunction with a previous negative (3). It is probably related semantically to the initial particle chớ 'intensifier, usually negative' and the preverbal particle chớ

'negative'. It combines only as wỏq chớ (1).

Êq gẻh pách lây chớ.                    There wasn't anything at all.

Nẻh đảng gẻh piêng pách nào chớ.    He didn't have any rice  
at all.

Nẻh hỏm gỏq wỏq chớ.                    It will still be firm indeed.

The final particle dỏn 'already' (33) occurs only in combination with en 'already', and adds finality to the en. It occurs only in main clauses and may well be a sentence functor rather than a clause functor. It is usually in conjunction with lẻq 'all', lủng 'very', or qua 'very'.

Nẻh sỉq ẻn dỏn.                            He has returned already.

Nẻh sỉq lẻq ẻn dỏn.                        They have all returned already.

Nẻh lẻq chứt ẻn dỏn.                      He is completely dead already.

Anh vanhủl qua ẻn dỏn.                  I'm very drunk already.

The final particle đảng has two distinct uses, as a question indicator (32) and as a negative reinforcer (22). As a question particle it can be equivalent to the final particle hằng, calling for a yes or no answer./ As a negative it correlates with a previous negative in the clause and reinforces it; it is stronger than pa or tỏq, but not as vehemently negative as uy. Đảng as a question particle occurs in no combinations with other final particles; as a negative it combines only in wỏq đảng (3). / or it can be used in indirect questions as 'if...or not', not requiring a direct answer.

Mai sỉq đảng?                              Are you returning?



Ai cõnh ảnh đảng?	Do you love me?
Mai sên nẻh gẻh đảng.	You see if he has it.
Anh đảng gẻh đảng.	I don't have it.
Nẻh êq sa đảng.	He didn't eat.
Anh êq sĩq wỏq đảng.	I'll never return again.

The most common final particle is en 'already, now, finished' (280). The final particle combinations with en preceding are en heq (3), en hỏm-cỏ-hỏm (5), en nỏq (10), en tỉq (3), en vỏq (6), en đỏn (30). And with en following: vỏq en (11), nỏq en (1). Combinations with the en following have special emphasis (both phonological and semantic) on the en.

Nẻh sĩq en.	He has returned already.
Nẻh jảng piẻng en.	He has cooked the rice already.
Nẻh chut en.	He's dead now.
Chẻq nẻh nhim vỏq en.	So he cried indeed then.

Not infrequently after en, part of the clause nucleus will be repeated for emphasis (§6.9).

Ca hao en ca hao.	Fish came up in multitudes. (Fish rose then fish rose)
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The final particle hà (4) is used in rhetorical questions, meaning approximately 'is that so?, so that's the way it is?' It is to be distinguished from both the final particle hảng and the postverbal particle hỏn, though in rapid speech the pronunciation differences are slight.

Hà may be used in innocent surprise, as in the first

two examples below, or belligerently as in the last two examples. It has not been found in combination with other final particles. In the last example it cooccurs with lũh 'why' to give a sentence that is at the same time both a content question and a rhetorical question.

Mai ji hà?	So you are sick?
Mai sa piêng hà?	I see you are eating?
Mai êq ôp hà?	So you refuse to work, eh?
Lũh mai gũq diêt hà?	How come you are loafing on the job, eh?

The final particle hằng (14) is used to mark yes/no questions. It is similar to đặng. Phonetically it is not unlike Vietnamese không, which has the same meaning, so may possibly be a loan word, especially in view of the fact that it is almost entirely absent from legends but is common in everyday conversation. Care must be taken to distinguish it from the affirmative adverb hân (§6.6).

Măq hằng?	Is it big?
Mai sây hằng?	Do you see it?
Mai sây jun hằng?	Do you see the deer?

Hằng has not been found in combination with other final particles.

The final particle hôm 'yet?' (7) occurs in questions enquiring whether an action has occurred yet. It is commonly used in greetings, so its actual frequency in daily use is higher than the text figure of 7 would indicate. Other

than in the idioms hôm-cô-hôm and cô hôm là hôm, it has been observed in combination only with en, and that very rarely (not in my text).

Mai sa piêng hôm?	Have you eaten rice yet? (A common greeting)
Něh sĩq hôm?	Has he returned yet?
Něh sĩq en hôm?	Has he returned already yet?

The idiom hôm cô hôm 'then nothing left' [literally: 'yet the yet'] (7) requires a preceding en, and there is generally a lễq 'all' in the clause preceding it. Similar in meaning and structure is cô hôm là hôm 'nothing left'.

Vu lễq sa nẻh en hôm cô hôm. People completely eaten it  
already nothing left.

Nẻh lễq chut en hôm cô hôm. He is completely dead al-  
ready beyond recall.

Chut nẻh, cô hôm là hôm. Dead is he, beyond recall.

The final particle là or lầu (85) can be translated approximately as 'so, in the light of that, indeed, now, thus'. Apart from the common phrase mỏq ôp lầu? 'now what?, what can be done about it?' (30), lầu occurs otherwise only rarely in legends but frequently in colloquial talk. The phrase pảch lầu 'indeed, of course' (11) is characteristic of the Bính tuy dialect, and apparently absent from the Xuân-lộc dialect. lầu is often found in conjunction with the preverb khỏi 'also' (12) or with a negative (5). It has been found in the combinations on lầu (1), tỏq lầu (1), âr lầu (1), wỏq lầu (3), nỏq lầu (1).

Mỏq vớo ỏp lầu?	What can we do?
Lũh mai saq lầu?	Why did you go?
Nễh yăh păch lầu.	It was pretty good.
Anh saq lor păch lầu.	I'll go first of course.
Anh khoi gưt lầu.	I also know indeed.
Anh khoi gễh lầu.	Me too.
Anh saq sừn gễh lầu.	I can't go indeed.
Tớm êq dip ỏn lầu?	Why didn't I catch anything?
Sắy ănh ỏp tớq lầu.	I didn't do like that indeed.
Hôm thỉ nhim ăr lầu.	If living then weeping indeed.
Anh roc nễh wốq lầu.	I called him also indeed.
Hôm nõq lầu.	Still living indeed.

The final particle nỏq 'so, like that, then, there, eh' occurs quite frequently (c.175). It seldom appears at the end of a scene, being generally appended to an action when another action is consequent or about to follow, or when the action was itself expected from what preceded it. It occurs in combination as en nỏq (15). It is probably semantically related to the demonstrative nỏq 'that', though as a final particle it has little demonstrative force.

Anh tiêc nễh nỏq.	I regret him.
Vớ mai saq nỏq?	Where are you going there, eh?
Nễh saq hao nỏq.	She went up then.
So nễh sec nỏq.	The dog it yelped so.
Nễh vớng hầq en nỏq.	It has fallen over already now.

The final particle nôq accentuates a preverbal negative (7). It gives an air of finality or determination, indicating that the speaker has made up his mind and doesn't intend to change it. It combines only as wỏq nôq (1). It is related to the verb nôq 'refuse, not want'.

Anh ưn saq nôq.	I'm not going.
Đăng gỏq nôq.	Not much indeed.
Saq canỏq ưn baq nôq.	Going like that isn't good.
Ưn gẻh piêng wỏq nôq.	There isn't any more rice.

The final particle ngăn 'only' (42) usually correlates with a preceding ayh 'only' (32). The ngăn usually has reference to a noun in the Object position, but may be used occasionally with a verb, adjective, or other noun. When with a verb there may be me 'just, only now' rather than ayh preceding it. When with a noun having the number du 'one' the ayh will sometimes be dropped. When ngăn refers to the Subject it will usually directly follow the Subject, and the rest of the clause following will be preceded by the connective cỏ. ngăn vỏq is the only combination of final particles with ngăn (12), besides ngăn en (1).

Sên ayh ônh ngăn.	Saw only soot only.
Sa ayh gỏng ngăn.	Eat only meat only.
Nẻh me khoai ngăn.	He just began digging.
Gẻh du war ngăn.	Have one meal only.
Ayh tanỏl ngăn cỏ lăp.	Only the midwife enters.
Lủh ayh n'ham ngăn vỏq.	Appeared only blood indeed.

The final particle ơn (1) indicates surprise or bewilderment. It occurs in the combination ơn lâu (1).

Tôm êq dip ca ƠN lâu?	Why didn't it catch fish at all?
Lũh nễh phiệt chẻq ƠN?	Why is he missing?
Nễh cớnh tachút ảnh ƠN.	He wants to kill me!

The final particle pa (65) appears to reinforce the certainty or uncertainty of the clause. It is most often used to reinforce a negative, usually ví, though occasionally the other negatives (êq, đảng, cồ, sủm, sây) appear with it. In positive clauses it may reinforce a positive particle (chảc 'surely', nhậng 'truly'). In clauses which have neither positive or negative particles, pa makes the clause a statement of normal not-unexpected action. It combines only as uy pa (1).

Ví mảq pa.	It's <u>not</u> big.
Ví ảnh sa gỏq pa.	I <u>didn't</u> eat a lot.
Ví chừt pa.	She <u>wasn't</u> dead.
Chảc con ảnh pa.	Surely it's my child.
Nhậng canỏq nễh sỉq pa.	Indeed like that he returned.
Aheq nễh sa pa.	And so they ate.
Anh saq bay nễh pa.	So I went with him.

Another fairly common final particle is tỏq 'indeed'. It is used to strengthen the positive or negative aspect of a clause, and must have a cooccurring negative in the clause (usually êq or đảng) (84) or else be immediately preceded by

the positive iết (11).

Anh êq an tđq.	I won't give it indeed.
Êq gal ănh an tđq.	It's not true that I gave it, indeed.
Něh sa đăng gổq tđq.	He ate not much indeed.
Êq gễh tđq.	No indeed.
Něh chut iết tđq.	He's dead indeed.

The only combinations of final particles with tđq that have been found are wổq tđq (7) in negative clauses and iết tđq vồ (1) in a positive clause.

The final particle uy (8) is correlated with a negative to express a strong denial. It occurs most frequently with the negatives ví and cố, with one occurrence with păch nao 'whatever, at all'. The only combination it has been found in is uy pa.

Ví ănh dôn̄h uy!	I didn't pick it up indeed!
Ví ănh nhai mv̄ar uy!	I'm not lying!
Něh cố mi uy!	It's not going to rain!
Něh cố sây uy!	They didn't see at all!
Mai mv̄ar qua; cố gễh uy pa!	You're lying; it wasn't that way at all!

Reaffirmation, after a denial with uy, naturally takes the final particle ăm. The response to the last sentence above was Gễh ăm. 'It certainly was that way.'

The final particle vây (18) is used to give additional emphasis to the negative imperative vâng. It has been found

in combination only with â (1) and w (1).

Vâng saq vâ.	Don't go.
Vâng cấp vap vâ.	Don't bite father.
Vâng tách wốq vâ.	Don't sell any more.
Vâng nhai â vâ.	Don't keep on talking.

The final particle v (196) expresses finality or limitedness, or an abruptly ended action. It occurs in the combinations ng (14), v (23), v (1), en v (7). V often is correlated with a clause-initial ch 'cause, so that, indeed' (16), or is often followed by a repetition of part of the clause nucleus (10). V or ng often (28) accompanies ay 'only'.

Mai gũq v	You sit still.
Mai ôp v	You work!
Sên ayh ônh v	Saw only soot.
Chẽq ca lấp v en ca lấp.	So fish entered indeed fish entered.
Chẽq nẻh nhim v en.	So he cried indeed.
Lũh ayh n'ham ng v.	Appeared only blood only indeed.
Hôm var pe tô v	Still two or three bowls only.

The final particle v 'emphatic, hortative' is also quite frequently used (129). It is a mild appeal to the hearer (or reader) to note what has just been said. It is most often a gentle exhortation to do something, but is not uncommonly just a mild attention getter in a declarative sentence. A short exhortation sometimes repeats the verb.



Occasionally the particle takes the form něh vô (24) with no apparent difference in meaning from simple vô. It occurs also in the combinations âm vô (5), něh âm vô (2), iết tởq vô (1).

Saq vô.	Let's go.
Sỉq sỉq vô.	Let's return.
Mai sa piêng vô.	You should eat rice.
Saq saq něh vô.	Let's go.
Piêng mai sa âm vô.	Rice you should eat. (not throw it away)
Vơn saq něh âm vô.	We should go indeed.
Cồ dồq jăc iết tởq vô.	The monkeys were quick, you know.
Něh mừng lê vô.	They were very happy, you know.

Vu de (13) is a final particle used mostly in colloquial speech, apparently a mild emphatic. It is apparently compounded from vu 'people' and de 'possessive particle', but it has acquired an idiomatic meaning of its own. It occurs in combination as pa vu de (1), vu de nỏq (2). It is frequently in negative sentences.

Sún gút vu de.	I don't know, indeed, what it is all about.
Pôp něh sỉq lor vu de vô.	Her older sisters returned first, they did.
Păch pachăh vu de.	How would they break, indeed?
Ví ănh gút pa vu de.	I didn't know anything about it at all.
Vu sa vu de.	They ate, you know.

The particle wǒq 'again, also, more' (276) generally occurs in the final particle position, though it may occasionally be found following a clause-initial temporal. It occurs in the combinations wǒq dǎng (3), wǒq la (3), wǒq pa (5), wǒq tǎq (7), wǒq vò (2), wǒq chǒ (1).

Něh saq wǒq.	He went again.
Něh ji wǒq.	He is sick again. (or, He is sicker.)
Něh viēm wǒq.	They are worse people.
Něh sa piēng wǒq.	He ate more rice.
Anh êq saq wǒq dǎng.	I won't go again indeed.
Khay heq khay tacat wǒq la.	This month is an even colder month.
Anh êq gǔq bay mai wǒq pa.	I won't live with you any more.
Anh dǎng pǎh něh wǒq tǎq.	I won't hit it again.
Něh saq wǐnh wǒq vò.	He went and asked again.

### 6.9 Final echo

Part of the clause nucleus may be repeated (echoed) after the final particle for additional semantic emphasis. This echo may occur even when the nuclear referent has been deleted, especially with ǎnh 'I'. With some verbs, especially sǐq 'return', an echo is very common. The echo phrase is usually on a low pitch and phonologically de-emphasized (cf. §4.3). It occurs with the final particles en (2), vǒq en (9), chhuôi vǒq (1), něh vò (1). In the absence of a final particle, only a pronoun can serve as an echo.

Anh sǐq ǎnh.	I'm going home I.
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Sĩq ănh.	(I'm) going home I.
Anh ji nuh ănh.	I sick heart I.
Bay jêng sipăm ănh.	Accompanying becoming shaman I.
Ca hao en ca hao.	Fish rose indeed fish rose.
Chěq n'ham sêch vồq en n'ham.	Then bloody teeth indeed blood.
Anh quay daq sut en bay ănh.	I scooped out honey indeed I.
Trôq mi vồq en mi.	Sky rained indeed rained.
So dăh vồq en dăh.	The đog chased indeed chased.
Chěq sa vồq en sa vồq.	So he ate indeed ate.
Něh sach daq vồq en sach.	They scooped water indeed scooped.
Yau něh sec vồq en yau něh sec.	The tiger screeched indeed the tiger screeched.
Anh êq nhai gồq chhuôi vồq ănh.	I didn't speak much at all indeed I.
Sa něh vồ var lâm pốp ồh sa.	They ate indeed the two brothers ate.

### 6.10 Comparisons

The type of clause periphery outlined in this chapter seems fairly common in Southeast Asia. The near-absence of verb affixation necessitates fairly extensive use of particles.

For Vietnamese, Thompson distinguishes as clause particles: isolating particles, coordinating particles, relative particles, focal particles, movable prepositive particles, movable postpositive particles, and versatile

particles (1965:360).

For Khmu', Smalley mentions final particles (1961:27). And a more detailed analysis of clause structure would probably have turned up some other types of particles.

For Khmer, Maspero mentions final particles, coordinating particles, and subordinating particles (1915:417ff). Gorgoniyev distinguishes vocative, negative, prohibitory, imperative, intensifying and emphatic particles (1966:109). As adverbs Gorgoniyev distinguishes notional (qualitatives and modifiers) and seminotional (manner specifiers) (1966:105-107).

For Thô<sup>2</sup>, Day finds final particles and introductory particles on the sentence level. (1966:48).

For Mnong Rôlôm, E. Blood mentions initial interrogative particles on the sentence level. An instrument slot is distinguished from the time and location slots (1966:25ff).

For Brôu, J. Miller isolates final particles, introducers, an intensive, adverbs, and an indefinite adverb (1964).

## Chapter 7

### NOUN PHRASE

- 7.1 Numerals
- 7.2 Classifiers
- 7.3 Nouns
- 7.4 Adjectives
- 7.5 Compound nouns
- 7.6 Comparisons

The general form of the Chrau noun phrase can be summarized as:

Num. - Clas. - Head - Mod.

in which the Numeral slot may be filled by numbers and other counters, the Classifier slot may be filled by regular or temporary classifiers, the Head slot may be filled by a simple or complex noun, and the Modifier slot may be filled by adjectives, possessives, and demonstratives.

#### 7.1 Numerals

The Chrau numbers are: muôi 'one', var 'two', pe 'three', puôn 'four', prăm 'five', prau 'six', põh 'seven', pham 'eight', sưn 'nine', mât 'ten', var jât 'twenty', rayěng 'hundred', ngan, ravu 'thousand'. In counting or in isolation muôi is used for 'one'; in noun phrases or before higher multiples of ten du is used for 'one'.

mât muôi

eleven

mât var	twelve
var jât muôi	twenty-one
pe jât muôi	thirty-one
du rayěng muôi	101 or 110
du rayěng var	102 or 120
du rayěng mât	110
du rayěng mât muôi	111
du rayěng var jât muôi	121
du ravu	1,000
du ravu muôi	1,001 or 1,100
du ravu du rayěng muôi	1,101
du ravu du rayěng var jât muôi	1,121

Vanăc 'half, halfway' has a somewhat adverbial usage, being able to be used of half-completed actions, progress halfway along a road, or half a specified unit. It rarely occurs with regular classifiers, but is not infrequent with temporary classifiers (quantifiers) or with unclassifiable nouns. With the meaning '...and a half' vanăc follows the classifier, and the noun must be deleted.

Gõq 'many', vagõq 'how many?' function normally in the numeral slot of the noun phrase, taking classifiers of all sorts. But vn gõq 'not many' cannot take either classifiers or nouns with it; it functions only as a verbal adjective. Takig 'little, few' also functions only as an adjective.

vanăc chai daq                      half a glass of water

du chai vanăc	a glass and a half
gǒq chai daq	many glassfuls of water
vagǒq chai daq?	how many glassfuls of water?
Chai daq ưn gǒq.	There were not many glassfuls of water.

For approximate figures, chưng or lôi chưng 'about' can be borrowed from Vietnamese, or two consecutive numbers can be juxtaposed simply or with hay 'or' between them.

Du 'one' is never directly juxtaposed to var 'two'.

chưng puôn lǐch	about four liters
pe puôn lǐch	three or four liters
pe lǐch puôn lǐch	id.
pe hay puôn lǐch	id.
du lǐch var lǐch	one or two liters

Ordinal numerals simply prepose di to the number: di muôi 'first', di var 'second', di pe 'third'. These function in the adjective slot of the noun phrase.

con di muôi	oldest child
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## 7.2 Classifiers

Chrau classifiers are those items which are used to indicate the size of the units involved when a number is cited. Some nouns are not classifiable, but all classifiable nouns must be accompanied by a classifier if a number is present. There are 3 main types of classifiers in Chrau: regular classifiers, which function solely as classifiers;

standard measures, which are cultural conventions; and temporary measures, which are objects used ad hoc for measuring.

1) Regular classifiers are a closed set of words, each of which can be used to classify only a closed set of nouns. They usually have no other function in the language apart from being classifiers. They usually reflect natural rather than conventionally imposed units. The universal classifier lâm can be used with almost any classifiable noun, though with some nouns it is not considered good style. Lâm (194) occurs in our text with animals (ca, coq, cane, glâng, gông, gapu, iěr, jun, juł, jike, kraih, sipai, proq, racot, sc, siguây, vĩh, yau), vegetation (chhó, loq, lapaq, pai vunh, plai), people (ãnh, con, camon, GaPham, mbuôi, mê, õh, pôp, rũh, sinau, si-ur, un, ur), tools and utensils (pam, bac, chai, droi, gũh, nglau, prông), houses (nhi, vadai), holes (chhũng), ghosts (camhóch), fingernails (can'hyeyh), mountains (gũng), stores (tim), fire (ũnh).

The other regular classifiers are:

- bc 'bundle', with run, ratiêng 'reeds' (1)
- bon 'group', with people and pronouns (2)
- bur 'clump', with cala 'bamboo', gle 'small bamboo' (1)
- căp 'pair', with gapu 'buffalo' (6)
- cóc 'small object', with tamô 'stones' (1)
- côp 'unit', with gong 'gong', nggan 'dish', chai 'bottle',  
thũng 'can' (2)
- chan'hũm 'small package', with piêng 'cooked rice'



- cũc 'small portion', with gõng 'meat', võh 'salt' (2)
- dam 'group, cluster, patch', with camhõch 'ghost', nsêt 'mushroom', mprăng 'potato', trees, houses, people (5)
- bây 'group', with birds, animals (0)
- đôi 'pair', with gapu 'buffalo', jây 'shoes' (1)
- đũng 'heap', with chhó 'sticks' (1)
- gõc 'unit', with pam 'fishtrap' (2)
- jôm 'a pinch' (0)
- miêng 'piece', with gõng 'meat', alăc 'wine', pa-ăr 'paper', candăr 'board' (9)
- mvu (sg.), ndu (pl.) 'person', with ăn̄h 'I', con 'child', cô 'old man', mbuôi 'older brother', mê 'mother', něh 'he', õh 'younger sibling', pôp 'older sibling', si-ur 'wife', tung đaq 'singer', tamun 'person', ur 'woman', khaněh 'they', un 'old woman', vap 'father' (137)
- ncong 'stalk', with rěh 'rattan', chhó 'log, post', pachaq 'palm stalk', chao 'sugarcane', and branches, bamboo, pencils (0)
- ngon 'a roll', with raq 'walling' (1)
- n'ha 'leaf, hair', with la sỏq 'hair', and leaves, flowers (1)
- nóm 'trunk', with chhó 'tree', lapaq 'guava' (2)
- păng 'flat object', with chĩnh 'small gong', cop 'turtle', khan 'cloth', ao 'clothes', mphla 'trousers', tranh 'loincloth', su 'blanket', vêl 'mat' (3)
- pahaq 'load, bundle', with long 'firewood' (1)
- palang 'grain, small amount', with piêng 'rice' (1)

- panăt 'handful', with piêng 'cooked rice' (0)
- pandõh 'sheet', with books, boards, money (0)
- panoq 'bundle, roll', with iug 'tobacco' (0)
- panuq 'package', with piêng puq 'rice in a package' (0)
- rot 'house', with nhi 'house' (4)
- rông 'large clump, area', with cala, gle 'bamboo', nhi 'house', ya 'thatch' (1)
- ramăt 'leaf', with raq 'palm' (0)
- rawây 'string', with sinoq 'body hair', chhe 'cord' (1)
- si 'small amount', with alăc 'wine' (1)
- simvăt, simvôi 'handful', with va 'rice', phe 'pounded rice', ranga 'sesame', paih 'cotton' (2)
- tăp 'layer', with côt 'rooms', and roofing (3)
- tong 'long, thin', with aq 'crossbow', bua 'hammer', chho 'stick', candar 'fishpole', đao 'knife', krah 'ring', lapăi 'mortar', nai 'stake', nděh 'vehicle', nóc 'stake', racot 'lizard', ranay 'pestle', vra 'bushknife', vadaï 'shelter', ngôi viêt 'pencil', pĩh 'knife' (25)
- tanung 'armful, shoulder load', with long 'firewood', glao 'bamboo', ratiêng 'reed' (2)
- vao 'section', with ti 'hand, finger' (1)
- vân 'a roll', with iug 'tobacco' (0)
- vôq 'head', with da 'duck', pam 'fishtrap', asěh 'horse', jun 'deer', so 'dog' (5)
- vũm 'mouthful', with alăc 'wine', iug 'tobacco' (5)
- vanông 'animal', with bo 'cow', gapu 'buffalo', rawâyh 'elephant', jun 'deer' (6)

yu 'set', with gongs chính, gong (7)

du yu gong	one set of gongs
du vanông gapu	one (animal) buffalo
du vŭm alăc	one mouthful of wine
du vŏq đă	one (head) duck
du vao ti	one section of hand (knuckle)
du tong aq	one (item) crossbow
du mvu ănh	one person me
du mvu GaPe	one person GaPe

2) Standard measures are also a closed set of words, but they can be used freely with all nouns whenever appropriate. These are arbitrary conventional units rather than natural units. The standard measures include lŭch 'liter', long 'canful (condensed milk can)', thư 'variety', sinlŏ 'variety'. Almost all of these are loanwords from Vietnamese. Other measures such as ki 'kilo' and thước 'meter' act as unclassifiable nouns rather than as classifiers.

du lŭch đaq	one liter of water
du long phe	one canful of rice
du thư va	one kind of rice plant
du sinlŏ va	id.

3) Temporary measures are an open ad hoc class of nouns which are used temporarily as a measuring unit for another noun, so function temporarily in the classifier slot. These include nouns such as:

bưa 'meal', to measure wine, rice, and fish

gong 'gong', to measure rice  
khan 'handkerchief', to measure mushrooms, bees  
kiêp 'pot', to measure water, rice  
kruh 'bag', to measure rice  
li 'glass', to measure water  
maq 'side, one of a pair', to measure hands, eyes, thighs,  
 meat, people  
mâm 'tray', to measure rice  
nděh 'cart', to measure harvested rice  
nggan 'dish', to measure rice  
prông 'basket', to measure rice, meat  
sinun 'fishtrap', to measure fish  
thũng 'barrel', to measure water, rice  
tô 'bowl', to measure rice  
tun 'back of knife', to measure knives  
vlu 'thigh', to measure meat  
vaniêng 'jug', to measure water

du gong va	a gongful of rice
du khan nsêt	a handkerchiefful of mushrooms
du kiêp daq	a potful of water
du nděh va	a cartful of rice
du sinun ca	a trapful of fish
du tun vra	a knife

Only one classifier can be present at a time. (Some other languages, such as Nùng, allow two classifiers.)

Regular classifiers must always be accompanied by a

numeral except in the expression lâm nào lâm nấy 'any one, any thing' (a construction borrowed from Vietnamese).

### 7.3 Nouns

Nouns are those items that can occur in the head slot of a noun phrase. A noun can be identified by its position between the classifier and the modifiers, and by its ability to stand alone as the representative of the whole noun phrase in referential positions.

Nouns may be simple, composed of a single word, as chhó 'tree', ca 'fish', ănh 'I', GaPe 'a personal name'. Or a noun may be a two-word complex, usually a generic term followed by a specific name, as chhó rapaq 'guava tree', ca co 'catfish'. Rapaq 'guava' can stand by itself as a free noun head, but co, and most fish names, must always have the ca 'fish' with it.

Nouns may also be divided into classifiable nouns (mass nouns) and unclassifiable nouns (count nouns). Like most Oriental languages, the large majority of nouns are classifiable in Chrau, including pronouns and personal names. Unclassifiable nouns include such things as camvũm 'word', găl 'portion', gatũq 'place', hang 'manner', maq 'side', war 'meal', su, cac, đòng 'units of money', thước, sindam 'units of length', khay, năr, mva, năng, nđôi, tiếng, phuc 'units of time', dâq, lóp, phac, măt, ratih, ratuh 'a time, instance'.

đu lâm chhơ	a tree
đu lâm ănh	(one person) me
var lâm khananh	two persons us
đu camvũm	a word
đu mva	a year

Personal names in Chrau are classifiable nouns. They are usually one-syllable words, to which may be added the name marker Ga- (before all except velar consonants) ~ Da- (before velars). Thus Pe, GaPe, Ngi, DaNgi. The name marker is dropped in direct address, as may also the pre-syllable in a 2-syllable name - (La)hau, (Si)pai.

Pronouns in Chrau can be defined semantically as nouns at the highest level of generality. Morphologically there is no difference between pronouns and nouns, and syntactically the differences are slight. The only function I have found unique to the pronouns is that apparently only pronouns can function as a simple echo subject without en in the SVS construction (§6.9).

The common pronouns are ănh 'I', mai '2ms.', ai '2fs.', něh '3s', vôn 'lp.inc.' These may be used as plurals without modification, especially něh, but plurality is often indicated by preposing kha- or khây. Thus khananh, khây ănh 'lp. exc.'.

The most common kinship terms used as pronouns are cô 'grandfather' to a respected man, un 'grandmother' to a

respected woman, dêg 'younger uncle' to a middle-aged man, yông 'younger aunt' to a middle-aged woman, pôp 'older sibling' to equals or intimates, mon 'nephew' or nau 'grandchild' to clearly younger people, pi 'in-law' used informally between men. All simple kin terms can be used in direct address to the appropriate kin; complex kin terms like dêg re 'husband of younger aunt' are shortened to just the head word (here dêg) in direct address (cf. §10.9).

Păch n'hya 'what?' functions as a noun, but cannot take any numbers, classifiers, or adjectives, and must be in clause-initial position (initial modal position).

Păch n'hya mai ôp?	What are you doing?
Păch n'hya mai ji?	What are you sick with?
Păch n'hya păch heq?	What is this?
Păch n'hya sũm ndrau?	What bird is singing?

#### 7.4 Adjectives and other modifiers

The modifier slot follows the head noun and can be divided into two subslots: adjective, and demonstrative.

The adjective slot is filled by a noun (possessor) or, less frequently, by an adjective (cf. §8.3, 11.2) occasionally by a reduced clause.

iěr <u>ănh</u>	my chicken
du lâm iěr <u>ănh</u>	a chicken of mine
iěr <u>măq</u>	a large chicken
iěr <u>păn chăp</u>	a hen sitting on eggs

piêng sa

rice for eating

The demonstrative slot is filled by such demonstratives as heq 'this', nõq 'that', tdq 'that (farther)', tĩq 'that (far)', lây 'any'.

iěr <u>heq</u>	this chicken
iěr ănh <u>heq</u>	this chicken of mine
iěr <u>nõq</u>	that chicken
iěr <u>lây</u>	any chicken

The particle je (after ănh) - de (after other nouns) is used in the adjective slot to add a possessive or identificational nuance to the noun. It can be used to modify a noun in the head slot of a noun phrase or in the adjective (possessor) slot. Anh je as a possessor has not been found in a normal noun phrase - the head noun has generally either been omitted or transposed to another part of the clause. De is found in both normal and distorted noun phrases. Je de is obligatory when the clause is a statement of possession, or when the head noun is missing.

Iěr heq ănh je.	This chicken is mine.
Vu khun ănh je.	Someone stole mine.
Vu păh ănh je.	Someone hit me.
Anh khun iěr, ănh je.	I steal chickens, I do.
iěr nẻh de	his chicken
iěr patau de	the king's chicken
cỏ patau de heq	this king
Camvu de iěr heq?	Whose is this chicken?



Něh de êq gěh iěr.

His had no chickens.

### 7.5 Compound nouns

Compound nouns may be formed by simple juxtaposition of nouns, by postposing đồ 'etc.' to a series of nouns, or linking them with gằm 'and', và 'and', or bay 'with'.

mê vap	mother and father
var ndu mê vap	(two people) mother and father
mê gằm vap	mother and father
mê và vap	id.
mê gằm và vap	id.
mê bay vap	id.
mê vap pôp ồh	mother, father, older sibling, younger sibling
mê vap pôp ồh đồ	mother, father, older sibling, younger sibling, etc.

Taxonomic generics are often formed by simple juxtaposition of nouns (Dorothy Thomas 1966). So jun 'deer' and jike 'wild pig' combine to give jun jike 'destructive animals'; sũm 'small bird' and khlang 'bird of prey' combine into sũm khlang 'birds generally'; trôq 'sky' and ntěh 'earth' combine into trôq ntěh 'the universe'.

Coordinate compound nouns may function as ad hoc doublets or as stereotyped doublets. As doublets, then, they can be separated by intervening parallel structures (§9.4).

Nouns can also be joined by apposition, with or without tức là 'that is'.

Chhơ heq, chhơ rapaq,... This tree, a guava tree,...

Chhơ heq, tức là chhơ rapaq,... id.

## 7.6 Comparison with other languages

In almost all Vietnam languages adjectives follow the noun.

In Khmer, classifiers are less frequently used, and noun phrase order is Head-Num-Clas. Measures and quantities function like classifiers. Classifiers cannot cooccur with demonstrative pronouns. Ordinal numerals are formed with ti-. Khmer numbers 1-5 are simple, 6-9 are compounded as five-one, five-two, etc.; there is also a standard unit of 4 and a standard unit of 20 (comparable to our 'dozen' and 'score'). (Gorgoniyev 1966:75ff) Pronouns are distinguished only semantically from nouns.

In Khmu' the general order is Head-Num-Clas. Pronouns are distinguished structurally from other nouns only by their cooccurrence restrictions with particular numerals. Classifiers appear to be very common. (Smalley 1961:22-24)

In Vietnamese the general order is Num-Clas-Head. Classifiers and demonstratives frequently occur together. Full pronouns are scarce, kin terms having taken over most of their functions.

In Brôu both the orders Num-Clas-Head and Head-Num-Clas occur, though the former is the more frequent. Four 'modifier' slots are distinguished in Brôu, namely: Modifier, Demonstrative, Possessor, and Location, -most frequently in that order. (C.Miller 1964)

Nùng (a Tai language) follows the order Num-Clas-Head. Nùng, however, has two subslots at the Classifier position - quantifiers and qualifiers, - so that in Nùng there may be two classifiers in the same phrase. Classifiers are divided into general classifiers (can be used with almost any noun), natural quantifiers which are optional with higher numbers, natural quantifiers which are obligatory with all numbers, measure units ( Chrau standard measures), non-classifiable imposed units (subsumed under Chrau regular classifiers), temporary measure units, qualifiers (non-natural units), kin classifiers, and people classifiers. The non-classifiable nouns in Nùng comprise generally the same items as in Chrau. (Saul 1965)

Thố (also a Tai language) has three types of noun phrases: 1) Deictic, 2) Possessive-Person, 3) Quantifiers-Classifier-Nucleus-Modifier-Demonstrative. Thố, closely related to Nùng, permits only one classifier in a phrase. (Day 1966:45,75ff)

## Chapter 8

### VERB PHRASE

- 8.1 Preverbal particles
- 8.2 Auxiliary verbs
- 8.3 Intentional verbs
- 8.4 Main verbs
- 8.5 Comparisons

The verb phrase in Chrau consists of a main verb together with the words immediately before it which are constituent with and subordinate to the main verb. Only a main verb is obligatory. The verb phrase thus takes the form:

Prev. - Aux. - Inten. - MainV.

The preverb, auxiliary, and intentional verb are generally only one word each. The main verb may be simple, compound, or complex. In ellipsis only an intentional verb or the main verb can stand alone for the verb phrase; preverbs and auxiliaries must always be accompanied by another manifested tagmeme in the verb phrase.

#### 8.1 Preverbal particles

The preverbal particles in general indicate the state of existence of the action. They include the following:

có 'negative' (16)

cónh 'almost, about to' (80) (cf. main verb cónh 'want')

- êq 'negative' (329)  
hôm 'still' (153)  
jó, jóq 'negative' (19)  
khoi 'also' (c.100)  
lěq 'completely, finished' (89) (often with en 'already')  
me 'newly, recently' (33)  
ndõh, ndãh 'not yet' (10)  
phai 'must' (79)  
sây 'negative' (3)  
sun 'negative' (103) (often used in doublets)  
tdq 'negative' (2)  
un 'negative' (30)

Lěq cõnh (9) is the only combination of preverbal particles that has been observed.

Anh cõ sây nẽh.	I didn't see him.
Anh cõnh chũt.	I'm about to die.
Anh êq sây nẽh.	I didn't see him.
Anh hôm sây nẽh.	I still see him.
Anh hôm ji.	I'm still sick.
Anh jóq sây nẽh.	I didn't see him.
Anh lěq sa en.	I have finished eating already.
Anh lěq sây nẽh en.	I have seen him already.
Anh me sây nẽh.	I just now saw him.
Anh ndõh sây nẽh.	I haven't seen him yet.
Anh phai sây nẽh.	I must see him.

Anh sây vlam nêh.	I didn't meet him.
Anh sun sây nêh.	I didn't see him.
Anh saq tđq dan.	I went not in time.
Anh ưn sây nêh.	I didn't see him.

## 8.2 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are a set of verbs which can be used before the main verb to indicate the type of motion, or lack of such, of the action. Auxiliary verbs are distinguished from preverbal particles in that the auxiliaries are negatable, and also that the auxiliaries can be deleted without seriously affecting the meaning or the function of the clause in its context. Auxiliary verbs are distinguished from main verbs by their truth-preserving deletability and by their inability to substitute for the whole verb phrase. Or, to state it in different terms, the co-occurrence permissions or restrictions for the verb phrase depend on the main verb and are not seriously affected by auxiliary verbs.

In addition, the Subject cannot be repeated between an auxiliary and a main verb, but can be repeated between two parts of a compound main verb.

\*Anh gễh ănh lêng. (not permitted) I indeed I played.

Anh lêng ănh khlân. I played I played.

(Lêng and khlan are main verbs, gễh is an auxiliary.)

The most common auxiliary verbs are:

saq 'initiating or actively doing an action' (725)

(cf. saq 'go, walk')

gũq 'remaining in a state or an act' (36) (cf. gũq 'sit')

them (always negative) 'it is in the nature of things that it would happen this way' (5) (cf. them 'be inclined to')

iun (always negative) 'as a matter of fact' (9) (cf. iun 'give, have')

gẽh 'a simple statement of fact' (36) (cf. gẽh 'have')

Note that each of these auxiliary verbs has a homophonous main verb to which it is semantically related and from which it was probably derived.

Anh <u>saq</u> sĩa.	I'm (going) returning.
Anh <u>saq</u> pãh chhơ.	I (went) chop trees.
Ai <u>saq</u> nhữp si ănh.	You (go ahead and) pick my lice.
Nễh <u>saq</u> mơi ănh.	He (went and) invited me.
Anh <u>gũq</u> lu.	I'm (sitting) having a vacation.
Anh <u>gũq</u> lĩnh.	I'm (sitting) in the army. (that's what I'm doing now)
Anh <u>saq</u> lĩnh.	I'm (going) in the army. (I joined and I'm still in)
Nễh <u>gũq</u> nhai.	He (persisted in) talking.
Nễh đảng <u>them</u> dip.	It (his trap) (naturally) didn't catch anything. (because it was up in a tree)
Mai đảng <u>them</u> sên.	You (naturally) wouldn't want to look. (because all your work has been undone)

Anh <u>đăng</u> <u>iưn</u> nhai	I didn't (indeed) speak.
Daq êq <u>iưn</u> khlüh.	The water wouldn't (indeed) boil over.
Anh êq <u>gẽh</u> saq.	I didn't (indeed) go.

### 8.3 Intentional verbs

Intentional verbs precede the main verb. They are a small set of verbs which require the presence of a following main verb. They include verbs such as cơnh 'want to', thêng 'dare'.

These intentional verbs differ from preverbal particles (§8.1) in that they are negatable, and in that they can stand alone as elliptical forms of the verb phrase. (Contrast preverbal cơnh 'future', intentional cơnh 'want to'.) They differ also from auxiliary verbs (§8.2) in that they directly affect verb phrase cooccurrence factors, especially in relation to the Subject.

Anh <u>cơnh</u> saq.	I want to go.
Anh <u>cơnh</u> pâm nẽh.	I want to hit him.
Anh <u>thêng</u> pâm nẽh.	I dare hit him.
Anh êq <u>thêng</u> pâm nẽh.	I don't dare hit him.
Anh êq <u>gẽh</u> <u>cơnh</u> saq.	I not indeed want to go.

### 8.4 Main verbs

The main verb slot may be filled by a simple verb (a single member of the verb class), a compounded verb (two or more coordinated verbs), or a complex verb (a verb with



non-verbal elements added).

The verb class is defined as comprising all elements which can stand alone in the main verb slot. There are several subclasses of them, based on their transformation potential (see §11). The major subclasses of verbs are:

- 1) verbal adjectives: prho 'red', măg 'big', jong 'long', ken 'small', ji 'sick', etc. (§11.2)
- 2) intransitives: saq 'go', vĩq 'sleep', etc. (§5.2; 11.1)
- 3) transitives: sa 'eat', sây 'see', pâm 'hit', wǒng 'look for', etc. (§5.3; 11.6)
- 4) bitransitives: an 'give', dop 'put'. (§5.4; 11.7)
- 5) containers: an 'permit', wĩnh 'request', săng 'command', chěq 'permit', sây 'see', etc. (§5.5; 11.5)
- 6) quotatives: nhai 'say', lũp 'ask', etc. (§5.7; 11.8)
- 7) directional verbs: hao 'rise', sĩq 'return', etc. (§11.3)

Some locational verbs, intransitive or transitive, generally require a Location (§6.7) in the clause periphery. These are words such as saq 'go', dog 'put in', hwõt 'throw away', lăm 'put in', chěq 'put'.

Anh saq tu tĩq.                    I go (to) there.

Anh dog nẻh sũng dor.            I put him in a coffin.

Anh hwõt nẻh tu tĩq.            I threw it to there.

In context the Location can sometimes be zeroed.

A compounded verb is composed of two related verbs, generally near-synonyms. This should be distinguished from

intentional verb constructions such as cõnh nhai 'want to speak', thêng saq 'dare to go'. It should also be distinguished from direction-motivation sentences such as saq vlam 'go to meet', jur dônh 'descend to gather' (§10.6).

Some compounds are non-stereotyped (ad hoc) pairs such as dõp an 'deliver give', hwõt chëq 'throw put'. These ad hoc pairs can be but are not usually separated. (Note that auxiliary verbs are not separatable from the main verb. (§8.2)) A few words like an 'give', chëq 'put', sıq 'return' recur frequently as the second member of compound verbs.

Nëh <u>dõp an</u> ca.	He delivered-gave fish.
Nëh <u>trõh an</u> ca.	He handed-gave fish. (He handed over the fish.)
Nëh <u>trõh nëh an</u> ca.	id.
Nëh <u>hwõt chëq</u> ca.	He threw-put fish. (He threw away the fish.)
Nëh <u>prap chëq</u> ca.	He placed-put fish. (He put away the fish.)
Nëh <u>chëq an</u> ãnh iun.	He put-gave to me.

Other compounds have become stereotyped doublets and function as a single verb with a single meaning (§9.4). Not infrequently the second member of the pair has no meaning of its own apart from the first. Some are formed by morphological processes, e.g. ngeo-ngat 'poor', others by combining what were originally near-synonyms, e.g. sâq cavõm 'filthy'. These verbs (mostly verbal adjectives) may be

together or may be separated by a repetition of the subject or by a preverb or auxiliary.

Nễh sâq cavóm.	It is filthy-filthy.
Nễh sâq nễh cavóm.	id.
Nễh saq ôp sa.	He works for a living. (He go do eat)
Nễh saq ôp saq sa.	id. (He go do go eat)
Nễh lêng khlân.	He is playing-playing.
Nễh hoc hãnh.	He studies-studies.

Occasionally a close-knit verb and object may function as a complex verb, as ôp gông 'make meat' = 'butcher'. Nễh ôp gông ănh. 'He's going to kill me.'

Verbs, especially verbal adjectives, may be given additional emphasis by repeating the verb, with thiêt or thiêt là 'truly' between the two instances of the verb.

(§6.6)

### 8.5 Comparisons with other languages

J. Cooper (1966) defines two slots in the verb phrase in Halăng - preverb and main verb. The preverb corresponds fairly closely to the Chrau preverbal particle. Halăng has stative, negative, and dependent preverbs. There does not appear to be a slot directly parallel to the Chrau auxiliary verbs. Main verb types in Halăng are reduplicative, close-knit, directional, coordinate, and objective; the first three have fairly good parallels in Chrau, the fourth I

would consider two close-knit clauses in a single sentence, and the fifth I considered to be separate verb phrases in a container clause. Adjectives appear to be simple verbs, as in Chrau.

For Khmer, Gorgoniyev (1966:78) distinguishes clearly between verbs and adjectives, though both can function in the main verb slot. There appears to be a system of preverbal auxiliaries somewhat similar to Chrau and Halăng. Maspero (1915:329ff) indicates the occurrence of doublet constructions and of verb-like auxiliaries, as well as sequences of main verbs.

In Thỏ<sup>2</sup>, Day (1966:64ff) describes six orders of preverbals (= Chrau preverbal auxiliaries). This is in sharp contrast with Chrau where there is only a single order of preverbals. The Thỏ<sup>2</sup> verbals (= Chrau main verb) may consist of one or two verbs, the first of which is limited to certain stative verbs, verbs of motion, and đay 'acceptable'. Day includes in the verb phrase items similar to what we have called adverbs in Chrau and have assigned to the clause level of structure.

Vietnamese preverbal structure is similar to Thỏ<sup>2</sup>. Vietnamese also has postverbs, somewhat parallel to the preverbs. Thompson (1965:217ff) distinguishes several types of verb sequences and constructions which are difficult to contrast with Chrau.

For Brôu, J. Miller (1965) distinguishes very sharply between verbs and adjectives, not even putting them in the same general class. Brôu has only 4 preverbs and 2 postverbs, and the negativizers appear to function on the clause rather than the phrase level.

Pacõh verb phrase structure has several parallels with Chrau. R.Watson (1966a) indicates a gradation that is difficult to define in terms of clear slots, whereby preverbs blur into auxiliaries, which in turn blur into main verbs. Pacõh also makes considerable use of doublets.

The Khmu' verb phrase structure (Smalley:18ff) appears to be somewhat similar to Chrau.

## Chapter 9

### MORPHOLOGY, DOUBLETS, AND ONOMATOPOEIA

- 9.1 Affixes
- 9.2 Reduplication
- 9.3 Simple onomatopoeia
- 9.4 Doublets
- 9.5 Comparisons

#### 9.1 Affixes

Chrau has been influenced by the monosyllabic area trend in eastern and southeastern Asia, so there is little affixation left of what must have originally been a fuller Mon-Khmer affix system. Vestiges of older affixes can still be observed, but only one or two affixes still have any freedom of occurrence (cf. Dorothy Thomas 1966x).

Ta- 'causative, resultative' (70) has a fairly wide range of occurrence and is recognized by native speakers as a meaningful morpheme, though there is some hesitation about making new combinations at random.

<u>chut</u> 'die'	<u>tachut</u> 'kill'
<u>um</u> 'bathe'	<u>ta-um</u> 'cause to bathe'
<u>pu</u> 'suck'	<u>tapu</u> 'suckle'
<u>chuq</u> 'wear'	<u>tachuq</u> 'to dress'
<u>rih</u> 'tear'	<u>tarih</u> 'ripped'
<u>rung</u> 'pour'	<u>tarung</u> 'spilled'

rõh 'fall'tarõh 'fall'

In a few cases where the root morpheme has a semi-causative or resultative meaning there may be free variation between the simple and affixed forms, as in prap ~ taprap 'put away', hec ~ tahec 'worn out'.

Prefixes n-, pa-, and pan- occur occasionally, but their meaning is not clear, and they seem to be fossilized rather than active affixes. Pa- varies to va- before voiced consonants, and pan- varies to pang- before velars and labiovelars.

gãn 'go across'vagãn 'crosswise'jog 'long'pajog 'how long?'gãl 'piece'nggãl, panggãl 'in pieces'jêng 'become'panjêng 'create'hao 'ascend'n'hao 'up'

The infix -n- 'nominalizer' does not seem to be synchronically active, yet words containing it are frequently encountered.

pãt 'squeeze'panãt 'handful'tung 'carry'tanung 'armload'gon 'hunt'ganon 'hunting blind'khlēg 'to hook'can'hlēg 'a hook'pãr 'to fly'panãr 'wing'võh 'know'vanõh 'wise'cãh 'remember'canãh 'remainder'

The clitic tăm 'reciprocal' (83) is phonologically more like a de-emphasized main syllable than like a presyllable, but syntactically it functions closely knit to the verb, like the affixes. It is freely combinable with most transitive verbs, usually producing a reciprocal clause type (§5.6).

<u>nhai</u> 'speak'	<u>tăm-nhai</u> 'talk to each other'
<u>sai</u> 'marry'	<u>tăm-sai</u> 'marry each other'
<u>pâm</u> 'hit'	<u>tăm-pâm</u> 'fight'
<u>camlăh</u> 'deny'	<u>tăm-camlăh</u> 'argue'
<u>hen</u> 'agree'	<u>tăm-hen</u> 'agree together'
<u>sindach</u> 'love'	<u>tăm-sindach</u> 'love each other'

## 9.2 Reduplication

Chrau reduplication may be described under three main categories: simple reduplication, altering reduplication, and additive reduplication. Most reduplicative forms are adverbs. The judicious use of reduplication is a mark of an expert story teller. Reduplicative pairs are inseparable, doublets are separable. (§9.4)

1) Simple reduplication consists of a pair of identical words; this reduplication is obligatory. Free words may sometimes be repeated for emphasis, but we do not treat this as reduplication. The examples of simple reduplication in Chrau are about equally divided between onomatopoeic and non-onomatopoeic cases.



blăp blăp (=blăp mblăp)	'monkeys scratching'
blô blô (=blôn h mblôn h)	'monkeys scratching'
phũ h phũ h	'deer stamping'
plố c plố c	'cobra striking'
praq praq	'monkeys chattering'
chiê c chiê c	'mouse squeaking'
cahyac cahyac	'dog yelping'
kwac kwac	'crow cawing'
kyac kyac	'squirrel screeching'
kyóc kyóc	'dog yelping'
dũ p dũ p	'going up steps'
hóp hóp	'moving quickly'
hũ l hũ l	'sitting quietly'
hư t hư t	'cool wind'
keq keq	'small'
khũ ch khũ ch	'many fish'
khuc khuc	'growling'
khuy khuy	'sitting still, tense'
khyóng khyóng	'walking stiffly'
kló kló	'darkly, unclear'
lăq lăq	'sitting still, sick'
mê ng mê ng	'looking'
nê q nê q	'stalking'
phâr phâr	'suddenly see'

2) Altering reduplication consists of a pair where the second member resembles the first but has been altered in

some way. Occasionally the first member may be a free form. There appear to be very few predictable regularities in these alterations, though occasionally some parallelisms can be seen. The following examples are grouped, first those with altered initials, then those with altered medials, then those with altered finals.

phung lung	'heavy falling'
phông lông	'cleared off'
phing ling	'suddenly'
tông lông	'falling headlong'
tong keq tong ke	'curved handle'
deq muq deq mu	'monkey leader'
châng ngâng	'trotting of a horse'
châp vlâp	'chopping a tree'
choc mloc	'only'
chwoc rawoc	'smashed to bits'
chrüh ruh	'slidingly'
camhôi rôi	'amazed'
dichöc dipöc	'calling a dog'
choc charec	'dog yelping'
sũq sirăq	'dog barking furiously'
mêp mêp	'look diligently'
mlũq mlăq	'dirty'

iot n-iet	'creaking'
tacug tacõq	'drunk'
cabó cabot	'discarded'
caprãh caprõng	'scattered'
klăp klĩr	'work unnoticed'
mbăq mban	'unskillfully'
rabah rabóp	'poor'
rabôh rabap	'poor'
a rakhwac a rawao	'crying'
a rađung a rapiu	'crashing around'
ravĩch ravi	'plentiful'
rawênh rawai	'dizzy'
camvĩnh camvăng	'old'
mvlăp mvlôn̄h	'scratching'

3) Additive reduplication consists of a pair where the second member adds a homorganic nasal or a presyllable to the first member. The added presyllable is most often s, r, or l. (It will be remembered that r and l are only in partial contrast in the presyllable (§3.4).) In a few of these the first or the second member is a free form (marked with \*).

blăp mblăp ( blăp blăp)	'scratching'
blôn̄h mblôn̄h ( blô blô)	'scratching'
bóp mbóp	'fortunately'
chhôt nchhôt	'naked'
đĩh nđĩh	'gongs sounding'

đót ndót	'monkeys scratching'
dũp ndũp	'noisy, celebrating'
gưr nggưr	'noisy'
khek nkhek	'curved'
*vôq mvôq	'going directly'
cũp sicũp	'frantically, vigorously'
kruq sikruq	'frantically, vigorously'
glân siglân	'the walking of a deer'
vlốq silốq	'flirting'
wing siwing	'lost'
wống siwống	'lost'
đêng rađêng	'hurrying directly'
glốc raglốc	'tapping with walking stick'
go rago	'sitting still (sick)'
goh ragoh	'flowing movement'
hêng rahêng	'distant noise'
phung raphung	'sound of gongs'
pớng rapớng	'go directly'
ep ra-ep	'worm crawling'
sôt rasôt	'speaking sharply'
wênh *rawênh	'winding around'
gu lagu	'sitting still (sick)'
hũnh lahũnh	'cobra waving its head'
hưt *lahưt	'cool breeze'
ngot langot	'plaintive singing'

*pôc lapôc	'chopping a tree'
pau lapau	'chopping a tree'
wân *lawân	'always, forever'
săc cansăc	'tinkling'
lec dilec	'looking around'
lũq jilũq	'be out'
lô jilô	'be out'

### 9.3 Simple onomatopoeia

Many onomatopoeic words are reduplicated, as discussed in the preceding section. But some are just single words, and others may be repeated at will two or three times, not like a strictly reduplicative pair.

chhêng	'sound of arrow flying'
silêng	'sound of arrow flying'
peng	'object flying'
pũc	'thud, hit'
pôc	'sound of hitting, chopping'
chhwöpf	'missed'
chhwaih plâp	'sound of slipping'
pâu	'call of the deer'
coc	'call of the heron'
hớh hớh	'noise of deer'
hah hah	'noise of bear'
hih hih (hih)	'whimpering'
hêh hêh	'whimpering in fear'

heh heh heh	'laughing'
hah hah hah	'laughing'

#### 9.4 Doublets

Chrau, like several other Southeast Asian languages, has a system of doublets which function as a single lexeme though grammatically independent of each other and able to be separated by other words. Doublets are most often nouns, though verb doublets are not rare, and occasionally adverb doublets are encountered. Doublets may be divided into those with only one free member (usually the first member) and those where both members are free.

Semibound doublets, i.e. those with only one free member, appear to acquire the bound member from several different sources. For some like adu adom 'in the old days', n'ham n'hu 'floating leaves', gayh gêng 'smashed', the source would appear to have been a phonological process. For others the source might be a synonym in a different dialect of Chrau, as in lêng khlân 'play', se dâm 'debt', jrôu jinau 'medicine'; these doublets were probably originally free, with one member eventually passing out of currency and only the doublet retaining its use. For others the source might be a different language, as in daq ia 'water', with ia borrowed from Cham only in this doublet. In others a doublet was formed from presumably free morphemes; then one morpheme passed completely out of the language,

leaving only its shadow in the doublet, as in asěh lamo 'horses' from which by comparison with other languages we can see that lamo probably meant 'cow', but it is now just an empty morph, the partner for asěh 'horse'. Semi-bound doublets include words such as:

dǎch năc	'slave'
loh sat	'poor'
aq n'hu	'bows, weapons'
bŭn bap	'sin'
phao candir	'guns'
sâq cavóm	'filthy'
hoc hănh	'study, drill' (VN)
gŭn măn	'magic'
prón rang	'strength'
văl ganó	'civilians'
ji côr	'painful, sick'
sôt jrăq	'aching'

Free doublets, i.e. those with both members free, include a wide range of words in all stages of standardization. The linking of two words as a doublet produces a meaning that is wider than just the combined range of meanings of the two words; it takes a resultant meaning of 'items such as x and y', not just simply 'x and y'. In theory any two words could be joined in this fashion, but in practice standardized pairs tend to develop and become fixed in the language as a permanent doublet which becomes

independent of the vagaries of development of its members. Thus kiêp nggan 'pot, dish; items such as pots and dishes' is seldom encountered as a doublet though both of its members are frequently encountered separately, so it seems to be little removed beyond ad hoc pairing. Trôq ntěh 'sky, earth; the universe' is well stabilized as a common doublet. Nhi la 'house, leaf; house' is standardized and is on the borderline of becoming semibound, as the meaning 'leaf' has all but disappeared from the meaning of the doublet; Chrau houses in Binhtuy province are still made largely from palm leaves, and this is presumably the origin of the doublet, but elsewhere the doublet more often refers to wood or concrete houses. These three doublets show the range of standardization in doublets; the majority of the free doublets, however, are like trôq ntěh, i.e. standardized yet with both members still retaining their meaning.

dêq cô	'younger uncle, grandfather; older or respected men'
pôp ôh	'older sibling, younger sibling; relatives'
iěr da	'chicken, duck; fowls'
diêq gui	'rib, shadow; by one's side'
lang palây	'village village; village(s)'
su ao	'blanket, shirt; clothing'
ôp sa	'work, eat; make a living'
ramih rawâyh	'gaur, elephant; large animals'
re rãm	'old field, new field; fields'
năq ndra	'kitchen fire, roasting rack; kitchen'



pũh ôm	'rotten, rotten; rotten'
piêng por	'cooked rice, gruel; food'

Doublets may occur together, or they may be separated by a repeated word.

Anh <u>ôp sa</u> .	I'm making a living.
Anh <u>ôp</u> <u>ảnh sa</u> .	id.
Něh gũq u <u>lang palây</u> <u>ảnh</u> .	He lives in my village.
Něh gũq u <u>lang</u> u <u>palây</u> <u>ảnh</u> .	id.
Anh sa <u>piêng por</u> .	I'm eating food.
Anh sa <u>piêng sa por</u> .	id.
Anh nhai <u>lễg lam</u> .	I tell everything.
Anh nhai <u>lễg</u> nhai <u>lam</u> .	id.

### 9.5 Comparisons with other languages

In Pacôh (R. Watson 1966a, 1966b) reduplication and onomatopoeia types are fairly similar to Chrau. Pacôh doublets have the additional facility of being used in interlocking pairs of doublets, a feature not yet observed in Chrau. Pacôh 'doublets' may occasionally have as many as three or four members (1966b:91-94), whereas in Chrau they are limited to pairs. Pacôh affixes (S. Watson 1965) are much more numerous than in Chrau; none of the affixes are the same as Chrau, but Pacôh does have the causative, reciprocal, and nominalizer categories, as in Chrau.

In Katu the affixes are quite parallel to Pacôh, having little similarity to Chrau. (Costello 1965)

Vietnamese has no affixes but it has complex onomatopoeia and reduplication patterns and doublets not unlike Chrau. (Thompson 1965:139ff, Emeneau 1951)

Bahnar has some reduplicative patterns extending over several words, in addition to more simple reduplication and affixation. (E. Banker 1964a,b)

Gorgoniyev describes for Khmer a complex system of affixes, semi-affixes, reduplication within and between words, and compound words. The compound words show some similarity with Chrau doublets, but there is no indication of the members being able to be separated by other words. (1966:46ff)

Jacob (1963) indicates for Mon an affix system considerably more complex than the Chrau affix system, with quite a few similarities with the Khmer system.

Khmu' has an instrumental infix which appears to be related to the Chrau nominalizer. (Smalley 1961:19)

## Chapter 10

### SENTENCES AND PARAGRAPHS

- 10.1 Initial particles
- 10.2 Initial echo and sentence temporals
- 10.3 Conjunctive sentences
- 10.4 Conditional sentences
- 10.5 Embedding sentences
- 10.6 Direction-Motivation sentences
- 10.7 Sentence concatenation
- 10.8 Paragraph topic
- 10.9 Direct address
- 10.10 Quotations
- 10.11 Exclamations
- 10.12 Paragraph types
- 10.13 Discourse types
- 10.14 Comparisons

A sentence in Chrau is defined lexico-semantically as an asserted (or questioned or denied) action in its situational (temporal, causal, conditional, etc.) setting. A sentence thus is generally characterized by having one main clause and may also have one or more subordinate clauses or temporals, and may be introduced by an initial particle.

There appears to be a structurally significant paragraph level in Chrau, though its structure is not fully clear yet. It is tentatively defined as a structured sequence of actions (episode), usually with a single topic and a single setting and single vantage point and usually a single set of actors. Quotations and pronouns of address appear to belong to the paragraph level of structure, so

that a direct quotation is generally an embedded paragraph. Exclamations may possibly belong to paragraph structure too.

A discourse level is also postulated for Chrau as the largest unit of the language in the lexico-semantic mode.

### 10.1 Initial particles

Initial particles occur very frequently in narrative text, and a little less frequently in conversation. They usually occur after, but sometimes before, a sentence temporal (or echo clause) and before any part of a conditional sentence.

Some of the more common initial particles are:

canõq (63) 'like that, so, therefore'

canõq caheq (5) 'how?'

chõ (43) 'intensifier, usually negative'

chõ bõ (16) 'it's not true that'

còn (105) 'but, as for'

kê (202) 'then, after that'

kê yay (17) 'then, after that'

mà (400?) 'but, then, and, however'

mõh (36) 'then, so, lo and behold'

ncai (104) 'then, after that'

nhúc-đinh (3) 'surely, certainly'

nhưng mà (19) 'but'

mớ, nõq mớ (7) 'therefore, so'

phai chi (5) 'it should be (but isn't)'

noq (15) 'then, because it was like that'

phấp (42) 'than, in turn, for a change'

te ra (15) 'so that, as a result'

thành, thành ra (1()) 'so that, for the purpose of'

These initial particles have been found in the following combinations:

canõq chơ (1), canõq mà (1), còn mà (4), chơ còn (11), chơ mà (8), kê mỗh (8), kê yay mỗh (1), mà te ra (1), ncai mỗh (1), ncai en kê yay (1), phai chi mà (1), te ra mà (1).

As may be seen by inspection of the above, there is considerable freedom in the relative order of these particles.

Canõq caheq patau nhai?	How did the king speak?
Canõq ănh saq.	So I went.
Chơ ănh đặng gũq tởq.	Indeed I don't stay.
Chơ bộ ănh nhai mvâr.	It's not true that I lied.
Còn ănh hơm ken.	But I was still small.
Chơ còn mà vu lữp ănh.	It's not that people asked me.
Kê nễh sỉq.	Then he returned.
Kê yay nễh sỉq.	Then he returned.
Mà nễh sỉq.	But he returned.
Mỗh nễh sỉq.	So then he returned.
Ncai nễh sỉq.	Then he returned.
Nhưc-đinh nễh sỉq.	Surely he will return.
Nhưng mà nễh sỉq.	But he returned.
Nõq nễh sỉq	So he returned.

Nõq mớ nễh sĩa.	Therefore he returned.
Noq nễh sĩa.	After that then he returned.
Phai chi ai tê ănh.	You should be looking after me.
Phăp nễh sĩa.	Then suddenly he returned.
Te ra nễh sĩa.	So as a result he returned.

## 10.2 Initial echo and sentence temporals

A sentence may be introduced by a repetition of part of a preceding sentence. This indicates a temporal sequence of actions "having...then...". The repetition is frequently but not necessarily followed by en 'finished, then'. This sentence type may be formulated as:

± Echo Cl. + Main Cl.

Nễh sĩa. Sĩa panh ...

He returned. Having returned he said ...

Nễh văt sĩa. Văt sĩa ncai nễh panh ...

He carried it home. Having carried it home, then he said ...

Nễh sa. Sa en nễh hũch alăc.

He ate. Having eaten he drank wine.

Nễh saq găn ratung. Nễh saq găn ratung en nõq nễh saq vanăc ratung.

He went across the bridge. He going across the bridge then he went halfway on the bridge.

Nễh vũn. Vũn en nõq năm nễh ôp?

She was pregnant. Being pregnant what should she do?

Vâng vớ hũch gốq. Vớ hũch gốq en nõq, en nõq vừ

něh tachút vdn.

We shouldn't drink a lot. We drink a lot then the VCs will kill us.

The echo clause may also be represented by chhǒng en 'finished already', in which the chhǒng stands for the action of the previous sentence. Or there may be simply en nǒq or en to signify the completion of the previous action and its temporal relation to the following action.

Něh sa. Chhǒng en nǒq něh saq.

He ate. Finished then he went.

Něh sa. Sa chhǒng en nǒq něh saq.

He ate. Having eaten then he went.

Něh sa. En nǒq něh saq.

He ate. Then he went.

Něh sa. En něh saq.

He ate. Then he went.

In the same slot as the echo clause, and having a similar relational temporal function, may be a time phrase followed by en 'already'. It is not clear whether this is also a reduced clause or is a sentence-level phrase.

Var pe nǎr en něh nhai. After two or three days he spoke.

### 10.3 Conjunctive sentences

Clauses may be linked by a single conjunction between them or by two coordinated conjunctions.

Hay, hay là 'or, perhaps' is a loan from Vietnamese, so is rare in legends but common in daily speech. It is used to show the discreteness of items or actions, sometimes calling for an either/or choice, other times just setting them off from each other. This is in contrast with simple concatenation, which tends to lump together the items or actions so concatenated. Hay là constructions with less than a full clause may be considered elliptical forms of a full clause.

Anh hay là nễh saq.	I or he will go.
Anh saq hay là nễh saq.	I will go or he will go.
Nễh sa hay là nễh huch.	He ate or he drank.
Vi ôi hay là vi mau vớh saq.	In the morning or the evening we'll go.
Vi ôi vớh saq hay là vi mau vớh saq.	id.
Vu saq vu vất alăc, hay là vu gễh jên vất jên.	
People go people bring wine, or people having money bring money.	
Hay là ji cớh năc năng klốq vanôq, nốq nhớ ôh con.	
Whether sick or aching at midnight or early morning, we are dependent on our children.	

A simple declarative clause may be followed by a clause introduced by vadâng, mốq, or păch (§6.4); the first clause states the reason, the second the logical negative result.

Nễh con se, vadâng nễh saq.	He was a child, how could he go.
Nễh con se, mốq nễh saq di gễh?	id.



Něh con se, pǎch něh saq di gěh? id.

Là 'is', or là tât nhiên 'is that', can be used to connect two clauses in an explanatory sentence, the first clause giving the observed fact and the second clause giving the explanation.

Něh ôp canõq là tât nhiên něh sindach vơn.

He did like that was indeed (because) he loved us.

Anh nhai nõq là ănh nhai nhâng.

I speak like that is I speak truly.

#### 10.4 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are formed with the dependent clause preceding the independent clause. The dependent clause may be introduced by zero, nĩu 'if' (49), hê 'when, whenever, if' (80), tamvac bi 'because' (1). The independent clause may be introduced by zero, thĩ 'then', chi là 'that is' (22), tưc là 'that is' (10), nõq 'so, then' (55). The morpheme introducers signal only slightly different shades of meaning. Nõq thĩ is the only compound introducer.

‡ (Intr.+ Dep.Cl.) ‡ Intr.+ Ind.Cl.

Mai pâm ănh, ănh pâm mai.

If you hit me, I'll hit you.

Nĩu mai pâm ănh, ănh pâm mai.

If you hit me, I'll hit you.

Nĩu mai pâm ănh thĩ ănh pâm mai.

If you hit me then I'll hit you.

Níu mai pâm ảnh tức là ảnh pâm mai.

If you hit me, that means that I'll hit you.

Níu mai pâm ảnh, nỏq ảnh pâm mai.

If you hit me, so I'll hit you.

Mai pâm ảnh thì ảnh pâm mai.

(If) you hit me then I'll hit you.

Hê mai pâm ảnh thì ảnh pâm mai.

Any time you hit me then I'll hit you.

Vơn ôp canỏq, tức là vu êq jỏch vơn.

(If) we act like that, that is they will not bully us.

Vu cahya vơn, tức là vu get vơn.

(When) they lecture us, really they hate us.

Hê khay chhal, tức là phai chừng-bi chhal.

When windy season, then must beware of wind.

Hê nhai canỏq thì êq gẻh.

When talking like that, then not be.  
(You shouldn't talk like that.)

Vu gủq chỏi loih, nỏq thì nẻh lủh jrủm.

He who patiently files iron, so then appears needle.  
(With patient work the result will be achieved.)

Mà hê mai saq thì an ảnh gủt.

And when you go, let me know.

### 10.5 Embedding sentences

A subordinate clause, relating the subject of the main clause to some previously mentioned action or charac-

teristic, may be attached to the main clause by embedding. The embedded clause precedes the main clause and has cò (§6.6) between its subject and verb. Both clauses usually have něh 'he' as their subject. Nốq 'that' often follows the embedded clause.

Něh cò êq huch nốq, něh vro ca.

He who doesn't drink, he buys fish.

Vu prung. Něh cò prung, něh êq nhai yi.

People cast spells. Those who cast spells, they don't tell anything.

Něh cò sindach ănh, něh an piêng sa.

Those who pity me, they give (me) rice to eat.

#### 10.6 Direction-Motivation sentences

A directional clause and a purpose clause may be combined as a single sentence. The two clauses have the same subject, so the subject is obligatorily deleted in the second clause. The first clause often contains a directional verb, with or without an object, and the second clause generally contains an action which is the purpose or motivation for the directional movement. The two clauses constitute a close-knit action, and it is difficult to declare either one the main clause. The actions of both clauses are considered to be asserted. The clauses can be separated by mà 'and, but'.

Něh hao chhơ pỉq pai vunh.

He climbed the tree to pick gourds.

Něh saq hao dăh si-ur nēh.

He climbed up chasing his wife.

Něh hao mà wĩnh.

He went up begging.

Něh lôt hao chhơ.

He ran and climbed a tree.

Něh sĩa nhi sa piêng.

He returned home to eat.

Něh an ănh iưn ănh sai.

He will give (her) to me for me to marry.

Mỗq con lữp con patau de con sai?

How could you ask for the princess for you to marry?

### 10.7 Concatenation of sentences

Coordinate sentences, especially those describing a sequence of actions, may be run together without any conjunctions, and may or may not be marked by an intonation break. An intonation break, i.e. giving each sentence a full intonation contour, makes the actions more discrete. Combining the two sentences under one intonation contour ties the actions together more closely. Sentence concatenation is an assertion of two or more independent actions.

Anh păh, ănh hwõt chěq tu tĩa.

I killed it, I threw it over there.

Anh sĩa nhi, ănh sa piêng.

I returned home, (then) I ate.

Pôp něh nŏq tham lŭng, něh nhŭp đŏ lĕq, păch nŏq păch  
heq đŏ něh nhŭp lĕq.

His older brother was very greedy, he took everything,  
this and that he took all.

En nŏq něh gŭq něh nhim.

Then he sat down and cried.

### 10.8 Paragraph topic

A paragraph appears generally to have one main person or item who is the topic of the paragraph. This person is mentioned in almost every clause and more often than not is the subject of the clause. The noun or name of the topic may be mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph but is seldom used again after that; instead the general pronoun nĕh '3rd person' is used, or else it is zeroed completely. Thus a zero or nĕh in the subject slot of a clause almost invariably refers to the paragraph topic. When a participant other than the paragraph topic is used in the subject position it must be clearly named.

This is also true sometimes, to a lesser degree, of a total narrative if the narrative centers around a single person. In such cases if it is previously known who is to be the topic of the narrative, he might never be named throughout the whole narrative. It is not uncommon for a narrative to start out with a referential nĕh without naming the referent.

A new paragraph topic is often introduced in the object or location slot of the opening clause, then in subsequent clauses it shifts to usually occurring in the subject slot.

Hôm ayh du mvu něh, něh gũq tê un něh. Mà hê pôp něh nhũp gapu nděh, tamvăq saq nõq, thì něh saq bay. Něh êq thêng hao nděh bay pôp něh. Mà niu něh hao nděh nõq, thì pôp něh cõnh pâm cõnh pãh něh, něh êq thêng hao. Mà hê pôp něh lu, thì něh lu. Pôp něh saq, thì něh saq. Pôp něh lu, něh lu.

Remaining only one person he, he stayed looking after his grandmother. And when his brother took buffalo and cart, yoked them to go, then he went along. He didn't dare get on the cart with his brother. And if he went up on the cart, then his brother would hit and beat him, he didn't dare get up. And when his brother rested, then he rested. His brother went, then he went. His brother rested, he rested.

Něh in non-subject position usually refers to the paragraph topic, though not invariably. It should be recalled (§6.4) that an emphasized subject (and almost all non-topic subjects act like emphasized subjects) takes the form Noun plus něh, so a něh in that construction may be non-topic.

### 10.9 Direct address

Pronouns in direct address function on the utterance level; that is, they are relevant to the utterance as a whole (whether an utterance in quotation or an independent

whole utterance) rather than to particular clauses or sentences of the utterance. Pronouns of address are pronouns not forming part of a clause nucleus; they usually come at the beginning or end of the utterance, though they may also be added between sentences in the utterance. The personal pronouns ai 'you f.' and mai 'you m.', any of the kinship pronouns (§7.4), and personal names may fill the direct address function in an utterance.

Vi mai saq, mai?	Where are you going, you?
Vi mai saq, Pe?	Where are you going, Pe?
Vi mai saq, pôp?	Where are you going, older brother?
Pôp, vi mai saq?	id.
Vi mai saq, mai pôp?	id.
Pe, vi mai saq, Pe? Lũh mai ôp canõq, Pe?	
Pe, where are you going, Pe? Why are you doing like that, Pe?	

### 10.10 Quotations

Direct quotations, especially in animated dialogue, may be stated directly without any introduction. More frequently, direct quotations are preceded by něh panh 'he said' or něh nhai panh 'he spoke saying'. (cf. §5.7 quotative clause, 11.8 quotative battery)

Yau panh...	The tiger said...
Yau něh panh...	id.
Yau něh nhai panh...	The tiger spoke saying...
Yau něh lúp panh...	The tiger asked saying...

Yau nhai caheq panh... The tiger spoke like this,  
saying...

Yau něh nhai wõq něh panh... The tiger spoke again,  
saying...

A quotation may have nhai caheq 'speak like this' in the introduction, and may have nhai canõq 'speak like that' in the conclusion or in a later reference to the quotation.

Sipai něh nhai caheq panh, "Anh êq an tởq." Neh nhai canõq. Phấp yau něh lữp, "Lữh yiêng nhai canõq?"

The rabbit spoke like this saying, "I won't give it." He spoke like that. Then the tiger asked, "Why do you speak like that?"

Indirect quotations are generally introduced by něh panh 'he said', rarely by něh nhai panh 'he spoke saying'. Něh panh may be used in citing either statements or thoughts.

Anh panh něh êq saq.	I said he didn't go.
Anh panh ảnh êq saq.	I said I wouldn't go.
Něh panh něh êq saq.	He said he wouldn't go.

Indirect quotations are generally brief summaries, while direct quotations may contain whole paragraphs. Direct quotations often contain pronouns of address (§10.9), exclamations (§10.11), and direct speech-final particles (§6.9); indirect quotations never contain pronouns of address or exclamations, and seldom contain direct speech-final particles.



### 10.11 Exclamations

Exclamations may perhaps be considered to function on the paragraph level of structure, though it is not fully clear yet. They may occur at the beginning or the end of a paragraph. At the beginning they may precede or follow the pronoun address slot; at the end they follow the pronoun address. Some of the more common exclamations are:

cha 'surprise, wonder'

cõnh te 'Don't do it, I don't want to'

ha-ha 'laughter'

õi 'calling someone'

õ initial: 'calling someone'

final: 'asking for agreement, assent, or obedience'

õih 'here now, indeed (often tinged with a note of resignation or dislike)'

trôq ntẽh de 'by heaven, good heavens'

ua 'whoops'

ui 'indeed'

yòh 'Isn't that so?, OK?' (only final)

nhai panh nhai 'indeed' (only initial, without exclamatory intonation)

### 10.12 Paragraph types

Narrative paragraphs are most frequently introduced by sentences containing ahẽq 'then', phãp 'then', an echo clause, or a temporal phrase. Phãp usually indicates a

shift of the topic (§10.8) for the new paragraph, and ahêq frequently does too.

One structural paragraph type is the temporal contrast paragraph. In this the first sentence states a former condition, then the following sentence(s) state the present condition. The former condition may be marked by phrases such as hôi nǒq 'previously', en 'already', nǎr tǒq 'the other day'. The present condition is usually marked by vrêq 'now'. The vrêq may be repeated in successive sentences. It may be formulated as:

‡ Former Condition Sent. + Present Condition Sent.

Cô ănh khlăng cũc nǎr tǒq mai pǎh. Vrêq ănh văt sĩq, ănh tǎm. Vrêq nêh gayh cala prih. Vrêq nêh wǒng su ao ănh iun.

My grandfather eagle the other day you killed. Now I brought it home, I buried it. Now it has become a tall bamboo. Now it has found good clothes for me.

Prăm ndu saq lǐnh en đon. Vrêq hôm ayh đư mvu ănh u nhi.

All five have gone in the army already. Now only I am left at home.

Another paragraph type is the question and answer paragraph. A sentence containing a question particle or question intonation is followed by one or more sentences using affirmative particles (if any). (This is tentatively considered a single paragraph because the main components in it appear to be sentences.) It has the formula:

‡ Question Sent. † Answer Sent.

Vi něh saq? Nėh saq sĭq.

Where did he go? He went home.

Tóm něh saq? Nėh cónh vĭq.

Why did he go? He was sleepy.

### 10.13 Discourse types

The only Chrau discourse type that has been studied is the narrative (cf. Loos 1960?). (Other discourse types might include the hortatory monologue, the free discussion, the didactic monologue, the complaining monologue, etc.)

Narrative discourse has the structure:

‡ Stage-setting Par. † Story ‡ Closure Par.

The stage-setting paragraph is often just one sentence, setting the background of the main character(s), and it often has little real bearing on the story other than meeting the need for a formal opening. Some examples of stage-setting paragraphs:

Two brothers and their grandmother. Their parents were already dead. (Story of the eagle and the orphan.)

In the old days, hear, there was a husband and wife, and they were very poor. They didn't have any money at all. (Story of the magic handkerchief.)

He had six children, but his wife had already died. Then he married a second wife. (Story of the wild pigs.)

Their mother and father were both dead, only the two orphan children were left. A boy and his younger sister. (Story of the mango.)

In the old days a man married a wife and they had a child. And there were two brothers-in-law and the parents-in-law. (Story of the foolish man. These details

are completely superfluous, as the child, brothers-in-law, and parents-in-law are never mentioned again; the sentence serves solely the function of filling the introduction slot.)

The first sentence in a narrative almost invariably introduces the main character of the story (not like some novels in English where the main character doesn't appear until five pages after the story has started). In the five examples above, the main characters are the younger brother, the husband, the children, the orphan boy, and the husband, respectively.

The closure paragraph of a narrative is usually just a single sentence following the climax. It usually states either the death of the villain or the long life and happiness of the hero.

So he went home and lived quietly with his wife. (Story of the foolish man.)

So he went home and said to his wife and children, 'I'm half dead, and from now on we don't dare go down to the river to drink any more. Now we will have to depend on the dew and the rain.' (Story of the rabbit and the snail.)

Then the buffalo and the cart went trundling home. (Story of the wild pigs.)

So they were able to look after their needs and were very rich ever after. (Story of the magic handkerchief.)

Another type of narrative closure is that of an extended recapitulation of the factors involved in the closing scene, sometimes drawing a moral from it. This was observed in several Chrau legends. This type of closure is mutually

incompatible with the above-described type of closure.

#### 10.14 Comparisons with other languages

For Khmer, Gorgoniyev distinguishes asyndetic and syndetic coordinate sentences, and asyndetic and syndetic subordinate complex sentences. Asyndetic subordinate sentences usually have condition or time clauses. Syndetic subordination may have condition, cause, purpose, time, attributive, or object clauses. He also describes cohesive sentences (containing a pivot word) and part-clause sentences (containing embedded clauses). (1966:119-124)

For Thô<sup>2</sup>, Day is able to subsume all sentences under a single formula: opener particle - introduction particle - focus particle - prehead clauses - head clause - posthead clauses - final particles. Posthead clauses cannot contain a subject, though prehead and head clauses can. (1966:38-40, 109-111)

For Vietnamese, Thompson distinguishes major sentences (containing a head clause), minor independent sentences (exclamations), and predicative fragments (elliptical responses). Within the major sentences no classification of sentence types is made, because the sentences are as varied as the clauses that compose them. (1965:283-287)

For Mnong Rôlôm, E. Blood (1966) distinguishes declarative, interrogative, vocative, and imperative sentence types,

further cross-classified as dependent or independent. Dependent sentences are divided into responsive and sequential types.

## Chapter 11

### CLAUSE BATTERIES

- 11.1 Intransitive battery
- 11.2 Verbal adjective battery
- 11.3 Simple transitive and benefactive battery
- 11.4 Reciprocal battery
- 11.5 Container battery
- 11.6 Transitive possessed battery
- 11.7 Bitransitive battery
- 11.8 Quotative battery
- 11.9 Illustrative paradigm
- 11.10 Comparisons

The batteries of Chrau verbal clauses fit into a fairly neat tree whereby an n-tuple that is acceptable in a terminal battery (i.e. can take all the formulas in that terminal battery) is also acceptable in all the batteries that lie in its path down the tree. Individual words or n-tuples may occasionally have certain forms that they can or cannot take, but in general the above principle holds true. Short forms lower on the tree function as ellipses of forms from higher batteries. We may say that the sum of the batteries into which a clause root can enter constitutes the paradigm of that clause root.

The predicate of a clause is the most important factor in determining the paradigm status of that clause, so with each battery are listed a number of verbs for which that battery is their terminal battery, i.e., that is as far up

the tree as they can go.

The slot numbers in the batteries are generally numbered from their position in a clause form without constants, but without implying any priority of those forms without constants. All the clause forms in a paradigm are considered to be derived from an abstract clause root containing only the plot elements of that clause. In descending the battery tree the values of the numbers remain constant. The fillers of the slots may be simple or complex.

The relationships between the batteries is shown in the following tree, with the battery labels and decade numeration. (Fig. 5) For a full set of examples, with English translations, see §11.9.

### 11.1 Intransitive battery

The Intransitive Battery consists of:

1.	/1,2/	Něh lôt.	Simple.
2.	/2/	Lôt.	Zeroed 1
3.	/1, <u>du năř du</u> ,2/	Něh du năř du lôt.	Continual
4.	/1, <u>cô</u> ,2/	Něh cô lôt...	Noun phrase
5.	/1,prv,2/	Něh êq lôt.	Preverbal
6.	/Vc,1,2/	Anh săng năh lôt.	Causative
7.	/1,2,1/	Něh lôt năh.	Echo subj.
8.	/2,1/	Lôt năh.	"
9.	/păch,2, <u>là</u> ,1/	Păch lôt là năh.	Identification



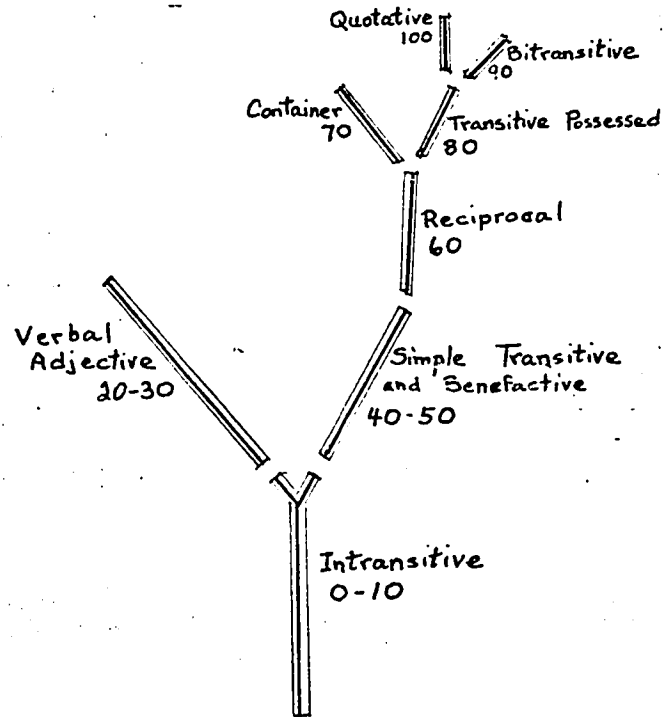


Fig. 5. Clause Battery Tree

10. /1,Aux,2/	Něh saq lôt.	Auxiliary v.
11. / <u>môi</u> năh <u>môi</u> ,1,2/	Môi năh môi nêh lôt.	Daily
12. /V,1, <u>di</u> ,2/	Pâm nêh di chăt.	Result
13. /V, <u>di</u> ,2/	Pâm di chăt.	Result

V = any transitive verb or subject plus verb

V<sub>c</sub> = any causative verb

prv = preverbal particle (§8.1)

aux = auxiliary verb (§8.2)

Nos. 10 and 11 will accept n-tuples coming down the transitive branch of the battery tree but not n-tuples coming down the verbal adjective branch.

Nos. 12 and 13 will accept only a limited number of intransitive verbs like chăt 'die' and will not accept n-tuples from the transitive branch.

Nos. 7 and 8 accept only pronouns in slot 1.

No. 3 will not accept inanimate nouns in slot 1.

Intransitive verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this battery only. They include chăt 'die', chroc 'lost', cambet 'missing', đu 'flee', lêng 'play', lôt 'run', lu 'rest', mprăng 'run', mvâr 'false', ndrau 'cackle, sing', nhim 'weep', hoc 'drill', păr 'fly' vông hlâq 'fall', saq 'go', vỉq 'sleep'.

Nôq 'not want' is unusual, occurring only in forms 7 and 8.

11.2 Verbal adjective battery

The verbal adjective battery consists of:

20. /1,2.../	Raweyh măq...	Noun phrase
21. /1,2, <u>lũng</u> /	Něh măq lũng.	Very
22. /1,2, <u>trôq</u> ,2, <u>ntěh</u> /	Něh măq trôq măq ntěh.	Extremely
23. /1,2,2/	Něh măq măq.	Somewhat
24. /1, <u>mó yăh</u> ,2/	Něh mó yăh măq.	Very
25. /1, <u>mó yăh</u> ,2.../	Raweyh mó yăh măq...	Noun phrase
27. /3,2,1/	Něh măq candul.	Foc.possessor
28. /1,3,2/	Candul něh măq.	Foc.organ
29. /1,3, <u>cò</u> ,2.../	Candul něh cò măq...	Noun phrase
30. /3, <u>gěh</u> ,1,2/	Něh gěh candul măq.	Possessed
31. /3,2,1, <u>lũng</u> /	Něh măq candul lũng.	Very
32. / <u>păch n'hya</u> ,3,2/	Păch n'hya něh măq?	Question
33. /3, <u>lěq a</u> ,2,1/	Něh lěq a măq candul.	Finished
34. /1,3, <u>lěq a</u> ,2/	Candul něh lěq a măq.	Finished.
35. /3,2,1,3/	Něh măq candul něh.	Echo poss.
36. /2,1,3/	Măq candul něh.	"(zeroed 3)
37. / <u>nôi</u> ,1,2,3/	Nôi candul něh măq.	Location.
38. /3,2, <u>nôi</u> ,1	Něh măq nôi candul.	"

Nos. 20 and 25 accept only nouns (not pronouns) in slot 1.

Nos. 27-38 accept only body parts in slot 3; or if slot 1 is filled by an inanimate object, then the filler of slot 3 must be an integral part of that inanimate object.

Verbal adjectives are defined as words which can fill

slot 2 of this battery. They include măq 'big', prho 'red', voq 'white', sindôch 'black', ken 'small', jong 'long', dêh 'short', camvnh 'old', gôq 'many', loh sat 'poor', ji côr 'sick', camlo 'stupid', la-iq 'cold', chhâc 'fierce', vêh 'full', also duh, kho, kiêt, lavau, ngéo, n'hap, ôm, canjôq, buôn, can'hir daq, jôq, yăh, vanhưl, mui, prih, rom, sâq, camhlăng, vahal, sô, gala, vây, tưc. Chăch 'snap' can take only forms 27-38, not 20-25.

### 11.3 Simple transitive and benefactive battery

The simple transitive and benefactive battery consists of:

41. /1,2,3/	Nêh anh prông.	Simple
42. /2,3/	Anh prông.	Zeroed 1
43. /3, <u>cô</u> ,1,2/	Prông cô nêh anh...	Noun phrase
44. / <u>gêh</u> ,3,1,2/	Gêh prông nêh anh.	Existence
45. /V <sub>c</sub> ,1,2,3/	An nêh anh prông.	Causative
46. /1,Aux,2,3/	Nêh saq anh prông.	Auxiliary v.
47. /3,1,2/	Prông nêh anh.	Emph. obj.
48. /1, <u>đu năc đu</u> ,2,3/	Nêh đu năc đu anh prông.	Progressive
49. /3,2/	Prông anh...	Noun phrase
50. /3,2,1, <u>de</u> /	Prông anh nêh de...	Possessed
51. /1,2,3,4, <u>iưn</u> /	Nêh anh prông mai iưn.	Simple benefactive
52. /3,1,2,4, <u>iưn</u> /	Prông nêh anh mai iưn.	Emph. obj.
53. /1,2,4, <u>iưn</u> /	Nêh anh mai iưn.	Zeroed 3
54. /2,4, <u>iưn</u> /	Anh mai iưn.	Zeroed 1,3

55. /2,3,4,iưn/ Anh prông mai iưn. Zeroed 1  
 56. /2,4,iưn,3/ Anh mai iưn prông mắq lũng. Postposed 3

$V_c$  = any causative verb,  $\dagger$  subject

Aux = auxiliary verb (§8.1)

Nos.49 and 50 are usually restricted to n-tuples whose 2 and 3 slots are filled by items that occur together in a high proportion of their occurrences, such as sa piêng 'eat rice', anh prông 'carry on the back a back basket', huch iug 'smoke tobacco'.

No.56 is a conditioned variant of No.55, occurring only when the filler of slot 3 is a long or complex noun.

Directional verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this battery, and for which this is the terminal battery, and for which any sentence in the battery containing a 3 can insert a preposition (§6.7) before the 3. Directional verbs include lấp 'enter', lũh 'go out', jur 'descend', hao 'rise', gũq 'remain', sĩq 'return'.

The verb lũh 'go out' can also enter into the forms:

58. /2,1/ Lũh jên. Inverted  
 59. /něh,2,1/ Nẻh lũh jên. Dummy subject

Slot 1 in these forms will not accept a pronoun.

11.4 Reciprocal battery

The reciprocal battery consists of:

60. /1, <u>gâm</u> ,3, <u>tam-2</u> /	Anh <u>gâm</u> <u>něh</u> tam-pâm.	Simple
60a. /3, <u>gâm</u> ,1, <u>tam-2</u> /	Něh <u>gâm</u> <u>ảnh</u> tam-pâm.	"
61. /1, <u>tam-2</u> , <u>bay</u> ,3/	Anh tam-pâm <u>bay</u> <u>něh</u> .	<u>bay</u>
61a. /3, <u>tam-2</u> , <u>bay</u> ,1/	Něh tam-pâm <u>bay</u> <u>ảnh</u> .	"
62. /1, <u>bay</u> ,3, <u>tam-2</u> /	Anh <u>bay</u> <u>něh</u> tam-pâm.	<u>bay</u>
62a. /3, <u>bay</u> ,1, <u>tam-2</u> /	Něh <u>bay</u> <u>ảnh</u> tam-pâm.	"
63. / <u>tam-2</u> ,1, <u>bay</u> ,3/	Tam-pâm <u>ảnh</u> <u>bay</u> <u>něh</u> .	Emph. verb
63a. / <u>tam-2</u> ,3, <u>bay</u> ,1/	Tam-pâm <u>něh</u> <u>bay</u> <u>ảnh</u> .	"
64. / <u>tam-2</u> , <u>bay</u> ,3/	Tam-pâm <u>bay</u> <u>něh</u> .	Zeroed 1
64a. / <u>tam-2</u> , <u>bay</u> ,1/	Tam-pâm <u>bay</u> <u>ảnh</u> .	Zeroed 3
65. /1, <u>tam-2</u> /	Vón tam-pâm.	plural subj.
66. / <u>tam-2</u> ,1/	Tam-pâm vón.	"

Nos.65 and 66 usually accept only plural items in slot 1, though occasionally a single item is found in slot 1 when the verb implies the participation of others.

Canjoi něh tam-sai.                      Canjoi he married.

This battery accepts as fillers of slots 1 and 3 only items which have no cooccurrence restrictions against serving as either subject or object of the item filling slot 2. This is not a terminal battery for any n-tuple. (Cf. §5.6.)

11.5 Container battery

The container battery consists of:

70. /1,2,3,4,5/	Anh sáng nẻh pẻh chử. Simple	
71. /1,2,3,4/	Anh sáng nẻh pẻh. Zeroed 5	
72. /2,3,4,5/	Sẻng nẻh pẻh chử. Zeroed 1	
73. /5,1,2,3,4/	Chử ẻnh sáng nẻh pẻh. Emph. obj.	
74. /5, <u>m</u> ẻ,1,2,3,4/	Chử mẻ ẻnh sáng nẻh pẻh... Noun phrase	
75. /2,3,4/	Sẻng nẻh pẻh. Zeroed 1,5	
76. /3,4,5,1,2/	Nẻh pẻh chử, ẻnh gửt. Indirect statement	

No.76 is restricted to a few verbs like gửt 'know', chẻng 'hear', sẻy 'see', cửnh 'want', and panh 'say', which can introduce an indirect statement.

Container verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this (terminal) battery. They include sẻng 'send', gửt 'know', phửng 'fear', ỏp 'make, cause', an 'permit', chẻng 'hear', wẻnh 'request', sẻy 'see', cửnh 'want', iao 'invite', pẻn 'advise', cấp 'wait for', chẻq 'permit', panh 'say', mỏi 'invite', nhỏ 'because of'.

11.6 Transitive possessed battery

The transitive possessed battery consists of:

80. /1,2,3,4/	Anh jử nhi nẻh. Simple	
81. /4,2,3,1/	Nẻh jử nhi ẻnh. "	
82. /1,tam-2,3/	Vỏn tam-jử nhi. Reciprocal	

83. /1,gâm,4,tam-2,3/ Anh gâm nêh tam-jơ nhi. Reciprocal  
 84. /4,gâm,1,tam-2,3/ Nêh gâm ănh tam-jơ nhi. "

No.82 requires a plural subject in slot 1.

Transitive verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this battery, words for which this is the terminal battery. They include jơ 'watch', anh 'carry', buôn 'sad', căi 'chop', căh 'remember', căp 'bite', chit 'cut', camlăh 'deny', dêh 'give birth', dip 'hit', dôn 'pick up', dâp 'dam', đôh 'remove', gá 'betroth', gaih 'become', gănh 'carry with a pole', gâi 'exchange', hâi 'harm', huch 'drink', ih 'dry out', jan 'live with', jăng 'cook', jêng 'become', khoai 'dig', khưn 'steal', môn 'hire', mơq 'visit', muyh 'cut down', mùng 'glad', nham 'borrow', nhũp 'take', njưn 'escort', ôp 'do', păh 'strike', pănh 'shoot', păng 'close', pâm 'hit', pha 'destroy', sa 'eat'.

### 11.7 Bitransitive battery

The bitransitive battery consists of:

- |                        |                 |                      |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 90. /3,1,2,4/          | Pih ănh an nêh. | Emph. obj.           |
| 91. /1,2,4,3/          | Anh an nêh pih. | Simple               |
| 92. /3,1, <u>iưn</u> / | ...pih ănh iưn. | Sequential           |
| 93. /1,2,4/            | Anh an nêh.     | Zeroed 3, <u>iưn</u> |

No.91 generally occurs only at the beginning of an enumeration of items.

No.92 is restricted to non-initial position in an enumeration.



Bitransitive verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this (terminal) battery. This class has only two members - an 'give', dóp 'hand over'. The normal form for a bitransitive sentence is No.51.

### 11.8 Quotative battery

The Quotative Battery consists of:

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| 100. /1,2, <u>něh</u> , <u>panh</u> ,Sent/                | Patau nhai něh panh...       |
| 101. /1,2, <u>panh</u> ,Sent/                             | Patau nhai panh...           |
| 102. /1, <u>panh</u> ,Sent/                               | Patau panh...                |
| 103. /1,2,Sent/   | Patau nhai...                |
| 104. /1,2, <u>caheq</u> , <u>něh</u> , <u>panh</u> ,Sent/ | Patau nhai caheq něh panh... |
| 105. /2,Sent/   | Panh... Zeroed 1             |
| 106. / <u>něh panh</u> ,Sent/                             | Něh panh...                  |

Sent. = any sentence

The forms in this battery are practically interchangeable, the only major restriction being that No.105 generally requires a stated subject in the preceding sentence.

Quotative verbs are defined as words which can fill slot 2 in this (terminal) battery. They include nhai 'speak', lŭp 'ask', âh 'answer', cuôl 'call', chih 'scold'.

All batteries on the transitive side of the tree can be multiplied by preposing Môi năr môi... to all formulas.

11.9 Illustrative paradigm

The following set takes a sample n-tuple from the Bi-transitive battery and follows it down the tree. Batteries not in the path of that n-tuple are illustrated afterwards.

We may say this is the full paradigm on the root [an-action, vón-actor, pìh-object, něh-recipient]; followed by partial paradigms on the roots [tì-subject, ìong-attribute, něh-possessor], [lũh-action, ìên-subject], [ănh-primary actor, gút-primary action, něh-secondary actor, păh-secondary action, chhó-goal], and [patau-actor, nhai-action, panh-coordinate action].

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 90. Pìh vón an něh.         | A knife we gave him.        |
| 91. Vón an něh pìh.         | We gave him a knife.        |
| 92. Pìh vón iun.            | A knife we gave.            |
| 93. Vón an něh.             | We gave him.                |
| 80. Vón an pìh něh.         | We gave away his knife.     |
| 81. Něh an pìh vón.         | He gave away our knife.     |
| 82. Vón tam-an pìh.         | We exchanged knives.        |
| 83. Vón gâm něh tam-an pìh. | We and he exchanged knives. |
| 84. Něh gâm vón tam-an pìh. | He and we exchanged knives. |
| 60. Vón gâm něh tam-an.     | We and he exchanged.        |
| 60a. Něh gâm vón tam-an.    | He and we exchanged.        |
| 61. Vón tam-an bay něh.     | We exchanged with him.      |
| 61a. Něh tam-an bay vón.    | He exchanged with us.       |

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 62. Vón bay něh tam-an.                        | We and he exchanged.              |
| 62a. Něh bay vón tam-an.                       | He and we exchanged.              |
| 63. Tam-an vón bay něh.                        | Exchanged we and he.              |
| 63a. Tam-an něh bay vón.                       | Exchanged he and we.              |
| 64. Tam-an bay něh.                            | Exchanged with him.               |
| 64a. Taman bay vón.                            | Exchanged with us.                |
| 65. Vón tam-an.                                | We exchanged.                     |
| 66. Tam-an vón.                                | Let's exchange.                   |
| 41. Vón an pǐh.                                | We gave a knife.                  |
| 42. An pǐh.                                    | Gave a knife.                     |
| 43. Pǐh cò vón an...                           | The knife we gave...              |
| 44. Gěh pǐh vón an.                            | There is a knife we gave.         |
| 45. An vón an pǐh.                             | Allow us to give a knife.         |
| 46. Vón saq an pǐh.                            | We're going to give a knife.      |
| 47. Pǐh vón an.                                | A knife we gave.                  |
| 48. Vón du nǎr du an pǐh.                      | We give more knives all the time. |
| *49, *50. <u>pǐh an</u> is not a suitable pair |                                   |
| 51. Vón an pǐh něh iun.                        | We gave him a knife.              |
| 52. Pǐh vón an něh iun.                        | A knife we gave him.              |
| 53. Vón an něh iun.                            | We gave it to him.                |
| 54. An něh iun.                                | Give it to him.                   |
| 55. An pǐh něh iun.                            | Give the knife to him.            |
| 56. Vón an něh pǐh vra đò.                     | We gave him knives, etc.          |
| 1. Vón an.                                     | We gave.                          |
| 2. An.   | Give.                             |

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 3. Vón du nǎr du an.    | We give more all the time. |
| 4. Vón cồ an...         | We who gave...             |
| 5. Vón êq an.           | We don't give.             |
| 6. Vu sǎng vón an.      | They told us to give.      |
| 7. Vón an vón.          | Let's give.                |
| 8. An vón.              | Let's give.                |
| 9. Pǎch an là vón.      | The one who gives is us.   |
| 10. Vón saq an.         | We're going to give.       |
| 11. Mói nǎr mói vón an. | Every day we give.         |

\*12, \*13 do not accept n-tuples from the transitive branch of the tree.

Other batteries:

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 20. Ti jong...              | A long arm...              |
| 21. Ti jong lǔng.           | The arm is very long.      |
| 22. Ti jong trôq jong ntěh. | The arm is extremely long. |
| 23. Ti jong jong.           | The arm is somewhat long.  |
| 24. Ti mớ yǎh jong.         | The arm is very long.      |
| 25. Ti mớ yǎh jong...       | A very long arm...         |
| 27. Něh jong ti.            | He is long armed.          |
| 28. Ti něh jong.            | His arms are long.         |
| 29. Ti něh cồ jong...       | His long arms...           |
| 30. Ti jong.                | The arms are long.         |
| 31. Ti cồ jong...           | The long arms...           |
| 32. Něh gěh ti jong.        | He has long arms.          |
| 33. Něh jong ti lǔng.       | He is very long armed.     |
| 34. Pǎch n'hya něh jong?    | What is he long?           |

- |                                   |                                      |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 35. Nĕh lĕq a jong ti.            | He is no longer long armed.          |
| 36. Ti nĕh lĕq a jong.            | His arms are no longer long.         |
| 37. Nĕh jong ti nĕh.              | He is long armed.                    |
| 38. Jong ti nĕh.                  | Long armed is he.                    |
| 39. Nĕi ti nĕh jong.              | In his arms he is long.              |
| 40. Nĕh jong nĕi ti.              | He is long in his arms.              |
| 58. Lŭh jĕn.                      | Appeared money.                      |
| 59. Nĕh lŭh jĕn.                  | Money appeared.                      |
| 70. Anh gŭt nĕh păh chhơ.         | I know he chops wood.                |
| 71. Anh gŭt nĕh păh.              | I know he chops.                     |
| 72. Gŭt nĕh păh chhơ.             | Know he chops wood.                  |
| 73. Chhơ ănh gŭt nĕh păh.         | Wood I know he chops.                |
| 74. Chhơ mà ănh gŭt nĕh păh...    | The wood which I know he chops...    |
| 75. Gŭt nĕh păh.                  | Know he chops.                       |
| 76. Nĕh păh chhơ, ănh gŭt.        | He chops wood, I know.               |
| 100. Patau nhai nĕh panh...       | The king spoke, he said...           |
| 101. Patau nhai panh...           | The king spoke saying...             |
| 102. Patau panh...                | The king said...                     |
| 103. Patau nhai...                | The king said...                     |
| 104. Patau nhai caheq nĕh panh... | The king spoke like this, he said... |
| 105. Panh...                      | Said...                              |
| 106. Nĕh panh...                  | He said...                           |

Môi năr môi nêh panh...	Every day he said...
Môi năr môi ănh gưt nêh păh chhó.	Every day I know he chops wood.
Môi năr môi ănh an nêh pih.	Every day I give him a knife.
Môi năr môi ănh jớ nhi nêh.	Every day I watch his house.
Môi năr môi ănh gâm nêh tam-pâm.	Every day we fight.
Môi năr môi lũh jên.	Every day money appeared.
Môi năr môi nêh anh prông.	Every day he carries a basket.
Môi năr môi nêh lôt.	Every day he runs.

### 11.10 Comparisons

The only nearby language for which clause batteries have been published is Bahnar (J. Banker 1964). The Bahnar batteries are presented *individually*, but it looks as though at least a partial tree structure could be constructed. Affixation potential presents the main difference between Bahnar batteries; affixation is almost non-existent in Chrau, so the Chrau batteries rely mainly on differences in constants.

The six major Bahnar batteries are the Potential Passive, Intransitive Causative, Transitive Causative, Intransitive Noncausative, Transitive Noncausative, and Minimal Noncausative. There is little correlation between Chrau and Bahnar major batteries other than the general transitive/intransitive distinction.

The three minor Bahnar batteries are the Jej ('win'),

Equative, and Locative batteries. Chrau has parallels to the Equative battery but not to the others.

## Chapter 12

### STYLES AND DIALECTS

- 12.1 Major styles
- 12.2 Medial rhyming
- 12.3 Dialectal phonology
- 12.4 Dialectal lexicon

#### 12.1 Major styles

Three main styles have been observed in Chrau: classical style, formal style, and colloquial style.

The classical style is used in reciting folklore, in chanting, or in other highly cultural Chrau settings. It is marked by the near-absence of Vietnamese loans, though containing a good many Cham loans, and by the skilful use of reduplicative and onomatopoeic adverbs (§9.2,3) and final particles (§6.8). The adverbs add vivid imagery to the action, and the final particles help to convey moods. The use of noun and verb doublets adds a sense of dignity and deliberateness (§9.4). Continued use of doublets is often accompanied by or leading into a singsong chanting style of recitation. Some of the memorized formulas in the stories and chants contain words which have now passed out of active use in the language and are considered esoteric words whose meaning is not known to ordinary mortals.



There are degrees of classical style ranging from the highly formalized memorized chants, to less formal legends, to folktales approaching colloquial style.

The formal, or careful, style is used when precision is desired. It drastically reduces the use of final particles because the mood of the speaker becomes irrelevant. It makes less use of ellipsis, more frequent use of noun subjects, and heavy use of clause connectors (§10.1-4), in order to eliminate ambiguities. Formal style also tends to use less direct quotation, and what direct quotation there is is always carefully introduced (§10.10). Writing in Chrau tends toward a formal style because writing is neither traditional culture nor intimate conversation.

Colloquial style is used in ordinary conversational situations. It is marked by short sentences, frequent ellipsis, and heavy use of final particles. It makes little use of reduplication or doublets, but onomatopoeic animal cries are not infrequent. It makes free use of direct quotation, often without quotation introducers (§10.10). It makes free use of intonation (§4.5) to signal meaning, and it borrows freely and heavily from Vietnamese vocabulary, sometimes retaining the Vietnamese tones and sometimes dropping them.

Many of the sentence and clause connectors are bor-

rowed from Vietnamese (§10.1-4), so it is not surprising that they are rare in classical style, though frequent in formal style.

## 12.2 Medial rhyming

In classical style occasionally quadruplets or sextuplets occur in which the middle pair of words is rhymed. I am indebted to Cooper's observation of it in Halăng (Cooper 1967) for alerting me to its occurrence in Chrau. The majority of these seem to be stylized, and possibly proverbial.

chính vu gápư war 'gong set buffalo corral' - a set of gongs and a corral-ful of buffaloes, i.e. the symbols of prosperity.

ăn sung rung por 'give feast pour porridge' - hold a funeral celebration.

chih sun lŭh, ŭh sun tayh 'speak not out, blow not loud' - when he speaks nothing comes out, when he blows a flute there is no sound, i.e. incompetent, unsuccessful.

ôh mon con sinau 'yngr. sibling nephew child grandchild' - younger relatives and village mates. This phrase is often used in more colloquial speech.

pănh proq loq hoạ 'shoot squirrels ?? monkeys' - go hunting. The meaning of the third word was unknown to my informant,

though he knew and used the formula.

chăch chhe sǎh, randǎh chhe prông 'snapped strap large-basket, ?? strap medium-basket' - the straps on his back basket snapped.

Somewhat more complex is the following word play from a legend. The monkeys asked the man what his fishing rod was made out of. The answer should have been tiêng dôg 'monkey tails', but in order to disguise this unpleasant bit of information he said tôg candaq taq candiêng, which he obtained by

- 1) switching the vowel and final consonants of the first and last words (tôg diêng)
- 2) adding medial rhyme words (nonsense) (đaq taq)
- 3) adding a can- presyllable to the first and third words (candaq, candiêng)

### 12.3 Dialectal phonology

Xuânlộc Chrau phonology is fairly standard for most of the Chrau area, the most serious deviations being found around Túctrung.

The contrast between /chh/ and /s/ is lost in Võđát, Túctrung, and several other places, but is present in Bìnhtuy and Giaray. It is also possible that some dialects may split /s/ into two phonemes /s,x/, though this is not yet sure.

Initial r is frequently g in Túc-trung, and initial g is frequently k. Túc-trung also adds a preglottalized 'ʔ' to its phoneme inventory. ('ʔ' is absent from the phoneme inventory of many Mon-Khmer languages that have 'b' and 'd.) Túc-trung frequently adds an h to prenasalized stops, as in hndu 'person', hndeh 'vehicle', hmva 'year'. (Lương 1959, 1960)

The voiced stops vary from full stops to affricated stops, to voiced fricatives. In many areas this is simply a matter of idiolects or of free variation, but in the Thỏ-vức area they are consistently affricates. Elsewhere a lenis stop pronunciation is most common.

The presyllables show some variation from area to area. Xuân-lộc shows a tendency toward dissimilation of consonants, while Bính-tuy permits similar consonants in presyllable and main positions. Bính-tuy pave 'goat', cacăt 'cold'; Xuân-lộc dave, tacăt (cf. Cham pabaiy, Khmer babe).

Túc-trung also shows a tendency toward ca- and la- presyllables. XL sinoq, TT canoq 'body hair', XL lapông, TT capông 'door', XL dapa, TT lapa 'turtle', XL damo, TT lamo 'deny', XL vũn, TT lavũn 'pregnant'.

The vowels of Túc-trung have some phonetic differences from central Chrau. /o/ (XL [o]) is raised to [o<sup>h</sup>], and /ô/ (XL [o]) is raised to [o<sup>u</sup>]. And XL ay generally corresponds to TT ây. /y/ in the TT dialect tends to be more fronted

than XL.

The final consonants are fairly stable throughout the Chrau area except, again, in Túc-trung. Final /l/ and /r/ have both merged with /y/. XL var TT vai 'two', XL gâi TT gây 'exchange', XL tôr TT tôi 'ear'.

In Rùng-lá and Giarai âyh is merged with ěh. XL rawâyh 'elephant', nděh 'vehicle', RL rawěh, nděh.

Túc-trung, Võ-đát, and some speakers in Rùng-lá regularly have n? for Xuân-lộc nd. XL candâl VD can?al 'middle', XL sindach TT sin?ach 'love', XL sindôch TT sin?ôch 'black'.

Bính-tuy phonemics has neutralization between final /l/ and /r/ and between some of the vowels in certain environments (for details see Thomas 1962a).

Other dialects have different intonation patterns, but there has been no chance to analyze them.

#### 12.4 Dialectal lexicon

The bulk of Chrau vocabulary is understood over most of the Chrau area, though each area has a few words of its own. The word for 'play' is vôt in Rùng-lá, lêng in Xuân-lộc, and khlân in Túc-trung. Túc-trung, however, has the largest number of peculiar words, so that other native speakers of Chrau consider Túc-trung to have a unique dialect. The word that seems to be considered the most distinctive mark of

a Túctrung speaker is their use of hăn 'to go' rather than sag; also prominently mentioned is their use of ính for ăn 'I'.

Other vocabulary differences appear to be the result of borrowings. All areas have had about equal Vietnamese influence, but the Bìnhtuy area has had more Cham and Róglai (Malayo-Polynesian) influence, while Túctrung may possibly have more Cambodian influence. Words from other languages such as Chinese or Indo-Aryan have almost all been mediated through Vietnamese or Cham.

APPENDIX

Summary of Minor Classes

CLAUSE	<u>Movable particles</u>	tu
	ayh §6.5	tư
<u>Clause temporals</u>	ca	u
vrêq §6.1	cò	
nảr heq	cơ, cơ yiêc	<u>Final particles</u>
vi mau	di	âm §6.8
davôq	đê	canỏq
etc.	iết	chơ
	mớ	dơn
<u>Initial adverbials</u>	nôi	đăng
phứt §6.2	têq	en
phư	thiết	hà
phâng		hâng
pruh	<u>Adverbs</u> §6.6	hôm
prút	a) ảr	là, lâu
phing-ling	bây, bây ba	nỏq
phung-lung	chhông	nỏg
pheng-leng	chhuôi	ngăn
gưr-nggưr	diết	ơn
chruh	hân	pa
chruh-ruh	lẻq	tỏq
kruh	lỏch	uy
glưt	mảq	vây
vadũh	mớh	vỏq
	ndêc	vỏ
<u>Initial modals</u>	ngăn ngăn	vu de
ahêq §6.3	nhâng	wỏq
bơ	qua	
chẻq	thăng	
đăng gal	uây	
lũh	vảq vây	
mỏq	b) du...	
mớh	c) gẻh	
nằm	nôi	
pách	truh	
tỏm, atỏm	d) hao	
vâng	jư	
nhâng, yảng	lấp	
vi	lũh	
vacỏnh	sỉq	
vadâng		
vagỏq	<u>Prepositions</u>	
vaju	a §6.7	
<u>Presubject focus</u>	bay	
đôi §6.4	sũng	
	tắt	
		<u>NOUN PHRASE</u>
		<u>Numerals</u> §7.1
		muôi, du
		var, etc.
		vanỏc
		gỏq, vagỏq
		đi muôi, etc.
		<u>Classifiers</u> §7.2
		a) lỏm
		bo
		bon
		bư
		cấp
		mvu
		ncong
		pang, etc.

b) lịch		SENTENCE	<u>Exclamations</u>
long			cha §10.11
thư		<u>Initial particles</u>	cơnh te
sinlơ		canỏq §10.1	ha-ha
c) bũa		canỏq caheq	chãng
gong		chơ, chơ bô	ơi
li		còn	ơ
mag		kệ, kê yay	ơih
thùng, etc.		mả	trôq ntêh de
		mỗh	ua
<u>Demonstratives</u>		ncai	ui
heq	§7.4	nhưc-đĩnh	yòh
nỏq		nhưng mà	nhai panh nai
tỏq		mớ, nỏq mớ	
tỉq		phai chi	<u>Paragraph introducers</u>
lây		noq	ahêq §10.12
		phấp	phấp
VERB PHRASE		te ra	
		thành, thành ra	
<u>Preverbal Particles</u>			
cô	§8.1	<u>Conjunctions</u> §10.3	
cơnh		hay, hay là	
êq		là, là tất nhiên	
hôm		mỏq	
jơ, jỏq		păch	
khoi		vadâng	
lẻq			
me		<u>Conditionals</u> §10.4	
ndỏh, ndảh		chi là	
phai		hê	
sảy		niủ	
sưn		nỏq	
tỏq		tamvac bi	
ưn		thỉ	
		tưc là	
<u>Auxiliary verbs</u>			
saq	§8.2	<u>Embedding Marker</u>	
gũq		cô §10.5	
them			
iưn		PARAGRAPH	
gẻn			
<u>Intentional verbs</u>		<u>Paragraph topic</u>	
cơnh	§8.3	nẻn §10.8	
thêng			
		<u>Quotation markers</u>	
		nẻn panh §10.10	
		nẻn nai panh	
		nhai caheq	
		nhai canỏq	