

# SOME PROTO-BAHNARIC CLAUSE GRAMMAR

David THOMAS

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
and Mahidol University

0. *Introduction*
1. *Transitivity types*
2. *Locational types*
3. *Summary of reconstructions*

This paper is a study of some major clause types, in a preliminary attempt to push back our understanding of that segment of Bahnaric grammar to the Proto-South-Bahnaric stage. The data from the various languages, as will be apparent from the discussion, is uneven in both quantity and quality, so that the present paper must be considered preliminary.

The South Bahnaric languages are the southern section of the Bahnaric branch of Mon-Khmer (Thomas & Headley 1970), located mostly in southern Vietnam with some spilling over into Cambodia. This study will draw most heavily on Chrau, Eastern Mnong (Rlăm), and Stieng, as representative languages of the group, with additional data from Kôho Srê and Central Mnong (Bunâr and Preh).<sup>1</sup> The three main languages above are respectively at the southeastern, northeastern, and western edges of the South Bahnaric area, so should give a fairly good picture of the range of diversity.

The many clause types are grouped into major categories, as individual clause types do not stand alone in a grammar. This paper examines only the clause categories I have called transitives and locationals; communicatives, statives, and other categories are treated in a separate paper forthcoming).

In the following examples new vocabulary is held to a minimum. Function markers and main verbs are underlined in the text and listed at the bottom of each set of examples, other incidental vocabulary is glossed at its first occurrence in that set of examples. (Function markers indicate the syntactic function of the lexical morpheme that they accompany; in this data they include prepositions, postverbs, and certain topicalizing demonstratives and basic locatives. They are marked with a dotted underline. Main verbs have a solid underline.) The reference after each example is the source of the data, as described in Note 1.

MON-KHMER STUDIES 15:111-124(1989)

## 1. Transitivity types

The intransitive-transitive-bitransitive group of clauses have a basic S-V-O order in all of the South Bahnaric languages, with the IO having more than one possible position.

## CHRAU

- Cl a) ănh vĩq 'I slept' (ănh 'I')  
vĩq ănh 'id.' (To emphasize the verb)  
 Cl b) ănh păh něh 'I hit him' (něh 'him')  
 Cl c) ănh sa (en) 'I have eaten (already)'  
 Cl d) pĩh nۆq ănh nhũp en 'The knife I have taken already'  
 (pĩh 'knife')  
 Cl e) ănh an něh pĩh 'I gave him a knife' (rare)  
 Cl f) ănh an pĩh něh iũn 'I gave him a knife'  
 Cl g) ănh an něh iũn đu tong pĩh 'I gave him a knife' (đu tong 'one classifier')  
 Cl h) ănh an pĩh 'I gave a knife'  
 Cl i) ănh an něh iũn 'I gave (it) to him'  
 Cl j) an ănh iũn 'Give (it) to me'  
 Cl k) an iũn 'Give it (to me)'

<u>an</u>	'give'
<u>iũn</u>	'to, give to'
<u>nhũp</u>	'take'
<u>nۆq</u>	'that' Usually present in Cl d.
<u>păh</u>	'hit'
<u>sa</u>	'eat'
<u>vĩq</u>	'sleep'

## KŪHO SRÊ

- Kla) ăñ bic 'I slept' (OSS:162) (ăñ 'I')  
 Kl b) ăñ blõi iăr 'I am buying chickens' (KLC:14)  
 (iăr 'chickens')  
 Kl f) ăñ ai törnòm rõpu ĩn 'I gave wine to the buffalo'  
 (OSS:178) (törnòm 'wine', rõpu 'buffalo')

<u>ai</u>	'give'
<u>bic</u>	'sleep'
<u>blõi</u>	'buy'
<u>ĩn</u>	'give, to'

## MNONG BUNÂR

- Bl b) gõp sông piang 'I eat rice' (MLC:2.3) (gõp 'I',  
piang 'rice')  
 Bl f) gõp an dak si ma may 'I gave you medicine' (MLC:3.4,5)  
 (dak si 'medicine', may 'you')  
 Bl g) gõp mplõq ma may prao rêl 'I'll give you back six  
 piastres' (MLC:2.2) (prao rêl 'six piastres')

gõp an ap nôm du mlôm jâm<sup>2</sup> 'I gave everyone one plate'  
(MLC:7.3) (ap nôm 'everyone', du mlôm jâm 'one plate')

an	'give'
ma	'to'
mplôq	'give back'
sông	'eat'

## MNONG PREH

Pla) gâp ji 'I'm sick' (CMLL:15) (gâp 'I')  
Plb) gâp sông piăng 'I ate rice' (CMLL:2) (piăng 'rice')  
Plc) gâp sông (jêh) 'I have eaten (already)' (CMLL:1)  
Plg) gâp ăn ma păng dak si 'I gave him water to drink'  
(CMLL:14) (păng 'he', dak si 'water to drink')  
Pli) may lõ mplôq<sup>2</sup> ma gâp nôm 'You return (it) to me'  
(CMLL:20) (may 'you', nôm 'self?')

ăn	'give'
ji	'to be sick'
lõ mplôq	'give back, return'
ma	'to'

## MNONG RLĂM

Rla) ăn dhul 'I ran' (MLL:18) (ăn 'I')  
dhul ăn 'id.' (Function not yet analyzed)  
Rlb) ăn pah kăn 'I hit him' (kăn 'him')  
Rlc) ăn sông (ru) 'I've (already) eaten' (MLL:1)  
Rld) pên hăn ăn ta kăn 'That knife I gave to him'  
(pên 'knife')  
Rlf) ăn ăn pên ta kăn 'I gave him a knife'

ăn	'give'
dhul	'run'
hăn	'that' Normally required in Rld.
pah	'hit'
sông	'eat'
ta	'to'

## STIENG

Sla) hêy tuôt 'I ran' (hêy 'I')  
tuôt hêy 'id.' (To emphasize the verb)  
Slb) hêy pôm bu 'I hit him' (bu 'him, someone')  
Slc) hêy sa (hôi) 'I've eaten (already)'  
Sld) pên nêy hêy (ja) pôôs hôi 'The knife I have taken  
(already)' (pên 'knife', ja...hôi 'already')  
Sle) hêy aan bu pên 'I gave him a knife'  
Slf) hêy aan pên dah bu 'I gave a knife to him'  
Slg) hêy aan bu pên di toong 'I gave him a knife' (di, toong  
'one classifier')

- Slh) hêy aan pêh 'I gave (him) a knife'  
       hêy uôn pêh 'id.'  
 Sli) hêy aan bu 'I gave (it) to him'  
 Slj) aan hêy 'Give (it) to me' (OSG:45)  
 Slk) aan tô meeh 'Give it' (tô meeh 'imperative')

intransitive = ± S + Vi (OSG:10)  
 transitive = ± S + Vtr + O (OSG:10)  
 bitransitive = ± S + Vbitr ± O ± IO (OSG:10)

aan	'give'
dah	'to'
nêy	'that'
pôm	'hit'
pôôs	'take, fetch'
sa	'eat'
tuôt	'run'
uôn	'give'

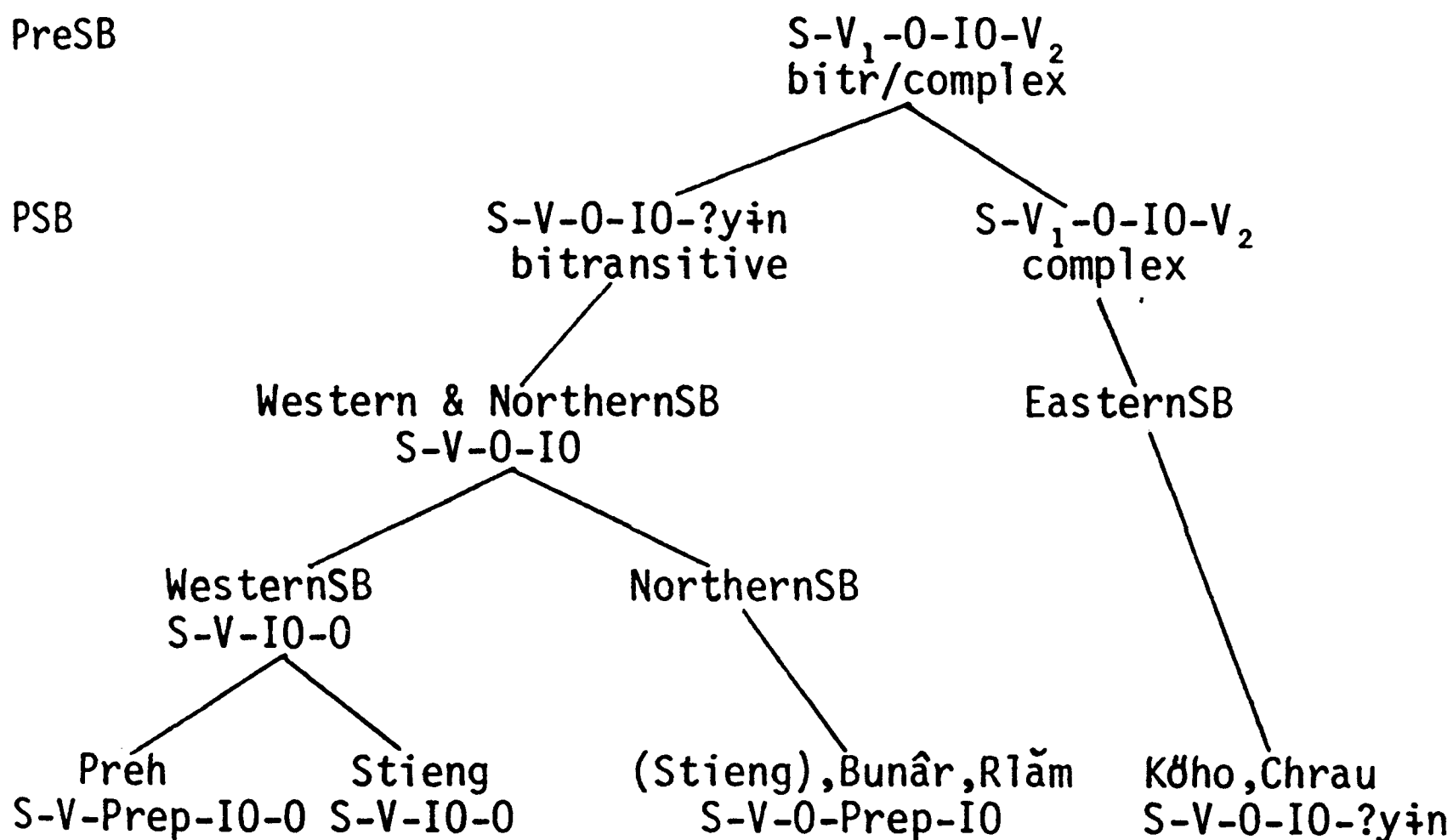
From the foregoing data one can clearly reconstruct a Proto-South-Bahnaric (PSB) intransitive \*S-V pattern (1a), as attested in all the languages for which we have intransitive data, that is all except Mnong Bunâr. A \*V-S pattern should also be reconstructed, which gives emphasis to the verb, attested in Chrau, Mnong Rlăm, Stieng.

A normal transitive \*S-V-O (1b) is attested for all six languages. Four of the languages (Chrau, Mnong Preh, Mnong Rlăm, Stieng) show optional deletion of the Object (1c) with 'already', so this feature can be reconstructed for PSB. A verb like 'eat', with a natural Object 'food', can freely take this deleting form (1c); a verb like 'hit', with no natural Object, would normally expect the Object to be stated in the context before this deleting form can be used.

A fronted topicalized Object (1d) with demonstrative 'that' is attested by Chrau, Mnong Rlăm, Stieng with no contradictory data, so can be reconstructed for PSB. Fronted topicalization in PSB may well have required a demonstrative.

The bitransitives are more complicated. Each language is different. The normal form with a simple Object is S-V-IO-O (1e) in Stieng, S-V-O-Prep-IO (1f) in Bunâr, Rlăm, and Stieng S-V-O-IO-Postv (1f) in Chrau, and apparently S-V-Prep-IO-O (1g) in Preh. The Chrau form is probably a weakening from the complex clause form S-V<sub>1</sub>-O-IO-V<sub>2</sub>, in which the IO is also the Subject of V<sub>2</sub>, a form widely attested in Mon-Khmer, as in Chrau anh an pih nêh nham 'I gave him a knife to borrow', or anh ar duôn nêh ndau 'I gave him a hat to wear'. The prepositions used in Bunâr/Preh, Rlăm, and Stieng are not cognate.

All this seems to suggest that none of the above bitransitive forms are original PSB, but that PSB may perhaps have used the pre-Chrau/Kôho complex clause form \*S-V<sub>1</sub>-O-IO-V<sub>2</sub>. This complex form was used to express purpose, instrument, bitransitives, etc., which is common Mon-Khmer usage. A verb \*?yɨn may be reconstructed, which could function in either V<sub>1</sub> or V<sub>2</sub> position (cf. Chrau *iɨn*, Kôho *ɨn*, Stieng *ɨn* 'give, to', cogn. Vietnamese *giùm* 'help'??). \*?yɨn in V<sub>2</sub> eventually became grammaticalized as the marker of Indirect Object, postposed to the IO, as is preserved in Chrau and Kôho. But the use of \*?yɨn in a postpositional slot in a preposing language is abnormal, so the other four languages dropped the \*?yɨn. Bunâr and Rlăm substituted prepositions before the IO. Stieng changed the O-IO order to IO-O for the common form in Stieng, but it also secondarily took the Bunâr/Rlăm form. Preh compromised the Stieng and the Bunâr/Rlăm patterns to Prep-IO-O. Possibly the IO-O Stieng form should be taken as being also the pre-Stieng-Preh form, to which Preh added a Prep in order to disambiguate the O and IO functions. Postulating a Pre-South-Bahnaric O-IO-V<sub>2</sub> seems necessary in order to account for the otherwise anomalous postposed Chrau and Kôho \*?yɨn in prepositional languages.<sup>3</sup>



Bitransitives with a several-word Object (lg) move the Object to the end of the clause, as attested in C,K,B,P,S. This "heavy movement" may be assigned to PSB. In Bunâr this movement can also delete the preposition.

Elliptical forms of the bitransitive (lh-lk) retain the characteristics of the full forms, so that Chrau retains the postverb iùn, Preh retains the preposition ma, and Stieng retains the absence of overt markers.

## 2. Locational types

The locative-putting-travel-propulsion clauses have a basic S-V-O-Loc order, in which the Locative may be a Location or an Origin/Destination.

### CHRAU

- C2a) ănh u heq 'I am here' (ănh 'I', heq 'here')
- ănh a těh 'I am below' (těh 'below')
- C2b) ănh gũq u heq 'I live here' (gũq 'live')
- C2c) ănh palây Jro 'I live in the Jro clan area'
- C2d) ănh gũq tù 'I live in jail'
- C2e) ănh chěq něh sũng/u nhi 'I put it in the house'  
(nhi 'house')
- C2f) ănh sĩq 'I'm returning (home)'
- C2g) ănh saq sĩq 'I'm going home'
- C2h) ănh sĩq ănh 'I'm returning (home)'
- C2i) ănh sĩq nhi 'I'm returning home'
- ănh saq chö 'I'm going to market' (chö 'market')
- C2j) ănh sĩq tâu nhi 'I'm returning home'
- C2k) ănh saq tâu Sigor 'I'm going to Saigon'
- C2l) ănh sĩq a Sigor 'I'm returning from Saigon'
- C2m) ănh saq a Sigor tât Vahwa 'I went from Saigon to Bienhoa'
- ănh a Sigor saq tâu/tât Vahwa 'id.'
- ănh a Sigor sĩq (tâu) Vahwa 'I returned from Saigon to Bienhoa'
- C2n) ănh văt něh tâu Vahwa 'I took it to Bienhoa' (něh 'he,it')
- C2o) ănh văt něh lũh a Sigor 'I took it out of Saigon'
- C2p) ănh văt něh sĩq tâu nhi 'I took it home'
- C2q) ănh văt něh a Sigor tât nhi 'I took it home from Saigon'
- C2r) ănh sỏq něh a nhi 'I fetched it from home'
- C2s) ănh njũn něh saq hok 'I took him to study' (hok 'study')

a	`at' Limited to `below, above, outside, etc.'
a	`from'
chěq	`put'
lũh	`out of, go out' (directional or verb)
njũn	`escort, take'
palây	`clan area, country'
saq	`go'
sĩq	`return, return home'
sõq	`fetch'
sũng	`in, inside'
tât	`to, arrive at' (preposition or verb)
tâu	`to' (preposition only)
u	`in, at'
văt	`take, carry'

## KHO SRÊ

- K2a) ăñ tĩng dọ `I am here' (KLC:13) (ăñ `I', dọ `here')
- K2b) ăñ ôm tôm Dalat `I live in Dalat' (KLC:38)
- K2e) ăñ ôn kõn tĩng dọ `I put the baby here' (KLC:22)  
(kõn `baby')
- K2i) ăñ rĩ hiu `I'm going home' (KLC:27) (hiu `house')
- ăñ lõt drà `I went to market' (KLC:27) (drà `market')
- K2k) ăñ lõt tam/hõ/tus DàDõng `I went to DàDõng' (OSS:70,72)
- K2l) ăñ rĩ bõh DàDõng `I returned from DàDõng' (KLC:32)
- K2n) ăñ ceng cau tus di khai `I brought a man to him'  
(KLC:52) (khai `him')

bõh	`from'
ceng	`bring'
hõ	`to'
lõt	`go'
ôm	`live, stay'
ôn	`put'
rĩ	`come, return'
tĩng	`at'
tôm, tam	`in, to'
tus, tus di	`come, to'

## MNONG BUNÂR

- B2a) pang ta aõ `He is here' (MLC:1.3) (pang `he',  
aõ `here')
- B2b) gõp gũq ta SarPa `I live at SarPa' (MLC:4.1)  
(gõp `I')
- gõp gũq tõm bri `I live in the jungle' (MLC:8.7)  
(bri `jungle')
- B2c) gõp bõn SarPa `I (live in) SarPa village' (MLC:2.3)
- B2e) gõp chêq ndõ nay tõm dung aõ `I put that thing in the  
shirt pocket' (MLC:4.4) (ndõ nay `that thing', dung aõ  
`shirt pocket')

- B2f) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> sit 'I went home' (MLC:8.6)  
 B2j) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> sit ta ngih 'I went home' (MLC:5.5)  
 B2k) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> han ta SarPa 'I went to SarPa' (MLC:2.5)  
 B2l) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> sit taq bah SarPa 'I came back from SarPa'  
 (MLC:8.6)  
       g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> taq bah ngih 'I came from the house' (MLC:4.1)  
 B2n) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> leo nd<sup>h</sup> nay ta a<sup>h</sup> 'I brought that thing here'  
 (MLC:3.2) (nd<sup>h</sup> nay 'that thing')  
 B2p) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> sok nd<sup>h</sup> nay leo ma may 'I'll bring that thing  
 to you' (MLC:4.3)

bah	'at, side'
bon	'village'
chêq	'put'
g <sup>h</sup> o <sup>p</sup>	'live'
han	'go'
leo	'bring'
sit	'return home'
sok	'bring, fetch'
ta	'to, at'
taq	'from, come from'
t <sup>h</sup> m	'in'

## MNONG PREH

- P2b) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> g<sup>h</sup> ta DakNong 'I live/stay in DakNong' (CMLL:11)  
 (g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> 'I')  
 P2c) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> bon DakNong 'I (live in) DakNong village' (CMLL:4)  
 P2f) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> s<sup>h</sup> 'I'm going home' (CMLL:5)  
 P2g) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> h<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup> 'I'm going home' (CMLL:26)  
 P2j) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> h<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup> ta ngih 'I went home' (CMLL:12)  
 P2k) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> h<sup>h</sup> ta DakNong 'I'm going to DakNong' (CMLL:5)  
       g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> h<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>m bri 'I'm going into the jungle' (CMLL:25)  
 (bri 'jungle')  
 P2n) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> tung leo s<sup>h</sup> ta ngih 'I'll carry it home'  
 (CMLL:27)  
 P2r) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> s<sup>h</sup> ta bah nây 'I'll take it from there' (CMLL:28)  
 (bah nây 'there')  
 P2s) g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>p</sup> nj<sup>h</sup> leo may h<sup>h</sup> s<sup>h</sup>m 'I'll lead you back for  
 treatment' (CMLL:16) (may 'you', s<sup>h</sup>m 'treat')

bah	'at'
bon	'village'
g <sup>h</sup> o <sup>p</sup>	'live, stay'
h <sup>h</sup>	'go'
h <sup>h</sup>	'??'
leo	'bring (?)'
nj <sup>h</sup>	'lead'
s <sup>h</sup>	'go home'



sők	'take, fetch'
ta	'at, in'
tâm	'into' (?)
tung	'carry'

MNONG RLĂM

- R2a) ăñ mǎng sôq 'I was underneath' (ăñ 'I', sôq 'underneath')<sup>2</sup>
- R2b) ăñ gũk to Dalat 'I live in Dalat' (MLL:5)  
ăñ gũk ta ô 'I live here, I am here' (ô 'here')
- R2c) ăñ ta buôn DungBa 'I am from DungBa village'
- R2e) ăñ cút pên ta ô 'I put the knife here' (pên 'knife')
- R2f) ăñ du 'I'm going home' (MLL:5)
- R2g) ăñ sak du 'id.'
- R2h) ăñ du ăñ 'id.'
- R2i) ăñ du hih 'I'm going home' (hih 'house')
- R2j) ăñ du ta hih 'I'm going home'
- R2k) ăñ sak ta Dalat 'I'm going to Dalat'
- R2l) ăñ wên du bah Dalat 'I'm returning from Dalat'
- R2m) ăñ dốp pên hăn bah DungBa trôh Dalat 'I took the knife from DungBa to Dalat' (hăn 'that')
- R2n) ăñ dốp pên ta Dalat 'I took the knife to Dalat' (pên 'knife')
- R2o) ăñ dốp pên bah Dalat 'I took the knife from Dalat'
- R2p) ăñ dốp pên ta hih ăñ 'I took the knife to my house'
- R2r) ăñ sők bah hih ăñ 'I fetched (it) from my house'
- R2s) ăñ dốp kăn riêm rǎ 'I led him to study/go to school' (kăn 'him', riêm rǎ 'study in school')

bah	'from'
buôn	'village'
cút	'put'
dốp	'take'
du	'return'
gũk	'live, stay'
mǎng	'at'
sak	'go'
sők	'fetch'
ta, to	'at, in'
trôh/truh	'go to, arrive'
wên	'return, do again'

STIENG

- S2a) hêy (a) au 'I am here' (hêy 'I', au 'here')
- hêy a dên 'I am below' (dên 'below')
- S2b) hêy gôq (a) au 'I live here'
- S2c) hêy poh Brah 'I am a resident of the Brah area'

- S2d) hêy gôq tu `I live in jail' (tu `jail')
- S2e) hêy teq a/knông nhi `I put it in the house'  
(nhi `house')
- S2f) hêy sêq `I returned'
- S2g) hêy han sêq `id.'
- S2h) hêy sêq hêy `id.'
- S2i) hêy sêq nhi `I returned home' (rare)
- S2j) hêy sêq a nhi `id.' (normal)
- S2k) hêy han (a) Brah `I'm going to Brah' (han `go')
- S2l) hêy sêq a Bughin `I'm returning from Bughin'
- S2m) hêy han a Bughin tôt Brah `I went from Bughin to Brah'  
(formal speech)

hêy han Bughin, ja a Bughin Brah `I went to Bughin,  
then from Bughin to Brah' (ja `then')

- S2n) hêy liêu teq a Brah `I took it to Brah'
- S2q) hêy liêu a Bughin teq a au `I took it from Bughin to  
here'

hêy pỗs teq a nhi hêy pỗs a Bughin `In taking it home  
I took it from Bughin'

- S2r) hêy pỗs a nhi `I fetched it from home'
- S2s) hêy jên bu han hok `I took him to study' (hok `study')

a	`to, at, from'
gôq	`live, stay'
han	`go'
jên	`escort'
knông	`in'
liêu	`take'
poh	`area'
pỗs	`take'
sêq	`return'
teq	`put, to'
tu/tỗ	`at'
tôt	`to'

From the 2a forms one can clearly reconstruct a Proto-South-Bahnaric simple locative clause form \*S-Prep-Loc, attested in Chrau, Koho, Bunâr, Rlăm, Stieng. A range of prepositions is available in each language, and the Location may be a direction, a noun, or a demonstrative; all this may be assigned to PSB. In Stieng the Prep is optional before a demonstrative; this seems to be a Stieng innovation, not attested in the other languages.

A "dwelling" clause (intentional locative?) is normally (2b) \*S-V-Prep-Loc, as in Chrau, Koho, Bunâr, Preh, Rlăm, Stieng, again with the Prep optional before a demonstrative in Stieng. In 2c the name of a village or clan area (bon, palây, poh) implies living and belonging, so the verb is not needed;

this pattern is attested in Chrau, Bunâr, Preh, Stieng, so can be reconstructed for PSB. The absence of a Preposition with tu 'jail' in 2d (Chrau, Stieng) is probably a pattern borrowed from Vietnamese (which is also the source of tu), though the analogy with 2c may have helped the borrowing process.

A "putting" clause (2e) may be reconstructed as \*S-V-(O)-Prep-Loc, as in Chrau, Koho, Bunâr, Rlăm, Stieng.

Simple travel clauses (2f-2l) seem to be basically \*S-V-Prep-Dest/Orig (Chrau, Koho, Bunâr, Preh, Rlăm, Stieng). In 2f, with the verb 'to return' both the Prep and the Dest 'home' are deletable (Chrau, Bunâr, Preh, Rlăm, Stieng); and in C2m 'return' cannot take a second verb, and the preposition tâu is deletable. Form 2g, with two verbs in series, is attested in Chrau and Stieng, with no contrary evidence, so can be ascribed to PSB. The S-V-S form (2h) is found in Chrau, Stieng, and Rlăm, the three best attested languages in my data, so it likely is inherited from PSB. The S-V-S form emphasizes the verb action, so it probably is derived from the V-S form of 1a, with an anticipatory doubling of the Subject pronoun (S-V → V-S → S-V-S). In 2i, with certain common nouns as Destination, such as house or market, the preposition is deleted (Chrau, Koho, Rlăm). Forms 2j-1 show prepositions before the Destination and Origin, attested in Chrau, Koho, Bunar, Preh, Rlăm, Stieng, but in Stieng the Prep before an Origin is optional.

Travel clauses with both an Origin and a Destination (2m) are attested in only Chrau and Stieng, and it is not normal speech in Stieng. (Perhaps it is assumed that usually one already knows the starting point?) In Chrau, with the normal S-V-Orig order, adding a Dest requires the verb tât, making a serial clause construction; but with the Orig fronted to S-Orig-V the Dest can take either the preposition tâu or the verb tât. Mngong Rlăm similarly requires a second verb truh/troh 'arrive'. So it seems quite possible that PSB did not permit both Origin and Destination in a simple clause, and that a two-clause construction was needed, as in Stieng or Rlăm, to state them both.

Propulsion clauses (2n-2s) in all six languages take the general form S-V-O-Prep-Orig/Dest, reconstructable for PSB. Again it seems likely that the inclusion of both Origin and Destination required a two-clause construction in PSB. When the Destination is an action rather than a location (2s in Chrau, Preh, Rlăm, Stieng) there is no preposition.

## 3. Summary of reconstructions

The reconstructed Proto-South-Bahnaric forms may be summarized, with sample glosses, as follows:

*Transitives*

- \*S-V 'I slept'
- \*S-V-O 'I hit him'
- \*S-V-already 'I have eaten already'
- \*O-that-S-V 'That knife I have taken already'
- \*S-V<sub>1</sub>-O-IO-V<sub>2</sub> 'I gave him a knife (to own)'
- \*S-V<sub>1</sub>-IO-V<sub>2</sub>-O: 'I gave him (to own) a very long knife'

*Locational*

- \*S-Prep-Loc 'I am in the house'
- \*S-V-Prep-Loc 'I live here'
- \*S-Loc 'I belong to (live in) DaDong village'
- \*S-V-(O)-Prep-Loc 'I put it in the house'
- \*S-V-Prep-Dest/Orig 'I am going to/from Dalat'
- \*S-V-Loc 'I am going home/to market'
- \*S-V 'I am going home'
- \*S-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> 'id.'
- \*S-V<sup>1</sup>-S<sup>2</sup> 'I am going (I am)'
- \*S-V-O-Prep-Dest/Orig 'I am taking it to/from Dalat'
- \*S-V<sub>1</sub>-O-Prep-Orig-V<sub>2</sub>-Dest 'I took it from Dalat went to DaDong' (I took it from Dalat to DaDong)
- \*S-V-O-Clause 'I took him to study'

If the foregoing reconstructions are correct, the Proto-South-Bahnaric language, spoken perhaps a millenium ago from Banmethuot to Saigon and from Dalat to Kratie, had clause structure quite similar to its modern daughter languages, with a basic S-V-O pattern, but with more verb serialization and clause serialization than its daughters, and with a bitransitive pattern slightly different from any of its daughters.

\*

## NOTES

1. The Chrau data is my own (see Thomas 1971). Kôho Srê data is from Evans & Bowen n.d. (KLC) and Manley 1972 (OSS). Mnong Bunâr data is from Phillips ms. (MLC). Mnong Preh data is from Phillips & Kem 1974 (CMLL). Mnong Rlăm data is from Tang 1976 (MLL) plus personal communications from Evangeline Blood 1985 (unmarked). And Stieng data is from Miller 1976 (OSG) and from Haupers & 'Bi n.d. (SPB), plus personal communications from Ralph Haupers 1985 (unmarked). I was not able to recheck any of the data with native speakers, and vowel length, especially in Rlăm, is uncertain.

The transcriptions follow the original transcriptions except that the "whiskered" o and u have been rendered o and u, and in Stieng and Chrau c has been replaced by k. In some cases I have taken the liberty of replacing nouns and place names with other nouns and place names for reader ease. The two sources for Kôho use different spelling conventions, so I have tried to convert OSS spellings to KLC spellings.

This paper was presented at the 1985 Sino-Tibetan conference in Bangkok. Kenneth Gregerson kindly commented on an earlier draft.

2. Kôho h<sup>o</sup>q in the original transcription = h<sup>o</sup>.  
 Rlăm br<sup>o</sup>q = br<sup>o</sup>, c<sup>u</sup>t = c<sup>u</sup>t, g<sup>u</sup>t = g<sup>u</sup>t, h<sup>u</sup>n = h<sup>u</sup>n, s<sup>o</sup>q = s<sup>o</sup>.  
 Bunâr ch<sup>u</sup>ng = ch<sup>u</sup>ng, n<sup>o</sup>m = n<sup>o</sup>m.  
 Preh mp<sup>l</sup>o<sup>o</sup>q = mp<sup>l</sup>o.

(These changes were made because of mechanical limitations.)

3. It is possible that PSB \*?yin 'give' was originally formed as a doublet on \*?an 'give'. The precise original form of both of these is uncertain, as neither one shows a normal set of cognate forms.

## REFERENCES

- Evans, Helen & Peggy Bowen, n.d. (c.1965), *Kôho Language Course*. Dalat: Christian & Missionary Alliance mimeo.
- Haupers, Ralph, & Diêu 'Bi. n.d. (c.1970). *Stieng Phrase Book*. Saigon: SIL.
- Manley, Timothy, 1972, *Outline of Sre Structure*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Miller, Vera G., 1976, *An Overview of Stieng Grammar*. Grand Forks: SIL.
- Phillips, Richard L., ms. (1963), *Mnong Language Course*. SIL microfiche.
- Phillips, Richard L., & y. Kem Kpor, 1974, *Central Mnong Language Lessons*. Saigon: SIL & Ministry of Education.
- Y Tang Hmok, 1976, *Mnong Lam Language Lessons*. SIL.
- Thomas, David, 1979, *Chrau Grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1983, *An Invitation to Grammar*. Bangkok: Mahidol University.
- \_\_\_\_\_, forthcoming. *Communicatives, existives, and statives in Proto-South-Bahnaric*. To appear in a festschrift for H.L. Shorto, London, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_, & Robert Headley, 1970, More on Mon-Khmer subgroupings. *Lingua* 25:398-418.
- Thomas, Dorothy, 1969, Chrau affixes. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 3 90-107. Saigon: SIL.

\*

Written 1985  
Received October 1988

14 Soi Arisamphan 8  
Bangkok 10400, Thailand