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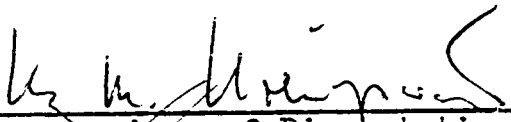A Mon-Khmer Language of Vietnam

David Dunton Thomas

A DISSERTATION

in

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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. Hùynh 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.

The Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the

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 uti-
lized 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 ba-
sic, or lower threshold, units of the phonological and
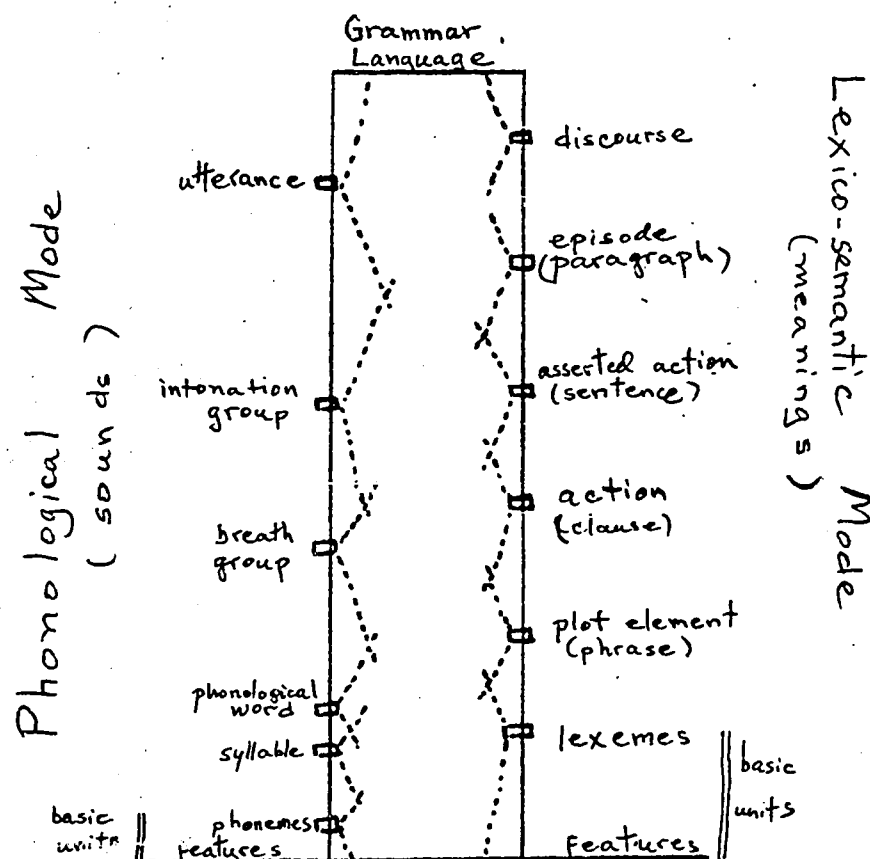
Fig. 1.   Postulated Language Structure

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

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(§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 essen-
tially 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 differ-
ent classes are left distinct, and no necessity is felt for
cross-identification between similar items in different
classes. Thus the English verb <u>show</u> need not be identi-
fied with the noun <u>show</u>, and in Vietnamese initial <u>f</u> need
not be identified with final <u>p</u>, 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 refer-
ring 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: 89.2). 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 set-
ting 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 lex-
ical 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 environ-
ment, producing semantic classes and subclasses (Conklin
1962, Frake 1961) in a folk taxonomy, or producing other
types of groupings (D.M.Thomas 1966). The subclassifica-
tion of Chrau lexemes and lexemic domains will not be dis-
cussed 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 inter-
nal slots and of their external functions.

Above the phrase is the clause (§5-6). This is iden-
tifiable 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 pe-
ripheral items). Smalley and Larson (1965) have suggested
using the psychological terms of figure and ground to de-
scribe it.

Above the clause (action) come such levels as the
sentence (asserted action, assertion) (§10.1-7), the para-
graph (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 quali-
ties 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.

ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MINORITIES of SOUTH VIETNAM

Ethnolinguistic

Group BAHNAR, etc.

Boundary — — — —

Resettlement (MƯỜNG), etc.

Place Name Banmethuot, etc.
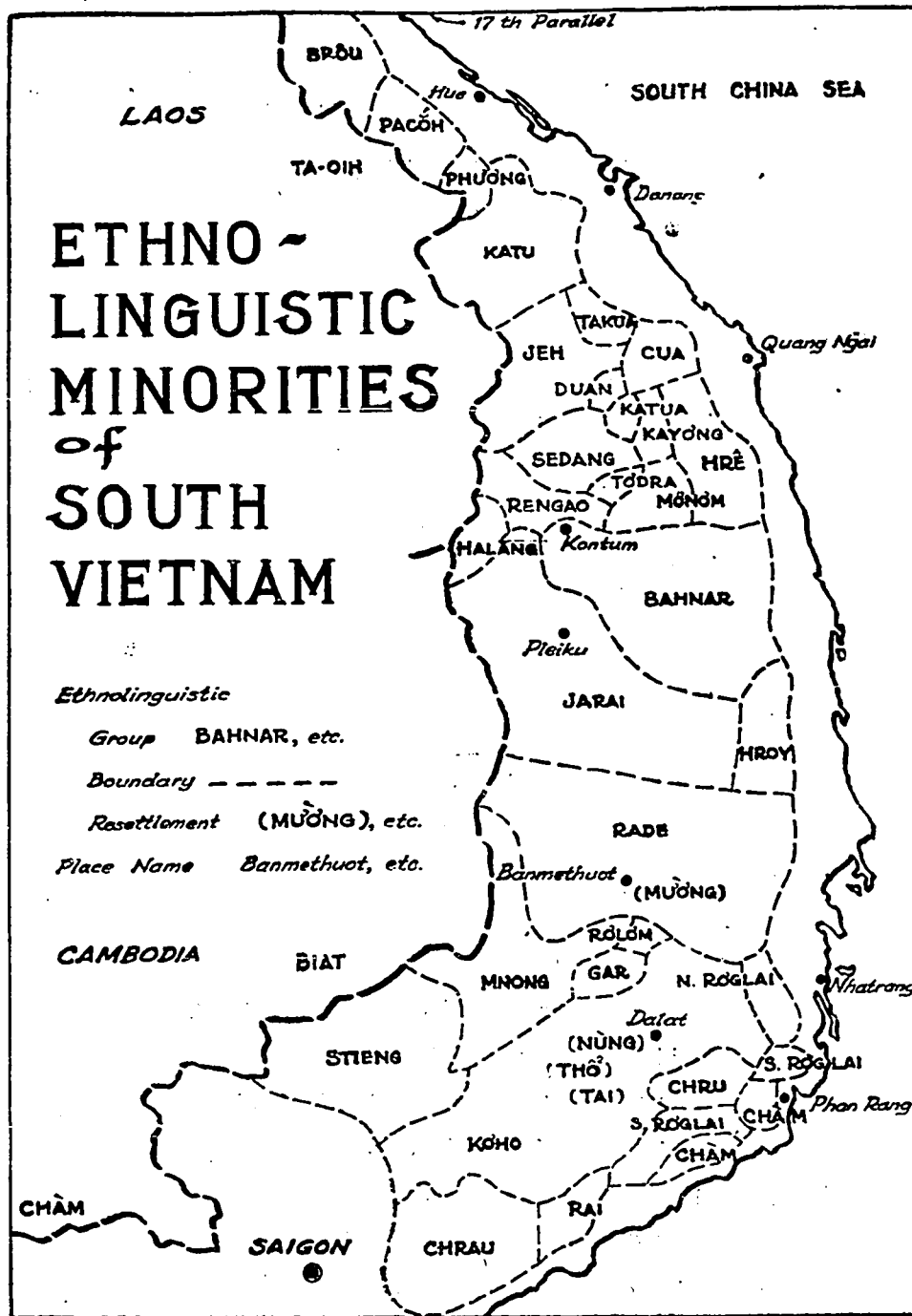
Revised by Summer Institute of Linguistics, Saigon   March 1966

Fig. 2.   Ethnolinguistic Minorities of South V.N.
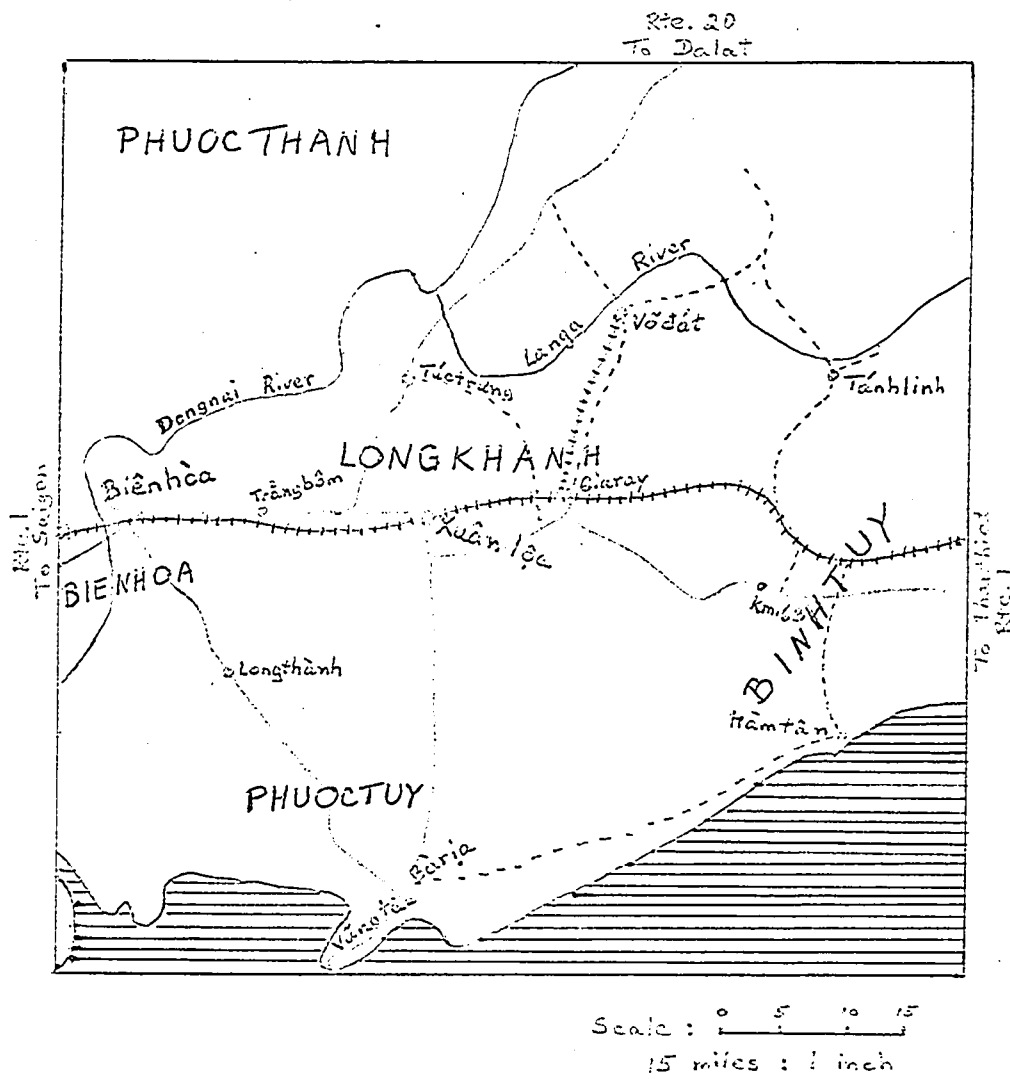
Fig. 3. Map of the Chrau Area

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 [čřǎw]) live in South Vietnam
in an area about 50 miles east of Saigon (Fig. 2). The
Kơho-speaking area is to the north of the Chrau, the Rơglai
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 Kơho 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-Hàmtân road can be reckoned as the eastern bound-
ary, though there are some Chrau east of the road and some
Rơglai west of the road. The southern Chrau boundary would
be a few miles in from the seacoast from Hàmtân to Vũngtàu
and Bàrịa, then north along a line west of Longthành and
Trảngbôm to the Đồngnai River. The northwestern corner, as

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mentioned above, is unsure, but it probably doesn't go very
far beyond the Đồngnai 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 southeastern 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 Bàrịa and Biênhòa on
the edge of the Chrau area are both considerably larger
than Xuânlộc but are not considered Chrau centers. Bàrịa,
Biênhòa, and Sàigòn all figure in one of the Chrau legends
I have obtained. The towns of Túctrừng and Võdất 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-Túctrừng-Đàlạt highway; and
Route 1, the Sàigòn-Biênhòa-Xuânlộc-Phanthiết-Huế highway;
and the Sàigòn-Huế railroad which runs through Xuânlộc and

has a spur to Võdắt. 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 Kơho, Stieng, and the Mnong dialects. It is possible that Chrau and Kơho may form a separate subgrouping within this, but it is not clear. The break between the Kơho and Chrau language areas seems fairly sharp. Comparison of basic vocabulary between Chrau, Kơho, 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 geo-
graphically 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 be-
long 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 member-
ship 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. Mnong Rôlôm 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 conso-
nants.

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 neighbor-
ing Cham and Kôho both are developing 2-tone systems (Smalley

1954), with the possibility of a third tone in Kŏho. 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 Rŏlŏm, 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 cơnh 'want', an 'give', chềq 'put' can take on preverbal or postverbal functions and meanings. (cf. J. Cooper 1966).

Also recurrent throughout this area is onomatopoetic 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 Huế to Phanthiết 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 Bàrịa; 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 Tứctrưng 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 Đànẵng. 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 (Kǒho) 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, Kǒho, 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 Govấp (near Sàigòn), 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. canung, 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 đ and j for Middle Vietnamese (and orthographic) đ and gi, even though modern Vietnamese, both Northern and Southern, has lost the distinction. The newer layer of loans does not distinguish đ, 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 Viet-
namese 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 plan-
tation 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 vo-
cabulary probably the least.

The Chrau who are in frequent contact with the Viet-
namese 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 homo-
geneous, possibly because of clan exogamy, except for the
Túctrừng area. Túctrừng speech is laughed at, and sometimes
called baby talk, by most Chrau; yet there is general mu-
tual intelligibility in most contexts. (Christian records
made in Túctrừng, however, seemed quite unintelligible in
Bỉnhtuy.) Other dialects have slight intonational or vocab-
ulary differences, but not to any serious degree. (cf.§12.

3,4 for more detailed discussion.)

Thus the speech in the Xuânlộc 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 Xuânlộc area as the standard for the written language and as the norm for our description of Chrau.

Chapter 3

PHONEMES

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 ei-
ther 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

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main types of syllables in Chrau, which we label presylla-
bles 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 conson-
ants 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 usual-
ly homorganic with the following consonant. ndăh 'not yet',
camlăh 'deny', nsyĕq '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', canđal 'middle'.

4) Voiceless stops (p,t,ch,k) come after nasals and before
/h/ and sonorants. ntu 'well', nthôr 'fragrant', trŏh
'hand over'.

5) /h/ comes after nasals and voiceless stops and before
sonorants. mhlŏh '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, ưở, 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_f 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_f 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: k̲, c̲, g̲(w)=/k/; -u̲, -o̲=/-w/; -i̲, -y̲=/-y/; -ih̲, -yh̲=/-s/; medial hyphen =/q/.]

3.4 Presyllable consonants (C_p)

The consonants that can occur in C_p are:

$$p \quad t \quad ch \quad k \quad q$$
$$v \quad d \quad j \quad g$$
$$m$$
$$(w) \quad l\tilde{\ }r \quad (y)$$
$$s \qquad (h)$$

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,đ,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 gatđr~katđr '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.') khanĕh (from khây nĕh '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 exception 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', prpdr 'blue'(?), prhdng 'supine', prhwa 'pulled'(?), prway 'forget one's sadness', krwat 'necktie', vrwăch 'pheasant', vrwanh 'striped', vrwŏq 'diligent', vryĕng 'unlucky omen', jrwâng 'a rattan'.

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

C_p / C_m	p	t	ch	k	b	đ	v	d	j	g	m	n	nh	ng	s	h	q	l	r	y	w
p	-	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	-
ch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x
k	*	x	x	*	x	*	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	*	x	x	x	-	x	x
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
đ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
v	-	x	x	x	-	x	*	x	x	x	-	x	x	*	x	x	-	x	-	x	-
d	x	-	-	x	*	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	*	-	-	*	-	x	x	-
j	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	*	-	*
g	x	x	-	-	-	-	*	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	x
m	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ng	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	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	-
l	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
y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-
w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-

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 gen-
eral rule that the same clusters occur with or without pre-
syllables (§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)	--	
--	--	--	(dw)	
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 nd,nd,nt,(nb)

```
--  --  --  --    nhh    nhj,nhch,nhs
```

ngl ngr(ngy)(ngw) --   ngg,ngk,(ngs,ngt)

```
--  --  (sy)  sw
```

hl (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 $\underline{1}$ 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 $\underline{hr}$ occurs in no triple clusters and only in the word $\underline{cahram}$ 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   u̯a   ua

  i   u

     ơ

  ê̱   ộ   ĭ (u̯) ŭ

                                   ậ

                         ĕ̱   ŏ̱

    e   o

     a   ă̱

    <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 ĕ̱ and ŏ̱) and combinations of a high vowel plus ậ. 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 restrict-
ed to only a limited number of the vowels. And further,
from the point of view expressed in 81.1, these could not
be called true phonemes, as they would constitute less than
the total segment of a short vowel; they would be phone-
matic units in the Firthian sense (Robins 1964).

Vowel phonemes in Chrau are best described individu-
ally. 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
 [ie~iə]. 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 [ɪ ~e^]

/e/ - low front [ɛ~æˀ]

/u̇a/ - high central gliding off to mid central [ɨə]. This
 is extremely scarce in native Chrau words, though not un-
 common in loans from Vietnamese.

/ȯ/ - mid-high central or slightly backed [ə˞].

/a/ - low central [a].

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

/u/ - high back [u].

/ô/ - mid back close [ʋ~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 Tụy (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.

/ĭ/ - mid-front mid-high, varying to high or central [ɪ̆~ɪ̆~
    ɨ̆]. 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 de-
    veloping (ĭ/ŭ̵/ŭ) 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 ĭ/ŭ̵, or ĭ/ŭ, or ŭ̵/ŭ, or points in be-
    tween these.

/ĕ/ - low-front [ɛ̆~æ̆]. Before palatal finals /ĕ/ appears
    to neutralize with /ă/, 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.

/ə̆/ - mid-central open [ɤ̆~ɤ̆˞] with a tendency toward back-

ing and lowering. The contrast between /â/ and /ŏ/ 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.

/ă/ - low central [ă].

/ŭ/ - mid-high back, varying to high or central [ʊ̆~ŭ~ɨ].

It is most distinctly high before a glottal.

/ŏ/ - low back close, with a tendency toward mid central [ɔ̆~ə̆].

Before /l,r/ there is neutralization reducing the 6 short vowels to 3: /ĭ~ŭ, â~ŏ, ĕ~ă/. Before zero no short vowels occur. Before /p,m,t,n/ the ĭ/ŭ 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 /ă,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_f)

The consonants that can occur in C_f 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 conson-
ants, 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.

-q is very common in Chrau, most of the words with
South Bahnaric *k having merged in Chrau with those in *q
(H.Blood 1966). Kơho and Rơglai 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, result-
ing in a light palatal fricative.

3.9 Contrastive features

In the consonant systems there is a systematic con-
trast between points of articulation: bilabial, dental, pal-
atal, velar, glottal. This full contrast exists in C_p, C_m,
and C_f positions, though the nasal set of them is incom-
plete 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,q, 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 Kơho (Sre), except that Kơho has a combined tone-length feature and has one more low back vowel (Smalley 1954).

Mnong Rơlơm (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 Rơglai.

Vietnamese lacks ĭ,ĕ,ŭ,ŏ, but adds a contrast between ơ and ư (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.)

Halăng and Jeh both have a consistent and thorough-going 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 Halăng and Jeh it is between breathy and clear vowels.

Katu, Pacŏh, 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 simi-lar to Chrau. It has additional vowel glides ie,ǔe,ue,au͗, and additional consonant clusters w',hm,hn,hñ,hŋ,'m,'n (Smalley 1961:1-10).

Chapter 4

INTONATION

Above the phonological word (stress group), it is con-
venient to recognize an intonation group (phonological sen-
tence) 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 in-
tonational system, even though it is often related to spe-
cific words or word classes.

A still larger unit is the utterance, which has been
observed frequently to end in a nonphonemic h after a fin-
al 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

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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 fi-
nal consonant take the sentence-final rise; all other syl-
lable types take the sentence-final rise-fall.

Mai hôm gŭq u nŏq.　　　'You still live there.'

Chĕq ănh vĭq u heq.　　　'Let me sleep here.'

This basic intonation pattern is found generally only
on short sentences containing no inherently raised or low-
ered 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 Eng-
lish (Pike 1945, Wells 1945)). Chrau intonation is more
readily described in terms of the above basic pattern, dis-
torted by emic peaks (with gradual codas), emic drops (us-
ually sharp), and an emic final rise. Generally there is
only one peak in a sentence, other potential peaks being i-
roned 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 lŭh 'go out' (mid pitch) and lŭh '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 lŭh 'why?', vi 'where?', gŏq, vagŏq 'how much?', mŏq 'how?', 'why?', camvú 'who?', tŏm 'why?', pách n'hya 'what?'. A similar phenomenon has been noted for Central Mnong (Phillips 1963).

Vi mai saq̆   'Where are you going?'

The negatives êq 'not', sŭn 'not', ŭn (n-) 'not', jŏ '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 êq vlam si-ur mai   'I haven't met your wife.'

Anh súm sây něh.   'I haven't seen him.'

Anh n'gứt.   'I don't know.'

Vắng hǔch alǎc vanhứl.   'Don't get drunk.'

The intensifiers quá 'very', lǔng 'very', trôq 'sky'
generally have high pitch. In a conventional redundant pair
or quadruplet (as in lǔng nggởi, qua trôq), the first inten-
sifier carries the intonation peak.

Jĭ quá.   'Very painful.'

Jŏq lǔng nggởi.   'A very long time indeed.'

Hǔch alǎc quá trôq qua ntěh. '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 nděh va.   'Eight carts of rice.'

Saq éq gěh du lâm gŏng.   'Went not getting a single
                          bit of meat.'   du '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).

Simbǒng u nhi nǎq.   'The soap is in the kitchen.'

Anh gěh sǐq tu nhì.   'I have gone home.'

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

precedence as the peak.

Něh gaih đé cô cop͝ 'She became indeed a turtle.'

Đé něh ôp duq͝ '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'hŭch alăc vanhŭ͝l 'I don't drink wine drunken.'

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

Anh gâm daq di khlŭh.   'I boil water until bubbling.'

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

Anh gâm něh.   'I and he.'

Anh và něh.   '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.

Něh nhŭp cô tiêng͝   'He grabbed the tail.'

Gưt vu cô tăq.   '(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 jŏq lŭng nggŏi: 'Too long very indeed.'

The demonstratives tĭq 'that, there', nŏq 'that, there', tŏq '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 nŏq 'that'.

Saq nggŏ tĭq.   'Go to the forest there.'

Tamun nŏq nĕh saq: 'That man he went.'

Tamun nŏq tamun heq nhâng saq: 'That man this man both went'

Final particles (§6.8) such as en 'already', dơn 'already', âm 'indeed', vồ 'polite imperative', vồ 'indeed', lồ 'so', hâng 'question particle', dăng 'question particle', dề '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 vanhửl quá en dơn.   'I'm very drunk already already.'

Saq vồ.   'Let's go.'

Saq âm.   'Yes, let's go.'

Mai saq dăng?   '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:

P̆ach un de.\   'It's your thing.' (normal)

P̆ach un de.\   'It's your 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 nŏq, mai?/   'Where are you going, you?'

Saq gon, Prăm./   'Go hunting, Prăm.'

Saq gon tu nggô tĭq, mai/mai\   '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 võn 'we', and ănh 'I', but also occurs with nĕh 'he', and with ai 'you f.' and mai 'you m.' in declarative sentences.

Saq nggô võn.   'Let's go hunting.'

Nôq ănh.   '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 nĕh '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 par-
ticle 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 gứt ôp be?   'Do you know how to lumber?'

Mai gứt 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 gứt ôp be⎣hâng?   'Do you know how to lumber?'

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

Mai sĭq, ḍ⟍   ḍ⟍   'You go home, hear!' 'O.K.'

Chapter 5

CLAUSE STRUCTURES (NUCLEI)

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,

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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 ma-
jority represent Subject - Predicate (N-V) (41/112). Any
noun can occur in the Subject position and any verb in the
Predicate position (cf. 811.). Some clauses of this form
are maximal intransitive clauses and others are elliptical
types of longer clauses.

Anh saq.	I went.
Tamô tarŏh.	A stone fell.
Nĕh pâm.	He hit.

Less common is the order V-N, representing Predicate-
Object (3/112) or Predicate-Subject (2/112). Predicate-Ob-
ject clauses are always elliptical types of transitive or
bitransitive clauses (811.3; 11.7). Predicate-Subject
clauses are usually maximal clauses containing the verbs
such as lŭh 'appear', hôm 'remaining', and a non-pronoun
Subject (§11.3).

Pâm nĕh.	Hit him.
An nĕh.	Give to him.
Lŭh sigâr.	Appeared a drum.
Hôm ayh nĕh.	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 sub-
ject 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 iŭn 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-iŭn/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 iŭn. | I make a field for him. |
| Anh an pih něh iŭn. | I gave a knife to him. |

Anh an păch sa něh iừn.   I gave food to him.

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

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

Anh păh něh iừn păch 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-iừn (§6.5).

Păch sa ănh an něh iừn.   Food I gave him.

A Referent is normally not deletable in the presence of iừn. 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', wĩnh 'request', săng '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 něh sa.	I let him eat.
Anh săng něh saq ôp.	I told him to get to work.
Anh phŭng něh pâm ănh.	I'm afraid he will hit me.
Anh cơnh saq.	I want to go.
Něh thêng saq.	He dared go.
Anh iao păr mai sĭq.	I invite fly you return home. (I'll fly you home.)
Anh chăng něh nhai.	I hear him speak.
Anh chěq něh lăp.	I caused it to enter.

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

The contained clause can be simple or complex, and may even contain another container clause, as in <u>Anh wĭnh něh</u> <u>an mai saq</u> 'I asked him to allow you to go.'

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

Khăn mai nŏq vu khưn en đơn, ănh gưt.

Your handkerchief someone has stolen already, I know.

5.6 Reciprocal clauses

A reciprocal clause (0/112) is one that contains the reciprocal clitic <u>tam</u>. It generally has a multiple subject. The most common form of reciprocal clause is $Subject_{pl}$-<u>tam</u>-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 něh tam-cǒnh.	The two of them loved each other.
Vơn tam-yup.	We help each other.
Vơn tam-ôp.	We will work together.

Separate specification of the principals will usually take the forms Subject-tam-Predicate-bay-Subject$_2$ or Subject$_1$-gâm-Subject$_2$-tam-Predicate.

Yau tam-đoan bay sipai.	The tiger competed with the rabbit.
Něh tam-dah bay ănh.	He came hunting with me.
Yau gâm sipai tam-đoan.	The tiger and the rabbit competed.
Anh gâm mai tam-gâl.	I and you will trade.

Some types with complex predicates include:

Subject$_1$-(Pred-)-tam-(-Pred)-bay-Subject$_2$

Něh nhai tam-đoan bay něh.	He spoke competing with him.
Anh cal tam-phu.	I'll chop to help (you).

Subject$_1$-(tam-Verb-Object)-bay-Subject$_2$

Něh tam-dip măt bay siklô.	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', lǔp '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 něh panh...	The tiger spoke, he said...
Něh lǔp něh panh...	He asked he said...
Patau pǒq mǐnh nhai něh 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 (86.8). Nhai is the only intransitive quotative verb in my data.

Anh nhai bay něh ǎnh panh...	I spoke with him saying...
Anh lǔp něh ǎnh panh...	I asked him saying...
Anh digat něh ǎnh panh...	I deceived him saying...

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

Něh nhai caheq něh 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 lǔp něh panh...	I asked him saying...
Něh 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 nŏq là păch sâq.	That thing is a dirty thing.

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

Păch măq tức là rawâyh.	Păch măq (elephant) is the same as rawâyh (elephant).

Another type of equative clause has a clause in the second half: Noun-là-Clause.

Nŏq là chaq sa.	That is a demon eating (him).
Nhi vĭq năq là palây ănh kiêng cư lŭng.	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 năr 'day', mau 'night', and nđôi 'half-day' may occur. In the Clause slot any clause may occur.

Môi năr môi lêng.	Each day each play. (Each day they played.)
Môi năr môi nĕh cuôl.	Each day she called.

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

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

Anh du năr du camvĭnh.	Every day I'm getting more el- derly. (I one day one old.)
Nĕh du năr du cambet.	With each day her absence be- came more evident. (She one day one missing.)
Anh du năr du cơnh lăp chhŭng.	Each day I'm getting near- er the grave. (I one day one want enter hole.)
Nĕh du năr du tât.	With each day his visits be- came more frequent. (He one day one come.)

5.10 Comparison with neighboring languages

In Mnong Rơlơm (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, sta-
tive, 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 iun. There is

an equational (= equative), fused (= container), and quota-
tion introduction (= quotative) clause.

Thŏ (Day 1966:41) distinguishes only two main clause
types - an equative clause (similar to Chrau) and a pred-
icative clause (equivalent to Chrau intransitive, transi-
tive, 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 con-
tain 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

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:

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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 wŏq (1) and wŏq 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 chŭp 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 tớq 'the other day'

năr nđau 'yesterday'

măng dŏh 'last night'

mva heq 'this year'

davôq 'first'

ta-au năr klaq '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 chứt '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 nĕh saq.	In the morning before daybreak he went.
A chŭp mvrêq vi mai gŭq?	Until now where have you been living?

<u>Silang ta-au</u> nĕh saq.   The next morning he went.

6.2 Initial adverbials

There is a series of highly specialized adverbial par-
ticles 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.

<u>phŭt</u> (with <u>lŭh</u>) 'suddenly appear' (6)

<u>phŭr</u> (with <u>hao</u>, <u>nchhât</u>) 'suddenly up' (4)

<u>phâng</u> (with <u>căh</u>) 'suddenly awake' (6)

<u>pruh</u> (with <u>tao</u>) 'attempting to rise' (3)

<u>prŭt</u> (with <u>lŭh</u>) 'unexpectedly emerge' (3)

<u>phing-ling</u> (with <u>ŭnh sa</u>, <u>vông</u>) 'loud crackling, cracking,
                                         crashing' (3)

<u>phung-lung</u> (with <u>tarŏh</u>, <u>thŭc</u>) 'falling kerplunk' (4)

<u>pheng-leng</u> 'suddenly loud noise'

<u>gŭr-nggŭr</u> (with <u>huch</u>, <u>sa</u>) 'devouringly' (2)

<u>chruh</u> 'noisily into'

<u>chruh-ruh</u> (with <u>nchhât</u>, <u>jŭr</u>) 'suddenly down' (1)

<u>kruih</u> 'slidingly out' (with <u>tăq</u>)

<u>glŭt</u> (with <u>doq</u>) 'continuously around, in'

<u>vadŭh</u> (with <u>vŭn</u>) 'unexpectedly pregnant' (1)

 <u>Phŭt</u> nĕh lŭh.   Suddenly he appeared.

 <u>Phŭr</u> nĕh hao.   Suddenly he rose.

 <u>Phung-lung</u> nĕh tarŏh.   He fell kerplunk.

 <u>Gŭr-nggŭr</u> ŭnh 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: chĕq aheq (1), aheq pǎch (1), aheq nǎm (2), aheq mǒq (1), aheq chĕq (2). Other particles that often accompany it are nhâng (33) and ncai (12).

Aheq nĕh saq.	Then he went.
Nĕh aheq saq sǐq tu nhi.	Then he returned home.
Nhâng aheq nĕh saq.	Indeed then he went.
Ncai aheq nĕh saq.	Then then he went.

Bơ (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.

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

Chĕq (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 chĕq 'cause', and more distantly to the
transitive verb chĕq 'put' and the postverbal chĕq 'being
put away'.

Chĕq ănh sa.	So then I ate. (I was hungry)
Chĕq ănh tê con.	And I look after my children. (I stay at home)
Chĕq nĕh saq krửn.	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 nĕh nhim.	Truly she wept.
Mai đăng gal con Dirở pa.	You aren't truly Dirở's child.
Đăng gal tởq.	Indeed not.

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

Lửh mai ôp canŏq?	Why are you doing that?
Lửh nĕh saq?	Why did he go?
Lửh nĕh saq.	So as a result of that he went.

Mõq 'what?, how?' (173) occurs most often in the form
Mõq 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), lầu (30), and đi 'to' (32). Lầu (§6.8) and đi

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

Mŏq ănh nhai?	What shall I say?
Mŏq ănh ôp?	What can I do?
Vrêq mŏq ôp?	Now what?
Mŏq ôp lầu.	Now what? It can't be helped.
Mŏq ănh di gứt?	How would I know?
Mŏq ănh saq di nôi?	How could I go? (I couldn't)
Mŏq con lŭp di gĕh con patau de?	How could you ask for the princess? (don't be ridiculous!)

<u>Mơn</u> '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.

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

<u>Năm</u> 'what, how?' (23) is quite similar to <u>mŏq</u>. Like <u>mŏq</u>, <u>năm</u> usually occurs with <u>ôp</u> 'do' (18) or di (1), but it is not so strongly tied to <u>vrêq</u> 'now' as <u>mŏq</u>.

Năm nĕh ôp?	What could he do?
Vrêq năm ôp?	Now what?
Năm nĕh chit di chăch?	How could he cut it effectively? (he couldn't)

Păch 'what?, how indeed?' (131) is also similar to
mŏq and năm. It frequently cooccurs with di (43) and ôp
(41). Derived from it is the modal particle păch cơnh (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 nĕh saq di nôi?	How could he go? (he couldn't)
Păch daq?	What water? (I don't see any)
Păch ănh ôp vrêq?	What do I do now?
Păch cơnh mai saq?	Don't go.
Păch cơnh 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 canŏq?	What is that?

Tơm or atơm 'why' (13) is a question indicator.

Tơm mai saq?	Why are you going?
Anh tơm êq dip ca?	Why don't I catch fish?
Tơm nĕh canŏq?	Why is he like that?

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

Vâng căp nĕh vây.	Don't bite him!
Vâng mai saq.	Don't go!
Vâng an ănh ji.	Don't make me sick.

Nhâng (=yăng in Bìnhtuy dialect) 'also, then, similarly,

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

Nhâng něh saq.	So he went.
Nhâng aheq něh saq.	So then he went.
Anh nhâng chiu.	I bear it too.

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

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

<u>Vacơnh</u> 'don't, not want' (2) is fairly similar in
meaning to <u>pǎch</u> <u>cơnh</u> and is possibly a contraction of it.
It is related semantically to <u>cơnh</u> 'want'.

Vacơnh tanh mǎq.	Don't make it big. (you wouldn't want it like that)

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

preposition <u>dâng</u> 'as far as'.

Vadâng mai sa?	How much did you eat?
Vadâng nĕh saq?	How could he go? (he was just a child)

<u>Vagŏq</u> 'how much?' (O) is a question indicator, related semantically to <u>gŏq</u> 'much'.

Vagŏq lit mai vro?	How many liters did you buy?

<u>Vaju</u> 'of course, why not, naturally' (O) is similar to <u>mơn</u>.

Vaju nĕh 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 <u>nĕh</u> 'he' (6/112). Non-topic subjects (§10.11) generally appear as emphasized subjects.

<u>Chhơ</u> ănh chĕq u nŏq.	The wood I put there.
<u>Khăn mai nŏq</u> vu khưn en dơn.	Your cloth someone stole already.
Vi <u>cô ănh</u> mai chĕq chô nào?	Where my grandfather you put him what place?
<u>Con la-ơi</u> nŏq nĕh saq.	The orphan boy he went.
<u>Khlang</u> nĕh păr.	The eagle it flew.

This presubject slot may also be used for stating con-trast with another item, introducing it by <u>đôi</u> '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 jờ 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 nêh cô ngeo,...   As for him who is poor,... (what can he do?)

Còn đôi vờn ôp thi cà và vờn ôp canŏq vŏq,...

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 vŏq 'indeed' (27) also cooccurs. Ayh can accompany a noun in any regular noun slot.

Nêh sa ayh piêng.   He ate only rice.

Nêh sa ayh piêng ngăn.   id.

Nêh sa ayh piêng ngăn vŏq. id.

Saq ayh ănh ngăn.   Only I went.

Ayh ănh saq ngăn.   id.

Nĕh ayh saq ngăn.   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 fre-
quently 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 nŏq   also as in the old days

Chăng cà mĭnh con ănh.   It sounds like the voice of
                          my child.

khoi cà Nhuôn   just like the Vietnamese

Gĕh jên nhâng cà sưn gĕh. Have money truly as though
                          not having.

măq cà măq   big as big (i.e., very big)

cà Nhuôn nĕh panh   as the Vietnamese say

cà mà Nhuôn nĕh panh   id.

cà và Nhuôn nĕh panh   id.

Hôm ayh du mvu, cà mpanh, con pưt.

    Only one person is left, as they say, the young-
    est child.

Ví ănh cà vu mpanh ănh ndân sa uy!

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

Nŏq đang-wang, cà vu mpanh, pham năng pham năr.

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

Cồ (584) is the most common, yet one of the most elu-
sive 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
cồ 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 nŏq
'that' (128) or the particle iĕt 'indeed' (51), or occasion-
ally by heq 'this' or tŏq 'that'. Cồ may possibly also be
exercising a secondary focus function; e.g. if the main
clause focus is on a verb, the cồ may put a noun in second-
ary focus.

Nĕh vlam cồ ănh.	He met me.
Nĕh vlam cồ sipai.	He met the rabbit.
Cồ sipai nŏq nĕh saq.	The rabbit (he) went.
Cồ sipai iĕt tŏq nĕh saq.	That rabbit (he) went.
Nĕh cồ tungdaq nŏq nĕh saq.	He who was the priest (he) went.
Nĕh nhŭp cồ tiêng nĕh nŏq.	He grabbed its tail.

With verbs cồ 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 cồ usually indicates a future, indefinite, or

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

Camvu cǒ tê mê ănh?	Who will look after my mother?
Êq gưt vu cǒ tê.	I don't know who is looking after her.
Nhâng mê cǒ tê ănh.	Indeed mother has been look- ing after me.
Con sinau đǒ, vu lâу cǒ tê?	Children and grandchildren, who looks after them?
Něh cǒ tê ănh, něh nǒq saq en.	He who looks after me, he has gone now.
Cǒ chưt nhâng nhơ mê, cǒ rih nhâng nhơ mê.	

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

With adverbs cǒ may have some emphatic function.

Něh saq cǒ nhâng.	He went indeed.
Anh saq cǒ sưn gěh.	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 diêt 'continually' (11)
or hoài 'continually' (2). It can also occur (without diêt)
in the construction cơ-Num-N-Num-N (3).

Vrêq cơ ănh saq diêt.	Now I went continually.
Cơ něh tê con něh.	He looked after his child continually.
Cơ saq sǐq.	Finally he returned home.
Vu cơ saq hoài.	People went continually.

Cơ du mvu du rot nhi.	Each person one house.
Cơ môi nđôi môi jăng 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 dôq nôq thỉ mai sai.	Go ahead and marry the monkey. (you have been wanting to do it)
Cơ yiêc vơn lo.	We go ahead and do our part.

Di (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 di (§7.2) should be considered the same morpheme.

Pănh di dip.	Shoot to hit.
Hŭch alăc di gŏq.	Drink wine much.
Mai sĭq di mau.	You come home late.
Anh di sai si-ur ănh.	I married my wife.
Anh gŭq di dêq di cô.	I live with uncles and grandfathers.
Mŏq ănh ôp di gĕh jên?	What can I do to have money?
Pắch vơn di sây nĕh!	How could we see them?
Chôl pih di sôt.	Sharpen the knife sharp.

Huch di vanhuĭl.	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 đé cồ sipai.	I met (surprise!) the rabbit.
Něh děh đé la-u,	She gave birth to a coconut!
Anh saq đé maq gyao.	I went to the left.
Canji đé hao en.	Weeds had come up already.
Đé gǒng ca saq.	Animals will go.
Đé la-u ǎnh an.	It was a coconut I gave him.
Něh panh đé la-u.	He said it was a coconut.

Iĕt '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 tdq (10), vồ (3), lâu (2), and pa (1).

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

Nĕh raq dôq iĕt têq.	He cursed the monkeys.
Nĕh nhŭp cồ dôq iĕt tđq.	He got the monkey.
Nĕh n'hăp iĕt vồ.	He was rich indeed.

Mđ '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).

Nĕh păh dru mđ chwoc-rawoc.	He smashed the trap very splintered.
Nĕh vlam sipai mđ yăh măq.	He met a rabbit very (good) big.
Mđ sipai nŏq.	Indeed that rabbit! (that dratted rabbit)
Mđ gŏng ănh.	Oh my flesh! (it hurts)
Mđ daq hor camhlăng.	Indeed water flowed strongly.
Mđ nĕh 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 list-ing 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 <u>nôi</u> 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). <u>Nôi</u>, especially in its first and third uses, is often accompanied by <u>lěq</u> 'completely' (16).

1) Něh gănh nôi chĭnh gong đồ. He carried even the big and small gongs.

  Něh mơi nôi văl ganơ lôch lěq. He invited people people completely.

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

2) Nôi něh rĭnh.   So it growled. (getting angrier)

  Nôi khây dôq chưt lẹq.   Until all the monkeys were dead.

  Něh khoach ănh nôi lěq 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 nôq...   As for the whole group... (there was no one who got as many fish as I did)

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

  <u>Têq</u> (33) reinforces <u>iět</u> '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 nĕh iĕt têq.	Lost were they indeed.
Dôq căp cồ Canjâng iĕt têq.	Monkeys bit Canjâng indeed.
Cồ dôq iĕt têq kiêt nĕh vồ.	The monkeys indeed were itchy they were.
Tamun iĕt têq saq yeng.	A man indeed went hunting.

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

Thiêt nĕh saq.	Truly he went.
Thiêt là nĕh saq.	Truly he went.
Nĕh saq thiêt.	He went truly.
Nĕh măq thiêt măq.	He was big truly big.
Nŏq là qua thiêt vap nĕh.	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'

chhong 'finished' (24)

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

diêt 'continually, extendedly' (115)

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

lĕq, lĕq lam, lĕq trơn, lĕq săch 'completely' (240)

lôch 'all' (48)

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

mơh '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 vây 'haphazardly, carelessly, here and there' (6)

Anh ji âr.	I'm sick a lot.
Mai ôp bây canŏq.	You are doing improperly like that.
Huch bây du vŭm alăc.	Drink carelessly a mouthful of wine.
Nĕh ôp bây ba.	He is working haphazardly.

Něh nhai <u>tambây</u>.	He is speaking improperly.
Něh sǐq <u>chhuôi</u> tu nhi.	He returned all the way home.
Něh ôp <u>diêt</u> canŏq.	He worked continually like that.
Něh sǐq <u>hân</u>.	He returned indeed.
Anh ji <u>măq</u>.	I'm very sick.
Něh sa gŏng <u>lěq trơn</u>.	He ate the meat completely.
Něh sa <u>lěq trơn</u> gŏng.	id.
Něh sa <u>lěq săch</u>.	He ate it completely.
Něh sa <u>lôch lěq</u>.	He ate everything.
Něh ôp <u>ndêt ndot</u>.	He works a little.
Vu huch <u>ndêt</u>.	People drink a little.
Něh gŭq <u>ngăn-ngăn</u>.	He lived alone.
Něh sǐq <u>nhâng</u>.	He returned indeed.
Něh saq cồ <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 vây</u> vồq.	I made traps here and there.
Anh ôp <u>văq</u> ôp <u>vây</u> vồq.	I worked at this and that.

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

Něh chěq du đung.	He placed them in a heap.
Něh vǐq du đung.	It was lying in a heap.
Něh chât du duq.	He stacked up a boatful.
Něh khoech du ndêt lapông.	He bored a little in the door.
Něh pân du phong daq.	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, ủn, sủn, ịd, tdq), or by an initial modal pǎch or mǒq 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:

geh '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 nhủp gěh něh.	I can get him.
Anh nhủp něh gěh.	id.
Anh nhủp něh êq gěh.	I can't get him.
Pǎch ǎnh nhủp něh di gěh?	id. (emphatic)
Mǒq ǎnh nhủp něh di gěh.	id. (emphatic)
Něh saq êq nôi.	He is physically unable to go.
Něh saq nôi.	He is able to go.
Pǎch něh saq di nôi?	How could he go indeed!
Něh saq êq truh.	He can't go. (because someone is holding him)
Něh pdq êq truh tamô nǒq.	He can't lift that stone. (not strong enough)
Něh pdq tamô nǒq êq truh.	id.

Păch něh 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 (85.5) 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 něh hao.   I told him to rise. (cont.)

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

<u>hao</u> 'upwards' (9)

<u>jŭr</u> 'downwards' (9)

<u>lăp</u> 'in' (4)

<u>lŭh</u> 'out, appearing' (50?)

<u>sĭq</u> 'returning' (40?) <u>sĭq vlâq</u>

Anh trŏh něh jŭr。   I threw it down.

Anh văt něh lăp.   I brought it in.

Anh pơq něh lŭh.   I drew it out.

Anh văt něh sĭq.   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>u</u> 'at' (411), <u>a</u> 'from, at', <u>tu</u> 'to' (332), <u>sŭng</u>

'inside' (131), <u>tư</u> 'from' (22), <u>tât</u> (c.100), <u>bay</u> 'with' (c.450). This preposition <u>tât</u> is closely related semantically to the verb <u>tât</u> 'arrive'.

Anh saq tu tĭq.	I'm going there.
Anh chěq něh u nhi.	I put it in the house.
Něh hao tu vlờ en.	She had risen above already.
Něh gŭq sŭng nhi.	He sat in the house.
Něh gŭq u sŭng nhi.	id.
Něh saq chhuôi tu tĭq.	He went way over there.
Něh saq bay ănh.	He went with me.
Něh saq tât 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 <u>àm</u>, <u>dờn</u>, <u>hà</u>, <u>hằng</u>, <u>lầu</u>, <u>ờn</u>, <u>uy</u>, <u>vầy</u>, <u>vồ</u>, <u>vu de</u> 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 **ằm** (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 **ằm vồ** (7).

Dip đờ ằm.	Yes, fishing is pretty good.
Jong ằm.	Yes, it's long.
Mai lôt ằm.	Now you run.
Coq mai pănh chứt ằm.	Pheasants you should shoot dead.
Anh gửq ằm.	I'm staying here.
Piêng mai sa ằm vồ.	Rice you should eat.
Vờn saq něh ằm vồ.	We should go.

The final particle **canŏq** 'like that, so, thus' (234) is compounded from the words **cà** 'like' and **nŏq** 'that', but as a conventionalized compound it is losing its demonstrative force. It combines as **canŏq wŏq** (2), **canŏq vồ** (4), **canŏq vầy** (2), **canŏq nŏq** (5), **canŏq lầu** (3).

Anh ôp canŏq.	I work like that.
Anh sây canŏq.	I saw that it was like that.
Něh du canŏq wŏq.	He ran away like that again.
Vờn ôp canŏq vồq.	We work like that.
Vâng mai saq canŏq vầy.	Don't go like that.
Vờn ôp canŏq nŏq.	We work like that.

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

'negative'. It combines only as w̌ŏq chở (1).

Ěq gěh pǎch lây chở.   There wasn't anything at all.

Něh đăng gěh piêng pǎch nào chở. He didn't have any rice at all.

Něh hôm gŏq w̌ŏq chở.   It will still be firm indeed.

The final particle đờn '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 lěq 'all', lŭng 'very', or qua 'very'.

Něh sǐq èn đờn.   He has returned already.

Něh sǐq lěq èn đờn.   They have all returned already.

Něh lěq chửt èn đờn.   He is completely dead already.

Anh vanhửl qua èn đờn.   I'm very drunk already.

The final particle đăng 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 hâng, 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 tđq, but not as vehemently negative as uy. Đăng as a question particle occurs in no combinations with other final particles; as a negative it combines only in w̌ŏq đăng (3). / or it can be used in indirect questions as 'if...or not', not requiring a direct answer.

Mai sǐq đăng?   Are you returning?

Ai cởnh ănh đăng?	Do you love me?
Mai sên něh gěh đăng.	You see if he has it.
Anh đăng gěh đăng.	I don't have it.
Něh êq sa đăng.	He didn't eat.
Anh êq sĭq wŏq đăng.	I'll never return again.

The most common final particle is <u>en</u> 'already, now, finished' (280). The final particle combinations with <u>en</u> preceding are <u>en heq</u> (3), <u>en hôm-cồ-hôm</u> (5), <u>en nŏq</u> (10), <u>en tĭq</u> (3), <u>en vŏq</u> (6), <u>en đờn</u> (30). And with <u>en</u> following: <u>vŏq en</u> (11), <u>nŏq en</u> (1). Combinations with the <u>en</u> following have special emphasis (both phonological and semantic) on the <u>en</u>.

Něh sĭq en.	He has returned already.
Něh jăng piêng en.	He has cooked the rice already.
Něh chửt en.	He's dead now.
Chěq něh nhim vŏq en.	So he cried indeed then.

Not infrequently after <u>en</u>, part of the clause nucleus will be repeated for emphasis (86.9).

Ca hao en ca hao.	Fish came up in multitudes. (Fish rose then fish rose)

The final particle <u>hà</u> (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 <u>hằng</u> and the postverbal particle <u>hân</u>, though in rapid speech the pronunciation differences are slight.

<u>Hà</u> 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 lűh '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?
Lűh mai gǔq 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 ďǎng. 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 (86.6).

Mǎq 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 h̲ô̲m̲-c̲ồ̲-̲h̲ô̲m̲ and c̲ồ̲ ̲h̲ô̲m̲ ̲l̲à̲ ̲h̲ô̲m̲, it has been
observed in combination only with e̲n̲, and that very rarely
(not in my text).

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

The idiom h̲ô̲m̲ ̲c̲ồ̲ ̲h̲ô̲m̲ 'then nothing left' [literally:
'yet the yet'] (7) requires a preceding e̲n̲, and there is
generally a l̲ĕ̲q̲ 'all' in the clause preceding it. Similar
in meaning and structure is c̲ồ̲ ̲h̲ô̲m̲ ̲l̲à̲ ̲h̲ô̲m̲ 'nothing left'.

Vu lĕq sa nĕh en hôm cồ hôm.	People completely eaten it already nothing left.
Nĕh lĕq chứt en hôm cồ hôm.	He is completely dead already beyond recall.
Chứt nĕh, cồ hôm là hôm.	Dead is he, beyond recall.

The final particle l̲à̲ or l̲ầ̲u̲ (85) can be translated
approximately as 'so, in the light of that, indeed, now,
thus'. Apart from the common phrase m̲ồ̲q̲ ̲ô̲p̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲? 'now what?,
what can be done about it?' (30), l̲ầ̲u̲ occurs otherwise only
rarely in legends but frequently in colloquial talk. The
phrase p̲ă̲c̲h̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲ 'indeed, of course' (11) is characteristic
of the Bìnhtuy dialect, and apparently absent from the Xuân-
lộc dialect. l̲ầ̲u̲ is often found in conjunction with the
preverb k̲h̲o̲i̲ 'also' (12) or with a negative (5). It has
been found in the combinations d̲n̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲ (1), t̲ồ̲q̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲ (1), â̲r̲
l̲ầ̲u̲ (1), w̲ồ̲q̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲ (3), n̲ồ̲q̲ ̲l̲ầ̲u̲ (1).

Mŏq vơn ôp lầu?	What can we do?
Lửh mai saq lầu?	Why did you go?
Něh yăh păch lầu.	It was pretty good.
Anh saq lor păch lầu.	I'll go first of course.
Anh khoi gửt lầu.	I also know indeed.
Anh khoi gĕh lầu.	Me too.
Anh saq sửn gĕh lầu.	I can't go indeed.
Tơm êq dip ơn lầu?	Why didn't I catch anything?
Sấy ănh ôp tơq lầu.	I didn't do like that indeed.
Hôm thỉ nhim âr lầu.	If living then weeping indeed.
Anh roc něh wŏq lầu.	I called him also indeed.
Hôm nŏq lầu.	Still living indeed.

The final particle nŏq '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 nŏq (15). It is probably
semantically related to the demonstrative nŏq 'that', though
as a final particle it has little demonstrative force.

Anh tiêc něh nŏq.	I regret him.
Ví mai saq nŏq?	Where are you going there, eh?
Něh saq hao nŏq.	She went up then.
So něh sec nŏq.	The dog it yelped so.
Něh vông hlâq en nŏq.	It has fallen over already now.

The final particle nôq accentuates a preverbal nega-
tive (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 wŏq nôq (1). It
is related to the verb nôq 'refuse, not want'.

Anh ửn saq nôq.	I'm not going.
Đăng gŏq nôq.	Not much indeed.
Saq canŏq ửn baq nôq.	Going like that isn't good.
Ửn gĕh piêng wŏq 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 ref-
erence 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 cồ. ngăn vŏq is the only combination of final
particles with ngăn (12), besides ngăn en (1).

Sên ayh ônh ngăn.	Saw only soot only.
Sa ayh gŏng ngăn.	Eat only meat only.
Nĕh me khoai ngăn.	He just began digging.
Gĕh du war ngăn.	Have one meal only.
Ayh tanôl ngăn cồ lăp.	Only the midwife enters.
Lửh ayh n'ham ngăn vŏq.	Appeared only blood indeed.

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

Tởm êq dip ca ởn lẫu?	Why didn't it catch fish at all?
Lửh nĕh phiêt chĕq ởn?	Why is he missing?
Nĕh cởnh tachửt ănh ởn.	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, đăng, cố, sửn, sây) appear with it. In positive clauses it may reinforce a positive particle (chăc 'surely', nhâng '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 măq pa.	It's not big.
Ví ănh sa gŏq pa.	I didn't eat a lot.
Ví chửt pa.	She wasn't dead.
Chăc con ănh pa.	Surely it's my child.
Nhâng canŏq nĕh sĭq pa.	Indeed like that he returned.
Aheq nĕh sa pa.	And so they ate.
Anh saq bay nĕh pa.	So I went with him.

Another fairly common final particle is tởq '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 đăng) (84) or else be immediately preceded by

the positive <u>ièt</u> (11).

Anh êq an tớq.	I won't give it indeed.
Êq gal ănh an tớq.	It's not true that I gave it, indeed.
Něh sa đăng gŏq tớq.	He ate not much indeed.
Êq gěh tớq.	No indeed.
Něh chưt ièt tớq.	He's dead indeed.

The only combinations of final particles with <u>tớq</u> that have been found are <u>wŏq tớq</u> (7) in negative clauses and <u>ièt tớq vồ</u> (1) in a positive clause.

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

Ví ănh dônh uy!	I didn't pick it up indeed!
Ví ănh nhai mvâr 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 mvâr qua; cố gěh uy pa!	You're lying; it wasn't that way at all!

Reaffirmation, after a denial with <u>uy</u>, naturally takes the final particle <u>ầm</u>. The response to the last sentence above was <u>Gěh ầm</u>. 'It certainly was that way.'

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

in combination only with __âr__ (1) and __wŏq__ (1).

Vâng saq vây.	Don't go.
Vâng căp vap vây.	Don't bite father.
Vâng tăch wŏq vây.	Don't sell any more.
Vâng nhai âr vây.	Don't keep on talking.

The final particle __vŏq__ (196) expresses finality or limitedness, or an abruptly ended action. It occurs in the combinations __ngăn vŏq__ (14), __vŏq en__ (23), __vŏq nŏq vô__ (1), __en vŏq__ (7). __Vŏq en__ often is correlated with a clause-initial __chĕq__ 'cause, so that, indeed' (16), or is often followed by a repetition of part of the clause nucleus (10). __Vŏq__ or __ngăn vŏq__ often (28) accompanies __ayh__ 'only'.

Mai gŭq vŏq.	You sit still.
Mai ôp vŏq.	You work!
Sên ayh ônh vŏq.	Saw only soot.
Chĕq ca lăp vŏq en ca lăp.	So fish entered indeed fish entered.
Chĕq nĕh nhim vŏq en.	So he cried indeed.
Lŭh ayh n'ham ngăn vŏq.	Appeared only blood only indeed.
Hôm var pe tô vŏq.	Still two or three bowls only.

The final particle __vô__ '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 vồ (24) with
no apparent difference in meaning from simple vồ. It oc-
curs also in the combinations ầm vồ (5), něh ầm vồ (2),
iḃt tơq vồ (1).

Saq vồ.	Let's go.
Sǐq sǐq vồ.	Let's return.
Mai sa piêng vồ.	You should eat rice.
Saq saq něh vồ.	Let's go.
Piêng mai sa ầm vồ.	Rice you should eat. (not throw it away)
Vơn saq něh ầm vồ.	We should go indeed.
Cồ dôq jǎc iĕt tơq vồ.	The monkeys were quick, you know.
Něh mừng lê vồ.	They were very happy, you know.

Vu de (13) is a final particle used mostly in collo-
quial 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 oc-
curs in combination as pa vu de (1), vu de nôq (2). It is
frequently in negative sentences.

Sừn gừt vu de.	I don't know, indeed, what it is all about.
Pôp něh sǐq lor vu de vồ.	Her older sisters returned first, they did.
Pǎch pachǎh vu de.	How would they break, indeed?
Vǐ ǎnh gừt pa vu de.	I didn't know anything about it at all.
Vu sa vu de.	They ate, you know.

The particle wŏq '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 wŏq đăng (3), wŏq la (3), wŏq pa (5), wŏq tơq (7), wŏq vồ (2), wŏq chơ (1).

Něh saq wŏq.	He went again.
Něh ji wŏq.	He is sick again. (or, He is sicker.)
Něh viêm wŏq.	They are worse people.
Něh sa piêng wŏq.	He ate more rice.
Anh êq saq wŏq đăng.	I won't go again indeed.
Khay heq khay tacat wŏq la.	This month is an even colder month.
Anh êq gŭq bay mai wŏq pa.	I won't live with you any more.
Anh đăng păh něh wŏq tơq.	I won't hit it again.
Něh saq wǐnh wŏq vồ.	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 ănh '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), vồq en (9), chhuôi vồq (1), něh vồ (1). In the absence of a final particle, only a pronoun can serve as an echo.

Anh sǐq ănh.	I'm going home I.

Sǐq ănh.	(I'm) going home I.
Anh ji nuih 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 vŏq en n'ham.	Then bloody teeth indeed blood.
Anh quay daq sứt en bay ănh.	I scooped out honey indeed I.
Trôq mi vŏq en mi.	Sky rained indeed rained.
So dăh vŏq en dăh.	The dog chased indeed chased.
Chěq sa vŏq en sa vŏq.	So he ate indeed ate.
Něh sach daq vŏq en sach.	They scooped water indeed scooped.
Yau něh sec vŏq en yau něh sec.	The tiger screeched indeed the tiger screeched.
Anh êq nhai gŏq chhuôi vŏq ănh.	I didn't speak much at all indeed I.
Sa něh vŏ var lâm pôp ŏh 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, 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', pŏh 'seven', pham 'eight', sŭn 'nine', mât 'ten', var jât 'twenty', rayĕng '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 rayĕng muôi	101 or 110
du rayĕng var	102 or 120
du rayĕng mât	110
du rayĕng mât muôi	111
du rayĕng var jât muôi	121
du ravu	1,000
du ravu muôi	1,001 or 1,100
du ravu du rayĕng muôi	1,101
du ravu du rayĕng 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.

Gŏq 'many', vagŏq 'how many?' function normally in the numeral slot of the noun phrase, taking classifiers of all sorts. But ŭh gŏq 'not many' cannot take either classifiers or nouns with it; it functions only as a verbal adjective. Takiq 'little, few' also functions only as an adjective.

vanăc chai daq	half a glass of water

du chai vanăc	a glass and a half
gŏq chai daq	many glassfuls of water
vagŏq chai daq?	how many glassfuls of water?
Chai daq ửn gŏq.	There were not many glassfuls of water.

For approximate figures, chửng or lôi chửng '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'.

chửng puôn lĭch	about four liters
pe puôn lĭch	three or four liters
pe lĭch puôn lĭch	id.
pe hay puôn lĭch	id.
du lĭch var lĭch	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

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, gŏng, gapu, iĕr, jun, jŭl, jike, kraih, sipai, proq, racot, sc, siquây, vĭh, yau), vegetation (chhơ, loq, lapaq, pai vunh, plai), people (ănh, con, camon, GaPham, mbuôi, mê, ŏh, pôp, rŭh, sinau, si-ur, un, ur), tools and utensils (pam, bao, chai, droi, gŭh, nglau, prông), houses (nhi, vadai), holes (chhŭng), ghosts (camhôch), fingernails (can'hyeyh), mountains (gŭng), stores (tim), fire (ŭnh).

The other regular classifiers are:

bc 'bundle', with run, ratiêng 'reeds' (1)

bon 'group', with people and pronouns (2)

bŭr 'clump', with cala 'bamboo', gle 'small bamboo' (1)

căp 'pair', with gapu 'buffalo' (6)

cŏc 'small object', with tamô 'stones' (1)

côp 'unit', with gong 'gong', nggan 'dish', chai 'bottle', thŭng 'can' (2)

chan'hŭm 'small package', with piêng 'cooked rice

cŭc 'small portion', with gŏng 'meat', vŏh 'salt' (2)

đam 'group, cluster, patch', with camhôch 'ghost', nsêt
'mushroom', mprăng 'potato', trees, houses, people (5)

bây 'group', with birds, animals (0)

đôi 'pair', with gapu 'buffalo', jây 'shoes' (1)

đŭng 'heap', with chhơ 'sticks' (1)

gŏc 'unit', with pam 'fishtrap' (2)

jôm 'a pinch (0)

miêng 'piece', with gŏng 'meat', alăc 'wine', pa-ăr 'paper',
canđar 'board' (9)

mvu (sg.), ndu (pl.) 'person', with ănh 'I', con 'child',
cô 'old man', mbuôi 'older brother', mê 'mother', nĕh
'he', ŏh 'younger sibling', pôp 'older sibling', si-ur
'wife', tung daq 'singer', tamun 'person', ur 'woman',
khanĕh 'they', un 'old woman', vap 'father' (137)

ncong 'stalk', with rĕh 'rattan', chhơ '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 sŏq 'hair', and leaves, flowers
(1)

nơm 'trunk', with chhơ 'tree', lapaq 'guava' (2)

păng 'flat object', with chĭnh 'small gong', cop 'turtle',
khan 'cloth', ao 'clothes', mphla 'trousers', tronh
'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)

pandŏn 'sheet', with books, boards, money (0)

panoq 'bundle, roll', with iuq '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', chhơ
 'stick', candar 'fishpole', đao 'knife', krah 'ring',
 lapăl 'mortar', nai 'stake', ndĕh 'vehicle', nŏc 'stake',
 racot 'lizard', ranay 'pestle', vra 'bushknife', vadai
 'shelter', ngôi viêt 'pencil', pĭh '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 iuq 'tobacco' (0)

vôq 'head', with da 'duck', pam 'fishtrap', asĕh 'horse',
 jun 'deer', so 'dog' (5)

vŭm 'mouthful', with alăc 'wine', iuq 'tobacco' (5)

vanông 'animal', with bo 'cow', gapu 'buffalo', rawâyh
 'elephant', jun 'deer' (6)

yu 'set', with gongs chỉnh, gong (7)

du yu gong	one set of gongs
du vanông gapu	one (animal) buffalo
du vŭm alăc	one mouthful of wine
du vôq da	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 lỉch 'liter', long 'canful (condensed milk can)', thư 'variety', sinld '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 lỉch daq	one liter of water
du long phe	one canful of rice
du thư va	one kind of rice plant
du sinld 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:

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

<u>gong</u> 'gong', to measure rice

<u>khan</u> 'handkerchief', to measure mushrooms, bees

<u>kiêp</u> 'pot', to measure water, rice

<u>kruh</u> 'bag', to measure rice

<u>li</u> 'glass', to measure water

<u>maq</u> 'side, one of a pair', to measure hands, eyes, thighs,
    meat, people

<u>mâm</u> 'tray', to measure rice

<u>ndĕh</u> 'cart', to measure harvested rice

<u>nggan</u> 'dish', to measure rice

<u>prông</u> 'basket', to measure rice, meat

<u>sinṳn</u> 'fishtrap', to measure fish

<u>thŭng</u> 'barrel', to measure water, rice

<u>tô</u> 'bowl', to measure rice

<u>tun</u> 'back of knife', to measure knives

<u>vlu</u> 'thigh', to measure meat

<u>vaniêng</u> '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 ndĕh va	a cartful of rice
du sinṳn 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 <u>lâm nào lâm nấy</u> '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 <u>chhơ</u> 'tree', <u>ca</u> 'fish', <u>ănh</u> 'I', <u>GaPe</u> 'a personal name'. Or a noun may be a two-word complex, usually a generic term followed by a specific name, as <u>chhơ rapaq</u> 'guava tree', <u>ca co</u> 'catfish'. <u>Rapaq</u> 'guava' can stand by itself as a free noun head, but <u>co</u>, and most fish names, must always have the <u>ca</u> '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 <u>camvŭm</u> 'word', <u>gă̆l</u> 'portion', <u>gatŭq</u> 'place', <u>hang</u> 'manner', <u>maq</u> 'side', <u>war</u> 'meal', <u>su</u>, <u>cac</u>,<u>đồng</u> 'units of money', <u>thước</u>, <u>sinđam</u> 'units of length', <u>khay</u>, <u>năr</u>, <u>mva</u>, <u>năng</u>, <u>nđôi</u>, <u>tiếng</u>, <u>phuc</u> 'units of time', <u>dâq</u>, <u>lơp</u>, <u>phac</u>, <u>mắt</u>, <u>ratih</u>, <u>ratuh</u> 'a time, instance'.

du lâm chhơ	a tree
du lâm ănh	(one person) me
var lâm khananh	two persons us
du camvŭm	a word
du 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.', nĕh '3s', vơn '1p.inc.' These may be used as plurals without modification, especially nĕh, but plurality is often indicated by preposing kha- or khây. Thus khananh, khây ănh '1p.exc.'.

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

respected woman, <u>dêq</u> younger uncle' to a middle-aged man,
<u>yông</u> 'younger aunt' to a middle-aged woman, <u>pôp</u> 'older sib-
ling' to equals or intimates, <u>mon</u> 'nephew' or <u>nau</u> 'grandchild'
to clearly younger people, <u>pi</u> 'in-law' used informally be-
tween men. All simple kin terms can be used in direct ad-
dress to the appropiate kin; complex kin terms like <u>dêq re</u>
'husband of younger aunt' are shortened to just the head
word (here <u>dêq</u>) in direct address (cf. 810.9).

<u>Păch n'hya</u> '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 sŭm 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. 88.3, 11.2) occa-
sionally by a reduced clause.

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

piêng sa   rice for eating

The demonstrative slot is filled by such demonstratra-
tives as heq 'this', nŏq 'that', tdq 'that (farther)', tĭq
that (far)', lây 'any'.

iĕr heq   this chicken
iĕr ănh heq   this chicken of mine
iĕr nŏq   that chicken
iĕr lây   any chicken

The particle je (after ănh) ~ de (after other nouns)
is used in the adjective slot to add a possessive or identi-
ficational 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 posses-
sion, or when the head noun is missing.

Iĕr heq ănh je.   This chicken is mine.
Vu khừn ănh je.   Someone stole mine.
Vu păh ănh je.   Someone hit me.
Anh khừn iĕr, ănh je.   I steal chickens, I do.
iĕr nĕh de   his chicken
iĕr patau de   the king's chicken
cồ patau de heq   this king
Camvu de iĕr 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 đǒ 'etc.' to a series of nouns, or
linking them with gầm 'and', và 'and', or bay 'with'.

mê vap	mother and father
var ndu mê vap	(two people) mother and father
mê gầm vap	mother and father
mê và vap	id.
mê gầm và vap	id.
mê bay vap	id.
mê vap pôp ŏh	mother, father, older sibling, younger sibling
mê vap pôp ŏh đǒ	mother, father, older sibling, younger sibling, etc.

Taxonomic generics are often formed by simple juxta-
position of nouns (Dorothy Thomas 1966). So jun 'deer' and
jike 'wild pig' combine to give jun jike 'destructive ani-
mals'; sŭm 'small bird' and khlang 'bird of prey' combine
into sŭm 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)

Thô (also a Tai language) has three types of noun phrases: 1) Deictic, 2) Possessive-Person, 3) Quantifiers-Classifier-Nucleus-Modifier-Demonstrative. Thô, 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 to-
gether with the words immediately before it which are con-
stituent 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 gen-
erally 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; pre-
verbs 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:
cô 'negative' (16)
cơnh 'almost, about to' (80) (cf. main verb cơnh 'want')

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êq 'negative' (329)

hôm 'still' (153)

jŏ, jŏq 'negative' (19)

khoi 'also' (c.100)

lĕq 'completely, finished' (89) (often with en 'already')

me 'newly, recently' (33)

ndŏh, ndăh 'not yet' (10)

phai 'must' (79)

sáy 'negative' (3)

sửn 'negative' (103) (often used in doublets)

tơq 'negative' (2)

ửn 'negative' (30)

Lĕq cơnh (9) is the only combination of preverbal particles that has been observed.

Anh cổ sây nĕh.	I didn't see him.
Anh cơnh chửt.	I'm about to die.
Anh êq sây nĕh.	I didn't see him.
Anh hôm sây nĕh.	I still see him.
Anh hôm ji.	I'm still sick.
Anh jơq sây nĕh.	I didn't see him.
Anh lĕq sa en.	I have finished eating already.
Anh lĕq sây nĕh en.	I have seen him already.
Anh me sây nĕh.	I just now saw him.
Anh ndŏh sây nĕh.	I haven't seen him yet.
Anh phai sây nĕh.	I must see him.

Anh sấy vlam něh.	I didn't meet him.
Anh sửn sây něh.	I didn't see him.
Anh saq tờq dan.	I went not in time.
Anh ửn sây něh.	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 gěh ănh lêng. (not permitted) I indeed I played.

Anh lêng ănh khlân.   I played I played.

(Lêng and khlân are main verbs, gěh is an auxiliary.)

The most common auxiliary verbs are:

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

    (cf. saq 'go, walk')

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

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

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

gĕh 'a simple statement of fact' (36) (cf. gĕh '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 saq sĭq.	I'm (going) returning.
Anh saq păh chhơ.	I (went) chop trees.
Ai saq nhŭp si ănh.	You (go ahead and) pick my lice.
Nĕh saq mơi ănh.	He (went and) invited me.
Anh gŭq lu.	I'm (sitting) having a vacation.
Anh gŭq lĭnh.	I'm (sitting) in the army. (that's what I'm doing now)
Anh saq lĭnh.	I'm (going) in the army. (I joined and I'm still in)
Nĕh gŭq nhai.	He (persisted in) talking.
Nĕh đăng them đip.	It (his trap) (naturally) didn't catch anything. (because it was up in a tree)
Mai đăng them sên.	You (naturally) wouldn't want to look. (because all your work has been undone)

Anh đăng iưn nhai	I didn't (indeed) speak.
Daq êq iưn khlŭh.	The water wouldn't (indeed) boil over.
Anh êq gĕh 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 cơnh saq.	I want to go.
Anh cơnh pâm nĕh.	I want to hit him.
Anh thêng pâm nĕh.	I dare hit him.
Anh êq thêng pâm nĕh.	I don't dare hit him.
Anh êq gĕh cơnh 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', măq 'big', jong 'long', ken 'small', ji 'sick', etc. (§11.2)

2) intransitives: saq 'go', vĭq 'sleep', etc. (§5.2; 11.1)

3) transitives: sa 'eat', sây 'see', pâm 'hit', wŏng 'look for', etc. (§5.3; 11.6)

4) bitransitives: an 'give', dơp 'put'. (§5.4; 11.7)

5) containers: an 'permit', wĭnh 'request', săng 'command', chĕq 'permit', sây 'see', etc. (§5.5; 11.5)

6) quotatives: nhai 'say', lŭp 'ask', etc. (§5.7; 11.8)

7) directional verbs: hao 'rise', sĭq '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', doq 'put in', hwŏt 'throw away', lăm 'put in', chĕq 'put'.

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

    Anh doq nĕh sŭng dor.   I put him in a coffin.

    Anh hwŏt nĕh tu tĭq.   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 <u>cơnh nhai</u> 'want to speak', <u>thêng saq</u> 'dare to go'. It should also be distinguished from direction-motivation sentences such as <u>saq vlam</u> 'go to meet', <u>jưr dônh</u> 'descend to gather' (§10.6).

Some compounds are non-stereotyped (<u>ad</u> <u>hoc</u>) pairs such as <u>dơp an</u> 'deliver give', <u>hwŏt chĕq</u> 'throw put'. These <u>ad</u> <u>hoc</u> 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 <u>an</u> 'give', <u>chĕq</u> 'put', <u>sĭq</u> 'return' recur frequently as the second member of compound verbs.

Nĕh <u>dơp</u> <u>an</u> ca.	He delivered-gave fish.
Nĕh <u>trŏh</u> <u>an</u> ca.	He handed-gave fish. (He handed over the fish.)
Nĕh <u>trŏh</u> nĕh <u>an</u> ca.	id.
Nĕh hwŏt chĕq ca.	He threw-put fish. (He threw away the fish.)
Nĕh prap chĕq ca.	He placed-put fish. (He put away the fish.)
Nĕh chĕq an ănh iừn.	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. <u>ngeo-ngat</u> 'poor', others by combining what were originally near-synonyms, e.g. <u>sâq cavơm</u> '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.

Něh sâq cavơm.	It is filthy-filthy.
Něh sâq něh cavơm.	id.
Něh saq ôp sa.	He works for a living. (He go do eat)
Něh saq ôp saq sa.	id. (He go do go eat)
Něh lèng khlân.	He is playing-playing.
Něh hoc hănh.	He studies-studies.

Occasionally a close-knit verb and object may function as a complex verb, as ôp gŏng 'make meat' = 'butcher'. Něh ôp gŏng 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 preverb-al auxiliaries somewhat similar to Chrau and Halăng. Maspero (1915:329ff) indicates the occurrence of doublet construc- tions and of verb-like auxiliaries, as well as sequences of main verbs.

In Thồ, Day (1966:64ff) describes six orders of pre- verbals (= Chrau preverbal auxiliaries). This is in sharp contrast with Chrau where there is only a single order of preverbals. The Thồ verbals (= Chrau main verb) may con- sist of one or two verbs, the first of which is limited to certain stative verbs, verbs of motion, and đầy '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 Thồ. Vietnamese also has postverbs, somewhat parallel to the pre- verbs. 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.

Pacŏh 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. Pacŏh 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.

chưt	'die'	tachưt	'kill'
ŭm	'bathe'	ta-ŭm	'cause to bathe'
pu	'suck'	tapu	'suckle'
chuq	'wear'	tachuq	'to dress'
rih	'tear'	tarih	'ripped'
rung	'pour'	tarung	'spilled'

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rŏh 'fall'	tarŏh '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.

găn 'go across'	vagăn 'crosswise'
joq 'long'	pajoq 'how long?'
găl 'piece'	nggăl, panggăl '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.

păt 'squeeze'	panăt 'handful'
tung 'carry'	tanung 'armload'
gon 'hunt'	ganon 'hunting blind'
khlĕq 'to hook'	can'hlĕq 'a hook'
păr 'to fly'	panăr 'wing'
vŏh 'know'	vanŏh 'wise'
căh 'remember'	canăh '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).

nhai 'speak'	tăm-nhai 'talk to each other'
sai 'marry'	tăm-sai 'marry each other'
pâm 'hit'	tăm-pâm 'fight'
camlăh 'deny'	tăm-camlăh 'argue'
hen 'agree'	tăm-hen 'agree together'
sinđach 'love'	tăm-sinđach '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 onomatopoetic and non-onomatopoetic cases.

blăp blăp (= blăp mblăp)	'monkeys scratching'
blô blô (= blônh mblônh)	'monkeys scratching'
phŭh phŭh	'deer stamping'
plŏc plŏc	'cobra striking'
praq praq	'monkeys chattering'
chiêc chiêc	'mouse squeaking'
cahyac cahyac	'dog yelping'
kwac kwac	'crow cawing'
kyac kyac	'squirrel screeching'
kyởc kyởc	'dog yelping'
dŭp dŭp	'going up steps'
hởp hởp	'moving quickly'
hŭl hŭl	'sitting quietly'
hửt hửt	'cool wind'
keq keq	'small'
khŭch khŭch	'many fish'
khuc khuc	'growling'
khuy khuy	'sitting still, tense'
khyởng khyởng	'walking stiffly'
klở klở	'darkly, unclear'
lăq lăq	'sitting still, sick'
mêng mêng	'looking'
nĕq nĕq	'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'
tơng lơng	'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'
chruh ruh	'slidingly'
camhơi rơi	'amazed'
dichŏc dipŏc	'calling a dog'
choc charec	'dog yelping'
sŭq sirăq	'dog barking furiously'
mêp mêp	'look diligently'
mlŭq mlăq	'dirty'

iot n-iet	'creaking'
tacuq tacŏq	'drunk'
cabd cabot	'discarded'
capräh caprŏng	'scattered'
klăp klĭr	'work unnoticed'
mbăq mban	'unskillfully'
rabah rabdp	'poor'
rabdh rabap	'poor'
a rakhwac a rawao	'crying'
a radung a rapiu	'crashing around'
ravĭch ravi	'plentiful'
rawênh rawai	'dizzy'
camvĭnh camvăng	'old'
mvlăp mvlônh	'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'
blônh mblônh (blô blô)	'scratching'
bdp mbdp	'fortunately'
chhôc nchhôc	'naked'
dĭh ndĭh	'gongs sounding'

dɔt ndɔt	'monkeys scratching'
dŭp ndŭp	'noisy, celebrating'
gɨr nggɨr	'noisy'
khek nkhek	'curved'
*vôq mvôq	'going directly'
cŭp sicŭp	'frantically, vigorously'
kruq sikruq	'frantically, vigorously'
glân siglân	'the walking of a deer'
vlŏq silŏq	'flirting'
wing siwing	'lost'
wŏng siwŏng	'lost'
đêng rađêng	'hurrying directly'
glŏc raglŏc	'tapping with walking stick'
go rago	'sitting still (sick)'
goh ragoh	'flowing movement'
hêng rahêng	'distant noise'
phung raphung	'sound of gongs'
pɔng rapɔng	'go directly'
ep ra-ep	'worm crawling'
sôt rasôt	'speaking sharply'
wênh *rawênh	'winding around'
gu lagu	'sitting still (sick)'
hŭnh lahŭnh	'cobra waving its head'
hɨt *lahɨt	'cool breeze'
ngct langot	'plaintive singing'

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

9.3 Simple onomatopoeia

Many onomatopoetic 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'
pŭc	'thud, hit'
pôc	'sound of hitting, chopping'
chhwŏp	'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 <u>adu adǒm</u> 'in the old days', <u>n'ham n'hu</u> 'floating leaves', <u>gayh gêng</u> '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 <u>lêng khlân</u> 'play', <u>se dun</u> 'debt', <u>jrǒu jinau</u> '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 <u>daq ia</u> 'water', with <u>ia</u> 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 <u>asëh lamo</u>
'horses' from which by comparison with other languages
we can see that <u>lamo</u> probably meant 'cow', but it is now
just an empty morph, the partner for <u>asëh</u> 'horse'. Semi-
bound doublets include words such as:

dĭch năc	'slave'
loh sat	'poor'
aq n'hu	'bows, weapons'
bŭn bap	'sin'
phao candir	'guns'
sâq cavờm	'filthy'
hoc hănh	'study, drill' (VN)
gŭn măn	'magic'
prờn rang	'strength'
văl ganờ	'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 standardi-
zation. The linking or two words as a doublet produces a
meaning that is wider than just the combined range of mean-
ings 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 <u>kiêp nggan</u> 'pot, dish; items such as pots and dishes'
is seldom encountered as a doublet though both of its mem-
bers are frequently encountered separately, so it seems to
be little removed beyond <u>ad hoc</u> pairing. <u>Trôq ntĕh</u> 'sky,
earth; the universe' is well stabilized as a common doub-
let. <u>Nhi la</u> '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 doub-
let; Chrau houses in Bìnhtuy province are still made large-
ly 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 <u>trôq ntĕh</u>, i.e. standard-
ized yet with both members still retaining their meaning.

dêq cô	'younger uncle, grandfather; older or respected men'
pôp ŏh	'older sibling, younger sibling; relatives'
iĕr 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 răm	'old field, new field; fields'
năq ndra	'kitchen fire, roasting rack; kitchen'

| pŭh ôm | 'rotten, rotten; rotten' |
| piêng por | 'cooked rice, gruel; food' |

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

Anh ôp sa.	I'm making a living.
Anh ôp ănh sa.	id.
Nĕh gŭq u lang palây ănh.	He lives in my village.
Nĕh gŭq u lang u palây ănh.	id.
Anh sa piêng por.	I'm eating food.
Anh sa piêng sa por.	id.
Anh nhai lĕq lam.	I tell everything.
Anh nhai lĕq nhai lam.	id.

9.5 Comparisons with other languages

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

In Katu the affixes are quite parallel to Pacŏh, hav-ing little similarity to Chrau. (Costello 1965)

Vietnamese has no affixes but it has complex onomato-
poeia 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 mem-
bers being able to be separated by other words. (1966:46ff)

Jacob (1963) indicates for Mon an affix system consid-
erably 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

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:

canŏq (63) 'like that, so, therefore'

canŏq caheq (5) 'how?'

chơ (43) 'intensifier, usually negative'

chơ bô (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'

mŏh (36) 'then, so, lo and behold'

ncai (104) 'then, after that'

như-đinh (3) 'surely, certainly'

nhưng mà (19) 'but'

mơ, nŏq mơ (7) 'therefore, so'

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

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

phăp (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 follow-
ing combinations:
canŏq chơ (1), canŏq mà (1), còn mà (4), chơ còn (11), chơ
mà (8), kê mŏh (8), kê yay mŏh (1), mà te ra (1), ncai mŏh
(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 parti-
cles.

Canŏq caheq patau nhai?	How did the king speak?
Canŏq ănh saq.	So I went.
Chơ ănh đăng gŭq tơq.	Indeed I don't stay.
Chơ bộ ănh nhai mvâr.	It's not true that I lied.
Còn ănh hôm ken.	But I was still small.
Chơ còn mà vu lŭp ănh.	It's not that people asked me.
Kê něh sǐq.	Then he returned.
Kê yay něh sǐq.	Then he returned.
Mà něh sǐq.	But he returned.
Mŏh něh sǐq.	So then he returned.
Ncai něh sǐq.	Then he returned.
Nhưc-đinh něh sǐq.	Surely he will return.
Nhưng mà něh sǐq.	But he returned.
Nŏq něh sǐq	So he returned.

Nŏq mơ nĕh sĭq.	Therefore he returned.
Noq nĕh sĭq.	After that then he returned.
Phai chi ai tê ănh.	You should be looking after me.
Phăp nĕh sĭq.	Then suddenly he returned.
Te ra nĕh sĭq.	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.

Nĕh sĭq. Sĭq panh ...

He returned. Having returned he said ...

Nĕh văt sĭq. Văt sĭq ncai nĕh panh ...

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

Nĕh sa. Sa en nĕh hŭch alăc.

He ate. Having eaten he drank wine.

Nĕh saq găn ratung. Nĕh saq găn ratung en nŏq nĕh saq vanăc ratung.

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

Nĕh vŭn. Vŭn en nŏq năm nĕh ôp?

She was pregnant. Being pregnant what should she do?

Vâng vơn hŭch gŏq. Vơn hŭch gŏq en nŏq, en nŏq vưr

něh tachửt vờn.

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

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

Něh sa. Chhŏng en nŏq něh saq.

> He ate. Finished then he went.

Něh sa. Sa chhŏng en nŏq něh saq.

> He ate. Having eaten then he went.

Něh sa. En nŏq 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 <u>en</u> 'already'. It is not clear whether this is also a reduced clause or is a sentence-level phrase.

Var pe năr 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 něh saq.   I or he will go.

Anh saq hay là něh saq. I will go or he will go.

Něh sa hay là něh huch. He ate or he drank.

Vi ôi hay là vi mau vơn saq. In the morning or the eve-
           ning we'll go.

Vi ôi vơn saq hay là vi mau vơn saq. id.

Vu saq vu văt alăc, hay là vu gěh jên văt jên.

  People go people bring wine, or people having
  money bring money.

Hay là ji côr năc năng klŏq vanôq, nŏq nhơ ŏh 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, mŏq, or pǎch (§6.4); the
first clause states the reason, the second the logical
negative result.

Něh con se, vadâng něh saq. He was a child, how
            could he go.

Něh con se, mŏq něh saq di gěh? id.

Nĕh con se, păch nĕh saq di gĕh?   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.

Nĕh ôp canŏq là tât nhiên nĕh sinđach vơn.

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

Anh nhai nŏq 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, nĭu 'if' (49), hê 'when, whenever, if' (80), tamvac bi 'because' (1). The independent clause may be introduced by zero, thĭ 'then', chi là 'that is' (22), tức là 'that is' (10), nŏq 'so, then' (55). The morpheme introducers signal only slightly different shades of meaning. Nŏq thĭ 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.

Nĭu mai pâm ănh, ănh pâm mai.

If you hit me, I'll hit you.

Nĭu mai pâm ănh thĭ ănh pâm mai.

If you hit me then I'll hit you.

Nếu mai pâm ănh tức là ănh pâm mai.

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

Nếu mai pâm ănh, nŏq ănh pâm mai.

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

Mai pâm ănh thỉ ănh pâm mai.

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

Hê mai pâm ănh thỉ ănh pâm mai.

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

Vơn ôp canŏq, tức là vu êq jŏch 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 chưng-bi chhal.

When windy season, then must beware of wind.

Hê nhai canŏq thỉ êq gĕh.

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

Vu gŭq chôl loih, nŏq thỉ nĕh lŭh jrŭm.

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

Mà hê mai saq thỉ an ănh gưt.

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 cồ (86.6) between its subject and verb. Both clauses usually have nĕh 'he' as their subject. Nŏq 'that' often follows the embedded clause.

Nĕh cồ êq huch nŏq, nĕh vro ca.

He who doesn't drink, he buys fish.

Vu prung. Nĕh cồ prung, nĕh êq nhai yi.

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

Nĕh cồ sinđach ănh, nĕh 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'.

Nĕh hao chhơ pĭq pai vunh.

He climbed the tree to pick gourds.

Něh saq hao dăh si-ur něh.

    He climbed up chasing his wife.

Něh hao mà wǐnh.

    He went up begging.

Něh lôt hao chhờ.

    He ran and climbed a tree.

Něh sǐq nhi sa piêng.

    He returned home to eat.

Něh an ănh iừn ănh sai.

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

Mŏq con lǔp 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 hwŏt chĕq tu tǐq.

    I killed it, I threw it over there.

Anh sǐq nhi, ănh sa piêng.

    I returned home, (then) I ate.

Pôp něh nŏq tham lŭng, něh nhŭp ɗờ lěq, păch nŏq păch
heq ɗờ něh nhŭp lěq.

> 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
<u>něh</u> '3rd person' is used, or else it is zeroed completely.
Thus a zero or <u>něh</u> in the subject slot of a clause almost
invariably refers to the paragraph topic. When a partici-
pant 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 <u>něh</u> 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 nĕh, nĕh gŭq tê un nĕh. Mà hê pôp nĕh nhŭp gapu ndĕh, tamvăq saq nŏq, thî nĕh saq bay. Nĕh êq thêng hao ndĕh bay pôp nĕh. Mà niu nĕh hao ndĕh nŏq, thî pôp nĕh cơnh pâm cơnh păh nĕh, nĕh êq thêng hao. Mà hê pôp nĕh lu, thî nĕh lu. Pôp nĕh saq, thî nĕh saq. Pôp nĕh lu, nĕh 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.

Nĕh 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 nĕh, so a nĕh 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? Lŭh mai ôp canŏq, 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 nĕh panh 'he said' or nĕh nhai panh 'he spoke saying'. (cf. §5.7 quotative clause, 11.8 quotative battery)

Yau panh...	The tiger said...
Yau nĕh panh...	id.
Yau nĕh nhai panh...	The tiger spoke saying...
Yau nĕh lŭp panh...	The tiger asked saying...

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

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

A quotation may have <u>nhai caheq</u> 'speak like this' in the introduction, and may have <u>nhai canǒq</u> 'speak like that' in the conclusion or in a later reference to the quotation.

Sipai něh nhai caheq panh, "Anh êq an tǒq." Neh nhai canǒq. Phǎp yau něh lǔp, "Lǔh yiêng nhai canǒq?"

> 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 <u>něh panh</u> 'he said', rarely by <u>něh nhai panh</u> 'he spoke saying'. <u>Něh panh</u> may be used in citing either statements or thoughts.

Anh panh něh êq saq. I said he didn't go.

Anh panh ǎnh 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'

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

ha-ha 'laughter'

òi 'calling someone'

ò initial: 'calling someone'

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

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

trôq ntĕh de 'by heaven, good heavens'

ua 'whoops'

ui 'indeed'

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

nhai panh nhai 'indeed' (only initial, without exclam-
  atory intonation)

10.12 Paragraph types

Narrative paragraphs are most frequently introduced by sentences containing aheq 'then', phăp 'then', an echo clause, or a temporal phrase. Phăp usually indicates a

shift of the topic (810.8) for the new paragraph, and <u>aheq</u> 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 <u>hôi nŏq</u> 'previously', <u>en</u> 'already', <u>năr tdq</u> 'the other day'. The present condition is usually marked by <u>vrêq</u> 'now'. The <u>vrêq</u> may be repeated in successive sentences. It may be formulated as:

± Former Condition Sent. + Present Condition Sent.

Cô ănh khlăng cŭc <u>năr tdq</u> mai păh. <u>Vrêq</u> ănh văt sĭq, ănh tăm. <u>Vrêq</u> nĕh gayh cala prih. <u>Vrêq</u> nĕh wŏng su ao ănh iŭn.

My grandfather eagle <u>the other day</u> 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 lĭnh <u>en</u> ddn. <u>Vrêq</u> hôm ayh du mvu ănh u nhi.

All five have gone in the army <u>already</u>. **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? Něh saq sĭq.

    Where did he go? He went home.

Tơm něh saq? Něh cơnh 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, 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

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,du năr du,2/	Něh du năr du lôt.	Continual
4.	/1,cồ,2/	Něh cồ lôt...	Noun phrase
5.	/1,prv,2/	Něh êq lôt.	Preverbal
6.	/Vc,1,2/	Anh săng něh lôt.	Causative
7.	/1,2,1/	Něh lôt něh.	Echo subj.
8.	/2,1/	Lôt něh.	"
9.	/păch,2,là,1/	Păch lôt là něh.	Identification
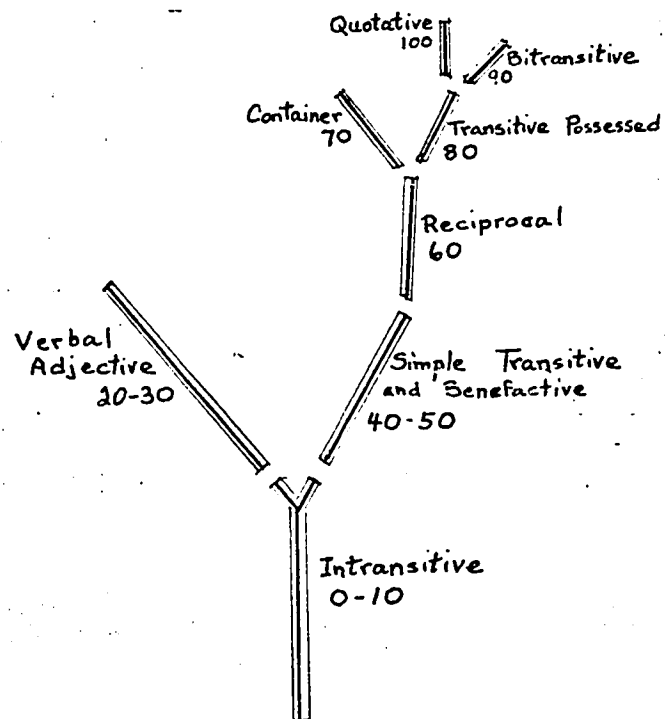
Fig. 5. Clause Battery Tree

10. /1,Aux,2/	Něh saq lôt.	Auxiliary v.
11. /môi năr môi,1,2/	Môi năr môi něh lôt.	Daily
12. /V,1,di,2/	Pâm něh di chửt.	Result
13. /V,di,2/	Pâm di chửt.	Result

V = any transitive verb or subject plus verb

V_c = 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 chửt 'die' and will not accept n-tuples from the transitive branch.

Nos. 7 and 8 accept only proncuns 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 chửt 'die', chroc 'lost', cambet 'missing', du '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', vǐq '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,lŭng/	Něh măq lŭng.	Very
22. /1,2,trôq,2,ntěh/	Něh măq trôq măq ntěh.	Extremely
23. /1,2,2/	Něh măq măq.	Somewhat
24. /1,mơ yăh,2/	Něh mơ yăh măq.	Very
25. /1,mơ yăh,2.../	Raweyh mơ yăh măq...	Noun phrase
27. /3,2,1/	Něh măq candửl.	Foc.possessor
28. /1,3,2/	Candửl něh măq.	Foc.organ
29. /1,3,cổ,2.../	Candửl něh cổ măq...	Noun phrase
30. /3,gěh,1,2/	Něh gěh candửl măq.	Possessed
31. /3,2,1,lŭng/	Něh măq candửl lŭng.	Very
32. /păch n'hya,3,2/	Păch n'hya něh măq?	Question
33. /3,lěq a,2,1/	Něh lěq a măq candửl.	Finished
34. /1,3,lěq a,2/	Candửl něh lěq a măq.	Finished.
35. /3,2,1,3/	Něh măq candửl něh.	Echo poss.
36. /2,1,3/	Măq candửl něh.	"(zeroed 3)
37. /nôi,1,2,3/	Nôi candửl něh măq.	Location.
38. /3,2,nôi,1	Něh măq nôi candửl.	"

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', sinđôch 'black', ken 'small', jong 'long', dêh 'short', camvĭnh 'old', gŏq 'many', loh sat 'poor', ji côr 'sick', camlo 'stupid', la-iq 'cold', chhâc 'fierce', vênh 'full', also duh, kho, kiêt, lavau, ngeo, n'hap, ôm, canjŏq, buồn, can'hir daq, jŏq, yăh, vanhửl, mui, prih, rom, sâq, camhlăng, vahal, sô, gala, vây, tức. 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/	Nĕh anh prông.	Simple
42. /2,3/	Anh prông.	Zeroed 1
43. /3,cồ,1,2/	Prông cồ nĕh anh...	Noun phrase
44. /gĕh,3,1,2/	Gĕh prông nĕh anh.	Existence
45. /V$_c$,1,2,3/	An nĕh anh prông.	Causative
46. /1,Aux,2,3/	Nĕh saq anh prông.	Auxiliary v.
47. /3,1,2/	Prông nĕh anh.	Emph. obj.
48. /1,du năr du,2,3/	Nĕh du năr du anh prông.	Progressive
49. /3,2/	Prông anh...	Noun phrase
50. /3,2,1,de/	Prông anh nĕh de...	Possessed
51. /1,2,3,4,iửn/	Nĕh anh prông mai iửn.	Simple benefactive
52. /3,1,2,4,iửn/	Prông nĕh anh mai iửn.	Emph. obj.
53. /1,2,4,iửn/	Nĕh anh mai iửn.	Zeroed 3
54. /2,4,iửn/	Anh mai iửn.	Zeroed 1,3

55. /2,3,4,iům/   Anh prông mai iům.   Zeroed 1

56. /2,4,iům,3/   Anh mai iům prông mǎq lůng.
                                            Postposed 3

V_c = any causative verb, $\pm$ 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 iuq '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 lǎp 'enter', lůh 'go out', jůr 'descend', hao 'rise', gůq 'remain', sǐq 'return'.

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

58. /2,1/   Lůh jên.   Inverted

59. /něh,2,1/   Něh lůh jên.   Dummy subject

Slot 1 in these forms will not accept a pronoun.

11.4 Reciprocal battery

The reciprocal battery consists of:

60. /1,gầm,3,tam-2/	Anh gầm nĕh tam-pâm.	Simple
60a. /3,gầm,1,tam-2/	Nĕh gầm ănh tam-pâm.	"
61. /1,tam-2,bay,3/	Anh tam-pâm bay nĕh.	bay
61a. /3,tam-2,bay,1/	Nĕh tam-pâm bay ănh.	"
62. /1,bay,3,tam-2/	Anh bay nĕh tam-pâm.	bay
62a. /3,bay,1,tam-2/	Nĕh bay ănh tam-pâm.	"
63. /tam-2,1,bay,3/	Tam-pâm ănh bay nĕh.	Emph. verb
63a. /tam-2,3,bay,1/	Tam-pâm nĕh bay ănh.	"
64. /tam-2,bay,3/	Tam-pâm bay nĕh.	Zeroed 1
64a. /tam-2,bay,1/	Tam-pâm bay ănh.	Zeroed 3
65. /1,tam-2/	Vơn tam-pâm.	plural subj.
66. /tam-2,1/	Tam-pâm vơn.	"

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 nĕh 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 săng něh păh chhơ. Simple

71. /1,2,3,4/   Anh săng něh păh.   Zeroed 5

72. /2,3,4,5/   Săng něh păh chhơ.   Zeroed 1

73. /5,1,2,3,4/   Chhơ ănh săng něh păh. Emph. obj.

74. /5,mà,1,2,3,4/   Chhơ mà ănh săng něh păh...
                                            Noun phrase

75. /2,3,4/   Săng něh păh.   Zeroed 1,5

76. /3,4,5,1,2/   Něh păh chhơ, ănh gưt. Indirect
                                            statement

No.76 is restricted to a few verbs like gưt 'know', chăng 'hear', sây 'see', cơnh '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 săng 'send', gưt 'know', phŭng 'fear', ôp 'make, cause', an 'permit', chăng 'hear', wĭnh 'request', sây 'see', cơnh 'want', iao 'invite', pân 'advise', câp 'wait for', chĕq 'permit', panh 'say', mòi 'invite', nhò 'because of'.

11.6 Transitive possessed battery

The transitive possessed battery consists of:

80. /1,2,3,4/   Anh jơ nhi něh.   Simple

81. /4,2,3,1/   Něh jơ nhi ănh.   "

82. /1,tam-2,3/   Vơn tam-jơ nhi.   Reciprocal

83. /1,g&m,4,tam-2,3/ Anh gầm něh tam-jơ nhi. Reciprocal

84. /4,g&m,1,tam-2,3/ Něh gầm 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', buồn 'sad', căl 'chop', căh 'remember', căp 'bite', chit 'cut', camlăh 'deny', děh 'give birth', dip 'hit', dônh 'pick up', dâp 'dam', đŏh 'remove', gả 'betroth', gaih 'become', gănh 'carry with a pole', gâl 'exchange', hải 'harm', huch 'drink', ih 'dry out', jan 'live with', jăng 'cook', jêng 'become', khoai 'dig', khun 'steal', mơn 'hire', mơq 'visit', muyh 'cut down', mừng 'glad', nham 'borrow', nhŭp 'take', njun '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 něh.   Emph. obj.

91. /1,2,4,3/   Anh an něh pih.   Simple

92. /3,1,iun/   ...pih ănh iun.   Sequential

93. /1,2,4/   Anh an něh.   Zeroed 3,iun

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', dǒp 'hand over'. The normal form for a bitransitive sentence is No.51.

11.8 Quotative battery

The Quotative Battery consists of:

100. /1,2,nĕh, panh,Sent/	Patau nhai nĕh panh...
101. /1,2,panh,Sent/	Patau nhai panh...
102. /1,panh,Sent/	Patau panh...
103. /1,2,Sent/	Patau nhai...
104. /1,2,caheq,nĕh,panh,Sent/	Patau nhai caheq nĕh panh...
105. /2,Sent/	Panh... Zeroed 1
106. /nĕh panh,Sent/	Nĕh 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, vŏn-actor, pih-object, nĕh-recipient]; followed by partial paradigms on the roots [ti-subject, jong-attribute, nĕh-possessor], [lŭh-action, jên-subject], [ănh-primary actor, gŭt-primary action, nĕh-secondary actor, păh-secondary action, chhŏ-goal], and [patau-actor, nhai-action, panh-coordinate action].

90. Pĭh vŏn an nĕh.	A knife we gave him.
91. Vŏn an nĕh pĭh.	We gave him a knife.
92. Pĭh vŏn iŭn.	A knife we gave.
93. Vŏn an nĕh.	We gave him.
80. Vŏn an pĭh nĕh.	We gave away his knife.
81. Nĕh an pĭh vŏn.	He gave away our knife.
82. Vŏn tam-an pĭh.	We exchanged knives.
83. Vŏn gâm nĕh tam-an pĭh.	We and he exchanged knives.
84. Nĕh gâm vŏn tam-an pĭh.	He and we exchanged knives.
60. Vŏn gâm nĕh tam-an.	We and he exchanged.
60a. Nĕh gâm vŏn tam-an.	He and we exchanged.
61. Vŏn tam-an bay nĕh.	We exchanged with him.
61a. Nĕh tam-an bay vŏn.	He exchanged with us.

62. Vơn bay něh tam-an.	We and he exchanged.
62a. Něh bay vơn tam-an.	He and we exchanged.
63. Tam-an vơn bay něh.	Exchanged we and he.
63a. Tam-an něh bay vơn.	Exchanged he and we.
64. Tam-an bay něh.	Exchanged with him.
64a. Taman bay vơn.	Exchanged with us.
65. Vơn tam-an.	We exchanged.
66. Tam-an vơn.	Let's exchange.
41. Vơn an pǐh.	We gave a knife.
42. An pǐh.	Gave a knife.
43. Pǐh cồ vơn an...	The knife we gave...
44. Gěh pǐh vơn an.	There is a knife we gave.
45. An vơn an pǐh.	Allow us to give a knife.
46. Vơn saq an pǐh.	We're going to give a knife.
47. Pǐh vơn an.	A knife we gave.
48. Vơn du năr du an pǐh.	We give more knives all the time.

*49, *50. pǐh an is not a suitable pair

51. Vơn an pǐh něh iưn.	We gave him a knife.
52. Pǐh vơn an něh iưn.	A knife we gave him.
53. Vơn an něh iưn.	We gave it to him.
54. An něh iưn.	Give it to him.
55. An pǐh něh iưn.	Give the knife to him.
56. Vơn an něh pǐh vra đồ.	We gave him knives, etc.
1. Vơn an.	We gave.
2. An.	Give.

3. Vơn du năr du an.   We give more all the time.

4. Vơn cồ an...   We who gave...

5. Vơn êq an.   We don't give.

6. Vu săng vơn an.   They told us to give.

7. Vơn an vơn.   Let's give.

8. An vơn.   Let's give.

9. Păch an là vơn.   The one who gives is us.

10. Vơn saq an.   We're going to give.

11. Môi năr môi vơn 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 lŭng.   The arm is very long.

22. Ti jong trôq jong ntĕh. The arm is extremely long.

23. Ti jong jong.   The arm is somewhat long.

24. Ti mơ yăh jong.   The arm is very long.

25. Ti mơ yăh jong...   A very long arm...

27. Nĕh jong ti.   He is long armed.

28. Ti nĕh jong.   His arms are long.

29. Ti nĕh cồ jong...   His long arms...

30. Ti jong.   The arms are long.

31. Ti cồ jong...   The long arms...

32. Nĕh gĕh ti jong.   He has long arms.

33. Nĕh jong ti lŭng.   He is very long armed.

34. Păch n'hya nĕh 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. Nôi ti nĕh jong.	In his arms he is long.
40. Nĕh jong nôi ti.	He is long in his arms.
58. Lŭh jên.	Appeared money.
59. Nĕh lŭh jên.	Money appeared.
70. Anh gưt nĕh păh chhơ.	I know he chops wood.
71. Anh gưt nĕh păh.	I know he chops.
72. Gưt nĕh păh chhơ.	Know he chops wood.
73. Chhơ ănh gưt nĕh păh.	Wood I know he chops.
74. Chhơ mà ănh gưt nĕh păh...	The wood which I know he chops...
75. Gưt nĕh păh.	Know he chops.
76. Nĕh păh chhơ, ănh gưt.	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 něh panh...   Every day he said...

Môi năr môi ănh gưt něh păh chhơ. Every day I know he
                                      chops wood.

Môi năr môi ănh an něh pĭh.   Every day I give him a knife.

Môi năr môi ănh jơ nhi něh.   Every day I watch his house.

Môi năr môi ănh gằm něh tam-pâm. Every day we fight.

Môi năr môi lŭh jên.   Every day money appeared.

Môi năr môi něh anh prông.   Every day he carries a basket.

Môi năr môi něh 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 Bah-
nar batteries are presented individually, but it looks as
though at least a partial tree structure could be construc-
ted. 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 Jei ('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 onomatopoetic 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 preci-
sion is desired. It drastically reduces the use of final
particles because the mood of the speaker becomes irrele-
vant. 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 quota-
tion there is is always carefully introduced (§10.10).
Writing in Chrau tends toward a formal style because writ-
ing is neither traditional culture nor intimate conver-
sation.

Colloquial style is used in ordinary conversational
situations. It is marked by short sentences, frequent el-
lipsis, and heavy use of final particles. It makes little
use of reduplication or doublets, but onomatopoetic 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 vocabu-
lary, sometimes retaining the Vietnamese tones and some-
times 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 sex-
tuplets 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.

chĭnh vu gapu 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 sŭn lŭh, ŭh sŭn 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.

ŏh 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 hoa '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 săh, randăh chhe prông 'snapped strap large-bas-
ket, ?? strap medium-basket' - the straps on his back basket
snapped.

Somewhat more complex is the following word play from a leg-
end. The monkeys asked the man what his fishing rod was
made out of. The answer should have been tiêng dôq 'monkey
tails', but in order to disguise this unpleasant bit of in-
formation he said tôq candaq taq candiêng, which he obtained
by

1) switching the vowel and final consonants of the first
    and last words (tôq diêng)

2) adding medial rhyme words (nonsense) (daq 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 Túctrưng.

The contrast between /chh/ and /s/ is lost in Vŏđắt,
Túctrưng, and several other places, but is present in Bình-
tuy and Giaray. It is also possible that some dialects
may split /s/ into two phonemes /s,x/, though this is not
yet sure.

Initial r̲ is frequently g̲ in Túctrừng, and initial g̲
is frequently k̲. Túctrừng also adds a preglottalized 'ǰ to
its phoneme inventory. ('ǰ is absent from the phoneme inven-
tory of many Mon-Khmer languages that have 'b̲ and 'd̲.) Túc-
trừng frequently adds an h̲ to prenasalized stops, as in
hndu 'person', hndeh 'vehicle', hmva 'year'. (Lượng 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 Thơ-
vức area they are consistently affricates. Elsewhere a
lenis stop pronunciation is most common.

The presyllables show some variation from area to area.
Xuânlộc shows a tendency toward dissimilation of consonants,
while Bỉnhtuy permits similar consonants in presyllable and
main positions. Bỉnhtuy pave 'goat', cacăt 'cold'; Xuânlộc
dave, tacăt (cf. Cham pabaiy, Khmer babe).

Túctrừng also shows a tendency toward ca̲- and la̲-
presyllables. XL sinoq, TT canoq 'body hair', XL lapông,
TT capông 'door', XL dapa, TT lapa 'turtle', XL damo, TT
lamo 'deny', XL vŭn, TT lavŭn 'pregnant'.

The vowels of Túctrừng have some phonetic differences
from central Chrau. /o/ (XL [ɔ]) is raised to [o], and /ô/
(XL [o]) is raised to [oᵘ]. And XL ay generally corresponds
to TT ây. /ɨ/ in the TT dialect tends to be more fronted

than XL.

The final consonants are fairly stable throughout the Chrau area except, again, in Túctrưng. Final /l/ and /r/ have both merged with /y/. XL var TT vai 'two', XL gâl TT gây 'exchange', XL tôr TT tôi 'ear'.

In Rừnglá and Giarai âyh is merged with ĕh. XL rawâyh 'elephant', ndĕh 'vehicle', RL rawĕh, ndĕh.

Túctrưng, Võđắt, and some speakers in Rừnglá regularly have n? for Xuânlộc nđ. XL canđal VD can?al 'middle', XL sinđach TT sin?ach 'love', XL sinđôch TT sin?ôch 'black'.

Bînhtuy 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 Rừnglá, lêng in Xuânlộc, and khlân in Túctrưng. Túctrưng, however, has the largest number of peculiar words, so that other native speakers of Chrau consider Túctrưng to have a unique dialect. The word that seems to be considered the most distinctive mark of

a Tùctrừng speaker is their use of _hăn_ 'to go' rather than
saq; also prominently mentioned is their use of _ĭnh_ for _ănh_
'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 Rδglai
(Malayo-Polynesian) influence, while Tùctrừng 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.

Summary of Minor Classes

CLAUSE

Clause temporals
vrêq   §6.1
năr heq
vi mau
davôq
etc.

Initial adverbials
phŭt   §6.2
phưr
phâng
pruh
prưt
phing-ling
phung-lung
pheng-leng
gưr-nggưr
chruh
chruh-ruh
kruih
glưt
vadŭh

Initial modals
aheq   §6.3
bơ
chĕq
đăng gal
lŭh
mŏq
mơn
năm
păch
tơm, atơm
vâng
nhâng, yăng
vi
vacơnh
vadâng
vagŏq
vaju

Presubject focus
đŏi   §6.4

Movable particles
ayh   §6.5
că
cồ
cơ, cơ yiêc
dị
đé
iĕt
mơ
nôi
têq
thiêt

Adverbs §6.6
a) âr
   bây, bây ba
   chhồng
   chhuôi
   diêt
   hân
   lĕq
   lôch
   măq
   mơh
   ndêt
   ngăn ngăn
   nhâng
   qua
   thăng
   uây
   văq vây
b) du...
c) gĕh
   nôi
   truh
d) hao
   jưr
   lăp
   lŭh
   sĭq

Prepositions
a   §6.7
bay
sủng
tât

tu
tư
u

Final particles
âm   §6.8
canŏq
chơ
dơn
đăng
en
hà
hằng
hôm
là, lầu
nŏq
nôq
ngăn
ơn
pa
tơq
uy
vây
vŏq
vồ
vu de
wŏq

NOUN PHRASE

Numerals   §7.1
muôi, đu
var, etc.
vanăc
gŏq, vagŏq
đi muôi, etc.

Classifiers §7.2
a) lâm
   bo
   bon
   bưr
   căp
   mvu
   ncong
   pang, etc.

b)lĭch
  long
  thư
  sinlơ
c)bửa
  gong
  li
  maq
  thŭng, etc.

Demonstratives
heq   §7.4
nŏq
tơq
tĭq
lầy

VERB PHRASE

Preverbal Particles
cŏ   §8.1
cơnh
êq
hôm
jơ, jơq
khoi
lĕq
me
ndŏh, ndăh
phai
sấy
sửn
tơq
ửn

Auxiliary verbs
saq   §8.2
gŭq
them
iửn
gĕh

Intentional verbs
cơnh   §8.3
thêng

SENTENCE

Initial particles
canŏq   §10.1
canŏq caheq
chơ, chơ bô
còn
kê, kê yay
mà
mŏh
ncai
nhưc-đĭnh
nhửng mà
mơ, nŏq mơ
phai chi
noq
phăp
te ra
thành, thành ra

Conjunctions §10.3
hay, hay là
là, là tât nhiên
mŏq
păch
vadâng

Conditionals §10.4
chi là
hê
nĭu
nŏq
tamvac bi
thỉ
tức là

Embedding Marker
cŏ   §10.5

PARAGRAPH

Paragraph topic
nĕh   §10.8

Quotation markers
nĕh panh   §10.10
nĕh nhai panh
nhai caheq
nhai canŏq

Exclamations
cha   §10.11
cơnh te
ha-ha
chăng
ơi
ơ
ơih
trôq ntĕh de
ua
uị
yòh
nhai panh nhai

Paragraph introducers
aheq   §10.12
phăp