Chrau Affixes[1]

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0. Introduction

1. **ta—**

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O. Introduction. Chrau,[2] a Mon-Khmer language spoken in South Vietnam, has only a remnant of the affixation found for Old Khmer and many of the other Mon-Khmer languages in Vietnam.[3] The most common affixes still in use are *ta—* (with three different uses), *pa—* and *—N—*, which have partially fused, and *—n—* (with four uses). Two things have hapened to the old system : 1) many affixes and their functions have been lost, and 2) the functions of several former affixes have been subsumed under the remaining affixes.

The use of affixes is fast dying out in Chrau. In some cases the root ft form and the affixed form are completely or almost completely interchangeable (cf. 1. 6). In other cases some dialects use only the root form, other dialects only the corresponding affixed form, with individuals being aware of the two usages but preferring to use only one. The two informants used for this study varied in the roots they considered affixable. In general, Yôl used affixed

forms which Luc did not, though there are a few affixed forms which Luc used and Yôl did not. Yôl is a teenager from Gia Ray, who has spent all his life in Chrau villages. Luc, from Xuân Lộc, a young man of about 25-30, has spent many years living among Vietnamese and has a Vietnamese wife. So Yôl represents common, present day usage. Luc no doubt represents the trend within the language, as there is strong pressure from Vietnamese (about 90% of the Chrau are fairly fluent in Vietnamese) toward non-affixation and monosyllabicity.

Where the usages of the two informants have differed the items are marked with the initial of the user (Y for Yôl, L for Luc).

All examples of clearly affixable words found in our dictionary of about 5-6,000 words are presented below.

The phonological limit for a word in Chrau is two syllables. Prefixes occur with one-syllable words or replacinq the first (presyllable) syllable of two-syllable words. There are two clitics, *tăm* « reciprocal » and *n* « negative »; these will not be treated in this paper, as they are not true affixes.

1. ta— affix. Although there are three different uses of *ta—* (causative, passive, and unintentional), there is no ambiguity because usually any one root can take only one of the usages. In addition, there are distinctive transforms for each use of *ta—*.

In Pacoh and Katu these three usages are also carried by affixes. Bahnar has only the causative and passive. In all three langugues, the causative prefix is *pa—* with various allomorphs, including *ta—*. The equivalents of the Chrau passive are Bahnar passive *lo—*, Pacoh «resultant » *ti—*, and Katu «adjectivizer» *ta—*. The equivalents of the Chrau unintentional prefix are «involuntary» *ta—* in both Pacoh and Katu.

1.1 ta— causative. Both intransitive and transitive roots can take the *ta—* direct causative. *óp* « do, make » plus these roots *(cf. § 1. 5)* is an indirect causative.

1. 11 Intransitive root ta-causative. The subject of the root verb becomes the object of the affixed verb. *con-se tao* « the child stands », *ănh tatao con-se* « I stand the child up ».

Not all intransitive roots can occur with *ôp*. Those which can are so marked (below). With *ôp*, intransitives are always in the root form. *cons-se tao* « the child stands », *ănh ôp con-se tao* « I make the child stand » (cf. § 1. 5).

tao « stand »   con-se *tao* « the child stands »
    (+ ôp)
                    vơn *tatao* con-se « we stand the child up»

jɯr « descend » con-se *jɯr* « the child descends »
    (+ ôp)
                    vơn *tanjɪrr*[4] con-se « we lower the child »

gŭq « sit »   con-se *gŭq* « the child sits »
    (+ ôp)
                    vơn *tagŭq* con-se « we set the child up »

vĭq « lie, sleep » con-se *vĭq* « the child lies »
    (+ ôp)
                    von *tamvĭq*[4] con-se « we lay the child down »

chɯt « die »   con-se *chɯt* « the child dies »
    (+ ôp)
                    vơn *tachɯt* con-se « we kill the child »

ngât «extinguish» ŭnh *ngât* « the fire goes out »
    (+ ôp)
                    vơn *tangât* ŭnh « we put the fire out »

chăch « snap »   chhe *chăch* « the rope snaps »
    (— ôp)
                    vơn *tachăch* chhe « we snap the rope »

ŭm « bathe »   con-se *ŭm* « the child bathes »
    (— ôp)
                    vơn *ta-ŭm tanŭm*[4] con-se « we bathe the child »

hao « ascend »   con-se *hao* « the child ascends »

  (+ ôp)

       vơn *tan'hao*[4] con-se « we lift the child up »

1. 11 Transitive root → ta - causative.

With a transitive root the *ta*-causative is bi-transitive[5] (two nouns in the predicate). There are three types of bi-transitives : benefactive-possessive, referent, and locative. One informant also has an instrumental causative. As with the intransitives, the embedded clause after *ôp* takes the root verb.

1. 121 Benefctaive-possessive.

The subject of the root verb becomes the second noun in the predicate of the affixed transform. Benefactives have an optional *iưn* at the end of the clause, possessives do not.

Benefactive :

chuq « dress »   con-se *chuq* ao « the child dresses »

       ănh *tachuq* ao con-se (iưn) « I dress the child »

pu « suckle »   con-se *pu* (daq tŏh) « the child suckles (milk)»

       *Y*mê nĕh *tapu* (daq tŏh) con-se (*iưn*)

       «his mother suckles the child (with milk)

huch « drink »   con-se *huch* daq « the child drinks water »

       ănd *tahuch* (daq) con-se (iưn) « I give the child a drink »

le « dodge »   nĕh *le* nơm « he moves his body »

       ănh *tale* nơm nĕh (iưn) « I move his body »

Possessive :

krŭm « close mouth » con-se *hrŭm* mĭnh « the child closes his mouth »

       ănh *takŭm* mĭnh con-se « I close the child's mouth »

haq « open »   con-se *haq* mĭnh « the child opens his mouth »

       ănh *tahaq* mĭnh con-se « I open the child's mouth »

1. 122 Referent. In the referent type of causative both predicate nouns in the affixed transform refer to people. The subject of the root verb becomes the first noun in the predicate of the affixed transform.

căh « remember » mê *căh* con-se « the mother remembers the child »

> ănh *tacăh* mê con-se « I remind the mother about the child »

cơnh « want » něh *cơnh* ur nŏq « he wants that woman »

> ănh *tacơnh* něh ur nŏq « I make him want that woman»

> (ănh *tacơnh* ur nŏq něh « I make that woman want him »)

1. 123 Locative. In the locative type of causative, the subject of the root verb becomes the second noun in the predicate of the affixed transform. This noun in the predicate is preceded by *u* « at ». Each of these verbs means « to carry » in some manner.

cŭm « hold in mouth » něh *cưm* viêt-chi « he holds a pencil in his mouth »

> Y ănh *tacum* viêt-chi u něh « I put a pencil in his mouth »

dwa « carry on head » něh *dwa* la-i « He carries a basket on his head »

> Y ănh *tadwa* la-i u něh « I put a basket on his head »

cheng « carry on shoulder něh *cheng* gisop «he carries a bag from his shoulder»

> Y ănh *tacheng* gisop u něh «I hang a bag from his shoulder »

1. 24 Instrumental L used two verbs bi-transitively wih *bay* « with».

In both cases Y preferred a simple transitive.

căn «bite» con-se *căp* ti « the child bites (his) hand»

> L sipăm *tacăp* ănh bay nggan « the sorcerer has me bite a bowl »

> Y sipăm něh an ănh *tacăp* nggan « the sorcerer lets me bite a bowl »

(tacăp is used only in the context of a sorcerer giving a bowl *to* be bitten.)

huch « drink » (see 1. 21)

> L ănh *tahuch* con-se bay daq « I give the child a drink with water »

1. 2 ta— passive. The *ta—* passive occurs only with transitive roots. The object of the root verb becomes the subject in the affixed transform, and the actor of the root verb is deleted. Double passive verbs have two passive transforms.

The meaning of the passive is that of the subject being acted on unintentionally. (Thus inanimate actors, such as the wind, cannot take the unaffixed forms of these verbs., as that would imply voli-tion.) This contrasts with the unintentional *ta—* (§ 1.3) in that there the subject is the actor of the action.

The affixed form occurs with *ôp* « cause » (§1. 5). With *ôp* the object of the verb can occur either before or after the ve rb with no apparent change in meaning. *ănh rung daq* « I pour water », *ănh ôp daq tarung / ănh ôp tarung daq* « I make the water spill ». A number of these verbs usually take *chhal* « wind » as the actor in the *ôp* con-struction ; then *ôp* can be optionally replaced by *khlôm* « blow ». *chhal khlôm tapơq nhi / chhal khlôm nhi tapơq* « the wind blows the house open ». (The *chhal* verbs are marked below.) It is at this point that the distinction between a single causative clause and two interrelated clauses begins to blur. *ôp* is both an agentive action indicator similar to the affix *ta—* and also a generic pro-verb for which can be substituted other specific verbs, at which point we

begin to enter the realm of a two-clause sentence. It is doubtful whether any clear case can be made for distinguishing these two uses of *ôp* in Chrau.[6]

1. 21 Single passive.

yaih « damage »   ănh *yaih* nhi « I damage the house »
(chhal)
                          Y nhi *tayaih* « the house got damaged »

poq « open »   ănh *poq* nhi « I open the house »
(chhal)
                          nhi *tapo* « the house got opened »

roq « pull up »   ănh *roq* canji « I pull weeds »
(chhal)
                          canji *taroq* « the weeds got pulled up »

hwât ‹ throw ›   ănh *hwât* tamô ‹ I throw a stone ›

                          ănh *tahwât* ‹ I was thrown (out of a hammock) ›

(* *tamô tahwât* does not occur, as *tahwât* is used only in the context of a hammock. L uses *hwât* and *tahwât* interchangeably.)

păh « slash »   ănh *păh* něh ‹ I slash him ›

                          Y var tong nděh mprăng *tapăh* ding « two cars run
                          together slashing their sides »

(*tapăh* has only marginal existence, being unfamiliar to L and used by Y only in complex sentences, never simply.)

rung ‹ pour ›   ănh *rung* daq « I pour water »

                          daq *tarung* « the water got spilled ›

pĭq ‹ pick ›   ănh *pĭq* la ‹ I pick a leaf ›

                          la *tapĭq* « the leaf got broken off ›

rih ‹ tear ›   ănh *rih* khăn-vai ‹ I tear the cloth ›

                          khăn-vai *tarih* ‹ the cloth got ripped ›

tăq « pull out »   ănh *tăq* dĭnh « I pull out a nail »

  dĭnh *tatăq* « the nail got pulled out »

hec « ruin »   ănh *hec* ao « I ruin the clothes »

  Y ao *tahec* « the clothes got ruined »

  (L uses *hec* and *tahec* interchangeably.)

plŏng « dunk »   ănh *plŏng* bănh (u daq) « I dunk the bread (in water) »

  Y bănh *taplŏng* (u daq) « the bread got dunked (in water) »

rơq « lift »   ănh *iơq* păch canjŏq « I lift a heavy thing »

  Y păch canjŏq *ta-iơq* « the heavy thing got lifted »

piêt « shove »   ănh *piêt* nĕh « I shoved him »

  Y nĕh *tapiêt* « he got shoved »

1. 22 Double passive. With these verbs, the root form has both an instrument and a locative in the predicate. Either one can be the subject of the passive transform.

jăp « pierce »   ănh *jăp* loq u ti ănh « I stick a thorn in my hand »

  ti ănh *tajăp* (bay) loq « my hand got stuck with a thorn »

  loq *tajăp* (u) ti ănh « a thorn got stuck in my hand »

juh « stab »   ănh *juh* pĭh u nơm nĕh « I stab a knife in his body »

  nơm nĕh *tajuh* (bap) pĭh « his body got stabbed with a knife »

  pĭh *tajuh* (u) nơm nĕh « a knife got stabbed into his body »

With *ôp* either the instrument or the locative can occur in the embedded clause. They can occur either before or after the affixed verb.

1. 3 ta— unintentional. Some transitive roots can take the *ta*— unintentional affix. The affixed form is also transitive. (For one exception, see § 1. 43.) The only formal difference between clauses with the root form and clauses with the affixed form is in the verb itself. The unintentional aspect does not include actions against the will, as in Katu and Pacoh, but rather accidental happenings only.

As with the *ta* — passive, after *ôp* the noun can come either before or after the affixed verb. The two forms are completely interchangeable: *ănh ôp něh tacăr / ănh ôp tacăr něh* «I make it brushed».

căr «brush away»   ănh *căn* něh «I brush it»

                          ănh *tacăr* něh «I brush it accidentally»

gǐq «snap»   ănh *gǐq* nco něh «I snap its neck»

                          ănh *tagǐq* nco něh «I accidentally snap its neck»

păm «hit»   ănh *păm* něh «I hit him»

                          ănh *tapăm* něh «I accidentally hit him»

păq «reset joint»   ănh *păq* něh «I reset it»

                          ănh *tapăq* něh «I accidentally reset it»

văng «smear on»   ănh *văng* jrơu (u jâng) «I smear medicine (on my leg)»

                          ănh *tavăng* jrơu (u jâng) «I accidentally smear medicine on my leg»

lŏq «poke»   ănh *lŏq* măt «I poke an eye»

                          ănh *talŏq* măt «I accidentally poke an eye»

khwěh «push»   ănh *khwěh* něh «I push him»

                          ănh *takhwěh* něh «I accidentally push him»

uăq «rub against»   ănh *uăq* něh «I rub against him»

                          ănh *ta-uăq* něh «I accidentally rub against him»

waq «spread apart» ănh *waq* něh «I spread it apart»

ănh *tawaq* něh «I accidentally spread it apart»

jwăch «crumple» ănh *jwăch* pa-ar «I crumole paper»

ănh *tajwăch* pa-ar «I accidentally crumple paper»

There are two verbs which can take either the root form or the affixed form with *ôp*, with no change in meaning:

goq «bump» ănh *goq* něh « I bump him »

ănh *tagoq* něh « I accidentally bump him »

ănh *ôp goq* / *tagoq* něh «I accidentally bump him »

dih «squash» ănh *dih* něh «I squash it»

ănh *tadih* něh «I accidentally squash it»

ănh *ôp dih* / *tadih* «I accidentally squash it »

1. 4 Irregular intransitive roots. There are a few intransitive roots whics take the *ta*— affixes normally restricted to transitive roots.

1. 41 Intransitive root→ta— causative and passive

rŏh «go down, alight» is the only verb found so far which can take two affixes simultaneously: *tatrŏh* «jump down».

root — sŭm *rŏh* « the bird alights »

causative — ănh *trŏh* pĭh « I drop the knife »

passive — pĭh *tarŏh* « the knife fell »

combined — ănh *tatrŏh* «I jump down »

That *tatrŏh* is genuinely a combination of two affixes is supported by Y's saying *tatarŏh* as a slip of the tongue, even though two syllables is the phonological limit for a word in Chrau.

khlâyh « escape » can take either the causative or the passive *ta*—, but not simultaneously. *ôp* with the root is simple causative, with the affixed form it is unintentional causative. Use of the simple *khlâyh* is marginal, accepted by only one of the informants, and with different cooccurrence restrictions from *takhlâyh.*

(Y) root — kraih *khlâyh* « the squirrel escapes »

causative — ănh *takhlâyh* dăq « I spring the trap »

passive — dăq *takhlâyh* en « the trap was sprung »

ôp root — ănh ôp dăq *khlâyh* « I make the trap spring »

ôp aff. — ănh ôp dăq *takhlâyh* « I accidentally make the trap spring »

1. 42 Intransitive root → ta - passive. Two intransitive roots can take the passive *ta*—.

păr « fly »   sŭm *păr* « the bird flies »

                        đuôn *tapăr* en « the hat was flown »

                        chhal khlôm đuôn *tapăr*/chhal khlôm *tapăr* đuôn

                        « the wind blows and flies the hat »

Both *păr* and *tapăr* occur with *ôp*. With *păr* it is simple causative, and is used with birds. With *tapăr* it is unintentional causative, and is used with non-flying objects. (cf. §1. 2)

ănh ôp sŭm *păr* « I make the bird fly »

ănh ôp *tapăr* đuôn « I accidentally make the hat fly »

pauh « fall off »   play *pruh* « fruit falls off »

                        Y ănh ranggu chho play *tapruh* / ănh ranggu chho

                        tapruh play « I shake the tree and make fruit fall oft »

1. 43 Intransitive root — ta — unintentional. L uses *phăt* « flip » intransitively, *taphăt* transitively.

                        khăn-vai *phăt* « the cloth flips »

> chhal *taphăt* khăn-vai « the wind flips the cloth »

talŭh « accidentally go out » is the only intransitive example found thus far with the *ta—* unintentional.

> sɯr *lŭh* « the pig goes out »
>
> sɯr *talŭh* « the pig accidentally gets out »

1. 5 ôp constructions. In construction with the particle *ôp* « make, cause, » some verbs appear in root form, others in affixed form. This division of the verbs into classes matches the division formed by cooccurence with the three types of *ta—* (see chart below).

When *ôp* occurs with a simple verb root, the construction is an indirect causative, and the word order is N — ôp — N — root. This is the same class of roots that take the *ta—* causative. (cf. § 1.1)

When *ôp* occurs with an affixed form, the construction is always unintentional. The word order may be either N — ôp — *ta—* V — N or N — ôp — N — *ta—* V. (For details see the previous §§.) These are the classes of verbs that take the *ta—* passive and unintentional.

There are two intransitive roots, *khlâyh* « escape » and *păr* «fly» (§ 1. 41-42), which can take the passive *ta—*. These two verbs can also have either the root or the affixed form with *ôp*. With the root, the construction is indirect causative, with the affixed form the construction is unintentional causative.

The following chart shows the correlation of verb types with *ta—* and with *ôp*. (I is Intransitive, T is Transitive, Caus. is Causative, Unin. is Unintentional, Ind. is Indirect.)

Root	ta—	ôp	Example
I/T	Caus.	(root) Ind. Caus.	ănh ôp con-se tao « I make the child stand »
T	Pass.	(affixed) Unin.	ănh ôp tayaih nhi «I accidentally damage the house»
T	Unin.	(affixed) Unin.	ănh ôp tacâr nĕh « I accidentally brush it »

1. 6 Interchangeable forms. A number of roots and affixed forms are now used interchangeably. Only the last two of these are used with *ôp*.

prap/taprap 'put away'   (L)

nchăp/tanchăp «tie up»

ntâq/tantâq 'roll up in (as blanket)

prɯp/taprɯp 'compare'

chhat rao/tachhat tarao 'purify (after contact with corpse)»

khwâr/takhwâr 'scald'   (L)

chŭch/tachŭch «scorch, as with cigarette'

The last two of these are not yet completely interchangeable. L would not allow *khwâr* in the sentence *jâng ănh takhwâr daq dŭh* «my feet were scalded with hot water», though he would allow either form in *ănh khwâr/takhwâr daq dŭh* 'I scald with hot water'. Y would allow all the combinations. With *chŭch* and *tachŭch* Y would use only *tachŭch* after *ôp*.

1.7 Changed meanings. There are a few examples where there is a possible relation between forms, but not according to any established patterns. None of these can occur with *ôp*.

dâp 'dam up»   *ănh dâp daq* 'I dam up water»

        ănh tadâp ao «I fold (or hem) a shirt»

lăq 'spread»   *ănh lăq vêl* «I spread out a mat»

        ănh talăq tamun «I knock a person down»

chĕq «put, set»   *ănh chĕq nĕh* «I put it down»

        ănh tachĕq nĕh 'I put it down forcefully»

Note also *rŏh* « alight», *trŏh* «drop, return», *tarŏh* «fall», *tatrŏh* 'jump down» (§1. 41)

2 Pa — and — N — affixes. The two affixes *pa —* and *N —* frequently

occur together. N is a nasal at the point of articulation of the following consonant. There are too few examples to determine the meanings of these two affixes.

dɔp ‹to hand, give›   *pandɔp* ‹reach up, grab›

wil ‹mistake road›   *pangwil* ‹lead astray›

jĕng ‹become›   *pinjêng* ‹beget, create›

In a few cases N — occurs with *ta —* instead of *pa —*: *n'hao/lan'hao* ‹raise›, *njɯr/lanjɯr*› lower' *tamvĭq* ‹lay (someone) down› (cf. § 1. 11). All three of these examples involve a change of position. *ta-ŭm* ‹to bathe someone› also varies to *tanŭm*, but, in this case the *ta* cannot be dropped.

pa — occurs without N — in several cases:

găn ‹go across›   *pagăn* ‹crosswise›

le ‹dodge›   *pale* ‹roll over (as in bed)›

lɔm ‹lure›   *palɔm* ‹mislead›

lăm ‹set, point›   *palăm* ‹roll› here the meaning is considerably changed when affixed. Cf. § 1. 7).

There is one example of *pa —* and *pa*N — in contrast:

jwăch/pajwăch ‹crumple something light (one hand)›

panjwăch ‹crumple something stiff (two hands)›

3. *an —* affix. The — *an —* infix usually occurs on verbs, and the resultant form can be either a quantifier, a noun, or an adjective. In a few cases the two forms are synonymous.

an — occurs with one-syllable words only. It follows the initial consonant, making a presyllable before the main syllable.

3.1 Resultant quantifier.

păt ‹squeeze› ănh *păt* du *panăt* piêng ‹ I squeeze one handful of rice'

poq « roll »	ănh *poq* du *panoq* iuq « I roll one roll of tobacco (one cigarette) »
chŭm « wrap »	ănh *chŭm* du *chaokhŭm* piêng « I wrap one package of rice »
tung « carry on shoulder »	ănh *tung* du *tanung* long « I carry one load of firewood »
puq « a rice »	du *panuq* piêng *puq* « one piece of *puq* rice »

3. 2 Resultant noun.

Instrument noun :

goch « to lasso »	ănh *goch* bay *ganoch* « I lasso with a lasso »
col « to pillow »	ănh *col* vôq bay *ganol* « I pillow (my) head with a pillow »

It is not clear why the consonant became voiced in *ganol*. (L would usually use the Vietnamese word for pillow, but this is a normal sentence for Y.

khlĕq « to hook »   ănh *khlĕq* bay *can'hlĕq* « I hook with a hook »

Non-instrument noun :

pôq « say »	*pôq panôq* « say words » « archaic »
păng « wall in »	ănh *păng* prăm lâm *panăng* « I wall five rooms »
păr « fly »	sŭm gĕh *panăr* nĕh *păr* « birds have wings so they fly »
trong « language »	du *tanrong trong* « one line of words »
sau « son-in-law »	*sinau* « grandchild »
gon « a blind »	ănh *gon* sŭng *ganon* « I hunt in a blind» (Y)

(With L *ganon* is an instrument, used with *bay*.)

ranggâp « rapids »   *ganâp* « dam »

It is not clear whether *rang*—here is a presyllable, which was

dropped to permit infixation of the main syllable, or whether it was an old affix, with the root being simply *gâp*. The relationship of the verb *đâp* « to dam up » is also not clear.

kiêp « pot »   *caniêp* « family » (those who eat from the same pot)
swan « streugth, ability » *sinwan* « muscle, tendon »

3.3 Resultant adjective.

căh « remember »   · *piêng canăh* « remaining, leftover rice »

vŏh « know »   *něh vanŏh* « he is wise »

pănh « shoot »   L yang *panănh* « spirit of shooting »

                     Y tamun *panănh* « good hunter »

côih « whittle »   *ănh côih* bay *pĭh canôih* « I whittle with a *canôih* knife »

34 Synonymous forms.

chhâc/ chin'hâc « fierce »

khɯn/ can'hɯn « steal »

krâq/ canrâq « weedy »

4. Other less common affixes.

4. 1 sa—. A large number of animal names begin with the presyllable *sa—*, though it is not currently recognized as an affix by native speakers. For the most part the first syllable is never dropped, except in direct address. *sapai* « rabbit », *sacau* « bear », *saquây* « mouse deer », *saleng* « swallow », *sama* « porcupine », *sama (r) bar* « flying squirrel », *sapiq* « civet ».

Jacob gives no examples for such an « animal » affix in either Old Khmer or Old Mon. It may possibly have come from an old classifier for animals.

    Two other words with a *sa—* presyllable, *sa—ur* « wife » and *raklô* « husband », are almost certainly contractions from *sai ur* « marry woman » and *sai klô* « marry man ». The uncontracted forms are still current in neighboring Kơho.

4.2 ta— verbalizer. *ta—* added to the name for a sound, usually onomatopoetic, gives the meaning to make that sound.

pou «call of deer», *tapou* «to call «pou» »

ou «call to a dog», *ta—ou* «to call «ou»»

teh «call of elephant or pig», *tateh* «to call 'teh' »

pâc « a bilabial implosive», *tapâc* «to make a bilabial implosive»

klŏc «click», *taklŏc* «to click (for a dog)»

piu «bang!», *tapiu* «to go 'piu'»

toch toch «drip drip» *tatoch* «to drip»

chuc «to peck (chicken)» *tachuc* «to call a chicken»

 chuc «peck» is a verb; all the other roots with this affix are exclamations.

4.3 — ap — nominalizer. Two examples of this infix have been found *sêt* «to plug», *sapêt* «a plug, cork» *sun* «create», *sapun* «fate». From an historical point of view it may be significant that both examples which have preserved this infix begin with /s/.

4.4 ta — time affix: *ta-au* «tomorrow» and *ta-ih* «later (soon)» are the only examples of this *ta —* «later time» affix. Both *au* and *ih* occur alone in other environments· *au klaq* «later on (ten days to a year)» *mau ih* «this afternoon».

4.5 kha — pluralizer. There is a free word *khây* «plural», which is tending toward becoming an affix: with pronouns it is frequently contracted to *kha —*;

ănh «I», *khananh, khây ănh* «we (excl).»

mai «you (m)», *khamai, khây mai* «you pl: (m)»

ai «you (f)» *kha-ai, khây ai* «you pl. (f)»

nĕh «3rd.sg.» *khanĕh, khây nĕh* «they»

    ănh usually takes the contracted plural; *mai* and *ai* vary between the contracted and uncontracted plurals. *něh* usually takes the uncontracted plural. Aspiration is not normally permitted in the presyllable of a word, so it is likely that *kha* — may eventually reduce to *ca* —;

Footnotes

1. I am indebted to Milton Barker and David Thomas, both of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for helpful suggestion in the writing of this paper;

2. For further information on Chrau see the following: David Thomas, «Remarques sur la phonologie du Chrau», *BSLP* 57: 175-191 (1962); Dorothy Thomas, « Chrau Intonation », in *Mon-Khmer Studies II* pp. 1-13 (1966). Dorothy Thomas, « Chrau Zoology: an ethnolinguistic study », in *Papers on Four Vietnamese Languages* pp. 1-14 (*Te Reo* Offprint Series No. 2, 1966). David Thomas, *Chrau Grammar*, unpublished PhD dissertation, U. Pennsylvania 1967; David Thomas and Thô Sång Lục, *Chrau Vocabulary*, Saigon 1966.

    The consonant phonemes of Chrau are: voiceless stops *p, t, ch; c/k, q* (glottal); lenis voiced stops *v, d, j, g*; preglottalizd stops *b, d*, nasals *m, n, nh, ng*; other *r, l, w, y, s, h*. The vowel phonemes are; front *i, ĭ, ê, e, ĕ*; central *ɯ, o', â, a, ă*; back *u, ŭ, ô, o, ŏ*;

3. Judith M. Jacob, «Prefixation and Infixation in old Mon, old Khmer and Modern Khmer» in Shorto, ed. *Linguistic Compapison in South East Asia and the Pacific* pp. 62-70 (London 1963). Elizabeth Banker, «Bahnar Affixation», in *Mon-Khmer Studies* I pp. 99-117 (1964). Nancy Costello. « Affixes in Katu », in *Mon-Khmer Studies* II pp.63-86 (1966). Saundra Watson, « Verbal Affixation in Pacoh », in *Mon-Khmer Studies II* pp. 15-30 (1966).

4. *tanŭm, tan hao, tanjɯr* and *tamvĭq* all have the N — prefix (cf. §2. 2-

5. See David Thomas, *Chrau Grammra*, chap. 5.

6. For a somewhat similar case of indeterminacy of level, cf. Richard watson, « Clause to Sentence Gradations in Pacoh », *Lingua* 16: 166) 189 (1966).