

A Preliminary Sketch of Phan Rang Cham  
The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar

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[in press]. A Preliminary Sketch of Phan Rang Cham. In *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Edited by K. Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus Himmelmann. Curzon Press.

## 1.0 Introduction

The extraordinary French scholar Coedès noted that Cham is the earliest attested Austronesian language. Coedès dated the Cham inscription found at Tra-kiêu near the old Cham capital of Indrapura as being from the middle of the fourth century, describing the inscription as "...the oldest text, presently known, written in a Malayo-Polynesian dialect". The language of the text is associated with the once flourishing kingdom of Champa, a kingdom first mentioned by the Chinese around 190 to 193. Champa reached its zenith about the sixth century, continuing to flourish until the Vietnamese 'push to the South' in the tenth century began its slow demise. At the time of the first inscriptions, the Chamic languages were still a largely undifferentiated dialect continuum, but in the subsequent fifteen hundred or so years of change, realignments in patterns of affiliation and language contact restructured stretches of the original dialect chain into distinct languages and distributed the speakers over a much wider area. No longer functioning as the lingua franca of the kingdom of Champa, Chamic lives on in its modern descendants: the Tsat spoken on Hainan, the Rade, Jarai, Haroi, Chru, and Roglai spoken in the southern Vietnam highlands, the Phan Rang Cham spoken in Vietnam, the various Western Cham communities of Cambodia, and the Acehnese of north Sumatra.

Quite correctly, the literature simply assumes that the mainland Chamic languages form a subgroup, but there have been minor questions about the relationship of Acehnese with the mainland Chamic languages. Niemann reached the correct solution as early as 1891, first subgrouping Acehnese and Cham together on the basis of similarities in the verbal morphology, the treatment of inherited vowels, and in various instances of apparent lexical agreement, and then positing a migration of Chams to Aceh (cf. Thurgood 1999 for extended discussion).

Phan Rang Cham (or, Eastern Cham) is a Chamic language spoken in southern Vietnam by 35,000 to 50,000 people in the area around the towns of Phan Rang and Phan Ri. It is closely enough related to Western Cham for the two to be considered dialects of one another. Baumgartner (1998:1) notes that the differences between the two are primarily matters of pronunciation and vocabulary with the grammars being almost identical. As for number of speakers, he notes that Western Cham is the numerically larger of the two, with 300,000 to 350,000 speakers in Cambodia, and another 35,000 or so speakers in the Mekong delta region of Vietnam, particularly around Chau Doc, Tay Ninh, and Saigon.

## 1.1 Classification and history

Although as early as 1822, John Crawfurd, a British civil servant and a medical doctor, had recognized the Austronesian affiliation of Cham, which he termed the 'Malay of Champa', it was not until the second half of the twentieth

century that scholarship would return to Crawford's position. Toward the end of the nineteenth century and for the first half of the twentieth, the classification of the Chamic languages was controversial due to the belief of scholars like Étienne Aymonier, who thought, along with many of his contemporaries, that the Austronesians had migrated to the islands from this part of the Southeast Asian mainland. Failure to distinguish between borrowed Mon-Khmer elements and inherited Austronesian elements led Aymonier to write (1889) that Cham formed a kind of transitional language genetically intermediate between Khmer and Malay. Schmidt (1906), influenced by Cham's Mon-Khmer influenced typological characteristics and its numerous Mon-Khmer borrowings, described Cham as an Austroasiatic mixed language (Austroasiatic is Mon-Khmer plus Munda). In fact, as late as 1942 Thomas Sebeok was to misclassify Chamic languages as Austroasiatic.

From a modern perspective, it is evident the Chams reached the mainland from a site probably somewhere in West Borneo some two thousand years ago. The Chamic languages are far too closely-related and far too easily reconstructed to date back much over two thousand years, let alone the six thousand or so that would be required to account for Austronesian. The borrowed Mon-Khmer elements can readily be distinguished from the inherited Austronesian elements, leaving a clearly Western Malayo-Polynesian language behind, and in the process providing a magnificent venue for studying the effects of language contact on language change.

As an aside, although Moken is sometimes classified as Chamic, careful comparative examination makes it clear that, despite certain areally-expected typological similarities and their common membership in Austronesian, there is no special subgrouping relationship between Moken and Chamic (however, see Larish [this volume] for an opposite view).

The breakup of ancient Cham into various modern languages followed an almost predictable pattern. For roughly the first millennium, the Chamic languages were a largely undifferentiated dialect chain that certainly extended along the coast of Vietnam and may even have stretched as far south as the east coast of the Malaysian peninsula (although Chamic-like features now found along the east coast of Malaysia certainly date from a much later Acehnese influence). The dialect chain along the coast of Vietnam broke into clearly distinct languages when the Vietnamese moved south down the coastline, a movement that pushed many Chamic speakers up into the highlands and destroyed much of the rich interactional network between the coastal communities. New sets of language networks developed for almost all Chamic speakers, with some like the Haroi eventually coming to be part of a Mon-Khmer social network, while others like the Phan Rang Cham eventually came to be part of the lowlands society dominated by the Vietnamese.

As for Cham itself, it mostly began its split into Western and Phan Rang Cham around the end of the fifteenth century with the fall of the southern capital to the Vietnamese.

Cham has its own literary tradition, one that dates back to the first inscriptions written in an Indic script in the middle of the fourth century. Various texts and inscriptions have been gathered, primarily through the work of various French scholars. However, much of the epigraphic work remains to be done and until then much of the early history of Champa and of Cham will remain beyond our reach.

## 1.2 Sources

The published sources on Cham are limited. The only phonological sketch that I know is a well-done sketch by Blood (1967), which this work draws

on heavily. Several other works have dealt with aspects of the historical phonology (Blood 1962, Thurgood 1996, 1999) but more remains to be done.

No detailed grammars exist, although there is a good grammatical sketch of Western Cham by Baumgartner (1998). For Phan Rang Cham, there are a handful of articles, including David Blood (1977) on Cham sentences and Doris Blood (1977) on Cham clause and sentence-final particles. The discussion of discourse data in this chapter comes largely from Doris Blood (1978), which gives three Cham texts along with a sophisticated and insightful analysis. The numbers following the cited sentences below refer to these Blood sources; the citations are obvious, except for Blood 1978, which contains three separate texts; for this source the three texts are coded as 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, plus a line number. , particular Blood . Two other sources of Cham texts exist: an extensive French collection of Cham manuscripts catalogued in Pierre-Bernard Lafont, Po Dharma, and Nara Vija (1977) and six reels of microfilms of Cham documents in the Echols Collection of the Kroch Library at the University of Cornell.

Several good dictionaries exist: Aymonier and Cabaton (1906), written in French, has its idiosyncracies and naturally is somewhat dated, it is still quite usable. Moussay (1971) is also useful; in addition to citation in the Cham, it has two additional representations, one a transliteration of the Chamic script, and the other a modified transliteration intended to approximate the contemporary pronunciation. Still another is a Cham-Vietnamese dictionary by Bui Khanh The (1995), which seems to take most of its entries from Aymonier and Cabaton (1906); this dictionary uses the same script as Aymonier and Cabaton, but replaces their transliteration with one that is more transparent.

Overall, more historical work than synchronic description seems to have been published on Chamic and Cham. Thurgood (1999) presents an overview that incorporates most of the available historical work.

This grammatical sketch is text-based, a necessary but not ideal constraint. Despite this limitation the attempt has been made to give a precise and succinct statement regarding the polysemy of various, often historically-related formatives, although at times there was not enough data to do this.

## 2.0 Phonology

The phonotactics of the word are the key to the phonology of Cham (Blood 1967). Like the surrounding Mon-Khmer languages, most words are disyllabic and iambic. The rare trisyllabic word is often morphologically complex and, as Blood notes, frequently collapses into a disyllable, following interesting but still unclear paths of reduction.

Contemporary Phan Rang Cham is rapidly going from disyllabic to monosyllabic. A small number of words of course were always monosyllabic, but under the internal influence of final stress and the external influence of Vietnamese now even the typically disyllabic words are increasingly becoming monosyllabic and motivating much of the phonological variation within Cham. Within the last several generations initial syllables were first omitted in informal, colloquial speech and now seem to have been dropped entirely by some speakers. Doris Blood (1962:11) gives a vivid instance, citing the following variants of the word 'new': *perèw* ~ *prèw* ~ *phirèw* ~ *phrèw* ~ *firèw* ~ *frèw*. She notes that the scholars tend to maintain the full forms in speech, but, typically, non-scholars modify the first syllable, reducing its vocalism, subjecting it to assimilation, or losing it entirely.

The segment inventories correlate directly with the syllable structure and its iambic stress pattern. The preliminary syllables (using terminology introduced by Blood 1967) are unstressed, shorter in duration, and typically CV, although occasionally a final -ŋ occurs that may assimilate to the following

consonant. Blood (1967) notes that as the vowel disappears, the preliminary syllable is restructured, with the consonantal onset sometimes becoming syllabic and sometimes, where the phonetics are compatible, becoming the onset for a main syllable cluster (see the examples in the preceding paragraph).

## 2.1 Segment inventories

Consonantal contrasts are maximized in the onset position of the fully-stressed main syllables (Table 1), as Blood makes clear. Consonant clusters are limited to a restricted set of CC- clusters in the main syllable with the second position occupied by either a semivowel or a liquid. The occasional appearance of a word like *blwa?* ‘more than’ with a CCC- onset is only marginal as a counter-example, as the *β-* in its onset labels it a loanword.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
vl. stops	p-	t-	c-	k-	ʔ-
aspirated stops	p <sup>h</sup> -	t <sup>h</sup> -	c <sup>h</sup> -	k <sup>h</sup> -	
implosives	β-	ɗ-			
fricatives			s-		h-
nasals	m-	n-	ɲ-		
semivowels/liquids	w-	l-, r-	y-		

Table 1: Main syllable onset consonants

Certain individual segments are worth a brief mention. The /c/ is prepalatal to palatal. The imploded stops vary with corresponding voiced stops. Except for /t<sup>h</sup>-/, the aspirated stops all have fricative variants: /p<sup>h</sup>-/ varies with [f-], apparently under the influence of Vietnamese; /k<sup>h</sup>-/ varies with [x]; and /c<sup>h</sup>-/ varies with [ç<sup>s</sup>-] and [s-].

Among the voiceless stops, the cluster written <tr-> is sometimes replaced by a retroflexed stop, e.g. *ʔy* for *trây* ‘self’. In the speech of women, Blood reports a tendency to replace /tr-/ with /ty-/ which reflects the general tendency among women to substitute /y/ for /r/.

Two distinct phonation types occur after voiceless, unaspirated onsets: one with residual breathy voice and a lower pitch (indicated in the examples by the grave accent); the other with modal (or clear) voice is unmarked in the examples).

The preliminary syllable onsets (Table 2) are a subset of those found in main syllables. The imploded series is missing as are the palatal and the velar nasals and the semivowels. Among the aspirated stops, only the bilabial and the velar occur heading preliminary syllables.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
vl. stops	p-	t-	c-	k-	ʔ-
aspirated stops	p <sup>h</sup> -	t <sup>h</sup> -			
fricatives			s-		h-
nasals	m-	n-			
liquids		l-, r-			

Table 2: Preliminary syllable onset consonants

The main syllable codas (Table 3) are not only even more limited than preliminary syllable onsets, but they also have special characteristics (Blood 1967).

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
vl. stops	-p	-t		-k	-ʔ
fricative					-h
nasals	-m	-n		-ŋ	
liquids		-l, -r			

Table 3: Main syllable consonantal codas

The voiceless unaspirated stops are frequently unreleased utterance-finally. Word-finally /-t/ and /-k/ may be replaced by a glottal stop. As is evident from spectrographic evidence, the glottal stop in final position varies with laryngealization, according to Blood, a characteristic of the languages of the area. The final velar nasal has a labialized allophone occurring variably after the vowels /u/ and /o/, which is characteristic of women's speech. Final /l/, /r/, and /n/ vary among one another and with a retroflex nasal. Much of this reflects movement toward reducing all three to /n/, again an areal characteristic.

Blood writes several more finals but, although historically accurate (except for the <b> which historically would have been a /-p/), these are now orthographically rather than phonetically motivated: <-c> is /-jʔ/, <-b> is /-iŋʔ/, and <-s> is /-jʰ/.

The vowel system (Table 4) is typical of Southeast Asian mainland languages, with the number of vowels in the main syllable reflecting both borrowings and changes from the earlier, more limited inventory under the influence of the neighboring Mon-Khmer languages.

	front	central	back	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u	i	ɨ	u
mid		ə		e	ə	o
low		a		ɛ	a	ɔ
	Preliminary syllables			Main syllables		

Table 4: Cham vowels

In the preliminary syllable, the vowel contrasts are significantly reduced; only schwa occurs with all the possible consonant onsets. In addition, all four other vowels frequently vary with schwa.

## 2.2 Tones

The Cham tones are an instructive example of true tonogenesis, namely, the development of tones in a formerly atonal language, not the far more common tone splitting in an already tonal language. The tones are well-described by the Bloods, by Fr. Gérard Moussay (1971:xiii-xiv), and by Han, Edmondson, and Gregerson (1992), who did valuable instrumental work on them. Despite minor disagreement about whether the rising and falling tones are phonemically or only phonetically distinct, the historical correlations of pitch distinctions with various consonant classes is quite straightforward. As Table 5

shows (for monosyllables), syllables that historically began with a voiced obstruent developed breathy voiced vowels, while the syllables beginning with the other initials did not. Because breathiness is proto-typically accompanied by lower pitch, the resulting breathiness versus modal voice contrast split Cham monosyllables into a low pitched set (low level tone) and a relatively higher pitched set (mid level tone).

The two tone classes are further split on the basis of finals: items ending in a final glottal stop (or a final stop accompanied by final glottal closure) became contour tones. The breathiness associated with the former voiced obstruents interacting with a final glottal gesture resulted in a rising tone, while the modal voiced items interacting with a final glottal gesture resulted in a falling tone. Much of the original voicing distinction in initial obstruents has since been lost, although it is retained orthographically.

	<i>non glottal stop finals</i>	<i>glottal stop finals</i>
<i>formerly non-voiced obstruent initials:</i>	modal voice (+higher pitch)  ==> mid tone	modal voice (+higher pitch)  ==> falling tone
<i>formerly voiced obstruent initials:</i>	breathy voice (+lower pitch)  ==> low tone	breathy voice (+lower pitch)  ==> rising tone

Table 5: Cham tones

Note that it was the breathy voiced quality induced by the voiced obstruents, not the voicing *per se*, that resulted in the low tones. The historical developments are complicated slightly by the spreading of voice quality differences from the preliminary to the main syllable but the conditions are still transparent. In fact, the overall transparency of the process makes Phan Rang Cham invaluable for its insights into the mechanisms of tonogenesis.

### 2.3 Reduplication

Blood (1967) makes a three-way phonological distinction depending on whether the base is fully reduplicated, partially modified, or segmentally reduced. He notes that instances of full reduplication are rare (e.g. *myet myet* ‘forever’, which does not have a non-reduplicated counterpart).

In partially modified reduplication (Table 6), the base (underlined) precedes the reduplication which still has the same number of segments, but generally involves some vowel and consonant changes.

<u>sənɲ</u> -sənəŋ	‘to meditate’	from sənɲ ‘to think’
<u>likàh</u> -likòy	‘tired’	from likàh ‘tired’
<u>pəsreh</u> -pəsròh	‘compassion’	from pəsreh ‘compassion’
<u>kəruŋ</u> -kərəŋ	‘be in anguish’	from kəruŋ ‘be worried’
<u>rəbah</u> -rəbup	‘difficult’	from rəbah ‘difficult’

Table 6: Partial reduplication patterns

In segmentally-reduced reduplication (Table 7), the reduplicative sequence usually precedes the base, contains fewer segments than the base, and some of the occurring segments are phonologically less marked than those in the base form.

məʔ-mɪk	‘to hiccough’	(always reduplicated)
ci- <u>cih</u>	‘be clean’	from (hə)cih ‘clean’
təri- <u>tərəŋ</u>	‘be industrious’	from tərəŋ ‘diligent’
təpi- <u>təpaʔ</u>	‘morally good’	from təpaʔ ‘straight’

Table 7: Reduced reduplication

Note that the last example (Table 7) fits neither pattern particularly well. In any case, the function of reduplication seems to be to provide some sort of distributive meaning. That is, it functions much as do various matched pairs of words, both with the same meaning: *hya cəʔ* ‘cry’, with both morphemes meaning ‘cry’ and *huaʔ baŋ* ‘eat’, with both morphemes individually also meaning ‘eat’.

### 3.0 Basic Morphosyntax

Cham morphemes never consist of less than a syllable, and they always consist of whole syllables. Overwhelmingly, the morphemes are phonologically separate words, with the possible exception of the causative prefix *pa-* in Modern Cham, which may still be marginally productive.

Word classes are defined distributionally. Verbs can be negated, nouns can be pluralized and can occur with classifiers, classifiers can occur with numerals, and so on. The problematic cases are locative nouns and co-verbs, for which see sections 3.4 and 4.5.

#### 3.1 Basic clause structure

Until recently Cham served for a long time as a lingua franca first along the coast and then in the highlands of southern Vietnam. This fact, combined with its relative lack of morphology, probably accounts for the fact that it is a configurational language with a fairly rigid word order. The staple of Cham clausal syntax is the verb-centered, basic declarative sentence. Most of the other clause types are essentially extensions of the declarative clause modified by sentential particles or by deletions required by interclausal cohesion. Within the basic clause, the number of arguments is determined by the semantics of the verb. The two core arguments, the subject and the object, are only marked by word order, with the subject preceding the verb and the object following it. Cham thus is a SVO language. Indirect objects never seem to appear as a third unmarked core argument, rather they are always marked as such by a preposition.

Stative intransitive clauses consist of a subject plus stative verb.

- (1) MəHləʔ (ə) cəmin lo. (6.1.55)  
Hlok desolate very  
‘Hlok was desolate.’
- (2) pətaaw (ə) on-təpon paʔ hətaay (6.1.96)  
King happy at liver  
‘The king was overjoyed’

This pattern is used for descriptive adjectives; equational sentences follow the topic-comment pattern discussed below. As is obvious from example (2) and

others elsewhere, the stomach, the liver, or some major organ are seen as the seat of the emotions, and the metaphor of an emotion going into the stomach or liver is common in the languages in the area.

In some instances, Cham uses a topicalization construction in which the topic is marked with the distal demonstrative *nan*. This construction is the typical way for marking equative sentences—the apparent origin of the construction—and is also used widely for marking other kinds of topics. In her brief discussion of topic-comment sentences, Doris Blood (1977:63-64) presents the example in (3) with its double occurrence of *nan*, the first functioning as adnominal modifier, the second as a topic marker.

- (3) oŋ nan nan uraaŋ toy. (Blood 1977:63)  
 mister DIST DIST CLF guest  
 ‘That gentleman is a guest.’

In example (3), the topic then is *oŋ nan nan*. The comment consists of the classifier *uraaŋ* ‘person’ followed by the head noun *toy* ‘guest’.

The topic constituent is not limited to nouns but can involve more complex phrases and even clauses, as shown by the following two examples in which the topical constituent is underlined:

- (4) pətaaw Taluy? ŋa? nan oh ?jəw? pətaaw pya? o. (Blood 1977:64)  
 king Taluch do DIST NEG correct king real NEG.  
 ‘King Taluch’s behavior was not that of a true king.’
- (5) ŋa? kəŋi nan pyəh ?wa? ŋa? yaaŋ, (6.2.34-5)  
 make *kanhi* DIST in.order rub make spirits  
 ‘(They) make the *kanhi* (a kind of instrument) to appease the spirits’

As shown by (5), there need be no grammatical nexus between topic and comment, only semantic coherence.

Presentative clauses (sometimes termed existential clauses) introduce new entities onto the main stage. The verb *hu* ‘have; get’ functions as the existential predicate which is immediately followed by the expression for the newly introduced participant.

- (6) tha hray nan hu tha muu? təha... (6.1.126)  
 one day DIST have one grandmother old...  
 ‘One day there was an old woman...’
- (7) hu tha uraaŋ cam [ŋa? kəŋi khɣh lo] (6.2.21)  
 have one CLF Cham [make kanhi skillful very]  
 ‘There is a Cham man who makes the *kanhi* very skillfully.’

The verb *hu* ‘have; get’ can also be used as a main verb. It then is preceded by the subject, as in

- (8) tòm uraaŋ hu ənɰ? təra hu pınaay rup (6.1.65)  
 some people have child young have lovely appearance  
 ‘Some people have young daughters who have a lovely appearance.’

When used as a presentative, as in (6), various adverbials may occur in the preverbal adjunct position, but the subject itself is always found post-verbally.

Aside from the presentative, the only construction in Cham with a non-canonical word order is left-dislocation. In this construction, a constituent which

usually has to occur in postverbal position occurs in clause-initial [or pre-clausal?] position, preceding the subject.

- (9) cəɾɔʔ əmɛɛʔ MəKaam ŋaʔ \_\_\_ rilɔ baŋ pləh. (6.1.37)  
charok mom Kam make \_\_\_ meat eat finish  
 ‘Your charok, Kam’s mother has already made (it) into food.’
- (10) kəŋi uraəŋ oh ʔwaʔ \_\_\_ məʔin (6.2.33)  
*kanhi* person NEG rub \_\_\_ play  
 ‘The *kanhi* (is an instrument) that people do not play \_\_\_ for fun.’

This construction is also found with embedded clauses:

- (11) əmɛɛʔ MəKaam hmit ənuʔ rimɔəŋ baŋ \_\_\_\_, cɔʔ hya (6.1.188)  
 mother Kam hear child tiger eat \_\_\_ cry cry  
 ‘Kam’s mother, hearing her daughter had been eaten by a tiger, wept’

As for non-declarative moods, Cham has a rich array of imperatives, many with still transparent origins. In their simplest form, imperatives may consist of nothing more than an optional vocative followed by a VP.

- (12) cəɾɔʔ ləy, (ə) doŋ təkòʔ baŋ lithay (6.1.22)  
 charok hey, (ə) rise up, eat rice  
 ‘Charok! Come on up and eat your rice.’

Imperatives may also use a sentence-final marker. In formal contexts, including written material, the marker is usually *pəʔ*, descended from a proto-Chamic negative imperative but of obvious Mon-Khmer rather than Proto-Austronesian origin. In less formal contexts, the most common marker is *mɛʔ*, which varies with *ɛʔ* in even more colloquial speech. Doris Blood (1977:45) notes that this is a more forceful command, described in Cham as *dom baʔ* ‘speaking salty’. She gives these examples.

- |      |                       |      |                             |
|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| (13) | aay huaʔ mɛʔ          | (14) | tɔɔʔ ɛʔ (Blood 1977:45)     |
|      | elder.sibling eat IMP |      | stay IMP                    |
|      | ‘Eat, brother!’       |      | ‘Stay!’ (to person staying) |

Here, however, as elsewhere in Cham, an abundance of sentence final particles exist functioning to register a wide range of moods and functions (Doris Blood 1977:45-47). Thus, other sentential markers can follow *mɛʔ*, in which case they alter the mood (examples from Blood).

- |      |                                  |      |                               |
|------|----------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| (15) | ənuʔ huaʔ <u>mɛʔ</u> <u>yə</u> ! | (16) | huaʔ <u>mɛʔ</u> <u>kaay</u> ! |
|      | child eat IMP (hurry)            |      | eat IMP (coaxing)             |
|      | ‘Hurry and eat, child!’          |      | ‘Oh come on and eat!’         |
| (17) | naaw thaŋ <u>mɛʔ</u> <u>ŋi</u> ! | (18) | huaʔ <u>mɛʔ</u> <u>ah</u> !   |
|      | go house IMP (softened)          |      | eat IMP (coaxing)             |
|      | ‘Go home, okay!’                 |      | ‘Come and eat!’               |

Notice that the final particle *yə* has increased the directness of the command, but *kaay*, *ŋi*, and *ah* have taken away some of the bluntness.

Like many Southeast Asian languages, Cham has a non-compositional negative imperative *còy* ‘don’t’. (19) còy diʔ còy ah! (Blood 1977:47)  
 don’t climb don’t PTCL ‘Better not climb (it)!’ In this example, the force of the imperative has been moderated by the use of the final particle *ah*.

Note that the negative imperative may occur before the verb, clause-finally, or in both positions. However, in final position, it is “preceded by a pause and is spoken on a higher level of intonation with a rather sharp fall” (Doris Blood 1977:47), a description suggesting a right-dislocated element more than a fully-incorporated final particle.

Questions follow the same word order as the corresponding declarative sentences. Questions answerable with a yes or no typically are signaled with nothing more than a rise in intonation on the last element in the sentence (Doris Blood 1977:42). Less commonly a yes/no question may be signaled by the sentence-final particle *laay* ‘Q’.

- (20) aay takrı laay (Blood 1978:42)  
 elder.brother want Q  
 ‘Do you want to?’

Additional sentence-final particles provide other nuances. For example, in (21), the tag *ʔjɔwʔ* laay ‘right?’ gives the flavor of a tag question to which a positive answer is expected. With this tag, the clause is followed by a slight pause before the tag is added.

- (21) aay naaw thaɲ o ʔjɔwʔ laay (Blood 1978:43)  
 elder.brother go home NEG correct Q  
 ‘You’re not going home, right?’

Some particles are more tightly incorporated than the one just discussed. Blood (1978:43) mentions *hu laay*, which has the nuance of possibility from the *hu* ‘possible; able; get; have’.

- (22) ẗəhlaʔ naaw thaɲ aay hu laay? (Blood 1978:43)  
 I go house elder.brother able Q  
 ‘Can I go to your house?’

Content questions, like yes/no questions, use the same word order as the corresponding declarative sentences, but with the question word inserted in place of the questioned item. Examples for question words are *pa* ‘where’ < *paʔ hlaay* ‘at which?’, *taaw* ‘where?’, *kêʔ* ‘what?’, *thipàal* ‘why?’, etc.

- (23) ẗəhlaʔ waʔ yaaw hlaay kayʔ? (Blood 1978:45)  
 I write like what (specifically)  
 ‘How do I write (it)?’

The final particle *kayʔ* here, Blood notes, seems to demand a specific answer.

### 3.2 Noun phrase structures

The basic structure of the NP is quite stable in Cham. Schematically, it can be represented as: NUM CLF Head Modifier(s) Demonstrative. (24) illustrates these positions.

- (24) twà tàɲ təlay kapwàʔ nan (6.2.20)  
 two CLF string silk DIST  
 ‘those two strings of silk’

More complex modifiers can, of course, be included replacing the genitive modifier *kapwàʔ* in the example given. As for genitive constructions, they are marked by simple juxtaposition with the head noun coming first and the genitive following. Other examples are *amɛɛʔ MəHləʔ* ‘mother + Hlok’ = ‘Hlok’s mother’, *həŋwʔ təluʔ* ‘wife’ + ‘younger son’ = ‘wife of the younger son’, and:

- (25) MəKaam tɔʔ ʔi la tuh əpʰi ikaan MəHləʔ təmɨ tənɛh (6.1.11)  
 Kam stay LOC down pour all fish Hlok into basket  
 ‘Kam stayed below and poured all of Hlok’s fish into her basket...’

In Modern Cham, juxtaposition appears to be the only way to form genitives, whether the genitive marks possession, part of a whole, or whatever.

### 3.2.1 Pronouns and indexicals

Two types of indexing are used to track participants in a text: pronouns, which index speech act participants, and indexicals, which index personal and social identity.

The Cham pronouns themselves come from a variety of sources, some inherited from proto-Chamic (PC) or even as far back as Proto-Austronesian, others borrowed from Mon-Khmer sources. Table 8 provides an overview of the forms. The first person singular pronoun PC \*kəw dates back to the earliest Austronesian sources, while the first person polite form PC \*hulun, which also means ‘slave’, is an innovation in its pronominal use that is no older than PC and possibly much younger. Similarly, \*kaməy ‘we (EX)’ and \*ta ‘we (IN)’ relate to Austronesian pronouns, while \*drəy ‘we (IN); intensifier’ derives from the still extant word for ‘body’. In addition, Phan Rang Cham has yet another polite first person form \*dahlaʔ, also of recent origin.

PC	PR Cham		PC	PR Cham	
*kəw	kaw	‘I (familiar)’	*kaməy	kami	‘we (EX)’
*hulun	halun	‘I (polite); slave’	*ta	ita	‘we (IN)’
*dahlaʔ	təhlaʔ	‘I (polite)’	*drəy	-tray	‘we (IN); reflexive’
*hã	hĩ	‘you; thou’			
*ñu	ñu	‘he, she’	*gəp	kàwʔ	‘other; group’

Table 8: The Phan Rang pronouns

The table includes one of the two plural markers: the plural form meaning *kàwʔ* \*gəp ‘group; other’, which shows up in various plural pronouns, for instance the second person plural, which simply adds *kàwʔ* to the singular.. The other, found in the combination *khəl ñu*, is a pluralizer for the third singular pronoun *ñu*; the combination is identical to the combination *chúng nó* meaning ‘they’ in Vietnamese.

Nouns characterizing social roles such as grandmother, elder sister, step-mother, king, and such are frequently used in the place of pronouns. In the texts examined, the third person pronoun is only used for humans.

### 3.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can function pronominally or modify a noun in which

case they follow the constituent they modify: Only the minimal two-way distinction between a distal and a proximal demonstrative is made. Finer semantic distinctions are found in the directional coverbs (see section 4.3). The distal demonstrative *nan* is the one that has taken up the duties involved in marking NPs as anaphoric; the proximal *ni* is only used when a proximal meaning is emphasized.

- (26) trù kìnrah nan (Blood 1978:2.3.3.3)  
 medicine magic DIST  
 ‘that magic medicine’

In the corpus, demonstrative pronouns are most frequently found as objects of prepositions as in (27). Much more rarely are they found elsewhere, as in most cases coreferential NPs are omitted.

- (27) ...hmit yaw nan (Blood 1978:2.3.3.1)  
 ...hear like DIST  
 ‘...heard about that’

In the texts, the demonstratives also do not seem to occur referring to humans or animates; whether this is an absolute restriction or just a strong tendency is not clear. In addition, and as mentioned in section 3.1, the demonstrative *nan* occurs as part of the topicalization construction.

### 3.2.3 Classifiers

Cham classifier constructions are as follows: (NUM) CLF (Head (Mod) (Demonstrative)), with the only necessary component being a CLF but with significant potential for elaboration.

- (28) kràw? trày cim ni? thəŋ kətraw (6.1.81)  
 PL CLF bird sparrow and pigeon  
 ‘some sparrows and pigeons’  
 (29) tha plàh pəpaan lipih (6.2.5)  
 one CLF board thin  
 ‘a thin piece of wood’  
 (30) pəh məkya nan (6.1.131)  
 CLF ebony DIST  
 ‘that *kya* (persimmon-like fruit)’

The analysis of examples like (30) is problematic as *pəh* ‘fruit; CLF for fruit’ can be analysed both as a head noun and as a classifier. Similarly, *phun* functions both as the word for ‘tree’ and as the CLF for trees.

- (31) hu təmuħ tha phun məkya (6.1.124)  
 have grow one CLF ebony  
 there grew an ebony (or *kya*) tree

In discourse, the first appearance of the CLF introduces a new entity into the flow of discourse. Typically, this first mention of the CLF co-occurs with the number *tha* ‘one’, in which case it is marking the entity as indefinite as well as singular. Subsequent mentions of the CLF (with reference to the same entity), however, serve a different function and are often not accompanied by any quantifier. In such subsequent mentions the CLF serves as a sort of pronoun,

parallel to the way that nouns characterizing social roles such as grandmother, elder sister, stepmother, king, and such are used in the place of pronouns. In fact, in the texts examined, pronouns are never used to track nonhumans; instead, the tracking is done with a combination of zeros (safely ignored in the discussion to follow), CLFs, and various (other) noun substitutes. Compare the following segments drawn from the same text.

- (32) hu tha pəh prəŋ yəm də cəlu? ... (6.1.125)  
 have one clf large compare equal bowl  
 having one fruit as large as a bowl.
- (33) təlaa? mən boh tha pəh məkya prəŋ kəcàan. ... (6.1.128)  
 look.up look see one clf ebony big near.ripe  
 and looked up to see a large persimmon-like fruit almost ripe.
- (34) min cən ka pəh məkya nan lə? trun təlam li?i muu?. (6.1.131)  
 but wish for clf ebony that fall down inside basket grandmother  
 She wished that the fruit would fall down into her basket.
- (35) pəh məkya truh trun təpa? li?i. ... (6.1.133)  
 clf ebony fall down straight basket  
 the ebony fruit fell down into her basket.
- (36) pəcə boh pəh məkya pləh twà tət? kədəh thəh. ... (6.1.153)  
 peek see clf ebony cut two stay peel only  
 peeked in and saw the ebony fruit cut in two with just the peel left.

Note that in this example it could also be argued that pəh functions as a noun rather than a CLF, in particular in 32 and 33]

Here, the CLF with *tha* ‘one’ is used to first introduce the fruit to the listener *tha pəh prəŋ yəm də cəlu?* (6.1.125); that this is an initial introduction is made particularly obvious by the use of the presentational *hu* ‘have’. Several lines later (6.1.128) the fruit is again introduced but this time to an old woman with *tha pəh məkya prəŋ kəcàan*, again marked with *tha* ‘one’ indicating that it is indefinite from the old woman’s viewpoint. The next overt reference (6.1.131) *pəh məkya nan* ‘that ebony fruit’ occurs without a numeral; here, the CLF is being used solely for reference tracking, with the deictic *nan* ‘that’ making the definite reference obvious. Two lines later (6.1.133) the form *pəh məkya* occurs, again without *tha* ‘one’ and again being used pronominally. Twenty lines later (6.1.153) the form *pəh məkya* occurs once more, again without *tha* ‘one’ and again being used pronominally.

As for the function of classifier constructions in counting, it is a decidedly minor one: Classifiers can and do co-occur with numbers, of course, but more often than not they occur without numbers and, with a great frequency, numbers occur without classifiers.

### 3.2.4 Relative clauses

With regard to relative clauses, one ultimately has to sympathize with the analysis implicit in David Blood’s 1977 overview of Cham sentences in which he makes no mention of relative clauses. Certainly, the data examined showed no special relative clause construction. However, there are entities closely resembling the relative clauses found in other western Austronesian languages in which the head noun exceptionally is not the subject of the relative

clause. They also involve words for ‘time’ and ‘place’, as illustrated by the following two examples.

- (37) əmɛɛ? MəHlə? mətaay tu? MəHlə? tɔʔ siit (6.1.2)  
 mother Hlok die hour Hlok stay small  
 ‘Hlok’s mother died when she was small.’
- (38) lipi? təl pyà Hlə? (6.1.123)  
place bury queen Hlok  
 ‘...the place Queen Hlok was buried’

Nonetheless, this type of clause is marginal in Phan Rang Cham, both statistically and structurally. The closely-related Western Cham certainly has a relative clause construction with its own relative clause marker *kung*. And the older Cham documents show a relative clause marker, which may be related to the Malay marker *yang*; however, the presence of *yang* in these documents mostly reflects contact with Malay speakers rather than a common inheritance.

### 3.2.5 Noun compounds

Although not pervasive throughout Cham, noun compounds certainly exist. The mechanism is juxtaposition and the construction is semantically driven: Two words describing characteristic features are combined.

- (39) baŋ məñum (6.1.185)      (40) məñin cəlu? (6.1.20)  
 eat drink                      bowl plate  
 ‘a feast’                              ‘dishes’

These are simple juxtapositions, typically composed of the two most salient members or characteristics of a class, an activity, or whatever, used as a general noun. These are exceedingly common in Southeast Asia.

### 3.3 Verb phrase structures

Several archaic verbal affixes occur in Proto-Chamic and in the older Cham records but now have been lost. Thus, older Cham records contain attestation of the causative verbal prefix \*pə-, which is apparently native to both Mon-Khmer and Proto-Austronesian, the nominalizing infix \*-ən-, which is definitely of Mon-Khmer origin, and the ‘inadvertent’ prefix, a prefix that appears to descend from Proto-Chamic \*tə(r). Except for \*pa-, these affixes seem to be lost in modern Cham.

#### 3.3.1 Aspect and tense

Cham does not mark tense, but it does mark basic aspectual distinctions. The two items most frequently used to mark aspectual distinctions are the forms *pləh* ‘finish’ and *tɔʔ* which as a main verb means ‘live; stay’ but also may mean ‘still’. . In their aspectual uses these two forms distinguish ongoing states and activities (PROGRESSIVE) from completed states and activities (COMPLETIVE).

The differences in the meaning of *tɔʔ* correlate with its placement in an overall construction: in (41) *tɔʔ* ‘live; stay’ is used as a main verb; in (42) where it precedes an attributive predicate *tɔʔ* indicates the continuance of a state and is best rendered by ‘still’; and in (9) where it precedes an activity predicate *tɔʔ* indicates the continuance of an activity.

- (41) MəKaam təɔʔ ʔi la tuh əp̄ih ikaan MəHləʔ təm̄i tənɛh, (6.1.11)  
Kam stay LOC down pour all fish Hlok into basket  
'Kam stayed below and poured all of Hlok's fish into her basket and...'
- (42) əmɛɛʔ MəHləʔ mətaay tuʔ MəHləʔ təɔʔ siit (6.1.2)  
mother Hlok die hour Hlok stay small  
'Hlok's mother died when she was still small.'
- (43) MəHləʔ təɔʔ məʔin oh m̄iʔ hu ikaan. (6.1.14)  
Hlok stay play NEG get have fish  
'Hlok is still playing and she didn't get any fish.'

Example (44) shows still another use of *təɔʔ*. Here it occurs at the beginning of a clause, marking an overlap of the activities in the ensuing paragraph and the activities in the previous paragraph.

- (44) təɔʔ MəKaam təpiàʔ truh məth̄il... (6.1.186)  
stay Kam go.out away palace...  
'Meanwhile Kam had left the palace...'

Similarly, the different functions of *pləh* 'finish' also correlate with its distribution: as a main verb *pləh* means 'finish; finished'; sentence-initially as in (43), *pləh* marks the next significant event (a meaning roughly translated here as 'then'), and clause-finally, as (44), it marks one activity as completed with respect to the next one.

- (43) pləh m̄iʔ kədɔh məkya nan patàwʔ. (6.1.155)  
finish get peel ebony that hide  
'then took the skin of the fruit and hid it.'
- (44) rəmiʔ mən̄in cəluʔ pləh (6.1.20)  
clean bowl plate finish  
'After she did the dishes,  
ñu pà lithay naaw paʔ p̄iŋun ʔya likuuʔ thaəŋ... (6.1.21)  
she take rice go at well water back house  
she took the rice to the well...,'

These forms are transparently related to the basic meaning 'finish; finished' with differences in scope related to differences in placement.

### 3.3.2 Negation

Negation may occur sentence-finally, before the verb, or in both positions, but it does carry different nuances in each position. Sentence-final negation, signaled by *o*, is described by Doris Blood as the normal way to express negation and it frequently appears in their notes.

- (45) m̄i kaw poyʔ o. (Blood 1977:40)  
father I scold NEG  
'My father won't scold.'

None of the three texts examined contained any examples of this pattern, however. Instead, all instances of negation involved the negative particle placed just before the initial element of the verb string.

- (46) *təlam tyaan mi? ɲa? kəray min oɦ dom təpià?* (6.1.120)  
inside stomach get make different but NEG speak out  
Inwardly he wondered, but didn't say anything.
- (47) *min əmɛɛ? MəKaam oɦ prày naaw* (6.1.70)  
but Mom Kam NEG give go  
'but Kam's mother would not let her go.'
- (48) *min muu? oɦ mətə dih wal.* (6.1.149)  
but grandmother NEG ever sleep sound  
'but grandmother never completely fell asleep.'

In (46) the negation is before the main verb, in (47) it precedes a permissive verb meaning 'let' (literally 'give'), and in (48) it precedes an adverb. Doris Blood notes that pre-verbal negation is typical of more formal styles, termed by the Cham *dom kləŋ* 'speaking high'. The more formal pre-verbal negative, she notes, is often intensified by repeating the negative particle sentence-finally.

- (49) ...( $\emptyset$ ) oɦ boh ʔya kɪnrəh o. (Blood 1978:2.3.3.6)  
...( $\emptyset$ ) NEG see water magic NEG  
'...(they) didn't see the magic water.'
- (50) *pləh ñu oɦ khin pə təkho? tuy tra o.* (6.1.56)  
after she NEG dare take shoe follow again NEG  
'After that she didn't dare take the (other) shoe with her anymore.'
- (51) *təlam raay muu? oɦ mətə hu tòm kəya baŋ yaw nan o.* (6.1.144)  
inside generation grandmother NEG ever have some thing eat like DIST NEG  
'In all her days the woman had never had food like that.'

### 3.3.3 Reflexives, joint action, and reciprocals

Cham reflexives are marked with *trəy* /trəy/ 'self', a word that derives from the still extant word for 'body'. Note the idiomatic usage in (52).

- (52) ...*pləh* ( $\emptyset$ ) *likaw trəy* naaw ʔyə? məthil pətaaw. (6.1.87)  
...then (she) beg self go look palace king  
'...then (she) begged leave to go watch at the king's palace.'
- (53) *saŋŋ yaaw nan, tapay klaaw tha trəy.* (Blood 1977:54, 62)  
think like DIST, rabbit laugh one self  
'Thinking like that, the rabbit laughed to himself.'

Joint action can be marked explicitly with *càa? kàw?*, which in these texts is a construction always marked by a pronoun followed by *càa?* 'mutual' which, in turn, is followed by *kàw?* 'other'.

- (54) *ñu càa? kàw?* maay pa? thaaj təlu? (2.3.3.2)  
they mutual other come at house y.son  
'and they came together to the house of the youngest son.'
- (55) *pləh ñu càa? kàw?* naaw. (2.3.3.14)  
finish they mutual other go  
'Then they left together.'

Reciprocal action is marked by using *kàw?* 'other' after the verb, which in certain contexts is extended to mean 'together' or 'each other'.

- (56) twà ətày aay bɔɔʔ məta trəh kàwʔ. (6.1.118)  
two y.sibling e.sibling cheek eye like other  
'The two sisters looked just alike.'
- (57) pləh twà hətyuʔ pəthaan kol kàwʔ hya cəʔ. (6.1.180)  
finish two wife husband hug other cry cry  
'Then the husband and wife hugged each other and cried.'
- (58) twà cəʔ təcɔ rɔɔŋ pà kàwʔ. (6.1.163)  
two grandmother grandchild keep take other  
'the two of them taking care of each other.'

Note that all three of the examples include *twà* 'two' used to indicate that the pair of entities that follow form a group.

### 3.4 Prepositions and locative nouns

Three morphological systems, largely complementary but occasionally overlapping, serve to mark the oblique cases: prepositions, locative nouns, and co-verbs (see section 4.5). Locative noun phrases mark stationary locations. Co-verbs, derived from motion verbs, tend to mark directional motion, among other things. Prepositions are the most diffuse in meaning but seem to mark the more core-like oblique cases. Here we first discuss the prepositions and then the locative nouns.

The marker *ka* 'for; BENEFACTIVE' has two related functions: within clauses it marks the benefactive and in embedded clauses it is often used to mark the subject NP (see section 4.2). Examples of benefactive *ka*:

- (59) ñu buyʔ pĩmaaw ka əmɛɛʔ ñu. (Blood 1977:53)  
he pluck mushroom for mother he  
'He gathered mushrooms for his mother.'
- (60) mɛɛʔ mətəh təkòʔ, naaw miʔ lithay ka ənuʔ hwaʔ. (Blood 1977:54)  
mother woke get.up, go get rice for child eat.rice  
'The mother got up (and) went to get rice for (her) child to eat.'

Cham marks sources with *mĩŋ* 'from' and goals with *tal* 'arrive'. The word *tal* marks, as the gloss indicates, arrival at the goal. Movement toward a goal is marked either by the co-verb *naaw* 'go' or the preposition *tĩ* 'to; at', which will be discussed shortly. As for *tal*, unlike the other prepositions discussed here, it has a clearly verbal origin; it is neither an inherited preposition, nor does it originate in an earlier noun.

*mĩŋ* and *tal* occur before a full range of noun phrases, including gerunds and sentential complements, marking literal and metaphoric spatial and temporal movement.

- (61) mũŋ təlám khaan pràh (6.1.150)  
from inside pot rice  
'from inside the rice storage pot'
- (62) oŋ ŋaʔ tha trày rəŋ mũŋ kəyaw (6.2.23)  
sir make one CLF crab from wood  
'He makes a bridge (= a crab-shaped part) of wood'
- (63) təl MəHlɔʔ maay mũŋ klàn pəpè, (6.1.30)  
arrive Hlok come from watch goat  
'When Hlok came home from watching the goats, ...'
- (64) ñu pəlih mũŋ pəkè təl sup yɔm hu tha cəluʔ. (6.1.77)

she separate from morning arrive dark do have one bowl  
 ‘working (i.e. separating (seeds)) from morning till dark but had (filled)  
 only one bowl.’

The most general and thus least marked preposition is *tĩ* ‘to; at’ which seems to have a generalized locative function. It also occurs with locative nouns converting them into phrasal prepositions as in (67). It often codes a goal, including addressees and recipients.

- (65) pləh pa-doy? hra? tĩ kràw? nəkàl (6.1.62)  
 after CAU-run letter LOC PL countries  
 ‘he sent a letter to all countries’
- (66) ñu càaŋ likaw tĩ əmɛɛ? hməm naaw ?yə? thəŋ MəKaam (6.1.69)  
 she also beg LOC mom- step go look with Kam  
 ‘and she also asked her stepmother if she could go look with Kam...’
- (67) MəKaam təɔ? tĩ la tuh əpĩh ikaan MəHlə? təmı tənɛh, (6.1.11)  
 Kam stay LOC beneath pour all fish Hlok into basket  
 ‘Kam stayed below and poured all of Hlok’s fish into her basket’

Other prepositions include *thəŋ* ‘with; and’, *pa?* ‘at’, *yaw* ‘like’.

As is true for a number of the languages of the area, locative nouns supplement the work that is done by prepositions in English. Locative noun phrases are genitive constructions consisting of two juxtaposed nouns. The head noun (the locative noun) designates a place and the following noun designates whatever is located with reference to that place. Usually, but not always, the locative noun is preceded by a ‘true’ preposition, often the very general *tĩ*. In (38) and (39), the distinct words for ‘put’ notwithstanding, no preposition precedes the locative noun.

- (68) pùh rəɔŋ təlám pĩjun ?ya likuu? thaaŋ. (6.1.18)  
 put feed inside well water back house  
 and put it in the well at the back of the house to feed it.
- (69) ñu cə? pəɔ? təkho? ɲə? təbo?. (6.1.53)  
 she put package shoes top bank  
 she put the package of shoes on the bank.

In (70ff) the situation is more typical.

- (70) təlaaŋ cəɔ? təl mıŋ likuu? kĩŋ. (6.1.38)  
 bone charok bury from back kitchen  
 ‘Its bones are buried at the back of the kitchen.’
- (71) ñu təɔ? mıŋ la pan phun pəniŋ yuh. (6.1.113)  
 she stay from underneath hold tree betel shake  
 ‘She stayed down below, took hold of the betel tree, and shook it.’
- (72) min mıŋ liŋiw ŋa? on-təpon (6.1.104)  
 but from outside make happy  
 ‘but on the surface appearing pleased.’
- (73) klaa? tha wet mıŋ kə? tal krɪh kə?iŋ. (6.2.4)  
 dispose one piece from head arrive mid upper.back  
 ‘taking off a piece from the head to the middle of the back.’

### 3.5 Older morphology

As already mentioned at the beginning of section 3.3, older documents record now lost morphology. The widely-attested *-kan* suffix is also found in Cham (see ch.XX on varieties of Malayic), although other Malay suffixes such as *-an* and *-i* had disappeared along with all the other suffixes (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906:xxiv). Remnants of PC \**si-*, the honorific-marking prefix, are also found (Marrison 1975), but only as a fossilized prefix on certain kinship terms. The existence of other connectives such as *maka* ‘well, then, because, and, thus’, *pun* ‘then, if; really; also’, and *ampun* ‘forgiveness, ask forgiveness’ exist but may simply reflect later Malay influence, as does *-kan*, which is not inherited from Proto Malayic and is missing in various Malayic varieties.

Although it has been lost in modern Cham, there is a verb marker, the so-called ‘inadvertent’ prefix, Proto-Chamic \**tə(r)*, which is described by Aymonier and Cabaton (1906:xxiii-xxiv) as having a range of meanings for Cham including causativity, reciprocity, and stativity. This prefix is reconstructed not just back to the proto-Malayo-Chamic stage but to Proto-Austronesian. Remnants of it are still found in various Chamic languages (Thurgood 1999) and it has, in some cases, been borrowed into the neighboring Mon-Khmer languages.

Different devices are used to mark causation in Cham but the only affixal causative is *pa-* inherited from Proto-Austronesian. This morpheme, apparently fossilized, converts intransitives into transitives, adding an additional argument.

Compare the following sentences.

(74) cəɾɔʔ ləy, don təkòʔ baŋ lithay (6.1.22)  
charok hey, rise up, eat rice  
‘Charok! Come on up and eat your rice.’

(75) ñu boh ənuɪʔ cəɾɔʔ pa-don trəy təkòʔ t̃i ʔya. (6.1.23)  
she see child charok CAU-rise self up LOC water  
‘She saw the baby fish rise to the top of the water.’ (i.e. raise itself)

#### 4.0 Complex predicates and sentences

Cham clause concatenation often involves little more than the juxtaposition of clauses with the coherence supplied by the context augmented by the iconicity of the sequencing. It is difficult to find textual examples of action sequences in which chronological order is not followed, for example. When the juxtaposed clauses share the same subject, this subject is deleted in subsequent clauses, thus providing additional cohesion to the coherence already established by the context and the sequencing of the clauses. Further cohesion is sometimes added through the addition of explicit markers of the relationship at the clausal peripheries, although it appears more typical not to mark relationships explicitly unless it is clearly necessary to do so.

##### 4.1 Periphrastic causatives

The most common of the periphrastic causatives are formed with *ŋaʔ* which means ‘make’ and is used in its literal sense as a main predicate in (76). (77) illustrates a causative usage.

(76) muuʔ təkɾɪ kraʔ ʔyəʔ thay uraaŋ ŋaʔ lithay ka muuʔ. (6.1.47)  
grandmother want spy see who person make rice for grandmother  
‘The woman wanted to discover who had made rice for her.’

(77) MəHləʔ mɪʔ ŋaʔ raw rilo. (6.1.34)

Hlok get make sad much  
 ‘It made Hlok very sad.’

Permissive causatives are formed with *prày* ‘give’. In (78) *prày* is a main verb meaning ‘give’; in (79) and (80) it functions as a permissive auxiliary.

- (78) əmɛɛ? MəKaam càaŋ prày aaw khan kɔɔŋ kərah (6.1.66)  
 mom Kam also give clothes bracelet ring  
 ‘Kam’s mother also gave clothes, bracelets and rings...’
- (79) min əmɛɛ? MəKaam oh prày naaw (6.1.70)  
 but Mom Kam NEG give go  
 ‘but Kam’s mother would not let her go,’
- (80) prày ka t̄hla? likaw ʔyə? bɔɔʔ. (6.1.76)  
give for me beg look cheek  
 ‘Please let me see (her) cheek (i.e., see her face).’

#### 4.2 Complement clauses

The most straightforward clausal complements in Phan Rang Cham are found with verbs of perception and ordering.

- (81) pədal MəHlə? koy? mɪ? t̄laaŋ ikaan pà t̄al t̄i əla tənɪŋ dih (6.1.39-40)  
order [Hlok dig get bone fish take bury LOC underneath bed sleep]  
 ‘...ordered Hlok to dig up the bones and bury them beneath the bed.’
- (82) ŋu sənɪŋ Po Tèpita trun t̄ɔŋ n̄u, (6.1.85)  
 she think [God down help her]  
 ‘She felt that God had come down to help her.’
- (83) ənu? əmɛɛ? MəKaam bəh pyà Hlə? maay thaŋ (6.1.102)  
 child mom Kam see [queen Hlok come house]  
 ‘Kam and her mother saw Queen Hlok come to the house.’

Notice that in these three examples, beyond being embedded in the matrix sentence, nothing special marks these as complements.

Wish- and want-clauses are more distinctly marked: The embedded complement immediately follows the matrix verb, but here the subject of the complement clause is marked by *ka*, labeled ‘for’ as it occurs elsewhere as a benefactive preposition.

- (84) min cɔŋ [ka p̄h məkya nan lɛ? trun t̄lam li?i muu?]. (6.1.131)  
 but wish [for CLF ebony DIST fall down into basket grandmother]  
 ‘She wished that the fruit would fall down inside her basket.’
- (85) məyah uraaŋ t̄əkrɪ [ka k̄ni m̄ni syaam sap] (6.2.30)  
 if person want [for *kanhi* call good sound]  
 ‘If they want the instrument to sound good...’

Quotative clauses are usually preceded by the quotative *lay?*, a morpheme obviously related to the verb *lay?* ‘say’.

- (86) muu? doy? kol kəmay t̄əra nan dom lay? “t̄əɔ ləy...” (6.1.158-59)  
 grandmother run hug woman young DIST speak say g.child hey  
 ‘The woman ran, hugged the young girl and said, “Hey grandchild...”.’

In (87) the quotative *lay?* ‘say’ occurs immediately after *dom* ‘speak’, another verb of saying. This marker occurs with both direct and indirect quotations:

- (87) *n̄u pathaw lay? prù? nan n̄u ŋa? pl̄h pajə.* (Blood 1977:55)  
 he inform QUOT work DIST he do finish already  
 ‘He stated that he had completed that work already.’
- (88) *dom pələ? MəHlə? t̄i əmɛɛ? lay?* (6.1.13)  
 speak lie Hlok to mom QUOT  
 ‘...(she) lied about Hlok to her mother, saying,  
*MəHlə? t̄əɔ? mə?in oh mi? hu ikaan.* (6.1.14)  
 Hlok stay play NEG get have fish  
 ‘Hlok is still playing and she didn’t get any fish.’”

#### 4.3 Adverbial clauses

Multiclausal relationships are usually marked in Cham with iconic juxtaposition. Beyond that, one also finds markers such as ‘before’, ‘arrive’, and ‘finish’ helping to mark the relationship of one clause to another typically combined with the deletion of the coreferential subject, if appropriate. In addition to the highly iconic nature of the clause ordering, another striking aspect is the etymological transparency of many of the clause markers: *tal* ‘when; arriving’ < ‘arrive’, *pl̄h* ‘then; PERFECTIVE’ < ‘finish’, and *t̄əɔ?* ‘progressive’ < ‘live; stay’ (cf. sections 3.3.1 and 3.4 above).

- (89) *tal maay thaŋ MəKaam pədal MəHlə? lay?,...* (6.1.7)  
 arrive come house Kam order Hlok saying,  
 ‘Coming home, Kam ordered Hlok,...’
- (90) *tal MəHlə? maay miŋ kl̄aŋ pəpè,* (6.1.30)  
 arrive Hlok come from watch goat  
 ‘When Hlok came home from watching the goats,...’

Other typical clausal conjunctions include *min* ‘but’, *mijah (jah)* ‘if, since’, *kaal* ‘when’, *kayua (yua)* ‘because’, and *ŋan* ‘or’ (cf. David Blood 1977).

Clausal expression of a purpose is also often done simply by juxtaposing two clauses with the purpose reading inferable from the context (91). If a more explicit purpose clause is needed, it is indicated with *pyəh* ‘in order to’, which appears to be used when the speaker thinks the purpose reading might otherwise not be obvious to the listener as in (92).

- (93) *min ət̄əy oh dii? c̄iŋ pɛ? ka əmɛɛ? baŋ.* (6.1.108)  
 but y.sibling NEG climb able pick for mom eat  
 ‘but I can’t climb up to pick it for her to chew.’
- (94) *əp̄ih pənoy? ni pyəh pr̄əy thaw lay?* (6.1.190)  
 all word PRX in.order.to give know QUOT  
 ‘All these words are to let (you) know that...’

Purpose clauses usually share a subject with the prior clause and thus occur without an explicit subject, but if an overt subject occurs it is marked with the preposition *ka* ‘for; BENEFACTIVE’, as in (91).

#### 4.3 Serial verb constructions

As already pointed out above related sequential actions are usually rendered by a sequence of clauses with the shared subject deleted in all but the first:

- (95) pətaaw tàŋ, dii? yun, naaw thaaŋ. (Blood 1977:61)  
king stand climb.into hammock go home.  
'The king stood up, climbed into his palanquin, and went home.'

Such sequences of clauses (or verb phrases) are completely transparent and do not involve any specific constructional properties other than the omission of the subject expression. However, in some juxtapositions of verb phrases certain conventionalized syntactic patterns have developed with semantics not fully predictable from the sum of the parts. These are often termed serial verb constructions, which differ primarily from other clausal coordination patterns through their conventionalization of a specific through reference to a series of events conceptualized in some way as constituting a single conceptual unit. Essentially one of the verbal elements takes on what is an adpositional character, and, as this characterization suggests, the deverbal adposition can no longer be independently negated or marked for aspect.

As in many other languages in the area, there are in particular two domains in Cham where one finds serial verb constructions: directionals and co-verbs, i.e. markers for peripheral (non-core) arguments.

The directionals are commonly used motion verbs that have occurred so frequently in a semantically secondary role in clausal concatenations that they have come to have the semantic properties more characteristic of prepositions or verbal particles. The two most common co-verbs are the two from the least marked motion verbs *naaw* 'go' > 'motion away from the center of action' and *maay* 'come' > 'motion towards the center of action'.

- (96) MəHlə? pà cəɔ? naaw thaaŋ (6.1.17)  
Hlok take charok go house  
'Hlok took the fish home.'

These directionals can occur with a complement specifying a location:

- (97) aa? pal maay cəkðəŋ tha kàh. (6.1.54)  
crow fly come pick.up one side  
'A crow flew by and snatched one shoe.'

Other directionals include 'get up; rise up' > 'up' and 'go down; descend' > 'down'.

- (98) əmɛɛ? MəKaam chò? pà təkò? càn kə? ŋa? baŋ. (6.1.29)  
Mom Kam scoop take up chop head make eat  
'Kam's mother scooped it up, cut off its head, and made it into food.'
- (99) pòh məkya truh trun təpa? li?i. (6.1.133)  
CLF ebony fall down straight basket  
'...the ebony fruit fell down into her basket.'

As with 'go' and 'come' these directionals co-exist with homophonous fully verbal forms.

Another frequent serial construction involves the verb *mi?* ‘get; receive’ which may mark a change of state. The literal meaning of *mi?* ‘get; receive’ is seen in (100).

- (100) plòh oŋ mi? tha plàh pəpaan lipih (6.2.5)  
 finish sir get one CLF board thin  
 ‘Then he gets a thin piece of wood,...’

Example (101) involves both the literal meaning and the change of state meaning in that this example literally means something like ‘Hlok came to have a lot of fish’.

- (101) MəHlə? mi? hu rilo, (6.1.5)  
 Hlok get have many  
 ‘Hlok caught a lot of fish.’

Note that *mi?* is only used with stative expressions when a change of state occurs. Thus, in (102), which indicates not a change of state but simply the existence of a state, *mi?* does not occur. However, in (103), which records a change of state, *mi?* does occur. And, in (104), which indicates a caused change of state using *ŋa?* ‘make’ as the causative marker, *mi?* also occurs.

- (102) ñu (ø) on lo təlám tyaan (6.1.84)  
 she (ø) happy deep inside stomach  
 ‘she was very happy’
- (103) ñu mi? məpəay-cəni?. (Blood 1978:2.3.3.9)  
 they get hateful  
 ‘they became hateful.’
- (104) muu? mi? ŋa? on təlám tyaan (6.1.146)  
 Grandmother get make happy inside stomach  
 ‘She became happy.’

The verb *tuy* ‘follow’ may also mean ‘according to’ and ‘with’, thus functioning as a co-verb.

- (105) plòh ripùh raw? mətaay tuy ənu?. (6.1.189)  
 finish fall sickness die follow child  
 ‘then (she) fell ill and followed her child in death.’
- (106) plòh ñu oh khin pà təkho? tuy tra o. (6.1.56)  
 after she NEG dare take shoe follow again NEG  
 ‘After that she didn’t dare take the other shoe with her anymore.’

Other co-verbs most likely exist, but the line between a verb and a co-verb is often difficult to pinpoint, especially where the metaphor involved is (cross-culturally) transparent and the iconic sequence of events is still retained. Thus, ‘take’ in (107), for example, could be analysed as expressing ‘accompaniment’.

- (107) hray nan pətaaw pà hlaw-pílaaŋ naaw maal (6.1.57)  
 day DIST king take soldier go hunt  
 ‘That day the king took his men hunting...’

## Acknowledgements

The examples and a significant part of the analyses come from the work of David and Doris Blood done roughly a quarter of a century ago.

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