CLAUSE AND SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES IN CHAM

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0. Introduction
1. Negatives
2. Limitives
3. Interrogatives
4. Imperatives
5. Prohibitives
6. Emphasisers
7. Vocatives
8. Responses

0. INTRODUCTION

As in other languages of Southeast Asia,¹ final particles in Cham² play an important part in expressing the mind of the speaker as he meets different situations. Final particles are used as negatives, limitives, interrogatives, imperatives, prohibitives and emphasisers, and in calls and responses.³

Final negative and limitive particles are on the clause level, while others function on the sentence level.⁴ For example, in the following quotative sentence, two final particles occur on the clause level, one on the sentence level.

Dua urang day       nao thang khīk thang ka,
 2 person younger sibling go house watch house first,
bloh muk kaya ba mai bang wōk hai.
then get food bring back eat again imp.

'Do me a favour and go watch the house first, then get food and bring it back for us to eat (as before).'

39
ka is a final particle for the first clause (cf. 2.2), wôk for the second clause (cf. 2.6) while hai as the imperative particle refers to the entire sentence (cf. 4.6).

1. NEGATIVES

Negative particles function on the clause level. The second example in 1.2. is a medial clause in a conjunctive sentence.

1.1. In normal speech final particle ô is used to express negative.

My kau pôch ô.  'My father won't scold.'
Chuh mung djuh ô.  'It is not burned with wood.'
burn with wood neg.

ka...ô expresses incomplete action, ka occurring preverbally.

Dahlâk ka hu nuk ô.  'I don't have children yet.'
Nhu ka thau khêr ô.  'He doesn't know the script yet.'

ô intensifies negative action or thought. ô occurs before the verb.

Nuk ôì pâng amek amû ô.
child intens. listen mother father neg.
'He doesn't listen to his parents at all.'

Dahlâk ôì hu kanal ô.
I intens. past remember neg.
'I certainly didn't remember.'

1.2. In formal speech, known as dôm glong 'speaking high', preverbal ôh is the usual form of negative. Most often this negative is intensified by adding final particle ô.

Hray ôì thik takôi munûk.
day Sunday neg. cut throat chicken
'Chickens are not killed on Sunday.'

Urang lingû ôh tamû hu dalâm thum ô.
person outside neg. go into able in shelter intens.
'An outsider is not permitted in the shelter at all.'

Ôì kai nâm dahlâk ôh ka thau gêt ô.
then I not yet know anything intens.
'In those days I didn't know anything at all.'
2. LIMITIVES

Particles which limit the action include pajo, ka, min, ray, fra and wök. These are final particles on the clause level.

2.1. pajo alternates with jơ or in colloquial speech yơ. It expresses completed action or a continuing state. In questions it may occur with interrogative intonation or with ka ơ (cf. 3.4). It does not occur with negatives.

Ni jơh krah-hadah kau, hơ thau pajo.
'This is my intelligence, you know by now.'

Tapai biāk blōk-blāng jơ.
'The rabbit is really crooked (as always).'</n
Huāk yơ.
'Finished eating.'

2.2. ka 'first' gives the meaning of completing one action before something else is done.

Hu bray kau chāk hu wök ka.
'Let me tie you up first.'

Nhu padāl urang sahlih kan di nhu ka.
'He ordered the people to exchange fish for him first.'

2.3. min expresses 'just, only'. It may be mildly emphatic.

Nhu birau khing likay min.
'she new marry man just
'She just recently took a husband.

Sa nao pah mach jhīk wök slām min.
take go rent machine sew again good just
'I'll go rent a sewing machine again, just as good.'

Õng nān sup mūta liwik hai birau min?
'Has he been blind for a long time or just recently?'

2.4. ray expresses the meaning of 'also, too', and often occurs with preverbal jang 'also'.

Nhu jang mai thōng dahlāk ray.
'He also went with me (too).'

Dahlāk likau dua on dua hadiup pathang õng ray.
'I beg to thank both of you also.'
2.5. tra as a final particle means 'anymore'. It is related to tra in temporal phrases meaning 'later, more'. It occurs only in negative constructions.

Hadiup dray ôh hu dok thöng dray tra.
wife self neg. have live with self anymore
'My wife will not live with me anymore.'

Tapai ôh khin munhum ia tra.
'Rabbit would not dare drink water anymore.'

Amu ôh dok hu liwik thöng graup anuk tra.
'I am not able to live long with you children anymore.'

2.6. wōk 'again' as a final particle brings the situation back as it was before. It may also have a meaning of 'closing up' or 'tightening'.

Nhu mūk rong karay ka day wōk.
'He got a different crab for his brother (as before).' 6

Dahlāk pablāy padai ba jiën ka ông mūk wōk.
'I will sell rice and bring the money back to you.'

Hu bray kau chāk hu wōk ka.
'Let me tie you up (tight) first.'

3. INTERROGATIVES

Interrogatives may be signalled by the following final particles which are on the sentence level: lay, hai ô, ka ô, ray, bīk min, bīk hai thoh, bīk nao, le, nhu, pa and kach. Interrogative intonation is found on all questions whether final particles are used or not.

3.1. The intonation pattern which usually accompanies questions is a rise on the last element in a sentence. Simple negative questions usually take this intonation pattern rather than an interrogative particle.

Ai nao thang ô?
'Aren't you going home?'

3.2. lay is the simple interrogative final particle, expecting a response of 'yes' or 'no'. It may be answered by a nod or shake of the head.

Ai takru lay
'Do you want to?'

Bingi lay
'Is it delicious?'

Hu bōh sruh lay
'Do you see the nest?'
djaup 'correct' may precede lay in questions that assume the answer is known. A pause precedes the question particles and djaup has a low pitch, with the usual rising intonation contour.

Hu năn M'Nhơ djaup lay?  'You are Nhơ, aren't you?'  
you are Nhơ correct ques.
Muk bãng hla djaup lay?  'You chew betel, don't you?'

Negative questions sometimes take this form.

Ai nao thang ô djaup lay?  'You're not going home, right?'

hu 'possible, able' may occur with lay when the speaker suspects that there may be a restricting factor.

hu lay has regular intonation of questions without a preceding pause.

Dahlâk nau thang ai hu lay?  
I go house brother able ques.  
'Can I go to your house?'
Ông nau Phan Rang hu lay?  
'Are you going to Phan Rang?' (perhaps there is some reason why not)

3.3. hai ô 'or not' is a final interrogative phrase including the negative particle ô. This form of yes/no interrogative is less frequent than lay and carries an attitude of slight condescension on the part of the speaker.

Day Bôh hai ô?  'Do you see it or not?'

3.4. ka ô 'not yet' (cf. 1.1) as a final interrogative phrase asks a question concerning whether action is completed or not.

Ai hušk pajô ka ô?  
brother eat already not yet  
'Have you eaten already?'

3.5. ray may be used when asking questions concerning a third person.

Anuk ông thuâu khâr ray?  'Does your child know the script?'
Nhu thuâu chinh ray?  'Does he know how to draw?'

3.6. bišk mìn 'really' is used as an interrogative in confirming a statement or action and is preceded by a pause. The question can be answered by a nod of the head.
3.7. biāk hai thoh 'real or not' has the same meaning as biāk min but gives the positive and negative choices to choose from. It requires a verbal answer.

Urang iach muk nao palay nān, biāk hai thoh?
'People say you went to that village, is it true or not?'

Pō thi mūk dahāk biāk hai thoh?
'You will take me, really or not?'

3.8. biāk nao 'real, go' asks a question somewhat similar to American vernacular 'how come?'. The speaker may feel disgruntled or angry.

Hu di pāng kau o biāk nao?
'You didn't listen to me at all, how come?'

3.9. le or ka le may be a rhetorical question marker. It is used with inferiors in reiterating something spoken once before (cf. ka in 2.2). The annoyance of the speaker may also be manifested in a posture of hands on hips.

Kau padāl hu ngāk yau nān ka le?
I order you do like that before ques.
'Didn't I already tell you to do that?'

3.10. nhu is an interrogative expecting an affirmative reply, but it also has the force of a friendly imperative. It occurs with some other imperative forms to soften the force of the imperative.

Mek bray anuk nao mu-in nhu?
'Let me go play, O.K.?'

Jōi bingār jōi nhu!
'Don't spoil it, O.K.!'
Ai dok pa?
'Day chek ao pa?
'Where do you live?'
'Where did you put the dress?'

3.12. σ is an introspective question. The speaker is asking himself whether something is true.

Bray paj σ?
'(I) gave it already (didn't I?).'

Kau lach paj σ?
'I said that already (I thought?).'

3.13. kach is used with content question words such as tao 'where?', gêt 'what?', thibai 'why?'. It seems to be asking for content in a specific way.

Nao tao kach?
'Where are you going (specifically)?'

Dahlaâk wâk yau hiay kach?
'How do I write it then?'

4. IMPERATIVES

Included among final imperatives are mēk, naâh, náo, dôch, hâl and ô, which may be used in combination with other particles to alter the mood. These particles are on sentence level. The usual intonation pattern is a fall on the last segment. Particles having a final glottal, such as mēk and naâh, reverse the fall and have a slight rise.

4.1. mēk is the most common imperative particle, fluctuating with êk in colloquial speech. This type of command is referred to as dôm tēk 'speaking salty', or a forceful command.

Ai huâk mēk! 'Eat, brother!'
Dâng mēk! 'Be quiet!'
Dok êk! 'Stay!' (spoken by the person leaving)

bēk is the more formal form of this imperative and it usually occurs in writing.

Dua ông muk huâk bēk! 'You two eat!'

4.2. mēk followed by another particle still carries the imperative, but the mood has been altered. These combinations are used in everyday activities of eating, going, staying, etc.
mēk kā may be used when coaxing a person to do something. It is usually spoken with a lengthened down glide, and in women's speech the kā would have a velar nasal onglide.

Huāk mēk kā! 'Oh come on and eat!'

mēk yō has the rising intonation of a question but is a command encouraging someone to hurry up.

Anuk huāk mēk yō! 'Hurry and eat, child!'

mēk nhu serves to soften the command.

Nao thang mēk nhu! 'Go home O.K.!!'

mēk aḥ is a coaxing command used among intimates. This may be accompanied by the speaker's gesture of touching the other person to encourage him.

Huāk mēk aḥ! 'Come on and eat!'

mēk da is an imperative with some uncertainty. This is apparently the same da that indicates suspicion, and the uncertainty carries over into the command (cf. 6.1).

Nao mēk da! 'Go ahead I suppose!!'

4.3. nah is an imperative of comradeship, which normally would be glossed 'let's'. It may occur following mēk.

Munay nah! 'Let's bathe!' 
Nao mēk nah! 'Go with me!' 
Nah pāk dēh nah! 'Let's go over there!'

4.4. The verb form nao 'go' is used as an imperative and is similar to nah.

Drah nao! 'Let's hurry!'
Dua urang dray nao mūk nhach nao! 'Let's (two of us) go get frogs!'

4.5. dōch 'to run' is also used as an imperative. It is used with inferiors or among close acquaintances and urges the other person to do something.

Nūk nao joh hla kā mēk dōch! 'Go get some leaves for mother quickly!'
4.6. *hai* expresses an imperative of petition. It is used in asking a favour and is not limited in its use with young or old. *nhu* may occur following *hai*.

Pato kau ngák hai! 'Show me how to do it (please)!
Ai mai pagè hai nhu! 'Come early O.K.? (to help)

4.7. *ô* is a friendly invitational particle. It may have a long falling intonation. *mêk ô* is used in invitations but also hurries the person.

Băng boh jepô! 'Have some beans!' 
Mai ô! 'Come in!'
Paluô nhu hai ô! 'Lull him for me!'
Huôk mêk ô! 'Come and eat quickly!'

5. PROHIBITIVES

5.1. *jōi* as a prohibitive final particle often occurs with preverb *jōi* 'don't'. Final *jōi* is preceded by a pause and is spoken on a higher level of intonation with a rather sharp fall. *ô* occurring with *jōi* softens the command.

Jōi ngák yau nân jōi! 'Don't do like that (don't)!
Dî tamû dalâm ia jōi! 'Don't go in the water!'
Jōi dîk jōi ah! 'Better not climb it!'

5.2. *ka* as a sentence final particle is a prohibitive in its use with *lôi* 'to stop' and *jōi* 'don't'.

Lôi ka! 'Stop it!'
Jōi ka! 'Don't do it right now!'

It can be seen here that *ka* carries the time factor as seen in 2.2. in addition to its function as an imperative for a negative verb. As a sentence final particle with other verbs of action it is an imperative to act now.

Huôk ka! 'Eat right now!'

6. EMPHASISERS

Final particles which are emphatics include *da*, *ko*, *dhît*, *nân* and *chêk*. These are also on the sentence level.
6.1. *da* is mildly emphatic in expressing suspicion or fear on the part of the speaker.

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Thau kēk nhu } \textit{da}. & \text{'The dog bit him I suspect.'} \\
&\text{Nhu kēk } \textit{da}. & \text{'He stole it, I'm afraid.'} \\
&\text{Lingik thi jan } \textit{da}. & \text{'It's about to rain I suspect.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

*min da* conveys the meaning of 'perhaps'.

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Nhu kēk } \textit{min da}. & \text{'Perhaps he stole it.'} \\
&\text{Brūk nān nhu ngāk jung } \textit{min da}. & \text{'That work he can do perhaps.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

6.2. *ko* expresses the idea of 'surely, certainly'. It also conveys the expression of 'See!' when something is being explained. With one intonation pattern *ko* has a very low pitch, is very short and has a final glottal phonetically. In other instances the intonation is a long falling contour. The particle is heard to carry a low pitch and by a non-Cham speaker it might be heard as go, but to the Cham ear it is a voiceless velar stop with tense register. *min ko* can also occur.

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Kabao bāŋg hrōk } \textit{ko}. & \text{'Water buffalo eat grass see.'} \\
&\text{Nao pajo } \textit{ko}. & \text{'Gone already certainly.'} \\
&\text{Oh djaup boh kan } \textit{ko}. & \text{'Surely it's not correct that those are fish eggs.'} \\
&\text{Nhu ngāk yau nān } \textit{min ko}. & \text{'He surely does like that.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

6.3. *dhīt* 'to disappear' is emphatic assertion.

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Ông nao } \textit{dhīt}. & \text{'He's gone (for sure).'} \\
&\text{Dahlōk ngāk bloh } \textit{dhīt}. & \text{'I'm going to finish it thoroughly.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

6.4. *nān* 'that' occurs as a final particle as a summation of the speaker's viewing the entire situation.

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Ai nao tao nān?} & \text{'Where are you going there?'} \\
&\text{Patao ēu hluh tablōk nao lōk thay dok pāk linglu paga thau groh nān.} & \text{'The king called the slave to go outside to see (all about) who was outside the gate (making) dogs bark.'}
\end{aligned}
\]

6.5. *chēk* is an emphatic particle which expresses the idea of 'here and now' or 'on the spot'.
Kau ām ka hu murtai chēk.
I roast for you die right now
'I'm going to roast you to death on the spot.'

7. VOCATIVES

In calling lō occurs finally with a falling intonation which may be
lengthened because of distance or to get the other person's attention.

Prok lō!
'Hey Prok!'

Ai lō!
'Hey older brother!'

8. RESPONSES

8.1. ō kach, varying with ō kai in women's speech, is a positive
response to an invitation. kach has sharply rising intonation while
kai is a slow rising contour.

Hušk ō kach.
'Sure, I'll eat.'

8.2. kê is a negative response which expresses emphatic denial. This
particle has falling intonation.

Dahlāk mūk kê.
'I didn't take (it).' 

-Bōh kê.
'Didn't see (it) at all.'
NOTES


3. This analysis of final particles has been confirmed in written literature from a concordance of Cham texts made on the IBM computer of the University of Oklahoma. That project was sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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5. The transcription of Cham used in this paper is the current practical orthography. Of note are the symbols b, d, j, g. These symbols represent the voiceless stop series with lax register [p', t', c', k']. Lax register usually manifests itself as low pitch over the syllable or over the entire word if it occurs on the preliminary syllable. Voiced stops [b, d, dv] are written b, d and dj respectively.
Final -ch is [y?]; final Vup [Vw?]; final -k is /ʔ/; final -c is /k/.
