

CLAUSE AND SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES IN CHAM

DORIS WALKER BLOOD

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 khYk thang ka,
2 person younger sibling go house watch house first,

bloh muk kaya ba mai bang wŏk 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).'

ka is a final particle for the first clause (cf. 2.2), wǝk 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.

Mư kau pōch ô. 'My father won't scold.'

Chuh mưng djuh ô. 'It is not burned with wood.'
burn with wood neg.

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

Dahlăk ka hu nưk ô. 'I don't have children yet.'

Nhu ka thau khă ô. 'He doesn't know the script yet.'

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

Nưk di păng amek amư ô.

child intens. listen mother father neg.

'He doesn't listen to his parents at all.'

Dahlăk di hu kană 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 dīt ôh thik takôi mưnưk.

day Synday neg. cut throat chicken

'Chickens are not killed on Sunday.'

Urang lingiu ôh tamư hu dalăm thum ô.

person outside neg. go into able in shelter intens.

'An outsider is not permitted in the shelter at all.'

Di kal năn dahlăk ôh ka thau gết 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 pajɔ̌, ka, min, ray, tra and wɔ̌k. These are final particles on the clause level.

2.1. pajɔ̌ alternates with jɔ̌ or in colloquial speech yɔ̌. It expresses completed action or a continuing state. In questions it may occur with interrogative intonation or with ka ô (cf. 3.4). It does not occur with negatives.

Ni jɔ̌h krah-hadah kau, hɔ̌ thau pajɔ̌.

'This is my intelligence, you know by now.'

Tapai biăk biăk-blăng jɔ̌.

'The rabbit is really crooked (as always).'

Huăk yɔ̌.

'Finished eating.'

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

Hɔ̌ bray kau chăk hɔ̌ wɔ̌k ka.

'Let me tie you up first.'

Nhu padăi 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.'

Ba nao pah mach jhik wɔ̌k siam min.

take go rent machine sew again good just

'I'll go rent a sewing machine again, just as good.'

Ông năn sup mưta 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 thăng dahlăk ray.

'He also went with me (too).'

Dahlăk likau dua ơn dua hadiup pathang ông ray.

'I beg to thank both of you also.'

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.

Hư 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.

Dahlăk nao thang ai hu lay?
I go house brother able ques.
'Can I go to your house?'

Ông nao 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 huăk pajơ ka ô?
brother eat already not yet
'Have you eaten already?'

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

Anưk ông thau khă ray? 'Does your child know the script?'
Nhu thau chih ray? 'Does he know how to draw?'

3.6. biăk mĩn '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.

Ai hmĭt yau năn biăk min?

brother hear like that really

'You heard that, is it true?'

Biăk day ai thi mŭk dahlăk biăk min?

really younger-older siblings will take me really

'You will really take me will you?'

3.7. biăk hai thoh 'real or not' has the same meaning as biăk min but gives the positive and negative choices to choose from. It requires a verbal answer.

Urang lach muk nao palay năn, biăk hai thoh?

'People say you went to that village, is it true or not?'

Pô thi mŭk dahlăk biăk hai thoh?

'You will take me, really or not?'

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

Hư dĩ păng kau ô biăk 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 padăi hư ngăk yau năn ka le?

I order you do like that before ques.

'Didn't I already tell you to do that?'

3.10. như 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 anưk nao mư-in như?

'Let me go play, O.K.?'

Jôi bingăr jôi như!

'Don't spoil it, O.K.!'

3.11. pa is a particle which asks 'where?'. This is undoubtedly a contracted form of păk hlây 'at which?'.

Ai dok pa?

'Where do you live?'

Day chĕk ao pa?

'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 σ ?

'(I) gave it already (didn't I?).'

Kau lach paj σ σ ?

'I said that already (I thought?).'

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

Nao tao kach?

'Where are you going (specifically)?'

Dahlăk wăk yau hlay kach?

'How do I write it then?'

4. IMPERATIVES

Included among final imperatives are *mĕk*, *nah*, *nao*, *dôch*, *hai* 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 *mĕk* and *nah*, reverse the fall and have a slight rise.

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

Ai huăk mĕk!

'Eat, brother!'

Đăng mĕk!

'Be quiet!'

Dok ĕk!

'Stay!' (spoken by the person leaving)

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

Dua ông muk huăk bĕk!

'You two eat!'

4.2. *mĕk* 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.

měk kai 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 kai would have a velar nasal onglide.

Huăk měk kai!

'Oh come on and eat!'

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

Anưk huăk měk yơ!

'Hurry and eat, child!'

měk như serves to soften the command.

Nao thang měk như!

'Go home O.K.!!'

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

Huăk měk ah!

'Come on and eat!'

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

Nao měk đa!

'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 mưk nhach nao!

'Let's (two of us) go get frogs!'

4.5. dôch '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.

Nưk nao joh hla ka mek dôch!

'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. *như* may occur following *hai*.

Pato kau ngăk *hai*

'Show me how to do it (please)!'

Ai mai pagê *hai* *như*!

'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 jep *ô*!

'Have some beans!'

Mai *ô*!

'Come in!'

Paluô nhu *hai ô*!

'Lull him for me!'

Huăk *mêk ô*!

'Come and eat quickly!'

5. PROHIBITIVES

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

Jôi ngăk yau năn *jôi*

'Don't do like that (don't)!'

Di tamư dalăm ia *jôi*!

'Don't go in the water!'

Jôi dik *jôi ah*!

'Better not climb it!'

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

Lôi *ka*!

'Stop it!'

Jôi *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.

Huăk *ka*!

'Eat right now!'

6. EMPHASISERS

Final particles which are emphatics include *da*, *ko*, *dhĩt*, *năn* 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.

Thau kĕk nhu da. 'The dog bit him I suspect.'
 Nhu klĕk da. 'He stole it, I'm afraid.'
 Lingik thi jan da. 'It's about to rain I suspect.'

min da conveys the meaning of 'perhaps'.

Nhu klĕk min da.
 'Perhaps he stole it.'
 Brūk năn nhu ngăk jung min da.
 'That work he can do perhaps.'

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.

Kabao băng hrōk ko. 'Water buffalo eat grass see.'
 Nao pajō ko. 'Gone already certainly.'
 Oh djaup boh kan ko. 'Surely it's not correct that those are
 fish eggs.'
 Nhu ngăk yau năn min ko. 'He surely does like that.'

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

Ông nao dhīt. 'He's gone (for sure).'
 Dahlăk ngăk biōh dhīt. 'I'm going to finish it thoroughly.'

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

Ai nao tao năn?
 'Where are you going there?'
 Patao êu hlun tabiăk nao lōk thay dok păk lingiu paga thau groh năn.
 'The king called the slave to go outside to see (all about) who was
 outside the gate (making) dogs bark.'

6.5. *chĕk* is an emphatic particle which expresses the idea of 'here and now' or 'on the spot'.

Kau ăm ka hư mưtai chěk.

I roast for you die right now

'I'm going to roast you to death on the spot.'

7. VOCATIVES

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

Prok lơ!

'Hey Prok!'

Ai lơ!

'Hey older brother!'

8. RESPONSES

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

Huăk ô kach.

'Sure, I'll eat.'

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

Dahlăk mưk kê.

'I didn't take (it).'

Bôn kê.

'Didn't see (it) at all.'

NOTES

1. David D. Thomas, *Chrau Grammar* (University of Hawaii Press, 1971) ch. 11/10, p. 179ff. M.B. Emeneau, *Studies in Vietnamese (Annamese) Grammar* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951) ch. VII, p. 210ff. Judith M. Jacob, *Introduction to Cambodian* (Oxford University Press, 1968) Lesson 25, p. 102.
2. Cham is an Austronesian language, spoken in central Vietnam by some 40,000 speakers mainly in the provinces of Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan. This paper reflects the dialect spoken near Phan Rang. For phonological studies in Cham see David L. Blood, 'A Problem in Cham Sonorants', *Zeitschrift für Phonetik* 15:111-14 (1962); 'Applying the Criteria of Patterning in Cham Phonology', *Van-Hoa Nguyet-San* 13:515-20 (April 1964); 'Phonological Units in Cham', *Anthropological Linguistics* 9:8/15-32 (Nov. 1967). Doris W. Blood, 'Women's Speech Characteristics in Cham', *Asian Culture* 3/139-43 (1961).
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.

I would like to express appreciation to Mr Thiên Sanh Cảnh for helping me to understand his language better, and to David Thomas and Richard Gieser for their helpful suggestions in writing this paper.
4. See David L. Blood, 'A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Cham Sentences', in preparation.
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, dʲ] are written b, d and dj respectively.

Final -ch is [y?]; final Vup [Vw?]; final -k is /ʔ/; final -c is /k/.

6. Note the similarity to Vietnamese *lại*, which Thompson calls a postpositive contained particle, Laurence C. Thompson, *A Vietnamese Grammar* (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1965) Appendix A, p. 349.

