HAROI CLAUSES

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are about 10-15,000 Haroi speakers living in the western half of Phú-Yên and Bình-Dịnh provinces and in Phú-Bảo province of Việt-Nam. The Haroi (Hroy, Hrway) language is classified as a member of the Chamic branch of Malayo-Polynesian. The linguistic similarities indicate a closer relationship with the Malaysian than with the Philippine languages although there are no records to indicate where the Chamic people came from or at what date they landed in Việt-Nam.

As to the subgrouping of the Chamic languages, one can deduce from the phonological comparisons and the number of cognates that the Northern Chamic language group (Rade, Jarai) must have been separated from Cham longer than the other Southern Chamic languages (Chru, Roglai) have been separated from Cham. Eastern and Western (Cambodian) Cham belong to the Southern Chamic group. There is some uncertainty as to which group Haroi should be classified with. My own impression from contacts with Rade, Jarai, Cham, and Roglai speakers is that the Northern Chamic languages are closer to Haroi in the number of cognates in daily speech and in their pronunciation of these. Therefore I feel that mutual intelligibility would place Haroi with the Northern Chamic languages. On the
other hand a Haroi speaker can more readily learn to understand a Southern Chamic language than can a speaker of Rade or Jarai which would indicate that Haroi is closer to Southern Chamic than are either Rade or Jarai. From this one can deduce that the Haroi must have had a longer contact with Cham.

The Haroi, at least for some time, must have been a part of, or at least influenced by, the old Champa empire. According to Chinese historians the kingdom of Champa was founded in A.D. 192 around the area of Hûe. From there the Cham people and culture spread to the south. Cham inscriptions from the second half of the fourth century have been found in Quâng-Nam and Phú-Yên provinces. (Note that Phú-Yên is part of the present Haroi area.) At that time the Cham people already had a high culture (temples, sculptures) and an organised system of government, both being developed as a result of influence from India.

Under pressure of the Vietnamese from the north, the Cham capital was moved south to Quâng-Nam province about A.D. 450, and to Bînh-Dinh province in A.D. 999. The Cham territory extended from Hûe to Phan-Rang.

In a Cham inscription in the 12th century there is mention of a fight with the savages in the mountains, named as Rade, Mada and others. They had invaded the plains in 1151, but were then defeated by the Cham king. I have been unable to ascertain the identity of the Mada, so it is not yet clear which tribes were involved, nor is it clear what was their previous or subsequent relationship with the Cham rulers.

After the Cham were defeated by the Vietnamese in 1471, only a diminutive Cham state continued to exist. When the Vietnamese Nguyên lords, nominally fighting for the Lê dynasty, conquered the area from Phú-Yên down to Khánh-Hôa in 1653 formal Cham-Haroi contacts ended.

The few Cham people still living in the Phan-Rang area have preserved their script and with it the memory of the ancient kingdom and culture. They have records of other Chamic people being scattered into the mountains. They know of four different peoples which they call Cham Kur, Cham Jarai, Cham Raglai and Cham Ro, and call themselves Cham Pah 'Cham of the ruling class'. The name Cham Kul refers to the Cambodian Cham in South Vietnam and Cambodia. Cham Jarai refers to the Jarai, Cham Raglai to the Roglai, the name being interpreted as ra (orang) 'people' and glai 'forest', giving 'forest people or savages' for Roglai. The name Cham Ro is interpreted as 'remnant Cham' from ro 'remnant'. This is probably the name which refers to the Haroi though the Cham have no knowledge about their location.

The Haroi themselves, even the elders, have no notion about any former connection with the Cham or the meaning of their own name. They have
lived in approximately the same mountain area as far as their memory
goest. It is interesting, though, that they refer to themselves as
manih cham 'Chamic people'.

Culturally the Haroi are very similar to their close neighbours, the
Rade, and the Jarai and quite different from the Cham (clothes, house
style, carrying, and religion). But the Haroi language has many simi-
larities with both Cham and the Northern Chamic languages.

2. CLAUSE CHARACTERISTICS

A Haroi clause characteristically describes one action or state. The
slots in a clause are generally filled by words or phrases, and a
clause, in turn, generally fills a slot in a sentence.

The clause types are differentiated by: 1) the different fillers
which manifest the Predicate Tagmeme and 2) the number and kind of
nuclear tagmemes that can occur. Action and Description Clauses are
distinguished from each other by their having, respectively, an Action
Predicate and a Description Predicate. Action Clauses include single
action clauses and reciprocal action clauses. In Haroi causative ac-
tions have the same form as single action clauses, except for the caus-
ative verbs manifesting the Predicate, so they are included in the
single action clauses.

3. NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

The six main nuclear tagmemes in Haroi clauses are: Subject (S),
Predicate (P), Object (O), Referent (Ref), Origin (Ori), and Destina-
tion (Dest). The Predicate is obligatory in each clause type. In this
paper I only describe independent clauses of Haroi, so the Subject is
here being treated as also obligatory. All other nuclear tagmemes are
optional if deducible from either linguistic or situational context.

As many as five nuclear tagmemes may be found in an Action Clause
but usually a Haroi clause contains only Subject and Predicate plus one
other tagmeme. If a Referent and a Destination, or a Referent and an
Origin, are both present in a clause, then an Object must also be pres-
ent. All other combinations are freely possible, while maintaining
their normal order.

In the Description Clauses the nuclear tagmemes are usually obliga-
tory; exceptions will be discussed under each type.

The nuclear tagmemes follow the general order: S - P - O - Ori - Ref -
Dest. The Object can also precede the Subject. If it is emphasised it
follows the Referent with no other tagmeme following behind. The Object
may also be divided, the more general part preceding the Referent, the
more specific, emphasised part following it (see 3.3.). If Destination
is absent Origin may move to the Destination position, unless there is a
Location tagmeme present in which case Origin remains in its usual posi-
tion. In simple Directional Clauses Origin can precede the Predicate.
If the Origin of an Object is emphasised, Origin occurs following the
Object in sentence-final position.

3.1. SUBJECT

The Subject can be manifested by a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase,
or a compound noun phrase.

M-Lûi nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
M-Lûi goes to Sên-Hôa.

Kau nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
I go to Sên-Hôa.

Thua arang kamoi nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
Two(classifier)girls go to Sên-Hôa.

Ayong ho kau nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
Older-brother and I go to Sên-Hôa.

3.2. PREDICATE

Each clause type has a different class of verbs or verb phrases as
fillers of the Predicate; so the filler classes will be discussed under
each clause type. The verb phrase may contain an attitude tagmeme (e.g.
want, dare) and/or a verification tagmeme (not, not yet).

Kau cêang nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
I want (to) go to Sên-Hôa.

Kau soh nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
I not go to Sên-Hôa.

Kau soh cêang nâu pe Sên-Hôa.
I not want (to) go to Sên-Hôa.

3.3. OBJECT

The Object occurs in Transitive (4.2.), Transitive-Referential
(4.5.), Transitive-Directional (4.6.), and Transitive-Referential-Diriec-
tional (4.7.) Clauses. It can be manifested by a name, a pronoun, a
noun phrase, a compound noun phrase, or a clause.
Kau boh M-Lùi.
I see M-Lùi.

Kau boh bing.
I see them.

Kau boh thua trii manu?.
I see two (classif.) chicken.

Kau boh ayong ho ča?ai.
I see older-brother and older-sister.

Kau boh ča?ai dì? se.
I see (that) older-sister gets-in car.

I cook two pots (of) rice for guest.

Divided Object (see 3.):
Kau čana? lasol ke tōai thua khu?.
I cook rice for guest two pots.

Emphasised Object (see 3.):
Kau čana? ke tōai lasol.
I cook for guest rice.

3.4. REFERENT

The Referent Tagmeme occurs in Referential (4.3.), Transitive-Referential (4.5.), and Transitive-Referential-Directional (4.7.) Clauses. It is manifested by a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition ke 'to, of (dative)' and a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase, a compound noun phrase, or a clause.

Kau haning ke M-Lùi.
I think of M-Lùi.

I think of mother my and older-brother my.

Kau wöl ke ča?ai kau ĉeang nàu po Sàn-Hòa.
I forgot (that) older-sister my wanted (to) go to Sàn-Hòa.

3.5. ORIGIN

The Origin Tagmeme occurs in the Directional (4.4.), the Transitive-Directional (4.6.), and the Transitive-Referential-Directional (4.7.) Clauses. It is manifested by a prepositional phrase consisting of the
preposition ming 'from' and a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase, or a local word. Haroi local words include ni 'here', nen 'there', thih 'over-there', yò? 'below', and ngo? 'above'.

Kau rai ming Sen-Hòa.
I came from Sen-Hòa.

Kau ming bing kài'ai? pè sàng.
I from them came-home to house.

Kau ming sàng thih rai tì? ni.
I from house that came (to) here.

Kau ming thih rai tì? ni.
I from over-there came (to) here.

Prò? ming hâmía kau phía kài'ai? pè sàng.
Squirrel from field I brought back to house.

3.6. DESTINATION

The Destination Tagmeme occurs in the Directional (4.4.), the Transitive-Directional (4.6.), and the Transitive-Referential-Directional (4.7.) Clauses. It is manifested by a prepositional phrase consisting of a directional preposition, e.g. pè 'to', lìm 'into', ni? 'up on, onto', ho 'up on, onto', and ròk 'along', plus a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase, a compound noun phrase, or a locative word (see 3.5.).

Kau nàu pè Sen-Hòa.
I go to Sen-Hòa.

Kau le? lìm èa.
I fell into water.

Kau nàu ròk cài'an.
I go along street.

4. ACTION CLAUSES

4.1. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The Intransitive Clause has two nuclear tagmemes: Subject and Predicate.

Intransitive Clause: S P
Kau dih.
I sleep.
Lon tìhi.
Ground caves-in.
The Predicate is manifested by intransitive verbs, including dlh 'sleep', tlh 'close in', ha 'open wide', čakhù? 'get up', čadàng 'evoke', thù? 'live, stay', ašlaŋ 'rain', laŋi 'dream', and pòai? 'talk'.

4.2. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The Transitive Clause has three nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Predicate, and Object.

Transitive Clause: S P O

Ča?ai bing lasol.
Older-sister eats rice.

Kau čèam manu?.
I feed chicken.

The Predicate is manifested by transitive verbs, including bing 'eat', čèam 'feed (animals)', boh 'see', thau 'know', tliang 'look at', aθuah 'seek', hmsk 'hear', pang 'listen', ?yu 'call', čaŋa 'ask', râu 'wake (somebody) up', kasuh 'break (something)', nga? 'make', aθa? 'measure', yu? 'harvest (rice)', sô? 'pound', hmau 'have', čam 'beat', tliam 'gore', ke? 'bite', and pliŋ 'split'. Haroi transitive verbs with a causative meaning include pa?yai 'kill (cause to be dead)', pahwai? 'frighten', and palphuh 'knock down'. Haroi transitive verbs which take only clauses as Objects include mplh 'let, allow', and padål 'command'.

I frighten older-sister my.

Ča?ai padål kau naï pë São-Hôa.
Older-sister command I go to São-Hôa.
(My sister told me to go to São-Hôa.)

4.3. REFERENTIAL CLAUSE

The Referential Clause contains three nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Predicate, and Referent.

Referential Clause: S P Ref

Kau hwai? ko oi lamùng.
I fear (grandfather) tiger.

Kau pasıang ko ayong kau.
I depend on older-brother my.

The Predicate is manifested by referential verbs, including hwai? 'fear', pasıang 'depend on', haning 'think of, remember', wöl 'forget',

4.4. DIRECTIONAL CLAUSE

The Directional Clause has four nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Origin, Predicate, and Destination.

Directional Clause: S Ori P Dest

(Ori)

I from Sèn-Hòa came (to) here.

Kau rai mìng Sèn-Hòa.
I came from Sèn-Hòa.

Kau nàu pè Sèn-Hòa.
I go to Sèn-Hòa.

The Predicate can be manifested by a directional verb, a motion verb, or a directional motion verb phrase. If there is an Origin present in the clause, the motion verb cannot occur by itself; it then has to be expanded into a directional motion verb phrase.

Harol directional verbs include nàu 'go away', kài? 'go home', wàh 'go back, turn around', rài 'come', tòl 'arrive', dì? 'go upwards', tròn 'go downwards', čàmà 'go in', čàphìa? 'go out', and tòi 'follow'. Of these verbs only tòi cannot occur without a preceding motion verb, and it is also optionally followed by an Object.

Kau kài? pè sàng kau.
I go-home to house my.

Kau dì? pè čè?.
I climb up mountain.

Kau nàu tòi čàhì.
I go following older-sister.

The directional motion verb phrase consists of a motion verb followed by a directional verb, the directional verb modifying the motion verb. Harol motion verbs include dài? 'run', tlot 'jump, hop (bird), bounce (car)', asôt 'walk (buffalo, cow, horse)', pòl 'fly', lùai 'swim', rùi 'crawl, walk (turtle)', kalung 'roll', le? 'fall', kaluh 'stream together', and hwe 'turn aside'.

Kau dài? wàh pè sàng.
I run back to house.
Kau dôai? čama lîm sàng.
I run entering into house.

Kau tît trôn mîng sàng.
I jump down from house.

4.5. TRANSITIVE-REFERENTIAL CLAUSE

The Transitive-Referential Clause has four nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Predicate, Referent, and Object.

Transitive-Referential Clause: C P O Ref

Kau paplîi thua trîi manu? ke ayong.
I sell two (classif.) chicken to brother.

Kau čana? lasol ke tôai.
I cook rice for guest.

The Predicate is manifested by transitive-referential verbs, including plîi 'buy', prii 'give', atô? 'ook', čana? 'ook', maplh 'keep something for somebody', nga? 'make', čâcoi 'show', čêh 'write', akhân 'tell (story)', dô? 'ask (riddle)', pato 'teach', and panah 'shoot'. Haroi transitive-referential verbs with causative meaning include paplîi 'sell (cause to buy)', and pačâm 'feed (child)'.

4.6. TRANSITIVE-DIRECTIONAL CLAUSE

The Transitive-Directional Clause has five nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Origin, Predicate, Object, and Destination.

Transitive-Directional Clause: S Ori P O Dest

I take out rice.

Kau lûi pathlîi lîm phung.
I put rice into basket.

Kau apîl? patau ho papung sàng.
I throw stone onto roof (of) house.

The Predicate is manifested by a directional-transitive verb phrase consisting of a transitive-motion verb optionally followed by a directional verb (4.4.), the directional verb modifying the transitive-motion verb. The directional verb can either directly follow the transitive-motion verb or occur after the Object. Haroi transitive-motion verbs include ma? 'take', lûi 'put', apîl? 'throw (stone)', čahrâ? 'throw (spear)', čaro 'reach into', čala? 'push', thûi 'pull', and kwai? 'get out handfuls'. Haroi transitive-motion verbs with a causative meaning
include pale? 'drop something', pakalung 'roll something', and padōai? 'take away'.

Kau čale? nàu bàng.
I push away table.

Kau čale? bàng nàu.
I push table away.

I throw stone upwards onto roof (of) house.

4.7. TRANSITIVE-REFERENTIAL-DIRECTIONAL CLAUSE

The Transitive-Referential-Directional Clause has six possible nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Predicate, Object, Origin, Destination, and Referent. On the maximum number of tagmemes and restrictions in their co-occurrence see section 3.

Transitive-Referential-Directional Clause:

(O) (Ori) S P O Ori Dest Ref
(Ref)

Kau čatōh pràh ke ča?ai lîm phung.
I pour rice for older-sister into basket.

Pràh kau čatōh mîn phung ča?ai lîm phung kau.
Rice I pour from basket older-sister into basket my.

He brings home squirrel from field to house.

The Predicate is manifested by transitive-referential-directional verbs, including phia 'bring, take', khui 'carry in back-basket', čatōh 'pour', and ?yà? 'carry in hand'.

4.8. SIMPLE RECIPROCAL CLAUSE

All Reciprocal Clause types have two sub-types: combined and differentiated. In a Combined Reciprocal Clause the two actors are grouped together as a plural Subject. In a Differentiated Reciprocal Clause the actors are stated separately. The differentiated type is less commonly used.

The Combined Simple Reciprocal Clause has two nuclear tagmemes: Combined Participant (Comb-Part), and Predicate. In the Differentiated Simple Reciprocal Clause the Participants fill separate slots: Participant (Part) and Associative-Participant (Assoc-Part). In both types the nuclear tagmemes are obligatory.
Simple Reciprocal Clause:

Combined: Comb-Part P

Thua trii kaphəau palatljam.
Two (classif.) buffaloes gore-each-other.

Thua arang lakoi palačam.
Two (classif.) boys beat-each-other.

Differentiated: Part P Assoc-Part

Kaphəau ni palatljam ho kaphəau nan.
Buffalo this gore-each-other with buffalo that.

Ayong palačam ho athii.
Older-brother beat-each-other with younger-sibling.

The Predicate of both Simple Reciprocal Clause types is manifested by simple reciprocal verbs. Haroi simple reciprocal verbs are mostly derived from transitive verbs which normally take an animate Object or from referential verbs. They include palačam 'beat each other', palatljam 'gore each other', palake? 'bite each other', palačoh 'peck each other', palatlau? 'pokes each other', palatop 'sock each other back-handed', palatascia? 'jab each other', palapah 'slap each other', palapoh 'beat each other lightly with objects', palakanau 'beat each other forcefully with sticks', palatlaau 'insult each other', palapliah 'fight each other', phiasin 'beat each other with stones', phiamalu 'quarrel', phiamasoh 'tease each other', phiaapaung 'love each other', and phiahel 'be mad at each other'.

The Combined Participant can be manifested by a plural pronoun, a noun phrase with a plural head, or a compound noun phrase.

M-Lui ho M-Cong phiamasoh.

M-Lui and M-Cong tease-each-other.

The Participant is manifested by the same filler class as the Subject (see 3.), though a plural Subject is very rare in this type.

M-Lui ho M-Cong phiamasoh ho athii nau.

M-Lui and M-Cong tease-each-other with younger-sibling their.

The Associative-Participant is manifested by a prepositional phrase of the same kind as that which manifests the Associate Tagmeme (see 6.1.), the preposition ho 'with' is also obligatory, but the head can only be manifested by a name, a singular pronoun, or a noun phrase with a singular noun as head.

Nau phiamasoh ho athii nau.

She tease-each-other with younger-sibling here.
4.9. TRANSITIVE RECIPROCAL CLAUSE

There may be combined or differentiated participants (see 4.8.).

The Combined Transitive Reciprocal Clause has three nuclear tagmemes: Combined Participant, Predicate, and Reciprocal Object (Rec-O). In the differentiated type the participants fill separate slots: Participant and Associative-Participant. The Reciprocal Object is optional, the other nuclear tagmemes are obligatory in both types.

Transitive Reciprocal Clause:

**Combined:** Comb-Part P Rec-O

Thua arang kamoi phìa?apan bù?.
Two (classif.) girls pull-each-other's hair.

Thua ata phìatliang mata.
Two we (infl.) look-at-each-other's eyes.

**Differentiated:** Part P Rec-O Assoc-Part

She pull-each-other's hair with older-sister her.

Nau palatliang mata ho athii nau.
She look-at-each-other's eyes with younger-sibling her.

The Predicate of both Transitive Reciprocal Clause types is manifested by a transitive reciprocal verb. Haroīi transitive reciprocal verbs are mostly derived from transitive verbs that normally take an inanimate Object, and they include phìa?apan 'pull at each other', phìatliang 'look at each other', phìakačau 'grab each other', phìkapahi? 'scratch each other', phìathūi 'tug at a rope', palañik 'tear from two sides', palamia? 'tugs at an object', palasõa 'tug at an object', and palakhò? 'bump together (e.g. with elbows)'.

The Participants are as in the Simple Reciprocal Clause (see 4.8.).

The Reciprocal Object may be manifested by noun phrases, but mostly only by a single noun.

Thua athii ayong palasõa bàng prong.
Two younger-sibling (and) older-brother tug-at table large.

5. DESCRIPTION CLAUSES

5.1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

The Complement Clause has three nuclear tagmemes: Subject, Nominal Complement (Nom-Com), and Adjectival Complement (Aj-Com). The Complement Clause must contain at least a Subject and one Complement.
Complement Clause: (Aj-Com) S Aj-Com Nom-Com (Aj-Com)

Ayong kau patruang.
Older-brother my (is) rich.

Phung nu aphih.
Basket this (is) finished.

Arang ni ca?ai, arang nen athi.
Person this (is) older-sister, person that (is) younger-sibling.

Pathai kau ho phung.
Rice my (is) one basket.

Usually the Adjectival Complement comes after the Subject and is followed by the Nominal Complement. For emphasis, or if a peripheral tagmememe is present, the Adjectival Complement may precede the Subject or follow the Nominal Complement.

Pathai kau aphih ho phung.
Rice my (is) finished (is) one basket.

Pathai kau ho phung aphih ploh.
Rice my (is) one basket (is) finished already.

Aphih pathai kau ho phung!
Finished (is) rice my (is) one basket!

The Nominal Complement is manifested by a noun phrase.

The Adjectival Complement is manifested by an adjective phrase.

Ayong kau patruang hlam dai.
Older-brother my (is) rich very much.

Patruang hlam dai ayong kau thon ni!
Rich very much (is) older-brother my this year!

5.2. SIMPLE COMPARISON CLAUSE

All Comparison Clause types have two sub-types: combined and differentiated. In a Combined Comparison Clause the two participants are grouped together as a plural Subject. In a Differentiated Comparison Clause the participants are stated separately. The differentiated type is less frequently used.

The Combined Simple Comparison Clause has two nuclear tagmememes: Combined Subject (Comb-S), and Predicate. In the Differentiated Simple Comparison Clause the participants fill separate slots: Comparison Subject (Comp-S), and Comparison Associate (Comp-Ass). In both types the nuclear tagmememes are obligatory.
Simple Comparison Clause:

**Combined**: Comb-S P

Thua athi ayong makahnål.
Two younger-sibling (and) older-brother are-equal.

Thua phon kayau maladål.
Two (class.) trees are-equally-thick.

**Differentiated**: Comp-S P Comp-Ass

Nau makahnål ho ayong ñau.
He is-equal with older-brother his.

Chicken my (are) as-many as chicken (of) older-brother.

The **Predicate** of both Simple Comparison Clause types is manifested by simple comparison verbs, including makahnål 'be of equal status', maladål 'be of equal thickness', mahamō 'be of equal length', malathi? 'be of equal length', malaning 'be of equal length', malatham 'be equal in number'.

The **Combined Subject** is manifested by the same filler class as the Combined Participant in the Combined Reciprocal Clause (see 4.8.).

The **Comparison Subject** is manifested by the same filler class as the Participant of the Differentiated Simple Reciprocal Clause (see 4.8.).

The **Comparison Associate** is manifested by the same filler class as the Associative Participant of the Differentiated Simple Reciprocal Clause (see 4.8.).

5.3. **REFERENTIAL COMPARISON CLAUSE**

There may be combined or differentiated participants (see 5.2.).

The Combined Referential Comparison Clause has three nuclear tagmemes: Combined Subject, Predicate, and Reciprocal Referent (Rec-Ref). In the differentiated type the participants fill separate slots: Comparison Subject, and Comparison Referent (Comp-Ref). The Subject and the Comparison Referent have to correspond in number; they are usually singular. The nuclear tagmemes of both types are obligatory.

Referential Comparison Clause:

**Combined**: Comb-S P Rec-Ref

Ata in ke kañiau.
We (incl.) resemble (to) each-other.
Thua athi ča?ai aìth kañiau.
Two younger-sibling (and) older-sister resemble each-other.

Differentiated: Comp-S P Comp-Ref

Nau aìth ke ča?ai āau.
She resembles (to) older-sister her.

She resembles older-sister her.

The Predicate is manifested by referential comparison verbs, including in 'resemble', aìth 'resemble', and he? 'resemble'.

The Subjects are as in the Simple Comparison Clause (see 5.2.).

The Reciprocal Referent is a prepositional phrase, the preposition ke 'to' is optional, the head is filled by kañiau 'each other'.

Thua athi ča?ai he? (ke) kanìau.
Two younger-sibling (and) older-sister resemble (to) each-other.

The Comparison Referent is a prepositional noun phrase of the same kind as the Referent, the preposition ke 'to' is optional.

6. CLAUSE PERIPHERY

The Clause Periphery consists of those tagmemes on the clause level that can be added to clause nuclei: Associate (Ass), Beneficiary (Ben), Time (T), Location (Loc), Manner (Man), and Order (Ord). Reason is always expressed as a dependent clause, it is not a tagmeme within a clause.

Regarding the clause periphery the earlier statement about Action Clauses (see 3.) still holds true: usually a Haroi clause contains only Subject and Predicate plus one other tagmeme. It is possible to add more, though, under the following restrictions: If a clause has one nuclear tagmeme besides Subject and Predicate, normally only up to two peripheral tagmemes may be added. If the clause contains two nuclear tagmemes besides Subject and Predicate, only one peripheral tagmeme may be added.

The Description Clause can only take a maximum of four tagmemes. It does not take a Beneficiary or an Associate Tagmeme. The Manner and Order Tagmeme can not occur in the Comparison Clause, but they are rare possibilities in the Complement Clause. In both Description Clause types Time and Location may be found in rare instances.

The tagmemes in a clause follow the general order (nuclear tagmemes underlined):
There can be a $T_1$ or an emphasised Location Tagmeme in front of the Subject, if there is no Object or emphasised Origin preceding the Subject. $T_2$ usually follows directly after $T_1$, otherwise at the end of the clause in place of the Order Tagmeme. The Location Tagmeme usually occurs in the position of Destination. The Beneficiary can occur only in sentences that do not have a Referent or an Associate Tagmeme. It takes the place of the Referent. The Associate can not co-occur with the Referent. Usually it follows the Destination, but it can also take the place of the Referent. The Manner Tagmeme usually follows the Associate, but it can also occur between Origin and Predicate, or in the Referent position. The Order Tagmeme can only occur at the end of the clause.

6.1. ASSOCIATE TAGMEMES

The Associate is manifested by a prepositional phrase consisting of the connecting particle ho 'with, and' and a name, a pronoun, or a noun phrase. The Associate Tagmeme is also used to express an instrument.

Kau nâu pa Sên-Hôa ho M-Lûi.
I go to Sên-Hôa with M-Lûi.

Ayong čam nâu ho kayau.
Older-brother beat him with wood.

The Associate Tagmeme is not very frequent in Haroi clauses. More often it is combined with the Subject which then becomes a compound noun phrase. This is always done when there is a Referent or a Beneficiary Tagmeme in the clause, with which an Associate Tagmeme can not co-occur.

I and older-sister my go to Sên-Hôa.

Kau ho ča?ai kau plî pače kə M-Lûi.
I and older-sister my buy material for M-Lûi.

6.2. BENEFICIARY TAGMEME

The Beneficiary is manifested by a prepositional phrase. I can be introduced by prî kə 'for (lit. give to)' or kə 'to'; kə is the same preposition that is used with the Referent. The head of the Beneficiary prepositional phrase is manifested by a name, a pronoun, or a noun phrase.
Kau nāu pria ke ča?ai kau pē Sën-Hôa.
I go for older-sister my to Sën-Hôa.

I feed chicken for older-sister.

6.3. TIME TAGMENE

Time₁ and Time₂ can both be manifested by a temporal phrase, Time₂ being more specific if they both co-occur. Time₁ can also be manifested by a temporal word, in that case only one Time Tagmeme can occur in a clause. Haroi temporal words include bea? 'in a short while', and habang 'all of a sudden'.

Pakhî ming-èm kau nāu pē Sën-Hôa.
Tomorrow morning I go to Sën-Hôa.

Pakhî kau nāu pē Sën-Hôa ming-èm.
Tomorrow I go to Sën-Hôa (in the) morning.

Bea? kau kal'ai?.
In-a-short-while I go-home.

Thua pali'an thing kau nāu pē Sën-Hôa.
(In) two months more I go to Sën-Hôa.

Time duration is also expressed by the Time Tagmeme.

Thua pali'an kau thô? pē Sën-Hôa.
Two months I lived in Sën-Hôa.

6.4. LOCATION TAGMENE

The Location Tagmeme is manifested by a preposition phrase with local prepositions like pē 'at, in (far distance)', tî? 'at, in (short distance)', lîm 'in, inside', nî? 'on', khîah 'on the side of', and a noun phrase or a local word (see 3. Origin).

I live in house that.

Kau athuah lîm sàng.
I search inside (the) house.

Location emphasis:

Pa Sën-Hôa soh hmau éa-časèi?!
In Sën-Hôa not has ocean!
(In Sën-Hôa there is no ocean!)
6.5. MANNER TAGMEME

The Manner Tagmeme is manifested by a manner phrase or an adverb. Haroi adverbs include atang 'fast (finished)', hamal 'fast (finished)', čariah 'fast (coming back)', kōang 'fast', sūi 'slowly', ming 'strongly', èm 'nicely', and sat 'badly'.

*Kau nâu pe Šen-Hōa ho arang kau.*
*I go to Šen-Hōa one person I (i.e. alone).*

*Kau atang kařai? pe sang.*
*I fast came-home to house.*

*Kau kařai? pe sāng atang.*
*I came-home to house fast.*

*Kau kařai? atang pe sāng.*
*I came-home fast to house.*

6.6. ORDER TAGMEME

The Order Tagmeme is manifested by order words including hlau 'first', čathīi 'later, last', thing 'more, again', kah 'first', and ploh 'already'.

*Ča?ai bing hlau, athīi bing čathīi.*
*Older-sister ate first, younger-sibling ate later.*

*Kau nâu pe Šen-Hōa thing.*
*I go to Šen-Hōa again.*
NOTES

1. This analysis is based on material collected over a period of three and a half years, between July 1970 and March 1975 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The final conclusions are based on the use of the language as spoken in the Sơn-Hòa area of Phú-Yên province.

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2. I am grateful to Mr Thiện-Sanh-Canh, for sharing with me information from old handwritten Cham documents. There are three kinds of materials: đam nui (biographies), aria (historical poems), and tar (history).
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