

HAROI CLAUSES¹

HELLA GOSCHNICK

1. Introduction
2. Clause Characteristics
3. Nuclear Tagmemes
4. Action Clauses
5. Description Clauses
6. Peripheral Tagmemes

1. INTRODUCTION

There are about 10-15,000 Haroi speakers living in the western half of Phú-Yên and Bình-Định provinces and in Phú-Bôn 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 though 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 Huế. 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 Quảng-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 Quảng-Nam province about A.D. 450, and to Bình-Định province in A.D. 999. The Cham territory extended from Huế 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 Nguyễn lords, nominally fighting for the Lê dynasty, conquered the area from Phú-Yên down to Khánh-Hòa 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.² 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 goes. 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 similarities 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 actions have the same form as single action clauses, except for the causative 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 Destination (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 present. All other combinations are freely possible, while maintaining their normal order.

In the Description Clauses the nuclear tagmemes are usually obligatory; 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 position. 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-Lùi nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

M-Lùi goes to Sən-Hòa.

Kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I go to Sən-Hòa.

Thua arang kamoi nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

Two(classifier)girls go to Sən-Hòa.

Ayong ho kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

Older-brother and I go to Sən-Hòa.

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 čềang nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I want (to) go to Sən-Hòa.

Kau soh nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I not go to Sən-Hòa.

Kau soh čềang nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I not want (to) go to Sən-Hòa.

3.3. OBJECT

The Object occurs in Transitive (4.2.), Transitive-Referential (4.5.), Transitive-Directional (4.6.), and Transitive-Referential-Directional (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 trī manu?

I see two (classif.) chicken.

Kau boh ayong ho ča?ai.

I see older-brother and older-sister.

Kau boh ča?ai dī? se.

I see (that) older-sister gets-in car.

Kau čana? thua khu? lasoi kə tōai.

I cook two pots (of) rice for guest.

Divided Object (see 3.):

Kau čana? lasoi kə tōai thua khu?

I cook rice for guest two pots.

Emphasised Object (see 3.):

Kau čana? kə tōai lasoi.

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 kə 'to, of (dative)' and a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase, a compound noun phrase, or a clause.

Kau haning kə M-Lùi.

I think of M-Lùi.

Kau haning kə ami? kau ho ayong kau.

I think of mother my and older-brother my.

Kau wòl kə ča?ai kau čəang nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I forgot (that) older-sister my wanted (to) go to Sən-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 *mĩng* 'from' and a name, a pronoun, a noun phrase, or a local word. Haroi local words include *nĩ* 'here', *nən* 'there', *thĩh* 'over-there', *yò?* 'below', and *ngo?* 'above'.

Kau rai mĩng Sən-Hòa.

I came from Sən-Hòa.

Kau mĩng bĩng kaḷtai? pə sàng.

I from them came-home to house.

Kau mĩng sàng thĩh rai tĩ? nĩ.

I from house that came (to) here.

Kau mĩng thĩh rai tĩ? nĩ.

I from over-there came (to) here.

Prò? mĩng hamia kau phia kaḷtai? pə 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. *pə* 'to', *lĩm* 'into', *nĩ?* '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 pə Sən-Hòa.

I go to Sən-Hòa.

Kau le? lĩm éa.

I fell into water.

Kau nàu ròk Caḷtan.

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 dĩh.

I sleep.

Lon tḷth.

Ground caves-in.

The Predicate is manifested by intransitive verbs, including *dih* 'sleep', *tlih* 'cave in', *ha* 'open wide', *čakhù?* 'get up', *čadàng* 'crack', *thù?* 'live, stay', *asłan* 'rain', *lapoi* 'dream', and *pôai?* 'talk'.

4.2. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

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

Transitive Clause: S P O

Ča?ai bing lasoi.
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', *athuah* 'seek', *hmək* 'hear', *pang* 'listen', *?yu* 'call', *čaňa* 'ask', *ràu* 'wake (somebody) up', *kasuh* 'break (something)', *nga?* 'make', *aka?* 'measure', *yua?* 'harvest (rice)', *sò?* 'pound', *hmau* 'have', *čam* 'beat', *tliam* 'gore', *ke?* 'bite', and *pliáh* 'split'. Haroi transitive verbs with a causative meaning include *pa?yai* 'kill (cause to be dead)', *pahwèi?* 'frighten', and *palaphuh* 'knock down'. Haroi transitive verbs which take only clauses as Objects include *maplìh* 'let, allow', and *padàl* 'command'.

Kau pahwèi? ča?ai kau.
I frighten older-sister my.

Ča?ai padàl kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.
Older-sister command I go to Sən-Hòa.
(My sister told me to go to Sən-Hòa.)

4.3. REFERENTIAL CLAUSE

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

Referential Clause: S P Ref

Kau hwèi? kə oi lamùng.
I fear (grandfather) tiger.

Kau pasiàng kə ayong kau.
I depend on older-brother my.

The Predicate is manifested by referential verbs, including *hwèi?* 'fear', *pasiàng* 'depend on', *haning* 'think of, remember', *wòl* 'forget',

čëang 'want', lài? 'talk about somebody', tliáu 'insult', hòi 'be angry, mad', thau 'know (somebody)', palamù? 'hate', pa?areh 'hate', pa?ung 'love', pàp 'pity', and ka?òu? 'be sad'.

4.4. DIRECTIONAL CLAUSE

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

Directional Clause: S Ori P Dest
(Ori)

Kau ming Sən-Hòa rai tì? ni.

I from Sən-Hòa came (to) here.

Kau rai ming Sən-Hòa.

I came from Sən-Hòa.

Kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

I go to Sən-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.

Haroi directional verbs include nàu 'go away', kal'ai? 'go home', wih 'go back, turn around', rai 'come', tol 'arrive', dî? 'go upwards', trôn 'go downwards', čama 'go in', čaphia? '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 kal'ai? pə sàng kau.

I go-home to house my.

Kau dî? pə čə?.

I climb up mountain.

Kau nàu tòi ča?ai.

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. Haroi motion verbs include dôai? 'run', tlot 'jump, hop (bird), bounce (car)', asòt 'walk (buffalo, cow, horse)', pòi 'fly', lùai 'swim', rùi 'crawl, walk (turtle)', kalung 'roll', le? 'fall', kaluh 'stream together', and hwe 'turn aside'.

Kau dôai? wih pə sàng.

I run back to house.

Kau dôi? čama lîm sàng.

I run entering into house.

Kau tlot trôn ming 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 paplii thua trii manu? kê ayong.

I sell two (classif.) chicken to brother.

Kau čana? lasoi kê tòi.

I cook rice for guest.

The Predicate is manifested by transitive-referential verbs, including plii 'buy', prii 'give', atô? 'cook', čana? 'cook', mapîh 'keep something for somebody', nga? 'make', čačoi 'show', čêh 'write', akhàn 'tell (story)', dô? 'ask (riddle)', pato 'teach', and panah 'shoot'.

Haroi transitive-referential verbs with causative meaning include paplii 'sell (cause to buy)', and pačeam '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

Kau ma? čaphia? pathtai.

I take out rice.

Kau lûi pathtai lîm phung.

I put rice into basket.

Kau aphî? 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', aphî? 'throw (stone)', čahrà? 'throw (spear)', čaro 'reach into', čalə? 'push', thui 'pull', and kwai? 'get out handfulls'. Haroi transitive-motion verbs with a causative meaning

include pale? 'drop something', pakalung 'roll something', and padôai? 'take away'.

Kau čalə? nàu bằg.

I push away table.

Kau čalə? bằg nàu.

I push table away.

Kau aphì? patau dỉ? ho papung sằg.

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 čatôh pr̃ah kə ča?ai lĩm phung.

I pour rice for older-sister into basket.

Pr̃ah kau čatôh mĩng phung ča?ai lĩm phung kau.

Rice I pour from basket older-sister into basket my.

Ŋau phia kal̃ai? prò? mĩng ham̃a pə sằg.

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', čatôh '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 kaph̃au palatliam.

Two (classif.) buffalos gore-each-other.

Thua arang lakoi palačam.

Two (classif.) boys beat-each-other.

Differentiated: Part P Assoc-Part

Kaph̃au ni palatliam ho kaph̃au nən.

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', palatliam 'gore each other', palake? 'bite each other', palačoh 'peck each other', palatlau? 'poke each other', palatop 'sock each other back-handed', palačaria? 'jab each other', palapah 'slap each other', palapòh 'beat each other lightly with objects', palakanua 'beat each other forcefully with sticks', palatl̃au 'insult each other', palapliah 'fight each other', phiastian 'beat each other with stones', phiamalu 'quarrel', phiamasòh 'tease each other', phiapa?ung 'love each other', and phiahèl '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-Lùi ho M-Čòng phiamasòh.

M-Lùi and M-Čòng 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-Lùi ho M-Čòng phiamasòh ho athii ñau.

M-Lùi and M-Čòng tease-each-other with younger-sibling theirs.

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.

Ñau phiamasòh ho athii ñau.

She tease-each-other with younger-sibling hers.

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 phia?apan bù?.

Two (classif.) girls pull-each-other's hair.

Thua ata phiatliang mata.

Two we (incl.) look-at-each-other's eyes.

Differentiated: Part P Rec-O Assoc-Part

Ñau phia?apan bù? ho ča?ai ñau.

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

Ñau palatliang mata ho athi ñau.

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. Haroi transitive reciprocal verbs are mostly derived from transitive verbs that normally take an inanimate Object, and they include phia?apan 'pull at each other', phiatliang 'look at each other', phiakačau 'grab each other', phiakaphi?ai? 'scratch each other', phiathui 'tug at a rope', palañik 'tear from two sides', palamia? 'tuge at an object', palasôa 'tug at an object', and palakhô? '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 athi ayong palasôa 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.

Path'ai 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 tagmeme is present, the Adjectival Complement may precede the Subject or follow the Nominal Complement.

Path'ai kau aphih ho phung.

Rice my (is) finished (is) one basket.

Path'ai kau ho phung aphih ploh.

Rice my (is) one basket (is) finished already.

Aphih path'ai 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 thôn 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 tagmemes: 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 tagmemes are obligatory.

Simple Comparison Clause:

Combined: Comb-S P

Thua athti ayong makahnàl.

Two younger-sibling (and) older-brother are-equal.

Thua phôn kayau maladèl.

Two (class.) trees are-equally-thick.

Differentiated: Comp-S P Comp-Ass

Ñau makahnàl ho ayong ñau.

He is-equal with older-brother his.

Manu? kau malathum ho manu? ayong.

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 makahnàl 'be of equal status', maladèl 'be of equal thickness', mahamô 'be of equal length', malathi? 'be of equal length', malaning 'be of equal length', malathum '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 kə kañiau.

We (incl.) resemble (to) each-other.

Thua athi ča?ai alh kañtau.

Two younger-sibling (and) older-sister resemble each-other.

Differentiated: Comp-S P Comp-Ref

Ñau alh kə ča?ai ñau.

She resembles (to) older-sister her.

Ñau he? ča?ai ñau.

She resembles older-sister her.

The Predicate is manifested by referential comparison verbs, including in 'resemble', alh '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 kə 'to' is optional, the head is filled by kañtau 'each other'.

Thua athi ča?ai he? (kə) kantau.

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 kə '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):

The Beneficiary is manifested by a prepositional phrase. I can be introduced by *prii* *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 nàu prii kə ʔai kau pə Sən-Hòa.

I go for older-sister my to Sən-Hòa.

Kau ʔəam manu? kə ʔai.

I feed chicken for older-sister.

6.3. TIME TAGMEME

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'.

Pakhi ming-əm kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

Tomorrow morning I go to Sən-Hòa.

Pakhi kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa ming-əm.

Tomorrow I go to Sən-Hòa (in the) morning.

Bea? kau kalʔai?

In-a-short-while I go-home.

Thua palʔan thing kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa.

(In) two months more I go to Sən-Hòa.

Time duration is also expressed by the Time Tagmeme.

Thua palʔan kau thù? pə Sən-Hòa.

Two months I lived in Sən-Hòa.

6.4. LOCATION TAGMEME

The Location Tagmeme is manifested by a preposition phrase with local prepositions like *pə* 'at, in (far distance)', *tì?* 'at, in (short distance)', *lim* 'in, inside', *ni?* 'on', *khiah* 'on the side of', and a noun phrase or a local word (see 3. Origin).

Kau thù? tì? sàng nən.

I live in house that.

Kau athuah lim sàng.

I search inside (the) house.

Location emphasis:

Pə Sən-Hòa soh hmau ʔa-ʔasèi?!

In Sən-Hòa not has ocean!

(In Sən-Hòa 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)', kôang 'fast', sùi 'slowly', ming 'strongly', èm 'nicely', and sat 'badly'.

Kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa ho arang kau.

I go to Sən-Hòa one person I (i.e. alone).

Kau atang kal̥tai? pə sang.

I fast came-home to house.

Kau kal̥tai? pə sàng atang.

I came-home to house fast.

Kau kal̥tai? atang pə sàng.

I came-home fast to house.

6.6. ORDER TAGMEME

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

Ča?ai bing hlau, athii bing čathii.

Older-sister ate first, younger-sibling ate later.

Kau nàu pə Sən-Hòa thing.

I go to Sən-Hòa 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 Son-Hòa area of Phú-Yên province.

My partner, Alice Mundhenk, has shared in the collection and analysis of the language. I am very grateful to Dr David Thomas for his helpful suggestions and valuable help in the research and the writing of this paper.

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

REFERENCES

GOEDES, G.

1967 *The Making of South East Asia*. Los Angeles.

HALL, D.G.E.

1955 *A History of South-East Asia*. New York.

LEBAR, F.M., G.C. Hickey, and J.K. Musgrave

1964 *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*. New Haven.

LEE, Ernest

1966 Proto-Chamic Phonologic Word and Vocabulary. Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation.

MASPERO, M. Georges

1928 *Le Royaume de Champa*. Paris.