Chrau Affixes

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0. Introduction

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O. Introduction. Chrau, a Mon-Khmer language spoken in South Vietnam, has only a remnant of the affixation found for Old Khmer and many of the other Mon-Khmer languages in Vietnam. The most common affixes still in use are ta— (with three different uses), pa— and —N—, which have partially fused, and —n— (with four uses). Two things have happened to the old system: 1) many affixes and their functions have been lost, and 2) the functions of several former affixes have been subsumed under the remaining affixes.

The use of affixes is fast dying out in Chrau. In some cases the root form and the affixed form are completely or almost completely interchangeable (cf. 1.6). In other cases some dialects use only the root form, other dialects only the corresponding affixed form, with individuals being aware of the two usages but preferring to use only one. The two informants used for this study varied in the roots they considered affixable. In general, Yöl used affixed
forms which Luc did not, though there are a few affixed forms which Luc used and Yôl did not. Yôl is a teenager from Gia Ray, who has spent all his life in Chrau villages. Luc, from Xuân Lộc, a young man of about 25-30, has spent many years living among Vietnamese and has a Vietnamese wife. So Yôl represents common, present day usage. Luc no doubt represents the trend within the language, as there is strong pressure from Vietnamese (about 90% of the Chrau are fairly fluent in Vietnamese) toward non-affixation and monosyllabicity.

Where the usages of the two informants have differed the items are marked with the initial of the user (Y for Yôl, L for Luc).

All examples of clearly affixable words found in our dictionary of about 5-6,000 words are presented below.

The phonological limit for a word in Chrau is two syllables. Prefixes occur with one-syllable words or replacing the first (presyllable) syllable of two-syllable words. There are two clitics, tăm « reciprocal » and n « negative »; these will not be treated in this paper, as they are not true affixes.

1. ta— affix. Although there are three different uses of ta— (causative, passive, and unintentional), there is no ambiguity because usually any one root can take only one of the usages. In addition, there are distinctive transforms for each use of ta—.

In Pacoh and Katu these three usages are also carried by affixes. Bahnar has only the causative and passive. In all three languages, the causative prefix is pa— with various allomorphs, including ta—. The equivalents of the Chrau passive are Bahnar passive lô—, Pacoh «resultant » ti—, and Katu «adjectivizer» ta—. The equivalents of the Chrau unintentional prefix are «involuntary» ta— in both Pacoh and Katu.

1.1 ta— causative. Both intransitive and transitive roots can take the ta— direct causative. òp « do, make » plus these roots (cf. §1.5) is an indirect causative.

1.11 Intransitive root ta-causative. The subject of the root verb becomes the object of the affixed verb. con-se tao « the child stands », ánh tatào con-se « I stand the child up ».
Not all intransitive roots can occur with ḍp. Those which can are so marked (below). With ḍp, intransitives are always in the root form. cons-se tao « the child stands », ănh ḍp con-se tao « I make the child stand » (cf. § 1.5).

tao « stand » con-se tao « the child stands »

(+ ḍp)

von tatao con-se « we stand the child up»

jurr « descend » con-se jurr « the child descends »

(+ ḍp)

von tanjurr con-se « we lower the child »

gūq « sit » con-se gūq « the child sits »

(+ ḍp)

von tagūq con-se « we set the child up »

vīq « lie, sleep » con-se vīq « the child lies »

(+ ḍp)

von tanvīq con-se « we lay the child down »

churt « die » con-se churt « the child dies »

(+ ḍp)

von tachurt con-se « we kill the child »

ngât «extinguish» ănh ngât « the fire goes out »

(+ ḍp)

von tangât ănh « we put the fire out »

chāch « snap » chhe chāch « the rope snaps »

(− ḍp)

von tachāch chhe « we snap the rope »

ūm « bathe » con-se ūm « the child bathes »

(− ḍp)

von ta-ūm tanūm con-se « we bathe the child »
hao «ascend» con-se hao «the child ascends»
(+ ṭp)
von lan’hao con-se «we lift the child up»

1. 11 Transitive root → ta - causative. With a transitive root the ta-causative is bi-transitive (two nouns in the predicate). There are three types of bi-transitives: benefactive-possessive, referent, and locative. One informant also has an instrumental causative. As with the intransitives, the embedded clause after ṭp takes the root verb.

1. 121 Benefactive-possessive. The subject of the root verb becomes the second noun in the predicate of the affixed transform. Benefactives have an optional irn at the end of the clause, possessives do not.

Benefactive:

chuq «dress» con-se chuq ao «the child dresses»
ảnh tachuq ao con-se (irn) «I dress the child»

pu «suckle» con-se pu (daq tōh) «the child suckles (milk)»
Ymè nēh tapu (daq tōh) con-se (irn)
«his mother suckles the child (with milk).»

huch «drink» con-se huch daq «the child drinks water»
ảnh tahuch (daq) con-se (irn) «I give the child a drink»

le «dodge» nēh le nōm «he moves his body»
ảnh tale nōm nēh (irn) «I move his body»

Possessive:

krūm «close mouth» con-se hrum mīnh «the child closes his mouth»
ảnh takūm mīnh con-se «I close the child’s mouth»

haq «open» con-se haq mīnh «the child opens his mouth»
ảnh tahaq mīnh con-se «I open the child’s mouth»
1. 122 Referent. In the referent type of causative both predicate nouns in the affixed transform refer to people. The subject of the root verb becomes the first noun in the predicate of the affixed transform.

căh « remember » mē căh con-se « the mother remembers the child »

anh tacăh mē con-se « I remind the mother about the child »

conh « want » nēh conh ur nōq « he wants that woman »

anh tacohn nēh ur nōq « I make him want that woman »

(anh tacohn ur nōq nēh « I make that woman want him »)

1. 123 Locative. In the locative type of causative, the subject of the root verb becomes the second noun in the predicate of the affixed transform. This noun in the predicate is preceded by u « at ». Each of these verbs means « to carry » in some manner.

cũm « hold in mouth »

nēh cũm viēt-chi « he holds a pencil in his mouth »

Y anh tacũm viēt-chi u nēh « I put a pencil in his mouth »

dwa « carry on head »

nēh dwa la-i « He carries a basket on his head »

Y anh tạdwa la-i u nēh « I put a basket on his head »

cheng « carry on shoulder »

nēh cheng gisop « he carries a bag from his shoulder »

Y anh tacheng gisop u nēh « I hang a bag from his shoulder »

1. 24 Instrumental. I used two verbs bi-transitively with bay « with ». In both cases Y preferred a simple transitive.

căn « bite » con-se căp ti « the child bites (his) hand »
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L. sipăm tacăp ānh bay nggan « the sorcerer has me bite a bowl »

Y sipăm něch an ānh tacăp nggan « the sorcerer lets me bite a bowl »

(tacăp is used only in the context of a sorcerer giving a bowl to be bitten.)

huch « drink » (see 1.21)

L. ānh tahuch con-se bay daq « I give the child a drink with water »

1.2 ta— passive. The ta— passive occurs only with transitive roots. The object of the root verb becomes the subject in the affixed transform, and the actor of the root verb is deleted. Double passive verbs have two passive transforms.

The meaning of the passive is that of the subject being acted on unintentionally. (Thus inanimate actors, such as the wind, cannot take the unaffixed forms of these verbs, as that would imply volition.) This contrasts with the unintentional ta— ($1.3$) in that there the subject is the actor of the action.

The affixed form occurs with ὰp « cause » ($1.5$). With ὰp the object of the verb can occur either before or after the verb with no apparent change in meaning. ānh rung daq « I pour water », ānh ὰp daq tarung / ānh ὰp tarung daq « I make the water spill ». A number of these verbs usually take chhal « wind » as the actor in the ὰp construction; then ὰp can be optionally replaced by khlóm « blow ». chhal khlóm tapoŋ Nhi / chhal khlóm Nhi tapoŋ « the wind blows the house open ». (The chhal verbs are marked below.) It is at this point that the distinction between a single causative clause and two interrelated clauses begins to blur. ὰp is both an agentive action indicator similar to the affix ta— and also a generic pro-verb for which can be substituted other specific verbs, at which point we
begin to enter the realm of a two-clause sentence. It is doubtful whether any clear case can be made for distinguishing these two uses of ōp in Chrau.⁶

1. 21 Single passive.

**yaikh « damage » (chhal)**

ānh yaikh nhi « I damage the house »

Y nhi tayaih « the house got damaged »

**poq « open » (chhal)**

ānh poq nhi « I open the house »

nhi tapo « the house got opened »

**roq « pull up » (chhal)**

ānh roq canji « I pull weeds »

canji taroq « the weeds got pulled up »

**hwāt « throw »**

ānh hwāt tamō « I throw a stone »

ānh tahwāt « I was thrown (out of a hammock) »

(* tamō tahwāt does not occur, as tahwāt is used only in the context of a hammock. L uses hwāt and tahwāt interchangeably. *)

**pāh « slash »**

ānh pāh nēh « I slash him »

Y var tong ndēh mprāng tapāh ding « two cars run together slashing their sides »

(tapāh has only marginal existence, being unfamiliar to L and used by Y only in complex sentences, never simply.)

**rung « pour »**

ānh rung daq « I pour water »

daq tarung « the water got spilled »

**pīq « pick »**

ānh pīq la « I pick a leaf »

la tapīq « the leaf got broken off »

**rih « tear »**

ānh rih khān-vai « I tear the cloth »

khān-vai tarilh « the cloth got ripped »
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\[ tāq \ « \text{pull out} \]  
\[ ānh tāq dīnh « I pull out a nail » \]
\[ dīnh tātāq « the nail got pulled out » \]

\[ hec \ « \text{ruin} » \]
\[ ānh hec ao « I ruin the clothes » \]
\[ Y ao tahec « the clothes got ruined » \]

(L uses hec and tahec interchangeably.)

\[ plōng \ « \text{dunk} » \]
\[ ānh plōng bānh (u daq) « I dunk the bread (in water) » \]
\[ Y bānh taplōng (u daq) « the bread got dunked (in water) » \]

\[ rōq \ « \text{lift} » \]
\[ ānh rōq pāch canjōq « I lift a heavy thing » \]
\[ Y pāch canjōq ta-rōq « the heavy thing got lifted » \]

\[ piēt \ « \text{shove} » \]
\[ ānh piēt nēh « I shoved him » \]
\[ Y nēh tapiēt « he got shoved » \]

**1. 22 Double passive.** With these verbs, the root form has both an instrument and a locative in the predicate. Either one can be the subject of the passive transform.

\[ jāp \ « \text{pierce} » \]
\[ ānh jāp loq u ti ānh « I stick a thorn in my hand » \]
\[ ti ānh tajāp (bay) loq « my hand got stuck with a thorn » \]
\[ loq tajāp (u) ti ānh « a thorn got stuck in my hand » \]

\[ juh \ « \text{stab} » \]
\[ ānh juh pīh u nom nēh « I stab a knife in his body » \]
\[ nom nēh tajuh (bap) pīh « his body got stabbed with a knife » \]
\[ pīh tajuh (u) nom nēh « a knife got stabbed into his body » \]

With Īp either the instrument or the locative can occur in the embedded clause. They can occur either before or after the affixed verb.
1.3 ta—unintentional. Some transitive roots can take the ta—unintentional affix. The affixed form is also transitive. (For one exception, see § 1. 43.) The only formal difference between clauses with the root form and clauses with the affixed form is in the verb itself. The unintentional aspect does not include actions against the will, as in Katu and Pacoh, but rather accidental happenings only.

As with the ta—passive, after òp the noun can come either before or after the affixed verb. The two forms are completely interchangeable:

ánh òp nêh tacâr ñeñh òp tacâr nêh "I make it brushed".

câr "brush away" ánh cân nêh "I brush it"

gîq "snap" ánh gîq nêo nêh "I snap its neck"

pâm "hit" ánh pâm nêh "I hit him"

pâq "reset joint" ánh pâq nêh "I reset it"

vâng "smear on" ánh vâng jrou (u jâng) "I smear medicine (on my leg)"

løq "poke" ánh løq mät "I poke an eye"

khwèh "push" ánh khwèh nêh "I push him"

uâq "rub against" ánh uâq nêh "I rub against him"

ánh ta-uâq nêh "I accidentally rub against him"
WAQ 'spread apart'.  ÄNH WAQ NEH 'I spread it apart'.
ÄNH TAWAQ NEH 'I accidentally spread it apart'.

JWÄCH 'crumple'.  ÄNH JWÄCH PA-AR 'I crumole paper'.
ÄNH TAJWÄCH PA-AR 'I accidentally crumple paper'.

There are two verbs which can take either the root form or the affixed form with òp, with no change in meaning:

GOQ 'bump'.  ÄNH GOQ NEH 'I bump him'.
ÄNH TAGOQ NEH 'I accidentally bump him'.
ÄNH ÒP GOQ / TAGOQ NEH 'I accidentally bump him'.

DIH 'squash'.  ÄNH DIH NEH 'I squash it'.
ÄNH TADIH NEH 'I accidentally squash it'.
ÄNH ÒP DIH / TADIH 'I accidentally squash it'.

1.4 Irregular intransitive roots. There are a few intransitive roots which take the ta—affixes normally restricted to transitive roots.

1.41 Intransitive root—ta—causative and passive
ROH 'go down, alight'. is the only verb found so far which can take two affixes simultaneously: TATROH 'jump down'.

Root—SUM ROH 'the bird alights'.
Causative—ÄNH TROH PÎH 'I drop the knife'.
Passive—PÎH TAROH 'the knife fell'.
Combined—ÄNH TATROH 'I jump down'.

That TATROH is genuinely a combination of two affixes is supported by Y's saying TATAROHR as a slip of the tongue, even though two syllables is the phonological limit for a word in Chrau.
khlâyh «escape» can take either the causative or the passive ta—, but not simultaneously. òp with the root is simple causative, with the affixed form it is unintentional causative. Use of the simple khlâyh is marginal, accepted by only one of the informants, and with different cooccurrence restrictions from takhlâyh.

(Y) root—kraih khlâyh «the squirrel escapes»
causative—ành takhlâyh dâq «I spring the trap»
passive—dâq takhlâyh en «the trap was sprung»
òp root—ành òp dâq khlâyh «I make the trap spring»
òp aff.—ành òp dâq takhlâyh «I accidentally make the trap spring»

1. 42 Intransitive root → ta— passive. Two intransitive roots can take the passive ta—.

pâr «fly»

sûm pâr «the bird flies»

duôn tapâr en «the hat was flown»

chhal khâm duôn tapâr/chhal khâm tapâr duôn
«the wind blows and flies the hat»

Both pâr and tapâr occur with òp. With pâr it is simple causative, and is used with birds. With tapâr it is unintentional causative, and is used with non-flying objects. (cf. §1. 2)

ành òp sûm pâr «I make the bird fly»

ành òp tapâr duôn «I accidentally make the hat fly»

pauh «fall off»

play pruh «fruit falls off»

Yành ranggu chhô play tapruh / ành ranggu chhô

tapruh play «I shake the tree and make fruit fall off»

1. 43 Intransitive root—ta— unintentional. L. uscs

phât «flip» intransitively, taphât transitively.

khan-vai phât «the cloth flips»
chhal taphät khăn-vai «the wind flips the cloth»

talů́ h «accidentally go out» is the only intransitive example found thus far with the ta— unintentional.

surr lů́ h «the pig goes out»
surr talů́ h «the pig accidentally gets out»

1. 5 óp constructions. In construction with the particle óp «make, cause,» some verbs appear in root form, others in affixed form. This division of the verbs into classes matches the division formed by cooccurrence with the three types of ta— (see chart below).

When óp occurs with a simple verb root, the construction is an indirect causative, and the word order is N—óp—N—root. This is the same class of roots that take the ta— causative. (cf. §1.1)

When óp occurs with an affixed form, the construction is always unintentional. The word order may be either N—óp—ta— V—N or N—óp—N—ta— V. (For details see the previous §§.) These are the classes of verbs that take the ta— passive and unintentional.

There are two intransitive roots, khlâyh «escape» and păr «fly» (§ 1.41-42), which can take the passive ta—. These two verbs can also have either the root or the affixed form with óp. With the root, the construction is indirect causative, with the affixed form the construction is unintentional causative.

The following chart shows the correlation of verb types with ta— and with óp. (I is Intransitive, T is Transitive, Caus. is Causative, Unin. is Unintentional, Ind. is Indirect.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>ta—</th>
<th>óp</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I/T</td>
<td>Caus.</td>
<td>(root) Ind. Caus.</td>
<td>ánh óp con-se tao «I make the child stand»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Pass.</td>
<td>(affixed) Unin.</td>
<td>ánh óp tayaih nhi «I accidentally damage the house»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Unin.</td>
<td>(affixed) Unin.</td>
<td>ánh óp tacår něh «I accidentally brush it»</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.6 Interchangeable forms. A number of roots and affixed forms are now used interchangeably. Only the last two of these are used with ōp.

*prep/ta*prep *put away* (L)

*nchāp/tanchāp* *tie up*

*ntāq/tantāq* *roll up in (as blanket)*

*prep/ta*prep *compare*

*chhat rao/tachhat tarao* *purify (after contact with corpse)*

*khwār/takhwār* *scald* (L)

*chūch/tachūch* *scorch, as with cigarette*.

The last two of these are not yet completely interchangeable. L would not allow *khwār* in the sentence jāng ānh *takhwār* daq dūh *my feet were scalded with hot water*, though he would allow either form in ānh *khwār/takhwār* daq dūh *I scald with hot water*. Y would allow all the combinations. With *chūch* and *tachūch* Y would use only *tachūch* after ōp.

1.7 Changed meanings. There are a few examples where there is a possible relation between forms, but not according to any established patterns. None of these can occur with ōp.

*dāp* *dam up* ānh *dāp* daq *I dam up water*.

ānh *tadāp* ao *I fold (or hem) a shirt*.

*lāq* *spread* ānh *lāq* vēl *I spread out a mat*.

ānh *talāq* tamun *I knock a person down*.

*chēq* *put, set* ānh *chēq* nēh *I put it down*.

ānh *tachēq* nēh *I put it down forcefully*.

Note also *rōh* *alight*, *trōh* *drop, return*, *taraḥ* *fall*, *tatrorh* *jump down* (§1.41)

2 Pa — and — N — affixes. The two affixes *pa* — and *N* — frequently
occur together. N is a nasal at the point of articulation of the following consonant. There are too few examples to determine the meanings of these two affixes.

dop 'to hand, give' pandop 'reach up, grab'

wil 'mistake road' pangwil 'lead astray'

jêng 'become' pinjêng 'beget, create'

In a few cases N — occurs with ta — instead of pa —: n’haol tan’hao 'raise', njur/tanjur' lower' tamväq 'lay (someone) down'. (cf. § 1.11). All three of these examples involve a change of position. ta-ûm 'to bathe someone' also varies to tanûm, but, in this case the ta cannot be dropped.

pa — occurs without N — in several cases:

gân 'go across' pagân 'crosswise'

le 'dodge' pale 'roll over (as in bed)'

lôm 'lure' palôm 'mislead'

lâm 'set, point' palâm 'roll' here the meaning is considerably changed when affixed. Cf. § 1.7).

There is one example of pa — and paN — in contrast:

jwâch/pajwâch 'crumple something light (one hand)'

panjwâch 'crumple something stiff (two hands).

3. an — affix. The — an — infix usually occurs on verbs, and the resultant form can be either a quantifier, a noun, or an adjective. In a few cases the two forms are synonymous.

an — occurs with one-syllable words only. It follows the initial consonant, making a presyllable before the main syllable.

3.1 Resultant quantifier.

pât 'squeeze' ânh pât du panât piêng 'I squeeze one handful of rice'
poq « roll » ānh poq du panoq iuq « I roll one roll of tobacco (one cigarette) »

chūm « wrap » ānh chūm du chaokhūm piĕng « I wrap one package of rice »

tung « carry on shoulder » ānh tung du tanung long « I carry one load of firewood »

puq « a rice » du panoq piĕng puq « one piece of puq rice »

3. 2 Resultant noun.

Instrument noun:

goč « to lasso » ānh goč bay ganoch « I lasso with a lasso »

col « to pillow » ānh col vôq bay ganol « I pillow (my) head with a pillow »

It is not clear why the consonant became voiced in ganol. (I. would usually use the Vietnamese word for pillow, but this is a normal sentence for Y.

khēq « to hook » ānh khēq bay can’kēq « I hook with a hook »

Non-instrument noun:

pōq « say » pōq panōq « say words » « archaic »

pāng « wall in » ānh pāng prām lām panāng « I wall five rooms »

pār « fly » sūm gēh panār nēh pār « birds have wings so they fly »

trōng « language » du tanrōng trōng « one line of words »

sau « son-in-law » sinau « grandchild »

gon « a blind » ānh gon sūng ganon « I hunt in a blind » (Y)

(With L ganon is an instrument, used with bay.)

rānggāp « rapids » ganāp « dam »

It is not clear whether rang—here is a presyllable, which was
dropped to permit infixation of the main syllable, or whether it was an old affix, with the root being simply gàp. The relationship of the verb dâp «to dam up» is also not clear.

kiêp «pot» caniêp «family» (those who eat from the same pot)
swan «strength, ability» sinwan «muscle, tendon»

3.3 Resultant adjective.
câh «remember» piêng canâh «remaining, leftover rice»
vôh «know» nêh vanôh «he is wise»
pânìh «shoot» L. yang panânìh «spirit of shooting»
Y tamun panânìh «good hunter»
côih «whittle» ânh côih bay pH canôih «I whittle with a canôih knife»

34 Synonymous forms.
chhâc/ chin’hâc «fierce»
khurn/ can’hurn «steal»
krâq/ canrâq «weedy»

4. Other less common affixes.

4.1 sa—. A large number of animal names begin with the presyllable sa—, though it is not currently recognized as an affix by native speakers. For the most part the first syllable is never dropped, except in direct address. sapai «rabbit», sacau «bear», saquây «mouse deer», saleng «swallow», sama «porcupine», sama (r) bar «flying squirrel», sapiq «civet».

Jacob gives no examples for such an «animal» affix in either Old Khmer or Old Mon. It may possibly have come from an old classifier for animals.

Two other words with a sa— presyllable, sa—ur «wife» and râklô «husband», are almost certainly contractions from sai ur «marry woman» and sai klô «marry man». The uncontracted forms are still current in neighboring Koho.
4.2 ta—verbalizer. ta—added to the name for a sound, usually onomatopoetic, gives the meaning to make that sound.

*po*u «call of deer», *tapou «to call «po»*;

*ou «call to a dog», ta-*ou «to call «ou»*;

*teh «call of elephant or pig*, *tatch «to call ‘teh’*;

*pàc «a bilabial implosive*, *tapàc «to make a bilabial implosive*;

*klôc «click*, *taklôc «to click (for a dog)*;

*piu «bang!», *tapiu «to go ‘piu’*;

*toch toch «drip drip*, *tatoch «to drip*;

*chuc «to peck (chicken)*, *tachuc «to call a chicken*;

chuc «peck* is a verb; all the other roots with this affix are exclamations.

4.3 — ap — nominalizer. Two examples of this infix have been found *sèt «to plug*, *sapèt «a plug, cork*, *sun «create*, *sapun «fate*. From an historical point of view it may be significant that both examples which have preserved this infix begin with /sl/.

4.4 ta—time affix. *ta-au «tomorrow* and *ta-ih «later (soon)*, are the only examples of this *ta «later time* affix. Both *au and ih occur alone in other environments: *au klaq «later on (ten days to a year)» *mau ih «this afternoon».

4.5 kha—pluralizer. There is a free word khây «plural*, which is tending toward becoming an affix; with pronouns it is frequently contracted to kha—

*änh In*, khananh, khây änh «we (excl)*;

*mái «you (m)*, khamai, khây mai «you pl: (m)*;

*ai «you (f)*, kha-ai, khây ai «you pl: (f)*;

*nêh 3rd.sg*., khanêh, khây nêh «they*.
änh usually takes the contracted plural. mai and ai vary between the contracted and uncontracted plurals. nêh usually takes the uncontracted plural. Aspiration is not normally permitted in the presyllable of a word, so it is likely that kha — may eventually reduce to ca —:

Footnotes

1. I am indebted to Milton Barker and David Thomas, both of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for helpful suggestion in the writing of this paper.


The consonant phonemes of Chrau are: voiceless stops p, t, ch; c/k, q (glottal); lenis voiced stops v, d, j, g; preglottalized stops b, ð, nasals m, n, nh, ng; other r, l, w, y, s, h. Thê vowel phonemes are; front i, i̯, ê, e, ɛ; central ə, ã, a, ã; back u, ü, õ, o, ɔ.


4. tanûm, tan hao, tan jur and tam viq all have the N — prefix (cf. §2. 2-5. See David Thomas, Chrau Grammra, chap. 5.