A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KÑHO-SRE:
A MON-KHMER LANGUAGE

by

Neil Hayes Olsen

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
The University of Utah
December 2014
The University of Utah Graduate School

STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

The dissertation of Neil Hayes Olsen has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MaryAnn Christison</td>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>May 19, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marianna Di Paolo</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>May 21, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Chambless</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>May 11, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyle Campbell</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>June 17, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Alves</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>June 17, 2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and by Edward Rubin, Chair/Dean of the Department/College/School of Linguistics

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of the Sre dialect of the Koho language. Koho, a Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language, is spoken by an indigenous population of more than 207,000 people located in Lâm Đồng province in the highland region of Vietnam. There are also several thousand additional members of this ethnic group who live in France and the United States (primarily North Carolina).

The goal of this dissertation is to describe the Koho-Sre language in such a manner that it is accessible both to linguists and also to those in the Koho-speaking community interested in their own language. This grammar—based on a linguistic analysis that is informed by current linguistic theory and best practices in the field—includes phonological, morphological, and syntactic data.

A grammatical description of Koho is needed, in spite of the fact that a literature of the language does exist. This is because (1) adequate documentation is not achieved by the extant literature; (2) materials are dated and do not reflect recent advances in typology and linguistic analysis; (3) many materials are published in Russian and Vietnamese or are not readily available to most researchers; and (4) earlier descriptions are cast in frameworks that are not amenable to contemporary documentary linguistic analysis.

This dissertation, based on data collected during fieldwork in Vietnam and North Carolina, supplemented with previously published syntactic and lexicographic materials, provides an overview of the grammatical structure of Sre. Sre is a polysyllabic (usually dissyllabic) language with a synchronic tendency towards reduction of the presyllable
(the weaker or minor syllable) and development in the remaining (main or major) syllable of contrastive pitch characteristics associated with vowel length. Vowel length, in turn, is influenced by the main syllable coda. A formerly complex system of nominal classifiers (operating in the pattern: numeral + classifier + noun) has been reduced to three generally used classifiers. Sentence structure is subject + verb + object with a fairly rigid word order with some phrase or clause movement to indicate certain syntactic functions.
To Gloria, my guardian angel

Thank you for your patience, support, and love.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th align="center">TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
<th align="center"></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td align="center">ABSTRACT</td>
<td align="center">iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td align="center">viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS</td>
<td align="center">ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td align="center">xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">CHAPTERS</td>
<td align="center"></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">1 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td align="center">1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">1.1 Introduction to the study</td>
<td align="center">1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">1.2 The Koho people</td>
<td align="center">6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">1.3 The Koho language</td>
<td align="center">10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">1.4 Scientific significance of this dissertation</td>
<td align="center">18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY</td>
<td align="center">23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2.1 Introduction</td>
<td align="center">23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2.2 Phonological description</td>
<td align="center">23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2.3 Syllable structure</td>
<td align="center">30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2.4 Suprasegmentals</td>
<td align="center">33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">2.5 History of orthographies</td>
<td align="center">34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">3 MORPHOLOGY</td>
<td align="center">41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">3.1 Introduction</td>
<td align="center">41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">3.2 Derivational morphology</td>
<td align="center">41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">3.3 Clitics</td>
<td align="center">50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">3.4 Compounding</td>
<td align="center">53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">4 SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES: WORD CLASSES</td>
<td align="center">54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">4.1 Introduction</td>
<td align="center">54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">4.2 Lexical categories: content word classes</td>
<td align="center">55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td align="center">4.3 Functional categories: grammatical word classes</td>
<td align="center">74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES: GRAMMATICAL COMPONENTS ...................... 91

5.1 Introduction ................................................................................................. 91
5.2 Sre word order ............................................................................................. 91
5.3 Simple sentences ........................................................................................ 93
5.4 Complex sentences ...................................................................................... 98
5.5 Nominal constituents ................................................................................. 102
5.6 Negation ..................................................................................................... 104

APPENDICES

A TEXT: TRADITIONAL VILLAGE WORK ................................................ 106

B SWADESH 285-ITEM WORD LIST FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA:
   KÔHO-SRE DIALECT ................................................................................. 108

REFERENCES ........................................................................................................ 122
### LIST OF TABLES

2.1 Consonant phonemes .............................................................................................38
2.2 Vowel phonemes .................................................................................................38
2.3 Vowel minimal pairs with glosses .......................................................................39
2.4 Examples of permitted Sre main syllable patterns .............................................40
2.5 Sre pitch length by subdialect ............................................................................40
4.1 Example of common nouns ..................................................................................85
4.2 Personal pronouns ...............................................................................................85
4.3 Numerals .............................................................................................................86
4.4 Inventory of Koho classifiers cited in this section ..............................................87
4.5 Coverbs and their glosses .................................................................................88
4.6 Deictics of location and direction .......................................................................88
4.7 Temporal units with *doʔ* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; a recurrent event’ ........................................................................89
4.8 Temporal units with *tuʔ* ‘time, occasion’ ..........................................................89
4.9 Formation of interrogative pronominals ..............................................................90
5.1 Content question interrogatives .........................................................................105
5.2 Negative elements with *ʔaʔ* ‘not’ ..................................................................105
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

~ alternates with; alternate form

[x] phonetic form

/x/ phonemic form

* ungrammatical form

< derives from

> changes into

<…> orthographic representation of an original source

⇒ becomes

# word boundary

§ section (of a chapter)

1 first person

2 second person

3 third person

ADJ adjective

BEN benefactive

C consonant

CAUS causative

CLF classifier

CMA Christian and Missionary Alliance

COM comitative
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximal/proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PW</td>
<td>phonological word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ</td>
<td>Greek letter sigma = syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL</td>
<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o; s.t.</td>
<td>someone; something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>subject + verb + object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, v</td>
<td>verb; vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOT</td>
<td>voice onset time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALS</td>
<td>World Atlas of Language Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>WH-type question word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grammars do not write themselves. Many people who have been involved in influencing, encouraging, nurturing, and mentoring me over the last five decades must be acknowledged for their aid and support during the writing of this grammar. First, I must acknowledge the people who introduced me to the scholarly study of language and culture: †Robert M. Ariss and Paul L. Kirk. In Vietnam, I am deeply indebted to †David and Dorothy Thomas of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, then in Nha Trang, who focused my research and connected me with a support group of fellow researchers. I wish to thank members of the Koño-speaking community that so graciously gave their time and knowledge of their language under very difficult circumstances during the American War in Vietnam: Uok Cil, K’Wa, K’Bris, and K’Smal. When I pursued graduate studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, I benefited from classes taught by Robert ‘Bob’ Hsu, †Philip Jenner, †Nguyễn Đặng Liêm, Steve O’Harrow, and Laurence C. Thompson. †Nguyễn Đình Hòa, Steve Sherman, Paul Sidwell, and †William Smalley and shared valuable expertise from their respective fields of endeavor.

In North Carolina, my friends and language consultants from the Koño community there have again patiently and willingly taught me the nuances and of their language. I must thank Broi Toploi, K’Ben Kon Sa, and Uok Cil, all of whom survived the war and now are flourishing with their families in the United States.

Most recently, at the University of Utah, I would like to acknowledge the members of my graduate committee: Maryann Christison (chair), Lyle Campbell,
Marianna Di Paolo, Tim Chambless, and Mark Alves. These scholars, colleagues, and friends have been wonderfully patient and so supportive of my efforts to document the Ko ho language. I owe them my gratitude for believing in my work and me.

Lastly and most importantly, I must acknowledge the love and support given to me by my wife, Gloria, while I was pursuing my passion. Without her patience and understanding, I would not have accomplished this task.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the study

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a descriptive grammar of the Sre dialect of the Kho-speaking peoples in a theory-neutral format that will be accessible to linguists and other academics. Hopefully, this grammar can serve as a resource for pedagogical purposes and revitalization efforts, should the community desire them.

The Kho, who call themselves kon cau, number approximately 200,000 people and inhabit most of Lâm Đồng province in highland Vietnam; several thousand now live overseas in France and the U.S.A. They are one of approximately fifty ethnic minority groups living in Vietnam; these people are also known as montagnards (an older French term) or highlanders. Kho, along with the Chrau, Mpong, and Stieng languages, comprise the South Bahnaric branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language family.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study (§1.1.1), a brief description of how fieldwork was conducted (§1.1.2), and an introduction to the Kho people (§1.2). A brief discussion of the language classification (§1.3.1), typology

---

*The ethnonym Kho [kə’ho] is derived from a Cham word that refers collectively to a group of several peoples speaking mutually intelligible dialects in the southern part of the highlands of Vietnam (Olsen 1968, 1976). Although, Mā is linguistically a Kho dialect, it is considered by the Mā community and ethnologists to be a separate ethnic group. The ISO 639-3 code for the Kho language is kpm; the code for Mā is cma.*
($1.3.2$), and dialects ($1.3.3$) follows. A discussion of the scientific significance of this dissertation ($1.4$) concludes the chapter.

### 1.1.1 Theoretical framework and terminology

The purpose of this study is to present a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Sre dialect of the Kồhо language.

In writing the grammar, I used Comrie and Smith’s 1971 *Lingua* questionnaire to organize my data and materials. Besides various vocabulary lists, basic bilingual phrase books, and folkloric works in or about the Kồhо, there are only a few lexicographic and syntactic materials of note on this language. In addition to my own data collected in fieldwork with the language, I have also consulted Evans and Bowen (1962) and Manley (1972) with supplemental reference to two important dictionaries (Dournes 1950, updated and revised in Bochet and Dournes 1953; and Drouin and K’Năi 1962). Best practices used in documentary linguistics guided the preparation of this grammar.

### 1.1.2 Fieldwork and data collection

During the course of ethnographic field research among the Kồhо-speaking peoples in the Central Highlands region of Vietnam, I had the opportunity to record textual material from two of the groups in the area—the Nộp and the Sre. The resultant corpus comprises speech representing three speakers of Sre, and one of Nộp; from this resource, the idiolect of one of the Sre-speakers was selected as the main focus of this analysis. This particular idiolect was selected because it had the most documentation (see $1.3.3$).
The following is an inventory of my field notes from 1967-1968:


- 1967-8. Notes on Kôho grammar and dictionary. [red notebook, 8 x 12.5 cm; Cây Tre—Nhút-Ký printed on cover]


All the field recordings were copied, enhanced, and archived at the University of Hawai‘i Language Learning Center in 1974 (Tape # LIF 109.1). In addition, in 2008, selected records were digitized in a split-head (consumer stereo) format at radio station KUER, University of Utah.

The following is an inventory of digital and acoustic phonetic (spectrograms) materials generated at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa between 1975-1978.²

1. Inventory of spectrograms from the 1967-1968 field recordings (351 spectrograms), 1974.


____________

²These materials are in my personal field notes collection.
5. Sre-English dictionary, 272 p., (12,160 lines, 1,654 main entries, 1,128 subentries); English-Sre finder list, 119 p., (4,695 lines, 1,978 main entries, 19 May 1978. (This is an ongoing project.)

An inventory of my papers presented at conferences and other relevant publications is listed in the References section.

### 1.1.3 Prior research on Köho

The Sre and other Köho peoples are described in a moderately comprehensive ethnographic literature. This material deals primarily with their folkways and socio-cultural organization; treatment of the language has not been extensive.³

The following is an inventory of the relevant materials available on the language (those involving grammar, dictionary, and analyzed texts).

There are several published works involving the grammar: one of the earliest, a 1959 publication in Vietnamese, is *Học tiếng Thượng: Köho* [Learn a highland language: Köho] issued by the *Nha Công-tác Xã-hội miền Thượng* [Office of Highland Social Work]; the second is *Koho Language Course* by Helen Evans and Peggy Bowen (1962); the third is my brief grammar sketch (15 p.) for use by military advisers (Olsen 1968); the fourth is a syntactic study in a case grammar framework (Manley 1972); the fifth is a

³An annotated bibliography of both ethnographic and linguistic references concerning the Köho-speaking peoples is in preparation by the author (Olsen n.d. a).
treatment of affixation by Nguyễn văn Hoan (1973); and finally, there is Lý Toàn Thắng, et al. (1985) Ngữ pháp tiếng Koho [Koho grammar].

Koho lexicography is adequately represented in four major works of note. The first is Jacques Dournes’ *Dictionnaire srê (kôho)—français*, published in 1950 using the 1949 orthography (subsequently revised: Bochet and Dournes 1953, a quadrilingual lexicon edition); the second is the more recent and larger (multivolume, 1512-page) work by Father Sylvère Drouin and Professor K’Nää of the Centre Montagnard de Rédemptoristes, the *Dictionnaire français--montagnard*, which appeared in 1962; the third is the trilingual *Koho Vocabulary* by Ha Bul Sohao of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1976). The fourth, and most recent, is a Vietnamese-Koho dictionary by Hoàng Văn Hành, et al. *Từ Điển Việt-Koho*, issued in 1983.

Phonology is the least documented area in Kôho. The classic work is Smalley’s important *Srê phonemes and syllables* (1955). Although Manley devotes a chapter to phonology in his grammar (1972:10-39), it is not a main focus of his research. Despite his emphasis on syntax, Manley does offer several new insights; he further delineates the various Srê dialects. Duong Tan Le’s thesis (2003) explores phonological comparisons in Kôho and Má. There is a recent phonological study from Vietnam, *Ngữ âm tiếng Koho* [Koho phonology] by Tạ Văn Thông (2004).

A comprehensive bibliography of published materials on Koho may be found in the references section following the appendices.

---

4 This work documents the Ryông Tô dialect.

5 This work documents the Cil dialect.

6 Additionally, I have compiled a Koho-English lexicon (with over 2,000 entries to date).
A grammatical description of Kơho is needed, in spite of the fact that a number of works are listed in this section. This is because (1) adequate documentation is not achieved by the extant literature; (2) materials are dated and do not reflect recent advances in typology and linguistic analysis; (3) many materials are published in Russian and Vietnamese or are not readily available to researchers; and (4) earlier descriptions are cast in frameworks that are not amenable to contemporary documentary linguistic analysis.

### 1.2 The Kơho people

*Kơho* [kəˈho] is a Cham ethnonym applied collectively to a group of several peoples speaking mutually intelligible dialects in the Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) of Vietnam.⁷ The Kơho autonym *kôn cau* [kôn cau] is usually translated as ‘sons of men,’ but literally means ‘offspring of humans.’ Although 207,517 ethnic Kơho were enumerated in Vietnam in 2009 (Vietnam Central Population and Housing 2010), with about 2,000 in North Carolina (U. S. Census 2000), there are no comparable figures for the current number of *speakers*.

In Vietnam, Kơho speakers inhabit most of Lâm Đồng province, and portions of Bình Thuận, Ninh Thuận, Đồng Nai, and Đắk Lắk provinces. Major population centers in the Kơho-speaking area are Dălạt, Bảo Lộc, and Di Linh. Minority ethnic groups in

---

⁷‘*Koho* est un mot cham qui servait à désigner l’ensemble des Montagnards et qui se trouve pratique pour désigner un dialecte commun à un nombre relativement important de tribus (de parler Môn-Khmer) et compris sans exception dans toute la province du Haut-Donnai’ (Bochet 1951). In Moussay’s *Dictionnaire Căm-Việtnamien-Français* (1971:125), the entry reads: ‘KAHÔ /kahauw/: người Koho; la peuplade des Koho.’ The Kơho are an officially designated ethnic group in Vietnam. Other Vietnamese spellings of the ethnonym are Cơho, Cơ-ho, Cô-ho, and Kohor.
Vietnam, including the Kôho people, have been known by several other designations, including French *montagnard* ‘mountain dweller,’ and Vietnamese *người thượng* ‘highland compatriot.’ See Figure 1.1.

Since the 1930s, missionaries, government agencies, and educators using several different alphabets have produced scripture, primers, grammars, and dictionaries. During the 1960s and 1970s, a series of pedagogical materials in Kôho and a dozen other minority languages was produced by SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) under contract to the former Saigon government—the Highlander Education Project. Writing primers, science, and health books were used in many classrooms where Kôho was the language of instruction in the primary grades; in the higher grades, Vietnamese was phased in.\(^8\)

During the American War in Vietnam, most of the heavier fighting was located outside of the Kôho-speaking area, but that war had an effect on these people in several significant ways. Because most of their homeland was designated as a ‘free fire zone’ in the late 1960s,\(^9\) many Kôho underwent abrupt social and cultural upheaval when entire village communities were forcibly relocated into strategic hamlets strung along National Route 20 and clustered around district and provincial centers between Bảo Lộc and Đa Lạt.

---

\(^8\)Steve Sherman, of the RADIX Foundation, Houston, TX, was able to obtain electronic copies of SIL’s Vietnamese minority education materials. They were previously available only on microfiche from SIL. These materials have been shared with the North Carolina community.

\(^9\)‘Free fire zones’ were areas designated (often arbitrarily) by the South Vietnamese or American forces as being de facto ‘insecure’ (i.e., enemy territory) and thus subject to indiscriminate and unlimited artillery fire, aerial bombing, and chemical defoliation.
(Olsen 1970 and Volk 1979). Many innocent people who remained in their native villages were decimated along with their crops and livestock as a result of these zones.

Many highlanders served as soldiers in the Republic of Vietnam’s Regional and Popular Forces, which were province- and district-level home guard units, respectively. Others were recruited into Civilian Irregular Defense Groups (CIDG), and other ‘special operations’ which were administered by the U.S. Special Forces (the Green Berets).

At the conclusion of the Second Indochinese War, what remained of the highlander population tried to pick up the pieces of their lives and rebuild. After reunification in 1976, the Hanoi government initiated a massive program where lowlander Kinh (people of Vietnamese ethnicity) were relocated to many of the highland provinces, making highlanders a minority in their homeland (Hardy 2003). There was severe deforestation as highlanders and Kinh alike destroyed the double- and triple-canopy forests to plant coffee, which, at that time, was enjoying a worldwide economic boom. Unfortunately, Vietnamese coffee flooded the market and prices plummeted, leaving many people economically impoverished. At the same time, the government and military were conducting mop-up operations against remnants of the former Saigon administration. Highlanders who had sided with the Saigon and American authorities were imprisoned in reeducation camps, many for decades. Some died from miserable conditions or were executed. The military rounded up guerilla groups comprised of former South Vietnamese military personnel, a highlander autonomy movement called

FULRO,\textsuperscript{11} and other antigovernment elements. A modicum of peace finally came to the highlands in 1992, when FULRO holdouts in Cambodia surrendered to a United Nations team. Since then, the government has aggressively persecuted and prosecuted evangelical Protestant home churches, which have many highlander adherents (Human Rights Watch 2006). Because of this situation, thousands of highlanders, including Kơ ho people, have fled their homeland. Since 1986, several thousand highlanders have been resettled in the United States, mostly in North Carolina.

After 1975, and especially following unification in 1976, use of minority languages was discouraged and a Vietnamization campaign emphasized integration of minority peoples into the majority national society. Vietnamese became the language of instruction at all levels of education. All pre-1975 materials were banned. During fieldwork in Vietnam in 1999, I observed that minority languages were not being nourished in the ‘old country.’ Realistically, unless Vietnamese government policies change, the overseas Kơ ho are ‘on their own’ as far as language and cultural maintenance emanating from the homeland are concerned. Despite the fact that there is a population of over 200,000 in Vietnam alone, Kơ ho (like Navajo\textsuperscript{12}) has the potential to become an endangered language. A challenge to overseas Kơ ho will be maintaining a ‘critical mass’ of speakers and transmitting their language to future generations. As mentioned, most Kơ ho refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and United Nations camps in Thailand were able to relocate to North Carolina. See Figure 1.2. This is because Ft. Bragg, the home of

\textsuperscript{11}FULRO is the acronym for \textit{Front Uni de Lutte des Races Opprimées} (United Front of Struggle for the Oppressed Races).

\textsuperscript{12}Navajo is considered at risk because fewer young people are learning the language despite the demographic size of the group—more than 100,000 (Mary Ann Willie, p.c.).
the Special Forces, is located near Fayetteville, North Carolina. Many active duty and retired Green Berets sponsored individuals and families so they could immigrate to the U.S. and reestablish themselves in this country.

The Kơho community in North Carolina is flourishing and adapting to American ways while maintaining their culture and language. The families of my language consultants all speak Kơho on a daily basis and even their grandchildren are using the language. This bodes well for Kơho language maintenance in North Carolina.

1.3 The Kơho language

Among the Kơho-speaking peoples, Sre has emerged as the prestige dialect because they inhabited areas that were developed during the French colonial period. An important highway, National Route 20, that connects Hồ Chí Minh city (Sàigòn) and Đàlạt, was built through the middle of their territory. Because of this accessibility, the Sre were one of the first Kơho peoples to be converted to Christianity by French and, later, American missionaries.

1.3.1 Language classification

Kơho, along with Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng comprise the South Bahnaric branch,\(^{13}\) which in turn is a subdivision on a par with the North Bahnaric and West

\(^{13}\)Other synonyms include the terms Mnong-Ma and Chau-Ma (or Che-Ma), and appear primarily in French scholarly works (Dournes 1974:161). French ethnographers and linguists often include the Bôlôô (Bôlô) [bô.lôː], a Stieng people, along with Mnong under their Mnong-Ma rubric.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that although one may refer to the Kơho language as such of the Kơho-speaking peoples, there was, historically, no group of people specifically referred to, or that considered themselves as Kơho. After reunification, this changed as the ethnic Vietnamese (Kinh) refer to these people as Kơho.
Bahnaric branches of the Bahnaric group, a major division of the Mon-Khmer language family (Thomas 1966:194-197). The Mon-Khmer languages, the Munda languages in India, and the Aslian languages of the Malay Peninsula comprise the three components of the Austroasiatic family.

The basic vocabulary among the four South Bahnaric languages all range around a 60-percent cognate rate, so that no further subdivision is suggested. The South Bahnaric languages are physically separated from North and West Bahnaric by a geographic intrusion of Austronesian-speaking Chamic peoples; it is thought that the split of Bahnaric into northern, western, and southern groups is historically connected with the appearance of people speaking Chamic languages (not only Cham, but Edê (Rhadê), Jorai (Jarai), Roglai, and others) into the Western Highlands region (Thurgood 1999).\(^\text{14}\)

Recently, sufficient materials have become available on at least one speech community of each of the four South Bahnaric languages so that several scholars have reconstructed proto-South Bahnaric.\(^\text{15}\)

The Sre have much in common with other highland minority peoples in Vietnam, both culturally and ethnically, and despite some linguistic differences, consider themselves along with all the highland groups to be a unified socio-cultural entity. Although the Sre speak a Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language, they are culturally more

\(^\text{14}\)The Austronesian intrusion of Chamic languages into the Western Highlands is detailed in Gregerson, et al. (1976) and Thurgood (1999), while the South Bahnaric areal linguistic setting is discussed in Thomas (1971:18-21).

\(^\text{15}\)Proto-South Bahnaric has been reconstructed by Efimov (1988, 1990), and Sidwell (2000).
similar to Austronesian-speaking Chamic peoples because of the intensive political dominance by Champa in the highland region until the eighteenth century. Thus, while the Sre speak a dialect that is mutually intelligible to their western neighbors, the Mà, they differ from them both in social structure and subsistence patterns (Olsen 1976). Many Sre are multilingual, possessing a degree of fluency in either French or Vietnamese, depending on their age, education, and military service. Some also speak neighboring languages, such as Mnong, Roglai, Chru, or Edê (Rhadê), and more recently English.

Traditionally, the Sre engaged primarily in wet-rice (paddy) agriculture and lived in the plains and valleys of the Di Linh Plateau (Cao Nguyên Di Linh), which is located in central Lâm Đông province, and comprises the southern-most portion of the Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) region in central Vietnam. The social and cultural

---

16 The Cham influence on Sre social structure and linguistic behavior is very pervasive. The Sre reckon descent matrilineally, as do most Austronesian-speaking peoples in Vietnam, unlike many Mon-Khmer-speaking groups.

17 Surprisingly, the ethnolinguistic literature refers to these people by the same name that they use for themselves: *(cau) sre* ‘irrigated paddy (people).’ Alternate citations for the Sre include: Sore, Cau S’re, Srê, and Xrê. For brief ethnographic sketches of the Sre, see Queguiner (1943), and Le Bar, et al. (1964:156-157).

18 After unification in 1976, Lâm Đồng and Tuyên Đúc provinces were merged into one administrative unit, retaining the former’s designation. During the former Republic of Vietnam administration, the provincial capital of Lâm Đồng was Bảo Lộc (sometimes transliterated as Bọlao, from the indigenous Blao). The province capital is now Dàlạt. The Western Highlands (Tây Nguyên) are also known as the Central Highlands (Cao Nguyên).
The center of Sre territory is Djiring (Di Linh), the principal market town in the district.

Population estimates for the Sre account for approximately 30,000 people in Vietnam.

Koho speakers began arriving in North Carolina in 1986; they settled primarily in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh. Another group joined them in 1992. Both state and local government and refugee services have provided excellent support to the relocated people. Many of the Koho have moved into various professions, such as realtors, lawyers, restaurateurs, and religious leaders. Most of the children and grandchildren of the people I met speak Koho and use it at home and in many domains. The younger people talk and text in the language. This bodes well for the maintenance of the Koho language in North Carolina, which includes the Sre, Cil, and Lat dialects.

This study will primarily focus on the Sre dialect as spoken in North Carolina.

1.3.2 Typology

As mentioned above, Koho, along with the Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng languages comprise the South Bahnaric branch of the Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) language family. Both Khmer (Cambodian) and Vietnamese are distantly related to the Bahnaric languages, and thus Koho.

Alves, in his Pacoh grammar (2006), a Katuic language, lists typological characteristics that are found in Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) languages, noting that some of these also apply to other languages and language families in the Southeast Asia Linguistic Area (1-3). These include:

---

19 Di Linh (sometimes written Gi Rinh) is the Vietnamese transliteration of Djiring (which is the French rendering of the Sre place name Ñjring [ɲˈrying], the district seat until 1975.
• Sentence structure: topic-comment, a basic subject-verb-object (SVO) order

• Noun phrase structure: classifier language, noun-modifier word order, lexically indicated plurality (not affixes)

• Modal aspects: time (or tense), aspect, and the interrogative are indicated by adverbs and sentence particles (not conjugated verbs or affixes)

• Word-formations: presyllables (e.g., deriving causative verbs) and infixes (e.g., nouns derived from verbs), partial/alternating reduplication, no suffixes

• Phonological word shape: sesquisyllabic word structure in which presyllables are unstressed and somewhat reduced in form, consonant clusters on main syllables

• Phonology: vocalic/register differences on vowels, four-way place of distinction of consonants (labial, dental, palatal, and velar)

These genetic features and areal traits are discussed in detail in the phonology, morphology, and syntax chapters that follow.

Hawkins (1983:284,338) classifies Sre, the most documented dialect of Koho, as a subject-verb-object word order language with adpositions and numeral-noun, noun-adjective (alternatively adjective-noun is a nonbasic order), noun-genitive, and noun-relative clause characteristics. Sre is language Type 9 in his Extended Sample typological classification, expanding on Greenberg’s language universals works (Greenberg 1966 [1963], 1978).21

---

20See also Goddard (2005:33) for an inventory of distinctive phonological and morphological characteristics in the Mon-Khmer languages.

21Other Type 9 languages include Cambodian, Vietnamese, Modern Israeli Hebrew, Indonesian, most Romance languages, and almost all Bantu languages.
Syntactically, Koho is similar in many respects to Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian languages. Sentential word order is generally subject-verb-object (SVO). Koho is a polysyllabic (usually dissyllabic) language with a synchronic tendency towards reduction of the presyllable (the weaker or minor syllable) and development in the remaining (major) syllable of contrastive pitch characteristics associated with vowel length. Vowel length, in turn, is influenced by the main syllable coda. Since the mid-twentieth century, a formerly complex system of nominal classifiers (operating in the pattern: numeral + classifier + noun) has been reduced to three generally used classifiers, which function in the environment previously filled by the more specialized classifier terms (Manley 1972:120-121). In addition, a diachronically intricate affixation pattern that previously served syntactic functions seems to be currently nonproductive, although stylistic or metaphoric extensions of certain forms (usually verbs) may be generated by the use of polysyllabic compounds composed of an even number of syllables. Verbal aspect may be optionally marked by atelic or telic situation markers (Comrie 1976:44-48). Personal pronouns distinguish three persons, singular and plural (the second person has masculine, feminine, and informal forms; the first person plural has an inclusive/exclusive dichotomy). Demonstratives are categorized by physical or temporal distance and visibility with reference to the speaker and listener. Interrogative sentences are marked by appropriate final particles; prefixing an assimilating nasal to a nominal substantive forms many of the WH-type interrogatives.22

22WH-type interrogatives indicate the type of questions that begin with wh- in English (e.g., who, what, why, etc.). For a discussion of other syntactic material in Koho, see Olsen 1968, Manley 1972, Nguyễn văn Hoan 1973, and Lý Toản Thắng, et al. 1985.
Approximately one-fifth of the basic lexicon in Kơho is cognate with neighboring Austronesian languages (especially S. Rōglai). Vietnamese, as the national language, exercises a considerable influence on Sre, and the other minority languages in Vietnam. In North Carolina, the influence of Vietnamese is not as significant, but Vietnamese is often used as a lingua franca in intergroup communication, especially between speakers of other minority languages. The influence of English on Kơho in North Carolina is beyond the scope of this study.

The Kơho language has several intriguing features of interest to language typology and linguistic theory. These features include a system of diachronically diverse noun classifiers, intricate patterns of reduplication, and a set of chameleon lexemes that appear in form as adpositions, but function as relator nouns.

1.3.3 Dialects

There are at least twelve Kơho dialects: Chil (Cil, Til), Kalop (Tulop), Kơyon (Kodu, Co-Don), Lắc (Lát, Lach), Mà, Nơp (Nop, Xre Nop, Noup), Pru, Ryông Tô (Rioms, Rion), Sop, Sre, Talà (To La), and Tring (Trinh). Linguistically, I consider Mà to be a Kơho dialect, since Mà dialects are mutually intelligible with other Kơho dialects. Mà subdialects include: Cau Mà (Chau Mà), Mà Huang, Ngan, Preng, Cop (Xop), Krung, and (Cau) Tô. This list of dialects and subdialects is not comprehensive or definitive. The

---

23 About 20 percent of the Sre lexicon examined (in this and other material) contains words cognate with Chamic languages, especially in the domains of kinship, politics, and agriculture.

24 I am using the term dialect as defined by Di Paolo and Spears (2014:11).
ethnographic and linguistic literature presents considerable variation on the designation or existence of the various dialects and subdialects.25

As previously mentioned, Sre is considered the prestige dialect among most K’ho speakers. Sre is one of the main languages of commerce used in the area and is employed in radio and television broadcasts in K’ho-speaking areas (Dương 2003:31). In his fieldwork, Manley noted the existence of three distinct subdialects within the Sre dialect which he terms subdialects A, B, and C. Both subdialects A and B are spoken in Di Linh, apparently in contiguous territories within the town.26 Speakers of subdialect A have inhabited the area for a long time. Because of this, its speakers are wealthier and better educated, so socially subdialect A is considered the prestige dialect (see §1.3 above). Subdialect B is spoken by a group that migrated from north and west of Di Linh into the area in the mid-1900s. Although speakers of subdialect B have intermingled with subdialect A speakers, subdialect B speakers still maintain the characteristics of their dialect. These two subdialects are mutually intelligible and exhibit only minor phonetic and lexical differences. Subdialect B, although not the prestige subdialect, is the basis for materials produced by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, including the translation of the New Testament. Pedagogical materials issued by the Highlander Education Project used an orthography based on subdialect B and that subdialect was taught in local schools. Smalley documented subdialect C, spoken to the south of Di Linh, in his

25 I wish to thank William Labov and Gillian Sankoff for an enlightening discussion concerning languages, dialects, and subdialects.

26 Both Manley and Nguyễn văn Hoan based the majority of their research on the speech of Broi Toploi (K’Broi), who is from Di Linh. Subdialect A is his first language. He is also the principal resource for this grammar. I want to acknowledge K’Broi’s assistance in delineating the geography of these subdialects.
important article ‘Sre Phonemes and Syllables’ (1955). Manley notes that subdialect C ‘is apparently different still from [sub-]Dialects A and B—more different, in fact, than A is from B’ (1972:11-12, 15, 18-19). This grammar is based on subdialect A, but topics of interest in subdialects B and C will be noted when relevant.

Most Kơho speakers in North Carolina are fluent in at least two or three other dialects, in addition to English, Rhade, Jarai, and sometimes Spanish. A few older people are familiar with or speak French. My language consultants told me that although people will converse in different dialects with each other, when they write something, they use Sre, the prestige dialect.27

1.4 **Scientific significance of this dissertation**

This dissertation addresses two areas of scientific significance. The first is that there is no contemporary, theory-neutral syntactic description of any South Bahnaric language.28 The Kơho-Sre literature is introduced above. Of the four South Bahnaric languages, Thomas’s *Chrau Grammar* (1971) is the most accessible syntactic description despite being cast in SIL’s tagmemic framework. Both Mnong and Stieng have been adequately documented, but the materials are in scattered articles and diverse journals. The materials have not been collected into a single source with syntactic description in a contemporary theory-neutral format for either language. As mentioned, most publications

---

27 A church service I attended in North Carolina was conducted primarily in Vietnamese with some English interspersed because the congregation consisted of speakers of seven different languages.

28 This assertion could be extrapolated to most Mon-Khmer languages, with the possible exception of Khmer (Cambodian) and Vietnamese.
from SIL linguists, especially in Vietnam, are cast in tagmemics, which is opaque for theoretical or typological analysis.

The second area of scientific significance is not limited to Mainland Southeast Asia languages, but nonetheless is a major problem in linguistic description—agreement on terminology. The terminology conundrum is especially vexing in Mon-Khmer linguistics because the phonological systems in many of the languages are complex and require sophisticated theoretical apparatus to describe the phenomena observed adequately. Both Alves (1997) and Schiller (1999) comment on this situation, noting that problem areas in typical ‘Western’ analyses of Southeast Asian languages include ‘inadequate linguistic theories that continue to analyze these languages incorrectly despite the reality of Southeast Asian languages and other languages of the world’ (Alves:1). In syntax, there are serious terminological problems in defining concepts such as pronouns, classifiers, and adpositions.

Both of these areas of significance (and concern) are addressed in this dissertation. As in any academic endeavor, a descriptive grammar is a hypothesis—or better said, a compilation of interacting hypotheses, which can be challenged, rejected, or refined if researchers (which can include the author of the grammar himself) find new data which suggest different analyses, or if it is found that other possible analyses offer a more enlightening account of the data on hand. The later can happen if modifications in linguistic theory provide more insightful ways of looking at particular phenomena in the language. Documentary linguistics contributes to the science of linguistics and should be held to the same standards and ethics as any discipline.

Finally, as Koho presents linguistic traits that are of significant general
typological interest, their importance is emphasized and the phenomena are described in
detail in this dissertation, thereby contributing to typology generally.
Figure 1.1. Map of Vietnam showing the location of the Kơ ho people.
Figure 1.2. North Carolina showing cities (underlined) where Kôho people live.
CHAPTER 2

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of Sre phonetics and phonology. The first section is a phonological description of Sre (§2.2), followed by a discussion of syllable structure (§2.3). Next, the section on suprasegmentals covers the phenomenon of pitch length (§2.4), and finally a brief history or summary of orthographies (§2.5).

Because there are five orthographies extant for the Kơ ho language and to avoid confusion (and consternation), all data in this grammar are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

2.2 Phonological description

Data from Kơ ho-Sre language descriptions (Manley 1972; Nguyễn văn Hoan 1973; Smalley 1955; and Tạ Văn Thông 2004) and my field notes (Olsen field notes and 1968) are used to examine selected phonological phenomena. This section is divided into the phonological inventory of Sre (§2.2.1) and selected phonological processes (§2.2.2).

2.2.1 Phonological inventory

Sre phonology patterns similarly with the sound systems seen in other Mon-Khmer languages. Section 2.2.1.1 details the consonant system and §2.2.1.2 discusses Sre
vowels.

2.2.1.1 Sre consonants

Sre has consonant segments at five places of articulation with voiceless unaspirated and aspirated stops, voiced stops, implosives, fricatives, unaspirated and aspirated nasals, trills, laterals, and glides (Table 2.1).

Sre has a series of unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced stops at labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation, plus a glottal stop. Two implosives are found at labial and alveolar points of articulation. There are two voiceless alveolar and glottal fricatives. Unaspirated nasals occur at labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation. Aspirated nasals occur at labial, alveolar, and palatal positions. According to Manley’s Table 3a (1972:14, 26), no aspirated velar forms have been found in the data.

There is an unaspirated and aspirated alveolar trill and an unaspirated and aspirated lateral. Finally, there are two glides: a high, back, rounded labial and a high, front, unrounded palatal.

Before the palatal finals /c/ and /ɲ/, there is an audible palatal offglide after the vowel [Vʰ], so that /pwac/ ‘flesh’ is pronounced as [pwaʰc] and /ʔaɲ/ ‘I,’ 1st person singular’ as [ʔaɲ]. The voiced alveolar trill [r] often reduces to a flap [ɾ] when it occurs as the second segment in a consonant cluster (e.g., [sɾe] ‘paddy field’).

There have been several interpretations of whether aspirated nasals and liquids (/l/ and /ɾ/) should be considered as units segment or as a segment plus /h/ (Smalley 1955:222). Smalley considers /ph, th, ch, kh/ as two segments (CC) rather than as single unit aspirated stops [pʰ, etc.] because of parallels in /mh, nh, ɲh, lh, rh/: /mhar/ ‘quickly,’ /nhap/ ‘covered,’ /ɲhat/ ‘drop (n.),’ /lhaʔ/ ‘asleep,’ and /ɾhjaŋ/ ‘one hundred.’ I prefer a
different interpretation because of the implications of a morphophonological ‘test,’ one of
infix insertion, employed by Richard Watson in his description of Pacoh phonemes
(Watson 1964:141, §1.2.1.2). He posits that if clusters can be divided by morphological
infixes as aspirates can, then the clusters should be interpreted as two segments (i.e., CC).
For example, the nominalizing infix {-an-} in Pacoh may be inserted between the first
and second segments of a verb root (with allophones /-al-/ and /-ar-/) (see 1a-c).

(1) a. \(c<al>leang\)  
   <NMLZ> door bar  
   ‘a door bar’  
   ‘to bar door’  

b. \(c<ar>rong\)  
   <NMLZ> s.t. surrounded  
   ‘something surrounded’  
   ‘to surround’

c. \(k<an>(h)iar\)  
   <NMLZ> broom  
   ‘a yard broom’  
   ‘to sweep yard’

Given the data in (1a-c), Watson therefore interprets aspirated stops (in Pacoh) as
clusters of stops /p, t, k/ plus /h/ because they parallel the pattern of stops /p, t, k/ plus
liquids /r, l/. He notes that aspirates, like clusters, often occur in only main-syllable-initial
position (C-), whereas unit consonants can also occur in presyllables-initial and word-
final position. Alves, in his Pacoh grammar (2006), observes that such insertion appears
only in fossilized remnants and is no longer active in the language (p. 21). He considers
the single segment interpretation to be a reflection of the typological tendency in
Southeast Asia toward onset cluster reduction.

\[\text{29Pacoh belongs to the Katuic branch of Mon-Khmer; it is spoken primarily in Thùa}
\text{Thiên province in central Vietnam.}\]
Applying Watson’s test to the Sre data, it appears that no infix can be inserted between a word-initial consonant and its aspirated component as in (2a-d).

(2) a. \( p^*\text{<infix>}han \) (stem: \( pʰ\text{han} \))
    
    ‘things’

b. \( m^*\text{<infix>}ham \) (stem: \( mʰ\text{am} \))
    
    ‘blood’

c. \( l^*\text{<infix>}həʔ \) (stem: \( lʰ\text{həʔ} \))
    
    ‘asleep’

d. \( r^*\text{<infix>}hjaŋ \) (stem: \( rʰ\text{jaŋ} \))
    
    ‘one hundred’

This observation supports the interpretation of Sre aspirated consonants as being considered single segments (although they are represented in most orthographies as digraphs: \(<ph\ th\ ch\ kh\>\), etc.). Manley, in his grammar, concurs with this interpretation, noting that

'[t]he elements in question function like other single consonants in the language, not like clusters. (For example, voiced stops and implosives can all precede \( r \) and \( l \), but never precede \( h \) …). (1972:36fn1)

The aspiration in nasals and liquids will sometimes have a very faint centralized vowel just prior to aspiration (e.g., \( rʰ\text{jaŋ} \) ‘hundred’). Additionally, voiceless stops may or may not have a slight aspirated release in morphemes uttered in citation form; this variation occurs in several of my recorded word lists.

Examination of spectrograms generated from my field data confirm acoustically that the aspiration of voiceless stops is evidenced by a voice onset time (VOT) that is, on average, two to three times longer than the VOT for unaspirated stops. VOT is the
interval between the plosive burst and the onset of vocal fold vibrations (Ladefoged 2003:96).

The distributional phonology of the consonant segments is detailed in the syllable structure section (§2.3).

2.2.1.2 Sre vowels

Sre vowels are phonemically categorized by four primary features: height, backness, length, and tentatively, by tongue root position triggered by allophonic overlap. The front vowels are unrounded, while back vowels are rounded. The central vowels vary widely as to lip rounding and height, but mostly occur as allophones of /ə/, especially as presyllables vowels. The high, central vowels [i, u] occur very rarely in the data. The vowels are delineated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.3 lists minimal pairs, if they occur in the data. Several vowels almost always occur long [eː, oː, æː], except in some personal names (e.g., [doh] ‘female personal name’). Additionally, there appear to be several processes operating within the vowel system that are difficult to discern and describe. A brief attempt to document these follows.

Manley (1972:15-16, 18) discusses allophonic overlap in the high and mid-high front vowels, where the high front vowel /i/ has [i] and [ɪ] as allophones, while the mid-high front vowel /ɛ/ allophones are [i], [ɪ], and [ɛ]. In a minimal pair, where /i/ and /ɛ/ contrast, the allophones can be indistinguishable as far as tongue height alone is concerned. For example, in the words /ntiːŋ/ ‘bone’ and /nteːŋ/ ‘where’, both vowels are long, high, tense, and front [iː]. He notes that speakers will invoke a slight tongue-root
advancement [ɪː] to distinguish between the two overlapping allophones.30

Manley notes that in dialect B, allophones of /o/ overlap with allophones of /u/, so an advanced tongue-root (ATR) [ʉ] is triggered to disambiguate that overlap. It appears that some of the dialects of Sre are gradually evolving a nascent system to disambiguate overlapping allophones using advanced tongue root. This process has been documented in other Mon-Khmer languages as well.

Manley also observed that the vowels /e, o, a/ form a subset that almost always occur long and are never articulated with advanced tongue root (1972:16-17). Exploring the implications of both the use of advanced tongue root to disambiguate allophonic overlap and the subset of vowels /e, o, a/ are subjects for future research (see Olsen 2008).

2.2.2 Phonological processes

These selected phonological processes illustrate the types of rules employed to preserve the fundamental syllable template in Sre. Most of these are degemination or deletion rules.

Geminate consonant clusters are not permitted; these clusters reduce to a single consonant. Nasals and liquids are not permitted in consonant clusters. If there are two adjacent nasals, then the first is deleted (3a). If two coronals (dental or alveolar) occur in succession, then the second cannot be a lateral (3b). Elsewhere, the nasal coda of /tәn-/ 30

I was able to confirm in subdialect A the advanced tongue-root acoustically by examining my spectrograms of that sound; it is indeed a very subtle phenomenon even when analyzed by instrumental means. The third formant of the vowel remains at the same frequency throughout the utterance while the second formant bends down at the beginning of the vowel sound. The same pattern has been found in African ATR vowel spectrograms.
undergoes partial contact regressive assimilation with the following stop (3c-d).

(3)  

a. \(/tən + muːʔ/ \> \,[tə.muːʔ]\)  
   CAUS + go.down  CAUS-go.down  
   ‘go down’  ‘cause/make s.o. or s.t. go down’

b. \(/tən + lik/ \> \,[tə lik]\)  
   CAUS + come.out  CAUS-come.out  
   ‘come out’  ‘cause/make s.o. or s.t. to come out’

c. \(/tən + cʰəʔ/ \> \,[təɲ. cʰəʔ]\)  
   CAUS + die  CAUS-die  
   ‘die’  ‘cause s.o. to die; kill’

d. \(/tən + kah/ \> \,[təŋ.kah]\)  
   CAUS + remember  CAUS-remember  
   ‘remember’  ‘cause s.o. to remember’

Phonemically, a palatal glide may not follow another palatal consonant (4).

(4)  

a. \;/*cj- *chj- *ɟj- *ɲj- *ɲhj-*/

b. \([+\text{palatal}]^{+\text{palatal}}\) [\(+\text{glide}\)]

Syllable-final glottal stop following a long (marked) vowel /ʔʔ/ ([Vːʔ]) is deleted when followed by another syllable (5a-d). However, it is not deleted following a short (unmarked) vowel (5e). The examples are from Smalley (1955:219).

(5)  

a. \(? > 0 / CV: ___# \#C)  

b. \(/dàʔ me/ \> \,[da: me]\)  ‘river’ (lit. ‘water mother’)  

c. \(/bòʔ daʔ/ \> \,[bo: daʔ]\)  ‘that head’  

d. \(/dàʔ daʔ/ \> \,[da: daʔ]\)  ‘that water’
There is one postlexical rule that frequently occurs because it involves the first person singular pronoun /ʔaɲ/ ‘I.’ After the pronoun /ʔaɲ/, the genitive postposition /de/ is realized as /je/ (6a-b). Alveolar /d/ progressively assimilates to a palatal /j/ following the palatal nasal in /ʔaɲ/.

(6) a.  de > je /ʔaɲ __

b.  sraʔ ʔaɲ je
    book 1 GEN
    ‘my book’

c.  sraʔ kʰaj de
    book 3 GEN
    ‘his/her book’

This palatal assimilation serves to distinguish and disambiguate the postposition /de/ from the homophone directional preposition /de/, since both forms may appear in the same sentence. The other personal pronouns (/mi, aj₁, kʰaj/) are not affected by this rule (as in 6c). This is apparently a Proto-South Bahnaric external sandhi rule because it is also found in Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng.

2.3 **Syllable structure**

Prosodically, syllabic organization is depicted in Figure 2.1. The Greek letter σ (lower case sigma) represents ‘syllable.’

As in many Mon-Khmer languages, Koho has two syllable types: a presyllable
and a main syllable. The prototypical full phonological word (PW) takes a sesquisyllabic (‘syllable and a half’) form (Matisoff 1973:86). Thus, a word in Sre may be defined as consisting of a main syllable, optionally preceded by a presyllable (7).

\[(7) \quad PW = \text{(presyllable)} + \text{Main syllable}\]

Metrically, such phonological words constitute an iambic construction of the type (\(\ddot{\text{.}}\). --).

2.3.1 Presyllables

The fundamental shape of a presyllable is illustrated in (8),

\[(8) \quad c_1v_1(c_2)^32\]

where the onset \((c_1)\) may be any unaspirated, unimploded obstruent, the nucleus \((v_1)\) is a central vowel /əә/, and the coda \((c_2)\) is a liquid or /n/. There are two other possible presyllables forms: /ʔ/ and a syllabic nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the first segment of the following main syllable (e.g., [mˈpan] ‘foot,’ see #93 in App. B). Presyllables tend to weaken or disappear in many environments. This presyllable weakening is apparently part of a diachronic process operating as an areal tendency towards monosyllabicity in the mainland Southeast Asia region that crosses language family boundaries (Thomas 1971:18-21). Vietnamese, a Mon-Khmer monosyllabic tone language, is an extreme example of this process.

---

31In Austroasiatic descriptive literature, a presyllable is also termed a weak or minor syllable; a main syllable may be termed a strong or major syllable (Thomas 1992).

32The use of lower case letters for presyllable symbols follows Wallace 1969. Main syllable symbols are indicated by upper case letters.
2.3.2 Main syllables

The fundamental shape of a main syllable is detailed in (9),

\[ C_1(C_2[C_3])V_2(C_4[C_5]) \]

where the onset consists of \( C_1(C_2[C_3]) \). \( C_1 \) may be any consonant, \( C_2 \) may be a glide or liquid (with constraints associated with \( C_1 \)). \( C_3 \) can only be a glide (with constraints associated with \( C_1 \) and \( C_2 \)). The nucleus (\( V_2 \)) may be any vowel with attendant pitch length. The coda is comprised of \( (C_4[C_5]) \). \( C_4 \) can only be a glide, and \( C_5 \) can only be /ʔ/ (with \( C_4 \) being either /j/ or /w/) or /h/ (with \( C_4 \) being /j/). The permitted main syllable patterns are exemplified in Table 2.4.

Although the majority of Sre words are monosyllabic (with an optional presyllable), there are also polysyllabic items in the lexicon. Disyllabic examples are illustrated in (10-12).

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(10)] CV.CVC
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\( cə.naːŋ \)]
'general term for household items (with a plane surface)'
\item[\( sə.nəm \)]
'medicine'
\end{enumerate}
\item[(11)] CVC.CVC
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\( rən.deh \)]
'vehicle'
\item[\( sər.dəŋ \)]
'sugar'
\end{enumerate}
\item[(12)] CVC.CCVC
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\( sən.dıəŋ \)]
'steep side of a valley'
\end{enumerate}
\item[(13)] CV.CVC.CVC
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\( gə.dan.ɲə? (gəj?) \)]
'uncontrolled laughter'
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}
2.4 Suprasegmentals

This section on suprasegmentals includes a brief observation of Sre speech and a summary of pitch length in the three dialects documented in this study. Concerning Sre speech, Smalley observed that

Sre speech is characterized by a marked tenseness and preciseness of articulation. Phrasal groupings may be identified by final stress, and are bounded by space. A sharp syllable-timing, plus the allophones of tone-length, make syllable division fairly easy medially on the phonetic level (1955:218-219).

All Sre vowels in subdialect A are phonemically normal in length (with level pitch, short, and unmarked) or long (with falling pitch and marked). Phonetically, Sre maps three vowel lengths onto two phonemic pitch length units: short/unmarked and long/marked. Sre subdialects are distinguished at one level by the differences in how each dialect handles pitch accent. The prosodic term MORA is used to indicate the relative duration of a segment—vowels in the case. Pitch length in the three Sre dialects is summarized in Table 2.5.

Long vowels decrease in duration when they are not at the end of a word, particularly if unstressed. Sometimes they are as short as short vowels, but it is always possible to hear the difference because the pitch on long vowels is different from that of short vowels.

---

33 Pitch length is also referred to as pitch-accent or tone-length in other works (Smalley 1955:218).

34 A MORA is a term used to describe the length of segments. It is a relative measurement of metrical time equal to the duration of a short vowel or half a long vowel; it is used as a unit of pitch placement in a syllable. A long syllable or geminate consonants comprise two morae (or moras) (Carr 2008:103; Crystal 2001:222; Matthews 2007:251).
The following data are based on my spectrographic measurements of a speaker of subdialect A (recorded in 1968 from K’Bris, of Kao Kwil, a village east of Di Linh).

Vowels, for the most part, tend to retain their pitch length characteristics, though attenuated, in polysyllabic compounds. The range of pitch rise and the height attained is conditioned by the position of the syllable within a word. In general, rising pitch tends to attenuate the further a syllable is from final position in a word. To illustrate, the pitch rise in the vowel [ú:] of [dú:l] ‘one’ in /jət duːl/ [jif dū:l] ‘eleven’ is +800 Hertz (Hz). That is, the fundamental frequency increases by 800 Hz over the duration of the vowel. The pitch rise as the penult vowel in /duːl rhjaŋ/ [ dúːrhjāŋ] ‘one hundred’ is +100 Hz. Level pitch is not affected by syllable position.

While the pitch environment within a particular syllable conditions vowel length, relative vowel duration is also determined by the position of the syllable within a word. Generally speaking, duration decreases the further a syllable is from the final position in a word. For example, the vowel [i] in [n̄iː(ŋ)] ‘bone’, in isolation, is 340 milliseconds (msec) in duration; as the (main syllable) vowel in [(ŋ)iːŋ rəəpəs] ‘rib’, 170 msec, and in [n̄iːŋ gər ŋkəj] ‘backbone’ 130 msec.

2.5 History of orthographies

In the preparation of a dictionary and a reference grammar for the Kôho language, a decision on which orthography to use is crucial. A romanized orthography based on the Vietnamese national alphabet (quốc ngữ) was developed in 1935 for the Sre dialect by

35 Hertz (Hz) is the current International System designation for cycles per second (cps). The change in the 10th harmonic of the vowel is used here to indicate the change in pitch. The 800 Hz measurement needs to be reanalyzed. It was measured manually on a spectrogram of a poor quality recording.
French colonial administrators and missionaries. That orthography, while festooned with
diacritics (like Vietnamese), was the most consistently systematic alphabet (i.e., nearly
phonemic) utilized to date. Both missionary and government documents were published
in that alphabet. In 1949, a new orthography commission met in Đàlạt to devise an
acceptable replacement (Martini 1952). Even among a newly literate people, attachment
to a written tradition, however brief, attendant with a particular orthography, lingers on.
Recent proposals have gained acceptance only with difficulty in some circles.36
Subsequent orthographies were proposed in 1953 and in the 1960s. The main controversy
over the orthography arose between different factions of the Protestant (Tin Lành)
churches. One group retained <î> to represent the phoneme /e/ in its publications (a hold-
over from the 1936 alphabet); the other used <ê>, which was consistent with the
orthography developed by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, in conjunction with the
Summer Institute of Linguistics. The latter orthography was employed by the former
Republic of Vietnam (Saigon) government for use in educational materials published by
the Highlander Education Project. The 1967 New Testament and 1993 Psalms were
published in that orthography. The complete Bible was published in 2010 in the
CMA/SIL orthography. In North Carolina, the orthography employed depends on which
church one is affiliated with. In Vietnam, after 1976, all previous (i.e., south Vietnamese)
pedagogical materials were discarded. In 1983, the Vietnamese government introduced a

36I am indebted to the late William A. Smalley for documentation and a personal
interview (Honolulu, 1975) to discuss this and related subjects. (In connection with this,
see Smalley 1954 and also Manley 1972 [pp. 38-9].) To complicate the situation further,
Evans and Bowen in their Koho Language Course reverse two symbols, using <o> for
/a/ and <o> for /ɔ/, whereas in the standard orthography <o> represents /ɔ/ (1962:6a, 53-
54), while /a/ (if it occurs in that subdialect) is written as <o> or <o>. 
quốc ngữ-based orthography, which has essentially been rejected by Koho living in North Carolina.
Figure 2.1 Syllable structure tree diagram
Table 2.1 Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated stops</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated stops</td>
<td>$p^h$</td>
<td>$t^h$</td>
<td>$c^h$</td>
<td>$k^h$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stops</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$j$</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosives</td>
<td>$ɓ$</td>
<td>$ɗ$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>$s$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$h$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$ɲ$</td>
<td>$ŋ$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated nasals</td>
<td>$m^h$</td>
<td>$n^h$</td>
<td>$ɲ^h$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$(*ŋ^h)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated trill</td>
<td>$r^h$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated lateral</td>
<td>$l^h$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>$w$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$j$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$i \sim u$</td>
<td>$u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-high</td>
<td>$e$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
<td>$o$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>$ɛ$</td>
<td>$ɔ$</td>
<td>$ɔ$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$ɔ^{37}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 The low back vowel $[ɔ]$ ‘alpha’ occurs in Sre subdialects A and B, but not C.
Table 2.3

Vowel minimal pairs with glosses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sre vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>?is</td>
<td>‘alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iː</td>
<td>iːːs</td>
<td>‘hang up clothes (to dry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>re (wəl)</td>
<td>‘return (home)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>reːp</td>
<td>‘(be) near, close; beside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eː</td>
<td>beːp</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>?aŋ</td>
<td>‘I (1st person singular)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>aːŋ</td>
<td>‘carry on back with shoulder straps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u u (¬ i)</td>
<td>luŋ</td>
<td>‘gums’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>(occurs primarily in personal names; e.g., [muːh] ‘male personal name’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>bəs</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>jun</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː</td>
<td>juːn</td>
<td>‘a kind of deer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>‘suck, feed at breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>poːn</td>
<td>‘hide’ (v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>də</td>
<td>‘this (here)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː</td>
<td>doː</td>
<td>‘wear s.t. on hand or arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αː</td>
<td>? αːː?</td>
<td>‘no, not (negation marker)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.4
Examples of permitted Sre main syllable patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>gir</td>
<td>‘catch fish with a basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>ləwʔ</td>
<td>‘fold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>sre</td>
<td>‘irrigated rice paddy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>blah</td>
<td>‘split’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>glajʔ</td>
<td>‘satisfy, expiate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>&lt;not attested&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>krjaŋ</td>
<td>‘a kind of hard wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CCCVC</td>
<td>&lt;not attested&gt;³⁸</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁸No examples of the maximal main syllable template have been found in the Ko ho materials available.

### Table 2.5 Sre pitch length by subdialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sre dialect</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unmarked {v}/ɨ/ ‘short’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ mora [v]</td>
<td>high level / ___ obstruents and glottals</td>
<td>high, level V/ ___ Cvless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mora [v']</td>
<td>high level slight downglide / ___ sonorants</td>
<td>downglide / ___ sonorants</td>
<td>level V slight downglide / ___ Cvcd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 morae [v:]</td>
<td>high falling / ___ #</td>
<td>low upglide / ___ sonorants</td>
<td>high, falling / ___ #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marked {v} /ɨ/ ‘long’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ mora [v]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mora [v']</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>high falling / ___ #</td>
<td>low V upglide / ___ Cvcd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 morae [v:]</td>
<td>low falling / ___ C#</td>
<td>low rising / ___ #, obstruents and glottals</td>
<td>low-rising V / ___ # or Cvless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Morphology is the study of the grammatical properties of words and how they relate to one another in a language. Because morphology studies word relationships, it determines what procedures a given language needs to create new words. As such, morphology interacts with all the other components of the grammar—syntax, phonology, and semantics. Morphology is traditionally subdivided into roots or stems and inflectional and derivational affixes, with word formation closely related.

There is very little evidence of inflectional morphology (i.e., paradigms) in Sre, Köho dialects, or other Mon-Khmer languages because of the diachronic trend towards monosyllabicity in many of these languages. Vietnamese is the prime example of a Mon-Khmer language with very little inflection; it is considered to be almost totally analytical and isolating.

The second basic process is word formation; it has two components: derivational morphology (§3.2) and compounding (§3.3).

3.2 Derivational morphology

Inflectional morphology involves such phenomena as noun inflection and verb conjugation. The Latin language is an example of the extensive use of inflectional
morphology. However, addition of inflectional affixes does not change the basic meaning of the root word.

Derivational morphology, on the other hand, may involve affixes that change the grammatical category of a root, modify the transitivity (valence) of a verb root, or create a diminutive or distributive form of the root.

3.2.1 Affixation

Sre affixation presents several challenges. It is not always obvious whether a particular affix is productive synchronically or is a fossilized or lexicalized form. Some affixes have homophonous forms that perform differently from the source of the affix. It is difficult to discern just which syntactic categories (word classes) are involved because the boundaries are often fluid. This is especially true in distinguishing between affixes and clitics. The affixes and clitics listed in this section are not exhaustive by any means; this is definitely an area that warrants deeper analysis.

3.2.1.1 Prefixes

Sre prefixes are generally attached to verbs, but a few do act on other syntactic categories (e.g., nouns). It is often difficult to distinguish between a prefix and a presyllable that is part of the root because of phonological similarity (i.e., homophones) and the volatile or unstable nature of any segments that precede a main syllable.

3.2.1.1.1 Causative prefix *to*- One of the more productive prefixes in Koho-Sre is *to*- . This prefix converts intransitive verbs to causative verbs. The derived verb has the meaning of ‘causing someone or something to do something unintentionally,’ or ‘to make happen to someone or something else.’ Allomorphs are created by phonological rules
triggered by the initial consonant of the verb (or noun) root.\textsuperscript{39} The rules delineated in the phonological chapter (§2.2.2) pertain to affixes as well. The pattern in (14) serves as a template to illustrate the sentential changes that occur after the prefix is added to the root.

Examples (15-18) show regular derivational morphology.

(14) a. \(kʰaj \text{ git } gə \)
   3 know it
   ‘S/he knows it.’

   b. \(ʔaŋ təŋ-gi \text{it } gə kʰaj ?in\)
   1 CAUS-know it 3 DAT
   ‘I cause (or make) him to know it.’

(15) \(cʰə\text{t } tən.cʰə\text{t}\)
   ‘to die’
   ‘to make to die; kill’

(16) \(duh \text{ tən.duh}\)
   ‘to be hot’
   ‘to make hot’

(17) \(\text{re: tən.re:}\)
   ‘to leave; go home’
   ‘to make someone go home’

(18) \(sɔh \text{ tən.sɔh}\)
   ‘to wear, to dress’
   ‘to dress someone else’

The nasal cluster avoidance rule (3a) operates in (19-22).

(19) \(mu:\text{t } tən.mu:\text{t} \quad (\text{*tən-mu:])*\text{40}\)

\textsuperscript{39}There is an allomorph \textit{pən-} that sometimes varies freely with \textit{tən-}; no fixed pattern or environment has been determined to explain its occurrence. Chrau has a cognate causative prefix \textit{ta-} (Thomas 1971:70-1).
‘to go down’  ‘to lower; to make go down’

(20)  

mut  tə.mut  (*tən-mut)

‘to go in, enter’  ‘to make go in’

(21)  

ndaw  tən.daw  (*tən-ndaw)

‘to wear on the head’  ‘to put on someone’s head’

(22)  

ŋac  tə.ŋac  (*tən-ŋac)

‘to be well (goodbye)’  ‘to wish one well; to farewell someone’

The nasal-lateral cluster rule (3b) operates on (23), but does not affect (24-25) for reasons that are as yet unclear.

(23)  

lik  tə.lik  (*tən-lik)

‘to go out’  ‘to make to go out’

(24)  

leː  tən.leː

‘to melt, dissolve’  ‘to make dissolve’

(25)  

ljah  tən.ljah

‘to be short’  ‘to make short’

The nasal assimilation rule (3c-d) operates on (26-27).

(26)  

gəs  təŋ.gəs

‘to have’  ‘to beget; to have more’

(27)  

kah  təŋ.kah

‘to remember’  ‘to remind; to make to remember’

40 Forms in parentheses with an asterisk (*) indicate output that has undergone a phonological rule that alters the affix configuration pattern.
Additionally, Nguyễn posits a related form ṭəə that generally denotes a certain movement associated with a causative meaning (28) (1973:26; §4.3.1.4).

(28)  
a. ṭəə ṭəə aj3 ṭəəwəl ṭəəj-hiŋ.  
1 ATELIC take CAUS.return tomorrow

‘I will cause it to be returned tomorrow.’

b. Hiw ṭəələtəə ṭəələtəə jəəh

house this collapse-RED completely

‘This house collapsed completely.’

c. ṭəələtəəliŋ

to collapse, demolish-RED

‘to collapse completely

3.2.1.1.2 Causative prefix ṭəə-. The causative prefix ṭəə- is added to stative verbs to indicate ‘become the quality of’ (29-30). This is similar to the English suffix -en which performs the same operation ‘to make, render (of a given character or quality)’: hard > hard-en.

(29) soŋ bo.soŋ

‘straight’ ‘to straighten (to cause to be straight)’

(30) sa:r bo.sa:r

‘hard’ ‘to harden (to cause to be hard)’

When prefixed to a transitive verb root, it has a causative meaning (31-32).

(31) cah bo.cah

‘to break’ ‘to cause to separate, sort out’

(32) kap bo.kap
‘to bite’           ‘to cause to bite (press)’

3.2.1.1.3 Transitivizing prefix \textit{pa-n}-. The prefix \textit{pa-n-} (and an allomorph \textit{ta-n-}) is added to stative verbs: ‘[to] cause (someone) to have the quality indicated by the verb’ (33-34) (Manley 1972:44-45),

\begin{align*}
(33) & \text{riŋ} & \text{pa-riŋ} \sim \text{ta-riŋ} \\
& \text{‘to be equal’} & \text{‘to make (s.o.) to be equal’} \\
\end{align*}

(34) \begin{align*}
\text{ha:p} & & \text{pa-ha:p} \\
& \text{‘to be envious’} & \text{‘to make (s.o.) envious’} \\
\end{align*}

but when the stative verb begins with a glottal, the alveolar feature of the coda /n/ in the prefixed \textit{pa-n-} is progressively assimilated into the initial glottal segment of the main syllable (35-37) (Nguyên 1973:27fn1).

\begin{align*}
(35) & \text{ʔuŋ} & \text{pa-ʔum} \\
& \text{‘to bathe’} & \text{‘to bathe (s.o.)’} \\
\end{align*}

(36) \begin{align*}
\text{ʔa:ŋ} & & \text{pa-a:ŋ} \\
& \text{‘to be bright’} & \text{‘to illuminate (s.t.)’} \\
\end{align*}

(37) \begin{align*}
\text{ʔja:ŋ} & & \text{pa-ja:ŋ} \\
& \text{‘to be comfortable, at ease’} & \text{‘to put (s.o.) at ease’} \\
\end{align*}

3.2.1.1.4 Passivizing prefix \textit{ga}-\textsuperscript{41}. The prefix \textit{ga-} is added to monosyllabic verb roots. In Sre, when the predicate is an animate agent, that element is deleted (38b).

When the predicate is an inanimate agent, that predicate is retained and preceded by a preposition (the instrumental preposition \textit{ma} in this case) (39b).

\begin{align*}
(38) & \text{a. } K'iaj \text{ pa:ʔ} \text{ ma:ŋ}. \\
& \text{3 open door} \\
& \text{‘S/he opens the door.’} \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{41}The prefix \textit{ga-} has several homophones. In addition, the third person singular pronoun \textit{ga} also has several homophones, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this study. See §4.2.1.2.
b.  \( Mpo:ŋ \ gə-pa?: \ O. \)

door PASS-open

‘The door (was) opened.’

(39)  a.  \( Ca:l \ pa?: \ mpo:ŋ. \)

wind open door

‘The wind opened the door.’

b.  \( Mpo:ŋ \ gə-pa?: \ mə \ ca:l. \)

door PASS-open INS wind

‘The door was opened by the wind.’

3.2.1.1.5 Unresolved prefixes or clitics. There are several allomorphs of the prefix \( be- \): one is a possible similitive proclitic (or perhaps a prefix) added to determiners with the meaning ‘to be like’ (40); the other is a possible interrogative proclitic which occurs with a few verb roots making them questions (41).

(40)  a.  \( dɔ \)  \( be-dɔ \)

‘this’  ‘like-this’

b.  \( ɲcʰi \ dɔ \)  \( me \ cih \ be-dɔ \)

‘what’s this?’  ‘you write like-this’

(41)  a.  \( ləh \)  \( be-ləh \)

‘to make, do’  ‘what to make or do?’

b.  \( kʰaj \ ləh \ hiw \)  \( be-ləh \ kʰaj \)

‘he builds the house’  ‘what to do with him?’
3.2.1.2 Infixes

Infixes are almost always inserted after the initial consonant of the base (onset C₁). They generate cognate nominal elements.\(^{42}\)

3.2.1.2.1 Nominalizing infix \(-ən\)-. The infix \(-ən\)- is inserted into transitive verbs.

The derived noun has the meaning of ‘that which is the goal of the action indicated by the verb.’ This infix has several allomorphs: \(-əmp\)- and \(-ərn\)-. The resulting cognate forms often have instrumental (42), result (43), or locational (44) meanings. After infixation, the derived form resyllabifies. The presyllable \(?a\)- is ignored by this infix; it operates on the initial onset of the main syllable (46). Exx. (42), (46), and (47) undergo phonological rule (3b).

\[(42)\quad pləh\quad pə.nəh\quad (*p-ən-leh)\]
\[\text{‘to make way; withdraw\quad ‘an obstruction to divert water’}\]

\[(43)\quad pat\quad p-ən-at\quad >\quad pə.nat\]
\[\text{‘to knead, squeeze’\quad ‘s.t. kneaded (clay, dough, etc.)’}\]

\[(44)\quad sɛ\quad s-ən-ɛ\quad >\quad sə.ne\]
\[\text{‘to turn, detour’\quad ‘place where detour begins or ends’}\]

\[(46)\quad ?asuh\quad s-ən-uh\quad >\quad sə.nuh\]
\[\text{‘to blow on a fire’\quad ‘bellows’}\]

\[(47)\quad blɔ\quad bə.nɔ\quad (*b-ən-lo)\]
\[\text{‘to wear in the ear’\quad ‘earring’}\]

\[(48)\quad klo\quad kə.nɔ\quad (*k-ən-lo)\]
\[\text{‘to hear’\quad ‘to hear’}\]

---

\(^{42}\)English equivalents are: *He slept a deep sleep.* and *He dreamed/dreamt a dream.*
3.2.1.2 Nominalizing infix -əәmp-. The infix -əәmp- is inserted into monosyllabic transitive verbs. The derived noun has the meaning of ‘that which is used in the action indicated by the verb.’ In the available data, this infix only occurs in verb roots with initial /s-/.

Additionally, no forms had high vowels [i, i, u] in the root.

43 See §3.2.1.1.3 above.

44 The -əәmp- infix also occurs with initial /s/ in the Kơo dialect Ryong Tô, and other South Bahnaric languages: Chrau /set > sɨpet/, and Stieng /se:t > sɨpe:t/. All meaning ‘to plug’ and ‘a plug,’ respectively. Marianna Di Paolo suggests that -əәmp- could be an instance of the coda /n/ in the nominalizing infix /-əәn-/ assimilating to the /-p-/ infix as seen in Ryong To, Chrau, and Stieng.
‘to sting (of a bee)’ ‘the sting (of a bee)’

\(57\) \(sro:m\)  \(s-\text{əmp}\-r-o:m\)  \(>\)  \(s\text{əm.pro}:m\)

‘to sheathe (a sword)’ ‘a scabbard’

\(58\) \(sray\)  \(s-\text{əmp}\-ray\)  \(>\)  \(s\text{əm.pray}\)

‘to sting (of a fish)’ ‘the stinger (of a fish)’

3.2.1.2.3 Nominalizing infix \(\text{-ərn}\). The derived noun has the meaning ‘that which is used in carrying out the action indicated by the verb (59-60).’

\(59\) \(kal\)  \(k-\text{ərn}\-al\)  \(>\)  \(k\text{ər.nal}\)

‘to bolt, bar’ ‘a wooden door bolt’

\(60\) \(ndəp\)  \(d-\text{ərn}\-əp\)  \(>\)  \(d\text{ər.nəp}\)

‘to cover up’ ‘to cover up, hide’

In his Sre grammar, Manley discusses the two major morphological processes he observed: affixation and reduplication, both of which he notes have almost completely died out as active processes in the language. He adds that since his data were limited, generalizations were difficult to formulate (1972:40-41). Pace Manley states that affixes are added exclusively to verbs. Nguyễn adds that the infix \(\text{-ərn}\) occurs only in roots with back vowels, while the other infixes are not constrained by the root verb vowel (1973:35). Neither of these observations is entirely accurate. The accumulation of more data since the 1970s indicates that Sre affixation is much more complex than previously though. This section only touches on the more prominent and recurrent forms.

3.3 Clitics

Zwicky (1977) provides the classic definition of a (simple) clitic as ‘a phonological weakening and attachment of a morphologically free form to another
phonological expression.’ He terms special clitics ‘as forms which are not found in the syntax where the expected corresponding nonclitic form would occur and that these are attached to another expression in the morphosyntax.’ The base word that the clitic binds to is called the host (Payne 1997:22). Clitics preceding the host are termed proclitics; clitics following the host are enclitics (61).

(61) Proclitic + host + enclitic

3.3.1 Reciprocal proclitic tam=

The reciprocal proclitic tam= indicates that the plural actors involved in the verbal action do something to each other. The derived verb form requires two subjects or plural actors (62b-63b).

(62) a. \( kʰaj \ ləh \ caw \)

3 hit someone

‘S/he hits someone.’

b. \( caw \ dɔ \ mə \ caw \ ne \ tam=loh \)

person this and person that RECP=fight

‘This man and that man fight each other.’

(63) a. \( kʰaj \ ?əm \ bal-mə \ bau \ ?ur \ tə:m \ bɔn \ kʰaj \ de \)

3 live with spouse womanin village 3 GEN

‘He stays with his wife in her village.’

b. \( kaŋ-gɔbəh \ bal-mə \ tam=bau \)

love with RECP=spouse

‘Love each other (and) get married.’
3.3.2 Possessive/reflexive enclitic =tam

The enclitic =tam denotes personal possession and is added to the end of the noun.

(64)  dɔ la: sraʔ= tam ?aŋ je ḗ

this is book=POSS 1 GEN

‘This is my own book.’

(65)  dɔ la: sraʔ= tam  kʰaj de

this is book=POSS 3 GEN

‘This is his own book.’

The reflexive enclitic is formed by adding =tam to saʔ ‘body.’

(66)  saʔ= tam

body=REFL

‘myself, yourself, him/herself’

(67)  saʔ= tam ?aŋ kəŋ lɔt dra:

body=REFL 1 want go market

‘I myself want to go to market.’

(68)  Mə-ya saʔ= tam  kʰaj la caw ləh sən.

but body=REFL 3 is person work garden

‘But he’s a farmer himself.

---

45This is an instance of rule (6) in Chapter 2.
3.4 Compounding

Compounding is a generic term for a linguistic unit composed of two or more roots, each of which could function independently in other circumstances. The dominant semantic property is that the meaning of a compound is either more specific, creates a generalized form from overlapping semantic fields, or is entirely different from the combined meanings of the words that comprise the compound (69-72).

(69)  \textit{me:.be:p} < \textit{me:} + \textit{be:p}

‘parents’  ‘mother’  ‘father’

(70)  \textit{ʔo.j.ʔaw} < \textit{ʔo.j} + \textit{ʔaw}

‘clothes’  ‘blanket, skirt’  ‘shirt’

(71)  \textit{ɟəәlu.məʔan} < \textit{ɟəәlu} + \textit{məʔan}

‘dishes’  ‘large bowl’  ‘small bowl’

(72)  \textit{muh.mat} < \textit{muh} + \textit{mat}

‘face’  ‘nose’  ‘eye’
CHAPTER 4

SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES: WORD CLASSES

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of syntactic categories in Sre. Syntactic categories (word classes) are the traditional ‘parts of speech’ and more modern approaches also include phrasal categories, (e.g., noun phrase, verb phrase, adpositional phrase, etc.) The category of a word (or lexical item or phrasal category) is typically determined by its distribution, that is, its place in a sentence, its morphology (then affixes it may take), and by its function in a sentence. Categories are not usually based on semantic criteria. Each language will have its own distributional criteria (Crystal 2001:366; Carnie 2007:37).

The grammatical functions of words in languages of the Southeast Asian linguistic area are quite malleable, presenting the linguist with a categorization problem in terms of syntactic and semantic categories. Daley (1998:12fn7) discusses the problem in her study of Vietnamese classifiers:

Some grammarians create their own terminology in ‘despair of imposing ready-made “Standard Average European” category-labels on all form-classes and construction types’ (quoting Matisoff 1991:445). While it is difficult to distinguish and name many grammatical categories found in Vietnamese, in most cases I use conventional terms which most nearly fit the function of the word in question.

Koho-Sre syntax shares many features with Vietnamese syntax as the languages are distantly related within the Austroasiatic phylum.
Baker (2003:3) notes that ‘a serious consequence of the underdevelopment of this aspect of syntactic theory [differences among the lexical categories] is that it leaves us ill equipped to do typology.’ Further he states that

The literature contains many claims that one language has a different stock of lexical categories from another. In many cases, these claims have caused controversy within the descriptive traditions of the language families in question. … Nor do we make interesting predictions about what the consequences of having a different set of basic categories would be for the grammar of a language as a whole.

Additionally, Baker states that lexical categories involve the traditional components of linguistics including derivational morphology, inflectional morphology, syntax, and semantics. In addition,

Most languages—probably all—turn out to have the same three-way distinction between nouns, verbs, and adjectives falling out along reasonably familiar line, once various confounding factors (such as the presence of functional categories) are properly controlled for (Baker 2003:21).

This chapter will explore how Sre word classes can best be delineated by the use of putative lexical categories (§4.2), followed by a discussion of functional categories (§4.3). Granted, there are fuzzy boundaries between categories, plus the lexical/functional dichotomy itself may or may not provide the absolute elegant exposition that a good descriptive grammar strives for.

### 4.2 Lexical categories: content word classes

Lexical categories provide the content of a sentence. The categories include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Generally, lexical categories consist of an open class of items, that is, new lexemes and neologisms can be added to the lexicon. There is no limit to the inventory of a particular category. This section includes nominal elements (§4.2.1), verbal elements (§4.2.2), and adjectives and adverbs (§4.2.3).
4.2.1 Nominal elements

Nominal elements discussed in this section include common nouns (§4.2.1.1), pronouns (§4.2.1.2), names and terms of address (§4.2.1.3), measure and quantity words (§4.2.1.4), and classifiers (§4.2.1.5).

4.2.1.1 Common nouns

Nouns are the one obligatory constituent of a noun phrase. Examples of common nouns are listed in Table 4.1.

4.2.1.2 Pronouns

Table 4.2 lists Sre personal pronouns. First person plural has an exclusive/inclusive dichotomy; second person singular and plural distinguish masculine, feminine, and affinal forms. Third person pronouns have animate categories divided into [±human] and a nonhuman [±animate] homophonous gh₂ ‘it’ that is neuter and often functions as an anaphor.

Dournes (1950:58) notes that dî (masculine/feminine) replaces me andʔaj₁ as a term of respect in addressing in-laws (affines). Evans and Bowen (1962:50) comment that the second person singular familiar affinal ?i is a generally accepted term used among persons of either sex. More often than not, the second person pronouns are replaced in discourse by the relevant kin term that indicates a degree of respect from the speaker.

AJ1 has several homophones: aj₂ ‘give to (with dative marker ?in)’; aj₃ ‘take’; and aj₄ ‘as for.’
Another practice is *teknonymy*, where the parents’ name derives from their children (usually the oldest) (e.g., \(<\text{Mè Sem}>[\text{mɛː sɛm}], \text{‘the mother of Sem’}\) (see 73).

(73)  \(N\text{jam }sa?\), \(bap\) \(sra?\) \(\dot{i}\) \(pa\) \(tus\) \(ta: m\) \(Da:la:c\) \(s\dot{a}l\)

Good body father Srang. 2 new arrive to Dalat Q

‘Hello, father of Srang. Have you just come to Đà Lạt?’

First person singular as a subject pronoun is illustrated in (74); dative pronouns examples are (75-77); and possessive usages are shown in (78-80).

(74)  \(\dot{\text{a}}\text{ɲ} \ k\text{aɲ} \ sra? \ h\dot{a}?\)

I want book that

‘I want that book.’

(75)  \(\text{ʔa}\text{j}_2 \ \dot{\text{a}}\text{ɲ} \ \text{ʔi}n \ sra? \ h\dot{a}?\).

give 1 DAT book that

‘Give (to) me that book.’

(76)  \(\text{d}a\text{n} \ c\text{ʰaŋ} \ \text{ba}:r-\text{pe} \ \text{t}\text{ʰaŋ} \ \text{b}\text{ʰl-he} \ \text{ʔi}n\)

please fry two-three egg PL.1INCL DAT

‘Please fry some eggs for us.’

(77)  \(\text{ʔa}\text{j}_2 \ k\text{ʰaŋ} \ \text{ʔi}n \ \text{hu}:c \ \text{da}:?\)

give 3 DAT drink water

‘Give (to) him/her water to drink.’

Possession is indicated by adding *de* (*je* for 1st person) after the pronoun.\(^{47}\)

(78)  a. \(sra? \ \dot{\text{a}}\text{ɲ} \ \text{je}\)  b. \(sra? \ k\text{ʰaŋ} \ \text{de}\)  c. \(sra? \ \text{kon} \ \text{de}\)

\(^{47}\)See Rule (6) in §2.2.2. This appears to be a Proto-South Bahnaric phonological rule (external sandhi), which also occurs in the other South Bahnaric languages: Chrau, Mnong, and Stieng.
Anaphoric pronominals include the third person pronoun gə₂ ‘it’, which has the features [-human, -animate] and is homophonous with gə₁. It may also refer anaphorically to sentential antecedents, as seen in (81.b and 82, 83).

(81) a.  Nte:ŋ  dəh  dra:ʔi

   where  side  market

   ‘Where is the market?’ (Manley 1972:118)

b.  Gə₂i  dəh  ma  guŋ.

   Or just  c.  dəh  ma.

   it  side  right  road

   ‘It is on the right side of the road.’

(82) ʔaj ʔan ʔin  pʰɛi  həʔ, ʔan  ka:jn  was  gə₂i

   give 1  DAT  rice  that 1  want  measure  it

   ‘Bring me that rice, I want to measure it.’ (E&B078/019)

(83) dilah ʔan  bep  gə₂i  ʔan  rəgəj  hu:ɛi

   if 1  sip  it 1  able  drink

   ‘If I can sip it, I can drink it.’ (E&B044/025)
4.2.1.3 Names and terms of address

Sre personal names, of either sex, are usually prefixed with <K’- > kə-, as in <K’Sem> kə.sem. Some names are preceded by <Ha> ha-, as in <Ha Sol> ha.sol. The names themselves are usually monosyllabic. Certain naming taboos and a preference for a unique name sometimes violate basic phonological rules.

In subdialect B, the (interrogative) vocative form hah (VOC) is used to address family members, using the appropriate kin term (84).

(84) a. mbəŋ me tus, hah be:p
   from.where 2M come VOC father
   ‘Where are you coming from, father?’

   b. ncbi ?ajl əŋh, hah me:
   what 2F do VOC mother
   ‘What are you doing, mother?’

4.2.1.4 Measure and quantity words

Measure and quantity words include numerals and classifiers. Although they are technically adjectivals, they are discussed under nominals.

4.2.1.4.1 Numerals. Sre employs a decimal numeral system. Numerals are delineated in Table 4.3. Numerals preceding a noun are interpreted as cardinals (85); numerals following a noun are interpreted as ordinals (86).

(85) praw kənhaj
   six month
   ‘six months’

(86) kənhaj praw
4.2.1.4.2 Classifiers.48 Many Asian and American Indian languages make extensive use of classifiers (e.g., Vietnamese and Navajo). Many Southeast Asian languages do also.

Allan (1977) distinguishes four types of classifier languages: 1) numeral classifier languages (ex. Thai), 2) concordial classifier languages (ex. many Bantu and Australian languages), 3) predicate classifier languages (ex. Navajo), and 4) intra-locative classifier languages (only 3 known: Toba, Eskimo, and Dyirbal) (286-8). Focusing on the first type, numeral classifier languages, he notes that only four sequences are permissible for the paradigm combination of quantifier (QNTF), classifier (CLF), and noun (N) (288)(ex. 111).

(111) Allan’s four permissible sequences for numeral classifier languages:

⇒ QNTF + CLF + N: Amerindian languages, Bengali, Chinese, Semitic languages, Vietnamese

N + QNTF + CLF: Burmese, Japanese, Thai

CLF + QNTF + N: Kiriwina (Oceanic)

N + CLF + QNTF: Louisiade archipelago (Oceanic)

Koho numeral classifiers fall into Allan’s first category: QNTF+ CLF + N (see following for examples).

Aikhenvald (2003:98) notes that numeral classifiers do not have to appear on any constituent outside the numeral noun phrase; so, there is no agreement in numeral

48This section is a revision of Olsen 2009d.
classifier between the noun and another constituent. She notes that numeral classifiers have other, contingent properties (87).

(87) a. The choice of a numeral classifier is predominantly semantic
b. Numeral classifier systems differ in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. *Numeral classifiers can be an open lexical class.*
   
   (Emphasis mine.)

c. In some numeral classifier languages, not every noun can be associated with a numeral classifier. Some nouns take no classifier at all; other nouns may have alternative choices of classifier, depending on which property of the noun is in focus.

There are approximately forty classifiers in Sre.49 All Sre concrete nouns can be counted and must be preceded by a classifier when being enumerated, with certain exceptions. Sre classifiers may be divided into two groups—those that are termed *concrete* and those that termed *abstract* (Manley 1972:119). The concrete classifiers fall into three major subcategories (88).

(88) a. *naʔ* for humans
b. *naj* for roundish, solid objects (such as fruit, rocks, footballs, grains of rice or wheat, etc.)
c. *nəm* for nonhuman animate creatures and all other inanimate objects not classified by *naj*

---

49In Chraw, a sister language south of Koho, there are about forty regular classifiers, five standard classifiers, and fifteen temporary measure classifiers (Thomas 1971:130-135).
The three basic classifiers listed above are replacing the more specialized classifier functions. Examples of these classifier constructions are exemplified in (89).

(89) a.  
\[ \text{baːr naʔ caw ʔuːr} \]
\[ \text{two CLF person woman} \]
\[ \text{‘two women’} \]

b.  
\[ \text{pe  naj luʔ} \]
\[ \text{three CLF rock} \]
\[ \text{‘three rocks’} \]

c.  
\[ \text{prawl nəm sraʔ} \]
\[ \text{six CLF book} \]
\[ \text{‘six books’} \]

In addition to these three classifiers, there are other, more specialized classifiers that are not used that much and appear to be dying out. They include measure classifiers borrowed from French (often via Vietnamese)(90).

(90) a.  
\[ \text{lit liter} \]
\[ \text{< Vietnamese lit < French litre} \]

b.  
\[ \text{kiʔ kilogram} \]
\[ \text{< Vietnamese ki < French kilogramme} \]

c.  
\[ \text{tʰək meter} \]
\[ \text{< Vietnamese thôc} \]

There are also traditional indigenous measure classifiers (91).

(91) a.  
\[ \text{boːŋ one length (standing with arm upraised)} \]

---

50 An explanation for this is that many of the objects that required these more restrictive categories are not found in the speakers’ increasingly urbanized environment, both in Vietnam and overseas. For a relevant discussion, see Nettle and Romaine 2000:62-66.

51 More recently, the term mét (< Vietnamese < French) has come into use.
b. *laːs* one length (distance, when arms outstretched and fingers also extended, from fingertips of one to fingertip of the other)

c. *ndaːm* one span (distance from thumb to middle finger of spread hand)

d. *tal* one cubit (length from elbow to fingertips of the same arm)

Examples of contemporary classifier constructions include (92a-c).

(92) a. *baːr* *lit* *tərnaːm*

   two CLF rice-wine

   ‘two liters of wine’

b. *pwan* *kiʔ* *pwac*

   four CLF meat

   ‘four kilograms of meat’

c. *jət* *tək* *baːj*

   ten CLF cloth

   ‘ten meters of cloth’

All abstract nouns must be preceded by the classifier *jənaw* when counted. *jənaw* classifies words, languages, songs, poetry, and legends, etc. (93).\(^{52}\)

(93) *baːr* *jənaw* *pəndik*

   two CLF poem

   ‘two poems’

Evans and Bowen (1962:14a), in their discussion of Ko ho classifiers, demonstrate the anaphoric function of classifiers in discourse (94).

\(^{52}\)Manley (1972:123) included *bəta* in his list of classifiers, but it patterns more as a nominalizer.
(94) a. *bol-kʰaj* bləj pə *nəm* ?jar[i], ?an kəŋ bləj do

3PL buy three CLF chicken I want buy one

*naŋ*.

CLF

‘They are buying three chickens, I want to buy one.’

b. *jɔt* *naj* krwac[i] nda: dɔŋ tajh. ?an kəŋ jɔt

ten CLF orange how.much coin Q. I want ten

*nai*.

CLF

‘How much are ten oranges? I want ten.’

c. *teŋ* dɔ gəs pram *naʔ* caw[i], pə *naʔ* neh re

place close have five CLF people, three CLF ATELIC return

*raw*.

already

‘There are five people here; three have gone home already.’

b. *do* *pəŋ* sraʔ?

one CLF paper *(pəŋ = CLF for flat, sheet-like things: cloth, mats, paper) ‘a sheet of paper’*

(96) a. *do* *naʔ* caw

one CLF person *(naʔ = CLF for counting human beings)*

b. *do* *mpol/ɲɔm* caw

one group(s) people *(mpol or ɲɔm = CLF for a group of people)*

c. *do* *seŋ* caw
Koho numeral classifiers are semantically determined by the specificity of the noun categorized. The classifiers are not rigid in their application and can apply in several related or overlapping contexts with respect to the noun. Table 4.4 lists all the classifiers cited in this section, illustrating their scope with examples.

### 4.2.2 Verbal elements

Verbal elements discussed in this section include intransitive verbs (§4.2.2.1), transitive verbs (§4.2.2.2), and ditransitive verbs (§4.2.2.3) in Sre. Additionally, stative verbs (§4.2.2.4), copular verbs (§4.2.2.5), coverbs (§4.2.2.6), and aspect auxiliaries (§4.2.2.7) are also discussed.

#### 4.2.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs have a predicate that takes only one argument (i.e., a valency of 1) (97-98).

(97) \( k^haj \ lo:t. \)

3 go

‘S/he goes.’

(98) \( ?an \ bic. \)

1 sleep

‘I sleep.’
4.2.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs have predicates that take two obligatory arguments (i.e., a valency of 2) (99-100).

(99) dan seːn seŋ do.
   please read sentence this
   ‘Please read this sentence.’

(100) ʔaŋ neh sao haːm raw.
   1 ATELIC eat full already
   ‘I have eaten to my fill.’ (= ‘I’m satiated.’)

4.2.2.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs have predicates that take three arguments (i.e., a valency of 3) (101-102).

(101) kʰaj ʔaj2 ʔaŋ ʔin do məŋaŋ daʔ.
   3 give 1 DAT one bowl water
   ‘S/he gave me a bowl of water.’

(102) kʰaj bət ʔaŋ ʔin dəs caw
   3 teach 1 DAT speak people
   ‘S/he teaches me to speak Koło.’

4.2.2.4 Stative verbs

There are two types of stative verbs: quantifiers and true statives, which can include some verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. An example of a quantifier is ʔwaʔ ‘to be much, many’ (103); an example of a true stative (derived from an adjective) is mwat ‘to
be sad’ (104). Adjectives are described in §4.2.3.1.

(103) geh ṭwa? caw ṭu:r tam draːʔ.

existential many people women LOC market

‘There are many women at the market.’

(104) ṭoːŋ kra ne mwat suːm.

man old that to.be.sad always

‘That old man is always sad.’

• Comparative and superlative degree of stative verbs. The comparative degree of statives is ṭolaw ‘to exceed, be greater than’ + mə which is a comitative marker meaning ‘than’ in this construction (105).

(105) cʰi do kraʔ ṭolaw-mə cʰi ne.

tree this to-be-hard COMPARATIVE tree that

‘This tree is harder than that tree.’

The superlative degree of statives is ṭolaw + jəh ‘to be finished, complete’ (106).

(106) ṭu:r ne haːŋ ṭolaw-jəh.

woman that to-be-pretty SUPERLATIVE

‘That woman is the prettiest.’

4.2.2.5 Copula verbs

There are five copula verbs in Sre: la(h) ‘to be’, je:ŋ ‘to be/become’, lah je:ŋ ‘to be’, gəs ‘to become/turn into’, and gəlah ‘to become.’ The usage and meaning of these verbs varies depending on the dialect. Sentences (107-109) illustrate some of these subdialectal differences.

(107) a. kʰaj la(h je:ŋ) caw ywan.
3 to be person Vietnam

‘S/he is (a) Vietnamese.’ (Subdialect A)

b. \(kʰaj\ a\ bọyo\ ?aj\ je\)

3 to be friend 1 GEN

‘S/he is my friend.’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, \(lah\) means ‘to speak, say’; \(je\ːŋ\) does not appear in the data observed.

(108) a. \(kʰaj\ gəə\ kwəŋ\)

3 become official

‘S/he became an official.’ (Subdialect A)

In subdialect A, \(gəə\) serves a mutative function.

b. \(kʰaj\ gəə\ jət\ loʔ\ sre.\)

3 have ten CLF paddy.field

‘S/he has ten (wet rice) fields.’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, \(gəə\) is an existential verb; when it appears initially in a sentence, it often introduces a content question.

(109) a. \(kʰaj\ gəəh\ kəːp/chəʔ-haːp\)

3 become sick/happy

‘S/he got sick/became happy.’ (Subdialect A)

b. \(ɲcʰi\ gəəh\ kʰaj\ nim\)

what make-happen 3 cry

‘What made her/him cry?’ (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, \(gəəh\) has the general meaning of ‘to make something happen to
someone.’ It occurs mostly in interrogative sentences.

4.2.2.6 Coverbs

Coverbs modify the sense of the main verb without changing its basic meaning; they precede the main verb. The principal coverbs are listed in Table 4.5. The first three are true modals. In subdialect A, up to four coverbs may precede the main verb (see ex. 120, below), but Manley (1972:203-204) notes that intelligibility breaks down if there are more than four and many combinations of multiple coverbs produce ungrammatical sentences. The last two coverbs do not occur in the data examined for subdialect B.

Examples of coverb usage are illustrated in (110-119).

(110)  
`tuʔ løj di ləm`  
time any be.right only

‘Any time will be all right.’ (Subdialect A)

(111)  
gəs `waʔ caw kənəm cih sraʔ ba: di ba:`  
existential many child write paper some be.right some  
`ʔaʔ`  
not

‘Many children write, some right, some not.’ (Subdialect B)

(112)  
`ʔæŋ pal ʔəm tam bɔ:n`  
1 must stay in village

‘I have to/must stay in the village.’ (Subdialect A)

(113)  
`ʔoʔ phal dəs lɔh-λŋ`  
man must speak clearly

‘You must speak clearly.’ (Subdialect B)
Kid that can swim

‘That kid can swim.’  (Subdialect A)

Stoop over so you can come into my house, …’  (Subdialect B)

‘S/he is finishing building the new house for her/his parents.’  (Subdialect A)

‘After that, s/he went home.’  (Subdialect B)

In subdialect B, loːc only occurs with behə with the meaning ‘after that.’ It generally appears initially in a subordinate clause.

‘S/he is used to doing this work.’

‘That man is trying to study French.’

Manley cites a ‘monster’ sentence that contains four coverbs, which borders on unintelligibility; it was acceptable to his language consultant, though not something he would say in daily conversation (120).
‘It is all right for him to try to get used to being able to read.’ (M206/185)

4.2.2.7 Aspect auxiliaries

Sre has two optional aspect auxiliaries that precede the main verb: neh and rap.

Both of these auxiliaries function not so much as tense markers as indicators of whether an action has been completed or not. Neh indicates that the action has been completed (TELIC), while rap signals that an action has not been completed and is either ongoing or will be completed in the future (ATELIC). Since these aspect auxiliaries are optional, Sre speakers will often add a temporal phrase to the sentence to narrow down the context or time frame of the utterance (121-123).53

53 An observation by Emaneau (1951:63) concerning Vietnamese verbal syntax parallels Sre, ‘... verbs do not carry the categories of tense and mode. These, to some extent, are carried by the sentence construction, but to an even greater extent they are left to the extra-grammatical context, linguistic or non-linguistic.’
‘Next year, I will go to Đà Lạt.’

4.2.3 Adjectives and adverbs

Carnie (2007:44) points out that there is a lot of overlap between the distributions of adjectives and adverbs. The major difference between them is syntactic: adjectives appear inside noun phrases and adverbs occur elsewhere. He notes that this predictable complementary distribution, analogous to the phonological attribution, could tentatively place adjectives and adverbs in the same lexical category. This distribution appears to occur in Sre also. Adjectives are discussed in §4.2.3.1 and adverbs in §4.2.3.2.

4.2.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns. Adjectives are divided into two groups: derived and non-derived. Derived adjectives are lexical copies of stative verbs. They fall into two major subclasses: those that quantify or measure something related to a noun (124a), and those that define a quality associated with a noun (124b).

(124) a. bol ʔu:r  tam draʔ ʔwaʔ yan
   PL woman LOC market (to.be).many very

   ‘The women at market are very numerous.’ (M208/191)

b. ʔaruh  ne ha:j yan
   young.girl that.DIS to.be.beautiful very

   ‘That young girl is very beautiful.’ (M208/192)

Both adjectives (and adverbs) can be intensified by yan ‘very’ which follows the word it modifies.
Nonderived adjectives are true adjectives and consist of numerals and specifiers. Numerals are discussed in §4.2.1.4 above. Specifier is Manley’s term for nonnumeric quantifiers, such as *təә* ‘each’ (which is *ka:p* in dialect B), and *ʔalaʔ* ‘most of the’ (which functions as a plural marker for noun phrases in subdialect B). Specifiers precede nouns in a noun phrase (1972:144-145).

4.2.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Sre are an interesting category, appearing in reduplication, sentence-initial position, sentence-final position, manner, and derived from verbal elements. Adverbs do not occur in noun phrases, but may appear elsewhere. Manley (1972:216-223) categorizes them into sentence initial adverbs, preverbal adverbs, manner adverbs, nonmanner adverbs, sentence final adverbs, nominal adverbs, and nonnominal adverbs.

There are several adverbial auxiliaries that serve a modal function: *maː* functioning as a punctual ‘immediately, right away’ (124a); and *maː:n* indicating that the result of the sentence is uncertain (124a).

(124) a. ʔap  so:r  kʰaj  gen  ɲuː:t  kʰaj  ntaw  maː.
   1  tell  3  then  stand-3  -up  immediately

   ‘I told him and he stood up right away.’ (E&B140/2BA)

b.  bəŋ  ɬːt  ɲa:j  ʔir  rʰŋːt  bəl-he  bɔːl-glar
   NEG.IMP  go  far  too  afraid  PL.1INCL  tired

   *maː:n.*

   uncertainty

   ‘Don’t go too far away, for fear that/lest we’ll be tired.’ (E&B127/013)

Manley (1972:214) notes that
Once the entire complex of constraints on copulas, coverbs, stative verbs, true verbs, and verb-plus-verb-complement combinations is taken into account, it is possible to conceive of such monster verbal clauses as that contained in the following sentence [(209) in original]:

```
(125) ṭan ṭa:ya rọrọː j təːl əːŋ loːc pih əːŋ pʰan
        1      be.used.to   be.able.to  try.to  finish  wash  clean  clothes
    ne    tam   dul   djə.
```

that in one hour

‘I am used to being able to trying to finish washing those clothes clean in one hour.’

While it is very unlikely that any native speaker of Sre would utter such a sentence in casual discourse, it is perfectly within his competence to do so, and in fact, this particular sentence was accepted without hesitation by Manley’s language consultant.

### 4.3 Functional categories: grammatical word classes

Functional categories provide the grammatical information required in a sentence. Generally, functional categories consist of a closed class of items, that is, there is a finite limit to the lexicon. No new lexemes or neologisms may be added to the inventory of a particular category. This section includes determiners (§4.3.1), adpositions (§4.3.2), relator nouns (§4.3.3), conjunctions (§4.3.4), interrogatives (§4.3.5), and imperatives (§4.3.6).

#### 4.3.1 Determiners

Determiners include location and directional words (§4.3.1.1), and temporal units (§4.3.1.2).
4.3.1.1 Locational and directional words

Sre locational and directional (deictic) words are listed in Table 4.6.

4.3.1.2 Temporal units

There are two important temporal words in Sre: *dəәʔ* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts’ (Table 4.7) and *tuʔ* ‘time, event’ (Table 4.8). Baker (2003:109) notes that one can count events by involving a dummy noun (e.g., *dəәʔ* ‘occasions’ or *tuʔ* ‘times’) that provides the criterion of identity that makes enumeration possible.

There are analogous Vietnamese constructions to many of the Sre temporal constructions (Nguyễn Đăng Liêm 1971:21):

- *mối X môt Y* Template: ‘each X one Y’
- *mối ngày môt nhieu* ‘more and more numerous each day’ (lit. ‘each day one many’)
- *mối thằng môt lân* ‘once a month’ (lit. ‘each month one time’)

Contemporary units of time are borrowed from Vietnamese (126).

(126) *neh ba:r jə jət pʰuk*

ATELIC two hour ten minute

‘It is (already) two ten (2:10).’

*Pʰuk* ‘minute’ and *jə* ‘hour’ are Vietnamese loans: from *<phút>* and *<giờ>*,

respectively.

4.3.2 Adpositions

Adpositions can be considered to be analytic case markers as opposed to synthetic case markers like the suffixes found in Turkish or Latin (Blake 2001:9). Adpositions in
Sre are grouped into three categories: abstract, concrete nonspatial, and spatial case markers. There is a question whether what Manley terms (spatial) case markers actually function as prepositions (1962:69-72). This is an area for further study.

4.3.2.1 Abstract cases (grammatical cases)

The abstract (grammatical) cases include: the genitive postposition de (§4.3.2.1.1) and the dative and benefactive postposition ʔin (§4.3.2.1.2).

4.3.2.1.1 Genitive postposition de. The genitive postposition de (je after ʔap̪) indicates possession; it occurs after kin terms and personal pronouns (127) repeating (78).

(127) a. sraʔ ʔap̪ je b. sraʔ kʰaj de c. sraʔ kən de

book 1 GEN book 3 GEN book child GEN

‘my book’ ‘his/her book’ ‘the child’s book’

4.3.2.1.2 Dative and benefactive postposition ʔin. The dative postposition marks an animate direct object (128-129). The dative sense (DAT) often is ambiguous in that it includes or overlaps a benefactive (BEN) interpretation in many of these sentences (130). There is an allomorph dative preposition te that can also appear in the same environment, but it occurs with some sensory verb constructions often in conjunction with causative verbs (131). This is an area for further research.

(128) kʰaj ʔap̪ ʔəә τəɾnaːm ɾəpu ʔin

3 give rice-wine buffalo DAT

‘S/he gave rice wine to the water buffalo.’

(129) kon ʔap̪ sen-gar ʔəseh caw əʔaː bɔːn ʔin

55This is an instance of rule (6) (see §2.2.2).
uncle 1 take-care-of horse people chief village DAT

‘My uncle takes care of the village chief’s horse.’

The dative case marker can also indicate a benefactive (BEN) sense (153).

(130) bi klaw ?añ tan do nəm səʔ caw ?ur kʰaj

ʔin

older-sibling male 1 weave one CLF basket CLF female 3 BEN

‘My (older) brother is weaving a basket for his wife.’

(131) a. kʰaj cəm luʔ te sə

3 throw rock DAT dog

‘He throws rock at the dog.’

b. ?añ tən-ŋəːt gəʔ te kʰaj

1 CAUS-fear 3 DAT 3

‘I cause him to fear it.’

4.3.2.2 Concrete nonspatial case (semantic): comitative and instrumental preposition (bal) mə

The comitative preposition (bal) mə indicates an accompaniment relationship (‘together with x’). When only the comitative marker appears in a sentence, the first element bal is optional (132).

(132) ?añ lə:t hə Daːlaːc (bal)-mə gəp ?añ

1 go to Dalat (COM)-COM friend 1

‘I go to Đà Lạt with my friend.’ (M68/19-20)
However, if both comitative and instrumental markers occur in the same sentence, then the instrumental phrase is indicated by \textit{məә} alone and the comitative phrase is obligatorily indicated by \textit{bal məә} (133).

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{?an} & \text{lo:t} & \text{hə} & \text{Da:la:c} & \text{məә} & \text{rəndeh} & \text{bal-məә} & \text{gəp} \\
\text{?an} & \\
1 & \text{go} & \text{to} & \text{Dalat} & \text{INSTR} & \text{vehicle} & \text{(COM)-COM} & \text{friend} \\
1 & \\
\text{‘I go to Đà Lạt with my friend.’} & \text{(M68/21)}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

4.3.2.3 Spatial cases (local)

As mentioned, there is disagreement about whether these spatial cases are indeed case markers (as per Manley) or are prepositions with a rather wide semantic scope. Spatial (local) cases include: the locative preposition \textit{tam} (A), \textit{ta:m} (B) (§4.3.2.3.1), the goal preposition \textit{tus} (§4.3.2.3.2), the source preposition \textit{bəә} (§4.3.2.3.3), and the direction preposition \textit{te} (A), \textit{de} (B) (§4.3.2.3.4).

4.3.2.3.1 Locative preposition \textit{tam} (Subdialect A), \textit{ta:m} (Subdialect B). The locative preposition \textit{tam/ta:m} indicates a general location in time and/or space. There appears to be no difference in the sense of this preposition in either subdialect A or B (134).

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{kʰaj} & \text{ʔəәm} & \text{tam/ta:m} & \text{bɔ:n} & \\
3 & \text{be-located} & \text{LOC} & \text{village} & \\
\text{‘He lives in the village.’} & \\
\text{b.} & \text{ʔan} & \text{re} & \text{tam/ta:m} & \text{pwan} & \text{kəso/jə} & \\
1 & \text{swim} & \text{LOC} & \text{four} & \text{kilometer/hour} & \\
\end{array}
\end{equation}
‘I swam for four kilometers/hours.’

4.3.2.3.2 Goal preposition *tus*. The goal preposition *tus* has different interpretations depending on the subdialect. In dialect A, *tus* indicates the goal or destination where someone or something is going (135). The English preposition ‘until’ best translates the sense. In subdialect B, the semantic scope of the word is extended to indicate recent arrival in addition to referring to future events in time and space. In subdialect B, *tus* often co-occurs with *bəh* where it appears to function as a verb (136).

(135) a. \( kʰaj \) \( bəsram \) \( tus \) \( drim \)  
3 study until morning  
‘He studied until morning.’

b. \( kʰaj \) \( bɔ:t \) \( tus \) \( Đà:la:c \)  
3 go until/to Dalat  
‘He went to Đà Lạt.’

(136) a. \( mbəh \) \( me \) \( tus \)  
where-Q 2M from  
‘Where are you (m.) from?’

b. \( ʔən \) \( tus \) \( bəh \) \( da:-doŋ \)  
1 come from village-name  
‘I come from Dà Đông.’

4.3.2.3.3 Source preposition *bəh*. The source preposition *bəh* indicates the source or place where someone or something is from (137-138).

(137) \( kʰaj \) \( bɔ:t \) \( bəh \) \( Đà:la:c \).  
3 go from Dalat
‘He came from Đa Lạt.’

(138)  
caw  lɔh  mpal  bɔh  taːm  krimon
people make  mortars  from  CLF  kriang  (taːm = CLF for trees, plant stalks)

‘People make mortars from kriang wood.’

4.3.2.3.4 Direction preposition te (Dialect A), de (Dialect B). The direction preposition te/de indicates a more specific location than tam/taːm, the locative preposition. There appears to be no difference in the sense of this preposition in either subdialect A or B (139).

(139)  
a.  kʰaj  cəm  luʔ  te/de  sə
3  throw  rock  at  dog
‘He throws rock at the dog.’

b.  ᵇaj  ᵇəm  te/de  bər  mpoːŋ
1  be.located  at  mouth  door
‘I am in the doorway.’

4.3.3 Relator nouns

In many languages, mostly located in Southeast Asia, there is a set of locative nouns that act as relator nouns, that is in form they are nouns but express relational concepts usually translated in English by prepositions. Relator nouns are a specialized subclass of nouns that behave like adpositions in relating a predicate to a noun phrase (Blake 2001:204). Thompson (1987:200) described Vietnamese relator nouns as follows:

56 Relator nouns are also termed relative location nouns; in Mesoamerican linguistics they are called ‘relational nouns.’
Many of the members of this small class appear superficially to resemble the prepositions of languages like English or French. This has to do with the fact that they all express position (in space or time) or some vaguer dimension in relation to something else. Although many expressions containing these words are best translated by prepositional phrases in English, the understanding of their basic nominal meanings will help remove some of the puzzling aspects of their uses.

Since relator nouns generally indicate relative spatial location, analogous to English prepositions (e.g., on the table, under the house, etc.) and share some characteristics of both nouns and prepositions, there is an ongoing discussion among linguists about whether to consider these words as adpositions or complex prepositions (Blake 2001:185fn15).

Manley references Thompson’s (1987 [1965]:200-1) definition of relator nouns, and notes that Sre relator nouns are more restricted syntactically than those of Vietnamese. Relator nouns in Vietnamese need not be preceded by a locative particle, may be followed by a determiner (a demonstrative), and may function as the surface subject of a sentence (Manley 1972:127-8).

In this section, I examine the pattern of relator nouns in Sre. These data are taken from my fieldwork research materials: a concordance (Olsen n.d. c) I compiled from sentences found in Evans and Bowen 1962 and Manley 1972 and my unpublished Koho-English dictionary (Olsen n.d. b). I found that Sre relator nouns consist of a closed class with these four examples probably representing the totality of the class.

The four relator nouns are: āday, ‘above, up(per)’; ādom, ‘underneath,’ ‘low(er), below’; ādalm, ‘in(side), interiorness’; and ābođih, ‘out(side), exteriorness, away’ (140) to (143).

(140) a. āhə āday ācəna:ŋ
to(wards) at above table
‘on top of the table’ (M127/p21)

b. ?an ɗu: plaj bɔh ɗay cbi
1 drop fruit from above tree

‘I dropped the fruit from the tree.’ (E&B119/094)

(141) a. hɔ dɔm ɕɔnaŋ
w(ards) at below table

‘underneath the table’ (M127/p22)

b. se: ɗay nɛh hɔn rau, mɔ-a se: dɔm ʔa:ʔ-he:t
tooth upper ATELIC grow already but tooth below not.yet

‘(His/her) upper teeth have come through already, but not the lower ones.’ (E&B144/008)

(142) a. tam dɔlam ɓɔ:n
in/at interiorness village

‘inside the village’ (M127/p23)

b. tam dɔlam hiw gɔs dra mɔ ra:c
in/at interiorness house exist pillars and beams

‘Inside (of) the house, there are pillars and beams. (E&B142/006)

(143) a. tam ɓɔdi:h ɓɔɡar jwan
in/at exteriorness place Vietnam

‘outside Vietnam’ (M127/p24)

b. bɔŋ lɔ:t ɓɔdi:h
NEG.IMP go outside

‘Don’t go outside.’ (E&B125/WS1)
The examples for the relator nouns pattern similarly: locative marker + relator noun + noun. However, realtor nouns can serve other syntactic functions when used in patterns other than the ones delineated here. Something parallel also occurs in English, where prepositions, such as *inside* and *outside*, may function as nouns, adjectives, or adverbs.

### 4.3.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions link equal phrases or clauses. There are three important conjunctions in Sre: additive *mə ‘and’* (homophonous with the comitative/instrumental *mə*), alternative *hala ‘or’,* and contrastive or contrary *mə-ja ‘but’* (144-146) are illustrative sentences.

(144) ʔaŋ ɡəs do naʔ ʔɔhʔur mə ba:r naʔ ləʔ-kən-kən

1 have one CLF yg.sister and two CLF older.F.cousin

‘I have one younger sister and two older female cousins.’

(145) kʰaj ɾkɛʔ  hala  lat

3 one-way-of-plowing or another-way-of-plowing

‘He plows one way or another.’

(146) di mə-ja ɡə ʔaʔ njam be cʰi  do

yes but it.(PL) NEG good like thing this

‘Yes, but it is/they are not as good as this one (thing).’  (E033/059)

### 4.3.5 Interrogatives

Interrogative pronominals are formed by prefixing a homorganic nasal {N} to a nominal base form. These are listed in Table 4.9.
4.3.6 Imperative markers

There are four imperative particles: polite inclusive (ʔih or laʔ), polite exclusive (ja), and nonpolite exclusive (teʔ). See §5.2.3 for illustrative sentences involving these markers.

See §5.2.2 for illustrative sentences and a syntactic discussion of this set of interrogatives.
Table 4.1 Examples of common nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sre form</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caw</td>
<td>‘man, person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔ</td>
<td>‘stone, rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔːj</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwac</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jwas</td>
<td>‘shoulder ax’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kə.brəj</td>
<td>‘personal name (K’Broi)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daː.laːc.</td>
<td>‘place name (Dalat = Đà Lạt)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural⁵⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td>?aŋ</td>
<td>bɔl hɨ (ʔaŋ = rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>bɔl hɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person masculine</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>bɔl me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>?aŋ₁</td>
<td>bɔl ?aŋ₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affinal</td>
<td>dɨ ~ ?i</td>
<td>bɔl dɨ ~ ?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person [+human]</td>
<td>kʰaŋ</td>
<td>bɔl kʰaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-human, ±animate]</td>
<td>gə₁/²</td>
<td>bɔl gə₁/²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁷Manley posits hɨ and hɛ as dual pronouns. He notes that ‘[T]he first person is the only place the category Dual turns up, and also, the only place the inclusive/exclusive distinction is made, thus suggesting that hɨ and hɛ may be surviving relics from an older, richer pronominal system (1972:116).’ Although, no dual pronouns occur in other South Bahnaric languages, they are found in Katuic languages.
Table 4.3 Numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duːl</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baːr</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwan</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pram</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praw</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɔh</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰaːm</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔt</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔt baːr</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baːr jɔt</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe jɔt</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwan jɔt pram</td>
<td>forty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʰhjaŋ</td>
<td>hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʰbo</td>
<td>thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pɔh rʰhjaŋ sin jɔt praw</td>
<td>seven hundred ninety-six: 796</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.4 Inventory of Koho classifiers cited in this section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Scope: Example nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>blah</em></td>
<td>layers of s.t. (clothing, paper): <em>ʔaw</em> ‘shirt, blouse’; <em>sra?</em> ‘a ream of paper’; <em>ʔoj</em> ‘blanket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jənau</em></td>
<td>abstract nouns for words, languages, songs, poetry, and legends: <em>caw</em> ‘Koho language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ki?</em>(^{58})</td>
<td>measure for weight: kilogram: <em>&lt;object to be weighed&gt;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lit</em></td>
<td>measure for liquids (liter): <em>&lt;object to be measured&gt;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mpol</em></td>
<td>group(s) of people (clan): <em>caw</em>’clan (or people)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na?</em></td>
<td>counting human beings: <em>bar na? caw</em> ‘two people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na?</em></td>
<td>small, round objects (fruit, rocks, balls, grains of rice): <em>kroac</em>(^{59}) ‘orange (fruit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nəm</em></td>
<td>nonhuman animate creatures and all other inanimate objects not classified by <em>naj</em>: <em>gle</em> ‘type of bamboo’, <em>sɔ</em> ‘dog’, <em>səgən</em> ‘hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nɔm</em></td>
<td>a group of people: <em>caw</em> ‘a group’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pay</em></td>
<td>flat, sheet-like things (cloth, mats, paper): <em>sra?</em> ‘paper’, <em>mpan</em> ‘board, plank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seŋ</em></td>
<td>objects occurring in a sequence or linear order: <em>caw</em> ‘people lined up, hiw ‘row of houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>səʔ</em></td>
<td>measure of volume based on capacity (~20 kg. paddy): <em>&lt;quantity to be measured&gt;</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


---

\(^{58}\)This is the current term (< French); an older term is *kər*.

\(^{59}\)Kroac can also be used with *plaj*, the classifier for fruit, etc.
Table 4.5 Coverbs and their glosses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coverb [modality]</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em> [permission]</td>
<td>‘be permitted to; be (all) right, correct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pal</em> [necessity]</td>
<td>‘have to; must; be worthy of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rəəgəj</em> [ability]</td>
<td>‘be able to; can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loːc</em> [completion]</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maːη</em> [accustomed]</td>
<td>‘be accustomed to; be used to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tələxːη</em> [attempt]</td>
<td>‘try to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6 Deictics of location and direction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dɔ</em></td>
<td>‘this’ (closer to speaker; the first of a pair of objects being compared or contrasted) (PROXIMATE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>‘that’ (object not proximate but equidistant from speaker and addressee) (DISTAL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>den ~ gen</em></td>
<td>‘that’ (closer to addressee, not speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘that’ (the second of a pair of objects being compared or contrasted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>həʔ</em></td>
<td>‘that’ (not visible, spatially or temporally; anaphoric, indicates old information)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7 Temporal units with *daʔ* ‘one of a number of recurring or multiplied instances, or repeated acts; a recurrent event’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal unit</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘time(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daʔ</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘sometimes’ (reduplication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>daʔ</em> <em>ndəʔ</em></td>
<td>‘every once in a while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>do</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘once; only time’ (<em>dul</em> + <em>daʔ</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaːp</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘each, every time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ʔwaʔ</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘often’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaːp</em> <em>pram</em> <em>nam</em> <em>do</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘once every five years’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>do</em> <em>kənhaːj</em> <em>do</em> <em>daʔ</em></td>
<td>‘once a month (lit. one month one time)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pram</em> <em>daʔ</em> <em>pram</em> <em>gəlik</em> <em>bar</em> <em>jət</em></td>
<td>$5 \times 4 = 20$ (used in arithmetic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Temporal units with *tuʔ* ‘time; occasion’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal unit</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tuʔ</em> <em>do</em></td>
<td>‘right now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuʔ</em> <em>laj</em></td>
<td>‘when (anytime)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tus</em> <em>de</em> <em>tuʔ</em></td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bəʔ</em> <em>de</em> <em>tuʔ</em></td>
<td>‘since’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em> <em>tuʔ</em></td>
<td>‘it’s time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taːm</em> <em>tuʔ</em></td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>laːj</em> <em>mə</em> <em>tuʔ</em> (həʔ)*</td>
<td>‘before that, ...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pa</em> <em>tuʔ</em></td>
<td>‘just; newly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.9 Formation of interrogative pronominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Interrogative prefix + base form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>mbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəh</td>
<td>mbəh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*da:</td>
<td>nda: ‘how much/many’ (requires a classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>nte:η (dəh) ‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caw</td>
<td>ncaw ‘who, which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰi</td>
<td>ncʰi ‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ncʰi bəh taj</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(An answer to ncʰi bəh taj ‘why’ is taj bəh ‘because.’)
CHAPTER 5

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES: GRAMMATICAL COMPONENTS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the principal syntactic structures or grammatical components of Sre. Sre word order is presented in (§5.1), simple sentences in (§5.2), and complex sentences in (§5.3). Nominal constituents are discussed in (§5.4), along with negation in (§5.5) and phrase or sentence final markers in (§5.6).

5.2 Sre word order

Hawkins (1983:284, 338) classifies Sre, the most documented dialect of Köho, as a subject + verb + object (SVO) word order language with prepositions and numeral-noun, noun-adjective (alternatively adjective-noun is also a nonbasic order), noun-genitive, and noun-relative clause characteristics. The word order is fairly rigid, but there can be some phrase or clause movement to indicate certain syntactic functions (see §1.3.2 above).

5.2.1 Order of subject, object and verb: SVO

(147)  \( k^{h}aj \)  \( l\theta h \)  \( hiw \)  \( pa \)

S   V   O   ADJ

60These word order features are mirrored in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) online database (Haspelmath, et al. 2005).
3 built house new
‘S/he built a new house.’

5.2.2 Order of preposition and noun phrase: prepositions

(148) \( kʰaj \ lɔːt \ tɔm \ Daːlaːc \)
    PREP   NP
3 go to Dalat.
‘He/she went to Đà Lạt.’

5.2.3 Order of possessive (genitive) and noun: noun-possessive (genitive)

(149) \( sra? \ kʰaj \)
    book   3
‘his/her book’

5.2.4 Order of adjective and noun: noun-adjective

(150) \( kʰaj \ ləh \ hiw \ pa \)
3 built house new
‘S/he built a new house.’

5.2.5 Order of demonstrative and noun: noun-demonstrative

(151) \( sɔ \ ne \)
    dog    that.DIS
‘that dog (over there)’

5.2.6 Order of numeral and noun: numeral-noun (cardinals) and noun-numeral (ordinals)

(152) a. \( baːr \ kʰɛnḥaj \) b. \( kʰɛnḥaj \ baːr \)
    two   month   month   two
‘two months’  ‘second month, February’

5.2.7 Order of degree word and adjective: adjective-degree word

(153) dan əs məam ʔet taj
please speak fast little more
‘Please speak a little faster.’

5.3 Simple sentences

There are three main types of simple sentences: declarative (§5.3.1), interrogative (§5.3.2), and imperative (§5.3.3). Simple sentences generally consist of only one clause.

5.3.1 Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences have the illocutionary force of assertion as part of their meaning (154-157).

(154) ʔaŋ kaŋ saw pjaŋ
I want eat cooked.rice
‘I want to eat rice.’

(155) bol-kəaj bləj ʔjar
PL-3 buy chicken
‘They are buying chickens.’

(156) ʔənaw əs əs kalke
word this speak difficult
‘This word is difficult to pronounce.’

(157) ʔajə pe:s sο:t əs naŋ cəil bum
take knife sharp this PURP peel potato

‘Take this sharp knife to peel the potatoes.’

5.3.2 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences have the illocutionary force of interrogation or questioning as part of their meaning. There are two types of interrogative sentences: alternative questions (§5.3.2.1), and specification questions. (§5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1 Alternative questions

Alternative questions, also known as yes/no questions or polar interrogatives, ask if the proposition presented in the utterance is true. The position of alternative question markers is phrase final. ʔəә reflects subdialect A (158) and əәl reflects subdialect B (159-160).

(158) kʰaj l:st hə səɡəh ʔəә
3 go to Saigon Q

‘Did s/he go to Saigon?’

(159) me jəgləh əәl
2M hungry Q

‘Are you hungry?’

(160) me l:st draʔ əәl
2M go market Q

‘Are you going to market?’

To answer ‘yes,’ the verb of the question is repeated. To answer ‘no,’ the verb is preceded by the negative. One could answer ‘yes’ (di or ʔaj), but just repeating the verb
with or without the negative is the forms generally used in informal speech. An analog in English would be the song titled ‘Yes, we have no bananas.’ 61

5.3.2.2 Specification questions

Specification questions, also known as content questions, are used when the hearer desires more information or wants further specification of some constituent. In subdialect B, luːp is used when one is expecting more information on an abstract level (161, 162); dan is used when the discussion involves a request for something concrete (163, 164) (Evans and Bowen 1962:69-70).

(161) ?aŋ kaŋ luːp do seŋ
    1 want ask one sentence
    ‘I would like to ask a question.’

(162) ?aŋ kaŋ luːp dilah me rəgəj ləh-brwaʔ mʰo do
    1 want ask if 2M be.able-to-work evening this
    ‘I want to ask (you) if you can work tonight.’

(163) ?aŋ kaŋ dan boh
    1 want ask salt
    ‘I want to ask for some salt.’

(164) ?aŋ kaŋ dan me ləh-brwaʔ mʰo do
    1 want ask 2M to-work evening this
    ‘I want to ask you to work tonight.’
When *dan* (and *lu:p*) occur after a pronoun and an optional second verb (e.g., *ka:jn*), they function as verbs; when *dan* appears initially in a phrase or sentence and precedes a pronoun or a verb, it is best translated as ‘please’ (165).

(165) *dan* dɔːs dəŋ taj
    
    ask speak big again
    
    ‘Please speak louder.’

Another set of content questions requires the interrogatives listed in Table 5.1. Content questions with these interrogatives generally require the sentence-final word *tajh*. In ordinary conversation where there is an interrogative element in the sentence, *tajh* is optional (166). For focus, an interrogative may be fronted to sentence-initial position (166b). If a formal answer is strongly desired, it is obligatory (167).

(166) a. *me* lɔːt nteːŋ *(tajh)*
    
    2M go where (Q)
    
    ‘Where are you (masc.) going?’

b. nteːŋ *me* lɔːt *(tajh)*
    
    where 2M go (Q)
    
    ‘Where are you (masc.) going?’

(167) *peːhi* *me* dɔːs *tajh*.

    what 2M say Q
    
    ‘What did you (masc.) say?’
5.3.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences have the illocutionary force of ordering or commanding. They have first or second person subjects that can be deleted and active verbs that describe actions over which a person has some voluntary control. There are three types of imperative sentences: polite inclusive (ʔih or laʔ), polite exclusive (jə), and nonpolite exclusive (teʔ). ʔih and jə occur sentence final, while laʔ and teʔ occur after the relevant verb. These are illustrated below in (168-171).

5.3.3.1 Polite inclusive marker ʔih

Inclusive involves the addressee as well as the speaker. A polite utterance includes the plural inclusive pronoun bɔl he, while dropping the pronoun marks a slightly more informal request.

(168) (bɔl he) łoːt ɲo tɔrnam ʔih
PL.1INCL go drink rice.wine IMP
‘(Let’s) go drink rice wine.’

5.3.3.2 Nonpolite inclusive marker laʔ

(169) łoːt laʔ, ʔap ʔaʔ łoːt
go IMP I NEG go
‘(You) go; I’m not going!’ (a strong form of ʔih; almost scolding)

5.3.3.3 Polite exclusive marker jə

(170) pəs hiw gəh jə
sweep house clean IMP
‘(You) sweep the floor clean.’
5.3.3.4 Nonpolite exclusive marker \( te? \)

(171) \( lɔ:t \ te? \ bal-mə \ bəl.hi \)

  go  IMP  with  PL.EXCL

‘(You) come along with us.’

5.3.3.5 Negative imperative marker \( bəɲ \)

The negative imperative \( bəɲ \) ‘don’t’ precedes the main verb (\( nhəl \) in 172; \( jím \) in 173; \( gəm \) in 174), negating it as well as making it imperative.

(172) \( bəɲ \ nhəl \ tam \ bre \)

  NEG.IMP  play  in  forest

‘Don’t play in the forest!’

(173) \( bəɲ \ jím \ tai, \ jɛʔ? \ te? \)

  NEG.IMP  cry  any.more  laugh  IMP

‘Don’t cry any more, laugh!’

(174) \( ðala? \ ðəf-ʔaw \ gəs \ da:-nəm \ bəɲ \ gəm \ rə̌p.t \ gəlik \)

  PL  shirt-blouse  have  color  NEG.IMP  boil  afraid  to.come.out

  \( da:-nəm \)

  color

‘Don’t boil the colored things lest the color come out.’

5.4  **Complex sentences**

Complex sentences can involve various dependent clauses, generally employing coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. Often these conjunctions overlap syntactically, but semantically the sense of the sentence is made clear by the context.
This section discusses coordinate sentences (§5.4.1), conditional sentences (§5.4.2), causal sentences (§5.4.3), contrastive sentences (§5.4.4), concessive sentences (§5.4.5), and purposive sentences (§5.4.6).

Some of the more frequent connecting or coordinating words include: ḫaj, ḫaj ... gɛnas for,’ bu(lah) ‘if,’ digəlan ‘maybe,’ di(lah) ‘if,’ gən ‘as a result, consequence,’ hala ‘or,’ mə ‘and; often also used with a comitative sense’, naŋ/to ‘in order to; so that,’ and mə-ja ‘but.’

5.4.1 Coordinate sentences

Coordination involves the conjoining of constituents if they are of the same type and share the same syntactic function. These coordinate structures are constituents linked by a conjunction like mə ‘and’ (175) or hala ‘or’ (176). Note that identical constituents may undergo conjunction reduction (i.e., all but the initial co-indexed conjuncts are deleted).

(175) kʰaj ŋ gum kəj mə ḫajəŋ pʰɛ
  3 winnow paddy and separate uncooked.rice
  ‘She winnows the paddy and [she] separates the rice.’

(176) kʰaj ʔɑːʔ git kʰaj lɔːt hala ʔəm
  3 NEG know 3 go or stay
  ‘S/he doesn’t know [if] s/he will go or [s/he will] stay.’

5.4.2 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are introduced by dilah ‘if,’ with the secondary clause optionally beginning with gən ‘as a result or consequence’ (177). The same syntax is employed in resultative sentences, where gən is generally obligatory and the resultant
clause content signals the type of clause (178).

(177)  
\begin{align*}
{\textit{dilah} \ ?an \ bep \ g\sqrt{\text{a}} \ (\textit{gen}) \ ?an \ r\sqrt{\text{g\ae}j} \ hu:} \text{c} & \\
\text{if} \ & \ 1 \ \text{sip} \ \text{it} \ \text{(then)} \ & \ 1 \ \text{able} \ \text{drink} \\
\end{align*}

‘If I sip it, (then) I can drink it.’

(178)  
\begin{align*}
{\textit{dilah} \ g\sqrt{\text{s}} \ j\sqrt{\text{t}} \ na? \ caw \ ta:m \ r\sqrt{\text{ndeh}}, \textit{gen} \ \text{hat} & \\
\text{if} \ & \ \text{exist} \ \text{ten} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{people} \ \text{in} \ \text{vehicle} \ & \ \text{then} \ \text{be} \text{-} \text{crowded} \\
\eta\sqrt{\text{an}} & \\
\text{very} & \\
\text{‘If there are ten people in the car, then it is very crowded.’} \\
\end{align*}

5.4.3 Causal sentences

Causal sentences indicate a cause or consequence of an action. The conjunction \textit{gen} introduces the causal clause (179).

(179)  
\begin{align*}
{k\sqrt{\text{a}j} \ ?at \ do \ pa\sqrt{\text{n}} \ sra?}, \textit{gen} \ sra? \ ru\sqrt{\text{y}j} \ de \ ?u: & \\
3 \ \text{hold} \ \text{one} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{paper} \ \text{(but)} \ \text{paper} \ \text{fall} \ \text{to} \ \text{ground} \\
\end{align*}

‘S/he held a sheet of paper, (and) it fell to the ground.’

5.4.4 Contrastive sentences

Contrastive sentences often present contradictory information in the subordinate clause. Often this clause will have a negative element, usually ?α:ʔ ‘not’ (180-181).

(180)  
\begin{align*}
?an \ tonlah \ k\sqrt{\text{a}j} \ ?om \ ta:m \ hiw, \ \textit{m\sqrt{o}-ja} \ k\sqrt{\text{a}j} \ ?α:ʔ \ g\sqrt{\text{s}} & \\
1 \ \text{suppose} \ 3 \ \text{live} \ \text{at} \ \text{house} \ \text{but} \ 3 \ \text{NEG} \ \text{have} \\
\end{align*}

‘I supposed he was (at) home, but he wasn’t (there).’

(181)  
\begin{align*}
?α:ʔ \ kra \ ne \ s\sqrt{\text{on\eta}} \ \text{tor} \ \textit{m\sqrt{o}-ja} \ ?α:ʔ-\text{he}:t & \\
\text{man} \ \text{old} \ \text{that} \ \text{hard} \text{-} \text{of} \text{-} \text{hearing} \ \text{ear} \ \text{but} \ \text{not} \text{-} \text{yet} \ \\
\textit{ti\sqrt{?}-tor} & \\
\end{align*}
be-deaf

‘That old man is hard of hearing, but not yet deaf.’

5.4.5 Concessive sentences

Concessive sentences indicate something conceded but not detracting from what is said. They are introduced by bulah, meaning ‘even though, although’; the following main clause is usually introduced by mə-ja ‘but’ (182).

(182) bulah ʔaŋ ləbən, mə-ja ʔaŋ pəndəl
   even.though 1 weak but 1 force

ləh-brwaʔ
to-work

‘Even though, I’m weak, [but] I force myself to work.’

5.4.6 Purposive sentences

Purposive sentences have either nay (183) or to (184) both meaning ‘in order to’ or ‘so’ to indicate the purpose or reason implied in the introductory clause.

(183) ʔaj3 gaj kərnal nay kal mpəŋ
   take CLF rod PURP bolt door

‘Take the rod (in order) to bolt the door.’

(184) ʔaŋ sa to ha:m
   1 eat PURP satiate

‘I eat so that I will be satiated.’

Nay and to can also function as verbs in both dialects A and B.
5.5 **Nominal constituents**

The constituents of a noun phrase include the elements listed in (185).

(185) (quantifier) noun (adjective) (noun phrase) (clause) (determiner)

Nouns may be specific or generic. Specific nouns are explicit, definite—that is, denoting a special or particular kind of object or element. Generic nouns are applicable or referring to all the members of a genus or a class. Nouns may be pluralized by the quantifier ?ala? preceding the noun or noun phrase and its classifier.

Manley (1972:156-158) cites examples of noun phrase possibilities. Some of these are illustrated in (186-195).

**Noun:**

(186) sɔ  

  dog  

  ‘dog’

**Noun + determiner:**

(187) sɔ ne  

  dog that.DIS  

  ‘that dog’

**Quantifier + noun + determiner:**

(188) jɔh ?alaʔ caw sɔ  

  all PL people this.PROX  

  ‘all these people’

**Noun + adjective:**

(189) caw ?u:r ha:y
people woman to.be.beautiful

‘the beautiful woman/the woman is beautiful’

**Quantifier + noun + adjective + determiner:**

(190) *pwan naʔ caw ?uːr haːŋ ne*

four CLF people women to.be.beautiful that.DIS

‘those four beautiful women’

**Quantifier + noun + adjective + noun phrase:**

(191) *pram nəm sraʔ pa kʰaj*

five CLF books new 3

‘his/her five new books’

**Quantifier + noun + adjective + determiner:**

(192) *pram nəm sraʔ pa lɔʔ*

five CLF books new any

‘any five new books’

**Noun + sentence:**

(193) *sraʔ kʰaj bəj ajʔə r*

book 3 buy day previous

‘the book (that) s/he bought yesterday’

**Quantifier + noun + sentence + determiner:**

(194) *pram nəm sraʔ kʰaj bəj ajʔə rəːr ne*

five CLF books 3 buy day previous that.DIS

‘those five books he bought yesterday’

**Quantifier + noun + adjective + sentence + determiner:**
Finally, Manley cites an example of a fully specified noun phrase (196).

Quantifier + noun + adjective + noun phrase + sentence + determiner:

(196)  
\[ bːr \ nom \ sra? \ taj \ ?an \ kʰaj \ blʔj \ ?aj \ ?or \]  
\[ two \ CLF \ book \ French \ 3 \ buy \ day \ previous \]  
\[ \text{that.PROX} \]  
\[ \text{‘these two French books of mine (that) s/he bought yesterday’} \]  
\[ \text{(M158:p45)} \]

5.6 **Negation**

Negation is a process or construction that expresses the contradiction of some or all of the meaning of a sentence. The concept of negation pertains to the truth value of an utterance. The primary adverb of negation is ?aːʔ ‘not.’ On semantic grounds, this adverb of negation is a modal. It precedes the verb it is negating. Negative elements that co-occur with ?aːʔ are listed in Table 5.2.

(197)  
\[ kʰaj \ ?aːʔ-gɔʔ \ kaɲ \ luj \ plaj \ krwac \]  
\[ 3 \ not-at- \ want \ -all \ CLF \ orange \]  
\[ \text{‘S/he doesn’t like oranges at all!} \]  
\[ \text{(M231/264)} \]
Table 5.1 Content question interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative form</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbəh</td>
<td>‘from where, what source’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbɛ</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲcaw</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲcʰi</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲcʰi bəh ta:j</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda:</td>
<td>‘how much/many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nte:ŋ (dah)</td>
<td>‘where (place)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tus de</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Negative elements with ʔαːʔ ‘not’

| ʔαːʔ             | ‘not (adverb of negation)’         |
| ʔαːʔ di          | ‘negative form of lah’             |
| ʔαːʔ he:t        | ‘not yet’ (there is no *he:t form; it is a syntactically bound morpheme with ʔαːʔ) |
| ʔαːʔ goʔ         | ‘not at all’ (goʔ requires ʔαːʔ)  |
| ʔαːʔ goʔ [verb] luj | ‘not at all’ (luj requires goʔ) [emphatic negation] |
APPENDIX A

TEXT: TRADITIONAL VILLAGE WORK

This text is taken from Evans and Bowen’s *Koho Language Course* and recounts traditional village work. The original text has been transliterated from their orthography into the IPA and is glossed (1962:134-135 [§§50-60]).

Traditional Village Work

(1) kɑːp drim mɛː ʔaŋ pəs hiw, bɔʔ daʔ mə pjah
ey every morning mother 1 sweep house draws water and husks
kɔj
paddy
‘Every morning my mother sweeps the house, draws water, and husks the rice.’

(2) kʰaj duŋ ŋum kəj mə ŋkʰjaŋ pʰɛ
3 also winnow paddy and separate uncooked.rice
‘She also winnows it and separates it.’

(3) bi ?ur ʔaŋ dɔŋ mɛː ʔrʊʔ pjaj mə gəm bjap
older sister 1 help mother cook rice and cook vegetables
‘My older sister helps my mother cook rice and vegetables.’

(4) sir saw gɛŋ ʔalaʔ caw ?ur raw jəluʔ- mıŋan
already eat then PL people women wash large.bowl-small.bowl
‘After eating, the women wash the dishes.’
(5) kə:p ēəy ʔoh ʔur ʔəŋ ə:t ʔəj əŋ gen kʰaj blah
every day younger sister 1 go find firewood then 3 split
əŋ
firewood

‘Every day, my younger sister goes to find firewood and then she splits it.’

(6) kə:p mʰə mɛː ʔəŋ ə:t bɔʔ daː taj
every evening mother 1 go draw water again

‘Every evening my mother goes to draw water again.’

(7) kʰaj piːh oːj aw gəh tʃən
3 wash blanket shirt clean very

‘She washes the clothes very clean.’

(8) təːm kənhaj praŋ caw ʔur təŋ oːj bel rəndɔː mə
in season dry people women weave blanket mat large bag and
pərla:
small bag

‘In the dry season, the women weave blankets (=skirts), mats, and bags.’

(9) təːm troː maŋ bɔl.kʰaj ʔajʒ dęːs roːj gəs braːj
in sky night 3PL take cotton spin have thread

‘At night, they take cotton and spin it into thread.

(10) caw ʔur ɓaː sen gaːr ʔalaʔ kəŋ
people woman some see guard PL child

‘Some women take care of the children.’
The short lexicon is the Swadesh 285-item list, adapted for Southeast Asia, reflecting the Kôho-Sre dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swadesh #</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Kôho-Sre word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>troːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>mʰwal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>(mat) tɔŋaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>kəŋhaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>star</td>
<td>səmaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>ca:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>miw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>bərlaŋ kaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mist, fog</td>
<td>{mʰwal duŋ [(daːʔ) tuʔ]}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>maŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>ḳaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>(sɔ)nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>hail</td>
<td>pjar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hmong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>snow</td>
<td>pjär</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>freeze ('make water stone')</td>
<td>gəlik daːʔ luʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>daːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>hjoːŋ daːʔ, dɔːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td>daːʔ leːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>daːʔ leːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>earth, soil</td>
<td>?uːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>stone, rock</td>
<td>luʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>braːs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>mud</td>
<td>bɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>dust</td>
<td>kəmbuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td>mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>priaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>bənəm ~ mənəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>(təm) eʰi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td>bre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>bark (of tree)</td>
<td>kəmhoːʔ eʰi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>bəkaːw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>rʲjas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>plaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>gar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>nʰəət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Bislama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>stick</td>
<td>gaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>pri:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>rattan</td>
<td>r'jah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>areca</td>
<td>bənaːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>papaya</td>
<td>bəlhoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>ləʔu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>seːm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>(pən)də:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>feather</td>
<td>sənɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>to fly</td>
<td>par</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>tap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>tjaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>claw</td>
<td>ndjas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>horn (of buffalo)</td>
<td>ɲke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>animal (‘four-footed thing’)</td>
<td>pʰan pwan ɲəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>sɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>sur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>?jar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>?ada ~ ?əda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>bəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>də</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>đørpaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>monkey (generic)</td>
<td>doːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td>juːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>kliw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>rᵊpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>kənroːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>rᵊwas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>(elephant) tusk</td>
<td>blaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>ran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>djaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>spider</td>
<td>buŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>saj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>səmac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>fly n.</td>
<td>rᵊhaːj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>muh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>toːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>boːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>bəɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>siːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>(lə)mpjat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>sɔʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
81 neck ŋko
82 shoulder ponenti:
83 chest ntəəh
84 back ŋkɔːj ~ ŋkαːj
85 heart nus
86 abdomen kəndul
87 intestines prəəc
88 liver kla:m ~ kla:m
89 hand ti:
90 palm mpan ti:
91 nail, claw ndjas
92 leg jəŋ
93 foot mpanj
94 knee gəltəŋ
95 thigh bono:
96 calf (of leg) dɔ ĵəŋ
97 blood mʰa:m
98 bone ntiːŋ
99 skin gəltaw ~ kəltaw
100 flesh pwaːc
101 fat dəŋi
102 to live kis
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>Ⓒʰәt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>to be sick</td>
<td>kә:p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>to breathe</td>
<td>taʔ nʰәm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>to hear</td>
<td>kәnә</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td>siʔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>dәs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>to laugh</td>
<td>ɲәʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>to weep</td>
<td>ɲim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>to suck</td>
<td>po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>to spit</td>
<td>cʰәh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>to blow</td>
<td>kʰә:m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>kap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>to drink (water, wine)</td>
<td>hu:c, ɲo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>to be drunk</td>
<td>bәŋul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>to vomit</td>
<td>haʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>to smell</td>
<td>rʰiːp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>to think</td>
<td>ƙәlowi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>git</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>to count</td>
<td>ƙә:p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>to fear</td>
<td>rɲoːt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>to want</td>
<td>ƙәːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>bic 1ọha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>to lie (down)</td>
<td>bic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>nta:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>ȵguj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>lọ:t (jọŋ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>to come</td>
<td>tus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>to go</td>
<td>lọ:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>to ascend</td>
<td>gohaw, guh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>to descend</td>
<td>mu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>to enter</td>
<td>mut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>to return</td>
<td>re (wọl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>to turn</td>
<td>kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>to swim</td>
<td>re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>to float</td>
<td>ndo:ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>to flow</td>
<td>gohọ:r, ntwat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>to push</td>
<td>chọ:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>to pull</td>
<td>hwa:j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>to throw (away)</td>
<td>sọrbi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>to fall, drop</td>
<td>du:h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>to give (with ?in)</td>
<td>?aj2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td>?aj3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>to wash</td>
<td>ra:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>to launder</td>
<td>pi:h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>to split</td>
<td>blah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>to tie</td>
<td>kət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>to wipe</td>
<td>juːt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>to rub</td>
<td>thɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>to hit</td>
<td>pɔːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>to cut (hair)</td>
<td>kɔh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>to stab</td>
<td>srap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>to dig</td>
<td>tɔːʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>to scratch</td>
<td>kwaːc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>to squeeze</td>
<td>pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>klaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>?uːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>caw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>bɛːp ~ baːp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>meʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>kɔːn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>baw klaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>baw ?uːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>bi klaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>older sister</td>
<td>bi ?uːr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>younger sibling (m., f.)</td>
<td>?ɔh (klaw, ?uːr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
169  name  səndan
170  I (1ps, familiar)  ?aj₁
171  you (2ps; m., f.)  me, ?aj₁
172  he/she/it (3ps)  kʰaj
173  we (1incl.)  bɔl hɛ
174  you (2pl.; m, f.)  bɔl me, bɔl ?aj₁
175  they (3pl)  bɔl kʰaj
176  paddy rice  kɔːj
177  pounded rice  pʰɛ
178  cooked rice  pjaŋ
179  corn  dəŋɔːj
180  salt  bɔh
181  red pepper/chili  mɾɛʔ?
182  betel chew  sa nʰa
183  pestle  rⁿaj
184  mortar  mpal
185  to cook (rice)  truʔ pjaŋ
186  firewood  lɔːŋ
187  fire  ?oːs
188  to light, burn  cʰu, ?oːs sa
189  ashes  bʉːh
190  smoke  pʰuʔ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Phonology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>path, road</td>
<td>gu:ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>hi:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>roof</td>
<td>r'ka:ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>cord</td>
<td>cʰɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>to sew</td>
<td>ji:ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>?a:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>loincloth</td>
<td>ntrɔːŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>to work</td>
<td>ləh brwa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>to play</td>
<td>kənhaɭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>to sing</td>
<td>dəs crih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>təmja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>drum</td>
<td>səŋɕəɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>ciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>blaj, r'wat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>crossbow (small; large)</td>
<td>sra:w; sʰna:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>ta:?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>to shoot (crossbow; gun)</td>
<td>pəŋ; cuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>to hunt</td>
<td>mɔ:c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>to kill</td>
<td>tɔŋʰət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>to fight</td>
<td>təmləh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>du:l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two  
three  
four  
five  
six  
seven  
eight  
nine  
ten  
twenty  
hundred  
all  
many  
some, several  
few  
big  
small  
long  
short (length)  
tall  
short (height)  
round
235 smooth riŋ
236 thick ləʔut
237 thin ləʔoː:
238 wide ?ənaːŋ
239 narrow wit
240 black jəʔ?
241 red pəɾhiː
242 white bəː
təlir
243 green təlir
244 yellow rəmit
245 dry raŋ
246 wet suːh
247 rotten ʔəːm
248 to swell puʔ, ʔas
249 full beːŋ
250 dirty bəʔ
251 sharp soːt
252 dull ?əː soːt
253 new pa
254 hot duh
255 cold, cool məɾiːt, nwat
256 heavy kəɾŋəʔ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>straight</td>
<td>səŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>right</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>njam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>ʔjəh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>old-aged</td>
<td>kraː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>ȵaːj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>reːp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>right side</td>
<td>dāh ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>left side</td>
<td>dāh kjaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>ndraːm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>different</td>
<td>krəj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>ha dɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>ho nɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>cʰi dɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>cʰi nɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>when?</td>
<td>tuʔ laj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>where?</td>
<td>nteːŋ dāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>who?</td>
<td>ɲcw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>what?</td>
<td>ɲɛbì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>mə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>bal (mə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>teːŋ, tiŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
because
how?
if
in
not
(not) yet
already
REFERENCES


Drouin, Sylvère, and K’Nài. 1962. *Dictionnaire français--montagnard*. Fyan: Centre Montagnard de Rédemptoristes. [The *montagnard* (Koho) dialect is Ryông.]


