

Affixes in Katu

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0. Introduction.

In Katu¹ there are many affixes, occurring mainly on verb roots but also on adjective, adverb and noun roots, and on numerals and locatives. Combinations of prefixes can occur in Katu, which is fairly rare in Mon-Khmer languages. Each of the main prefixes — causative, reciprocal, adjectivizer and involuntary — is able to occur in combination with the causative prefix. The combination of prefixes occur most extensively on verb roots, but are also able to occur on adjective and noun roots.

A word in Katu has a maximum of four syllables, made possible when two prefixes are added to a two syllable root. It is expected that some unidentified presyllables will later be found to be prefixes, but until the root of a word is determined, these syllables will be treated as non-morphemic presyllables. Prefixes occur on one and two syllable roots.

<i>nhor</i> 'to love'	<i>tanhor</i> 'to love each other'
<i>daloong</i> 'to call'	<i>padaloong</i> 'to cause to call'

1 Katu is a language of the Mon-Khmer family spoken by about 15-30,000 people in Quảng Nam and Quảng Tín provinces west of Danang. Thanks is given to Kimêët, from An Đìêm, Quảng Nam, who served as language informant for most of this paper. I am indebted to David Thomas for help in the organization and writing of this paper.

The symbolization used in this paper is the same as that in J.M. Wallace, 'Katu Personal Pronouns', in this same volume.

<i>saruum</i> 'to fall'	<i>tapasaruum</i> 'to cause each other to fall'
<i>pajuak</i> 'to persuade'	<i>tapajuak</i> 'to persuade each other'
<i>karuaq</i> 'to hurt'	<i>pakaruaq</i> 'to cause to hurt'

1. Affixes on Verb Roots.

1.1 Nominalizer *-an-*

1.1.1 Function of *-an-*. The infix forms derived nouns from verb, noun or adjective roots. (See also 2.1, 4. 1). Sometimes the derived noun has the meaning of *result*, or that which is acted upon, the direct object of the root action.

<i>ᄁ a ᄁ óoch</i> 'to sing'	<i>banóoch</i> 'song'
<i>cha</i> 'to eat'	<i>chana</i> 'food'
<i>chiam</i> 'to feed'	<i>chaniam</i> 'food given'
<i>chóór</i> 'to make groove on cross bow'	<i>chanóór</i> 'groove on cross bow'
<i>chuul</i> 'to make sound'	<i>chanuul</i> 'sound of animals, music'
<i>ᄁah</i> 'to eat meat'	<i>danah</i> 'meat for eating'
<i>dóók</i> 'to name'	<i>danóók</i> 'a name'
<i>ᄁuruk</i> 'to wear headband'	<i>danuruk</i> 'headband'
<i>gi</i> 'to plan'	<i>gani</i> 'a plan'
<i>jur</i> 'to care for'	<i>janur</i> 'something cared for'
<i>klâm</i> 'to urinate'	<i>kalâm</i> 'urine'
<i>kuuk</i> 'to wear necklace'	<i>kanuuk</i> 'necklace'
<i>maq</i> 'to prechew food'	<i>manaq</i> 'prechewed food'
<i>póh</i> 'to sew red thread into cloth'	<i>panóh</i> 'red thread sewn into cloth'
<i>praaq</i> 'to speak'	<i>paraaq</i> 'words'
<i>seei</i> 'to judge'	<i>saneei</i> 'judgment'
<i>seet</i> 'to wear string around waist'	<i>saneet</i> 'string worn around waist'
<i>sóón</i> 'to wear earring'	<i>sanóón</i> 'earring'
<i>tâáp</i> 'to begin'	<i>tanâáp</i> 'beginning'

<i>lêêng</i>	'to work'	<i>tanêêng</i>	'work'
<i>tôôm</i>	'to wrap'	<i>tanôôm</i>	'package'

Sometimes the derived noun has the meaning of *instrument*, that used to perform the action of the verb.

<i>gap</i>	'to cut with scissors'	<i>ganap</i>	'scissors'
<i>glâk</i>	'to carry (by two people)'	<i>galâk</i>	'pole for carrying'
<i>juut</i>	'to rub'	<i>januut</i>	'cloth for rubbing'
<i>kliang</i>	'to lock door'	<i>kaliang</i>	'wood to lock door'
<i>kuaq</i>	'to turn a key'	<i>kanuaq</i>	'key'
<i>panh</i>	'to shoot'	<i>pananh</i>	'crossbow'
<i>piih</i>	'to sweep'	<i>paniih</i>	'broom'
<i>pruung</i>	'to blow fire'	<i>paruung</i>	'pipe to blow fire'
<i>ten</i>	'to hammer'	<i>tanen</i>	'a hammer'

Sometimes the derived noun has the meaning of *location*, the place where the action is performed.

<i>ġêch</i>	'to sleep'	<i>banêch</i>	'bed'
<i>chô</i>	'to return'	<i>chanô</i>	'road'
<i>pleh</i>	'to turn on road'	<i>paleh</i>	'crossroads'
<i>toot</i>	'to sit'	<i>tanoot</i>	'stool'

1.1.2 Differentiation of meanings.

The *result*, *instrumental*, *locational*² meanings of the derived nouns can be differentiated structurally when the underived verb root and the derived noun are used together in a sentence.

The *result* type of derived noun can immediately follow the verb root, and no preposition ever occurs between them.

ku praaq paraaq 'I speak words'

2 A similar distinction between result, instrument, and location is noted in Bahnar by Elizabeth Banker, 'Bahnar Affixation', in *Mon-Khmer Studies I*. Jacob 's' object mode' appears similar to our 'result', and her 'utensil' to our 'instrument', in J.M Jacob, 'Prefixation and Infixation in Old Mon, Old Khmer, and Modern Khmer', in *Linguistic Comparison in South East Asia and the Pacific*, ed. H.L. Shorto. See also Sandra K. Watson, 'Verbal Affixation in Pacôh', in *Mon-Khmer Studies II*.

ku ðah ðanah 'I eat meat'
ku kuuk kanuuk 'I wear necklace'

The *instrumental* type of derived noun may also immediately follow the verb root, but can be distinguished from the *result* type in that the preposition *lòq* 'by means of' can be inserted between the verb root and the derived noun.

ku ten (lòq) tanèn 'I hammer with the hammer'
ku kuaq (lòq) kanuaq 'I turn lock with key'
ku pruong (lòq) paruung 'I blow with the blowing pipe'

The *locational* type of derived noun may also immediately follow the verb root but can be distinguished from both the *result* and *instrumental* types in that the preposition *diq* 'in, on', can be inserted between the, verb root and the derived noun.

ku tòot (diq) tanòot 'I sit on the stool'
ku chô (diq) chanô 'I return on the road'
ku ꞑ êch diq banêch 'I sleep on the bed'

All nominalized verbs fit one of these patterns. Only one form *ganiauq* has been found with more than one of these patterns.

ku giauq (diq) ganiauq 'I roast (meat) on roasting sticks'
ku giauq (lòq) ganiauq 'I roast (meat) with roasting sticks'

The infix is still active in Katu, as seen in such modern innovations as :

chanui 'eraser' from *chui* 'to erase'
ganap 'scissors' from *gap* 'to cut hair'

Infixes may be added to loanwords from Vietnamese such as *ganh* 'to carry'.

geng 'to carry with pole' *ganeng* 'carrying pole'
ganeng 'a load carried'
geng pe ganeng 'carry 3 loads'

This word is of interest because the derived noun can function either as result or instrument. Perhaps later the language may absorb this nominalizer into one of these categories and drop the other usage.

AFFIXES IN KATU

1.1.3 Allomorphs of *-an-*. *-an-* is the most common form of the nominalizer, but it also has the allomorphs *-a-* and *pa-*. *-an-* becomes *-rn-* in some dialects: *tanoo't*, *trnoo't* 'stool'. *-an-* reduces to *-a-* before *r* and *l* because *nl* and *nr* sequences do not occur in Katu.

<i>pruung</i> 'to blow fire'	<i>paruung</i> 'pipe for blowing fire'
<i>praaq</i> 'to speak'	<i>paraaq</i> 'words'
<i>kliang</i> 'to lock door'	<i>kaliang</i> 'wood to lock door'
<i>klâng</i> 'to put a prop under'	<i>kalâng</i> 'prop'

The allomorph *pa-* has been found with only two words, *đok* and *gan*. These fit the locational type of nominalizers since the preposition *diq* can occur between the root word and derived noun.

<i>đok</i> 'to go west'	<i>pađok</i> 'ground facing west'
<i>gan</i> 'to go on flat ground'	<i>pagan</i> 'flat ground'

When an infix is added to words beginning with *dy* or *n*, the initial consonant changes to *j*.

<i>dyru</i> 'to carry in pig basket'	<i>janru</i> 'pig basket'
<i>đyiik</i> 'to clear ground'	<i>janiik</i> 'cleared ground'
<i>niich</i> 'to wear belt'	<i>janiich</i> 'belt'

When verb roots beginning with preglottalization occur with the nominalizing infix, the preglottalization is lost.

<i>ɸ êch</i> 'to sleep'	<i>banêch</i> 'bed'
<i>ɸ aq</i> 'to carry on back'	<i>banaq</i> 'cloth for carrying baby on back'

1.2 Causative Prefix

pa- occurs with verbs giving them a causative meaning. (See 2.2 for *pa-* with adjectives, 4.2 for *pa-* with nouns.) *pa-* may occur with almost any transitive or intransitive verb'.

1.2.1 With transitive verbs.

When the causative prefix occurs with a transitive verb, it is followed by an intermediate causer and an object. (cf. 1.9)

<i>Mêêt ih ao</i>	'Mêêt sews shirt'
<i>Mêêt pa-ih Rim</i>	'Mêêt makes Rim sew'
<i>Mêêt pa-ih Rim ao</i>	'Mêêt makes Rim sew shirt'

pa- occurs with transitive roots such as :

<i>uach</i>	'to dig hole'	<i>pa-uach</i>	'to cause to dig hole'
<i>cha</i>	'to eat'	<i>pacha</i>	'cause to eat'
<i>glâk</i>	'to carry'	<i>paglâk</i>	'cause to carry'
<i>tech</i>	'to chop tree'	<i>patech</i>	'cause to chop tree'
<i>nhôr</i>	'to love'	<i>panhôr</i>	'cause to love'
<i>kôl</i>	'to buy'	<i>pakôl</i>	'cause to buy'
<i>hur</i>	'to wreck'	<i>pahur</i>	'cause to wreck'
<i>goot</i>	'to cut hair'	<i>pagoot</i>	'cause to cut hair'
<i>looq</i>	'to peel'	<i>paloq</i>	'cause to peel'
<i>chen</i>	'to cook'	<i>pachen</i>	'cause to cook'
<i>rôq</i>	'to pull out weeds'	<i>parôq</i>	'cause to pull out weeds'
<i>kapuat</i>	'to squeeze'	<i>pakapuat</i>	'cause to squeeze'
<i>iat</i>	'to cut animate things'	<i>pa-iat</i>	'cause to cut animate things'
<i>chiat</i>	'to cut inanimate things'	<i>pachiat</i>	'cause to cut inanimate things'

1.2.2 With intransitive verbs

When the causative prefix occurs with an intransitive verb, it is followed by an intermediate causer (cf. 1.9)

ku mut 'I run'

ku pamut Rim 'I cause Rim to run'

pa- occurs with such intransitive roots as

<i>val</i>	'to return'	<i>paval</i>	'cause to return'
<i>ruuh</i>	'to fall'	<i>paruuh</i>	'cause to fall'
<i>chô</i>	'to return'	<i>pachô</i>	'cause to return'
<i>mut</i>	'to run'	<i>pamut</i>	'cause to run'
<i>sooq</i>	'to flee'	<i>pasooq</i>	'cause to flee'
<i>duanh</i>	'to go east'	<i>paduanh</i>	'cause to go east'
<i>nhiim</i>	'to cry'	<i>panhiim</i>	'cause to cry'
<i>môt</i>	'to enter'	<i>pamôt</i>	'cause to enter'
<i>ntôq</i>	'to fall'	<i>pantôq</i>	'cause to fall'
<i>rââm</i>	'to hope'	<i>parââm</i>	'cause to hope'

<i>nôôk</i>	'to be foolish'	<i>panôôk</i>	'cause to be foolish'
<i>ul</i>	'to be hungry'	<i>pa-ul</i>	'cause to be hungry'

1.2.3 **Minor allomorphs.** *pa-* is the most frequent form of the causative prefix, but it has the allomorphs *ta-* and *ka-* which occur with a more limited number of verbs. Most of these same verbs can also occur non-contrastively with *pa-*.

<i>ta-</i>	<i>ku tagoot Rim sok</i>	'I cause Rim to cut hair'
	<i>ku pagoot Rim sok</i>	'I cause Rim to cut hair'
	<i>ku tamôt jong</i>	'I put basket' (cause to enter)
	<i>ku pamôt jong</i>	'I put basket' (cause to enter)

Only the following roots have been found with *ta-* causative. *ablââk* 'to awake', *aguun* 'to curl up', *ᶑaq* 'to carry on back', *ᶑêch* 'to sleep', *ᶑlêi* 'to trade', *bral* 'to arrive', *chiat* 'to cut inanimate things', *chô* 'to return', *diar* 'to go backwards', *gaaq* 'to open door', *goot* 'to cut hair', *iat* 'to cut animate things', *looq* 'to peel', *lóng* 'to open', *lum* 'to meet', *mbiiq* 'to hit', *môt* 'to enter', *mut* 'to run', *panh* 'to shoot', *par* 'to fly', *peh* 'to play musical instrument', *plak* 'to break', *puah* 'to dry in sun', *prah* 'to wash hair'.

Of these, *ᶑaq*, *chiat*, *chô*, *diar*, *goot*, *looq*, *lum*, *iat*, *môt*, *val* also occur with *pa-* causative.

ka- is also an allomorph of the causative prefix. It has only been found with the verb roots *chet* 'to die', *boq* 'to pile up', *suuh* 'to poke'. It is non-contrastive with *pa-*.

<i>Rim pasuuh Mêt mat</i>	'Rim makes Mêt poke eye'
<i>Rim kasuuh Mêt mat</i>	'Rim makes Mêt poke eye'
<i>Rim pachet anuq</i>	'Rim causes the dog to die'
<i>Rim kachet anuq</i>	'Rim causes the dog to die'

1.3 Causative Passive Prefix *ha-*

ha- occurs with a few verb roots giving them a meaning of causing an inert or inanimate subject to be in a certain state. Both transitive and intransitive verb roots have been found with *ha-*: *chen* 'to cook', *vrah* 'to scatter', *ôu* 'to put away', *looq* 'to peel', *yur* 'to rise', *ul* 'to hunger'. *ha-ul* seems to be the only one with a reflexive meaning.

<i>ku hachen aviq</i>	'I cause rice to be cooked'
<i>ku hayur đo'ok</i>	'I cause water to be raised.'
	'I raise water'
<i>ku hayur Rim</i>	'I cause Rim to be raised'
	'I lift up Rim'
<i>(ku payur Rim)</i>	'I cause Rim to get up'
<i>ku ha-ul</i>	'I am made hungry'

Verbs with *ha-* can occur both as main verbs and in adjectival constructions.

1.4 Reciprocal Prefix *ta-*

ta- occurs with verb roots giving them the reciprocal meaning 'I do it to you and you do it to me'. Almost all transitive verbs, but no intransitive verbs, can occur with the reciprocal prefix. When the reciprocal prefix occurs, it requires two actors or a plural actor. (cf. 1.9)

<i>Mêêt loq Rim tanal</i>	'Mêêt and Rim know each other'
<i>nhang tanal</i>	'we know each other'

ta- occurs with such roots as :

<i>kap</i> 'to bite'	<i>takap</i> 'bite each other'
<i>lêi</i> 'to see'	<i>talêi</i> 'see each other'
<i>tak</i> 'to stab'	<i>tatak</i> 'stab each other'
<i>kol</i> 'to buy'	<i>takol</i> 'buy from each other'
<i>nhor</i> 'to love'	<i>tanhor</i> 'love each other'
<i>nhan</i> 'to want'	<i>tanhan</i> 'want each other'
<i>leng</i> 'to kill'	<i>taleng</i> 'kill each other'
<i>pajuak</i> 'to persuade'	<i>tapajuak</i> 'persuade each other'
<i>ayô</i> 'to pity'	<i>tayô</i> 'pity each other'

1.5 Adjectivizer Prefix *ta-* (cf 2.4, 4.3)

1.5.1 There is a *ta-* adjectivizer prefix which occurs in adjectival constructions.³ With a few exceptions, all transitive verbs can occur with

³ The adjectivizer prefix resembles the affixes called 'attributive' by Jacob. 'passive' by Banker, and 'resultant' by Watson.

this prefix, as well as a few intransitive verbs. See 1.9 for distinguishing this prefix from other homophonous affixes. *ta-* occurs with verbs such as :

<i>ih ao</i>	'sew shirt'	<i>ao ta-ih</i>	'the sewn shirt'
<i>uach b6ng</i>	'dig hole'	<i>b6ng ta-uach</i>	'the dug hole'
<i>roh đ6ng</i>	'burn house'	<i>đ6ng taroh</i>	'the burnt house'
<i>palaang t6i</i>	'turn palm up'	<i>t6i tapalaang</i>	'the turned up palm'
<i>pajuk ak6q</i>	'bump head'	<i>ak6q tapajuk</i>	'the bumped head'
<i>leng anuq</i>	'kill dog'	<i>anuq taleng</i>	'the killed dog'
<i>l6i chana</i>	'put aside'	<i>chana tal6i</i>	'the put aside food'
<i>looq priiq</i>	'peel banana'	<i>priiq talooq</i>	'the peeled banana'
<i>Rim chet</i>	'Rim dies'	<i>Rim tchet</i>	'the dead Rim'
<i>yung plak</i>	'foot breaks'	<i>yung taplak</i>	'the broken foot'

1.5.2 This affix can be identified syntactically in that it always occurs in an adjectival construction. The adjectival function of the prefix is shown by the reversability of the noun and the verb, like that of nouns and adjectives. Predicative verbs cannot reverse positions with either their subject or their object.

<i>ku l6i ao br6ng</i>	'I see the red shirt'
<i>ku l6i ao ta-ih</i>	'I see the sewn shirt'
<i>ku l6i ta-ih ao</i>	'I see the sewn shirt'
<i>ku ih ao</i>	'I sew the shirt'

The adjectivizer prefix has the allomorph *ka-* which occurs with only a few roots. They are the same verb roots which occur with *ka-* causative prefix.

<i>chet</i>	'to die'	<i>anuq kachet</i>	'the dead dog'
<i>suuh</i>	'to poke'	<i>mat kasuuh</i>	'the poked eye'
<i>boq</i>	'to pile up'	<i>thor kab6q</i>	'the piled up letters'

1.6 Involuntary Prefix *ta-* (cf. 4 2)

There is a *ta-* involuntary prefix which is homophonous with the *ta-* causative, *ta-* reciprocal and *ta-* adjectivizer prefixes. Most transitive verb roots can occur with the reciprocal and adjectivizer prefixes, but the number of verb roots which can occur with the involuntary prefix is

more limited. *ta-* involuntary gives to verbs the meaning 'I did it accidentally', or 'the situation forced me to act against my will'. Both transitive and intransitive verbs may occur with the involuntary prefix.

Rim takluh ao 'Rim tore the shirt accidentally'

ku takabók 'I scratch accidentally (on splinter)'

Following is a list of verbs so far found with the involuntary prefix :

<i>loi</i>	'throw away'	<i>ku taloi chana</i>	'I throw away food involuntarily'
<i>ngguh</i>	'bump'	<i>ku tangguh akóq</i>	'I accidentally bump head'
<i>pajuk</i>	'bump'	<i>ku tapajuk akóq</i>	'I accidentally bump head'
<i>lum</i>	'meet'	<i>ku talum Rim</i>	'I met Rim accidentally'
<i>drâng</i>	'starve'	<i>ku tadrâng</i>	'I am starving'
<i>lot</i>	'make mistake'	<i>ku talot</i>	'I make a mistake'
<i>luak</i>	'scald something'	<i>ku taluak</i>	'I accidentally scald (my hand)'
<i>ngjiq</i>	'crack something'	<i>ku tangjiq</i>	'I accidentally crack dish'
<i>katuah</i>	'scrape'	<i>ku takatuah</i>	'I accidentally scrape (on splinter)'
<i>kóóp</i>	'catch'	<i>ku takóóp kadóóng</i>	'I accidentally catch fish'
<i>kabók</i>	'scratch'	<i>ku takabók</i>	'I accidentally scratch (on splinter)'
<i>ntek</i>	'tear'	<i>ku tantek ao</i>	'I accidentally tear shirt'
<i>mbuah</i>	'bump'	<i>ku tambuah</i>	'I bump myself'
<i>kajarik</i>	'scratch'	<i>ku takajarik</i>	'I accidentally scratch (on splinter)'

Usually the transitive roots have an object, but *taloq* and *talóng* do not.

priiq talooq 'banana peels itself'

palóng talóng 'door swings open'

See 1.9 for a discussion of the difference between the involuntary prefix and other homophonous affixes.

ta- has the minor allomorph *pa-* which has only been found in the following verbs :

ku pa ɲ êch 'I cannot stay awake so I go to sleep'

ku pampó 'I dream'

ku padôuq jêên 'I hide money so it will not be stolen.'

1.7 Purpose Prefix *ka-* (cf. 4.5 for *ka-* with nouns)

There is a *ka-* prefix which has the meaning of 'doing an action with purpose, effort'. Sometimes there is also the meaning of continuing action with purpose. On some of these examples it has been difficult to get any firm distinction from the native informant.

ku sir mat 'I close eyes as in sleep'

ku kasir mat 'I close eyes momentarily (deliberately)'

ku sâng 'I hear'

ku kasâng 'I strain to hear'

ku têêng 'I work'

ku katêêng 'I work longer than I need to, don't want to stop'

ku gui 'I carry on back'

ku kagui 'I carry on back continually'

ku kôl 'I buy'

ku kakôl 'I buy many times'

ku geng 'I carry with pole'

ku kageng 'I carry with pole many times'

1.8 Combinations of Prefixes

(1) *Reciprocal Causative tapa-* in which *ta-* is reciprocal and *pa-* causative.

(2) *Involuntary Causative tapa-* in which *ta-* is involuntary and *pa-* causative ; *taka-* in which *ta-* is involuntary and *ka-* causative.

(3) *Adjectivized Causative tapa-* in which *ta-* is adjectivizer and *pa-* causative ; *taka-* in which *ta-* is adjectivizer and *ka-* causative.

(4) *Adjectivized Passive taha-* in which *ta-* is adjectivizer and *ha-* causative passive.

(5) *Double Causative paka-* in which *pa-* and *ka-* are both causative,

(6) *Causative Passive paha-* in which *pa-* is causative and *ha-* causative passive.

The criteria for distinguishing prefixes [by the addition of extra slots, discussed under section 1.9.1, are confirmed by the constructions occurring with combinations of prefixes. When an extra causer slot needs to be added to the construction, an extra causative prefix is added to make it possible. In this way some of the combinations of prefixes are built up. Every verb root which occurs with *tapa-* and *taka-* also occurs with just the causative prefix.

Mêêt lq Rim tapatêng 'Mêêt and Rim make each other work'

Mêêt patêng Rim 'Mêêt makes Rim work'

Not every root however which occurs with *pa-* causative can also occur with *tapa-* :

pa-uach 'cause to dig a hole' * *tapa-uach*

pandôh 'cause to wear' * *tapandôh*

1.8.1 *tapa-* reciprocal causative (cf 2.3, 4.2.2) This prefix may occur with both transitive and intransitive roots. Intransitive roots cannot occur with just *ta-* reciprocal because they do not have an object, but they can occur with *tapa-* because an extra slot is added to the construction.

Mêêt lq Rim tapanal đong 'Mêêt and Rim make each other know the house'

Mêêt lq Rim tapagluh 'Mêêt and Rim make each other go outside'

Following is a list of the verb roots which have been found with *tapa-* reciprocal causative : *ayô* 'to pity', *ḥaq* 'to carry on back', *chauq* 'to tie', *chen* 'to cook', *chiat* 'to cut inanimate things', *chô* 'to return', *chóóm* 'to be able', *chung* 'to share', *daluaq* 'to push', *đork* 'to go west', *duanh* 'to go east', *glâk* 'to carry', *gluh* 'to go outside', *huinh* 'to smell', *huaq* 'to open mouth', *hr* 'to wreck', *kiang* 'to want', *kôl* 'to buy', *luk* 'to mix', *kapuat* 'to squeeze', *lóng* 'to open', *mbiiq* 'to hit', *môt* 'to enter', *nal* 'to know', *ngguh* 'to collide', *mpoh* 'to shoot', *mut* 'to run', *rôq* 'to pull out weeds', *saruum* 'to fall', *sâng* 'to hear', *sooq* 'to flee', *sruuk* 'to slip in mud', *suuh* 'to poke', *teng* 'to scold', *têêng* 'to work', *val* 'to return', *yrah* 'to cure', *yur* 'to rise'.

1.8.2 *tapa-* involuntary causative. This prefix is a combination of *ta-* involuntary and *pa-* causative prefixes. Only a few of the verb roots which

occur with *ta-* involuntary prefix can also occur with *tapa-* involuntary causative. They include transitive and intransitive verbs. Following is a list of these roots: *hur* 'to wreck', *rââm* 'to hope', *sruuk* 'to slip in mud', *duah* 'to be able'.

<i>ku pahur mei chen</i>	'I cause you to break dish'
<i>ku tahur chen</i>	'I break the dish accidentally'
<i>ku tapahur mei chen</i>	'I accidentally cause you to break the dish'

A few verb roots which cannot take *ta-* simple involuntary can occur with *tapa-* involuntary causative. They are intransitive verbs of motion which are also able to occur with *tapa-* reciprocal causative but not with *ta-* reciprocal. They have the involuntary meaning 'the situation forces me to go against my will'. These verbs are the only ones occurring with the causative which do not add an extra causer slot to the construction. Instead the causer seems to be understood, the situation which causes an action to take place. Following is a list of these verbs:

val 'to return', *chô* 'to return', *mut* 'to run', *sooq* 'to flee', *duanh* 'to go east', *đok* 'to go west', *saruum* 'to fall', *môt* 'to enter', *diar* 'to go backwards', *gluh* 'to go outside', *ku tapagluh* 'I go outside against my will'.

taka- involuntary causative. This prefix is a combination of *ta-* involuntary and *ka-* causative prefixes. This combination has only been found with *suuh* 'to poke' and *boq* 'to pile up'. It has not yet been found with *chet* 'to die', although it seems reasonable to assume that it can also occur with this verb.

<i>ku takaboq mei thor</i>	'I accidentally cause you to pile up letters.'
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1.8.3 *tapa-* adjectivized causative is a combination of *ta-* adjectivizer and *pa-* causative prefixes. (cf 2.4.4.2.2) Both transitive and intransitive roots can occur with *tapa-* adjectivized causative. Not all verbs which occur with the simple adjectivizer can occur with the adjectivizer causative. The following verbs have been found with this combination of prefixes: *yur* 'to rise', *chet* 'to die', *ayô* 'to pity', *hur* 'to wreck', *palaang* 'to turn up', *ngguh* 'to collide', *mbiiq* 'to hit', *chen* 'to cook', *rôq* 'to pull out weeds', *huaq* 'to open mouth', *glâk* 'to carry', *luk* 'to mix', *yuah* 'to cure'.

<i>ku payur Rim</i>	'I make Rim rise'
<i>ku lêi tayur Rim</i>	'I see the risen Rim'
<i>ku lêi tapayur Rim</i>	'I see the made-to-rise Rim'
<i>ku payô Rim dó</i>	'I made Rim pity her'
<i>ku lêi tayô Rim</i>	'I see the pitied Rim'
<i>ku lêi tapayô Rim</i>	'I see the made-to-be-pitied Rim'

taka- adjectivized causative is a combination of *ta-* adjectivizer and *ka-* causative prefixes. Only the verbs *boq* 'to pile up', *suuh* 'to poke', and *chet* 'to die' have been found with this combination of prefixes.

<i>ku kachet anuq</i>	'I cause the dog to die'
<i>ku lêi tachet anuq</i>	'I see the dead dog'
<i>ku lêi takachet anuq</i>	'I see the made-dead dog'

1.8.4 **Adjectivized Passive.** *taha-* is a combination of *ta-* adjectivizer and *ha-* causative passive prefixes. Only the verbs *chen* 'to cook', *yur* 'to rise' *ôu* 'to put away', *vurak* 'to scatter', *loq* 'to peel', have been found with this combination of prefixes.

<i>ku hachen aviq</i>	'I cause rice to be cooked'
<i>ku lêi aviq tachen</i>	'I see the cooked rice'
<i>ku lêi aviq tahachen</i>	'I see the made-to-be-cooked rice'

1.8.5 **Double Causative** *paka-* in which *pa-* and *ka-* are both causative. All the verbs which occur with *ka-* causative can occur with *paka-*. (cf 1.2) An intransitive verb occurring with the simple causative adds a causer slot to the construction. To provide another causer slot in this construction another causative prefix must be added.

<i>ku pachet anuq</i>	I cause die dog
	'I cause the dog to die'
<i>ku kachet anuq</i>	I cause die dog
	'I cause the dog to die'
<i>ku pakachet mei anuq</i>	I cause cause die you dog
	'I cause you to cause the dog to die'

A transitive verb occurring with the simple causative prefix adds a causer slot to the construction. If another causer is added to this construction, another causative prefix must be added.

<i>ku pasuuh mei mat</i>	I cause poke you eye 'I cause you to poke the eye'
<i>ku kasuuh mei mat</i>	I cause poke you eye 'I cause you to poke the eye'

ku pakasuuh mei ngguai mat I cause cause poke you stick eye 'I cause you to cause the stick to poke the eye'.

1.8.6 Causative Passive paha- in which *pa* is causative and *ha-* is causative passive.

<i>ku hayur đorok</i>	'I cause water to be raised'
<i>ku payur Rim</i>	'I cause Rim to rise'
<i>ku hayur Rim</i>	'I lift Rim when he is inert'
<i>ku pahayur Rim đorok</i>	I cause cause to be raised water 'I cause Rim to raise water'
<i>ku pahayur Rim dó</i>	I cause cause to be risen Rim him 'I cause Rim to lift him'

1.9 Differentiation and Distribution of the Prefixes.

1.9.1 Structural Differences between the Prefixes. The nominalizer, causative, causative passive, reciprocal, adjectivizer, involuntary and purpose prefixes can be distinguished from each other structurally in the following ways. Nominalizing affixes can be distinguished from other affixes in that they are found on verb roots in noun positions.

<i>ku ten (ləq) tanen</i>	'I hammer (with) a hammer'
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The causative can be recognized by the addition of a causer slot.

<i>Rim goot sok</i>	'Rim cut hair'
<i>Rim tagoot dó sok</i>	Rim cause cut him hair 'Rim causes him to cut hair'
<i>Rim val</i>	'Rim returns'
<i>Rim paval dó</i>	Rim causes return him 'Rim causes him to return'

The object and causer slots are not always filled but are always potential. Occurrences of the causative construction without a causer may be transformed to a construction with a causer. Following are samplings

of constructions without an object and without a causer.

<i>Rim paval</i>	Rim cause return 'Rim causes (someone) to return'
<i>Rim tagoot dó</i>	Rim cause cut hair him 'Rim causes him to cut (hair)'

The causative passive can be recognized by the form of the prefix and by several features distinct to this prefix. Some verbs with *ha-* add an extra slot to the construction and others do not. These constructions sometimes have a second subject which is always inert or inanimate.

<i>ku hachen aviq</i>	I cause to be cooked rice 'I cause rice to be cooked'
<i>ku hayur dook</i>	I cause to be raised water 'I cause water to be raised'

The reciprocal can be recognized by the concurrent obligatory addition of another subject slot.

<i>ku nal Rim</i>	'I know Rim'
<i>ku loq Rim tanal</i>	I and Rim know each other 'Rim and I know each other'
<i>nhang tanal</i>	'We know each other'

The adjectivizer can be recognized by its occurrence only in adjectival constructions. Adjectival constructions can be distinguished from other similar-appearing constructions by the reversability of the noun and adjective positions.

<i>ku lèi tagoot sok</i>	'I saw the cut hair'
<i>ku lèi sok tagoot</i>	'I saw the cut hair'

In an *involuntary construction*, *Rim lèi dó tadrâng* 'Rim saw him starving' may occur. But an involuntary construction does not have free reversability of word order to **Rim lèi tadrâng dó*, showing that it is not an adjectivizer construction.

The *involuntary*. When this prefix is added to a verb stem, there is no change in the construction.

<i>Rim loi chana</i>	'Rim throws away food'
<i>Rim taloi chana</i>	'Rim throws away food involuntarily'

The *purpose prefix*. When this prefix is added to a verb stem, there

is no change in the construction. Constructions containing the purpose prefix can be distinguished from involuntary constructions by the difference in the form of the prefix, and by the verb roots occurring with it, which are mutually exclusive with the roots occurring with the involuntary prefix.

ku sâng 'I hear'
ku kasâng 'I strain to hear'

1.9.2 Distribution of the Prefixes. Some verb roots which occur with *ta-* causative also occur with *ta-* reciprocal prefix. Following is a sampling of these verbs.

<i>looq</i>	'to peel'	<i>talooq</i>	'cause to peel'
		<i>talooq</i>	'peel each other's (banana)'
<i>lóng</i>	'to open'	<i>talóng</i>	'cause to open'
		<i>talóng</i>	'open each other's (door)'
<i>panh</i>	'to shoot'	<i>tapanh</i>	'cause to shoot'
		<i>tapanh</i>	'shoot each other'
<i>prah</i>	'to wash hair'	<i>taprah</i>	'cause to wash hair'
		<i>taprah</i>	'wash each other's hair'

Only two verbs have been found able to occur with *pa-* causative, *ta-* causative, and *ta-* reciprocal prefixes. They are *mbiiq* 'to hit' and *looq* 'to peel'.

<i>ku pambiiq Rim anuq</i>	'I make Rim hit the dog'
<i>ku tambiiq Rim anuq</i>	'I make Rim hit the dog'
<i>ku loq Rim tambiiq</i>	'Rim and I hit each other'

The following verbs take *ta-* causative, *ta-* involuntary, *ta-* adjectivizer and *ta-* reciprocal prefixes: *looq* 'to peel', *lóng* 'to open', *lum* 'to meet', *plak* 'to break', *panh* 'to shoot', *briaq* 'to sew string on drum'.

Just as the *ta-* reciprocal and *pa-* causative prefixes are the most frequent of the simple prefixes, so the *tapa-* reciprocal causative is the most frequent of the combinations of prefixes.

2. Affixes on Adjective Roots

2.1 Nominalizer *pa-*

There are a few examples of the nominalizer converting an adjective to a noun. *pa-* is the most common form of the nominalizer, with one

example of *an-* Following is a list of the adjectives so far found occurring with the nominalizer :

<i>kâng</i> 'thick'	<i>kanâng</i> 'thickness'
<i>êêp</i> 'short'	<i>pa-êêp</i> 'shortness'
<i>dil</i> 'smooth'	<i>padil</i> 'smoothness'
<i>yaal</i> 'long'	<i>payaal</i> 'length'
<i>glâp</i> 'right size'	<i>paglâp</i> 'rightness of size'
<i>deng</i> 'right size'	<i>padeng</i> 'rightness of size'
<i>dyâp</i> 'enough'	<i>padyâp</i> 'sufficiency'
<i>ʔok</i> 'many'	<i>pa ʔok</i> 'many'
<i>bət</i> 'all'	<i>pabət</i> 'all'
<i>jaaq</i> 'costly'	<i>janaaq</i> 'cost'

The root adjective and derived noun occur together in a question sentence. The order of derived noun and root word is reversible. This contrasts with the nominalized verbs described under sec. 1.1.

mơ kâng kanâng how much thick thickness 'how thick ?'

mơ kanâng kâng how much thickness thick 'how thick ?'

Answer *kâng* 'thick'

2.2 *pa-* Causative

pa- causative occurs with most adjectives. It functions as a verbalizer and adds an object slot to the construction. (cf 1.2) Following is a sampling of adjectives with this prefix :

<i>liam</i> 'good'	<i>ku paliam katiak</i>	I make good ground 'I make ground good'
<i>môôp</i> 'bad'	<i>ku pamôôp katiak</i>	I make bad ground 'I make ground bad'
<i>rông</i> 'wide'	<i>ku parông palóng</i>	I make wide doorway 'I make doorway wide'
<i>ramaq</i> 'fat'	<i>ku paramaq akóón</i>	I make fat child 'I fatten child'
<i>ooch</i> 'thin'	<i>ku pa-ooch akóón</i>	I make thin child 'I make child thin'
<i>nhơơp</i> 'dirty'	<i>ku panhơơp đong</i>	I make dirty house 'I dirty house'

<i>khung</i>	'rotten'	<i>ku pakhung aviq</i>	I make rotten rice 'I caused rice to rot'
<i>nnaq</i>	'rotten'	<i>ku pannaq aviq</i>	I make rotten rice 'I cause rice to rot'
<i>chariat</i>	'cold'	<i>ku pachariat aviq</i>	I make cold rice 'I make rice cold'
<i>tam</i>	'black'	<i>ku patam nli</i>	I make black skirt 'I make skirt black'

2.3 *tapa-* Reciprocal Causative with Adjectives (cf 1,8.1)

All the adjectives so far found occurring with *pa-* causative can also occur with *tapa-* reciprocal causative.

<i>nhang tapanhōop đong</i>	'we make each other's house dirty'
<i>nhang taparamaq akóón</i>	'we make each other's children fat'
<i>nhang tapachariat aviq</i>	'we make each other's rice cold'

2.4 *tapa-* Adjectivized Causative with Adjectives (cf 1,8.3)

All the adjectives so far found with *pa-* causative can also occur with *tapa-* adjectivized causative.

<i>ku lèi tapanhōop đong</i>	'I see the made dirty house'
<i>ku lèi taparamaq akóón</i>	'I see the made fat child'
<i>ku lèi tapachariat aviq</i>	'I see the made cold rice'

2.5 Adverbialized Adjective Roots *pa-*, *tapa-*, *ta-*

pa- and *tapa-* may occur with adjective roots and function as adverbs.

<i>ku chô paliam</i>	'I return well'	<i>liam</i>	'good'
<i>ku praaq parông</i>	'I speak loudly'	<i>rông</i>	'wide'
<i>ku têêng pamôp</i>	'I work dirtily'	<i>môp</i>	'bad'
<i>ku têêng panhōop</i>	'I work dirtily'	<i>nhōop</i>	'dirty'
<i>ku têêng pantua</i>	'I work differently'	<i>ntua</i>	'different'
<i>ku têêng payaal</i>	'I work make long'	<i>yaal</i>	'long'
<i>ku têêng pagamak</i>	'I work make big'	<i>gamak</i>	'big'
	'I do important work'		

ku têng pakatwîq I work make small *katwîq* 'small'
'I do unimportant work'

Only a few of the above adjective roots can occur with *tapa-* :

ku praaq taparông 'I speak loudly'

ku têng tapayaal I make long 'I pretend to be tall'

tambreh tambrel (root is *breh brel*) 'figured', is an adjective which can also function as an adverb.

ku ve ao breh brel 'I have a figured shirt'

Causative

ku ve ao tambreh tambrel 'I have a made figured shirt'

Adverbial

ku saraq tambreh tambrel 'I did figured writing'

3. Affixes on Adverb Roots

pa- and *ta-* on adverb roots seem to have a meaning of purpose, or of continuing action with purpose, although it has been difficult to get any firm distinction from the native informant. (cf 1.7) These adverbs occur with verbs of working, speaking, or thinking.

ku praaq padian I speak asking 'I ask' *padian* 'asking'

ku praaq tapadian 'I keep on asking'

ku praaq pachei I speak want to speak well

ku praaq tapachei 'I want to speak well' *pachei* 'want well'

ku ahâm kasuung I breathe out of breath 'I am out of breath'

ku ahâm takasuung *kasuung* 'out of breath'

ku vôiq nsiin 'I go slowly' *nsiin* 'slow'

ku vôiq pansiin ~ *ku vôiq tansiin* 'I go slowly, deliberately'

ku têng dah 'I work quickly' *dah* 'fast'

ku têng padah 'I work quickly'

ku têng jih 'I work slowly' *jih* 'slow'

ku têng pajih 'I work slowly'

ku ahâm panhurat 'I breathe quickly' *nhurat* 'fast'

nhang vôiq jarom 'we go together' *jarom* 'together'

nhang vôiq pajarom 'we go together'

4. Affixes on Noun Roots

4.1 Nominalizer -an-

This infix gives the derived noun the meaning of 'content', 'that which is inside'. Only five instances of this have been found.

<i>che</i>	'a vehicle'	<i>chane</i>	'load in a vehicle'
<i>joong</i>	'a rice house'	<i>janjoong</i>	'load of rice in rice house'
<i>dong</i>	'a house'	<i>danong</i>	'household'
<i>tróm</i>	'purple fruit'	<i>taróm</i>	'juice of purple fruit'
<i>tâm</i>	'a root'	<i>tândâm</i>	'branches of root'

When the root noun and the derived noun occur together in a sentence, the derived noun immediately precedes the root noun, with no preposition between them.

<i>ku ve chane che</i>	'I have a load on the car'
<i>ku ve janjoong joong</i>	'I have a rice house full of rice'
<i>ku ve danong dong</i>	'I have a household in the house'

4.2. Verbalizer *pa-*, *pa-* and *ta-* causative occur with nouns, converting them to verbs. There is also one occurrence of *ha-* causative passive making a noun into a verb, and one occurrence each of *ta-* involuntary and *ta-* adjectivizer.

<i>nhwam</i>	'pattern on skirt,	<i>panhwam</i>	'to make pattern on skirt'
<i>ahaam</i>	'blood'	<i>pahaam</i>	'to cause to bleed'
<i>alung</i>	'silver in skirt'	<i>palung</i>	'to make silver in skirt' or 'sew silver into skirt'
<i>akoonh</i>	'father'	<i>pakoonh</i>	'to father, beget'
<i>akan</i>	'mother'	<i>pakan</i>	'to mother'
<i>akóq</i>	'head'	<i>takóq akóq</i>	'to bump head'
<i>nuut</i>	'a button'	<i>panuut</i>	'to button'
<i>ateet</i>	'rust'	<i>pa teet</i>	'to rust'

ha- causative passive prefix with a noun :

<i>adiiq</i>	'wind'	<i>hadiiq</i>	'to be fanned (make wind)'
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ta- involuntary prefix :

<i>brwang</i>	'light'	<i>tabrwang</i>	'lightning flashes'
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adjectivizer prefix :

akóq 'head' *ku lèi takóq akóq* 'I see the bumped head'

4.2.1 Combinations of prefixes on noun roots. *tapa-* reciprocal causative which combines *ta-* reciprocal and *pa-* causative verbalizer.

nhang tapanhram nli 'we make a pattern on each other's skirt'

nhang tapahaam 'we make each other bleed'

nhang tapalung 'we sew silver into each other's skirts'

nhang tapanuut ao 'we button each other's shirts'

There is one example of *tata-*, which combines *ta-* reciprocal and *ta-* causative prefixes.

nhang tatakóq akóq 'we bump each other's heads'

taha- reciprocal causative passive combines *ta-* reciprocal and *ha-* causative passive prefixes.

nhang tahadiiq 'we cause each other to be fanned'

tapa- adjectivized causative combines *ta-* adjectivizer and *pa-* causative prefixes.

ku lèi tapanhram nli 'I see the made patterned skirt'

ku lèi tapahaam Rim 'I see the made to bleed Rim'

ku lèi tapalung nli 'I see the made silver skirt'

ku lèi tapakoonh Rim 'I see the fathered Rim'

taha- adjectivized causative passive combines *ta-* adjectivizer and *ha-* causative passive prefixes.

ku pahadiiq mei Rim I cause to be fanned you Rim

'I cause you to cause Rim to be fanned'

4.3 Adjectivizers *ta-*, *tapa-*

Prefixes occur with a few nouns, converting them to adjectives. It is expected that more examples of the adjectivizer will be found.

adi 'younger child' *akóon tadi* 'younger child'

tu 'top' *akóon tapatu* 'child of 2nd wife'

tââm 'bottom' *akóon tapatôâm* 'child of 1st wife'

tór 'end' *dong tatór* 'the end house'

4.4 One *ma-*

ma- is a bound allomorph of *mui* 'one', and is the most frequent affix found on nouns. It can also occur on classifiers and adjectives.

<i>maswang</i>	'one arm's spread'	<i>aswang</i>	'armspread'
<i>makase</i>	'one month'	<i>kase</i>	'month'
<i>madiq</i>	'one place'	<i>diq</i>	'place'
<i>mabeq</i>	'one classifier'	<i>abeq</i>	'classifier'
<i>mabing</i>	'one full'	<i>bing</i>	'full'
<i>masâang</i>	'one five'	<i>sâang</i>	'five'

4.5 Pluralizer *ka-*

ka- occurs with a few nouns and means 'many'.

<i>gaak</i>	'beam'	<i>kagaak</i>	'many beams'
<i>surq</i>	'home country'	<i>kasurq</i>	'home country emphasizing many villages'

5. Affixes on Numbers

Prefixes are not found extensively on numbers in Katu.

5.1 Prefix *ma-*

ma- is prefixed to numbers, and is a bound allomorph of *mui* 'one'. Only five, ten, one hundred, which are units, can occur with *ma-*. It is the prefix most often found on numbers.

<i>sâang</i>	'five'	<i>masâang</i>	'one five'
<i>jêt</i>	'ten'	<i>majêt</i>	'one ten'
<i>hariang</i>	'hundred'	<i>mahariang</i>	'one hundred'

5.2 Prefix *ta-*

ta- can be prefixed to the numbers one, two, three, four, five, ten and a hundred. *ta-* has only been found with numbers occurring with the word 'hours', a borrowed word. The numbers seven (*tapól*), eight (*takól*), and nine (*taklah*) have a *ta-* presyllable so they are not prefixed. Six (*sapat*) does not have a *ta-* presyllable and neither is it prefixed.

<i>mui, tamui</i>	'one'
<i>ḥoʀ, ta ḥoʀ</i>	'two'
<i>pe, tape</i>	'three'
<i>puan, tapuan</i>	'four'
<i>sâang, tasâang</i>	'five'
<i>jêt, tajêt</i>	'ten'
<i>tajêt mui</i>	'eleven'
<i>tape jêt mui</i>	'thirty one'
<i>hariang, tahariang</i>	'hundred'

When the double of a number is given or when two numbers are added together, both numbers are prefixed.

<i>tamui tamui</i>	'one one'	(two)
<i>tasâang tasâang</i>	'five five'	(ten)
<i>tamui ta ḥoʀ</i>	'one two'	(three)

5.3 Prefix ka-

ka- seems to have a meaning of 'many', emphasizing 'how many'.

<i>kape manuih</i>	'three people'
<i>kapuan manuih</i>	'four people'

