

Verbal affixation in Pac^oh

SAUNDRA K. WATSON

0. Introduction
1. <Pa-> Causative prefix
2. <Tar-> Reciprocal affix
3. <Par-> Causative-reciprocal prefix
4. <Ti-> Resultant-state prefix
5. <Ta- > Involuntary prefix
6. <Par-> Nominalized-action prefix
7. <-an-> Nominalizer infix
8. Continuative reduplicated prefix
9. <Ca- > Completive prefix
10. <N-> Pretence prefix
11. <Pi-> Causative verbalizing prefix

O. Introduction

Affixation is of particular interest in Pac^oh¹ because of its widespread use in the language. Affixes occur on verbs, nouns, pronouns, modifiers, numbers, kinship terms and others. Affixation in Pac^oh consists of prefixes and infixes.

1 Pac^oh is a member of the Mon-Khmer language family and is spoken by approximately eight to ten thousand people in Thừa-Thiên Province of Vietnam. It may be mutually intelligible with some dialects of Ta-Oi in Laos.

I am indebted to our language informant, Cubuat, for providing the data used in this analysis. His ability to write text material illustrating the use of the different morphemes has greatly facilitated my analysis.

I wish to express my appreciation to David D. Thomas, also of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for his suggestions and help in the organization and presentation of this paper.

A noteworthy feature of Pacóh affixation is the contrastiveness of vowel which occur in open-syllable prefixes (e. g. *a, i, u*). This type of vowel contrast in prefixes has not been reported before in a Mon-Khmer language, to my knowledge. Prefixes in Mon-Khmer languages are primarily consonantal² with a neutral vowel. Pacóh has a similar vowel neutralization, but only in closed-syllable prefixes. This neutralized vowel [ə] in written *a*.³

The phonological word in Pacóh can be summarized as : \pm presyllable ($C_1V \pm C_2$) + main syllable. The morphological division of monosyllabic root plus prefix corresponds to the phonological division of main syllable plus presyllable. Morphologically complex words (i. e. monosyllabic or disyllabic roots with affixes) are bound by the same phonological limits as morphologically simple words.

Among Pacóh verbs, disyllabic roots are a definite minority. It is supposed that many of the roots which are now considered to be disyllabic may prove to be root plus affix upon further investigation. For example, the verb *padâm* 'to oppress' may be said to consist of *pa*- 'causative' prefix plus the root *dâm* although *dâm* does not occur in the data as a free form.

This paper presents the affixes which occur with verb roots and the verbalizing affixes which occur on non-verb roots. The affixes discussed in this paper are derivational. Pacóh has two prefixes which can occur with all monosyllabic verbs and may be considered inflectional. These prefixes, *u*- 'third person singular pronoun' and *i*- 'indefinite person pronoun' are discussed in an article on pronouns⁴ and in an article on clause structure.⁵

In text material, approximately one out of every two sentences will contain an affixed word with affixed verbs making up the greatest part of this number. The Pacóh dictionary currently contains 685

Judith M. Jacob, "Prefixation and Infixation in Old Mon, Old Khmer, and Modern, 2 Khmer", in *Linguistic Comparison in South East Asia and Pacific*, ed. by H. L. Shorto School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1963).

3 Richard L. Watson "Pacóh Phonemes", *Mon-Khmer Studies* I, by Banker, Miller. Watson and Thomas, Linguistic Circle of Saigon and Summer Institute of Linguistics (1964)

4 Sandra K. Watson, "Personal Pronouns in Pacóh" *Mon-Khmer Studies* I, Saigon, (1964)
Richard L. Watson "Pacoh Clause Structure" (to be published).

monosyllabic verbs and 430 disyllabic verbs from which this study was made. The number of occurrences is stated in parenthesis after the affix and its allomorphs.

1. <Pa-> Causative prefix.

The causative prefix <pa-> means 'to cause, allow or be responsible for an action taking place.' <Pa-> has allomorphs *pa-* (206), *ta-* (62), *a-* (14), *ca-* (3), *pi-* (9), and *ti-* (5). *Pa-* can also occur with twenty-eight of the verbs that *ta-* does and with seven of the verbs that *a-* does. *Pa-* and *ta-* can both occur with two of the verbs that *ti-* does. It is not possible to predict which verbs will be able to take the causative. Neither is it possible to predict, entirely, which allomorphs of the causative prefix will occur with which verbs. Although the allomorphs of the causative prefix are not strictly conditioned there are some phonological trends which can be recognized. A verb root beginning with *b* or *p* is more likely to take the *ta-* allomorph while a verb root beginning with *t* will take the *pa-* allomorph.

Some examples of words which take the causative prefix are :

<i>cláq</i> 'to prop'	<i>pacláq</i> 'to cause to prop'
<i>cláu</i> 'to answer riddle'	<i>pacláu</i> 'to ask riddle'
<i>dêr</i> 'to shatter'	<i>padêr</i> 'to cause to shatter'
<i>hêar</i> 'to scream'	<i>pahear</i> 'to cause to scream'
<i>hoc</i> 'to study, learn'	<i>pahoc</i> 'to teach'
<i>kéo</i> 'to hug'	<i>pakéo</i> 'to cause to hug'
<i>ôi</i> 'to reply'	<i>pa-ôi</i> 'to cause to reply'
<i>bíq</i> 'to lie down'	<i>pabíq</i> 'to cause to lie down'
<i>cuam</i> 'to wrap in blanket'	<i>pa- tacuam</i> 'to cause to wrap in blanket'
<i>hôm</i> 'to bathe (oneself)'	<i>tahôm</i> 'to bathe (another)'
<i>mốt</i> 'to go in'	<i>pa- amốt</i> 'to take in'
<i>xâr</i> 'to go up'	<i>axâr</i> 'to raise up'
<i>yõr</i> 'to stand'	<i>ayõr</i> 'to cause to stand'
<i>píng</i> 'to cover'	<i>capíng</i> 'to cause to cover'
<i>hao</i> 'to spend'	<i>pihao</i> 'to cause to spend'
<i>tỏq</i> 'to pour'	<i>pitỏq</i> 'to cause to pour'

cốt 'to bend double'

tiốt 'to cause to bend double'

deng 'to heat'

tiđeng 'to cause to heat'

Causative prefixes occur primarily with monosyllabic verb roots. However, the allomorph *pa* — does occur with some (20) disyllabic verb roots replacing the presyllables.

adu 'to get under shade'

padu 'to put under shade'

ahét 'to smell'

pahét 'to cause to smell'

angô 'to rest'

pangô 'to cause to rest'

anhôi 'to play'

panhôi 'to cause to play'

aruam 'to land on spike'

paruam 'to cause to land on
spike'

ayurn 'to dance'

payurn 'to cause to dance'

rngâyh 'to think'

pangâyh 'to cause to think'

rngih 'to think'

pangih 'to cause to think'

When a causative verb is used in a clause the object slot can be filled, in its fullest form, by a clause. The components which make up this clause filling the object slot differ according to whether the verb is a transitive causative verb or an intransitive causative verb. Transitive causative verbs are formed from transitive verb roots and intransitive causative verbs are formed from intransitive verb roots.

(1) Transitive causative verbs. The clause filling the object slot following a transitive causative verb is composed of: Actor - Verb root-Goal.

Acáp ngâh pa-ac a-em ac achiu 'Don't you allow-play child play knife' 'Don't you let the child play with the knife'.

The object slot in a clause containing a transitive causative verb may be filled by a clause or by a part of a clause as seen in the examples below:

a. Actor only

Acáp ngâh pa-ac a-em 'Don't you allow-play child'

b. Actor + Goal (occurring contiguously)

Acáp ngâh pa-ac a-em achiu 'Don't you allow play child knife'

c. Goal

Acáp ngâh pa-ac achiu 'Don't you allow-play knife' (here the actor is understood).

When the object slot is filled by a single noun, the situation seems to

indicate whether it is the actor or the goal.

Transitive causative verbs can be further subdivided by the requirement of some verbs to repeat the verb root in the clause which fills the object slot. It is not possible to predict which verbs will occur in each subdivision.

(a) With some transitive causative verbs it is necessary to repeat the verb root when both the actor and goal occur in the clause which fills the object slot. For example :

Pacha a-em cha dôi 'Cause-eat child eat rice'

Some verbs in this category are :

pacha 'to cause to eat'

pacui 'to cause to carry on back'

padai 'to cause to wear (loincloth)'

padoal 'to cause to carry on shoulder'

(b) With some transitive causative verbs the repetition of the verb root with actor and goal is optional.

Acâp ngâh pa-ac a-em achiu 'Don't you cause-play child knife'

or :
Acâp ngâh pa-ac a-em ac achiu 'Don't you allow-play child play knife'

Some verbs in this category are :

pa—ac 'to cause to play with'

pacáp 'to cause to bite'

pacóng 'to cause to wear on wrist'

pacrang 'to cause to carry between two people'

Below is a listing of some of the transitive causative verbs :

pa—ac 'to cause to play with'

pa—âq 'to cause to do without'

pacleau 'to cause to carry at waist'

paclin 'to cause to stare'

pabram 'to cause to chew'

pacuam 'to cause to roll up (in blanket)'

pa—ep 'to allow to demand'

pakto 'to cause to roast (fish)'

tacóng 'to cause to wear on wrist'

taheng 'to cause to warm by fire'

tangoiq 'to cause to drink'

taxip 'to cause to wear'

(2) Intransitive causative verbs. The clause filling the object slot following an intransitive causative verb is composed of : Actor \pm Verb root
Ngâh paclôn a-em clôn 'You cause-play child play' or *Ngâh paclôn a-em* 'You cause-play child' (In this second example the verb root is understood).

However, when an inanimate or inactive animate item fills the object slot the verb root cannot occur (e.g. *May paxâr acốq cừ tồq dúng* 'You take up my bushknife to house' but not : *May paxâr acốq cừ xâr tồq dúng* 'You take up my bushknife go up to house').

Below is a listing of some of the intransitive causative verbs :

pa-át 'to cause to be at'

paclôn 'to cause to play'

paclua 'to cause to slip down'

pacốp 'to cause to bow'

pacốy 'to cause to lie down (animal)'

paxâr 'to cause to go up (take up)'

payôr 'to cause to stand up'

2. <Tar > Reciprocal affix.

The meaning of the reciprocal affix is 'to do something to each other'. It sometimes carries the idea of antagonism. (Tar-) has two allomorphs : the prefix *tar-* which occurs with monosyllabic verb roots, and the infix *-r-* (phonemically /-ər-/) which occurs with disyllabic verb roots. The verb root can optionally be repeated after a reciprocal verb (e.g. *tông* 'to talk *tartông* (*tông*) 'to talk to each other' ; *cacháng* 'to laugh' *carcháng* (*cháng*) 'to laugh at each other').

The reciprocal is one of the most common affixes in the language occurring with 467 monosyllabic verb roots and with 151 disyllabic verb roots.

Some of the verbs which can take this affix are :

chao 'to threaten'

tarchao 'to threaten each other'

chât 'to stab'

tarchât 'to stab each other'

bôn 'to have'

tarbôn 'to have each other' (marriage)

<i>tiq</i> 'to obey'	<i>tartiq</i> 'to obey each other'
<i>tông</i> 'to talk'	<i>tartông</i> 'to talk to each other'
<i>xua</i> 'to look for'	<i>tarxua</i> 'to look for each other'
<i>cáp</i> 'to bite'	<i>tarcáp</i> 'to bite each other'
<i>acuan</i> 'to hit'	<i>rcuan</i> 'to hit each other'
<i>achung</i> 'to instruct'	<i>rchung</i> 'to instruct each other'
<i>ahét</i> 'to smell'	<i>rhét</i> 'to smell each other'
<i>cacháng</i> 'to laugh'	<i>cárcháng</i> 'to laugh at each other'
<i>cuhong</i> 'to glare'	<i>carhong</i> 'to glare at each other'
<i>culet</i> 'to stick out tongue'	<i>carlet</i> 'to stick out tongue at each other'
<i>kidúh</i> 'to bump'	<i>cardúh</i> 'to bump each other'
<i>kidyól</i> 'to cling to'	<i>cardyól</i> 'to cling to each other'

A phonemic note should be added here to explain why the *r-* in *rcuan*, *rchung*, *rhét*, etc. is considered an infix rather than a prefix. The presyllable in Pacòh, according to the predominant C and V pattern, consists of C₁V ± C₂. Therefore, words written as vowel-initial have been interpreted phonemically as /? V/ (*acuan* /?akuan/). Words written with a single nasal or liquid in the presyllable have been interpreted phonemically as /? a C/ (*rcuan* /?arkuan/). Thus the affixed *r-* above can be seen as infixing into the presyllable.

3. <Par-> Causative-reciprocal prefix.

The meaning of this causative-reciprocal prefix is 'to cause each other to act'. The prefix <par-> with its allomorphs *par-* (38) and *car-* (4) is a combination of two affixes — the causative prefix <pa-> with two of its allomorphs *pa-* and *ca-* and the reciprocal infix *-r-* which is an allomorph of <tar->. This is the only known case of two affixes occurring simultaneously on a verb root in Pacòh.

The causative-reciprocal verb can be optionally followed by the verb root, as can the reciprocal verb (e.g. *parclâu clâu* 'to cause each other to answer').

Some examples of causative-reciprocal verbs are given below.

chom 'to know' *parchom* 'to cause each other to know'

<i>cha</i> 'to eat'	<i>parcha</i> 'to cause each other to eat'
<i>châu</i> 'to argue'	<i>car-/parchâu</i> 'to cause each other to argue'
<i>dốc</i> 'to be angry'	<i>pardốc</i> 'to cause each other to be angry'
<i>hêng</i> 'to warm by fire'	<i>parhêng</i> 'to cause each other to warm by fire'
<i>hôm</i> 'to bathe'	<i>parhôm</i> 'to cause each other to bathe'

4. <Ti-> Resultant - state prefix.⁶

<Ti-> occurs on some monosyllabic verbs; the word formed by adding the prefix expresses a resultant state. The prefixed verb fills the predicate slot in a 'resultant-state' clause. This prefixed verb can take an object but not a subject.

Examples of sentences containing a resultant-state clause:

xeang táq ngéq ticut abúng 'Wind made all broken bamboo'

Along catính do cõh tidâyh pilau 'Tree hit him so broken leg'

<Ti-> has two allomorphs, *ti-* (12) and *tu-* (2). Verbs which have been found to occur with the 'resultant-state' prefix are listed below:

<i>áh</i> 'to divide'	<i>ti - áh</i> 'to be divided, split'
<i>caq</i> 'to straighten'	<i>ticaq</i> 'to be straightened'
<i>cløq</i> 'to push'	<i>ticløq</i> 'to be pushed'
<i>dâyh</i> 'to break'	<i>tidâyh</i> 'to be broken'
<i>heq</i> 'to tear'	<i>tiheq</i> 'to be torn'
<i>cut</i> 'to break down'	<i>ticut</i> 'to be broken down'
<i>lai</i> 'to cast, unroll'	<i>tilai</i> 'to be unrolled'
<i>ngõp</i> 'to duck head'	<i>tingõp</i> 'to be lowered (head)'
<i>óh</i> 'to snap (break)'	<i>ti - óh</i> 'to be snapped'
<i>viaq</i> 'to wring, twist'	<i>tiviaq</i> 'to be twisted'
<i>xõn</i> 'to push, crowd'	<i>tixõn</i> 'to be mussed up, wrinkled'
<i>yot</i> 'to stretch'	<i>tiyot</i> 'to be stretched'
<i>pil</i> 'to pull out hair or feathers'	<i>tupil</i> 'to be pulled out'
<i>põh</i> 'to open (door)'	<i>tupõh</i> 'to be opened'

6 This resembles the affixes called 'attributive' by Jacob and 'passive' by Banker (*Mon-Khmer Studies I*, by Banker, Miller, Watson and Thomas, Linguistic Circle of Saigon and Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1964).

5. <Ta-> Involuntary prefix.

<Ta-> has the meaning 'involuntary or accidental action'. It can occur with many (346) monosyllabic verbs but is not found on disyllabic verb roots.

<i>cha</i> 'to eat'	<i>tacha</i> 'to eat accidentally'
<i>chôh</i> 'to plant'	<i>tachôh</i> 'to plant accidentally'
<i>chóng</i> 'to burn'	<i>tachông</i> 'to burn accidentally'
<i>dyeal</i> 'to take'	<i>tadyeal</i> 'to take accidentally'
<i>lúq</i> 'to pull'	<i>talúq</i> 'to pull accidentally'
<i>nhông</i> 'to look at'	<i>tanhông</i> 'to look at accidentally'
<i>pêh</i> 'to shoot'	<i>tapêh</i> 'to shoot accidentally'

Whenever the *ta-* prefix is used the function word *cray* is obligatory to the construction. *Cray* can also be used alone with unaffixed verbs to mean 'involuntary or accidental action.'

Cray cr cha dôi amiang ' (Accidentally) I ate rice brother's '

Cr cray tacha dôi amiang ' I accidentally ate rice brother's '

The 'involuntary' verb in its affixed form can be optionally preceded by a reduplicative particle which is formed by putting the first consonant of the verb with *-áh* (e.g. *cháh tacha*, *láh talúq*, *páh tapêh*).

Cr cray cháh tacha dôi amiang 'I accidentally ate rice brother's '

6. <Par-> Nominalized-action prefix.

This prefix nominalizes the action of the verb and has the meaning 'the doing of something.' <Par-> occurs with almost all monosyllabic verb roots and with some disyllabic verbs. The allomorphs of <par-> are: (a) those which occur with monosyllabic verbs-- *par-* (523), *pa-* (82--all of which can also occur with *par-*), *ta-* (1) and *-an-* (3); (b) those which occur with disyllabic verbs -- *par-* (15 -- occur on disyllabic verbs with *a*-presyllable) and *-r-* (22). This *-r-* allomorph is infixal like the *-r-* allomorph of <tar-> (see 1.2).

Examples of nominalized-action prefix with monosyllabic verbs:

<i>a</i> 'to say'	<i>par-a</i> 'the saying'
<i>âng</i> 'to roast'	<i>par-âng</i> 'the roasting'
<i>bíq</i> 'to lie down'	<i>parbíq</i> 'the lying-down'

<i>bõy</i> 'to salt'	<i>parbõy</i> 'the salting'
<i>cat</i> 'to burn (food)'	<i>parcat</i> 'the burning'
<i>hõm</i> 'to bathe'	<i>parhõm</i> 'the bathing'
<i>keat</i> 'to cut around'	<i>pa-/parkeat</i> 'the cutting around'
<i>píq</i> 'to dig'	<i>parpíq</i> 'the digging'
<i>boan</i> 'to pile up'	<i>ta-/pa-/parboan</i> 'the piling up'
<i>clõn</i> 'to play'	<i>callõn</i> 'the playing' (=parclõn)
<i>coiq</i> 'to sharpen'	<i>canoiq</i> 'the sharpening' (=parcoiq)
<i>põc</i> 'to go'	<i>p.inõc</i> 'the going' (=parpõc)

Examples of nominalized-action prefix with disyllabic verbs:

<i>achâng</i> 'to measure'	<i>rchâng</i> 'the measuring'
<i>achwng</i> 'to instruct'	<i>rchwng</i> 'the instructing'
<i>angõ</i> 'to rest'	<i>parngõ</i> 'the resting'
<i>arao</i> 'to broadcast'	<i>parrao</i> 'the broadcasting'
<i>caléc</i> 'to tickle'	<i>carléc</i> 'the tickling'
<i>cavat</i> 'to scratch'	<i>carvat</i> 'the scratching'
<i>pahoc</i> 'to teach'	<i>parhoc</i> 'the teaching'

7. <-an-> Nominalizer infix.⁷

(-an-) occurs with a verb root and forms a noun which is the result of the action, the instrument used in doing the action, or the location of the action. These meanings may be determined by placing one of the following words between the verb root and the noun formed: *cõh* 'so, then' shows that the noun is the result; *dâng* 'by, with' shows that the noun is the instrument; and *na* 'direction, place' shows that the noun is the location. For example:

- *clanh cõh callanh* 'braid so braided-thing'
- *cláq dâng calláq* 'prop with a prop'
- *pear na panear* 'go-along-edge place path-along-edge'

(A few exceptions have been found which will not take the three words above. *Cha* 'to eat' *tanna* 'food'; *clâm* 'to put whole piece of food in mouth at once' *callâm* 'the whole piece').

(-an-) occurs with both monosyllabic (106) and disyllabic (42) verb roots.

7 The result nouns are similar to Jacob's 'object made', instrument nouns are Jacob's 'utensil'.

The infix (-an-) has allomorphs -an- (32), -ann- (4), -al- (27), -ar- (16), -arn- (17), -n- (4) which occur with monosyllabic verb roots. The morphophonemic rules governing the occurrences of the allomorphs of (-an-) with monosyllabic verb are as follows:

(1) Verbs with initial *cl* take the -al- infix between the first and second consonant.

<i>clang</i> 'to pipe (water)'	<i>callang</i> 'a bamboo pipe'
<i>clanh</i> 'to braid'	<i>callanh</i> 'something braided'
<i>cláq</i> 'to prop'	<i>calláq</i> 'a prop'
<i>cleang</i> 'to bar door'	<i>calleang</i> 'a door bar'
<i>clot</i> 'to line something'	<i>callot</i> 'a lining'

(2) Verbs with initial *cr* and *tr* take -ar- between the first and second consonant.

<i>crang</i> 'to carry between two'	<i>carrang</i> 'a carrying pole'
<i>crong</i> 'to surround'	<i>carrong</i> 'something surrounded'
<i>crúp</i> 'to cover over'	<i>carrúp</i> 'a cover'
<i>treang</i> 'to bar door'	<i>tarreang</i> 'a door bar'

(3) Verbs with initial <i>r</i> take -n- or -r-	
<i>rôq</i> 'to pile brush'	<i>rnôq</i> 'the cleared field'
<i>riíc</i> 'to stir food inside bamboo section'	<i>rníc</i> 'stick used for stirring food inside bamboo'
<i>rôq</i> 'to cook soup'	<i>rrôq</i> 'soup'

(4) Verbs with initial <i>t</i> take -arn-	
<i>tayh</i> 'to hammer'	<i>tarnayh</i> 'a hammer'
<i>táp</i> 'to push or point into'	<i>tarnáp</i> 'something used to push or point into'
<i>táq</i> 'to work'	<i>tarnáq</i> 'the work'
<i>tean</i> 'to tie string around'	<i>tarnean</i> 'that used to tie'
<i>tem</i> 'to prepare betel quid'	<i>tarnem</i> 'betel quid'
<i>tóng</i> 'to tie to'	<i>tarnóng</i> 'that used to tie'

(5) Verbs with initial *c*, *k*, *kh*, and *p* take -an- or -ann-. There is no way of predicting which of the two allomorphs will occur.

<i>cáng</i> 'to put across'	<i>canáng</i> 'that which is put across'
<i>cang</i> 'to collar (pig)'	<i>cannang</i> 'collar for pig'

<i>cay</i> 'to plow'	<i>canay</i> 'plowed ground'
<i>câl</i> 'to chop large trees'	<i>cannâl</i> 'that which is chopped'
<i>côh</i> 'to chop'	<i>canôh</i> 'chopping block'
<i>keat</i> 'to cut around'	<i>caneat</i> 'pieces cut'
<i>khia</i> 'to sweep yard'	<i>cania</i> 'yard broom'
<i>pong</i> 'to bridge'	<i>panong</i> 'a bridge'
<i>pôh</i> 'to divide'	<i>pannôh</i> 'pieces'

(6) Initial *ch* becomes *t* when an allomorph of (-an-) is added to a verb. (*Ch* never occurs presyllable initial in Pacôh except in reduplication).

<i>cha</i> 'to eat'	<i>tanna</i> 'food'
<i>chuh</i> 'to blacken teeth'	<i>tinuh</i> 'that which is used to blacken teeth'

(7) Other forms

<i>páng</i> 'to cast net'	<i>pináng</i> 'fish net'
<i>xât</i> 'to tie in bundle'	<i>nnât</i> 'a bundle'
<i>dyuat</i> 'to wipe'	<i>nnuat</i> 'something used for wiping'

The allomorphs of -an- which occur with disyllabic (42) verbs are: -r- (31), -n- (3), -l- (2), and -m- (2).

(1) -r- is the most common allomorph occurring with disyllabic verbs in varied environments.

<i>cacháng</i> 'to laugh'	<i>carcháng</i> 'laughter'
<i>cahóq</i> 'to cough'	<i>carhóq</i> 'a cough'
<i>caxang</i> 'to make a sound'	<i>carxang</i> 'a sound'
<i>tahau</i> 'to give medicine'	<i>tarhau</i> 'medicine'
<i>tangúh</i> 'to breathe'	<i>tarngúh</i> 'breath'
<i>tapông</i> 'to contain'	<i>tarpông</i> 'container'
<i>ticu</i> 'to sit'	<i>tarcu</i> 'chair'
<i>culâl</i> 'to turn eyes up'	<i>carlâl</i> 'protruding eyes'

Exceptions to the above occur with the following allomorphs:

(2) -n- occurs before main-syllable *t* and sometimes *ch*

<i>cachic</i> 'to comb hair'	<i>canchic</i> 'a comb'
<i>catúp</i> 'to cover over'	<i>cantúp</i> 'a lid'
<i>atár</i> 'to put on basket straps'	<i>ntár</i> 'basket straps'

(3) *-l-* occurs before main-syllable *l*.

<i>palai</i> 'to give remedy'	<i>pallai</i> 'medicinal remedy'
<i>palô</i> 'to kindle flame'	<i>pallô</i> 'a flame'

(4) *-m-* occurs before main-syllable *p*.

<i>apuang</i> 'to roof ; put on hat'	<i>mpuang</i> 'roof or hat'
<i>apung</i> 'to roof ; put on hat'	<i>mpung</i> 'roof or hat'

(5) Other forms which occur with disyllabic verbs.

<i>rngâyh</i> 'to think'	<i>parngâyh</i> 'thought'
<i>rngih</i> 'to think'	<i>parngih</i> 'thought'
<i>tidol</i> 'to cross log bridge'	<i>pardol</i> 'log bridge'
<i>ti-ôq</i> 'to vomit'	<i>tang-ôq</i> 'that which is vomited'

8. Continuative reduplicated prefix.

Some (203) monosyllabic verbs with initial consonants can take the continuative reduplicated prefix. A reduplicated verb is general in meaning and cannot take an object (e.g. *cu chicha* 'I eat'). A simple verb is specific and can take an object (e.g. *Cu cha dôi* 'I eat rice'). A reduplicated verb can occur alone in the predicate slot or as a second verb (e.g. *cu chicha* 'I eat'; *cu pôc chicha* 'I go eat').

The reduplicated prefix is formed by a reduplication of the first consonant and either *a* or *i*. There is no apparent phonological basis for the use of either *a* or *i* before certain verbs. Sometimes both would be acceptable.

Some examples of reduplication :

<i>bal</i> 'to illuminate'	<i>bibal</i>
<i>cha</i> 'to eat'	<i>chicha</i>
<i>câl</i> 'to clear field'	<i>kiçâl</i>
<i>crong</i> 'to surround'	<i>cacrong</i>
<i>doq</i> 'to place'	<i>dadoq</i>
<i>pôc</i> 'to go'	<i>papôc</i>
<i>pi</i> 'to talk'	<i>papi</i>

8 This resembles Jacob's 'frequerative'.

9. (ca-) Completive prefix.⁹

(Ca-) (15) has the meaning of completing an action or of doing something thoroughly. At first glance, one might suspect this prefix to be the same as the reduplicative prefix (8.) because the *ca-* prefix occurs almost entirely on verbs which begin with *c*, *k*, or *kh*. However, the completive prefix *ca-* differs from the continuative reduplicative prefix in the following ways :

(1) Reduplicative prefixed verbs cannot take objects. Completive prefixed verbs can take objects.

(2) There is an overlap with some of the verbs in that both completive and reduplicative can occur and the informant says that the two are different.

It is interesting to note that this completive prefix *ca-* also occurs in the number system of Pacõh (e.g. *bar* 'two', *cabar* 'both'; *pe* 'three' *cipe* 'all three', *poan* 'four', *capoan* 'all four'.)

The verbs which have been found to occur with *ca-* 'completive prefix' are :

<i>clõt</i> 'to break up (dirt)'	<i>caclõt</i> 'to thoroughly break up'
<i>cluah</i> 'to break out bamboo section'	<i>cacluah</i> 'to completely break out bamboo section'
<i>coaih</i> 'to shave wood'	<i>cacoaih</i> 'to completely shave wood'
<i>coanh</i> 'to braid'	<i>cacoanh</i> 'to braid completely'
<i>coah</i> 'to shave wood'	<i>cacoah</i> 'to shave wood completely'
<i>coar</i> 'to grate'	<i>cacoar</i> 'to grate completely'
<i>cõt</i> 'to bend double'	<i>cacõt</i> 'to bend completely double'
<i>cwa</i> 'to saw'	<i>cacwa</i> 'to saw completely'
<i>keac</i> 'to chop head of chicken'	<i>cakeac</i> 'to completely chop off head of chicken'
<i>keat</i> 'to cut around'	<i>cakeat</i> 'to cut completely around'
<i>kẽnh</i> 'to break with teeth'	<i>cakẽnh</i> 'to break completely'
<i>kho</i> 'to roast fish'	<i>cakho</i> 'to roast completely'
<i>lùm</i> 'to cover completely'	<i>calùm</i> 'to cover completely'

9 This resembles Jacob's 'intensifier',

10. (N-) Pretence prefix.

This is a nasal prefix having conditioned allomorphs which assimilate to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the main syllable. This prefix means 'to pretend or appear to do something'. (N-) can occur only on monosyllabic verb roots. The prefixed verb cannot stand alone in the verb slot but must be preceded by the verb *táq* 'to do, make, work'. The prefixed verb must be followed by the unaffixed verb root in a reduplicative manner.

<i>bid</i> 'to lie down & sleep'	<i>táq mbíq bíq</i> 'to pretend to sleep'
<i>táq</i> 'to do, work'	<i>táq ntáq táq</i> 'to pretend to work'
<i>chom</i> 'to know'	<i>táq nchom chem</i> 'to pretend to know'

Although the 'pretence prefix' does not occur with disyllabic verbs the same idea may be expressed in the following way:

<i>a- ay</i> 'to be sick'	<i>táq a- ay ay</i> 'to pretend to be sick'
<i>cacháng</i> 'to laugh'	<i>táq cacháng cháng</i> 'to pretend to laugh'

Here the verb is unchanged but there is a reduplication of the main syllable.

11. (Pi-) Causative prefix occurring with non-verb roots.

(Pi-) 'causative' prefix occurs with modifiers¹⁰ and a few nouns to form causative verbs. (Pi-) has unconditioned allomorphs *pi-* (60), *pa* (8), *ta-* (5) and *a-* (1). (*Pi-* can occur with three of the same verbs that *pa-* does and with two of the verbs that *ta-* does).

(Pi-) has only been found with monosyllabic roots. It is not possible to predict which modifiers and nouns can occur with the causative prefix.

Only three nouns have been found to occur with the causative prefix:

<i>nǎh</i> 'a name'	<i>a-/panǎh</i> 'to name'
<i>put</i> 'stack of brush'	<i>piput</i> 'to stack brush'
<i>pět</i> 'wax'	<i>pipět</i> 'to fill cracks with wax'

10 The distinction between modifiers and verbs in Pacŏh is still not clear at this stage of analysis. If these modifiers do fall into the category of verbs, they must, at least be considered as one class of verbs which take the (pi) prefix to form the causative.

Some of the modifiers which can occur with causative prefix are.

ayh 'swollen'

cúrp 'enough'

kear 'tight'

nat 'tramped down'

ôh 'fermented'

pát 'extinguished'

pê 'defeated'

roanh 'usable'

prwc 'uprooted'

ngot 'hungry'

chěn 'clean'

ngéq 'all, completely'

dyeam 'delicious'

liq 'flooded'

pânh 'full'

pi-ayh 'to make swollen'

picúrp 'to make enough'

pikear 'to tighten'

pinat 'to tramp down'

pi-ôh 'to ferment'

pipát 'to extinguish'

pipê 'to cause defeat'

piroanh 'to make usable'

piprwc 'to uproot'

pingot 'to cause to be hungry'

pichěn 'to clean'

pi-/pangéq 'to finish'

pi-/padyeam 'to make delicious'

taliq 'to flood'

ta-/pipânh 'to fill'

