Verbal affixation in Pacôh

SAUNDRA K. WATSON

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

O. Introduction

Affixation is of particular interest in Pacôh\(^1\) because of its widespread use in the language. Affixes occur on verbs, nouns, pronouns, modifiers, numbers, kinship terms and others. Affixation in Pacôh consists of prefixes and infixes.

---

\(^1\) Pacôh is a member of the Mon-Khmer language family and is spoken by approximately eight to ten thousand people in Thừa-Thiện Province of Việtnam. 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 Pacôh 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 consonantal with a neutral vowel. Pacôh has a similar vowel neutralization, but only in closed-syllable prefixes. This neutralized vowel [ə] in written a.3

The phonological word in Pacôh can be summarized as: ± presyllable (C1V ± C2) + 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 Pacôh 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. Pacôh 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 pronouns 4 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 Pacôh dictionary currently contains 685


Saundra K. Watson, "Personal Pronouns in Pacôh" 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. \(\text{Pa}-\) Causative prefix.

The causative prefix \(\text{pa}-\) means 'to cause, allow or be responsible for an action taking place.' \(\text{Pa}-\) has allomorphs \(\text{pa}-(206)\), \(\text{ta}-(62)\), \(\text{a}-(14)\), \(\text{ca}-(3)\), \(\text{pi}-(9)\), and \(\text{ti}-(5)\). \(\text{Pa} -\) can also occur with twenty-eight of the verbs that \(\text{ta} -\) does and with seven of the verbs that \(\text{a} -\) does. \(\text{Pa} -\) and \(\text{ta} -\) can both occur with two of the verbs that \(\text{ti} -\) 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 \(\text{ta} -\) allomorph while a verb root beginning with \(t\) will take the \(\text{pa} -\) allomorph.

Some examples of words which take the causative prefix are:

- \(\text{cláq} \) 'to prop'
- \(\text{cláu} \) 'to answer riddle'
- \(\text{dér} \) 'to shatter'
- \(\text{hear} \) 'to scream'
- \(\text{hoc} \) 'to study, learn'
- \(\text{kéo} \) 'to hug'
- \(\text{ôi} \) 'to reply'
- \(\text{bîq} \) 'to lie down'
- \(\text{cuam} \) 'to wrap in blanket'

- \(\text{hôm} \) 'to bathe (oneself)'
- \(\text{möt} \) 'to go in'
- \(\text{xâr} \) 'to go up'
- \(\text{yôr} \) 'to stand'
- \(\text{pîng} \) 'to cover'
- \(\text{hao} \) 'to spend'
- \(\text{ tôq} \) 'to pour'

- \(\text{tahôm} \) 'to bathe (another)'
- \(\text{pa}-(\text{amôt}) \) 'to take in'
- \(\text{axâr} \) 'to raise up'
- \(\text{ayôr} \) 'to cause to stand'
- \(\text{capîng} \) 'to cause to cover'
- \(\text{pîhao} \) 'to cause to spend'
- \(\text{pî tôq} \) 'to cause to pour'
cõt 'to bend double'  
ticõt 'to cause to bend double'
deng 'to heat'  
tideng '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'
ahêt 'to smell'  
pahêt 'to cause to smell'
angô 'to rest'  
pangô 'to cause to rest'
anhori 'to play'  
panhori 'to cause to play'
aruamöl to land on spike'  
paruam 'to cause to land on spike'
ayrn 'to dance'  
payrn 'to cause to dance'
rngåyh 'to think'  
pangåyh 'to cause to think'
rngîh 'to think'  
pangîh '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.

Acâp ngåh 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

Acâp ngåh pa-ac a-em 'Don't you allow-play child'

b. Actor + Goal (occurring contiguously)

Acâp ngåh pa-ac a-em achiu 'Don't you allow play child knife'

c. Goal

Acâp ngåh 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
VERBAL AFFIXATION IN PACOH

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 dòi ‘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’
- _pacrâng_ ‘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’
- _paclîn_ ‘to cause to stare’
- _paburam_ ‘to cause to chew’
- _pacuam_ ‘to cause to roll up (in blanket)’
- _pa—ep_ ‘to allow to demand’
- _pakko_ ‘to cause to roast (fish)’
- _pacóng_ ‘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 ± Verb root Ngâh paclôn. a-em olôn ‘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 acôq cur tōq dung ‘You take up my bushknife to house’ but not: May paxâr acôq cur xâr tōq dung ‘You take up my bushknife go up to house’).

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

pa-ât ‘to cause to be ât’
paclôn ‘to cause to play’
paclua ‘to cause to slip down’
pacôp ‘to cause to bow’
pacôy ‘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’; cachâng ‘to laugh’ carechâng (châng ‘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’
chat ‘to stab’
bon ‘to have’
tarchao ‘to threaten each other’
tarchât ‘to stab each other’
tarbôn ‘to have each other’ (marriage)
verbal affixation in pacoh

$\text{tiq} \, \text{to obey}$

$\text{tartiq} \, \text{to obey each other}$

$\text{tong} \, \text{to talk}$

$\text{tartong} \, \text{to talk to each other}$

$\text{xua} \, \text{to look for}$

$\text{tarxua} \, \text{to look for each other}$

$\text{cap} \, \text{to bite}$

$\text{tarcap} \, \text{to bite each other}$

$\text{acuan} \, \text{to hit}$

$\text{reuan} \, \text{to hit each other}$

$\text{achung} \, \text{to instruct}$

$\text{rchung} \, \text{to instruct each other}$

$\text{ahet} \, \text{to smell}$

$\text{rhet} \, \text{to smell each other}$

$\text{cachang} \, \text{to laugh}$

$\text{carchang} \, \text{to laugh at each other}$

$\text{cuhong} \, \text{to glare}$

$\text{carchong} \, \text{to glare at each other}$

$\text{culet} \, \text{to stick out tongue}$

$\text{carlet} \, \text{to stick out tongue at each other}$

$\text{kiduh} \, \text{to bump}$

$\text{carduh} \, \text{to bump each other}$

$\text{kidyol} \, \text{to cling to}$

$\text{cardyol} \, \text{to cling to each other}$

A phonemic note should be added here to explain why the $\text{r-}$ in $\text{reuan}$, $\text{rchung}$, $\text{rhet}$, etc. is considered an infix rather than a prefix. The presyllable in Pacoh, according to the predominant C and V pattern, consists of $\text{CV}_1 \pm \text{C}_2$. Therefore, words written as vowel-initial have been interpreted phonemically as $\text{CV}/ (\text{acuan} / \text{akuan})$. Words written with a single nasal or liquid in the presyllable have been interpreted phonemically as $\text{C}/ (\text{reuan} / \text{arkuan})$. Thus the affixed $\text{r-}$ above can be seen as infixed 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 $\text{par-}$ (38) and $\text{car-}$ (4) is a combination of two affixes — the causative prefix (pa-) with two of its allomorphs $\text{pa-}$ and $\text{ca-}$ and the reciprocal infix $\text{-r-}$ which is an allomorph of (tar-). This is the only known case of two affixes occurring simultaneously on a verb root in Pacoh.

The causative-reciprocal verb can be optionally followed by the verb root, as can the reciprocal verb (e.g. $\text{parelau clan} \, \text{to cause each other to answer}$).

Some examples of causative-reciprocal verbs are given below.

$\text{chom} \, \text{to know}$

$\text{parchom} \, \text{to cause each other to know}$
\text{cha ‘to eat’} \quad \text{par\text{chara ‘to cause each other to eat’}}
\text{châu ‘to argue’} \quad \text{car\text{-charâu ‘to cause each other to argue’}}
\text{dóc ‘to be angry’} \quad \text{par\text{dāc ‘to cause each other to be angry’}}
\text{heng ‘to warm by fire’} \quad \text{par\text{heng ‘to cause each other to warm by fire’}}
\text{hôm ‘to bathe’} \quad \text{par\text{hōm ‘to cause each other to bathe’}}

4. \{\text{Ti-}\} \text{ Resultant - state prefix.}^6

\{\text{Ti-}\} \text{ 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:
\text{xeang tāq ngēq ticut abūng ‘Wind made all broken bamboo’}
\text{Along catinh do cōh tidāyh pilau ‘Tree hit him so broken leg’}
\{\text{Ti-}\} \text{ has two allomorphs, ti-\{12\} and tu-\{2\}. Verbs which have been found to occur with the ‘resultant-state’ prefix are listed below:}

\text{āh ‘to divide’} \quad \text{ti-āh ‘to be divided, split’}
\text{caq ‘to straighten’} \quad \text{ticaq ‘to be straightened’}
\text{cloq ‘to push’} \quad \text{ticloq ‘to be pushed’}
\text{dāyh ‘to break’} \quad \text{tidāyh ‘to be broken’}
\text{heq ‘to tear’} \quad \text{tīheq ‘to be torn’}
\text{cut ‘to break down’} \quad \text{ticut ‘to be broken down’}
\text{lai ‘to cast, unroll’} \quad \text{tilai ‘to be unrolled’}
\text{ngōp ‘to duck head’} \quad \text{tingōp ‘to be lowered (head)}‘
\text{ōh ‘to snap (break)’} \quad \text{ti-ōh ‘to be snapped}
\text{viaq ‘to wring, twist’} \quad \text{tiviaq ‘to be twisted’}
\text{xōn ‘to push, crowd’} \quad \text{tixōn ‘to be mussed up, wrinkled’}
\text{yot ‘to stretch’} \quad \text{tīyot ‘to be stretched’}
\text{pil ‘to pull out hair or feathers’} \quad \text{tupil ‘to be pulled out’}
\text{pōh ‘to open (door)’} \quad \text{tupōh ‘to be opened’}

---

6 This resembles the affixes called ‘attributive’ by Jacob and ‘passive’ by Banker (\textit{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.

- cha ‘to eat’
- chôh ‘to plant’
- chông ‘to burn’
- dyeal ‘to take’
- lûq ‘to pull’
- nhông ‘to look at’
- penh ‘to shoot’
- tacha ‘to eat accidentally’
- tachôh ‘to plant accidentally’
- tachông ‘to burn accidentally’
- tadyeal ‘to take accidentally’
- talûq ‘to pull accidentally’
- tanhông ‘to look at accidentally’
- tapenh ‘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 chô cha dôi amiang ‘(Accidentally) I ate rice brother’s’

Cra 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 -âh (e.g. châh tacha, láh talûq, pâh tapenh).

Cra cray châh 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 infixed like the -r-allomorph of (tar-) (see 1.2).

Examples of nominalized-action prefix with monosyllabic verbs:

- a ‘to say’
- par-a ‘the saying’
- âng ‘to roast’
- par-âng ‘the roasting’
- bîq ‘to lie down’
- parbîq ‘the lying-down’
bòy ‘to salt’  parbòy ‘the salting’
cat ‘to burn (food)’ parcat ‘the burning’
hôm ‘to bathe’ parhôm ‘the bathing’
keat ‘to cut around’ pa-/parkeat ‘the cutting around’
piq ‘to dig’ parpiq ‘the digging’
boan ‘to pile up’ ta-/pa-/parboan ‘the piling up’
clôn ‘to play’ callôn ‘the playing’ (=parclôn)
coiq ‘to sharpen’ canoiq ‘the sharpening’ (=parcoiq)
póc ‘to go’ pinóc ‘the going’ (=parpóc)

Examples of nominalized-action prefix with disyllabic verbs:
achâng ‘to measure’ rchâng ‘the measuring’
achунг ‘to instruct’ rchунг ‘the instructing’
angò ‘to rest’ parngò ‘the resting’
arao ‘to broadcast’ parrao ‘the broadcasting’
calèc ‘to tickle’ carlèc ‘the tickling’
cavat ‘to scratch’ carvat ‘the scratching’
pahoc ‘to teach’ parhoc ‘the teaching’

7. (-an-) Nominalizer infix.

(-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: còh ‘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 còh 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.

- clang ‘to pipe (water)’
- clanh ‘to braid’
- cláq ‘to prop’
- cleang ‘to bar door’
- clot ‘to line something’

- callang ‘a bamboo pipe’
- callanh ‘something braided’
- calláq ‘a prop’
- calleang ‘a door bar’
- callot ‘a lining’

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

- crang ‘to carry between two’
- crong ‘to surround’
- crup ‘to cover over’
- treang ‘to bar door’

- carrang ‘a carrying pole’
- carrong ‘something surrounded’
- carrúp ‘a cover’
- turreang ‘a door bar’

(3) Verbs with initial r take -n- or -r-

- rôq ‘to stir brush’
- rúc ‘to stir food inside bamboo section’
- róq ‘to cook soup’

- rnôq ‘the cleared field’
- rnúc ‘stick used for stirring food inside bamboo’
- rróq ‘soup’

(4) Verbs with initial t take -rn-.

- tàyh ‘to hammer’
- táp ‘to push or point into’
- tàq ‘to work’
- tean ‘to tie string around’
- tem ‘to prepare betel quid’
- tông ‘to tie to’

- tarnayh ‘a hammer’
- tarnáp ‘something used to push or point into’
- tarnáq ‘the work’
- tarnean ‘that used to tie’
- tarnem ‘betel quid’
- tarnông ‘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.

- càng ‘to put across’
- cang ‘to collar (pig)’

- canáng ‘that which is put across’
- cannang ‘collar for pig’
cay ‘to plow’
cádl ‘to chop large trees’
cóh ‘to chop’
keat ‘to cut around’
khíar ‘to sweep yard’
pong ‘to bridge’
pêh ‘to divide’

canay ‘plowed ground’
cannâl ‘that which is chopped’
canôh ‘chopping block’
caneat ‘pieces cut’
caniar ‘yard broom’
panong ‘a bridge’
pannôh ‘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).

cha ‘to eat’
chuíh ‘to blacken teeth’

tanna ‘food’
tinûh ‘that which is used to blacken teeth’

(7) Other forms

pâng ‘to cast net’
xât ‘to tie in bundle’
dyuat ‘to wipe’

pinâng ‘fish net’
nât ‘a bundle’
nnuat ‘something used for wiping’

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

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

cachâng ‘to laugh’
cahóq ‘to cough’
caxang ‘to make a sound’
tahau ‘to give medicine’
tangûh ‘to breathe’
tapông ‘to contain’
ticu ‘to sit’
culâl ‘to turn eyes up’

carchâng ‘laughter’
carhôq ‘a cough’
carxang ‘a sound’
tarhau ‘medicine’
tarngûh ‘breath’
tarpông ‘container’
tarcu ‘chair’
carlâl ‘protruding eyes’

Exceptions to the above occur with the following allomorphs:

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

cachic ‘to comb hair’
catûrpu ‘to cover over’
atûr ‘to put on basket straps’

canchic ‘a comb’
cantûp ‘a lid’
ntûr ‘basket straps’
(3) \(-l- \) occurs before main-syllable \( l \).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{palai} & \quad \text{'to give remedy'} \\
\text{palô} & \quad \text{'to kindle flame'}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{pallai} & \quad \text{'medicinal remedy'} \\
\text{pallô} & \quad \text{'a flame'}
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{apuang} & \quad \text{'to roof; put on hat'} \\
\text{apurg} & \quad \text{'to roof; put on hat'}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mpuang} & \quad \text{'roof or hat'} \\
\text{mpurg} & \quad \text{'roof or hat'}
\end{align*} \]

(5) Other forms which occur with disyllabic verbs.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{rnqâyh} & \quad \text{'to think'} \\
\text{rnqîh} & \quad \text{'to think'} \\
\text{tîdol} & \quad \text{'to cross log bridge'} \\
\text{ti-ôq} & \quad \text{'to vomit'}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{pnrngâyh} & \quad \text{'thought'} \\
\text{pnrngîh} & \quad \text{'thought'} \\
\text{pârdol} & \quad \text{'log bridge'} \\
\text{tang-ôq} & \quad \text{'that which is vomited'}
\end{align*} \]

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. \( \text{cu} \ \text{chicha} \ \text{‘I eat’} \)). A simple verb is specific and can take an object (e.g. \( \text{Cu} \ \text{cha dôi} \ \text{I eat rice} \)). A reduplicated verb can occur alone in the predicate slot or as a second verb (e.g. \( \text{cu} \ \text{chicha} \ \text{‘I eat’} ; \ \text{cu} \ \text{pôc} \ \text{chicha} \ \text{‘I go eat’} \).

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:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bal} & \quad \text{‘to illuminate’} \\
\text{cha} & \quad \text{‘to eat’} \\
\text{câl} & \quad \text{‘to clear field’} \\
\text{crông} & \quad \text{‘to surround’} \\
\text{doq} & \quad \text{‘to place’} \\
\text{pôc} & \quad \text{‘to go’} \\
\text{pi} & \quad \text{‘to talk’}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bibal} & \\
\text{chicha} & \\
\text{kicâl} & \\
\text{cacrong} & \\
\text{dadoq} & \\
\text{papôc} & \\
\text{papi}
\end{align*} \]

8 This resembles Jacob's 'frequentative',.
9. (ca-) Completive prefix.  

(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. Complete 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 Pacōh (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:

- clōt ‘to break up (dirt)’
- cluah ‘to break out bamboo section’
- coaith ‘to shave wool’
- coanh ‘to braid’
- coah ‘to shave wood’
- coar ‘to grate’
- cōt ‘to bend double’
- cua ‘to saw’
- keac ‘to chop head of chicken’
- keat ‘to cut around’
- kōnh ‘to break with teeth’
- kho ‘to roast fish’
- lūm ‘to cover completely’

- caclōt ‘to thoroughly break up’
- cacluah ‘to completely break out bamboo section’
- cacooiha ‘to completely shave wood’
- cacoonh ‘to braid completely’
- cacoah ‘to shave wood completely’
- cacoor ‘to grate completely’
- cacōt ‘to bend completely double’
- cacura ‘to saw completely’
-cakeac ‘to completely chop off head of chicken’
- cakoat ‘to cut completely around’
- cacōn ‘to break completely’
- cakho ‘to roast completely’
- całüm ‘to cover completely’

9 This resembles Jacob’s ‘intensifier’.
10. (N-) Pretense 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 tɑq 'to do, make, work'. The prefixed verb must be followed by the unaffixed verb root in a reduplicative manner.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bɪd} & \quad \text{'to lie down & sleep'} \\
tɑq & \quad \text{'to do, work'} \\
chom & \quad \text{'to know'} \\
tɑq mbiq biq & \quad \text{'to pretend to sleep'} \\
tɑq ntɑq tɑq & \quad \text{'to pretend to work'} \\
tɑq nchom chom & \quad \text{'to pretend to know'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
a- ay & \quad \text{'to be sick'} \\
cachɑng & \quad \text{'to laugh'} \\
tɑq a- ay ay & \quad \text{'to pretend to be sick'} \\
tɑq cachɑng chɑng & \quad \text{'to pretend to laugh'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 modifiers\(^{10}\) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
nõh & \quad \text{'a name'} \\
pʊt & \quad \text{'stack of brush'} \\
põt & \quad \text{'wax'} \\
a-/pānõh & \quad \text{'to name'} \\
piput & \quad \text{'to stack brush'} \\
pipēt & \quad \text{'to fill cracks with wax'}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{10}\) The distinction between modifiers and verbs in Pacõh 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Causative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayh 'swollen'</td>
<td>pi-ayh 'to make swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čúp 'enough'</td>
<td>picúp 'to make enough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kear 'tight'</td>
<td>pikear 'to tighten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nat 'tramped down'</td>
<td>pinat 'to tramp down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēh 'fermented'</td>
<td>pi-ēh 'to ferment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pát 'extinguished'</td>
<td>pipát 'to extinguish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē 'defeated'</td>
<td>pipē 'to cause defeat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roanh 'usable'</td>
<td>piroanh 'to make usable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruc 'uprooted'</td>
<td>pipruc 'to uproot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngot 'hungry'</td>
<td>pingot 'to cause to be hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chēn 'clean'</td>
<td>pichēn 'to clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngéq 'all, completely'</td>
<td>pi-/pangéq 'to finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyeam 'delicious'</td>
<td>pi-/padyeam 'to make delicious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liq 'flooded'</td>
<td>taliq 'to flood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pánh 'full'</td>
<td>ta-/pipānh 'to fill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>