THE PACÕH NOUN PHRASE

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0. Introduction. Syntactically, the noun phrase in Pacoh is similar in structure to noun phrases of other Mon-Khmer languages. The normal ordering of the common noun phrase constituents in Pacoh is a central noun or noun head preceded by that which quantifies and followed by that which qualifies.
In spite of the formal expansion possibilities, the Pacoh noun phrase, from a performance point of view, tends to be rather short. A fully expanded noun phrase is not expected. Rather, the speaker tends to give the information in two or three short phrases or clauses. Noun phrases filling the subject slot of the clause are usually simple with little modification. The most fully expanded noun phrases are found in the object slot of the clause. This presumably reflects the discourse function of the subject as a referring expression linked to previously specified (old) information in which reduced (even pronominal) form is expected. The object slot, on the other hand, perhaps more often introduces new information with which a fuller explicit specification of reference is consistent.

Of particular interest in the study of the Pacoh noun phrase is the affixation which occurs in the fillers of some of the slots, e.g. reduplicative prefixes denoting plurality found in general quantifiers (1.1) and modifiers (5.2), and denoting singularity in classifiers (2).

Pacoh noun phrases have the following constituents: quantification, classification, noun head, qualification, possession and orientation (Gregerson, 1971). These constituents can be diagrammed as:

\[ QN - CL - NH - QL - P - OR \]

1. **Quantification.** Quantification (QN) includes general quantification (GQN) and numerical quantification (NQN). Both GQN and NQN can occur together, in that order, in the same noun phrase.

Syntactically, some of the fillers of GQN and NQN also occur in quantifier phrases on the clause level, but consideration of these phrases will be reserved for future study.

1.1 **General Quantifiers (GQN).** A listing, not necessarily complete, of the fillers of GQN has been divided into seven subclasses, depending upon optional or obligatory relationship with NQN and noun head (NH), stated or understood from context, in the noun phrase.

Subclass 1 (GQNI) \[ GQN1 \pm (NQN + CL) \pm NH \]

In Subclass 1, the occurrence of NQN and a specified NH with GQN1 is optional. Note that NQN requires, as a surface constraint, the insertion of a classifier constituent (CL).

- ngéq 'all'
- ca 'all, the whole'
- ngéq ca 'all, the whole'
- mèq (töq) ngéq 'almost all'
- tìm ngéq 'almost all'
- tumän ngéq 'nearly all'
Ngé poan lám alíc 'all four pigs' GQN 1 + NQN + CL + NH
'all four 'CL pigs'

Mëq ngé poan lám alíc 'almost all pigs' GQN1 + NH 'almost all pigs'
Ca 'all, the whole' is apparently cognate with ca in Vietnamese.

The free form ca has a bound allomorph RV- (reduplicative con-
sonant + vowel) which occurs with cardinal numerals 'one' through
'five' and 'ten' following the normal patterning of Pacoh that only
one-syllable morphemes can take prefixes.

babar 'all two, both'
pape 'all three'
papoan 'all four'
xaxông 'all five'
cachút 'all ten'

Ca has another allomorph ca- which occurs with some verbs
and modifiers to give the meaning 'all, completely' (see Watson,

Subclass 2 (GQN 2) GQN 2 + NQN + CL ± NH

In subclass 2, the occurrence of the numerical quantifier (and
classifier) is obligatory, but the noun head, specified, is optional.

num 'only'
mëq tòq 'almost'
cluí 'more than'
làyq tòq 'less than'

Ngúm poan lám alíc GQN 2 + NQN + CL + NH
'only four 'CL pigs'

Chú tupaít nág GQN 2 + NQN + CL
'more than six persons (CL)'

Subclass 3 (GQN 3) GQN 3 ± NQN + CL ± NH

In Subclass 3, the general quantifier and classifier are obligatory,
and the numerical quantifier and noun head are optional.

táí 'each'

Táí poan lám péq GQN 3 + NQN + CL + NH
'each four 'CL bananas'

Táí nág Yoan GQN 3 + CL + NH
'each CL (person) Vietnamese'

Táí nág póc GQN 3 + CL
'each CL (person) goes'
Subclass 4 (GQN4)  \( \text{GQN4 + CL + NH} \)

Subclass 4 general quantifier cannot take a numerical quantifier, but does take an obligatory classifier with an optionally stated noun head.

\[
\begin{align*}
cúp &\quad \text{\textquoteleft every\textquoteright} \\
toih &\quad \text{\textquoteleft every\textquoteright}\\
cúp lám ai\text{á}c &\quad \text{GQN4 + CL + NH} \\
\text{\textquoteleft every CL pig\textquoteright} \\
toih nnáq &\quad \text{GQN4 + CL} \\
\text{\textquoteleft every CL (person)\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

Subclass 5 (GQN5)  \( \text{GQN + (\pm CL \pm NH)} \)

Subclass 5 general quantifier does not take a numerical quantifier, but does require the classifier and/or noun head.

\[
\begin{align*}
è (lu) &\quad \text{\textquoteleft many (very)\textquoteright} \\
beaq (lu) &\quad \text{\textquoteleft few (very)\textquoteright} \\
clông (lu) &\quad \text{\textquoteleft many (very)\textquoteright} \\
\text{num beaq (lu)} &\quad \text{\textquoteleft only few (very)\textquoteright} \\
è lu lám &\quad \text{GQN5 + CL} \\
\text{\textquoteleft many very CL (things)\textquoteright} \\
beaq lu acheq &\quad \text{GQN5 + NH} \\
\text{\textquoteleft few very birds\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

Subclass 6 (GQN 6)  \( \text{GQN6 + NH} \)

An obligatory noun head occurs with general quantifier subclass 6.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{áp (lu)} &\quad \text{\textquoteleft many, in general (very)\textquoteright} \\
\text{num} &\quad \text{\textquoteleft only\textquoteright} \\
\text{áp (lu) acheq} &\quad \text{GQN6 + NH} \\
\text{\textquoteleft many (very) birds\textquoteright} \\
\text{Num acheq} &\quad \text{GQN6 + NH} \\
\text{\textquoteleft only birds\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

Some of the general quantifiers in the above subsets, e.g. clông \textquoteleft many\textquoteright, áp \textquoteleft many\textquoteright, num \textquoteleft only\textquoteright, have identical forms which can occur following the NH. (See Watson, 1966:13.)

Ngai clông lu póc. 'Very many of them went'
\textquoteleft They many very went.'

Ngai póc clông lu. 'They went very many'
\textquoteleft They went many very.'
Subclass 7 (GQN7)  GQN7 ± CL ± NH

Subclass 7 expresses 'indefiniteness' either in statement or question. Classifier and noun head are not necessarily expressed, since they are understood from the context.

li mмо è 'however many, how many?'

Li mмо è cõh ma hoi. 'However many is alright.'

Li mмо è may ṭnh? 'How many (do) you want?'

1.2 Numerical Quantifiers (NQN). Numerical quantifiers are the cardinal numbers.

môi/māh  'one'
bar  'two'
pe  'three'
põan  'four'
xōng  'five'
tupāṭ  'six'
tupōl  'seven'
tiḥol  'eight'
tikeah  'nine'
muchīt/chīt  'ten'
muchīt mōi  'eleven'
bar chīt  'twenty'
bar chīt põan  'twenty-four'
māh culām mōi  'one hundred and one'
pe culām pe chīt xōng  'three hundred thirty-five'
māh ngln  'one thousand'

Approximation is expressed with two consecutive numbers:

bar, pe nāq ngai pōc
'two, three CL (persons) they go'

2. Classification. Classifiers occur with certain nouns (and pronouns) and are obligatory when such nouns are quantified. Classifiers can be divided into two categories: (1) restricted and (2) non-restricted. Restricted classifiers are those whose only function is that of classifiers. Unrestricted classifiers are nouns which serve as classifiers particularly in some term of measure, container or amount.

Bar plāh adean  'two CL trays'
Bar adean dōi  'two trays rice'

When CL + NH occur without quantification, 'singular' is usually being expressed.

 Também đôm t דורש. 'CL (a) tree fell on house ours.'
Along dâm tôq dúng he 'Tree(s) fell on house ours.'

There is one general classifier in Pacoh, lâm, which occurs with a large number of inanimate nouns and with non-human animates. One can also use lâm in a familiar sense with acay 'child', if the child being referred to is one's own.

In counting one would say, môi lâm, bar lâm, pe lâm 'one thing, two things, three things, etc.' However, when a NH is present, môi 'one' is changed to mâh, and lâm becomes llâm.

mâh llâm alîc 'one CL pig'
bar lâm alîc 'two CL pigs'

It is interesting to note that lâm also becomes llâm with quantifiers cúp 'every' and toîh 'every'. Also, náq 'CL person' becomes nánq with cúp and toîh, but not with the numeral mâh 'one'.

The specific classifiers in Pacoh group nouns together in categories of common features. A limited listing of such classifiers is given below:

nâq 'persons'
teah 'flat expanse'
plâh 'flat objects, garments'
lâng 'leaf, sheet of paper'
cålloŋ 'round objects--grains, seeds, fruit, stones'
cantôh 'group, flock, herd'
tôm 'tree'
môm 'stalk'
mpât/nnât 'bunch'

3. Noun Head. The noun head (NH) or central noun is the referential core of the noun phrase. The NH slot of the noun phrase may be filled by a simple noun, a compound noun, a proper noun, a personal pronoun or, on the discourse level, may be understood from the context.

3.1 Simple Nouns. Simple nouns in Pacoh are here defined as one-word or two-word nouns which can theoretically take qualification in all three slots to the right of the noun head--possession, modification and orientation; and which can be divided on the basis of being classifiable or non-classifiable.

3.1.1 Classifiable Nouns. Classifiable nouns are those which require classifiers when quantified by numeration. Classifiable nouns are further divided into those which take restricted classifiers (cf. 2. Classification), morphemes which only function as classifiers; and nouns which take unrestricted classifiers--that is, nouns which function as classifiers to denote measure, container, or amount.
Count nouns with restricted classifiers are a large category and include: acho 'dog', adean 'tray', acay 'child', bûl 'stone', ao 'shirt', parneh 'broom', etc.

bar lâm acho 'two CL dogs'
ap lôm ao 'three CL shirts'
hâm ca llông tirial 'one CL egg'

Also included here are compound nouns which function as count nouns, thus differing from the compound nouns discussed in 3.2 of this paper. These compound count nouns can be either noun + noun along pêq 'banana tree' or noun + verb lông ramôt 'door going out-coming in' ('door, doorway'), mayq tampê 'machine tap' ('typewriter').

Mass nouns with unrestricted classifiers take an obligatory 'measure-type' classifier when quantified by number:

daq 'water', cutac 'dirt', xác 'grass', dôi 'cooked rice', boi 'salt', prâq 'money, silver', daq kiyál 'water bee' (honey).

bar li daq 'two glasses water'
hâm capoát boi 'one handful salt'
bar culam dông prâq 'two hundred 'piastre' money'

3.1.2 Non-classifiable Nouns. Non-classifiable nouns also include count nouns and mass nouns.

Count nouns in this category do not take classifiers apparently because they intrinsically denote some type of measure.

cantúq 'time'
ingay 'day'
kixay 'month'
cumo 'year'
dông 'piastre'
tida 'handspan'
achâng 'armspan'

bar kixay 'two months'
ñoòng cantúq 'five times'
pe tida 'three handspans'

Mass nouns include:

bo 'rain'
xeang 'wind'
uih 'fire'

3.2 Compound Nouns. Compound nouns are binomial, trinomial, or quadrinomial (Watson, 1966:86-93). They signal generic reference and occur unquantified and unqualified in the noun phrase. Certain of these noun compounds, e.g. a-úm a-i 'parents, father, mother', can occur with other slots in the noun phrase, but as such, are
specific 'father and mother' rather than the more generic term 'parents'.

3.2.1 Binomials. Binomials are of two types, semi-bound and free. In the semi-bound binomials one member of the pair is considered to be an empty morph with no meaning. Together the pair have a plural feature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two-word binomials</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>búl nal</td>
<td>'rocks, stones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daq dong</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avu-avăng</td>
<td>'small boys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axâq-axênh</td>
<td>'hulled rice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free binomials are a pair of nouns each with distinct meaning, which together form a more generic term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two-word binomials</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>(father + mother)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-âm a-i</td>
<td>'parents'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-âm anhi</td>
<td>'elders'</td>
<td>(father + uncle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ât aĉêq</td>
<td>'wildlife'</td>
<td>(animal + bird)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aĉat-aĉôq</td>
<td>'tools'</td>
<td>(axe + bushknife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boi aĉôq</td>
<td>'purchased goods'</td>
<td>(salt + bushknife)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Trinomials. Trinomials are made up of one free member followed by two bound members, or sometimes the first and third are free members. "Meanings of the members of trinomials are combined and amplified to give a single, idiomatic meaning" (Watson, 1966:92).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three-word binomials</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cantuq cantep mēap</td>
<td>'orphans'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpēh yēh cardung</td>
<td>'reputation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arēh arōng axōng</td>
<td>'thorns and thistles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aruih rûng trûng</td>
<td>'wilderness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3 Quadrinomials. Quadrinomials are made up of one free member plus three bound members or binomial plus binomial. The latter are considered quadrinomials when they are reduplicative and are in fixed order of sequence (Watson, 1966:93).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four-word binomials</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khâp khûm úm mûh</td>
<td>'luck, good fortune'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-iauq a-op acay acon</td>
<td>'old folks and children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arau arâh atâh atûc</td>
<td>'vegetable greens'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Proper Nouns. Proper nouns are divided into personal names, place names and ethnic names.
3.3.1 Personal Names. Since they are specific and definite by nature, are not usually quantified or qualified. One possible exception of this is:

mâh nâq Cubuat 'one person Cubuat' 'Cubuat, all by himself'

3.3.2 Place Names. Place names are commonly preceded with a generic noun such as vêl 'village', mútang 'region', daq 'water'

Vêl Tal-ay 'Tal-ay village'
Daq Clai 'Clai river'

3.3.3 Ethnic Names. Ethnic names are such as: Yoan 'Vietnamese', Mâq 'American', Yé 'Japanese', Cúmén 'Cambodian', Pacôh. These ethnic names can be preceded by ticuoi 'person', people' or mútang 'region'. They can occur with quantification in constructions like bar nâq ticuoi Yoan 'two Vietnamese persons'.

3.4 Pronouns. When a pronoun fills the NH slot, the following is true of the other slots in the noun phrase:

(a) The quantitative slots can be filled and the classifier nâq used.

poan nâq ngai 'four CL they'
ngâq ngai 'all they'

(b) The Possession slot cannot be filled.

(c) The Qualification slot can be filled, usually by a modifier phrase.

Do ân tâq piday 'he who works field'

(d) The Orientation slot can be filled.

Do coh achai cu 'He there (is) brother my'
'That is my brother'

The pronouns of Pacôh are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>cu 'I'</td>
<td>nhâng 'we two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>may 'you'</td>
<td>inhâ 'you two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>do 'he'</td>
<td>anhâ 'they two'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Possession. The Possession slot occurs immediately following the NH or in close proximity and can be filled by a noun, and/or a pronoun.

bar lâm alîc cu 'two CL pigs my' 'my two pigs'
bar lâm alîc Cubuat 'two CL pigs Cubuat' 'Cubuat's two pigs'
bar lám alić achai cut 'two CL pigs brother my'
'my brother's two pigs'

The pronoun forms ncut 'mine', mmay 'yours', nngai 'theirs' etc., described in Watson, 1964 as "possessive pronouns" cannot fill this possessive slot. These independent possessive pronouns function in a complete clause of the topic-comment type in which the possessor is the comment. The n- prefix can be thought of as the syntactic clause marker for possessor as comment.

Ngoq alić ncoh ncut. 'All pigs those are mine.'

Mmay put tilât ncut. 'Yours big more (than) mine'

5. Qualification. Qualification is of two types (1) nominal quali-fi-cation and (2) predicative qualification.

5.1 Nominal qualification occurs when a noun modifies the noun head. The relator ân 'which, who', which is sometimes optional but usually preferred with predicative qualification, does not occur in nominal qualification.

areaih vël 'chief village' 'the village chief'
dùng along 'house wood' 'wooden house'

5.2 Predicative qualifications are of a single-termed "adjectival" type and of a multi-termed "relative clausal" type.

5.2.1 Single-termed ("adjectival") qualifications may or may not be introduced by the relator ân 'which, who'.

daq atọq 'water hot' 'hot water'
daq ân atọq 'water which (is) hot'
dung put 'house big' 'big house'
dung ân put 'house which (is) big'
carna ân êm o 'road which (is) peaceful'
carna tinga tarlång 'road clear transparent'
'clear course of action'

An interesting feature of single-termed predicative qualification is that the surface signal for plurality of referent is marked in the adjective, not in the noun, by means of reduplication. This is true only of monosyllabic adjectives.

acho côm 'dog black' 'a black dog'
acho cacôm 'dogs black' 'black dogs'
a-ôiq ân papût 'chickens which (are) big'
acay cakét 'children small' 'small children'
ape ân cakét 'they which (are) small'

5.2.2 Multi-termed "relative clausal" qualification refers to the embedding of a clause whose main verb takes more than one noun. Multi-termed qualification is always introduced by the relator ân 'which, who'.

Paranhâng ân ngai tông lâyq o.
'News which they told (is) not good.'

Ao ân do dyôn açu dyê pût.
'Tshirt which he gave me already lost.'

6. Orientation. The Orientation slot can be filled by a demonstrative or a locative predicative. In a speech act the speaker makes clear by the demonstrative or deictic constituent where the referent is in relation to both the speaker and the addressee. The locative phrase is referent oriented.

(1) Demonstratives refer to that which is within eyesight or is inferred in the context. The following is believed to be a fairly complete listing of demonstratives.

 côh 'that one'
nneh 'this/here'
ncôh 'that/there'
ntôh 'that/there-far ahead'
ntôh 'that/there-far behind'
ntôh 'that/there--very far ahead'
ntôh 'that/there--very far behind'
ntôh 'that/there--to the side'

Do côh tamme chô. 'He that one just returned'
Tôm沿着 aunn put nneh
'CL tree which big this/here' 'this big tree'
Acho cu nnneh....
'Dog my this/here' 'My dog here'

Demonstratives can stand in the place of the noun phrase.

nneh dung cu 'this (is) house my'

(2) Locative predicatives.

Locative phrases, like the other predicative constituents, are introduced by ân 'which, who'. However, locative predicatives are restricted in content to directional and/or orientational information.
The following is a partial listing of prepositions which occur in locative predicatives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{te} & \quad \text{'from'} \\
\text{tōg} & \quad \text{'to'} \\
\text{dāng} & \quad \text{'at'} \\
\text{callūng} & \quad \text{'in'} \\
\text{inniāng} & \quad \text{'above'} \\
\text{idūp} & \quad \text{''below'} \\
\text{aniāng} & \quad \text{''on top of'} \\
\text{axuāi} & \quad \text{''before'} \\
\text{tatūn} & \quad \text{''behind''}
\end{align*}
\]

gēq ngāi te vēl nnēh  \quad \text{'all they from village this'}

acho ân cōm ân dāng tōm âlong nēh
\quad \text{''dog which black which at CL tree that''}

\quad \text{''the black dog which is by that tree''}

Demonstratives and locative predicatives may occur together in the orientation slot, in which case the demonstrative would occur first.

Achāi nēh ân te vēl Tallai....
\quad \text{''Brother there who from village Tallai....''}

\quad \text{''That fellow there, the one from Tallai....''}

FOOTNOTES:

1. Pacoh is a language of the Mon-Khmer family, spoken by approximately 10,000 people living on both sides of the border between South Vietnam and Laos in the mountainous region of Thụa Thiên Province west of Hue.

This study is based upon data gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1961-65 and in 1972, when study was resumed.

I want to express my appreciation to Cubuat, a most patient and untiring language teacher; to my husband, Richard L. Watson, for his suggestions and encouragement; and to Kenneth Gregerson and David Thomas for their advice in the organization and writing of this paper.

Frequently consulted in the preparation of this paper was the concordance of Pacoh texts made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the
2. Ordinal numbers amôi 'first' through achít 'tenth' occur following the noun head in the modifier position. They are most frequently used in reference to children or wives, but are also used, with different prefixes, for days and years—numbering back and numbering forward, e.g. ingay intra 'day before yesterday', ingay para 'day after tomorrow', camo ntrôan 'four years ago', camôn 'four years from now'.

3. Indefinite pronouns amâh and mnau 'what' and 'who' and demonstrative pronouns nneh, ncôh, etc. 'this', 'that', etc. may be substituted for the entire noun phrase.

4. For a more complete description of Pacoh pronouns see Watson, 1964.

REFERENCES:

