Nốh Pacóuh – Yoan – Anh

Ngữ - Vựng Pacóuh – Việt – Anh

Pacoh – Vietnamese – English Dictionary

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Preface

The Pacoh people, numbering up to 30,000, live in Thừa Thiên Province of central Viet Nam and Salavan Province of Laos. Pacoh is a member of the Mon-Khmer family of languages—specifically the Katuic group, which includes Bru, Ta–oaih, Katang, Katu, and Kriang (commonly known as Ngeq, but more properly Kriang or Ngkriang). The Tal–ay (PL) dialect, representing a village of that name on the Tal–ay river, is treated as the primary dialect because it is the dialect I have the most data for. Some entries are included for the Pahi Tamprin (PA), Pahi Axap (PC), and Kadô (PK) dialects. Three dialect names are abbreviated to PA, PC, and PL by combining P with the first letter of their word for 'no'. However, the PK dialect combines P with the first letter of its name, Kadô. There is only one entry noting a difference in Pi–ây (PI) for the word *mbár* 'tiger'.

The Pahi Tamprín (PA) area reaches down to the lowlands of the Mỹ Chanh River and uses the word *avaih* for 'no'. The Pahi Axap (PC) area extends from the Nươi valley down to the Perfume River and uses the word *cáh* for 'no'. The Tal–ay (PL) dialect uses *lâyq* for 'no'. The Kadô (PK) dialect is located along the border of Hương Hoa Province in Viet Nam and Salavan Province in Laos, up against the Bru to the north and Katang to the east. Kadô uses *lâyq* for 'no', but differs from the Tal–ay dialect in a number of ways, including borrowings from Bru, and a number of similarities with the Pahi, such as *ngki* 'then/so; that/there'. In Kadô, the word for 'here' varies between *nô* and *dô*. Other groups have named them "*Kadô*" by adding *Ka-*, which indicates a group that says "*dô*." Kadô is treated as a separate language in Laos and there is good reason for that, but more thorough comparisons need to be made.

Ideally any regular changes between dialects should be stated to reduce differences that need to be shown in entries. However, I have not discovered such regular rules. For example, Pahi Tamprin and Kadô do not have the Pacoh tense vowels *ei* [i], *aơ* [ɯ], *ou* [u], long or short. Yet there is no automatic rule since an *ei* vowel in Pacoh corresponds unpredictably to either *a, e or ê* in Pahi or Kadô; *aơ* in Pacoh corresponds to either *ơ* or *ưa*; and *ou* corresponds to either *o, ô, u,* or *au*, not to mention many words that have greater differences. I only regret that I have not been able to include more entries from the other dialects to better represent the differences.

In Vietnamese publications Pacoh is treated as a dialect of Ta–oih; however, Ta–oih is a very different language, like Kriang and Katang, in Laos to the west of the Pacoh (Watson 1969b).

Preparation of this dictionary has been an off and on project, begun in 1961 but interrupted for many years, especially following 1976. We are very grateful for all of those in the Pacoh community who contributed to our knowledge of the language and to the dictionary. Cubuot Canxóiq, (previously known as "Cubuat") is a member of the Pacoh community who was the primary contributor in the total program of gathering texts, translating, and explaining the meanings of words. I regret that he has never had opportunity to edit the dictionary. Saundra, my wife, had a major role in collecting words, typing most of the entries, and typing a camera-ready copy of the dictionary published in 1979. I, Richard, have written this preface and introductory chapters about the language and culture, and accept responsibility for any errors, both in the introduction and in the lexicon. Unfortunately, not enough time has been devoted to Vietnamese glosses; Vietnamese specialists in Viet Nam are needed to carry this out. A collection of texts is being interlinearized and will hopefully be made available some day.

Over 5000 entries have been added since the 1979 publication; however, some of those entries have been extracted from Pacoh texts without the assistance of a native speaker. Where definitions are unknown or in doubt, they are marked with double question marks (??), awaiting future Pacoh assistance.

Part one is vital to a better understanding of the Pacoh language. The first article provides a description of the Pacoh alphabet and pronunciation. The article on morphology gives a much fuller description of prefixes, infixes, and compounds than is given in the dictionary. The grammar also adds to the description of clitics given in the dictionary. In addition, phrase and sentence structure are described. Some pictures taken from Izikowitz's work on Lamet[1] have been added to enhance the definitions. Many

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[1]Appreciation is due to White Lotus Press for permission to use illustrations from *Lamet: Hill peasants in French Indochina,* by Karl Gustav Izikowitz (2001).

more definitions could have been improved with pictures, but as the war kept us out of the mountains, we were unable to have the benefit of a Pacoh artist or photographs from a Pacoh village.

Abbreviations

Separate charts of abbreviations are given in order to clearly distinguish kinship terms, lexical functions, and syntactic categories from more general terms. Where abbreviations in "Lexical Functions" duplicate those in "General Abbreviations" or "Syntactic Categories," they are not repeated under "Lexical Functions."

General Abbreviations

??	unknown/uncertain	PC	Pahi Axap
1	first	PFV	perfective
2	second	PI	Pi–ây
3	third	PK	Kadô
C	consonant	PL	High Pacoh or plural
CMPD	compound	RESTRICT	cultural restriction
DIST	distal	RTR	retracted tongue root
DU	dual	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	UNS	unspecified subject
L	liquid consonant	V	vowel
N	nasal consonant	>	becomes or derives
PA	Pahi Tamprin		

Kinship

B	brother	M	mother
C	child	m.	male
D	daughter	(m.s.)	male speaking
e	elder	P	parent
F	father	S	son
f.	female	W	wife
(f.s.)	female speaking	y	younger
H	husband	Z	sister

This system allows combinations such as WBW 'wife's brother's wife', MB 'mother's brother', eB(f.s.) 'elder brother (female speaking)'.

Lexical Functions

The chart below lists abbreviations for lexical functions. Several additional terms in this category—
"Idiom," "Sound," "Title," "Part and Whole"—are not abbreviated. See "Parts of an Entry" for further
description of lexical functions.

AG	agent
ANT	antonym
CAUS	causative
CAUSRECP	causative-reciprocal
COMPL	completive
CONTR	contraction
CPART	counterpart
DEF	definite
DH	downhill
DIV	divisor
EUPH	euphemism
FIG	figurative
GEN	generic
GROUP	collective/group
INVOL	involuntary action
INSTR	instrument
LIT	literally
MAT	material of headword
MULT	multiplier
NMZR	nominalizer
NOMI	nominalization
POSS	possessive
PRET	pretence; act
PROD	product
RECP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REP	repetitive; habitual
REPORT	reported speech
RES	resultative; consequence
RT	root
SIM	simultaneous
SIT	situation or activity typically associated with the headword
SOUND	sound associated with headword
SPEC	specific (kind of, type of, species)
SYN	synonym
SYND	other dialect form
SYNL	fully assimilated loan
UH	uphill

Syntactic Categories (including traditional parts of speech)

??	undetermined		NUM	numeral
ADJ	adjective		NUM.CARD	cardinal number
ADV	adverb		NUM.CLIT	numeral clitic
ADV.CLIT	adverbial clitic		NUM.ORD	ordinal number
ADV.T	adverb of time		NUM.PFX	numeral prefix
ADVP	adverbial phrase		PH	phrase
ADVR	adverbializer		PP	prepositional phrase
AUX	auxiliary		PREP	preposition
CL	classifier		PRO	pronoun
CONJ	conjunction		PRO.CLIT	pronoun clitic
DAT	dative		PRO.POSS	possessive pronoun
DEM	demonstrative		PRT	particle
DET	determiner		QUANT	quantifier
DET.CLIT	determiner clitic		QUES	question marker
DET.PFX	determiner prefix		REL	relativizer
EXCL	exclamation		REL.CL	relative clause
EXIST	existential		STAT.PFX	stative prefix
EXP	expressive, ideophone		TITLE	title
EXP.PFX	expressive prefix		TITLE.CLIT	title clitic
IMPER	imperative		TOP	topicalizer
INTENS	intensifier		V	verb
INTERJ	interjection		V.CLIT	verb clitic
MOD	modal		V.PFX	verb prefix
N	noun		VL	locational verb
N.KIN	kinship noun		VI	intransitive verb
N.KIN.PFX	kinship noun prefix		VM	middle verb (effected
N.PROP	proper noun		VOC	vocative
N.CLIT	noun clitic		VP	verb phrase
N.NFX	noun infix		VS	stative verb
N.PFX	noun prefix		VS.PFX	stative prefix
NEG	negative		VT	transitive verb
NP	noun phrase		YNQ	yes/no question

1 Parts of an Entry

Most users go straight into a dictionary to find what they are looking for. However, our entries are not entirely conventional, so we have included a list of the kinds of information that may be included in a main entry and their order of appearance. More information about the parts of an entry and the Pacoh language can be found in subsequent chapters.

Lexeme. The headword may be a single word, a compound, a phrase, or an idiom. It is presented in the latest form of the orthography that the authors are using. Except for our use of *d, dy, y, w q,* and vowel digraphs, it conforms to the Vietnamese orthography.

Homonym number. When two words or more words have the same spelling but are unrelated in meaning, they are distinguished by subscripted numbers.

Phonetic form. The spelling in square brackets follows the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

Variant form. An alternate pronunciation or spelling of the headword. In some cases I believe the form chosen as the variant may be arbitrary. In others cases a variant may turn out to be a different dialect form.

Dialect variants. When the headword of an entry is not from the Tal-ay (PL) dialect, the phonetic form is followed by the dialect abbreviation, as in "*a–ap* [ʔaʔaːp] PC." If dialect variations of the headword are given, they will be labeled by their dialect, e.g., "PL DIAL.: *ng–ap.*"

Sense number. If senses are distinguished, the Part of speech is preceded by a bolded number and bullet, e.g., "a-₂ [ʔaː-] **1**· n.kin.pfx."

Part of speech, or more correctly, **syntactic category**. A list of most syntactic categories is given under "Abbreviations." Syntactic categories are described in "Grammar Sketch." Many verbs, are simply labeled "v," pending further analysis as transitive, intransitive, locative or middle.

English definition. These are mostly glosses rather than real definitions; however, they are often expanded beyond simple glosses with additional information.

Literal meaning. This may be given when the meanings of parts of a compound or idiom are very different from the definition of the whole compound or idiom.

Vietnamese gloss. These are shown in italics when available. Many more need to be added to make this an adequate Vietnamese glossary.

Scientific name. This is given when known, e.g., " large-billed crow;...*Corvus m. macrorhynchos.*"

General notes. Additional information is given to contribute to understanding.

Pacoh example sentence. Many example sentences are taken from Pacoh texts while others are elicited. Examples are sometimes taken from Pahi texts, even when the headword is not labeled as Pahi, if the headword is both Pahi and Tal-ay. Kadô example sentences are only given for Kadô words because their differences are usually greater.

English translation of sentence. Some are very literal; others are fairly free translations. Many could be improved.

Lexical relations. Antonyms, synonyms and cross-references are all cross-linked so that a user can click on one to go to its main entry. I expect further study to show that some words I identified as synonyms should only be cross references, and vice versa.

Lexical functions. These involve a variety of cross-references to other words related by syntax, semantics, dialects, etc., apart from the three lexical relations mentioned above. A complete list of labels can be found under "Abbreviations." For example, in the entry for *avóuq* 'grandfather', "CPART: *acáq*" indicates that the Pacoh word *acáq* 'grandmother' is the counterpart of *avóuq*. Clicking on these words will take you to their main entries.

Borrowed word. "ᴠɴ" indicates 'Vietnamese', the source of most borrowings. However, since I have not done etymological research it is possible that even some words treated as borrowings might be cognates from a common ancestor language. On the other hand, the number of borrowings is continually growing, as schools and many occupations require the use of Vietnamese.

Category. The index number and name of a semantic domain that contains the headword, as found in the Dictionary Development Process by Ron Moe (2006).

Complexities. An attempt has been made to label all compounds "ᴄᴍᴘᴅ" and reduplications "ʀᴇᴅᴜᴘ." (See sections 3.3 and 4.14 for further description.) A few contractions are labeled "ᴄᴏɴᴛʀ." Additional grammatical information is given for some, such as "Binomial" or "Pre-tense."

Picture. Occasional sketches of the headword.

Subentry. In this dictionary only compounds that amplify the meaning of the headword, but do not change it, are treated as subentries. For example, *bui* 'happy' is headword of a main entry, and *bui be* 'happy' is simply a compound within that entry.

Minor Entry. Words labeled as "variants" in main entries for pronunciation or spelling differences, also occur as headwords of minor entries. These give minimal information and primarily refer back to the main entry.

2 Phonology Sketch

2.1 Alphabet and pronunciation

The Pacoh alphabet that was developed from 1961 to 1965 and used in the Pacoh dictionary published in 1969 conformed to the Vietnamese Quốc Ngữ to a large extent, but not entirely. For example, we used *ia, ưa, ua* even in the middle of words, rather than changing to the unnecessary *iê, ươ, uô*, as the Quốc Ngữ does word medially. However, since Pacoh children are now attending Vietnamese schools that only teach the Quốc Ngữ, we have conformed more to the Quốc Ngữ in the hope that Pacoh people will be able to learn to read their own language without much extra instruction. After all, a language should be written in the most practical way for its speakers. Having said that, I must confess that I have stubbornly held onto the use of *d* for [d] and *y* for [j], as is common around the world and in other minority languages of Viet Nam, rather than the Quốc Ngữ *đ* and *d,* which are easily confused. This is, of course, subject to change, if the readers and writers of Pacoh or the authorities were to make their preferences known.

In Pacoh, the glottal stop is a full consonant, but it is not written like other consonants. It is left unwritten at the beginning of words; for example, [ʔaːw] 'clothing', is simply written "*ao*" as in Vietnamese, but without a tone. *A-aq* [ʔaʔaːʔ] 'crow' illustrates all three positions with medial hyphen and final *q*. Since hyphens are normally used for punctuation or to join compounds or foreign words where there is no glottal (e.g., *Á-Châu* 'Asia', or *Phi-Châu* 'Africa'), it would be better to write medial glottal stop with *q*, but critics say *q* is ugly and could be mistaken for *g.* In some languages apostrophe (') is used, but that is too easily lost in both reading and writing. In the lexicon I have changed the medial glottal stops from hyphens to en dashes in order to distinguish them from hyphenation, so you will find "*a–aq,*" rather than "*a-aq.*"

In Vietnamese, a glottal stop occurs as a part of certain tones. In the Huế dialect, the acute accent *sắc* tone is not the high-rising tone of northern and southern dialects, but is low-rising plus a glottal stop. So, in Pacoh, the word *Huế* is usually pronounced [hweːʔ]) and thus spelled "*Huêq.*" This means that although [tiəʔ] 'old' should be written "*tiêq,*" according to the Quốc Ngữ rule that changes [iə] to *iê* before consonants, Pacoh readers prefer "*tiaq*" because they think the glottal stop is like the Vietnamese *sắc* tone, i.e., *tiá.* Similarly, [puəʔ] 'sunny' is written "*puaq*" instead of "*puôq.*"

The 1979 publication of this dictionary was alphabetized backward from the end of the word. This was done for two reasons. Simple Pacoh words are composed of one syllable or two. Two-syllable words are technically described as sesquisyllabic[2] and metrically iambic[3], that is, they are made up of a stressed final syllable preceded by an unstressed and phonologically reduced presyllable. In two syllable words, e.g., *pahúng* 'papaya', the main (second) syllable (*húng*) is obligatory and is stressed. In Mon-Khmer languages, presyllables may vary considerably between related languages and dialects. Main syllable initial consonants often vary as well because of the collapsing of presyllables. This means that a person searching for a word from the initial consonant would sometimes have to look in several places. Second, the vowels tend to be influenced phonetically by final consonants, so it is helpful to distinguish vowels by lining them up with their final consonants.

This electronic edition is alphabetized from front to back as is typical of dictionaries. However, linguists and language learners may find it useful to create their own reversed appendix. (This is easily done with Toolbox or LexiquePro.)

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[2]See Matisoff (1973) for the first use of this term, Thomas (1992) for further clarification, and also Haiman (2011).
[3]See Keller, Jordi, and Gregerson (2011).

Words are alphabetized in the following order:

(1)

a, á	ei, éi	nh	q, –
â	ea	o, ó	r
b	g	ô, ố	t
br	h	ou, óu	th
c	i, í	oa	tr
ch	ia, iê	ơ, ớ	u, ú
cl	k	aơ, áơ	ua, uô
cr	kh	ơa	ư, ứ
d	l	p	ưa, ươ
dy	m	ph	v
e, é	n	pl	x
ê, ế	ng	pr	y

Descriptions of Pacoh vowels, consonants and syllable structure are given below.

2.1.1 Vowels

The Pacoh language has thirty vowel sounds, fifteen that we might consider to have normal voicing and fifteen that have laryngeal tensing or retracted tongue root [+RTR]. Most vowels are much like Vietnamese vowels. However, Pacoh also has nine high [+RTR] vowels, and all non-glided vowels have a short-long contrast, e.g., *píh* 'to fill a hole' and *pih* 'a poison.' The retracted vowels are shown with a tilde below each. The mid vowels are like the Vietnamese mid vowels and the low retracted vowels are only slightly more tense than the Vietnamese low vowels.

Table 2.1. Vowels

	Front			Back-unrounded			Back-rounded		
	short	long	glide	short	long	glide	short	long	glide
High:	í [i]	i [iː]	ia, iê [iᵊ]	ứ [ɯ]	ư [ɯː]	ưa,ươ [ɯᵊ]	ú [u]	u [uː]	ua, uô [uᵊ]
High: [+RTR]	éi [i̞]	ei [i̞ː]	ea [i̞ᵃ]	áơ [ɯ̞]	aơ [ɯ̞ː]	ơa [ɯ̞ᵃ]	óu [u̞]	ou [u̞ː]	oa [u̞ᵃ]
Mid:	ế [e]	ê [eː]		â [ɤ]	ơ [ɤː]		ố [o]	ô [oː]	
Low: [+RTR]	é [ɛ]	e [ɛː]		á [a̞]	a [a̞ː]		ó [ɔ]	o [ɔː]	

For anyone who has seen materials in the 1963 orthography, breve was used to mark high [+RTR] vowels, but Vietnamese fonts only contain breve over the letter *a*. The digraphs used now don't require any unusual diacritics, and they reflect the sounds better.

Pacoh vowels are listed below with approximate equivalents in Vietnamese and English. High [+RTR] vowels don't have equivalents in either language, but can be approximated by making the high sound and pulling the tongue back in the throat until it sounds a bit like a mid sound. Sounds not found in Vietnamese or English are indicated by (-). A question mark precedes poor approximations. *Ư* can be approximated by pronouncing *u* with lips spread in a broad smile. *Ơ* is like an *o* with a broad smile. However, the short form is spelled with *â* as in Vietnamese and sounds more like a schwa [ə].

Table 2.2. Vowels with approximate equivalents in Vietnamese and English

Pacóuh	IPA	Vietnamese	English
í	[i]	ích	it
i	[iː]	im	seem
ia, iê	[iə]	chia, liên	meal
éi	[i̠]	(-)	(-)
ei	[i̠ː]	(-)	(-)
ea	[i̠a]	(-)	(-)
ế	[e]	ếch	bait
ê	[eː]	chê	rain
é	[ɛ]	hét	hep
e	[ɛː]	hè	hen
ứ	[ɯ]	ức	(-)
ư	[ɯː]	ư	(-)
ưa, ươ	[ɯə]	ưa, lương	(-)
áơ	[ɯ̠]	(-)	(-)
aơ	[ɯ̠ː]	(-)	(-)
ơa	[ɯ̠a]	(-)	(-)
â	[ɤ]	ấp	up
ơ	[ɤː]	thơ	stung
á	[a]	ăn	hot
a	[aː]	ha	father
ú	[u]	úp	soup
u	[uː]	xu	too
ua, uô	[uə]	chua, luôn	pool
óu	[u̠]	(-)	(-)
ou	[u̠ː]	(-)	(-)
oa	[u̠a]	(-)	(-)
ố	[o]	hộp	soap
ô	[oː]	cô	hone
ó	[ɔ]	cọp	taut, caught
o	[ɔː]	lo	law

2.1.2 Consonants

Pacoh has 21 consonants, shown below with approximate equivalents. Note that *b*, *d*, and *dy* are implosive, like the Vietnamese *b* and *đ*. The glottal stop contrasts with other consonants in syllable-initial and word-final positions, but it is not written word initially. Voiceless stops *p* and *k* can be followed by *l* or *r* as well as *h*. *t* can be followed by *r* as well as *h*. In some dialects *ch* [c] can be followed by *r*.

Table 2.3. Consonants with approximate equivalents in Vietnamese and English

Pacóuh	IPA	Vietnamese	English
b	[ɓ]	ba	ʔ**b**oo
c	[k]	ca	s**c**at
ch	[c]	cha	ex**ch**ange
d	[ɗ]	đi	ʔ**d**o
dy	[ʄ]	(-)	ʔ**J**oe
h	[h]	ha	**h**ot
k	[k]	kim	s**k**in
kh	[kʰ]	kha	**c**up
l	[l]	la	**l**ive
m	[m]	ma	**m**an
n	[n̪]	na	**n**eed
ng	[ŋ]	nga	si**ng**ing
nh	[ɲ]	nha	(Sp. se**ñ**or)
p	[p]	pin	s**p**ot
ph	[pʰ]	(-)	**p**a
q/–	[ʔ]	ê–a	oh–oh
r	[ř]	ra	(Sp. pe**r**o)
x	[s]	xa	**s**ee
t	[ṭ]	ta	s**t**and
tha	[ṭʰ]	tha	**t**all
u/o (final)	/w/ [w]	lao, sau	**w**ow
v (initial)	/w/ [v]	vé	**v**an
y (initial)	[j]	dạ	**y**a
y, i (final)	[j]	đay, đai	die [da:j]

2.2 Word and syllable structure

Word structure formulas are (CV)CV(C) and (CVC)CV(C). There is also phonological compounding, especially in expressives. For example, *áh a–ér* 'of melodious singing' is a single lexical word although composed of two phonological words. All consonants can occur in syllable initial positions, but voiced stops and clusters cannot occur syllable finally. Presyllables, also known as "minor syllables," have reduced consonant and vowel inventories. In a CV presyllable, *a*, *i*, and *u* can occur, but in CVC presyllables only *a* occurs and it is reduced to [ə] schwa in that position. Initial consonants can only be *p*, *t*, *k*, or the glottal stop, unless they are duplicating the initial syllable of the main syllable. Final consonants in presyllables can only be nasals or liquids and are written by themselves when preceded by the glottal stop plus schwa, e.g., /ʔən/ is just written *n*, as in *ntíh* 'up there'. (The glottal stop consonant is never written word initially.) In the phonetic transcriptions in the lexicon, I have divided syllables with a period, e.g., [təm.pat], especially between consonants, but not always between a vowel and consonant, e.g., [ʔakɛ:ʔ].

The following is a list of presyllables found in the database; some can also be prefixes, as described in chapter 4, "Grammar Sketch":

(2)

a-	[ʔa]	*l-*	[ʔəl]	*pam-*	[pəm]
ba-	[ɓa]	*la-*	[la]	*pan-*	[pən, pəŋ]
bal-	[ɓəl]	*lal-*	[ləl]	*pang-*	[pəŋ]
bam-	[ɓəm]	*li-*	[li]	*par-*	[pəř]
bar-	[ɓəř]	*lu-*	[lu]	*pi-*	[pi]
bi-	[ɓi]	*m-*	[ʔəm]	*pru-*	[přu]
ca-	[ka]	*ma-*	[ma]	*pu-*	[pu]
cal-	[kəl]	*mal-*	[məl]	*r-*	[ʔəř]
cam-	[kəm]	*mam-*	[məm]	*ra-*	[řa]
can-	[kən, kəŋ, kəɲ]	*mar-*	[məř]	*ral-*	[řəl]
car-	[kəř]	*mu-*	[mu]	*ri-*	[řri]
cu-	[ku]	*n-*	[ʔən, ʔəɲ]	*ru-*	[řu]
cha-	[ca]	*ng-*	[ʔəŋ]	*ta-*	[ta]
chan-	[cən]	*na-*	[na]	*tal-*	[təl]
chi-	[ci]	*nal-*	[nəl]	*tam-*	[təm]
da-	[ɗa]	*nan-*	[nən]	*tan-*	[tən, təŋ, təɲ]
dam-	[ɗəm]	*nu-*	[nu]	*tang-*	[təŋ]
dan-	[ɗən]	*ng-*	[ʔəŋ]	*tar-*	[təř]
dar-	[ɗəř]	*nga-*	[ŋa]	*ti-*	[ti]
di-	[ɗi]	*ngan-*	[ŋən, ŋəŋ]	*tu-*	[tu]
du-	[ɗu]	*ngar-*	[ŋəř]	*u-*	[ʔu]
dya-	[ʄa]	*ngi-*	[ŋi]	*va-*	[va]
ha-	[ha]	*nha-*	[ɲa]	*xa-*	[sa]
hal-	[həl]	*nhan-*	[ɲəɲ]	*xan-*	[sən]
hang-	[həŋ]	*nhar-*	[ɲəř]	*xi-*	[si]
har-	[həř]	*nhi-*	[ɲi]	*ya-*	[ja]
i-	[ʔi]	*pa-*	[pa]	*yan-*	[jəɲ]
ki-	[ki]	*pal-*	[pəl]		

3 Morphology Sketch

There are three categories of morphology in Pacoh: prefixes, infixes, and compounding. Clitics look like prefixes and are phonologically indistinguishable from them, but they are described under "Grammar Sketch," rather than "Morphology Sketch." Pacoh has many derivational affixes, but what appear to be inflectional prefixes are determined to be clitics instead. *U* = '3sg', for example, is described in "Grammar Sketch" (under "4.3 Pronouns").

    Note that there are many affix + root words found in the dictionary because of frequent occurrence. However, most potential occurrences are omitted.

3.1 Prefixes

Some of the presyllables listed and described under "Syllable Structure" are never prefixes, while others may be prefixes or clitics on some roots but only part of the root in other words. *A*, for example, is often just part of a two-syllable root, but may be *a-* or *a* = with any of five known functions, and possibly others not yet determined. *A* occurs on the front of most fauna and some flora terms and most kinterms without any known morphological function; however, in the case of kinterms it is treated as a prefix since it can be dropped in a title or replaced by a possessive prefix. Further etymological work is still needed. See S.Watson (1966) or Alvez (2006) for fuller descriptions of verbal affixation.

(117) Prefixes in Pacoh:

a-   [ʔa] NUM.PFX for ordinal numbers, e.g., *achít* 'tenth'.

a-   [ʔa] N.KIN.PFX when they are not possessed or used as a title. *e.g., avóuq acáq* 'grandfather grandmother'.

a-   [ʔa] *V.PFX* causative, e.g., *avaih* 'create' (vaih 'appear') *abôn* 'get' (bôn 'have'). (allomorph of *pa-*).

a-   [ʔa] *V.PFX* negation, e.g., *Abéinh.* 'No'. (In Pahi dialect *avaih* is *neg* 'not'). (**a-** as a negative marker is idiosyncratic, not productive.)

ca-   [ka] V.PFX causative, e.g., *catứp* 'cause to be covered' (allomorph of *pa-*).

dupCaN- NUM.PFX divisor, e.g.*, bambar* 'divide into two'. (Variants: *bam-; pam-; xan-; chan-*).

dupCV-1 V.PFX repetitive, general, habitual action, e.g., *papéinh* 'shooting' (Variants: *pa-; ta-; ki-; ti-; xi-; xa-; chan-).*

dupCV-2 NUM.PFX all inclusive, GROUP, e.g., *babar* 'all two', *pape*; 'all three'. (Variants: *ba-; pa-; xa-; chi-.*)

dupCV-3 STAT.PFX collective, e.g., *kakét* 'little ones'. (Variant: *ba-, pa-, xa-, chi-, a-.*)

i-   [ʔi] N.KIN.PFX possessed kin, e.g., *icounh cư* 'my father'

i-   [ʔi] DET.PFX like, e.g., *inéh, icốh* 'like this, like that'. (possible *proclitic?* of *in* 'same, similar'*)*

pa-   [pa] V.PFX causative, e.g., *pacha* 'cause to eat; feed'. [Variants: *a-, ca-, ta-.*]

par-   [pər] N.KIN.PFX parent title, e.g., *parcounh* 'father title'.

par-   [pər] N.PFX NomAct, e.g., caq 'to straighten' > *parcaq* 'the straightening'.

par-   [pər] V.PFX causative + reciprocal, e.g., *parhoc* 'cause each other to learn; teach each other'.

r-   [ʔər] V.PFX reciprocal, e.g., *rrôq ryour* 'help each other up' (allomorph of tar-).

ta-   [ta] V.PFX involuntary action., e.g., *cáh tacút ati* 'accidentally cut hand' *[Gram:* full form includes preceding reduplicative morpheme*].*

ta-   [ta] V.PFX causative, e.g., *tabíq* 'cause to sleep' (allomorph of *pa-*).

tar-   [tər] V.PFX reciprocal, e.g., *tartáq* 'fight each other'.

tar-   [tər] NUM multiplier, e.g., *tarbar* 'times two'.

ti-   [ti] V.PFX to-be-X-ed; stativizer; resultant state, e.g., *ticlơq llóung* 'pushed (closed) door'. [Gram. Semantic subject follows verb. Not correct to say *llóung ticlơq* with subject preceding the verb.]

U-   [ʔu] N.KIN.PFX title, e.g., *Uvóuq* 'Sir grandfather'.

3.2 Infix

Only one infix, **-N-** 'nominalizer', has been found in Pacoh. Allomorphs are *-n-, -nn-, -r-,* and *-l-,* as well as an epenthetic *a.* *-N-* converts verbs to nouns and is very productive, e.g., *prêh* 'sweep' > *parnêh* 'broom', *clanh* 'braid' > *callanh* 'braided thing', *pear* 'go along edge', and *panear* 'path along edge'. As can be observed in the preceding examples, nominalization can encode the instrument, result, or location of an action. Notice that when an infix is added to stems beginning with consonant clusters, like *pr* and *cl*, they appear to have a prefix, like *par-* and *cal-*. In fact, an infix, usually *-r-*, is often inserted into a two-syllable verb, such as *culâl* 'to turn eyes up', resulting in *carlâl* 'protruding eyes'. This is often the case with causatives, resulting in what appears to be *par-*, the causative reciprocal prefix on verbs, e.g., *pahoc* 'cause to learn; teach' becomes *parhoc* 'the teaching' which, in a verbal context, would mean 'cause each other to learn'; 'teach each other'. At the same time there are *par-* initial nominatives that show no evidence of being derived from causatives, and so *par-* must also be treated as a nominative prefix, as shown on the prefix list.

3.3 Compounding

There is compounding without reduplication and reduplication without compounding. However, there is so much of both and they are so often combined in Mon-Khmer languages that I am including both in this section. This does not include expressives that look like compounds, but are only single words, as mentioned in section 2.2. You will find some phrases labeled as compounds that would be phrases in English, e.g.,

atong cuteq	or	*atong ngngam*
bean earth		bean sweet
'peanut'		'sweet peas'

There is complete reduplication marking augmentatives, e.g., *nong nong* 'always'. There is main syllable reduplication, indicating intensification, e.g., *lalúng lúng* 'stark naked', or repetition, e.g., *cacláh cláh* 'to keep on splitting'; or reciprocity, e.g., *rnap nap* 'bullying each other'.

Compounding of synonyms and closely related words, e.g., *bui êm* 'happy content', could be considered as semantic reduplication. These give an amplified meaning, for example, *dúng* 'house' plus *veil* 'village' combine to encompass the whole community of people as well as buildings, etc. These often include elements of phonological reduplication as well, e.g., *axâq axéinh* 'all kinds of rice'. In some cases the second element is meaningless by itself and has been termed an "echo word," e.g., *bui be* 'happy'. Compounds of two similar words are called "binomials." Three word compounds are called "trinomials" and always contain reduplicative elements, e.g., *arưih rứng trứng* 'wilderness'.

Compounds of four or more words are called "multinomials" and are labeled "IDIOM" in parts if speech, e.g., *aleq adouh apouh a–ao* 'tired and worn out'. The first word means 'tired'; whether other words in an idiom are lexical items or only reduplicative fillers is often uncertain. *Chir líc tíc viêc* 'all kinds of work' contains *chir* 'many' and *viêc* 'work'. I have no other instance of *líc tíc*, but *tíc bíc* is an ideophone meaning 'crowded' and *líc* also occurs in *chir líc panaih panam* 'all kinds of jackfruit'.

Compounds have all been given separate entries in the Pacoh lexicon whether their meaning is given as a single word, e.g., *bui be* 'happy' or two or more words.

4 Grammar Sketch

This brief sketch was prepared to accompany the dictionary. A full list of parts of speech is given under "Abbreviations" following the preface. For a more complete grammar of Pacoh, see *A grammar of Pacoh: A Mon-Khmer language of the Central Highlands of Vietnam* (Alves 2006).

4.1 Dominant word order

Typical word order for main declarative clauses is subject-verb-object (SVO), as in Vietnamese or English, e.g.,

(3) *Achai   doq hôm a–ay nngeat, u=chou   dyeal loi   pakhúm.*
    o.brother PFV see pain cold,   he=return[4] take more blanket

    'He felt too cold and he returned to get another blanket.'

Both object and goal follow a ditransitive verb:

(4) *Dyoun   acư   adơaih   ngcốh.*
    give   to.me   monkey   that

    'Give me that monkey.'

    or

(5) *Dyoun   adơaih   ngcốh   acư.*
    give   monkey   that   to.me

    'Give that monkey to me.'

All dative goals require the preposition *ado*, or its clitic *a=* 'to/for', regardless of position. When a sentence has both an object and a goal, the order is determined by focus. In (4), 'to.me' is the participant or goal in focus and precedes the object. Later in the same story, focus shifted in (5) and the object preceded the goal. In most cases only the goal or object is stated, depending upon focus.

A locative goal normally follows a locative verb. However, with a transitive locative verb, e.g., *dông* 'take', the object normally precedes the locative goal.

(6) *Do   dông atéh   tốq   piday.*
    he   take basket to   field

    'He took a basket to the field.'

4.2 Other possible word orders

Content question words/phrases and other focus elements are usually fronted.

(7) *Dáng   mmo   may   át?*

    place   which   you   live?

    'Where do you live?'

---

[4]The equal sign (=) distinguishes clitics from affixes; see section 4.3, "Pronouns" for more on clitics in Pacoh.

(8) *Ndóung két cư, r–ay cannóh cốh lâyq yốh prât itáq ndóung nno mpot*

    time   small   I,   things   other   TOP   not yet able to.do   time   season   harvest

    'When I was small, I wasn't yet able to do anything else during harvest season.'

In (9) the object is fronted. In (10) an adverbial phrase is fronted. Note that *alứng* should be treated as part of a verb compound, 'brings with him', rather than as a preposition.

(9) *Adơaih ngcốh dyoun acư.*

    monkey   that   give   to.me

    'Give that monkey to me.'

(10) *O lư u=dông alứng tarhau tarhoui.*

    good   very   he=carry   with   medicine   meds

    'He is very good to bring medicines with him.'

Existential and middle verbs are normally followed by their subject, e.g.,

(11) *Vi ngai ân lâyq chom uráq.*

    exist   they   that   not   know   writing.

    'There are those who don't know writing.'

(12) *Yôl tanna*

    remain   food

    'There is food remaining.'

The negation *íh* 'not so' precedes a noun phrase or a proposition:

(13) *Nám íh do, cốh plốh xáq cannóh loi.*

    if   not.so   it,   then   ask   demon   other   more.

    'If it wasn't the one, then ask another demon.'

(14) *Íh may tran ma may táq o ngéq coum.*

    not.so   you   decorate   but   you   made   so   all   black

    'You didn't decorate but you made it all black.'

Verbless topic comment clauses are very common. There is a 'be' particle that can be used in topic comment clauses when the predicate complement is a noun phrase, but it is probably a loan from Vietnamese and is rarely used except by those who borrow most heavily from Vietnamese. Examples without 'be' are:

(15) *Mmo Achít dyê?*

    where   ord-ten   already

    'Where (is) Number-ten already?'

(16) *Nnéh day.*

    rel-here   I/me

    'Here I am.' or 'This is me.'

(17) *Do   ticuôi   Pacóuh.*
     he   person   Pacoh

   'He is a Pacoh person.'

(18) *Do   la(h)   ticuôi   Pacóuh.*
     he   is   person   Pacoh

   'He is a Pacoh person.'

4.3 Pronouns

The Pacoh pronoun system has dual pronouns, quoted first person forms *day* and *peday,* and distal forms of third person plural. All pronouns can be used as subject, object, or possessive, depending on grammatical position. *Ngai* can be translated 'general they' or 'people'. *Ngâh* is only used in subject position when the subject is either unknown or not specified for politeness or grammatical reasons. These pronoun forms and the third person clitic forms are discussed further below. All are only used of persons, except *do* that can also refer to animals and occasionally to inanimate things.

Table 4.1. Pronouns

	1st PERSON	2nd PERSON	3rd PERSON	3rd DISTAL
SINGULAR	*cư* [kɯ]; *day* [daj]	*may* [maj]	*do* [dɔː], *u=* [ʔuː]	
DUAL	*nháng* [ɲaŋ]	*inha* [ʔiɲaː]	*anha* [ʔaɲaː]	
PLURAL	*he* [hɛː]; *peday* [pɛdaj]	*ipe* [ʔipɛː]	*ape* [ʔapɛː]	*ngai* [ŋaːj] *ngâh* [ŋɤh], *i=* [ʔiː]

Pacoh pronouns can be modified like nouns[5], e.g.,

(19) *Ngéq   he   Pacóuh   ân   át   ti   veil…*
     all   we   Pacoh   that   live/stay   at   village

   'All we Pacoh that live at village'…

(20) *Pe   náq   he   nnéh*
     three   CL   we   this

   'The three of us'

(21) *He   (ân)   te   veil   Arứm.*
     we   (that)   from   village   Arứm

   'We (that) from Arứm village'

Two pronouns have clitic forms[6] when in subject position preceding monosyllabic verbs.[7] *U=* is the clitic form of *do* '3SG', e.g.,

(22) *Do   pôc   tốq   piday.*   or   *U=pôc   tốq   piday.*
     he   go   to   field   he=go   to   field

   'He went/goes to the field.'

---

[5]Noun phrase structure is described in section 4.6, "Structure of Noun Phrases."
[6]A clitic in this usage is a reduced form of an independent word that has been abbreviated to conform to the prefix position of a following verb.
[7]See Watson (2009).

I = is the clitic form of *ngâh* 'unspecified subject', which normally precedes monosyllabic verbs. *Ngâh* or *i =* can occur in any third person subject position, e.g.,

(23) | *Ma* | *ân* | *i = doq* | *táq* | *thét* | *ma* | *lâyq* | *ngâh* | *iyư.* |
|------|------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| but | that | UNS = PCV | do | wrong | but | not | UNS | remember |

'What someone did wrong, someone doesn't remember.'

Ngâh and *i =* are also used for second person commands and blessings, as though they were given to a third person, or people in general, e.g.,

(24) | *Acâp* | *i = pôc.* |
|-------|-----------|
| don't | UNS = go |

'Don't (you) go.'

(25) | *O* | *toi* | *ngâh* | *tumóung.* |
|-----|-------|--------|-----------|
| So | long.time | UNS | live |

'May you live long.' or 'Long may you live!'

(26) | *A–o* | *i = át* | *au!* |
|-------|---------|--------|
| so-good | UNS = stay/live | imp! |

'(May you) stay well!'

Ngâh and *i =* also occur as subject in an embedded "infinitive" or purpose clause, e.g.,

(27) | *A–i* | *bâlboup* | *tông* | *achưng* | *a = cư,* | *ngâh* | *iyư* | *tốq* | *xéiq* | *nôra.* |
|-------|-----------|--------|---------|----------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| Mother | continually | speak | instruct | to = me, | UNS | remember | when | mature | future. |

'Mother continually instructed me so I would remember when I grew up.'

(28) | *Cốh* | *u = pôc* | *tốq* | *nnong* | *i = táq* | *piday.* |
|-------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|
| then | he = go | to | woods | UNS = make | field |

'Then he went to the woods to make a field.'

(29) | *Carchól* | *lâyq* | *chom* | *amâh* | *i = ính.* |
|-----------|---------|--------|--------|-----------|
| Carchól | not | know | what | UNS = want |

'C didn't know what to want (what he wanted).'

As in Vietnamese, kin terms are often translated as pronouns in English, although they are nouns, e.g., *achai* 'older sibling of same sex' is a common reference that can be translated as 'you', 'he' or 'she', depending on the context.

Word order patterns in subordinate clause types (adverbial clause, complement clause) are the same as in matrix clauses. The same is true of relative clauses, assuming that the gap[8] in a relative clause can be assigned to the usual position of the missing constitutent.

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[8]For further discussion of "gaps," see section 4.7, "Relative Clauses."

4.4 Adpositions

Pacoh has prepositions, not postpositions. Some prepositions are related to verbs and might alternatively be analyzed as serial verbs, e.g., the verb *tốq* 'arrive' also functions as a preposition 'at', 'to', 'until', or 'on':

(30) *Do   pôc   tốq   piday.*
     he   go   to   field

   'He went to the field.' or 'He is going to the field.'

The following exemplifies both verbal and prepositional functions:

(31) *Aláh   ngai   tốq,   ngai   tốq   tốq   cuteac.*
     if   they   arrive, they   arrive on   ground

   'If they arrive, they will arrive on the ground' (i.e., not on air or water).

Some prepositions are more noun-like and sometimes called noun relators[9], e.g., *dáng* can be translated 'place' or 'at', as in

(32) *Ngai   át   dáng   cốh.*
     they   stay place/at   that

   'They stay there.'

Positional prepositions often occur without a following noun, so would be called "adverbs" in English linguistics, but as relational nouns no additional noun is needed, e.g.,

(33) *Do   át   iniêng.*
     he   stay above

   'He stayed above/on top.'

(34) *Do   doq   abêh   tốq   iniêng   kichơng.*
     he   put   squirrel at   above   table

   'He put the squirrel on top of the table.'

There are exceptions, but generally *te* 'from' is for geographical location while *tư* 'from' is for temporal location, e.g.,

(35) *Ngai   pôc   te   tatíh.*[10]
     they   come/go   from   up.there

   'They came from up there.'

(36) *Tư   cucheit   a–ám   a–i,   pôc   tumúh   dúng   Avốq.*
     from   death   father   mother,   go   meet   house   grandpa

   'From the death of their parents they went and met Grandpa's house.'

Alứng 'with' is primarily used of accompaniment, while *ti* 'by' is used for location or instrument, e.g.,

(37) *Alứng   nnau   may   pôc?*
     with   who   you   go

   'With whom did you go (are/will go)?'

---

[9]See Alves (2006).
[10]The direction 'from' requires the ta- prefix on demonstratives.

(38) *Do* *taran* *ti* *cucháh* *ân* *coum*
     he   decorate   by   charcoal   that   black

     'He decorated with the black charcoal.'

The dative *ado* (and its clitic form *a=*) marks a second object of a verb like 'give', either preceding or following the first object (as shown in section 4.1, "Dominant Word Order").

Table 4.2. Pronouns with dative markers *a=* and *ado*

	1ˢᵗ PERSON	2ⁿᵈ PERSON	3ʳᵈ PERSON
SINGULAR	*acứ* 'to/for me'; *aday* 'to/for me'	*amay* 'to/for you'	*ado* 'to/for him/her'
DUAL	*anháng* 'to/for us(2)'	*ado inha* 'to/for you(2)'	*ado anha* 'to/for them(2)'
PLURAL	*ahe* 'to/for us'; *ado peday* 'to/for us'	*ado ipe* 'to/for you(PL)'	*ado ape* 'to/for them'; *angai* 'to/for them(distal)'

(39) *Ngai* *táq* *thét* *ado* *he* *Pacóuh.*[11]
     they   do   wrong   to   us   Pacoh

     'They did wrong to us Pacoh.'

It can also be fronted, as in the following,

(40) *Ado* *ixai* *cứ* *a–ay* *âp* *lứ*
     to   POSS.brother   my   sick   much   very

     or

(41) *Âp* *lứ* *a–ay* *ado* *ixai* *cứ.*
     much   very   sick   to   POSS.brother   my

     'Concerning my-older-brother (he is/was) very sick.'

(42) *N=néh* *ado* *Achít.*
     N=here   to/for   ord-ten

     'This is for No.10.'

(43) *I=cốh* *diêiq* *a=cứ.*
     like=that   difficult   to/for=me

     'Like that is difficult for me.'

When preceding the third person singular pronoun *do*, *ado* 'to/for' and *a=do* 'to him/her' are homophonous, e.g.,

(44) *Icốh* *lứ* *diêiq* *a=do.*
     like=that   very   difficult   to/for=he/him

     'Like that is very difficult for him.'

---

[11]Although *a=* usually joins with *he*, *he Pacóuh* and *he ticuôi* 'we people' are treated as phrases requiring *ado*.

4.5 Possessives

A personal noun or pronoun following a noun usually functions as a possessor of the noun, e.g.,

(45) *práq*   *avóuq*
     silver/money   grandfather

     'grandfather's silver/money'

If the possessed noun is a kin term, *i-* 'POSS-KIN' must be prefixed to it. This is inalienable possession marked on the kinterm, e.g.,

(46) *ivóuq*   *cư*
     POSS-grandfather   my

     'my grandfather'

Ndo (*N=do*) functions as a noun 'belongings' when it occurs as possessed head of a noun phrase. This is inalienable possession, e.g.,

(47) *ndo*   *achai*
     belongings   brother

     'belongings of brother' or 'his belongings'

In a possessive clause, *ndo* functions as the head of the predicate complement e.g.,

(48) *Práq*   *n=néh*   *ndo*   *avóuq.*
     silver   n=here   belonging   grandfather

     'This silver (is) belonging grandfather.' or 'This is grandfather's money.'

When *ndo* precedes a one-syllable pronoun, it is contracted to the clitic *N=* and the result is a possessed noun, e.g., *ngcư* 'GEN-1SG' ('my belonging=mine'). *N=* assimilates to the initial consonant of the pronoun, e.g., *ngcư* [ʔəŋkɯ] 'mine' and *mmay* 'yours', etc. In this way *ndo* can also occur as a reduction of *ndo do* 'possession his/hers'.

(49) *Lư,*   *n=do*   *ân*   *dyoat*
     truly,   belonging=him   that   crippled

     'Really, they are the crippled one's belongings.'

Table 4.3. Pronouns with possessive markers *N=* and *ndo*

	1st PERSON	2nd PERSON	3rd PERSON
SINGULAR	*ngcư* 'mine'; *nday* 'mine'	*mmay* 'yours'	*ndo* 'his/hers'
DUAL	*nnháng* 'ours(2)'	*ndo inha* 'yours(2)'	*ndo anha* 'theirs(2)'
PLURAL	*ng-he* 'ours'; *ndo peday* 'ours'	*ndo ipe* 'yours(PL)'	*ndo ape* 'theirs'; *nngai* 'theirs(distal)'

4.6 Structure of noun phrases

A noun phrase can consist of quantifiers, a classifier, head noun, a modifier phrase, a demonstrative, relative clauses and prepositional phrases, but it is rare for any noun phrase to occur with more than a few of these constituents.[12] In the description of a noun phrase below, a constituent followed by superscript 2 can be doubled, e.g., *pe poan dúng* 'three four houses' can mean 'three or four houses' or 'a few houses':

NP → (quantifier)² (classifier) noun (modifier phrase)² (demonstrative) (relative clause)² (prep phrase)²

Quantifiers and classifiers precede nouns while all modifiers follow them.

Nouns do not distinguish number (although there is a reduplicative prefix indicating collectivity). Glosses of nouns are entered in the lexicon as singular, e.g., *achéiq* 'bird', but they could just as accurately be plural, e.g., 'birds'.

Proper Nouns can also be modified as head nouns in NP's, e.g.,

(50) *Mâh   náq   Achúl   ngcốh*
     one   class   Achúl   that.one

     'That one Achúl there.'

Quantification includes both quantifiers that do not require classifiers and numerals that usually do, e.g.,

(51) *mâh   llám   campay*
     one   CL   wife

     'one wife'

(52) *ngéq   achát   cư*
     all   axes   1SG

     'all of my axes'

(53) *bar,   pe,   poan   ingay*
     two,   three,   four   days
     'a few days'

Nouns can be modified by a pronoun, noun, or NP, e.g.,

(54) *a–ám   do*
     father   3SG

     'his father'

(55) *veil   Tal–ay*
     village   Tal–ay

     'Tal–ay village'

(56) *Ndóung   pang   achuôih   inô   ntra*
     time   lifetime   great-grandparents   past   time

     'In the past in the generation of great grandparents'

---

[12]See S. Watson (1976).

Ndóung 'time' above is modified by the rest of the phrase, *pang* 'lifetime' is modified by *achuôih* 'great-grandparents'. 'Lifetime gr-grandparents' is a phrase modified by *inô ntra* 'past time'.

Determiners and demonstratives. There is no 'a' or 'the' determiner in Pacoh, but demonstratives are elevated to determiner status by addition of the *N=* clitic, e.g.,

(57) *veil*   *n=néh*

     village   this

     'this village'

(58) *veil*   *ng=cốh*

     village   that

     'that village' (pointed to or previously mentioned)

Noun modifier + det:

(59) *ula*   *along*   *idứh*

     leaf   tree   previously.mentioned

     'the tree leaf (previously.mentioned)'

A relative clause modifier can contain a stative verb:

(60) *ngéq*   *acay*   *coai*   *ân*   *cakét*

     all   children   lizard   that   small

     'all the little lizard children'

Stative verbs can modify nouns with or without the relator *ân*. It appears that without *ân* the modifier is descriptive, but with *ân* it is identificative, e.g.,

(61) *cong*   *pứt-pet*   *dơi*

     fallen.tree   big   INTENS

     'a huge fallen tree'

(62) *cong*   *ân*   *pứt-pet*   *dơi*

     fallen.tree   that   big   INTENS

     'the fallen tree that is huge'

Prepositional phrases can modify nouns:

(63) *veil*   *dáng*   *Tinê*

     village   at   Tinê

     'the village at Tinê'

Classifiers are used in counting, e.g.,

(64) *Yôl*   *moui*   *náq*   *conh*   *bar*   *náq*   *cán.*

     remained   one   CL   man   two   CL   woman

     'One man and two women remained.'

but they have other functions as well, indicating individuality, e.g.,

(65) | Ngay | nxoar | vi | lám | acay | conh | vi | lám | acay | cán. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| they | tell.story | there.was | CL | child | boy | there.was | CL | child | girl. |

'They tell a story that there was one boy and one girl.'

(*Lám* is the most general classifier, especially for children and animals, while *náq* is usually used for adults.)

Classifiers may also serve as generic references or as anaphoric references when the referent is known, e.g.,

(66) | Do | dyoun | mâh | náq | bar | lám | nưm. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he | give | one | CL | two | CL | only |

'He gave each person two things only.'

Note that counting can also follow the noun. This appears to be fronting of the head noun, but I know nothing of the history, e.g.,

(67) | U=táq | tinoul | poan | lám. |
|---|---|---|---|
| he=made | post | four | CL |

'He made four posts.'

An NP or pronoun can modify the head noun as possessor[13] or kind, e.g.,

(68) | Ticuôi | cư. |
|---|---|
| people | 1SG |

'My people'

or

(69) | Ticuôi | Pacóuh. |
|---|---|
| person/people | Pacoh |

'Pacoh person/people'

In the following, *Ndóung* 'time' is modified by an NP:

(70) | Ndóung | pang | achuôih | inô | ntra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| time-period | generation | great-grandparents | past | time |

'During our great grandparents time in the past'

(*Pang achuôih* , 'generation great-grandparents' is itself an NP modifying 'time'.)

A prepositional phrase or time phrase occurs last in an NP, e.g.,

(71) | counh | ape | Talláh | te | veil | Talláh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | they | Talláh | from | village | Talláh |

'man of Talláh from the village of Talláh'

(72) | Ndóung | pang | achuôih | inô | ntra |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| time-period | generation | great-grandparents | past | time |

'During great-grandparents generation in the past'

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[13]See section 4.5, "Possessives."

4.7 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are postnominal, that is, they follow the head of the noun phrase, use the relativizer *ân*, and apply the gap strategy. For example, if the noun head would be the object of the relative clause, there is a gap in its place, as with 'deer' in the following example:

(73) *kune   ân   acho   cáp*
     deer   that   dog   bit   ø

'the deer that the dog bit'

A relative clause can contain a single stative verb, or a pair of stative verbs that are parallel, e.g.,

(74) *ân   o   ân   béinh*
     that   good/pretty   that   strong

'the good and strong one'

Pacoh does not appear to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Relative clauses often occur without a visible noun head when the head can be retrieved from the previous context, for example, where the context is game animals:

(75) *Nám   ape   bôn   ân   két   cốh   Achít   bôn   ân   pưt.*
     if   they   get   that   small,   so   No.10   get   that   large.

'If they got a small one, No.10 would get a large one.'

When no head is retrievable, the pronoun *amâh* 'whatever' can be assumed:

(76) *I=hôm   ngéq   i=hôm   ma   ihôm   tumán   ân   yông   ma   i=hôm   tumán   tốq   tallâng*
     UNS=see   all   UNS=see   but   UNS=see   near   that   far   but   UNS=see   near   to   mirror
'One sees all; he sees close whatever is far. One sees everything close in a crystal ball.'

Only the direct object is relativized in the examples above, but in fact, any position where a noun phrase can occur can be relativized. The following is an example in which the subject is relativized:

(77) *Achít   ân   lư   hôm   ø   cốh   lâyq   tông.*
     ord-ten   that   really   see   then   not   say

'No.10 who really saw one didn't say.'

The following is an example of a relative clause occurring in an oblique phrase that expresses recipient:

(78) *Chom   amâh   do   néh   át   nhiêm,   avayh   ado   peday   ân   át   dáng   néh.*
     know   what   he/she   here   stay   cry,   annoy   to/for   us   that   stay   at   here

'Who knows what this one is crying about--it annoys us who live here.'

The following is an example of a relative clause in a possessive phrase:

(79) *Ngai   yoa   curu   pôc   tốq   xu   do   ân   a–ay.*
     they   order   shaman   go   arrive   home   he/she   that   sick

'They told the healer to go to the home of the sick one.'

The following is an example of a relative clause in the object of a complement:

(80) *Bui   lư   clât   ape   ân   clứng*
     happy   very   more.than   they   that   many

     'Very happy beyond most.' (Subject is in the context.)

4.8 NP (wh-) Questions

Content words and phrases take sentence stress and normally occur in the focus position at the beginning of the sentence, but they may occur in their normal positions, e.g.,

(81) *Amâh   may   táq?*
     what   you   do

     'What are you doing?' or 'What did you do?'

(82) *May   táq   amâh?*
     you   do   what

     'What are you doing?'

(83) *Alứng   nnau   may   pôc?*
     with   who   you   go

     'With whom are you going?'

(84) *May   pôc   alứng   nnau?*
     you   go   with   who

     'Who are you going with?'

4.9 Coding of major syntactic functions

Subject and object are indicated by word order entirely. All obliques are indicated by prepositions. An 'indirect' object is indicated by the preposition *ado* 'dative', which must occur whether the phrase precedes or follows an object, e.g.,

(85) *Do   dyoun   acư   práq,   or   Do   dyoun   práq   acư.*
     He   gave   to.me   money.   or   He   gave   money   to.me.

There is no morphological tense, case, or verb agreement, as can be seen in the ambivalence of some glosses.

4.10 Ergativity

No evidence has been found in Pacoh for this grammatical function.

4.11 Passive

As in most Mon-Khmer languages, there is no passive. There is an adversative auxillary verb, but contrary to Vietnamese *bị*, it cannot take a clause as complement, only a verb phrase, e.g.,

(86) *Cư   dông   parlai   nnéh   chom   nám   anhúq   prứp   cốh   i=ính.*
I   carry   medicine   this   know   if   suffer   fall   so   UNS=need

    'I brought this medicine, not knowing if I might suffer a fall so need it.'

Likewise, there is an auxillary verb *bôn* 'get.to', somewhat like Vietnamese *được* as in:

(87) *He   bôn   chou.*
we   get.to   return

    'We got to go home'.

Fronting of an object fulfills only the functions of focus or topicalization, e.g.,

(88) *Tiriaq   ngcốh   ám   dyoun   ado   pe   Hu   váq.*
buffalo   that   father   give   to   those.of   Hu   borrow

    'Father gave that buffalo to those of Hu to borrow.'

4.12 Nominalization of verbs and clauses

The primary strategy for nominalizing verbs is infixation, as mentioned in Morphology. The -N- infix has many alloforms, including all of the nasal and liquid consonants, e.g.,

(89) *táq* 'work (V)', *tannáq, tampáq,* or *rnáq* 'work (N)'

Operations of infixes on monosyllabic and disyllabic roots can give the impression of prefixation as a result of the iambic syllable structure, e.g.,

(89) *prêh*   'sweep'   >   *par.nêh*   'broom'
    pa.lai   'to cure'   >   *par.lai*   'a cure'

Complement clauses are considered to be nominal, but there is no special marking that can be called nominalization. They are only understood to be complement clauses by reason of syntactic position and semantics, e.g.,

(90) *Achít   dơi   tubéiq   chom   ape   ính   padâm*
No.10   always   wise   knows   they   want   deceive

    'No.10 wisely knew (that) they wanted to deceive (him).'

(91) *Ông   Parnha   teing   ngéq.ca   veil   pôc   chât   piday*
grandfather   Rich   invite   all   village   go   stab   field

    'Grandfather Rich invited all the village to go plant fields.'

They may also be fronted:

(92) *I=bíq   tốq   hóng   múng   nong   iên   o   bưih   rayóung   cáp.*
UNS=sleep   in   hole   mosq.net   always   peaceful   so   not   mosquito   bite

    'Sleeping under a mosquito net is always peaceful without mosquitoes biting.'

    Negative commands are examples of complements as object of the verb *acâp* 'don't', e.g.,

(93) *Acâp   i=pôc!*
Don't   UNS=go

'Don't go!'

(94) *Acâp   i=táq   arâq   do   cốh.*
don't   UNS=do   like   him   that

 'Don't do like him!'

In the example below a clause is embedded in the second object of 'give':

(95) *Tiriêq   ngcốh   ám   dyoun   ado   ape   Hu   váq.*
buffalo   that   father   give   to   they   Hu   borrow

'Father gave that buffalo those of Hu to borrow.'

4.13 Aspect

Aspect markers, like time, are optional elements only realized when considered relevant and not already implied in the context. Following are a few auxiliary verbs or adverbs that are considered to be aspectual.

4.13.1 Imperfective

The verb *át* 'stay; live at' when used as an auxiliary verb functions as imperfective aspect, e.g.,

(96) *Ape   át   kíl   mumiên   tingôi   Achít   bôn   achiêng.*
They   IPFV   exchange   continually   until   No.10   got   elephant

'They were continually trading until No.10 got an elephant.'

In many cases it is ambiguous whether *át* is functioning as a serial verb or an auxiliary, and there may not be a difference, e.g.,

(97) *Do   át   ticu.*

'He stayed sitting.' or 'He was sitting.'

4.13.2 Perfective

The verb *doq* 'leave; put' when used as an auxiliary functions as a perfective marker, e.g,

(98) *Ngai   doq   treang   ngáh   hóng.*
they   PFV   block   opening   hole

'They had blocked the mouth of the hole.'

(99) *Icounh   idứh   doq   nhóung   nứm.*
POSS-father   forementioned   PFV   look   only

'Their father had only looked.'

Again, it would usually be possible to interpret *doq* as 'left' or 'let', but the idea of perfective seems more relevant in English translation.

4.13.3 Completive

The adverb *dyê* or *dyơ* 'already' is the most common completive; others are *khoiq*, or *khoiq dyê, coa or coa dyê*. There must be some distinction between them, but they all mean 'already completed', as far as I have determined, e.g.,

(100) *Dyê   ngcốh   tông,   "Dyê   may   tran   n=day   loi."*
      already then   say,   already   you   decorate   POSS=me   also

'Already then he said, "Already you decorate mine also."'

(101) *May   táq   imo   ma   khoiq   dyê   lla   ndo   Cantưi.*
      you   do   however   but   already already   belonging   belong   Orphan

'No matter what you do, it's finished, you already belong to Orphan.'

(102) *Coa   dyê   dyơ   inô.*
      already   already   already   yesterday

'Already finished completely yesterday.'

4.13.4 Durative

The adverb *dơi* 'still' functions as a durative, e.g.,

(103) *Ma   Achít   dơi   lâyq   catayh.*
      'But   No.10   still   didn't   reply.'

The adverb *teng* 'keep on' functions as an irrealis or future durative., e.g.,

(104) *Teng   pôc   teng   táq.*
      Keep.on   going,   keep.on   working

4.13.5 Inceptive

The verb *ính* 'want' when used as an auxiliary functions as an inceptive 'about to', e.g.,

(105) *Cư   ính   pôc.*
      I   want   go

'I'm about to go.'

4.13.6 Iterative

The reduplicative prefix *Ca-* indicates repetitive action, e.g.,

(106) *He   pôc   pa-péinh.*
      'We   go   shooting.'

(107) *Ngai   át   chi-cha.*
      they   stay   eating

‘They are eating.’

4.14 Compounding and reduplication

There are various kinds of compounding and reduplication, from phonological reduplication in ideophones to morphological to syntactic reduplication, and they are all intertwined. Most nouns, verbs and modifiers can occur in compounds. This morphological reduplication adds amplification to a word, e.g., *achơ ngơuq* ‘stupid’ or *cha lôn* ‘eat swallow’. The syntactic level of discontinuous compounds is considered to add greater eloquence, e.g., *Do pôc achơ pôc ngơuq.* ‘He went stupidly went stupidly.’ This eloquence also extends to interweaving of compounds, e.g., *dông achou* ‘take return’ and *atéh aloun* ‘large and small baskets’, in the following:

(108) *Ndóung   mpot   he   dông   atéh   tốq   tinong   achou   aloun   tốq   dúng.*
      time   harvest we   carry large.basket to   barn   return smaller.basket to   house

‘During harvest we carry large basketfuls to barns and take smaller basketfulls to houses.’

See R. Watson (1966 a,b) for much more.

4.15 Serial verbs

In Pacoh serial verbs are common, especially in pairs. Intransitive plus transitive pairs are most common, but many combinations are possible:

(109) *He   pôc   bíq   dáng   veil   A-Don.*
      We   go   sleep   at   village   A-Don.

‘We went to sleep at A-Don village.’

(110) *Nháng   achai   pôc   péinh   cune.*
      we   o.brother   go   shoot   deer

‘My older brother and I go/went to shoot deer.’

In another common example the verb *péinh* ‘shoot’ takes a reduplicative prefix marking repetitive action, in which case it can still have an object, but that is less likely since the focus is on shooting, as in

(111) *Nháng   achai   pôc   papéinh.*
      we   o.brother   go/went   shooting

‘My older brother and I go/went shooting.’

Another common pairing is reduplicative, which may be phonological (alliterative) or semantic (synonyms) or both, e.g.,

(112) *Lâyq   dyeam   chicha   lilôn.*
      Not   delicious   eating   swallowing

Three verbs combinations:

(113) *He   thê   do   mâh   beng   tarle,   yoa   pôc   dông   he   tốq   Lao.*
      we   hire   him   one   CL   cymbal,   order   go   take   us   to   Laos

‘We hired him for one cymbal to take us to Laos.’

Four verb combinations:

(114) **I**=*liêh*   *chou*   *dông*   *achou*   *a–ât*   *táq*   *rvayh*   *doui.*
      UNS=go.back   return   take   cause.return   animal   make   stew   rice

      'We return home taking animals home to make stew and rice.'

(115) *A–i*   *xixot*   *tritroui*   *i*=*bôn*   *cha*   *doui*   *tamme*[14]
      Mother   harvests   gleans   UNS=get.to   eat   rice   new

      'Mother harvests and gleans in order to get to eat new rice.'

4.16 Discourse

Only one feature of discourse participant reference is described here. In narrative discourse, participants are marked in one or more of five ways. They are introduced by a noun phrase (NP) or proper noun (PN), then referred to by pronoun, then by clitic *u*= or *i*=, then by zero; many clauses and sentences lack subjects after the character has been introduced. Only main character references that have been through the first three steps can then be reduced to zero. After a third person singular reference has proceeded from *do* '3SG' to *u*= '3SG', and even to zero, it will return to *do* when another participant reference has intervened. In cases of a major location or time break and contrast of participants, a main participant may return to NP or PN reference, although a minor participant may only be referred to by NP or PN.

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[14]Technically *ibôn* starts a second clause, but it is a purpose clause with a reduced subject. In this position, *i*= might be analyzed as grammaticalizing to a purpose marker. The same sentence can be said with *a-* 'causative' instead of *i*=.

5 Typological Features in the World Atlas of Language Structures

The phonological, morphological, and lexical features listed below are from *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online* typological studies (Dryer and Haspelmath 2011). The Pacoh information is attributed to publications by Watson (1964 and 1966b) and Watson, Watson and Canxóiq (1979). The typological conclusions for Pacoh as well as the information for "Cultural Categories of Languages" under "Lexicon" in this chapter were arrived at by the compilers of *WALS* (Dryer and the WALS author team 2011). Notes in parentheses are my own.

Phonology

1. Consonant inventory (see WALS Chapter 1): Moderately small. (Actual count for Pacoh is twenty-two.)

2. Vowel quality inventory (see WALS Chapter 2): Large. (According to WALS, there are from seven to fourteen vowels in Pacoh, but actual count depends on how one counts. I count thirty separate vowel phonemes. Someone else might count nine basic vowels, plus three retracted tongue root [RTR]. All twelve vowels are doubled by length, giving twenty-four, plus six offglides, bringing the total to thirty, as shown in chapter 2, "Phonology Sketch.")

3. Ratio of consonants to vowel qualities (see WALS Chapter 3): Low.

4. Voicing in plosives and fricatives (see WALS Chapter 4): No voicing contrast. (Pacoh has voiced implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/, as well as a glottal stop /ʔ/ that functions distributionally with the implosives, but those don't count in the WALS measure. In the case of fricatives, [v] is a syllable-initial voiced allophone of /w/.)

5. Voicing and gaps in plosive systems (see WALS Chapter 5): Other. (Pacoh lacks /g/; however, it is listed as 'other' because /ɓ/, /ɗ/ and /ʄ/ are implosives rather than plosives.)

6. Uvular consonants (see WALS Chapter 6): None.

7. Glottalized consonants (see WALS Chapter 7): Implosives only. (/ɓ/, /ɗ/ and /ʄ/)

8. Lateral consonants (see WALS Chapter 8): /l/, but no obstruent laterals.

9. Front rounded vowels (see WALS Chapter 9): None.

10. Syllable structure (see WALS Chapter 10): Moderately complex.

11. Tone (see WALS Chapter 11): No tones.

12. Absence of common consonants (see WALS Chapter 12): All present.

13. Presence of uncommon consonants (see WALS Chapter 13): None.

Morphology

1. Reduplication (see WALS Chapter 14): Productive full and partial reduplication.

Lexicon

1. Hand and arm (see WALS Chapter 15): Identical.

2. Finger and hand (see WALS Chapter 16): Identical. (This is based on the fact that *ati* extends from shoulder to fingertips. However, 'hand' is distinguished as *tallang ati*, and 'fingers' as *tarreih ati* (*tarreih adyɯng* for 'toes'). In addition there are individual terms for each of the five fingers or toes.)

3. Cultural categories of languages with identity of 'finger' and 'hand' (see WALS Chapter 130): Full-fledged farmers.

6 Culture Notes

The information presented here was elicited rather than observed; unfortunately I never had the privilege of personal observation in a genuine Pacoh village. I am hopeful that someone will prepare a culture sketch of the Pacoh. For now, this chapter offers some information on Pacoh culture that is useful for cross-referencing to the lexicon.
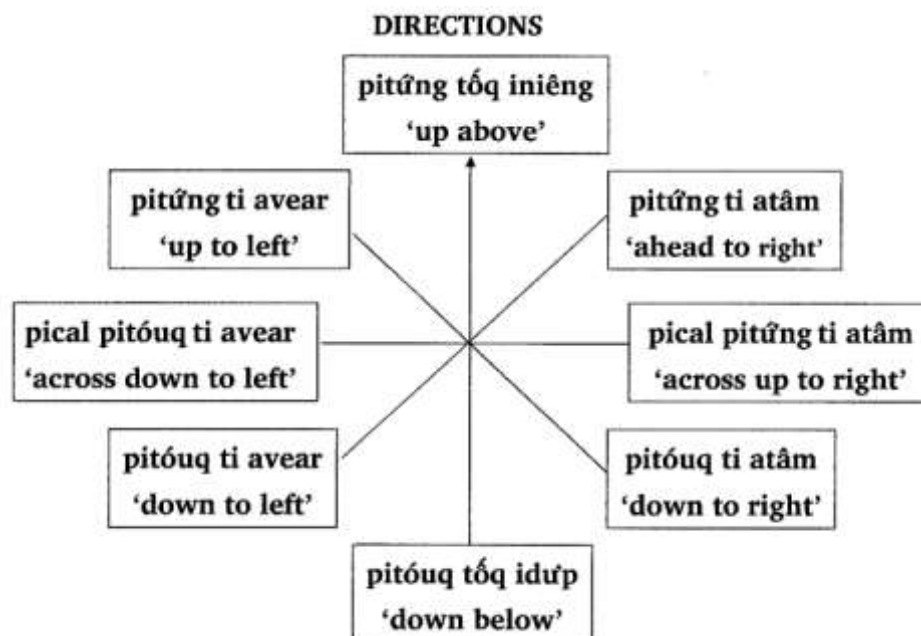
6.1 Pacoh directions

DIRECTIONS

	pitứng tốq iniêng 'up above'	
pitứng ti avear 'up to left'		**pitứng ti atâm** 'ahead to right'
pical pitóuq ti avear 'across down to left'		**pical pitứng ti atâm** 'across up to right'
pitóuq ti avear 'down to left'		**pitóuq ti atâm** 'down to right'
	pitóuq tốq idứp 'down below'	

Figure 6.1. Directions.

The Pacoh people face the *pallóh* 'sunrise' for direction, but that is complicated by whether they see it as *pitứng* 'up' or *pitóuq* 'down', which are their primary terms of direction, as shown in the chart above. For those who live on the west side of the mountains, instead of saying that sunrise is to the 'east', they say it is 'up' as the sun comes over the mountains above, but for those who live on the east side of the mountains, such as the Pahi, they say the east is 'downhill', over the ocean to the horizon. 'Up' is behind them to the west. The words *pallóh* 'sunrise' and *pallout* 'sunset' are adequate for 'east' and 'west', respectively, because they don't change. However, just as 'up' and 'down' are relative to the position of the mountains, so are 'north' and 'south'. For Pacoh on the west side of the mountains, our 'north' would be their *pical pitứnq ti avear* 'across down to the left', but for the Pahi 'north' is *pical pitứng ti atâm* 'across up to the right'.

While many people of the world orient themselves by what is up or down, it may also be true that the Pacoh face the sunrise because they originally migrated from the west to the east. To the Vietnamese, on the other hand, north and south are important because of their migration southward.

6.2 Pacoh kinship

6.2.1 Kinship type and implications

Pacoh Kinship is first of all patrileal. The *tóng* 'lineage' of the father is all-important.[15] This involves who can or cannot marry whom, and even the language spoken. In anthropology, 'moiety' is defined as one of two groups that a tribe or community is divided into, but with the Pacoh it is more complicated in that each lineage has only certain other lineages that they can take wives from, and each of their 'wife' lineages can only take wives from different lineages. A 'husband lineage' is called *khơi*, while a lineage from which they take wives is called *nnou cuya*. For example, in the simplified chart below, if there were only eight groups and husband group A could marry daughters of groups F and G, then only E and H could be *khơi*, marrying daughters of group A as their *cuya*, (as well as B and C for E, and D for H).

Table 6.1. Marriage groupings

Khơi 'Husband Groups'	*Nnou Cuya* 'Wife Groups': E	F	G	H
A		X	X	
B			X	X
C				X
D	X	X		

These marriage groupings not only determine what is considered incest, but also involve solidarity relationships. For example, each year wife groups take gifts of produce to their husband groups, and husband groups take gifts of crafts or store-bought products to to their wife groups, and the network is completed as each group is both a husband group for some and a wife group for others.

It should also be noted that when a family wanted a wife for their son, if there were not a marriagable daughter in one of their wife groups, they could reach out more widely to the Ta-oih. Since this involved a different language, it was expected that the wife would learn and use the language of her husband so that the children would grow up speaking the language of their father, i.e., 'father tongue', not 'mother tongue'.

It should also be noted that because of war, modernization, etc., I am told that marriage outside of the tribe and their traditional groups has increased considerably.

6.2.2 Totem names

The totem name of a 'clan' is "*yaq*,"[16] which involves names and taboos of a different kind. I am told that as groupings multiplied and divided, clan totem names were given according to some peculiarity of that group. Each has a story, for example, there is an *abêh* 'kind of squirrel' group that does not eat that kind of squirrel because, it is told, that a long time ago they cooked one, but were in a hurry to eat, so when they cut into it, they found that there was still blood; so they had to cook it longer. After further cooking, two or three times, there was still blood, so they concluded that this was their taboo and they must not ever eat that kind.

The most derogative story I heard was of the *tóng Car-ay* who are called "*yaq tupal*" because they were said to be too lazy to carve their own *tupal* 'pestles' (pounding sticks), so they "collected" pestles when passing through their neighbors' yards. Their justification was that making pestles was their taboo.

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[15]R. Watson (1969a:83–86)
[16]R. Watson (1969a:86–88)

6.2.3 Terms of address

Contrary to the Vietnamese pronoun system, which I assume was degraded because of the stratified society under the emperors,[17] Pacoh has a robust pronoun system, as described in chapter 2, "Grammar Sketch." However, the Pacoh, like the Vietnamese, also make extensive use of kinship terms in address and reference. The chart below represents the core of that system within actual kinship relationships. For example, a father addresses his children as "*acay*" 'child', and they address him as "*counh*" 'father' (or *a–ám* the more generic term for 'father', used for address and reference by the Pahi). Likewise, a mother addresses her children as "*acay*" and they address her as "*icán*" 'mother' (or "*a–i,*" the more generic term for 'mother' used for address and reference by the Pahi). English speaking children address their parents as "father" and "mother," or "Dad" and "Mom." English speaking parents may address their children as "children" in the plural, but they normally address individuals by name. What is most different is that a Pacoh father speaking to a child refers to himself as "*counh*" (or "*a–ám*"), and the child refers to himself or herself as "*acay*." In other words, in speaking to my father, I might say, "Father, please let child go with you." The same is generally true for all of the relations in the chart, that is, they refer to themselves by the same term that their opposite uses to address them. Pronouns are also used, but not as first address or reference. I am not able to give the rules for pronoun use, but it is common to find exchanges such as, "Avóuq, may ính cha abêh lâyq?" 'Grandfather, do you want to eat squirrel?' And that may be followed by further exchanges with *may* 'you' rather than *avóuq* 'grandfather'.

   Some of those terms can also be extended to people outside of kinship. The Vietnamese cadre in the resettlement village instructed us outsiders to use *achai* 'older brother' and *amoq* 'older sister' in addressing the Pacoh men and women. However, after many years I learned from Pacoh that *achai* should only be used to address real brothers, but I should address men, of my same age or younger, as "*alếh*" 'brother-in-law'. According to the chart, I should address the wife of my *alếh* as "*amoq*," although, according the lexicon, the wife of a real brother-in-law is *tardyaih*. (This should be checked more thoroughly.)

Table 6.2. *Nốh ngâh paxoul* 'names for calling'

grandfather	achuôih	to	grandson/daughter	achau
grandmother	acáq	to	grandson/daughter	achau
father	a–ám/counh[18]	to	son	acay
father's eZ	ama	to	yB son	amon
father's yZ	ama	to	eB son	amon
father's eB	counh pứt	to	yB son	acay
father's yB	counh két	to	eB son	acay
father	counh	to	daughter	acay
father's eZ	ama	to	yB daughter	amon
father's yZ	ama	to	eB daughter	amon
father's eB	counh_pứt	to	yB daughter	acay
father's yB	counh_két	to	eB daughter	acay
mother	a–i/cán[19]	to	son	acay
mother's eZ	ama	to	yB son	amon
mother's yZ	ama	to	eB son	amon
mother's eB	counh pứt	to	yB son	acay
mother's yB	counh két	to	eB son	acay
mother	counh	to	daughter	acay
mother's eZ	cán_pứt	to	yB daughter	acay
mother's yz	cán_két	to	eBdaughter	acay

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[17]In Vietnamese, *mày* '2nd person singular' is used to speak down to children and other inferiors; *nó* '3rd person singular' is only used derogatorily of inferiors, enemies and animals.

[18]*A-ám* means 'father' in all dialects, but in PL *counh* 'man' is used to address and refer to one's own 'father'.

[19]*A-i* means 'mother' in all dialects, but in PL *cán* 'woman' is used to address and refer to one's own 'mother'.

mother's eB	anhi	to	yB daughter	amon
mother's yB	anhi	to	eBdaughter	amon
oB	achai	to	eB	a–em
oB	amiêng	to	yZ	a–em, amoq
eZ	amoq	to	yB	a–em
eZ	achai	to	yZ	a–em
Counh Chi	alếh (counh Chi)	to	me	alếh (counh Lơri)
Cán Chi	amoq (cán Chi)	to	me	alếh (counh Lơri)
Bill(acay tarmot)	anouq/ape	to	me	anhi (cuya)
Bill's brothers	anouq/ape	to	me	anhi (cuya)
Bill's sisters	a–un	to	me	anhi cuya anhi
Bill's father	alếh	to	me	alếh
Bill's mo	amoq	to	me	adyaih

6.3 *Rcám* 'proverbs and cultural sayings from the past'

Proverbs often have many applications, and some may be hidden to outsiders. Some of my free translations are just "stabbing in the dark."

(1) *Achiêng tin; amuiq boum.*

'Elephant breaks, ants eat.'

("Little" people benefit from "big" people, e.g., even servers get to eat when the rich man throws a banquet.)

(2) *Acho tupoul, youl llám.*

'Seven dogs to one anteater.'

(3) *Anáq dyoat dyưng lâyq châm tarlúq, anáq apúq ti lâyq châm tarteic; ma lâyq hôi prouq itáh ado nnau, lâyq hôi práh ivít ado nnau.*

'Although crippled legs, can't pull each other; although swollen arms, can't carry each other; but unable to throw away to anyone, unable to throw out to anyone.'

(If a fellow and girl really love each other, then the families have to help, even though there will be no money for bride-price, etc.)

(4) *Anáq lâyq cơt cán, anáq lâyq pán counh, cốh ma ti-ứh ngâh canưi ti-ưi ngâh catout.*

'Although not yet a woman, although not yet a man, but strong to plead strong to insist.'

(Even if the wife is smarter than the husband, the husband is the one to be honored and listened to.)

(5) *A-ât achéiq mâh candyoum xâng, axoum aclou mâh canchéc xâng.*

'Animals and birds, one parcel only; crawfish and crayfish one bundle only.'

(All people are one and should love and help each other.)

(6) *Axoum péinh; cadyơ cha. Axoum cloh, abouih peih.*

'Shrimp shoots, crab eats. Shrimp stabs, kingfisher takes.'

(A small person does the work, but the big people get the benefit.)

(7) *Coai cammáng crứm; A-ứm coun bo.*

'Lizard listens to the thunder; Corn anticipates the rain.'
(Lizards hear the thunger and rejoice to find a lot of bugs coming out, while the corn is happy to grow and so are the people who get to eat the corn.)

(10) *Do tóh itông ma dơi lâyq cammáng, arâq ibaq atao ân atiêh, pláh aploang.*

'He is repeatedly spoken to but still doesn't listen, like sucking flat sugar cane, insipid.'
(Child not obeying is like flat sugar cane.)

(11) *Két cóut ma taq; callaq callút ma counh.*

'Even if very small but iron; even if very fearful but a man.'

(He may be small and timid, but he'll grow up to be a man.)

(12) *Lâyq nnau táq dúng mâh ingay; lâyq nnau táq piday mâh ilayh.*

'No one builds a house in a day; no one makes a field in a morning.'

(13) *Nám acay cán cốh nngai; nám acay counh cốh ndo tou.*

'If a girl child then belongs to others; if boy child then belongs to us.'
(When girls are given in marriage, they are taken into the clan of their husbands; so she and her children belong to his clan.)

(14) *Ndóung pưt cốh i-át; tốq ngngát cốh idyang.*

'When deep so remain; when shallow so cross.'

(Be patient and wait for the right time.)

(15) *Picoum ngai, piplai tou.*

'Blacken them; whiten oneself.'

(Of a person who makes others out to be bad, but himself good.)

(16) *Tốq mo tarúm clóuh tốq cốh anóuh tun.*

'To wherever the needle pierces--to there the thread follows.'

(Said of a child that always follows--like a shadow.)

(17) *Tốq titar cốh ngoaì; tốq coai cốh cáh cáp.*

'Can't do anything to stone; but brave to bite a lizard.'

(Shies away from big things; but brave to pick on something small.)

(18) *Tốq tulua cốh préinh; tốq cuxéinh cốh prouyq.*

'A lizard arrives, so brave; a snake arrives, so afraid.'

(He is brave around lizards, but a coward around snakes.)

(19) *Trứh axéinh o béinh, tróh piróung o tumóung.*

'Sow rice to be strong, sow whole grains to live.'
(Must plant the best food in order to live later.)

(20) *Ula raq iyốh trơah, cốh trơah ula nhom.*

'Yellow leaves not yet fallen; then fall young leaves.'

(Of old folks who lose young children.)

6.4 Death and burial

This topic also could fill a separate book, but of special interest is the fact that *cucheit* 'death' is considered to be of two kinds—natural and violent, with burial of two kinds as well.

The *cumuiq* 'corpse' of a person considered to have died of natural causes was buried in a *turang* 'coffin' in the ground. Then every four to five years there would be a special feast, *Ariêu Ping* 'Feast of the Tombs' (also known as *Ariêu Car*). While villagers prepared *tức bayh tiriêq carróq* 'sacrifice buffalos and cows', the *cha ariêu* 'feasting', *ryoc ryê* 'entertainers', and *cóung pinóuh* 'workers from a cooperating village' would come to *lóuq cumuiq* 'exhume corpses' of those who had been buried in the past few

years—long enough ago to have been well decomposed, and then bring them to the *ping* 'above the ground mausoleum' at the *parnóuh veil* 'lower side of the village'. There the family would wash the *nghang* 'bones' and placed them in a new box in the section where their family's bones were.

All those who came to *táq* 'work' would *cha ngoiq* 'eat and drink' first and finally pay their *tu* 'debts' and the village would continue celebrating for three days before all of the visiting guests returned home.

On the other hand, those considered to have been killed, i.e., to have died violently, including such accidents as falling from a tree or a mother dying in childbirth, would be wrapped in a mat and buried in a different graveyard. They are considered to be the souls of the wandering dead who never return to the ancestor spirit. Furthermore, *pireng* 'rainbows' are believed to be manifestations of all of the souls from a particular graveyard reaching out to a place of water, because they are always thirsty. Thus rainbows are a fearful sight rather than something of beauty and promise.

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Apologies are due to any authors of articles on Pacoh not listed here. I have failed to research the whole field, especially in languages other than English.