THE PACŎH 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).

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

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

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 (GQN1) \[ GQN1 \rightarrow (NQN + CL) \rightarrow NH \]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngéq} & \quad \text{'all'} \\
\text{ca} & \quad \text{'all, the whole'} \\
\text{ngéq ca} & \quad \text{'all, the whole'} \\
\text{mèq (tòq) ngéq} & \quad \text{'almost all'} \\
\text{fhnh ngéq} & \quad \text{'almost all'} \\
\text{tumán ngéq} & \quad \text{'nearly all'}
\end{align*}
\]
Ngẹ́q poan lám alíc 'all four pigs' GQN 1 + NQN + CL + NH
'all four CL pigs'

Mẹ́q ngẹ́q alíc 'almost all pigs' GQN 1 + 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 consonant + 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'
xaxòng 'all five'
cachīt 'all ten'

Ca has another allomorph ca- which occurs with some verbs and modifiers to give the meaning 'all, completely' (see Watson, 1967:98).

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'
mẹ́q tōq 'almost'
clūi 'more than'
lāyq tōq 'less than'

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

Clūi tupāt nāq 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.

tał 'each'

Tāl poan lám pēq GQN 3 + NQN + CL + NH
'each four CL bananas'

Tāl nāq Yoan GQN 3 + CL + NH
'each CL (person) Vietnamese'

Tāl nāq poc. GQN 3 + CL
'each CL (person) goes'
Subclass 4 (GQN4)  GQN4 + CL ± NH

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

 cúp  'every'
    toih  'every'

 cúp llám aljíc  GQN4 + CL + NH
   'every CL pig'

toih nnáq  GQN4 + CL
   'every CL (person)'

Subclass 5 (GQN5)  GQN + (± CL ± NH)

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

 ê (lut)  'many (very)'
  beaq (lut)  'few (very)'
  clúng (lut)  'many (very)'
  num beaq (lut)  'only few (very)'

 ê lut lám  GQN5 + CL
   'many very CL (things)'

 beaq lut achéq  GQN5 + NH
   'few very birds'

Subclass 6 (GQN 6)  GQN6 + NH

An obligatory noun head occurs with general quantifier subclass 6.

 âp (lut)  'many, in general (very)'
   num  'only'

 âp (lut) achéq  GQN6 + NH
   'many (very) birds'

 Num achéq  GQN6 + NH
   'only birds'

Some of the general quantifiers in the above subsets, e.g. clúng 'many', âp 'many', num 'only', have identical forms which can occur following the NH. (See Watson, 1966:13.)

Ngai clúng lut póc.  'Very many of them went'
   'They many very went.'

Ngai póc clúng lut.  'They went very many'
   'They went many very.'
Subclass 7 (GQN7)  GQN 7 ± 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 mmo ê  'however many, how many?'

Li mmo ê côh ma hoï.  'However many is alright.'
Li mmo ê may ánh?  'How many (do) you want?'

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

môï/mâh  'one'
bar  'two'
pe  'three'
pôan  'four'
xông  'five'
tupát  'six'
tupôl  'seven'
ticol  'eight'
tikeaih  'nine'
muchít/chít  'ten'
muchít môï  'eleven'
bar chít  'twenty'
bar chít pôan  'twenty-four'
mâh culâm môï  'one hundred and one'
pe culâm pe chít xông  'three hundred thirty-five'
mâh ngin  'one thousand'

Approximation is expressed with two consecutive numbers:

bar, pe náq ngai pôc
'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 plâh adean  'two CL trays'
Bar adean dôi  'two trays rice'

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

Tôm along dôm tôq dûng he.  'CL (a) tree fell on house ours.'
Along dūm tòq dúng he 'Tree(s) fell on house ours."

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

In counting one would say, mōi lām, bar lām, pe lām 'one thing, two things, three things, etc.' However, when a NH is present, mōi 'one' is changed to māh, and lām becomes llām.

māh llām alīc 'one CL pig'
bar lām alīc 'two CL pigs'

It is interesting to note that lām also becomes llām with quantifiers cúp 'every' and toih 'every'. Also, nāq 'CL person' becomes nnāq with cúp and toih, but not with the numeral māh 'one'.

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

nāq 'persons'
teah 'flat expanse'
plāh 'flat objects, garments'
lang 'leaf, sheet of paper'
callong 'round objects--grains, seeds, fruit, stones'
cantōh 'group, flock, herd'
tōm 'tree'
nnōm 'stalk'
mpāt/nnāt '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', būl 'stone', ao 'shirt', parnēh 'broom', etc.

bar lām acho 'two CL dogs'
pe plāh ao 'three CL shirts'
māh callong 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 pēq 'banana tree' or noun + verb lōng ramōt 'door going out-coming in' ('door, doorway'), mayq tampeh 'machine tap' ('typewriter').

Mass nouns with unrestricted classifiers take an obligatory 'measure-type' classifier when quantified by number:
daq 'water', cūteac 'dirt', xāc 'grass', dōi 'cooked rice', boi 'salt', prāq 'money, silver', daq kiyial 'water bee' (honey).

bar li daq 'two glasses water'
māh capoat boi 'one handful salt'
bar culam dōng prāq '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.

cantūq 'time'
ingay 'day'
kixay 'month'
cumo 'year'
dōng 'piastre'
tida 'handspan'
achāng 'armspan'

bar kixay 'two months'
xōng cantūq 'five times'
pe tida 'three handspans'

Mass nouns include:

bo 'rain'
xelang 'wind'
uih 'fire'

3.2 Compound Nouns. Compound nouns are binomial, trinomial, or quadriminomial (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-ām 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{búl nal} & \quad \text{‘rocks, stones’} \\
\text{daq dong} & \quad \text{‘water’} \\
\text{avu-aváng} & \quad \text{‘small boys’} \\
\text{axâq-axênh} & \quad \text{‘hulled rice’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-ám a-i} & \quad \text{‘parents’} \\
\text{a-ám anhi} & \quad \text{‘elders’} \\
\text{a-át acheq} & \quad \text{‘wildlife’} \\
\text{achat-acôq} & \quad \text{‘tools’} \\
\text{boi acôq} & \quad \text{‘purchased goods’}
\end{align*}
\]

(father + mother) (father + uncle) (animal + bird) (axe + bushknife) (salt + bushknife)

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cantuq cantép mëap} & \quad \text{‘orphans’} \\
\text{carpêh yêh cardûng} & \quad \text{‘reputation’} \\
\text{arêh arông axông} & \quad \text{‘thorns and thistles’} \\
\text{arûh rûng trûng} & \quad \text{‘wilderness’}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kháp khûm úm múh} & \quad \text{‘luck, good fortune’} \\
\text{a-iauq a-op acay acon} & \quad \text{‘old folks and children’} \\
\text{araú arâh atâh atûc} & \quad \text{‘vegetable greens’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 nák Cubuat  'one person Cubuat'  'Cubuat, all by himself'

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

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

3.3.3 Ethnic Names. Ethnic names are such as: Yoan 'Vietnamese', Mía 'American', Yit 'Japanese', Cumên 'Cambodian', Pacoh. These ethnic names can be preceded by ticuoi 'person', people' or muäng 'region'. They can occur with quantification in constructions like bar nák 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 nák used.

poan nák ngai  'four CL they'
ngé ngai  'all they'

(b) The Possession slot cannot be filled.

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

Do ăn táq piday  'he who works field'

(d) The Orientation slot can be filled.

Do cóh achai cut  'He there (is) brother my'
'He there (is) brother my'

The pronouns⁴ of Pacoh are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>cut 'I'</td>
<td>nhâng 'we two'</td>
<td>he 'we plural'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>may 'you'</td>
<td>inha 'you two'</td>
<td>ipe 'you plural'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>do 'he'</td>
<td>anha 'they two'</td>
<td>ape/ngai 'they plural'</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 lám aiś cut  'two CL pigs my'  'my two pigs'
bar lám aiś Cubuat  'two CL pigs Cubuat'  'Cubuat's two pigs'
bar lâm aîf achai cu² '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.

Ngeq aîf ncôh ncut. 'All pigs those are mine.'
Mmay put tilât ncut. 'Yours big more (than) mine'

5. Qualification. Qualification is of two types (1) nominal qualification 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 vêi 'chief village'  'the village chief'
dûng âlûng '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 atôq 'water hot'  'hot water'
daq ân atôq 'water which (is) hot'
dûng put 'house big'  'big house'
dûng ân put 'house which (is) big'
carna ân êm o 'road which (is) peaceful'
carna tinga tarlâng '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'

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acay cakéť 'children small' 'small children'
ape ân cakéť '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'.

Parhânh ân ngai tông lâyq o.
'News which they told (is) not good.'
Ao ân do dyôn acû dyê pît.
'Shirt 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'
nnéh 'this/here'
ncôh 'that/there'
ntîh 'that/there--far ahead'
ntôh 'that/there--far behind'
ntîh 'that/there--very far ahead'
ntôh 'that/there--very far behind'
ntrâh 'that/there--to the side'

Do côh tamme chô. 'He that one just returned'
Tôm along ân pût nnéh
'CL tree which big this/here' 'this big tree'
Acho cu mnéh....
'Dog my this/here' 'My dog here'

Demonstratives can stand in the place of the noun phrase.

Nnéh dûng 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.

- te  
  'from'
- tōq  
  'to'
- dāng  
  'at'
- calung  
  'in'
- iniang  
  'above'
- idup  
  'below'
- aniang  
  'on top of'
- axuai  
  'before'
- tatun  
  'behind'

ngēq ngai te vēl mnēh  'all they from village this'

acho ân cōm ân dāng tôm along ncōh
'dog which black which at CL tree that'
'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 ncōh ân te vēl Tallai....
'Brother there who from village Tallai...'
'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 Thừa 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.

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University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

2. Ordinal numbers amôi 'first' through achît '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 inra 'day before yesterday', ingay para 'day after tomorrow', camo ntrôan 'four years ago', camôan 'four years from now'.

3. Indefinite pronouns amâh and nnau 'what' and 'who' and demonstrative pronouns nneh, ncoh, 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:

