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Preface

The Pacoh people, numbering up to 30,000, live in Thừa Thiên Province of central Viêt 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–oäh, 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–ay (PI) for the word mbär ‘tiger’.

The Pahi Tamprin (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 Nưôî valley down to the Perfume River and uses the word cäh for ‘no’. The Tal–ay (PL) dialect uses lâyq for ‘no’. The Kadô (PK) dialect is located along the border of Hương Hóa Province in Viêt 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 [j], aë [u], 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; aë in Pacoh corresponds to either è or aë; and ou corresponds to either a, ò, 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–oäh; however, Ta–oäh 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, has 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 Lamet1 have been added to enhance the definitions. Many

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1Appreciation 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Pahi Axap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI</td>
<td>Pi-áy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PK</td>
<td>Kadô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>High Pacoh or plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPD</td>
<td>cultural restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>retracted tongue root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>unspecified subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>becomes or derives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kinship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f.s.)</td>
<td>female speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.s.)</td>
<td>male speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

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

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 [ʔaʔap] 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.** “VN” 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 “**CMPD**” and reduplications “**REDUP.**” (See sections 3.3 and 4.14 for further description.) A few contractions are labeled “**CONTR.**” 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, *bùi* ‘happy’ is headword of a main entry, and *bùi 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, ua, ua even in the middle of words, rather than changing to the unnecessary iĕ, utŭ, uo, 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 Viêt Nam, rather than the Quốc Ngữ d 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, [ʔa:w] ‘clothing’, is simply written “ao” as in Vietnamese, but without a tone. A-aq [ʔaʔaʔ] ‘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., A-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 [hweʔ]) and thus spelled “Huếq.” This means that although [tiaʔ] ‘old’ should be written “tìeq,” according to the Quốc Ngữ rule that changes [ia] to iĕ before consonants, Pacoh readers prefer “tiaq” because they think the glottal stop is like the Vietnamese sắc tone, i.e., tì. Similarly, [puʔ] ‘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 and metrically iambic, 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., pahúŋ ‘papaya’, the main (second) syllable (húŋ) 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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2See Matisoff (1973) for the first use of this term, Thomas (1992) for further clarification, and also Haiman (2011).

3See Keller, Jordi, and Gregerson (2011).
Words are alphabetized in the following order:

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back-unrounded</th>
<th>Back-rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>glide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>í</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iá, iê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[í]</td>
<td>[í:]</td>
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<td>[í]</td>
<td>[í:]</td>
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<td>[e:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>[a:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pacóuh</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>í</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>ích</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>seem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia, iê</td>
<td>[iə]</td>
<td>chia, liên</td>
<td>meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éi</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>[iː]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>[ia]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>éch</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>[eː]</td>
<td>chê</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>hét</td>
<td>hep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>û</td>
<td>[uu]</td>
<td>ûc</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>û</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uα, uơ</td>
<td>[u*]</td>
<td>uα, luông</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãα</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ú</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>úp</td>
<td>soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>xu</td>
<td>too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua, uố</td>
<td>[u*]</td>
<td>uα, luôn</td>
<td>pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôu</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oα</td>
<td>[ua]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>hôp</td>
<td>soap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>[oː]</td>
<td>cô</td>
<td>home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó</td>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>cop</td>
<td>taut, caught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 d. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pacóuh</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[ɓ]</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>?boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>scat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[ɗ]</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>?do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy</td>
<td>[ɗ]</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>?Joe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>(Sp. señor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>nha</td>
<td>(Sp. señor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>pin</td>
<td>spot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>é-a</td>
<td>oh–oh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>(Sp. pero)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u/o (final)</td>
<td>/w/ [w]</td>
<td>lao, sau</td>
<td>wow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v (initial)</td>
<td>/w/ [v]</td>
<td>vé</td>
<td>van</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y (initial)</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, i (final)</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>day, dai</td>
<td>die [daij]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., /ʔan/ is just written n, as in ntlh ‘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., [tam.pat], especially between consonants, but not always between a vowel and consonant, e.g., [ʔakeʔa].

The following is a list of presyllables found in the database; some can also be prefixes, as described in chapter 4, “Grammar Sketch”: 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-</th>
<th>b-</th>
<th>bal-</th>
<th>lam-</th>
<th>pan-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔa]</td>
<td>[ba]</td>
<td>[ɓal]</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[pɑn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>[ɓa]</td>
<td>[lal]</td>
<td>[li]</td>
<td>[pən]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal-</td>
<td>[ɓəl]</td>
<td>[ləl]</td>
<td>[pə]</td>
<td>[pəŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam-</td>
<td>[ɓəm]</td>
<td>[ɗəl]</td>
<td>[pə]</td>
<td>[pəŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan-</td>
<td>[pən]</td>
<td>[pəŋ]</td>
<td>[pəŋ]</td>
<td>[pəŋ]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ca-</th>
<th>cal-</th>
<th>cam-</th>
<th>can-</th>
<th>car-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ka]</td>
<td>[kəl]</td>
<td>[kəm]</td>
<td>[kən]</td>
<td>[kər]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca-</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kəm]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cal-</td>
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<td>[kəm]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cam-</td>
<td>[kəm]</td>
<td>[kəm]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can-</td>
<td>[kən]</td>
<td>[kən]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car-</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cu-</th>
<th>cha-</th>
<th>chan-</th>
<th>chi-</th>
<th>da-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[ca]</td>
<td>[cən]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cu-</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
<td>[kə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha-</td>
<td>[ca]</td>
<td>[cən]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chan-</td>
<td>[cən]</td>
<td>[cən]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
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<tr>
<td>chi-</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
<td>[ci]</td>
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<tr>
<td>da-</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dam-</th>
<th>dan-</th>
<th>dar-</th>
<th>di-</th>
<th>du-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[dəm]</td>
<td>[dən]</td>
<td>[dər]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam-</td>
<td>[dən]</td>
<td>[dən]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan-</td>
<td>[dən]</td>
<td>[dən]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar-</td>
<td>[dər]</td>
<td>[dər]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dɪ]</td>
<td>[dʊ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dya-</th>
<th>ha-</th>
<th>hal-</th>
<th>hang-</th>
<th>har-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[fa]</td>
<td>[ha]</td>
<td>[hal]</td>
<td>[həŋ]</td>
<td>[haŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dya-</td>
<td>[fa]</td>
<td>[fa]</td>
<td>[fa]</td>
<td>[fa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>[ha]</td>
<td>[ha]</td>
<td>[ha]</td>
<td>[ha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hal-</td>
<td>[hal]</td>
<td>[hal]</td>
<td>[hal]</td>
<td>[hal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang-</td>
<td>[həŋ]</td>
<td>[həŋ]</td>
<td>[həŋ]</td>
<td>[həŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>har-</td>
<td>[haŋ]</td>
<td>[haŋ]</td>
<td>[haŋ]</td>
<td>[haŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i-</th>
<th>ki-</th>
<th>l-</th>
<th>lam-</th>
<th>pam-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔi]</td>
<td>[ki]</td>
<td>[ʔa]</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>[ʔi]</td>
<td>[ki]</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>[ki]</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[li]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[li]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam-</td>
<td>[la]</td>
<td>[li]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pam-</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
<td>[pa]</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ya-</th>
<th>yan-</th>
<th>u-</th>
<th>va-</th>
<th>xa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ja]</td>
<td>[jə]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>[ja]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>[jə]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ya-</th>
<th>yan-</th>
<th>u-</th>
<th>va-</th>
<th>xa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ja]</td>
<td>[jə]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>[ja]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>[jə]</td>
<td>[ʔu]</td>
<td>[va]</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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’.

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

XXA a- [ʔa] V.PFX causative, e.g., avaíh ‘create’ (vaíh ‘appear’) abôn ‘get’ (bôn ‘have’). (allomorph of pa-).

XXa- a- [ʔa] V.PFX negation, e.g., Abéinh. ‘No’. (In Pahi dialect avaíh is neg ‘not’). (a- as a negative marker is idiosyncratic, not productive.)

XXa- [ka] V.PFX causative, e.g., catâp ‘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 cut ‘my father’

i- [ʔi] DET.PFX like, e.g., inéh, icóh ‘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- [par] N.KIN.PFX parent title, e.g., parcounh ‘father title’.

par- [par] N.PFX NomAct, e.g., caq ‘to straighten’ > parcaq ‘the straightening’.

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

r- [ʔar] V.PFX reciprocal, e.g., rrôq ryour ‘help each other up’ (allomorph of tar-).

ta- [ta] V.PFX involuntary action., e.g., cák tacút ati ‘accidentally cut hand’ [Gram: full form includes preceding reduplicative morpheme]
ideophone meaning ‘crowded’ and kinds of work’ contains words in an idiom are lexical speech, e.g.,
and always contain reduplicative elements, e.g.,
Compounds of two similar words are called “binomials.” Three word compounds are called “trinomials”
the second element is me
include elements of phonological reduplication as well, e.g.,
veil
considered as semantic reduplication. These give an amplified meaning, for example,
Claláh ‘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 culal ‘to turn eyes up’, resulting in carlal ‘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.

### 3.2 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., pröh ‘sweep’ > parneh ‘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 culal ‘to turn eyes up’, resulting in carlal ‘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 | or | 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., lalung lalung ‘stark naked’, or repetition, e.g., caclah clah ‘to keep on splitting’; or reciprocity, e.g., rnap nap ‘bullying each other’.

Compounding of synonyms and closely related words, e.g., bui em ‘happy content’, could be considered as semantic reduplication. These give an amplified meaning, for example, dăng ‘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., axaax axainh ‘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., arthi ritieng ritieng ‘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 lic tic vièc ‘all kinds of work’ contains chir ‘many’ and vièc ‘work’. I have no other instance of lic tic, but tic bíc is an ideophone meaning ‘crowded’ and lic also occurs in chir lic 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 ngeat, u=chou dyeal loi pakhûm.
    o.brother PFV see pain cold, he=return4 take more blanket

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

Both object and goal follow a ditransitive verb:

(4) Dyoun acut adôaih ngcôh.
    give to.me monkey that

‘Give me that monkey.’

(5) Dyoun adôaih ngcôh acut.
    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., dön ‘take’, the object normally precedes the locative goal.

(6) Do dön atêh tôq 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) Đâng mmo may ât?
    place which you live?

‘Where do you live?’

4The equal sign (=) distinguishes clitics from affixes; see section 4.3, “Pronouns” for more on clitics in Pacoh.
(8) Ndóung két cut, r–ay cannóh côh làyq yôh 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 alûng should be treated as part of a verb compound, ‘brings with him’, rather than as a preposition.

(9) Adơaih ngcôh dyoun acût.
monkey that give to.me
‘Give that monkey to me.’

(10) O lût u=dông alûng 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 làyq 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, côh plôh 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 tâq 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.’
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. Ngâi 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st PERSON</th>
<th>2nd PERSON</th>
<th>3rd PERSON</th>
<th>3rd DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>may</td>
<td>do [dɔː], u = [ʔuː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[dɔːj]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>inha [ʔiŋaː]</td>
<td>anha [ʔaŋaː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[naŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>ipe [ʔipeː]</td>
<td>ape [ʔapeː]</td>
<td>ngâi [ŋaj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peday</td>
<td>[ʔiŋaː]</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngâh [ŋɤh], i = [ʔiː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔiŋaː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pacoh pronouns can be modified like nouns, 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 näq he mnéh
three CL we this
‘The three of us’

(21)  He (ân) te veil Arûm.
we (that) from village Arûm
‘We (that) from Arûm village’

Two pronouns have clitic forms when in subject position preceding monosyllabic verbs. U = is the clitic form of do ‘3SG’, e.g.,

(22)  Do póc tôq piday. or U=póc tôq 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 \( \text{ngh} \) ‘unspecified subject’, which normally precedes monosyllabic verbs. \( \text{ngh} \) or \( i = \) can occur in any third person subject position, e.g.,

(23) \( \text{Ma ân } i=\text{doq } tâq \text{ thét } \text{ ma } \text{lâyq } \text{ngh } \text{iyu}. \)
\[ \text{but that } \text{UNS = PCV } \text{do wrong but not } \text{UNS } \text{remember} \]

‘What someone did wrong, someone doesn’t remember.’

\( \text{ngh} \) 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) \( \text{Acâp } i=\text{pôc.} \)
\[ \text{don’t } \text{UNS = go} \]

‘Don’t (you) go.’

(25) \( O \text{ toi } \text{ngh } \text{tumóung.} \)
\[ \text{So long.time } \text{UNS } \text{live} \]

‘May you live long.’ or ‘Long may you live!’

(26) \( \text{A–o } i=\text{át } \text{au!} \)
\[ \text{so-good } \text{UNS } \text{stay/live } \text{imp!} \]

‘(May you) stay well!’

\( \text{ngh} \) and \( i = \) also occur as subject in an embedded “infinitive” or purpose clause, e.g.,

(27) \( \text{A–i } \text{bîlboup } \text{tông } \text{achtng } \text{a }=\text{cu, } \text{ngh } \text{iyu } \text{tâq } \text{xêiq } \text{nôra.} \)
\[ \text{Mother continually speak instruct to } = \text{me, } \text{UNS remember when mature future.} \]

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

(28) \( \text{Côh } u=\text{pôc } \text{tâq } \text{nnong } i=\text{tâq } \text{piday.} \)
\[ \text{then he=go to woods } \text{UNS } = \text{make field} \]

‘Then he went to the woods to make a field.’

(29) \( \text{Carchól } \text{lâyq } \text{chom } \text{amâh } i=\text{inh.} \)
\[ \text{Carchól not know what } \text{UNS } = \text{want} \]

‘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., \( \text{achai} \) ‘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 constituent.

---

\(^8\)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 tōq 'arrive' also functions as a preposition 'at', 'to', 'until', or 'on':

(30) Do pôc tōq 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) Alāh ngai tōq, ngai tōq tōq 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., dàng can be translated ‘place’ or ‘at’, as in

(32) Ngai át dàng cóh.

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 abēh tōq iniêng kichōng.

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 tū ‘from’ is for temporal location, e.g.,

(35) Ngai pôc te tatîh.\(^{10}\)

they come/go from up.there

‘They came from up there.’

(36) Tū cuheit a–ām a–i, pôc tumūh dúng Avōq.

from death father mother, go meet house grandpa

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

Alṳng ‘with’ is primarily used of accompaniment, while ti ‘by’ is used for location or instrument, e.g.,

(37) Alṳng nnau may pôc?

with who you go

‘With whom did you go (are/will go)?’

---


\(^{10}\)The direction ‘from’ requires the ta- prefix on demonstratives.
(38) *Do tāran ti cuchāh ān 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2. Pronouns with dative markers <em>a=</em> and <em>ado</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acū ‘to/for me’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aday ‘to/for me’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DUAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anhāng ‘to/for us(2)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLURAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahe ‘to/for us’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ado peday ‘to/for us’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39) *Ngai táq thét ado he Pacóuh.*

they do wrong to us Pacoh

‘They did wrong to us Pacoh.’

It can also be fronted, as in the following,

(40) *Ado ixai cu t a–ay āp lut* to POSS.brother my sick much very

or

(41) *Āp lut a–ay ado ixai cu.*

much very sick to POSS.brother my

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

(42) *N=néh ado Achte.*

N=here to/for ord-ten

‘This is for No.10.’

(43) *I=cōh diēiq a=cu.*

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) *Icōh lut diēiq a=do.*

like=that very difficult to/for=he/him

‘Like that is very difficult for him.’

---

11Although *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* *cu*
    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., *ngcut* ‘GEN-1SG’ (‘my belonging = mine’). *N=* assimilates to the initial consonant of the pronoun, e.g., *ngcut* [ʔaŋku] ‘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* *án* *dyoat*
    truly, belonging = him that crippled
    ‘Really, they are the crippled one’s belongings.’

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st PERSON</th>
<th>2nd PERSON</th>
<th>3rd PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td><em>ngcut</em> ‘mine’; <em>nday</em> ‘mine’</td>
<td><em>mmay</em> ‘yours’</td>
<td><em>ndo</em> ‘his/hers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td><em>nnháng</em> ‘ours(2)’</td>
<td><em>ndo inha</em> ‘yours(2)’</td>
<td><em>ndo anha</em> ‘theirs(2)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td><em>ng-he</em> ‘ours’; <em>ndo peday</em> ‘ours’</td>
<td><em>ndo ipe</em> ‘yours(PL)’</td>
<td><em>ndo ape</em> ‘theirs’; <em>nngai</em> ‘theirs(distal)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ NP \rightarrow (\text{quantifier})^2 \text{ (classifier)} \text{ noun (modifier phrase)}^2 \text{ (demonstrative)}^2 \text{ (relative clause)}^2 \text{ (prep phrase)}^2 \]

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  ngcôh*

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  cu’*

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’

---

12See S. Watson (1976).
Ndoung '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 $ng=côh$
    village that
    'that village' (pointed to or previously mentioned)

Noun modifier + det:

(59) ula along idôh
    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 $pût-pet$ dôi
    fallen.tree big INTENS
    'a huge fallen tree'

(62) cong $ân$ $pût-pet$ dôi
    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  núm.  
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 or kind, e.g.,

(68)  Ticuí  cu'.  
people  1SG  
‘My people’  
or

(69)  Ticuí  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’

---

13See 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 câp
    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 bêinh
    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) Nâm ape bàn ân kêt côh Achít bàn ân pût.
    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 tôq 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 lût hôt m a câh lâyq tôq.
    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 nhê đät nhiem, avayh ado peday ân ât đâng nhêh.
    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 tôq 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 lût clât ape ân clûng

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)  Alûng nnau may pôc?

with who you go

‘With whom are you going?’

(84)  May pôc alûng 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 acût práq, or Do dyoun práq acût.

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) Cút dong parlai mnéh chom nám anhúq prúp cóh 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 dược 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) Tiria qngcôh ám dyoun ado pe Hu vàq.
     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 doi 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 vei poc chát 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 tóq hóng múng nong iеньк o bütih 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 acáp 'don‘t', e.g.,
(93)  Acâp  i = pôc!
    Don’t  UNS = go
‘Don’t go!’

(94)  Acâp  i = táq  arâq  do  côh.
    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)  Tirièq  ngcôh  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  kîl  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  ngâh  hông.
    they  PFV  block  opening  hole
‘They had blocked the mouth of the hole.’

(99)  Icounh  idûth  doq  nhóung  nútìm.
    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 Compleitive

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 ngcôm tông, "Dyê may tran n = day loi."*  
     ‘Already then he said, "Already you decorate mine also.”’

(101) *May tāq ímo ma khoiq dyê lla ndo Cantùi.*  
     ‘No matter what you do, it’s finished, you already belong to Orphan.

(102) *Coa dyê dyơ inô.*  
     ‘Already finished completely yesterday.’

### 4.13.4 Durative

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

(103) *Ma Achít dơi làyq 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 tāq.*  
     ‘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) *Cú 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.’
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 nguq 'stupid' or cha lôn ‘eat swallow’. The syntactic level of discontinuous compounds is considered to add greater eloquence, e.g., Do pôc achơ pôc nguq. ‘He went stupidly went stupidly.’ This eloquence also extends to interweaving of compounds, e.g., dòng achou ‘take return’ and atēh aloun ‘large and small baskets’, in the following:

(108) Ndóung mpot he dòng atēh tốq tinong achou aloun tốq dùng.
    time harvest we carry large.basket to barn return smaller.basket to house
    ‘During harvest we carry large basketfuls to barns and take smaller basketfuls 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 dàng veil A-Don.
    We go sleep at village A-Don.
    ‘We went to sleep at A-Don village.’

(110) Nhăng achai pôc pêinh cune.
    we o.brother go shoot deer
    ‘My older brother and I go/went to shoot deer.’

In another common example the verb pêinh ‘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) Nhăng achai pôc papêinh.
    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 dòng 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) \(I=\text{liêh} \quad \text{chou} \quad \text{dông} \quad \text{achou} \quad a-\text{ât} \quad \text{tâq} \quad \text{rvayh} \quad \text{doui}.\)

UNS = go.back return take cause.return animal make stew rice

‘We return home taking animals home to make stew and rice.’

(115) \(A-i \quad \text{xixot} \quad \text{tritroui} \quad i=\text{bôn} \quad \text{cha} \quad \text{doui} \quad \text{tamme}^{14}\)

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.

\(^{14}\text{Technically } bôn \text{ starts a second clause, but it is a purpose clause with a reduced subject. In this position, } i= \text{ might be analyzed as grammaticalizing to a purpose marker. The same sentence can be said with } a-\text{ ‘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 adyung 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

The Pacoh people face the *pallôh* ‘sunrise’ for direction, but that is complicated by whether they see it as *pitṳŋ* ‘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 *pallôh* ‘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 pitȗnç ti avear* ‘across down to the left’, but for the Pahi ‘north’ is *pical pitȗรง ti atȃm* ‘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. 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 khoï, 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 khoï, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>khoï ‘Husband Groups’</th>
<th>Nnou Cuya ‘Wife Groups’:</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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,” 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 abēh ‘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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15R. Watson (1969a:83–86)
16R. 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, 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–í,” 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 “alểh” ‘brother-in-law’. According to the chart, I should address the wife of my alểh 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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>achuôih</td>
<td>to grandson/daughter</td>
<td>achau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>acaq</td>
<td>to grandson/daughter</td>
<td>achau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>a–ám/counh</td>
<td>to son</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s eZ</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>to yB son</td>
<td>amon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s yZ</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>to eB son</td>
<td>amon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s eB</td>
<td>counh pût</td>
<td>to yB son</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s yB</td>
<td>counh két</td>
<td>to eB son</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>counh</td>
<td>to daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s eZ</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>to yB daughter</td>
<td>amon</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s eB</td>
<td>counh pût</td>
<td>to yB daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s yB</td>
<td>counh két</td>
<td>to eB daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>a–í/cán</td>
<td>to son</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s eZ</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>to yB son</td>
<td>amon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s yZ</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>to eB son</td>
<td>amon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s eB</td>
<td>counh pût</td>
<td>to yB son</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s yB</td>
<td>counh két</td>
<td>to eB son</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>counh</td>
<td>to daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s eZ</td>
<td>cán pût</td>
<td>to yB daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s yz</td>
<td>cán két</td>
<td>to eB daughter</td>
<td>acay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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17In 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.
18A–ám means ‘father’ in all dialects, but in PL counh ‘man’ is used to address and refer to one’s own ‘father’.
19A–í means ‘mother’ in all dialects, but in PL cán ‘woman’ is used to address and refer to one’s own ‘mother’.
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; amuíq 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 dyitung láyq châm ttrlúq, anáq apúq ti láyq châm tarteic; ma láyq hôi prouq itáh ado nnau, láyq 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 láyq cót cán, anáq láyq pán counh, côh ma ti-ú nh ngâh canti ti-ti nh ngâh catout.
‘Although not yet a woman, although not yet a man, but strong to plead strong to insist.’
(If the wife is smarter than the husband, the husband is the one to be honored and listened to.)

(5) A-át achêiq màh candyoum xâng, axoum aclou màh 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; cadyou 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 cammadng crûm; A-úm 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 dór láyq cammáng, aráq ibaq atao ân atiëh, 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 coush.
   ‘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) Láyq nnau táq dúng mák ingay; láyq 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 cóh ngngai; nám acay coush cóh 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) Nđóung pút cóh i-át; tóq ngngát cóh 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) Tóq mo tarúm clóuh tóq cóh anôuh tun.
   ‘To wherever the needle pierces--to there the thread follows.’
   (Said of a child that always follows--like a shadow.)
(17) Tóq titar cóh ngoaì; tóq coai cóh 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) Tóq tulua cóh préinh; tóq cuxéinh cóh prouyq.
   ‘A lizard arrives, so brave; a snake arrives, so afraid.’
   (He is brave around lizards, but a coward around snakes.)
(19) Trúh 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 iyóh trþah, cóh trþah 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 cuheit ‘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, Arièu Ping ‘Feast of the Tombs’ (also known as Arièu Car). While villagers prepared túc bayh tiriêq carróq ‘sacrifice buffalos and cows’, the cha arièu ‘feasting’, ryoc ryê ‘entertainers’, and cóung pínòuh ‘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 parnōuh 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 tāq ‘work’ would cha ngpip ‘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.
References


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.