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Grammatical Sketches from the Field 2

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Preface

This book is the outcome of the Grammatical Sketch Project, which was supported by the Linguistic Dynamics Science Project at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan.

The Grammatical Sketch Project is a series of collaborative research projects in which participating junior scholars work together to develop concise grammatical descriptions on the basis of primary data obtained through fieldwork. The present volume contains manuscripts from the fourth iteration of the project.

Each sketch touches on general characteristics of phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures and contains a short text with an interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. Following the general scheme of the Grammatical Sketch Project, the general structure and terminology were unified to facilitate crosslinguistic comparison. The manuscripts were developed through several rounds of discussion and peer reviewing.

We would like to express our gratitude to all the language consultants for their generosity in sharing their knowledge of the their respective languages.

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Abbreviations and symbols

1	First person	COM	Comitative
2	Second person	COMP	Complementizer
3	Third person	COND	Conditional
[1]	Rising tone	CONJN	Conjunction
[2]	Level tone	CONT	Continuous
[3]	Falling tone	COP	Copula
-	Affix boundary	CP	Conjunctive participle
=	Clitic boundar	DAT	Dative
+	Compound boundary	DECL	Declarative
@	Personal prefix slot	DEM	Demonstrative
[I]	Form I	DET	Determiner
[II]	Form II	DIM	Diminutive
I	Type-I personal prefix	DIR	Direction
II	Type-II personal prefix	DIS	Distal
III	Type-III personal prefix	DU	Dual
A	Agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb	ERG	Ergative
		ESS	Essive
ABL	Ablative	EXCL	Exclusive
ABS	Absolutive	EXST	Existential verb
ACC	Accusative	FEM	Feminine
ADE	Adessive	FIL	Filler
ADJVLZ	Adjectivalizer	FIN	Final particle
ALL	Allative	FUT	Future
ASP	Aspect	GEN	Genitive
ASS	Assertive	GER	Gerund
AUG	Augmentative	H	H-class
AUX	Auxiliary	HF	HF-class
AV	Actor voice	HM	HM-class
C	Consonant	IMP	Imperative
CAUS	Causative	INCH	Inchoative
CLF	Classifier	INCL	Inclusive

INE	Inessive	POT	Potential
INF	Infinitive	PRED	Predicative
INS	Instrumental	PROH	Prohibitive
INT	Intentional	PROX	Proximal
INTERJ	Interjection	PRS	Present
IPFV	Imperfective	PST	Past
IRR	Irrealis	PT	Particle
ITR	Iterative	PURP	Purposive
IV	Instrumental voice	Q	Question particle/marker
LOC	Locative	QUOT	Quotative
LV	Location voice	R	Recipient-like argument of canonical ditransitive verb
MAS	Masculine		
MDL	Middle voice	RDP	Reduplication
MOD	Mood	REAL	Realis
MV	Middle voice	RECP	Reciprocal
NEG	Negative	REL	Relativizer
NMLZ	Nominalizer	S	Single argument of canonical intransitive verb
NOM	Nominative		
NONV	Non-volitional	SG	Singular
NPRS	Non-present	STAT	Stative
NSP	Non-specific	T	Theme-like argument of canonical ditransitive verb
NUM	Numeral		
O	(Direct) object argument of canonical trnsitive verb	T	Tone
		TEL	Telic/Telicity
OBL	Oblique	TOP	Topic
OPT	Optative	TR	Transitive
ORD	Ordinal number	TRVZ	Transitivizer
PCLF	Possessive classifier	UV	Undergoer voice
PERF	Perfect	V	Vowel
PERS	Person	VBLZ	Verbalizer
PFV	Perfective	X	X-class
PL	Plural	Y	Y-class
PN	Proper noun	Z	Z-class
POSS	Possessive		

'Ôrôê

Emiko Tsuji (University of Tokyo)

Introduction

'Ôrôê (Orowe, ISO693-3: bpk) is an Oceanic language of Austronesian language family spoken in New Caledonia. 'Ôrôê has the characteristics of an isolating language; verbs do not inflect, and nouns do not have morphological case marking. Case marking is nominative-accusative, mainly encoded by prepositions. Nominative case, which is used for S and A, is marked, and accusative case, which is used for O, is unmarked. The basic word order is SVS in intransitive clauses and

Figure 1. Map of Southwest Pacific

AVOA in transitive clauses. 'Ôrôê has two types of clauses: verbless and verbal. There are multiple types of possessive construction. Also, there are a variety of verb compounds and verb serializations.
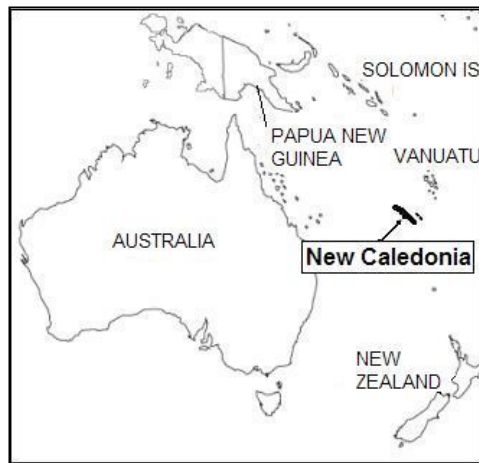
1. The language and its speakers

New Caledonia is located in the region of Melanesia in the southwest Pacific Ocean. It comprises a main island, the Loyalty Islands, and several smaller islands. They form an overseas territory of France. Along with the official language, French, 28 indigenous languages are spoken. These indigenous languages demonstrate great diversity both in phonology and syntax

Figure 2. Map of New Caledonia

(Osumi 2001). According to the 2004 census, more than half of these have fewer than 1000 speakers (ISEE 2009), and many of the minority languages are not passed on to the younger generations as they had been before.
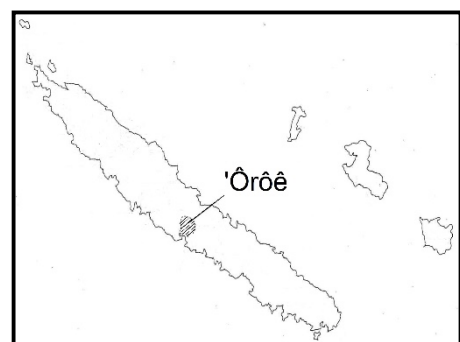
'Ôrôê is one of these minority languages and has only 355 speakers, according to the 2004 census (ISEE 2009). It is spoken in the tribus (reserves) of Pothé, Azareu, Ny, and Bouirou in the commune of Bourail. The language is called /ʔõɾõe/ by its speakers, and is also called "the language of Bourail" (cf. Lee 1994). Only elderly people speak 'Ôrôê as a first language, and young people usually speak French. Some young people understand 'Ôrôê when they hear it, but they rarely speak it. Previous studies on 'Ôrôê include lexicons (Fenning 1991, A.D.C.K. 2004b), a text book (A.D.C.K 2004a), and studies in phonology (Lee 1994).

2. Phonology

2.1 Inventory of phonemes

The phonological inventory in 'Ôrôê contains 24 consonants and 16 vowels (10 oral vowels and 6 nasal vowels) as shown in Table 1 and Table 2. The proposed orthographic symbols for each phoneme are presented in angled brackets < >.

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Labial velarized	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Velar labialized	Glottal
Stop	p /p/	pw /pʷ/		t /t/	tj /c/	k /k/	kw /kʷ/	' /ʔ/
	b /b/	bw /bʷ/		d /d/	dj /ɟ/	g /g/	gw /gʷ/	
Nasal	m /m/	mw /mʷ/		n /n/	ny /ɲ/	ng /ŋ/		
Fricative			v /v/			gh /ɣ/		
Approxi-mant		w /w/			j /j/			
Liquid				rr /r/				
				r /ɾ/				

Table 2. Vowels

Oral

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i /i/	ü /y/	u /u/
Close mid	e /e/	ù /ø/	o /o/
Open mid	è /ɛ/	ë /ə/	ò /ɔ/
Open		a /a/	

Nasal

	Front	Central	Back
Close	î /ĩ/	ũ /ỹ/	û /ũ/
Close mid	ê /ẽ/		ô /õ/
Open		â /ã/	

2.1.1 Consonants

Stops consist of voiceless phonemes /p/, /pʷ/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /kʷ/, and /ʔ/ and voiced phonemes /b/, /bʷ/, /d/, /ɟ/, /g/, and /gʷ/. These voiced stops are always prenasalized. Palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are realized as [tj] and [ⁿdj], respectively. Nasal phonemes include /m/, /mʷ/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/. Palatal nasal /ɲ/ and velar nasal /ŋ/ are only found in a few words. In fricatives, there are only voiced phonemes /v/ and /ɣ/. Intervocalic /**v**/ before the vowel /a/ or /o/ tends to be pronounced as [ʋ]. Approximant phonemes include /w/ and /j/. /**j**/ is realized as [**Æ**] before the vowel /i/. Liquids are a trill /r/ and a flap /ɾ/.

2.1.2 Vowels

The phonemes /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/ are realized as front-unrounded vowels [i], [e] and [ɛ], respectively; and /u/, /o/, and /ɔ/ are realized as back-rounded vowels [u], [o], and [ɔ], respectively. /y/ is realized between the front-rounded vowel [y] and central-rounded vowel [ʉ]. /ø/ is pronounced with slight lip-rounding. It tends to be pronounced as a central-unrounded vowel [ə] by elderly speakers and as a front-rounded vowel [ø] by younger speakers. /ə/ is a schwa [ə], but it tends to be slightly rounded when it appears in a stressed syllable. /a/ is a phoneme between [a] and [ɑ], like /a/ in Japanese.

Oral /e/ and /ɛ/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ are contrastive, but their nasal counterparts are neutralized and are respectively realized as [ẽ] and [õ]. /ỹ/ appears as [ũ], which is only found in an interjection /oʔỹ/ [oʔũ] "I don't know."

Long vowels corresponding to each short vowel are also found, except for long vowels corresponding to /ỹ/ and /ẽ/. Long vowels are expressed by repetition of the symbols (for instance, "aa" for /aa/) following previous grammars of New Caledonian indigenous languages (cf. Osumi 1995, Moyse-Faurie1995, Bril 2002).

2.2   Syllable structure

The possible syllable structure of ʻÔrôê is (C) V. There is no restriction on consonants or vowels occurring word-initially and -medially. Only vowels can occur word-finally. /gʷ/ and /ŋ/ occur only in the word-initial position, and ong nasal vowels are found only in the word-medial or word-final positions.

Consonant clusters are not found in this language, whereas vowel clusters of multiple combinations are attested in the data. Shown below are a few examples.

V+V: /ai/ "to marry"   /roẽ/ "angry"   /ɟiaɾa/ "mat"   /tay/ "lazy"
V+V+V: /puie/ "to open"   /ᵐbẽãɛ/ "part"   /uiɔɔ/ "saliva"   /kuei/ "birds of prey"

2.3   Phonological rules

A vowel occurring before a voiced stop (prenasalized stop) is usually nasalized. Shown below are a few examples.

(1)	/mɛ-ma/	(2)	/ʔa-bia/	(3)	/i	da	baɾi ve nã	pol/
	[mẽ-ma]		[ʔã-ᵐbia]		[ĩ	ⁿdã	ᵐbaɾi ve nã	pol]
	NMLZ-to.die		NMLZ-to.bend		3SG.NOM	NEG	want go	NOM PN
	"death"		"valley"		"Pol does not want to go."			

2.4   Morpho-phonological processes

Among the personal pronouns (see 3.2.1.2), the object/possessive form of the first person singular /jɔ/ and second person singular /i/ have nasal allomorphs /ɲõ/ and /ĩ/, respectively. These allomorphs occur after verbs or bound nouns ending with nasal vowels. Shown below, (4) is the example of /ɲõ/ following a verb ending with a nasal vowel, and (5) is the example of /ĩ/ following a bound noun ending with nasal vowel.

(4) /i   nãmʷã̃=ɲð/   (5) /bʷẽ-ĩ/
     3SG.NOM see=1SG   head-2SG
     "He saw me."   "your head"

Moreover, the first-person singular pronoun /jɔ/ appears as /ð/ when it follows possessive classifier /tĩ/ (for instance, /warrawa tĩ=ð/ bread PCLF.FOOD1=1SG "my bread to eat") (see also 3.2.1.3), and it appears /ŋeã/ when it combines with the genitive preposition /ɣi/.

2.5 Prosody

2.5.1 Stress

Stress is not distinctive in 'Ôrôê. In words, it generally falls on the penultimate syllable. The syllables that receive stress are underlined:

  a̱i "to marry" igẖù "to cook" ṉene "fire" pui̱e "to open" avav̱oa "ladybug"

When the word final is long vowel, the stress falls on the last vowel.

  pèèṟii "to roll"   jou̱u "waterfall"   maim̱ii "hungry"

2.5.2 Intonation

Content words (such as verbs or nouns) tend to receive higher pitch in sentences. There are at least two types of intonation patterns: [1] falling at the end of a sentence and [2] raising at the end of a sentence. Declarative and imperative sentences have the first intonation patterns examples of these are presented below (example (6) is a declarative sentence and (7) is an imperative sentence), with pitch levels labeled as /1/ lowest, /2/ mid, /3/ higher, and /4/ highest (cf. Osumi 1995: 26).

(6) 1   3   3   1   2 3   3   1
     i   mwere nâ   âgë   ghi=è
     3SG.NOM   break NOM car   GEN=3SG
     "His car is broken."
(7) 4   4   2 3   3   1
     tâwo wakè   ghi=i
     begin work   GEN=2SG
     "Begin your work."

In interrogative sentences, constituent interrogatives (8) have an intonation pattern [1], and polar interrogatives (9) have an intonation pattern [2]:

(8) 1   3   3   1   31
     i   *mwere* *nâ*   *djiè*
     3SG.NOM   break   NOM   what
     "What is broken?"

(9) 1   4   4   2   3 3   4   4
     i   *mwere* *nâ*   *âgë*   *ghi=è*
     3SG.NOM   break   NOM   car   GEN=3SG
     "Is his car broken?"

3. Word classes

3.1 Words, affixes, and clitics

A word can combine with syntactic arguments at a phrase or clause level. It may be a single free morpheme or the produce of derivational processes applied to a bound root. A clitic is defined as a word that is phonologically dependent on a neighboring word (cf. Zwicky 1994) and only attaches to some words or roots. The host of a clitic is not restricted to one particular word class. An affix is a bound morpheme and it always bound to a particular word class. The boundary between the clitic and their hosts will be presented by "=", and the boundary of affix will be presented by "-".

3.2 Word classes

In 'Ôrôê, the following eight word classes can be identified: nominals, verbs, nominal modifiers, verbal modifiers, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. Word classes are distinguished mainly by syntactic functions and distributions. Nominals and verbs can both be predicates. Nominals and verbs are distinguished by the fact that nominals can follow the prepositions whereas verbs cannot. Nominal modifiers, verbal modifiers, and adverbs usually appear before or after nouns or verbs modifying them. The difference between these will be discussed in 3.2.3, 3.2.4, and 3.2.5. Prepositions and conjunctions introduce certain grammatical elements such as phrases or clauses. Interjections do not have a grammatical relationship with any other words. In 'Ôrôê, adjectives are realized as stative verbs (see 3.2.2).

3.2.1 Nominals

Nominals include nouns, pronouns, possessive classifiers, and numerals.

3.2.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are preceded by prepositions and serve as subject or object arguments of verbs and as topicalized arguments. They serve as heads of noun phrases but also serve as modifiers of other nouns, following head nouns.

Nouns are morphologically divided into two subclasses: free and bound nouns. A free noun can occur independently, whereas a bound noun must be attached to another noun or pronoun representing its possessor; ***pimè**-taiki* (eye-dog) "dog's eye." ***gawi**-jò* (hand-1SG) "my hand." Most nouns are free, and bound nouns are limited to body part words, kinship words, and attributive nouns. They are considered semantically to be inalienably possessed (Osumi 1995: 59). This will be discussed in 5.1.

3.2.1.2 Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns: [1] personal pronouns, [2] demonstrative pronouns, and [3] interrogative pronouns.

[1] Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns show the common Oceanic inclusive/exclusive distinction (whether or not the addressee is included) in the first person nonsingular forms, and also distinguish singular, dual, and plural (cf. Lynch, Ross and Crowly 2002: 35). Like those of other New Caledonian languages, personal pronouns in 'Ôrôê have three forms according to their position in a clause: independent, subject, and object/possessive forms (Osumi 1995:39). Realis and the irrealis forms occur for subject form pronouns. Irrealis forms of subject pronouns only occur in imperative and subordinate clauses.

Table 3. Personal pronouns

| | Independent | Subject | | Object/Possessor |
		Realis	Irrealis	
1SG	gòjò	'ô	mo	jò/ nyô
2SG	gèi	nge	mange	i/î
3SG	ţjè	i	ma	è
1DU.INCL	ârru	du	marru	rru
1DU.EXCL	âvu	bu	mavu	vu
2DU	âghu	gu	maghu	u
3DU	âru	ru	maru	ru
1PL.INCL	âre	de	marre	rre
1PL.EXCL	âve	be	mave	ve
2PL	âghe	ge	maghe	we
3PL	âre	re	mare	re

Independent forms can serve as subject NPs in emphatic or imperative expressions, and are introduced by the nominative preposition *nâ*. They can also form clauses by themselves (for example, *gòjò* "It's me"). This form is also used when a pronoun is topicalized. The subject form is used as a subject pronoun preceding predicates (verbs or nouns). Some verbal modifiers or conjunctions may occur between the subject pronouns and predicates. The object/possessive form occurs as an enclitic to verbs, prepositions, or possessive classifiers, and occurs as suffix on the bound nouns.

[2] Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur as the object of verbs, the object of prepositions, or the modifiers of NPs. They are used for indicating some particular point in space (deixis) or referring to something in discourse (anaphoric reference). Three deictic forms are used: *nâ* "near the speaker," *vè* "near the hearer," and *nî* "distant from both the speaker and hearer." When they appear as objects of verbs or prepositions, they refer to places ("here," "there," and "over there"), but when they follow nouns, they serve as modifiers ("this," "that," and "that over there"). For anaphoric reference, *nâ* "this" and *vè* "that" are used to refer to things, and *=i* "that place" is used to refer to places.

[3] Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns include *djiè* "what," *djaa* "who," *kênîwî* "how many," *wè* "where," and *ânî* "when," which will be discussed in 7.1.

3.2.1.3 Possessive Classifiers

Possessive classifiers identify the possessive relationships between the possessed nouns and the possessor nouns (pronouns). So far, five possessive classifiers have been identified: *tî* "for food such as starches (FOOD1)," *o* "for food such as meat, fishes or vegetables (FOOD2)," *ii* "for sugar cane," *'ôjò* "for drink," *gi* "for other possession." These must be followed by possessor nouns or pronouns. They occur both in post-nominal (10) and pre-nominal positions (11) (see also 5.1).

(10)	*gwâ*	*o*	*ürra*	*vè*	(11)	*'ôjò=è*		*gwâ*
	coconut	PCLF.FOOD2	child	DEM:MID		PCLF.DRINK=3PL	coconut	
	"the coconut of that child to eat"					"his coconut to drink"		

3.2.1.4 Numerals

There are only five numerals: *rrakê* "one," *kêaru* "two," *kêrere* "three," *kêvèè* "four," *kênî* "five." To represent numbers over six, numerals from one to five are combined: *kênî mè rrakê* (five and one) "six," *kênî mè kêaru* (five and two) "seven," for instance. Numerals are free morphemes and like nouns, can be the arguments of verbs. When numerals modify head nouns, they precede them: *kêaru taiki* (two dog) "two dogs." Numerals rarely occur by themselves as NPs.

3.2.2 Verbs

Predicate verbs are always preceded by subject pronouns. There are intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, and the former do not take accusative objects, whereas the latter can take accusative objects (I will present examples of this in chapter 6). Intransitive verbs can be divided into action verbs and stative verbs. Stative verbs correspond to so-called adjectives in languages such as English or Japanese. Morphologically, there are free-form and bound-form verbs.

3.2.3   Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers occur with noun phrases and modify them. Nominal modifiers can be divided into two types syntactically: pre-head and post-head. The former include determiners such as *de* "the (SG)," *pârâ* "many," and the latter include *kâpo* "all" and *rro* "only." These examples will be demonstrated in 5.1.

3.2.4   Verbal modifiers

Verbal modifiers usually occur with verbs modifying them, but they also modify nominal predicates (see the example (27) in 5.3.1). Verbal modifiers can be divided in two types syntactically: pre-head and post-head. Pre-head verbal modifiers include tense markers, aspect markers, mood markers, and negative markers. They occur between the subject pronoun and predicates. Post-head verbal modifiers comprise aspect markers and modifiers indicating manner or degree. Post-head verbal modifiers always occur before any objects of verbs.

3.2.5   Adverbs

Adverbs function as modifiers of verb phrases or whole sentences. They occur freely in the post-predicate position. They are distinguished from verbal modifiers in that they can appear either before or after the object NPs of verbs. For example, the verbal modifier *wai* "already" should always occur before the object of verbs as shown in (12), on the other hand, the adverb *jawimâ* "in the past" can appear after the object of the verb, as shown in (13):

(12)   *re*   *wò*   *tâ-ma*   ***wai***   *rra*   *poka*   *vè*
        3PL.NOM   PST   by.shooting-die   already   SG   pig   DEM:MID
        "They had already killed the pig by shooting."

(13)   *i*   *kâ-wiri*   *rrèmwââ*   ***jawimâ***   *nâ*   *gèè*
        3SG.NOM   by.grasping-stuck   eel   in.the.past   NOM   grandmother
        "Grandmother used to catch the eel by hands in the past."

Some adverbs (such as *moîenâvè* "now," *tòònu* "always," and *rrariivè* "in the future") can be topicalized (see 7.11).

3.2.6 Prepositions

Prepositions express a grammatical relationship between noun phrases and predicates or other nominals. The prepositions for nominal are the following: *nâ*, nominative; *i/ghi*[1], genitive1; *ne*, genitive2; *jè,* dative; *rra*, ablative1; *ghè*, ablative2; *rro,* locative; *nâ*, allative1; *wa*, allative2; *ê*, instrumental1; *pè*, instrumental2; *veri,* comitative; *noa,* the preposition indicating purpose; and *ghaî*, the preposition indicating time.

3.2.7 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunctions: coordinative and subordinative. Coordinate conjunctions are used to combine elements (words, phrases, clauses) with equal grammatical status. Subordinate conjunctions such as complementizers or relativizers function as introducers of subordinate clauses. Each conjunction will be presented in 8.2 and 8.3.

3.2.8 Interjections

Interjections are independent words; they can also occur by themselves. They consist of both discourse response-type of interjections (such as *üü* "yes," *oi* "ok," *bwa* "no," *a'ê* "I don't want to," etc) and emotional types of interjections expressing surprise (such as *aiiwa*, an expression of sympathy; *auu,* an expression of anger; *kaa*, etc. The usages of *üü* "yes" and *bwa* "no" are the same as *yes* and *no* in English. For example, if one respond *üü* "yes" to the question "*i da 'ôjò kavè*" (3SG.NOM NEG drink coffee) "Doesn't he drink coffee?," the response implies "He drinks coffee."

4. Morphology

4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Affixation and compounding are found in nominal and verbal morphology. Reduplication is not productively used in 'Ôrôê. There are two nouns (*nene* "fire" and *rârâ* "noise") and three verbs (*mâmâ* "light," *rürü* "shake," and *rrârrâ* "grill") that appear reduplicated, although, the meanings of their original monosyllabic forms are not clear.

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[1] *ghi* is the allomorph of preposition *i,* which appears before pronouns.

4.2   Nominal morphology

'Ôrôê has both prefixes that derive nominals from nominals, and prefixes that nominalize verbs. There are five nominal-to-nominal prefixes; one such example is the prefix *o-*, which adds the meaning of a particular place (*o-mwèrè* (o-trace) "behind"). There are nine prefixes that nominalize verbs, such as the prefix *a-*, which indicates an agent, as in *a-taü* (a-lazy) "idler," and *a-roê* (a-angry) "villain"; and the prefix *mè-*, which indicates location as in *mè-juaa* (mè-sit) "chair."

Examples of noun compounding are *pò-gawi* (root-hand) "shoulder," *mwâ-nene* (house-fire) "lamp," and *pimè-'arrî* (eye-daylight) "watch."

4.3   Verbal morphology

'Ôrôê has both prefixes and suffixes that form verbs from verbs. Event-classifying prefixes (cf. Osumi and Tsuji 2009) are the verbal prefixes indicating certain actions or movements integrated with body parts or instruments; they attach verb stems denoting the resulting states of an object. They derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs or transitive verbs. Examples of derived verbs are *te-ma* (step.on-dead) "to kill by stepping on," *kâ-ma* (grab-dead) "to kill by grabbing," *tâ-ma* (shoot-dead) "to kill by shooting," *jò-ma* (hitting with a long knife-dead) "to kill by hitting with a long knife." The causative prefix *pè-* attaches to intransitive or transitive verbs and increases valency (see 7.8.1), and the reciprocal/reflexive prefix *wo-* usually attaches to transitive verbs and decreases valency (see 7.8.2).

Verbal suffixes include the transitive suffix *-i*, which derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs (for example, *i 'a* (3SG.NOM laugh) "He laughs." → *i 'a-i=jò* (3SG.NOM laugh-TR=1SG) "He laughs at me."); and directional suffixes such as *-rrua* "upward," *-jaa* "downward," *-koa* "far," and *-rrü* "into."

Examples of compounding verbs are *kò-weja* (soul-good) "like" and *kò-uwo* (soul-beautiful) "be proud of."

5. Syntactic structure

5.1   The noun phrase

Head nouns in noun phrases can be modified by numerals, nominal modifiers, prepositional phrases (prepositions and noun complexes), relative clauses, or demonstrative pronouns. Pre-head nominal modifiers and numerals precede head nouns as shown below.

(14) *de   'ôjowe*   (15) *kêaru   taiki*

    DET   woman   two   dog

    "another woman"   "two dogs"

Post-head nominal modifiers, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, or demonstrative pronouns occur after the head noun. Shown below is an example of a relative clause, *a mëë*, and a demonstrative pronoun *vè* modifying the head noun.

(16) *kêrere   bè'ê   a   mëë   vè*

    three   tree   REL   dry   DEM:MID

    "those three dried-up trees"

In addition, nouns can modify other nouns. Nouns indicating numbers and genders tend to precede head nouns (17), whereas nouns indicating types or sorts tend to follow head nouns (18).

(17) *pêdurrakê   'ôjowe   pèè-jaani*   (18) *'âru   ne'ò*

    some   woman   grandchild-PN   creeper   forest

    "some granddaughters of Jaani"   "the creeper of forest"

The word order of a proper and common noun is that a proper noun follows a common noun: *mègë 'ôrôê* (language PN) "language of 'ôrôê."

As in other Oceanic languages, possessive constructions in 'Ôrôê express both direct and indirect possession. If the possessed noun is a bound noun, the possessor nouns or pronouns are suffixed to them (direct possession). On the other hand, if the possessed noun is a free noun, a possessive classifier or genitive1 preposition *i/ghi* intervenes between the possessed noun and possessor noun or pronoun (indirect possession). Shown below are examples of direct possession, (19) and (20); and indirect possession with prepositions, (21) and (22). (The example of indirect possession with a possessive classifier is shown in 3.2.1.3)

Direct possession

(19) *gawi-pol*   (20) *pimè-è*

    hand-PN   eye-3SG

    "Pol's hand"   "his eyes"

Indirect possession

(21) *jaakè   i   pol*   (22) *nyînyâ   ghi=è*

    bag   GEN   PN   mother   GEN=3SG

    "Pol's bag"   "his mother"

Coordinated noun phrases are connected by conjunctions *mè* "and" or *ra* "or;" *nò mè rrèmwââ* (fish CONJN eel) "fish and eel," *rrakê rra kêaru* (one CONJN two) "one or two."

5.2 The verb phrase

Verbs are obligatory in verb phrases. Pre-head verbal modifiers occur before verbs. Post-head verbal modifiers occur after verbs and object clitic pronouns, but before object NPs. Prepositional phrase modifiers usually follow free NP objects. Adverbials can occur freely in a post-head position.

A verb phrase may consist of two or more verbs. Such verb serializations are common in 'Ôrôê as well as in other New Caledonian or Oceanic languages. Examples of verb serializations found so far comprise two or three verbs. Semantically, verb serializations can express cause and effect, simultaneous action, or manner and direction. Below are some examples:

(23) *'ô   pwa   ţjiâ   pokaî*   (cause–effect)

    1SG.NOM   arrive   fly   bird

    "I arrived and as a result a bird flies."

(24) *i   vârâ   ve   jôwo*   (manner)

    3SG.NOM   walk   go   slow

    "He walks slowly."

5.3 Clause structure and word order

There are two types of clauses in 'Ôrôê: verbless and verbal clauses.

5.3.1 Verbless clauses

A verbless clause generally involves two NPs, and can have two types of structure. In type [a], the predicate NP (the first NP) and the subject NP (the second NP) are connected by the nominative preposition *nâ*.

[a]	predicate NP	*nâ*	subject NP		
(25)	*ne-è*	*nâ*	*jajuè*		
	name-3SG	NOM	PN		

" Jajuè is her name."

In type [b], the predicate NP is preceded by a subject pronoun (represented by "s" below), which agrees with the subject NP in person and number:

[b]	s	predicate NP	*nâ*	subject NP	
(26)	*ru*	*duduapeî*	*nâ*	*jaani*	*mè*	*marijòò*
	3DU.NOM	cross.cousins	NOM	PN	CONJN	PN

"Jaani and Marijòò are cross-cousins."

Type [b] can include tense or negative markers, whereas [a] cannot.

(27)	*i*	*wò*	*jèvü*	*nâ*	*ùrò*
	3SG.NOM	PST	chief	NOM	PN

"Ùrò was a chief."

This type of clause expresses equation or proper inclusion. I will explain this in detail in 7.3.

5.3.2 Verbal clauses

A verbal clause consists of a verb phrase that is obligatorily preceded by a subject personal pronoun. The structure of the intransitive clause is shown below. The word order is (S)VS.

Intransitive clause:	s (S)	VP	*nâ*	NP (S)
(28)	*i*	*weja*	*nâ*	*neraa*
	3SG.NOM	good	NOM	weather

"The weather is good."

The word order of a transitive clause is (A)VOA as represented below:

Transitive clause:	s (A)	VP	NP(O)	*nâ*	NP (A)
(29)	*i*	*rrârrâ*	*rrèmwââ*	*nâ*	*bureji*
	3SG.NOM	grill	eel	NOM	PN

"Bureji grilled eel."

6. Grammatical relations   (subjects and objects)

6.1   Subjects

Subjects of predicates are represented by subject pronouns preceding predicates or by a subject NP introduced by the nominative preposition *nâ* following the predicate. The subject pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase preceded by *nâ*. In (30), the subject pronoun *ru* agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase *anii mè jajuè*:

(30)	***ru***	*djòi*	*nò*	*nâ*	***anii***	***mè***	***jajuè***
	3DU.NOM	scrape	fish	NOM	PN	CONJN	PN

"Anii and Jajuè scraped the scales off a fish."

When the subject is in first or second person, normally, only a subject pronoun is used, and the subject NP does not appear.

(31)	***'ô***	*iri*	*kavè*
	1SG.NOM	gather	coffee

"I gathered coffee beans."

Subjects generally have nominative case, but can have genitive case in some subordinate clause types (see 8.3).

6.2   Objects

Direct objects appear without any prepositions or markers representing grammatical relations. Zero marking is thus is the realization of accusative case in this language.

(32)	*i*	*tâ-ghèè*	***miu***	*nâ*	*marrio*
	3SG.NOM	by.shooting-injured	flying.fox	NOM	PN

"Marrio shot a flying fox."

When the direct object is a personal pronoun, the object form of the personal pronoun is used (as *=jò* in the example below). The indirect object or other peripheral arguments are introduced by prepositions (as *jè jaani* in the example below).

(33) *i*　　　　*para=**jò***　　　***jè***　***jaani***　*nâ*　　*ujènii*
　　　3SG.NOM　show=1SG　　DAT　PN　　NOM　PN
　　　"Ujènii presented me to Jaani."

7. Functional categories

7.1 Interrogatives

There are at least two ways of expressing polar interrogatives. The first one by rising intonation (see 2.5.2), and the second by use of the question particle *rra* (conjunction "or") sentence finally:

(34) *nge*　　　*'ôjò*　　*kavè*　*rra*
　　　2SG.NOM　drink　coffee　Q
　　　"Do you drink coffee (or not)?"

In constituent interrogatives, interrogative pronouns *djiè* "what," *djaa* "who," *wè* "where," *ânî* "when," and *ôrôwè* "how" usually occur in the same structural slot as the questioned constituent. Below are sentences with *djiè* "what" and *wè* "where".

(35) *nge*　　　*'arra*　*djiè*　　　(36) *i*　　　　*wakè*　*rro*　*wè*
　　　2SG.NOM　eat　what　　　　　　　3SG.NOM　work　LOC　where
　　　"What did you eat?"　　　　　　　　"Where does he work?"

rèwinâ "why" usually occurs in the final position of the sentence:

(37) *i*　　　　*da*　*ërrii*　*warawa*　*rrèwinâ*
　　　3SG.NOM　NEG　buy　bread　　why
　　　"Why didn't he buy some bread?"

7.2 Imperatives

An imperative sentence for second person usually consists of verb and object nouns and does not include a subject pronoun preceding the verb.

(38) *pè-borowi*   *wakè*   *ghi=i*
      CAUS-finish   work   GEN=2SG
      "Finish your work."

Imperative sentences for first person (39) or third person (40) begin with irrealis forms of subject pronouns (see 3.2.1.2).

(39) *marru*   *tâwo*   *wakè*   *ghi=rru*
      1DU.INCL.IRR.NOM   begin   work   GEN=1DU.INCL
      "Let's begin our work."

(40) *ma*   *tori*   *nâ*   *mè*   *pei*   *i*   *nepwe-jò*
      3SG.IRR.NOM   stop   NOM   NMLZ   hurt   GEN   stomach-1SG
      "Be calm, the pain in my stomach."

7.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, and possession

Equation is expressed by either verbless clauses or by using topic marker *rrè*. (41) is an example of verbless clause of type [a], (in 5.3.1) and (42) is an example using topic marker *rrè* (see 7.11):

(41) *nyînyâ*   *ghi=è*   *nâ*   *jaani*
      mother   GEN=3SG   NOM   PN
      "Jaani is her mother."

(42) *jaani*   *rrè*   *nyînyâ* *ghi=è*
      PN   TOP   mother   GEN=3SG
      "Jaani is her mother."

The topic marker *rrè* is often used to express proper inclusion, as shown in a following example:

(43) *bureji*   *rrè*   *'ê*   *a*   *kùù*
      PN   TOP   man   REL   dance
      "Bureji is a dancer."

Location is encoded by the verb *tòò* "be at":

(44) *i*   *tòò*   *ômwâ*   *ghi=è*   *nâ*   *jajuè*
      3SG.NOM   be.at   house   GEN=3SG   NOM   PN
      "Jajuè is at home."

Possession is expressed by the verbs *tòò* "be at" or *wi* "exist":

(45)   *i*   *tòò*   *ghi=è*   *nâ*   *'oerrë*   *dònepê*
          3SG.NOM   be.at   GEN=3SG   NOM   blood   native
          "He has a blood of native people."

(46)   *i*   *wi*   *nâ*   *kêaru*   *taiki*   *ghi=è*
          3SG.NOM   exist   NOM   two   dog   GEN=3SG
          "He has two dogs. (Literary: Two dogs of his exist.)"

7.4   Case

Case on nouns is represented mainly by prepositions (see 3.2.6). Accusative case is unmarked in this language, as previously noted. Prepositions are used to realize nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, allative, locative, and instrumental cases.

7.5   Noun class (Gender)

'Ôrôê has no noun class or grammatical gender, but has some interesting word usages related to gender. For instance, *neduâê* "dual boys" and *nepâê* "plural boys" can be used only for boys, but the *nedü* "dual girls," and *nepèü* "plural girls" can be also used for pairs containing a boy and a girl and groups of boys and girls, respectively.

Another example related to gender is the usage of *bobeârî* "grandmother" to refer to the moon and *beârî* "grandfather" to refer to the sun.

7.6   Person

Pronouns in 'Ôrôê are distinguished in first, second, and third person. Non-singular first person have both inclusive and exclusive forms. 'Ôrôê also has a subject pronoun *ê*, which indicate no particular person, as shown in (47).

(47)   *ê*   *'âmwî*   *jaakè*   *nâ*   *rro*   *japô*
          SOMEONE.NOM   make   bag   DEM:NEAR   LOC   PN
          "People made this bag in Japan. (This bag was made in Japan.)"

7.7   Number

Nominal prefixes indicate number on nouns: *'ê-*, singular; *du-,* dual; and *pè-*, plural. *'ê-* and *du-* can be used with both human and non-human nouns, but *pè-* can be used only with human nouns.

'ê-gèè	(SG-grandmother)	"the one grandmother"
du-gèè	(DU-grandmother)	"these two grandmothers"
pè-gèè	(PL-grandmother)	"these several grandmothers"

7.8   Valency-changing

'Ôrôê has both a valence-increasing operation (causative) and a valence-decreasing operation (reciprocal and reflexive).

7.8.1   Valence-increasing operations

Causatives are expressed by using the causative prefix *pè-* or by using *kâ-*, one of the event-classifying prefixes, which usually means "by hand, by grasping." *kâ-* tends to be applied to stative intransitive verbs, and *pè-* tends to be applied to active intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. *Kâ-* expresses more direct causation and *pè-* expresses indirect causation.

(48)   *'ô*   *kâ-woro=è*
        1SG.NOM   CAUS-escape=3SG
        "I made him escape (I did him something directly and caused him escape)."

(49)   *'ô*   *pè-woro=è*
        1SG.NOM   CAUS-escape=3SG
        "I let him escape (I told him to escape)."

7.8.2   Valence-decreasing operations

In 'Ôrôê, reciprocals and reflexives are encoded by the same verbal prefix *wo-*:

(50)   *re*   *wo-ja=re*
        3PL.NOM   RECP-hit=3PL
        "They fought each other."

(51)   *'ô*   *dè*   *wo-'ôwai=jò*   *weja*
        1SG.NOM   ASS   RECP-know=1SG   good
        "I know myself well."

7.9   Negation

Negation is encoded by the pre-head verbal modifier *da*, which precedes verbs and other verbal modifiers. Negative imperatives are expressed with the pre-head verbal modifier *wara*:

(52)   *i*   *da*   *jèè*   *ve*   *nâ*   *potè*   *nâ*   *pol*

       3SG.NOM   NEG   FUT   go   ALL   PN   NOM   PN

       "Pol will not go to Pothé."

(53)   *wara*   *tâ-ghèè*   *miu*   *vè*

       PROH   by.shooting-injured   flying.fox   DEM:MID

       "Don't shoot that flying fox."

7.10 Tense, Aspect, and Mood

Tense, aspect, and mood are encoded by verbal modifiers (3.2.4). Tense markers are are *jèè* "near future," *ve* "future," and *wò* "remote past." Present and past tense are default interpretations in the absence of tense markers. Aspect markers include *bâ* "habitual," *tua* "progressive," *tò* "stative," *juu* "inchoative," *mârâ* "repetition," *bwiri* "repetition," and *wa* "continuous." Mood markers are *ôrô* "probably," *wê* "emphatic," *dè* "assertive," and *dò* "really." Pre-verbal modifiers appear in the order below; post-verbal modifiers appear in free order.

    pre-verbal modifiers: *ôrô* "probably," *jèè* "near future," *wê* "emphatic,"

                          dè "assertive", *dò* "really," *wò* "remote past," *bâ* "habitual,"

                          tua "progressive," *ve* "future," *tò* "stative," *juu* "inchoative"

7.11 Information structure (topic and focus)

Topic is marked by *rrè* (the conjunction "that is"), which draws attention to the topicalized word. Proper nouns, free common nouns, independent form of pronouns, and free adverbs can be topics. Grammatical functions that can be topicalized are subjects of intransitive verbs (S) or transitive verbs (A), objects of transitive verbs (O), and possessors of subjects of intransitive verbs (S). In the schema below, s represents the subject pronoun and V the verb:

    [1] subject fronting: s V   *nâ*   S   → S   *rrè*   s V

                                   s V O *nâ*   A   → A   *rrè*   s V O

    [2] object fronting: s V O *nâ*   A   → O   *rrè*   s V *nâ* A

    [3] possessor fronting: s V O *nâ*   S-possessor → possessor *rrè*   s V O *nâ* S

Below is an example of object fronting, which is used to express a passive-like meaning. (54) is the sentence before topicalization, and (55) is the sentence after topicalization.

(54)   *i*   *tâ-ma*   ***poka***   *nâ*   *eri*
      3SG.NOM   by.shooting-die   pig   NOM   PN
      "Eri killed a pig by shooting."

(55)   ***poka***   *vè*   *rrè*   *i*   *tâ-ma*   *nâ*   *eri*
      pig   DEM:MID   TOP   3SG.NOM   by.shooting-die   NOM   PN
      "A pig, Eri killed it by shooting." (A pig was killed by Eri by shooting.)

In (56) below, *neme pè-ürra ghi=i* is the subject of intransitive verb (S), and its possessor (*pè-ürra ghi=i*) is topicalized in (57)

(56)   *i*   *vòrü*   *nâ*   *[neme*   ***pè-ürra***   ***ghi=i]***
      3SG.NOM   resemble   NOM   face   PL-child   GEN=2SG
      "The faces of your children resemble each other."

(57)   *[pè-ürra*   *ghi*   *=i]*   *rrè*   *i*   *vòrü*   *nâ*   *neme-re*
      PL-child   GEN   =2SG   TOP   3SG.NOM   resemble   NOM   face-3PL
      "Your children, their faces resemble each other."

Moreover, adverbs or adverbial phrases can be also topicalized.

(58)   *jawimâ*   *rrè*   *de*   *wò*   *vârâ*   *nâ*   *burrai*
      in.the.past   TOP   1PL.INCL.NOM   PST   walk   ALL   PN
      "In the past, we used to walk to Bourail."

8. Clause combining

8.1   Overview of clause combining

There are two types of clause combining; coordination and subordination. In coordination, two clauses of equal grammatical status are combined. In subordination, one clause is dependent on the other. There are three types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses.

8.2   Coordination

There are two types of coordination; [1] coordination with conjunction, and [2] coordination without conjunction. Almost all coordinate sentences are type [1]. In [1], two clauses are combined with conjunctions such as *bore* "then, and," *rra* "or," *a* "but," and *rrè* "that is." All of these conjunctions can combine clauses with the same subject or with different subjects. In the following example, clauses are

coordinated by the conjunction *a* "but."

(59) *i*   *dè*   *'ui* *'au* *a*   *du*   *jèè* *dè* *ve*
    3SG.NOM ASS rain big CONJN 1DU.INCL.NOM FUT ASS go
    "It rains hard, but we will go."

In [2], two clauses are juxtaposed. In this construction, only the clauses with same subject can be combined.

(60) *i*   *da*   *japonè*   *i*   *da*   *jinowa*   *bwarrù*
    3SG.NOM NEG Japanese 3SG.NOM NEG Chinese also
    "He is neither Japanese nor Chinese."

8.3 Subordination

8.3.1 Complement clause

There are two types of structures for complement clauses:

[1] *mè*   VP   NP(O)   *i*   NP(S/A)
[2] *nâmè* s VP   NP(O)   *nâ*   NP(S/A)

In [1], the nominalizer *mè*[2] is preposed to a predicate verb of a clause, and the subject NP is encoded by the genitive preposition *i/ghi*. In [2], clauses with subject pronouns follow the complementizer *nâmè* and the subject NP of the clause is encoded by nominative preposition *nâ*. Complement clauses function as the subjects or objects of the main predicate. Subject complement clauses have structures of type [1], as shown in example below.

(61) *i*   *tò*   *nôrô* *wai*   *nâ*   *mè*   *tòkòjè*   *bureji* *i*   *jaani*
    3SG.NOM STAT long already NOM NMLZ look.for PN   GEN PN
    "It was long that Jaani looked for Bureji."
     (Jaani looked for Bureji for a long time.)

Object complement clauses can take either type [1] or [2] structures, depending on the matrix verbs. A list of verbs and their complement clause types ([1] or [2]) is presented in Table 4. *pârâ* "hear" and *nâmwâ* "see" can take the complement clauses of both types [1] and [2].

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[2] *mè* also functions as a prefix, which derives nouns (see 4.2 Nominal morphology).

Table 4. Type of verbs and the type of complement clauses

	matrix verb	ex.
[1]	*borowi* "finish," *tâwo* "start," *tòore* "wait," *kòweja* "like," *âmwî* "do," *jaapèrraa* "prohibit," *pètjiri* "imitate," *pârâ* "hear," *nâmwâ* "see"	(62)
[2]	*pârâ* "hear," *nâmwâ* "see," *'ôwai* "know," *'êneme* "think," *tònurî* "forget," *tòneme kòarri* "remember," *uijâ* "decide," *ju* "write," *tòpê* "doubt," *ârînoa* "ask," *ârî* "say," *tòneme* "think," *'uju* "lie"	(63)

(62)   *de*   *tòore*   *mè*   *jèè*   *weja*   *i*   *neraa*
        1PL.INCL.NOM   wait   NMLZ   FUT   good   GEN   weather
        "We wait that the weather will be good."

(63)   *'ô*   *tòneme*   *nâmè*   *i*   *ërrii*   *warawa*   *wai*   *nâ*   *jaani*
        1SG.NOM   think   COMP   3SG.NOM   pay   bread   already   NOM   PN
        "I think that Jaani has already bought some bread."

The verbs *ârî* "say" and *tòneme* "think" can take complement clauses with subject pronouns in irrealis form (see 3.2.1.2). Shown below is an example of *tòneme* "think":

(64)   *'ô*   *tòneme*   *nâmè*   *ma*   *ërrii*   *warawa*   *nâ*   *bureji*
        1SG.NOM   think   COMP   3SG.IRR.NOM   pay   bread   NOM   PN
        "I hope that Bureji buys some bread."

8.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses function as a nominal modifiers placed after head nouns. A relative clause always begins with a relativizer, *a*[3] or *vè*[4]. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66), relative clause using *a* or *vè* are accessible to relativization as follows.

        subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor

	subject	direct object	indirect object	oblique	possessor
a type	+	+	-	-	+
vè type	+	+	+	+	+

---

[3] *a* has the same form as the prefix *a-,* which derives nouns (see 4.2 Nominal morphology).
[4] *vè* can be considered as the demonstrative pronoun *vè* "that" (see 3.2.1.2 Pronouns).

The relative marker *a* relativizes subjects, direct objects, or possessors. When subjects or possessors are relativized, the relative clause does not contain a subject pronoun preceding predicate phrase. Shown below are examples:

(65) 'ò   a   da   vârâ   maari
      person REL   NEG   walk   fast
      "the person who doesn't walk fast (his attribute)"

(66) rra   'ôjowe   a   tòò   numèa   nâ   peni-è
      SG   woman   REL   stay   PN   NOM   mother-3SG
      "the woman whose mother is in Nouméa"

This type of relative clause can also modify direct objects. In this case, the subject pronoun *ê*, indicating no particular person, precedes the predicate phrase in the relative clause. Normally, the subject pronoun *ê* does not occur with a particular subject NP (see 7.6). In this case, however, the subject NP (Pol) is introduced by the genitive preposition *i /ghi*.

(67) poka   a   ê   jòma   i   pol
      pig   REL   SOMEONE.NOM   kill   GEN   PN
      "the pig which Pol killed (the pig which was killed by Pol[5])"

The relative marker *vè* is used to revitalize subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, oblique NPs, or possessors. When the subject or the possessor of the subject is relativized, the relative clause, like those using *a* (as shown in (65) and (66)), does not contain a subject pronoun preceding the predicate phrase:

(68) rra   'ôjowe   vè   wò   kèri   ômwâ   vè
      SG   woman   REL   PST   burn(vt)   house   DEM:MID
      "the woman who burned that house"

(69) rra   'ôjowe   vè   kê   nâ   ômwâ   ghi=è
      SG   woman   REL   burn(vi)   NOM   house   GEN=3SG
      "the woman whose house was burned"

---

[5] This construction was found when speakers of 'Ôrôê translated the passive relative clause in French (*le cochon qui a été tué par Paul* "the pig which was killed by Paul") into their language.

When this type of relative clause modifies direct objects, indirect objects, or oblique NPs, it does contains the subject pronoun. Shown below is an example of a case with a direct object:

(70) *warawa vè i   rrava jè =jò   nâ   pol*
      bread   REL 3SG.NOM give DAT =1SG   NOM   PN
      "the bread that Pol gave me"

8.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an "adverbial" function (Payne 1997:316) in the sentence. In 'Ôrôê, an adverbial clause is usually introduced by a subordinating morpheme. There are two types of constructions after these subordinating morphemes.

[1] subordinating morphemes   *mè* VP NP(O)   *i*   NP(S/A)
[2] subordinating morphemes   s   VP NP(O)   *nâ*   NP(S/A)

The form of [1] is used when the subordinating morphemes are *noa* "in order to," *ghè i* "because," *ra* "instead of," *ôrrô* "as," *omwèrè* "after," *wo rra* "before," *karreghèi* "since," or *pwarrua* "until."[6] Below is an example of the adverbial clause using *ghè i*:

(71) *i   dò   vârâ ghè i   mè   kâijâ ghi=è   âgë ghi=è*
      3SG.NOM really walk ABL GEN NMLZ break GEN=3SG car GEN=3SG
      'He does walk because he broke his car.'

Form [2] is used when the subordinating morphemes are *nâ* "when/if" or *tjiè* "in order to." In adverbial clauses with *nâ* "when/if," subject pronouns can take realis or irrealis forms. In the former case, *nâ* in the adverbial clause is often interpreted as "when" as in (72); in the latter case, it is interpreted as "if," as seen in (73).

(72) *'ô   tò   nâmwâ   pol*
      3SG.NOM STAT   see   PN
      nâ   i   kâwirri 'ê   a   owi   vè
      CONJN   3SG.NOM catch   man   REL steal DEM:MID
      "I saw Pol when he caught the thief."

---

[6] These subordinating morphemes can also introduce nominal phrases.

(73)   *nâ*   *ma*   *da*   *wò*   *'ui*   *'âbwêâ*
         CONJN   3SG.NOM.IRR   NEG   PST   rain   yesterday
         de   *borre*   *jèè*   *wò*   *türua*
         1PL.NOM   CONJN   FUT   PST   go.out
         "If it had not rained yesterday, we could have gone out."

In the adverbial clause using *tjiè* "in order to," the subject pronoun is always in the irrealis form:

(74)   *re*   *wo-djaarü*   *tjiè*   *mare*   *gë-i*   *nô*   *ne*   *wakè*
        3PL.NOM   RECP-gather   CONJN   3PL.IRR.NOM   speak-TR   story   GEN   work
        "They gathered in order that they talk about work."

    Adverbial clauses usually follow the main clause, though the adverbial clauses of conditional expressions with "if" seem to preceding the main clause more frequentlty (as shown in (72)). This is attested to the Greenberg's universal 14: "In conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages" (Greenberg 1966: 84).

9. Text: A medicine of this house

[1]   *i*   *wò*   *pei*   *nâ*   *gèè*   *ngeâ*
      i   wò   pei   nâ   gèè   ngeâ
      3SG.NOM   PST   be.sick   NOM   grand.mother   GEN=1SG
      She   PST   be sick   NOM   grand mother   of=me
        "My grandmother was sick."

[2]   *i*   *pei*   *'au*   *nâ*   *gèè*   *ngeâ*
      i   pei   'au   nâ   gèè   ngeâ
      3SG.NOM   be.sick   greatly   NOM   grand.mother   GEN=1SG
      She   be.sick   greatly   NOM   grand mother   of=me
        "My grandmother was really sick."

[3] *i*　　　　　*bore*　　*wò*　　*joi*
i　　　　　bore　　wò　　joi
3SG.NOM　　CONJN　　PST　　sick.for.a.long.time
she　　　　then　　　PST　　stayed sick for a long time
　　　　"Then, she stayed sick for a long time."

[4] *re*　　　　*bore*　　*tò*　　*pèghi=è*　　*rro*　　*nepê*　　*rro*　　*kikuè*
re　　　　bore　　tò　　pèghi=è　　rro　　nepê　　rro　　kikuè
3PL.NOM　　CONJN　　STAT　　take=3SG　　LOC　　country　　LOC　　PN
they　　　　then　　kept=her　　　　at　　country　　at　　Quicoue
　　　　"And they (her family) kept her in the village of Quicoue."

[5] *i*　　　　*bore*　　*'au*　*wai*　　*nâ*　　*mè*　　*pei*　　*i*　　*gèè*
i　　　　bore　　'au　wai　　nâ　　mè　　pei　　i　　gèè
3SG.NOM　CONJN　　big　already　　NOM　　NMLZ　be.sick　　GEN　grand.mother
it　　　　then　　big　already　　NOM　　NMLZ　be sick　　of　　grand mother
　　　　"Then, her sickness got worse."

[6] *re*　　　　*bore*　　*pèghi=è*　　*tü*　　*ghaî*　　*'arrî*
re　　　　bore　　pèghi=è　　tü　　ghaî　　'arrî
3PL.NOM　CONJN　　take=3SG　　go.out　　TIME　　day
they　　　　then　　took=her　　go.out　　during　　day
bore　　**pè-tori=è**　　　　**rro**　　**bwêdjawia**　　**vè**
bore　　pè-tori=è　　　　rro　　bwêdjawia　　vè
CONJN　　CAUS-stand=3SG　　LOC　　lawn　　　　DEM:MID
then　　made her stand　　at　　lawn　　　　that
　　　　"Then they (her familly) took her out of the house during the day and they
　　　made her stand on the lawn."

[7] *rrè*　　　　*mètòò*　　*ne*　　*dâmâmighaîevè*
rrè　　　　mè-tòò　　ne　　dâ-mâ-mi-ghaî-evè
CONJN　　NMLZ-be.at　　GEN　　time-before-come-during-DEM:MID
that is　　the way　　of　　the time before
　　　　"Because that was how we did in the past."

[8] *tjiè*   *mare*   *tò*   *nâmwânoa* *nâmè* *ere*   *'ê*

	tjiè	mare	tò	nâmwâ	noa	nâmè	ere	'ê
	FOR	3PL.NOM.IRR	STAT	watch	PURP	COMP	some	thing
	for	they	stay	watch	PURP	that	some	thing

de   *kâ-rrai*   *bwiri* *wa* *'ôjò=è*   *rrë*

de		kâ-rrai		bwiri	wa	'ôjò=è		rrë
1PL.INCL.NOM		with.hand-broken		again	yet	PCLF:DRINK=3SG		medicine
we		make a medicine		again	yet	for her drink		medicine

rra   *i*   *tò*   *tjêrè*   *wai*

rra	i	tò	tjêrè	wai
CONJN	3SG.NOM	STAT	reverse	already
or	it	is	impossible	already

       "It was in order to see if they could still make a medicine for her or they could not already."

[9] *tjiè* *mare*   *tò*   *nâmwâmwânana* *rro* *mwèrè* *â-è*

	tjiè	mare	tò	nâmwâ	mwânana	rro	mwèrè	â-è
	for	3PL.IRR.NOM	STAT	watch	spider.web	LOC	trace	foot-3SG
	for	they	stay	watch	spider web	at	trace	her foot

       "It was in order to check if they could see spider webs in her footsteps."

[10] *re*   *bore* *pè-rü* *gèè*   *bwiri* *wai*   *ghaî* *rerê*

	re	bore	pè-rü	gèè	bwiri	wai	ghaî	rerê
	3PL.NOM	CONJN	take-into	grand.mother	again	already	TIME	evening
	they	then	took into	grand mother	again	already	during	evening

bore   *pè-'ônaa=è*

bore	pè-'ônaa=è
CONJN	CAUS-sleep=3SG
then	made her sleep

       "Then, they took her back into the house in the evening and made her sleep."

[11] re   bore   türrua   ghaî   maro

    re   bore   türrua   ghaî   maro

    3PL.NOM   CONJN   go.out   TIME   morning

    they   then   went out   during   morning

       "Then they went out in the morning."

[12] re   bore   tò   nâmwâmwânana   vè   rro mwèrè â-è

    re   bore   tò   nâmwâ   mwânana   vè   rro mwèrè â-è

    3PL.NOM   CONJN   STAT   watch   spider.web DEM:MID   LOC trace   foot-3sg

    they   then   stay   watch   spider web that   at   trace   her foot

rro   buâî   rro   bwêdjawia vè

rro   buâî   rro   bwêdjawia vè

LOC   outside   LOC   lawn   DEM:MID

in   outside   at   lawn   that

       "And they saw the spider webs on her foot steps on the grass in the lawn."

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Amis

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Introduction

Amis (ISO 639-3: ami) is an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan; see Figure 1. Along with other indigenous languages spoken in Taiwan, it shares a number of similarities with Philippine languages.

Phonologically, the language is rather simple; it has 20

Figure 1. Map of East Asia

phonemes, /(C)V(C)/ and [(C)(C)V(C)] syllable structure, and few phonological rules. Morphologically, the language is complex, as there is a rich variety of affixes. It also has a complex system of voice alternation, which is traditionally called a "focus system." The word order is relatively free except that the predicate basically precedes its arguments.
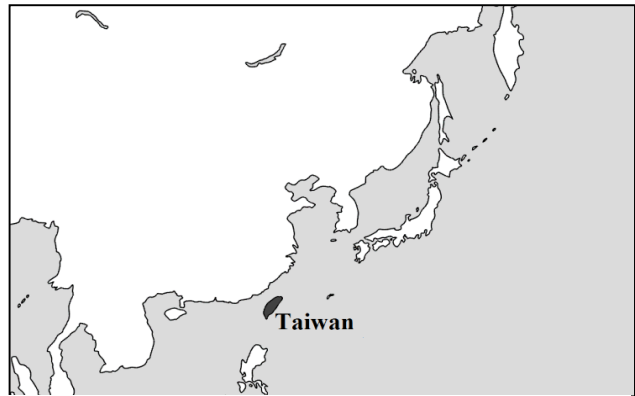
1. Language and its speakers

Amis is one of the 14 Formosan languages (Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan); see Figure 2. Its speakers are the Amis people, who are the largest indigenous group in Taiwan with a population of around 160,000.

According to Tsuchida (1988), Formosan languages are genetically close to the Philippine languages, and they form one branch of the Austronesian languages called "Hesperonesian"

Figure 2. Map of Taiwan

languages. The genetic position of Amis within the Formosan languages remains
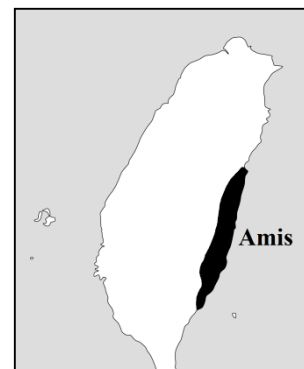
unclear.

Amis has four dialects, which are mutually intelligible with slight difficulty. The differences among them are mainly phonological and lexical.

2. Phonology

2.1 Phoneme inventory

Amis has 16 consonant phonemes and four vowel phonemes, listed in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 1. Consonant phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Epiglottal	Glottal
Stop	p /p/	t /t/		k /k/	^ /ʔ/	
Fricative	f /f/	s /s/				h /h/
Lateral fricative		d /ɬ/				
Affricate		c /ts/				
Rhotic		r /r/				
Lateral		l /l/				
Nasal	m /m/	n /n/		ng /ŋ/		
Semivowel	w /w/		y <j>			

Table 2. Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i /i/		o /o/
Mid		e /ə/	
Open		a /a/	

2.1.1 Stops

/p/, /t/, and /k/ are the voiceless series. They are never realized as voiced phones. According to Edmondson et al. (2005), /ʔ/ is an epiglotto-pharyngeal stop with strong pharyngeal friction in word-final position and an epiglottal stop in other positions.

2.1.2 Fricatives, lateral fricatives, and affricates

/f/ is usually realized as [f], but [v] is often found, too. /s/ is never voiced. It is realized as [ɕ] when it precedes /i/, and as [s] in other positions. /h/ is realized basically as [h] or [χ] and occasionally as [ħ] or [x]. /ɬ/ is realized either as a voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ] or voiced lateral fricative [ɮ]. /ts/ is an affricate phoneme realized as [tɕ] when it precedes [i], and as [ts] in other positions. Some consultants produce [dʑ] as its allophone, e.g., /tsaho/ [**dʑ**aho(ʔ)] 'not yet.'

2.1.3 Rhotic, lateral, nasals, and semivowels

/r/ normally appears as a trill [r] with a little friction. In word-final position, it is usually voiceless. [n] and [ŋ] are palatalized when they precede /i/. /j/ and /w/ are the semivowels [j] and [w], respectively.

2.1.4 Vowels

/a/ is a vowel in the middle of [a] and [ɑ] in IPA, like /a/ in Standard German.

/i/ is a front unrounded vowel. It is realized as [i ~ ɪ ~ e], though [e] is very rare. The lower variants are likely to appear in the following conditions: (a) when the glottal or epiglottal phoneme (/ʔ/, /ʕ/, /h/) precedes and/or follows it or (b) when /r/ follows it. Higher variants, however, also appear in these conditions; there is no strict complementary distribution.

/o/ is realized as [u ~ ʊ ~ o], though [u] is rare. In this case, too, there is no strict complementary distribution. The rules and tendencies shown in (1) are observed regarding the realization of this phoneme:

(1) a. /o/ => [ʊ] / f__, s__, __m, __j
     b. /o/ => [o] / t__, ʔ__, ɬ__, __f, __h, __ɬ, __r, __ŋ

/ə/ is a schwa ([ə]). It appears only in word-medial position. This phoneme is often deleted when it is not stressed (e.g., /səpát/ [spát / səpát] 'four').

2.2 Syllable structure

The syllable structure in Amis is (C)(C)V(C). Roots and affixes have different structures.

2.2.1 Roots

Basically, roots are phonologically disyllabic and have the following syllable structure: /(C)V(C)/ and [(C)(C)V(C)]. The consonant cluster of the phonetic syllable is caused by the deletion of /ə/; e.g., /sə.pat/ 'four' is phonologically /CV.CVC/, and its realization [spat] has the syllable structure [CCVC]. The list in (2) below shows the syllable structures of roots.

(2)   a.   /ka.ka/ [ka.ka(ʔ)] 'elder sibling' (/CV.CV/ [CV.CV(C)])
       b.   /o.łah/ [(ʔ)o.łah] 'to like, be pleased' (/V.CVC/ [(C)V.CVC])
       c.   /ʔə.pah/ [ʔpah ~ ʔəpah] 'alcoholic drink' (/CV.CVC/ [CCVC ~ CV.CVC])
       d.   /nəŋ.nəŋ/ [nəŋ.nəŋ] 'to watch' (/CVC.CVC/ [CVC.CVC])

2.2.2 Affixes

Prefixes have the syllable structure /(C)V/ [(C)V]. Suffixes and infixes have the syllable structure /VC/ [VC]. See (3) for examples.

(3)   a.   /mi-/ [mi-] '(Actor Voice)' (CV)
       b.   /ta.la-/ [ta.la-] '(Movement)' (CV.CV)
       c.   /a.no-/ [(ʔ)a.no-] '(Future temporality or conditional)' ((C)V.CV)
       d.   /-ən/ [-ən] '(Undergoer voice)' (VC)
       e.   /-om-/ [-ʊm-] '(Middle voice)' (VC)

2.2.3 Words

The syllables in words have the same structure as roots, i.e., /(C)V(C)/, [(C)(C)V(C)], as illustrated in (4).

(4)   /na.i.łi.po.ŋaj/   (*nai-dipong=ay*)   /CV.V.CV.CV.CVC/
       [na.i.łʲi.po.ŋaj]   ABL-Japan=NMLZ   [CV.V.CV.CV.CVC]
       'to be from Japan, to have come from Japan'

2.3 Phonological rules

A glide insertion occurs between hiatuses /ia/, /iu/, /ua/, and /ui/, e.g., /k**ia**/ [kʲ**ija**] 'perhaps,' /ts**oa**/ [ts**owa**] 'not.' See (5) for the patterns of glide insertion.

(5) Patterns of glide insertion

a. ø => [j] / { /i _ a/   b. ø => [w] / { /u _ a/
                  /i _ u/   /u _ i/

Between the vowels in the hiatuses /aa/, /ii/, /uu/, /ai/, /au/, and /ae/, a glottal stop may optionally be inserted, e.g., /maan/ [ma(ʔ)an] 'what,' /komaen/ [kʊma(ʔ)ən] 'to eat.' In this paper, the inserted glides are represented in the orthography, but the optional glottal stop is not.

2.4 Prosody

Amis has stress accent. There are two patterns of stress assignment: the declarative pattern and interrogative pattern.

In the declarative pattern, the stress falls on the ultimate syllable of the word, as illustrated in (6). This is the unmarked stress assignment in Amis.

(6)   *mi-loklok-ay*   [mi.lok.lo.**ˈkaj**]   (cf. [mi.lok.**ˈlok**])
       AV-boil-NMLZ
       'be boiling'

In the interrogative pattern, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a word, as shown in (7). In this case, the sentence expresses a question.

(7)   a.   ***ma**an*   [**ˈma**.(ʔ)an]
             what
             'What?'
       b.   *O=sing**si***   *ki**so** ?*   [o.ʃiŋ.ʃi.**ˈkʲi**.so]
             PRED=teacher   2SG.NOM
             'Are you a teacher?'

3. Descriptive preliminaries

3.1 Words, affixes, and clitics

The root itself can be used as a word. A variety of dependent morphemes (proclitics, prefixes, suffixes, and enclitics) optionally attach to a root.

(proclitic=) (prefix-) root (-suffix) (=enclitic)
                 ‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿
                        Word

A "word" is defined as a unit that includes a root and is phonologically independent (i.e., it has its own accent). It may consist of a root by itself or a root plus one or more affixes.

An "affix" is defined as a morpheme that fulfills the following conditions: (i) It attaches to a root, and (ii) it is phonologically dependent.

"Clitic" lies in between a "word" and an "affix." There are some variations in this category. Some of them, such as the case markers, attach not only to a root, but also to a word or clause. Some clitics, such as enclitic pronouns, have their own accent, while others, such as proclitic case markers, do not.

3.2 Word classes

There are six word classes: nouns, verbs, verbal nouns, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. Words are classified according to a morphological criterion (attachment of a proclitic) and a syntactic criterion (the position in a clause). The category "adjective" need not to be recognized in the language.

3.2.1 Nouns

We can classify nouns into "common nouns," "personal nouns," and "pronouns."

3.2.1.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are marked by proclitic case markers, such as *o=*, *ko=*, *to=*, etc. In (8), *maligaday*, *wawa*, and *tilifi* are common nouns.

(8)   a.   *O=**malingaday**   ko=**wawa**=ako.*
            PRED=farmer   NOM=child=1SG.GEN
            'My child is a farmer.'

      b.   *Mi-nengneng   to=**tilifi.***
            AV-watch   ACC=TV
            '[I] am watching TV.'

3.2.1.2 Personal nouns

Personal nouns are proper nouns that designate a personal name. Cases of personal nouns are marked by affixes, as in (9).

(9) a. ***Ci-kacaw***   *ko=singsi.*
         PRED-Kacaw   NOM=teacher
         'The teacher is Kacaw.'
     b. *Mi-seti^*   *cingra*   ***ci-panay-an.***
         AV-hit   3SG.NOM   ACC-Panay-ACC
         'S/he hit Panay.'

3.2.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns have their own case forms. See Section 8.3 for details.

3.2.2 Verbs

Verbs fill the predicate position without the predicative case marker. In (10), *mi-dangoy* is a verb.

(10) ***Mi-dangoy***   *ko=wawa.*
      AV-swim   NOM=child
      'The child **is swimming**.'

3.2.3 Verbal nouns

The word class "verbal noun" lies, so to speak, in the middle of nouns and verbs. Like a verb, a verbal noun may fill the predicate position by itself; however, the predicate case marker *o=* may optionally attach to it. In (11), *ma-mi-tilid* is a verbal noun that is the result of Ca-reduplication of the word *mi-tilid* 'to study.' Ca-reduplication in this case shows that the sentence has future tense.

(11) *(O=)ma-mi-tilid*   *kako.*
      (PRED=)RDP-AV-learning   1SG.NOM
      'I am going to study.'

Verbal nouns are different from gerunds, which are a subclass of noun that may take

its arguments. On the other hand, verbal nouns are a word class that is independent from both nouns and verbs and yet has the characteristics of both.

3.2.4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that combine two words or clauses. There are two conjunctions in Amis: word conjunction *a* and clause conjunction *ta*. For the use of these conjunctions, see Section 9.

3.2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are not marked with any proclitics. Unlike the words in other word classes, their position in a clause is free. Adverbs can be classified into time adverbs and modal adverbs by semantic criteria. *Inacila* 'yesterday' and *anini* 'today, now' are examples of time adverbs. *Kija* 'maybe, perhaps' is an example of a modal adverb.

3.2.6 Interjections

Interjections do not have any grammatical relation with other elements of the sentence and express exclamation, doubt, etc. The word *aya* 'oh!' is an example of an interjection.

4. Morphology

4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Amis has the following morphological processes: (a) prefixation (*mi-*, *ma-*, *na-*, etc.); (b) infixation (*-om-*, *-in-*); (c) suffixation (*-en*, *-ay*, *-aw*, etc.); (d) circumfixation (*ni-…-an*, *sa-…-an*, *sa-…-aw*); (e) Ca-reduplication (the first consonant is copied, followed by the vowel /a/, e.g., *potal* 'yard' => ***pa-**potal* 'outside'); and (f) partial reduplication, which has two patterns depending on whether the first syllable of the root is open or closed (see Table 3).

Table 3. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication	(i) <u>CV</u>.CV(C) => <u>CVCV</u>-**CVCV**-(C)	(i) <u>dafa</u>k 'morning' => <u>dafa</u>-***dafa**-k* 'every morning'
	(ii) CV<u>C</u>.CV(C) => CV<u>CCV</u>-**CCV**-(C)	(ii) *si^<u>na</u>w* 'cold'=> *si^<u>na</u>-^**na**-w* 'though it is cold'

4.2 Nominal morphology

The root by itself functions as a noun, e.g., *rakat* 'walk (noun),' *nanom* 'water.' Ca-reduplication may apply to some roots to form a noun, e.g., *loma^* 'house' => *la-loma^* 'inside,' and *potal* 'yard' => *pa-potal* 'outside.' Partial reduplication may apply to some roots to form a noun, in which case the noun expresses plurality, e.g., *tamdaw* 'person/people' => *tamda-mda-w* 'many people.'

Pronouns have their own case forms (see Table 5 in Section 8.3). Besides pronouns, the following nouns have independent forms: (a) personal nouns, e.g., *kacaw* 'Kacaw' => *ci-kacaw* (NOM) and *ci-kacaw-an* (ACC); (b) kinship terms that refer to an elder kin of the speaker or addressee, e.g., *wina* 'mother' => *ci-wina* (NOM) and *ci-wina-an* (ACC); and (c) the noun *tao* 'other person,' which has an optional accusative form *tao-wanan* (ACC).

4.3 Verbal morphology

4.3.1 Roots

The root by itself functions as a word, either as a noun or verb. A majority of roots can only function as a noun, such as *fafahi* 'wife' in (12a). Some roots that designate a state can become either a noun or a verb, such as *nga^ay* 'good' in (12b) and (12c).

(12) a. *O=**fafahi*** *ningra* *ko-ra* *tamdaw*.
PRED=wife 3SG.GEN NOM-that person
'That person is his wife.'

b. ***Nga^ay*** *ko=faloco^* *no-ra* *tamdaw*.
good NOM=heart GEN-that person
'That person's heart is good.'

c. *O=pi-licay* *cingraan* *ko=**nga^ay***. (Fey 1984)
PRED=GER-ask 3SG.ACC NOM=good
'Good [thing] is to ask him.' (i.e., You should ask him.)

4.3.2 Stem formation

Stem formation in Amis is achieved by affixation. Only a few examples are attested because, in most cases, the root itself functions as a kind of "stem," i.e., the basic unit of word formation.

One example of the stem-formation affixes is *ki-*. *Ki-* may attach to the root

^ayaw 'front, before' to form the stem *ki-^ayaw* 'faster, earlier.' The stem itself cannot be used as a word unless it undergoes one of the word-formation processes, which are discussed in Section 4.3.3. See (13) below.

(13) a. *Mi-ki-^ayaw*   *ko=tao*   *takowanan*   *a*   *c<om>ikay.*
         AV-KI-front   NOM=other.person   1SG.ACC   CONJN   run<MV>
         'The other person ran faster than me.'

     b. **Ki-^ayaw*   *ko=tao*   *takowanan*   *a*   *c<om>ikay.*
         KI-front   NOM=other.person   1SG.ACC   CONJN   run<MV>

4.3.3 Word formation

The word formation process includes processes that might be called "derivation" and "inflection" in other languages; however, it is difficult to distinguish between "derivation" and "inflection" in Amis because the word formation process may apply to a root, stem, or word.

4.3.3.1 Affixation

There are many affixes in Amis. Most of them are productive and very important in forming words. Some examples follow:

[1] **mi-:** *Mi-* is a denominal verbalizing prefix that usually attaches to a root and forms an actor voice verb, e.g., *patay* 'death' => *mi-patay* 'to kill,' *sanga^* 'creation' => *mi-sanga^* 'to create,' *simaw* 'guard' => *mi-simaw* 'to guard,' *maan* 'what' => *mi-maan* 'do what?'

[2] **ma-:** *Ma-* is a denominal verbalizing prefix that usually attaches to a root and forms an undergoer voice, e.g., *patay* 'death' => *ma-patay* 'dead, be killed,' *sanga^* 'creation' => *ma-sanga^* 'be created,' *tefad* 'drop, fall' => *ma-tefad* 'to drop, to fall.'

[3] **pi-/ka-:** *Pi-* and *ka-* are gerundive prefixes that form a gerund from a root. *Pi-* forms an actor gerund, and *ka-* forms an undergoer gerund, e.g., *patay* 'death' => *pi-patay* 'killing' / *ka-patay* 'being killed.'

[4] **-en**: *-En* is a denominal verbalizing suffix that attaches to a root and forms an undergoer voice, e.g., *patay* 'death' => *patay-en* 'was killed, will be killed, be killed! (imperative).'

[5] **pa-**: *Pa-* is a denominal verbalizing prefix that attaches to either a root or gerund. It is a causative prefix, e.g., *talaw* 'fear' => *pa-talaw* 'to make [someone]

afraid,' *ka-talaw* 'being afraid' (gerund) => *pa-ka-talaw* 'to make [someone] afraid.'

[6] **sa-**: *Sa-* attaches to a root or a gerund. When it attaches to a root, it expresses the superlative, e.g., *^ayaw* 'front' => *sa-^ayaw* 'the very beginning.' When *sa-* attaches to a gerund, it forms the instrumental voice, e.g., *tangtang* 'boil' => *pi-tangtang* 'boiling' (gerund) => *sa-pi-tagtag* 'an instrument that is used to boil [something].'

[7] **-an**: *-An* attaches to a gerund and forms the location voice, e.g., *foti^* 'sleep' => *ka-foti^* 'sleeping' (gerund) => *ka-foti^-an* 'a place where [someone] sleeps.'

[8] **na-**: *Na-* attaches to a verb and forms a past form, e.g., *mi-patay* 'to kill' => *na-mi-patay* 'killed.'

[9] **a-**: *A-* attaches to a verb and forms an immediate future form, e.g., *kaen* 'food' => *k<om>aen* 'to eat' (verb) => *a-k<um>aen* 'will eat (soon).'

4.3.3.2 Reduplication

In the verbal morphology, there are two types of reduplication: Ca-reduplication and partial reduplication.

[1] Ca-reduplication: Ca-reduplication may be applied to a verb to create the future or obligation form. When applied to a *mi-* or *ma-* verb, it creates the future form, e.g., *mi-patay* 'to kill' => *ma-mi-patay* 'will kill,' *ma-patay* 'to die' => *ma-ma-patay* 'will die.' When applied to an *-en* verb, it expresses obligation, e.g., *kilim* 'search' => *kilim-en* 'be looked for' => *ka-kilim-en* 'must be looked for.'

[2] Partial reduplication: Partial reduplication may apply to a verb and expresses concession, e.g., *rarom* 'sadness' => *ma-rarom* 'sad' (verb) => *ma-raro<raro>m* 'though [someone] is sad.'

5. Syntactic structure

5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

Amis is a predicate-initial language. In the unmarked word order, the predicate, whether nominal or verbal, fills the first position of a clause, as demonstrated in (14).

(14) a. ***O=singsi***   *kako.*
        PRED=teacher   1SG.NOM
        'I **am a teacher**.'

b. ***Ma-patay**=to=ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
     UV-death=PFV=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
     'The cockroach **has** already **been killed** by me.'

5.2 The noun phrase

With the common noun, the noun phrase consists of a proclitic case marker and a noun, e.g., *ko=impic* (NOM=pencil) 'the pencil (NOM)' in (15c)). Pronouns and personal nouns are not modified by a proclitic case marker; instead, they have their own case forms, e.g., *kako* 'I' in (15a) below. Pronominal genitive enclitics may attach to a noun to express possessor (as in *ko=loma^=**ako*** (NOM=house=1SG.GEN) 'my house (NOM)' in (15b) below).

5.3 The predicate phrase

The predicate can be divided into two categories: nominal (e.g., (15a) and (15b)) and verbal (e.g., (15c)). Aspect enclitics *=to* (PFV) or *=ho* (IPFV) and/or the pronominal genitive enclitic, which express the actor of an undergoer voice, may attach to a predicate.

(15) a. ***O=singsi***   *kako.*
       PRED=teacher   1SG.NOM
       'I am a teacher.'

      b. ***I=taiwang***   *ko=loma^=ako.*
       LOC=Taiwan   NOM=house=1SG.GEN
       'My house is in Taiwan.'

      c. ***Ma-tefad=to=ako***   *ko=impic.*
       UV-drop=PFV=1SG.GEN   NOM=pencil
       'The pencil has been dropped by me.' (i.e., I dropped the pencil.)

6. The adjective class

In the analysis of Amis, we do not have to recognize the adjective class. The state that is expressed by adjectives in other languages is expressed by stative verbs in this language.

7. Grammatical relations (subject and object)

In Amis, the target of relativization and quantifier modification is the nominative phrase. In the relative clause, the nominative phrase is the only candidate that can be the head noun.

(16) a. *Mi-nanom*   **ko=tamdaw**   *to=ocya.*
        AV-water   NOM=person   ACC=tea
        'The person is drinking tea.'

    b. {*mi-nanom-ay*   *to=ocya*}   *a*   **tamdaw**
        AV-water-NMLZ   ACC-tea   CONJN   person
        'the person who is drinking tea'

    c. *{*mi-nanom-ay*   *ko=tamdaw*}   *a*   *ocya*
        AV-water-NMLZ   NOM=person   CONJN tea

Quantifiers that fill the predicate position refer to the nominative phrase only. In (17a) and (17b), *^aloman* 'many' refers to the nominative phrase. (17b) does not mean 'I killed many cockroaches.'

(17) a. **^Aloman**   *ma-patay=ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
        many   UV-death=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
        'Many cockroaches have been killed by me.'

    b. ***^Aloman**   *mi-patay*   *kako*   *to=dadipis.*
        many   AV-death   1SG.NOM   ACC=cockroach
        (lit. 'Many I killed the cockroach.')

Other than relativization and quantifier modification, there is no strong motivation for recognizing grammatical relation in Amis.

8. Functional categories

8.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are marked by the interrogative accent pattern, in which the penultimate syllable is stressed (see Section 2.4). In yes-no questions, the penultimate syllable of the last word of the sentence is stressed, as in (18a); in content questions, the penultimate syllable of the question word (e.g., *cima* 'who') is

stressed, and the last word of the sentence has the declarative stress pattern (i.e., the ultimate syllable is stressed), as in (18b). The question word fills the predicate position.

(18) a. *O=mitilidáj=hó*   *kíso?*
         PRED=student=IPFV   2SG.NOM
         'Are you still a student?'
    b. *Címa*   *ko-ra*   *wawá?*
        who   NOM-that   child
        'Who is that child?'

8.2 Imperative

Imperative modality is often expressed via verbal morphology. Two forms typically express the imperative modality: (a) the gerundive/imperative form *pi-*/*ka-* and (b) the undergoer voice *-en*. In addition, the actor voice *mi-* may also express imperative modality.

In the case of (a), *pi-* is used when the verb expresses an active event (19a), and *ka-* is used when the verb denotes a state or passive event (19b).

(19) a. *Pi-patay*   *to=dadipis !*   (cf. *mi-patay* 'to kill')
         GER-death   ACC=cockroach
         'Kill the cockroach!'
    b. *Ka-patay!*   (cf. *ma-patay* 'to die')
        GER-death
        'Die!'

In the case of (b), the suffix *-en* attaches to a stem, and the verb is in the undergoer voice. When the actor is the second person, it is often an imperative, as in (20).

(20) *Patay-en*(*=iso*)   *ko=dadipis.*
     death-UV(=2SG.GEN)   NOM=cockroach
     'Kill the cockroach!' (lit. 'The cockroach (should) be killed by you!')

The actor voice *mi-* may also be imperative.

(21) *Mi-nginguy=to!*
　　AV-bathe.oneself=PFV
　　'Bathe yourself!'

The enclitic *=to* emphasizes the imperative modality in (21).

8.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, and possession
In order to express equation or proper inclusion, the predicate noun is marked by the predicative case, and the topic is marked by the nominative case, as shown in (22).

(22) a. *O=mama=ningra　　cingra.*
　　　　PRED=father=3SG.GEN　　3SG.NOM
　　　　'He is his father.'
　　b. *O=singsi　　　cingra.*
　　　　PRED=teacher　　3SG.NOM
　　　　'He is a teacher.'

The locational clause is expressed by the predicate locative; the predicate noun is marked with the locative case marker *i=,* as in (23).

(23) *I=taypak　　ko=wawa=ako.*
　　LOC-Taipei　　NOM=child=1SG.GEN
　　'My child is in Taipei.'

Existential and possessive are expressed by the existential verb *ira* 'there is, exist' (24a) or its negative counterpart *awa* 'there is no, not exist' (24b).

(24) a. *Ira　ko=^aloman-ay　　a　　tamdaw　i=taypak.*
　　　　EXST　NOM=many-NMLZ　　CONJN　person　　LOC=Taipei
　　　　'There are a lot of people in Taipei.'
　　b. *Awa=ho　　　ko=wawa=ako.*
　　　　NEG.EXST=IPFV　　NOM=child=1SG.GEN
　　　　'I (still) have no child.' (lit. 'There is no my child yet.')

8.4 Case

Common nouns have six cases: predicative, nominative, genitive, accusative, locative, and ablative. Personal nouns have five cases; the predicative and nominative have the same form. These are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Case markers of common/personal nouns

		PRED	NOM	GEN	ACC	LOC	ABL
Common		*o=*	*ko=*	*no=*	*to=*		*nai=*
Personal	SG	*ci-*		*ni-*	*ci-...-an*	*i=*	*nani=*
	PL	*ca-*		*na-*	*ca-...-an*		*nano=*

Pronouns have the following case forms: predicative/nominative, accusative, possessive, genitive, locative, and ablative. The locative and ablative are expressed via proclitics (*i=*, *nai=*, etc.). The interrogative personal pronoun *cima* 'who' has three forms: predicative/nominative, accusative, and genitive. Tables 5 and 6 list the personal pronouns.

Table 5. Pronouns and pronominal clitics in Amis

		PRED/NOM	ACC	POSS	GEN
SG	1	*Kako*	*kakonan, kakowanan, takonan, takowanan*	*mako*	*=ako*
	2	*Kiso*	*kisonan, kisowanan, tisonan, tisowanan*	*miso*	*=iso*
	3	*cingra, cira*	*cingraan, cingranan, ciraan, ciranan*	*nira, ningra*	*nira, ningra*
PL	1+2 (INCL)	*Kita*	*kitanan, kitaanan, titanan, titaanan*	*mita*	*=ita*
	1+3 (EXCL)	*kami*	*kaminan, kamiyanan, taminan, tamiyanan*	*niyam*	*niyam*
	2	*kamo*	*kamonan, kamowanan tamonan, tamowanan*	*namo*	*namo*
	3	*cangra*	*cangraan, cangranan*	*nangra*	*nangra*

Table 6. Interrogative personal pronoun

PRED/NOM	ACC	GEN
cima	*cimanan, cimaanan*	*nima*

8.4.1 Predicative and nominative

The predicative case is the case that marks the predicate noun. The nominative case marks the topic, theme, or old information of a sentence, such as in (25).

(25) a. *O=mi-tilid-ay=ho   ci-panay.*
           PRED=AV-learning-NMLZ=IPFV   NOM-Panay
           'Panay is still a student.' (*mi-tilid-ay* 'student')
    b. *Ci-fayan   cingra.*
           PRED-Fayan   3SG.NOM
           'She is Fayan.'
    c. *Kako   ko=singsi.*
           1SG.PRED NOM-teacher
           'The teacher is me.'

8.4.2 Genitive and possessive

8.4.2.1 Genitive of common/personal noun

The genitive expresses the following: (a) possessor and its related meanings and (b) actor and experiencer in undergoer voices. These are illustrated in (26).

(26) a. *payci   no=tamdaw*
           money   GEN=person
           'money **of the person**' (Possessor)
    b. *waay   no=^efa*
           leg   GEN=horse
           'the leg **of the horse**' (Whole)
    c. *Ma-patay   no=wawa   ko=dadipis.*
           UV=death   GEN=child   NOM=cockroach
           'The cockroach has been killed **by the child**.' (Actor)

8.4.2.2 Genitive and possessive of pronouns

Genitive and possessive pronouns are expressed through independent case forms (see Table 5 in Section 8.3). 1SG, 2SG, and 1PLI pronouns have a distinction between genitive and possessive forms; other pronouns have no such distinction. Roughly speaking, the possessive forms of the former type are rather independent words that behave like common nouns and mainly express possession by itself (e.g., 'mine,' 'yours'). The genitive of the former type are dependent enclitics, which are solely used to modify another word (e.g., 'my,' 'your'). The possessive/genitive of the latter type, such as *ningra* (3SG.GEN), has both characteristics and can either be an independent word or a dependent enclitic.

8.4.3 Accusative

The accusative case expresses semantic roles such as patient/theme, recipient, location, company ('with'), time, degree, instrument, and purpose (see (27) for selected examples). The semantic role of the case is dependent on the verb.

(27) a. *K<om>aen*   *kako*   ***to=^epah.***   (Patient)
        food<MV>   1SG.NOM   ACC=alcohol
        'I drink alcoholic drink.'

   b. *R<om>akat*   *cingra*   ***to=lalan****.*   (Location)
        walk<MV>   3SG.NOM   ACC=road
        'He is walking along the road.'

   c. *Ma-tayal*   *kako*   ***to=dadaya****.*   (Time)
        UV-work   1SG.NOM   ACC=night
        'I work at night.'

   d. *Sanga^-en*   *no=kawas*   ***to=sera***   *ko=tamdaw*.   (Instrument)
        create-UV   GEN=god   ACC=earth   NOM=human
        'The human was created by the God with earth.'

The accusative marker expresses only patient/theme when it marks a personal noun, as in (28a). Pronouns have their own accusative forms. The pronominal accusative forms also express patient/theme only, as in (28b).

(28) a. *Mi-tenok*   *kiso*   ***ci-kacaw-an***.
      AV-kick   2SG.NOM   ACC-Kacaw-ACC
      'You kicked Kacaw.'

    b. *Mi-tenok*   *kiso*   ***takowanan***.
      AV-kick   2SG.NOM   1SG.ACC
      'You kicked me.'

8.4.4 Locative

The case marker *i=* is used for all types of nouns. When the proclitic marks a common or personal noun, the case designates location, goal, or recipient. When the personal noun follows *i=*, the noun is marked with the accusative form. See (29).

(29) a. *Ma-kero-ay*   *cingra*   ***i=lalan***.   (Location)
      UV-dance-NMLZ   3SG.NOM   LOC=road
      'He is dancing on the road.'

    b. *Tayra*   *kako*   ***i=dipong***.   (Direction)
      go   1SG.NOM   LOC=Japan
      'I go to Japan.'

    c. *Ma-pacaliw=ako*   ***i=taow-anan***   *ko=takota.*   (Recipient)
      UV-lend=1SG.GEN   LOC=other.person-ACC   NOM=cell.phone
      'The cell phone has been lent to another person by me.'
      (i.e., I have lent the cell phone to another person.)

    d. *Mi-lafin*   *kako*   ***i=ca-panay-an***.   (Location)
      AV-stay   1SG.NOM   LOC=ACC.PL-Panay-ACC
      'I sleep at Panay['s home].'

     The locative case of a pronoun expresses 'patient/theme,' not 'location' or 'direction.' The pronoun is marked with accusative.

(30) *Mi-tenok*   *kiso*   ***i=takowanan***.   (cf. (28b))
    AV-kick   2SG.NOM   LOC=1SG.ACC
    'You kicked me.'

8.4.5 Ablative

The ablative case markers designate the source of either place or time. There are three ablative forms: *nai=*, *nani=*, and *nanu=*.The first two express location, and the last expresses time. Examples are shown in (31).

(31) a. *Ma-sadak*   *kiso*   ***nai= / nani=   loma^***.
          UV-come.out   2SG.NOM   ABL=/ABL= house
          'You came from the house.'

     b. ***Nano=dafak***   *ko=tayal=ako.*
          ABL=morning   NOM=work=1SG.GEN
          lit. 'My work is from morning.' (i.e., I have been working since morning.)

If one of the ablative case markers precedes a personal noun, the noun is marked with the accusative, just as in the case of the locative marker. The noun phrase expresses the source.

(32)   ***Nai=ca-panay-an***   *kako.*
        ABL=ACC.PL-Panay-ACC   1SG.NOM
        'I [came] from Panay['s home].'

8.5 Noun class (gender)

There is no noun class in Amis.

8.6 Number

Number as a grammatical category does not exist in Amis. One form can designate both a singular and multiple references, e.g., *maligaday* 'farmer/farmers.' Partial reduplication (see Section 4.1) may optionally be applied to a noun to express plurality, e.g., *tamdaw* 'person/people' => *tamda-mda-w* 'many people.'

8.7 Valency changing

8.7.1 Causative

The prefix *pa-* expresses causative. When it attaches to a root directly, it expresses a direct causative; when it attaches to a gerund (prefixed with *pi-* or *ka-*), the resulting verb expresses an indirect causative. The causative form of a verb may further

undergo a voice assignment, as in (33d).

(33) a. *Ma-talaw   kako.*
      UV-afraid   1SG.NOM
      'I am afraid.'

    b. **Pa-talaw**   *cingra*   *to=wawa.*
      CAUS-afraid   3SG.NOM   ACC=child
      'He frightened a/the child'. (Direct causative)

    c. **Pa-ka-talaw**   *cingra*   *to=wawa.*
      CAUS-GER-afraid   3SG.NOM   ACC=child
      'He made a/the child scared.' (Indirect causative)

    d. **Pa-talaw-en**=*ako*   *ko=wawa.*
      CAUS-afraid-UV=1SG.GEN   NOM=child
      'The child is going to be frightened by me.'
      (i.e., I am going to frighten the child.)

8.7.2 Voice

Voice in Amis belongs to the Philippine-type voice, in which the verb (or the verbal noun) expresses a variety of semantic roles of the nominative noun, e.g., actor, undergoer, instrument, or location. Voices in Amis can be divided into the following categories: actor voice, undergoer voice, middle voice, instrumental voice, and location voice. In each of them, the nominative phrase has the semantic role that corresponds to the voice of the verb, e.g., an actor voice takes an actor as nominative. Some voices have their own aspectual, temporal, and modal meanings by default. Some affixes derive a verbal noun.

Table 7. Examples of voice in Amis

Voice	Affix	Aspectual	Temporal	Modal	Word class	Valency
Actor	*mi-*	Unspecified	Unspecified	Unspecified	V	1 or 2
	sa-...-an	Unspecified	Future	Volition	VN	1 or 2
Undergoer	*ma-*	Perfect/stative	Unspecified	DECL/INT	V	0 to 2
	-en	Perfective	Future/past	DECL/IMP	V	2
	mi-...-an	Perfective	Past	DECL/INT	VN	2
	sa-...-aw	Unspecified	Future	Volition	VN	2
Middle	*-um-*	Unspecified	Unspecified	DECL/INT	V	1
Instrument	*sa-*	N/A	N/A	N/A	VN	N/A
Location	*-an*	N/A	N/A	N/A	VN	N/A

8.7.2.1 Actor voice

In the actor voice, the semantic role of the nominative is an actor. The affixes *mi-* and *sa-...-an* are examples of affixes that express the actor voice. *Mi-* is unspecified regarding the temporal, aspectual, and modal meaning. *Sa-...-an* attaches to a gerund (*pi-*/*ka-*) and expresses volition. Examples are shown in (34) below.

(34) a. ***Mi-licay***   *kako*   *tisowanan.*
      AV-ask   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC
      'I ask you.' (Let me ask you.)

    b. (*O=*)***sa-pi-nanom-an***   *kako*   *to=ocya.*
      (PRED=)AV-GER-water-AV   1SG.NOM   ACC-tea
      'I want to drink tea.'

8.7.2.2 Undergoer voice

The undergoer voice *ma-* covers a wide range of meanings from stative to transitive. The nominative phrase is an experiencer or an undergoer. It can also describe a routine (*ma-lafi* (UV-dinner) 'eat dinner'), climate (*ma-fali* (UV-wind) 'wind blows') or motion (*ma-^efer* (UV-fly) 'to fly'). *-En* (volition) and *ni-...-an* (simple past) are basically used in transitive clauses and take the undergoer nominative. *Sa-...-aw*

attaches to a gerund and is volitative just like its actor voice counterpart *sa-...-an* (see Section 8.6.2.1); however, it takes no nominative. See (35) for examples.

(35) a. ***Ma-lasang***   *kako.*
       UV-drunk   1SG.NOM
       'I am drunk.'

    b. ***Ma-tefad***   *ko=impic.*
       UV-drop   NOM=pencil
       'The pencil dropped.'

    c. ***Ma-patay***=*ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
       UV-death=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
       'The cockroach has been killed by me.'

    d. ***Patay-en***=*ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
       death-UV=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
       'The cockroach is going to be killed by me.'
       (i.e., 'I am going to kill the cockroach.')

    e. (*O=*)***mi-patay-an***=*ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
       (PRED=)UV-death-UV=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
       'The cockroach was killed by me.'

    f. (*O=*)***sa-pi-nanom-aw***=*ako*   *to=ocya.*
       (PRED=)UV-GER-water-UV=1SG.GEN   ACC=tea
       'I want to drink tea.'

8.7.2.3 Middle voice

There are a dozen roots that can take the middle voice infix *-um-* (see (36)). The middle voice in Amis designates an affected agent.

(36) *R<**om**>akat*   *cingra*   *i=lalan.*
      walk<MV>   3SG.NOM   LOC=road
      'He is walking along the road.'

8.7.2.4 Instrumental and location voice

Both the instrumental and location voices are formed by attaching an affix to a gerund. The prefix *sa-* attaches to a gerund to form the instrumental voice (see (37a)).

The instrumental voice takes a nominative that is an 'instrument' or 'reason.' The suffix *-an* attaches to a gerund to form the location voice (see (37b)). The nominative of the location voice is a location or time.

(37) a.   (*O*=)***sa-pi-tangtang****=ako*   *to=pingingoyan*   *ko-na*   *kasoy.*
           (PRED)=IV-GER-boil=1SG.GEN   ACC=bath   NOM-this   wood
           'This wood is the instrument with which I boil the bathwater.'

   b.   (*O*=)***ka-foti^-an****=ako*   *ko-ra*   *loma^.*
           (PRED=)GER-sleep-LV=1SG.GEN   NOM-that   house
           'That house is the place where I sleep.'

8.8 Negation

Negation is expressed by independent words. There are three variations: (a) general negation *ca*, (b) negative existential *awa*, and (c) prohibitive *aka,* each illustrated in (38). *Ca* and *aka* precede a gerund.

(38) a.   *Ca*   *ka-roray*   *kako.*   (cf. *ma-ruray* 'tired')
           NEG   GER-tired   1SG.NOM
           'I am not tired.'

   b.   *Awa*   *ko=nanom.*
           NEG.EXST   NOM=water
           'There is no water.'

   c.   *Aka*   *ka-k<om>aen*   *to=^epah.*
           PROH   GER-food<MV>   ACC=alcohol
           'Do not drink alcoholic drink.'

8.9 Tense, aspect, mood

The voices in Amis have their own temporal, aspectual, and modal properties (see Section 8.6.2). In addition, there are two enclitics that indicate perfective/imperfective aspectual properties, and they modify the temporal, aspectual, and modal properties of the voices.

The enclitics *=to* and *=ito* indicate perfective aspect. They sometimes have the more concrete meaning 'already' (39a). The enclitics *=ho* and *=iho* express imperfective aspect; they sometimes have the meaning 'still' (39b).

(39) a. *Mi-ngingoy=to*   *kako.*
       AV-bathe.oneself=PFV   1SG.NOM
       'I will bathe myself. / I (already) bathed myself.'

    b. *Mi-ngingoy=ho*   *kako.*
       AV-bathe.oneself=IPFV   1SG.NOM
       'I am (still) bathing myself.'

8.10 Information structure

Old information is typically expressed by the nominative phrase. The new information lies basically in the predicate position. See (40) for examples.

(40) a. *O=singsi*   *ci-kacaw.*
       PRED=teacher   NOM-Kacaw
       'Kacaw [OLD] is a teacher [NEW].'

    b. *Ci-kacaw*   *ko=singsi.*
       PRED-Kacaw   NOM=teacher
       'The teacher [OLD] is Kacaw [NEW].'

In order to contrast one element, it is possible to put the element in the position preceding the predicate (secondary topicalization). The preposed element is marked with predicative and is the focus of the clause. In (41b), the noun phrase *o=dadipis* 'the cockroach' precedes the predicate *ma-patay* 'have been killed' and is the focus of the clause.

(41) a. *Ma-patay=ako*   *ko=dadipis.*
       UV-death=1SG.GEN   NOM=cockroach
       'The cockroach [TOPIC] has been killed by me.'

    b. *O=dadipis*   *ma-patay=ako.*
       PRED=cockroach   UV-death=1SG.GEN
       'The cockroach [FOCUS], it has been killed by me.'

9. Clause combining

9.1 Overview of clause combining

Clause combining in Amis can be classified into three categories: nominal clause

linking, verbal clause linking, and the manner/quotation construction. In this section, curly brackets { } are used to indicate a clause.

9.2 Nominal clause linking (apposition and relative clause)

Nominal clause linking is expressed by the conjunction *a* and indicates a nominal apposition, as in (42a), or a relative clause, as in (42b). In order to relativize a clause, the verb must be nominalized by the suffix *-ay*. In the nominal clause linking, the conjunction *a* cannot be omitted.

(42) a. *tapang*   ***a***   *kawas*
         leader   CONJN   god
         'God, the leader (God as the leader)'

    b. {*ma-^efer-**ay***   *i=kakarayan*}   ***a***   *^ayam*
         UV-fly-NMLZ   LOC=sky   CONJN   bird
         'bird which is flying in the sky'

9.3 Verbal clause linking

Verbal clause linking is classified according to the following criteria: (a) whether the conjunction *a* may be used, (b) the existence of the conjunction *ta*, (c) whether "object raising" or "raising to object" may occur, and (d) whether the word order may be changed freely. Unlike in nominal clause linking, the conjunction *a* may be omitted in verbal clause linking. The parentheses ( ) show that the conjunction can be omitted. Table 8 summarizes the characteristics of verbal clause linking.

Table 8. Verbal clause linking

	Conjunction *a*	Conjunction *ta*	Object raising	Free word order
SVC	+	−	−	+
Subordination	+	−	+	−
Adverbial 1	+	−	−	−
Adverbial 2	−	−	−	−
Coordination	−	+	−	−

9.3.1 Serial verb construction

In the serial verb construction, such as in (43), the conjunction *a* can be used.

(43) a. ***Ma-harek**=to*   *cira*   (***a***)   ***mi-nengneng***   *to=ohong.*
        UV-finish=PFV   3SG.NOM   CONJN AV-watch   ACC=book
        'He finished reading the book.'

    b. ***Fahal***   *cingra*   (***a***)   ***ma-keter.***
        suddenly 3SG.NOM   CONJN UV-angry
        'Suddenly, he got angry.'

9.3.2 Subordination

In subordination, the nominative phrase of the subordinated clause may be raised to be an argument of the main clause, as demonstrated in (44).

(44) a. *Ma-^araw=ako*   *i=lalan*   (*a*)   *{mi-kalat* ***ko=waco*** *to=posi}.*
        UV-see=1SG.GEN   LOC=road CONJN AV-bite   NOM=dog ACC=cat

    b. *Ma-^araw=ako i=lalan*   ***ko=waco*** (*a*)   *{mi-kalat* *to=posi}.*
        UV-see=1SG.GEN LOC=road NOM=dog CONJN AV-bite   ACC=cat
        'On the street I saw the dog bite a cat.'

9.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can be divided into two categories: (a) simultaneity and purpose ((45a) and (45b)) and (b) condition, time, concession, and reason ((45c) to (45f)). The first type may make use of the conjunction *a*, while the second type may not. In the second type, there are optional ways (verbal morphology or conjunction-like words) to indicate the specific meaning of the adverbial clause. The reduplication in (45e) expresses concession. The curly brackets { } shows that the clause structure is fixed and the word order cannot be changed freely beyond that clause structure. (*A) means that the conjunction *a* cannot be used.

(45) a. *{Mi-nengneng cingra*   *to=tilifi}* (*a*)   *{k<om>aen* *to=^epah}.*
        AV-watch   3SG.NOM ACC=TV CONJN   food<MV>
 ACC=alcohol
        'Watching TV, he was drinking alcoholic drink.'

    b. *{Mi-nokay kako}*   (*a*)   *{ma-lahok}.*
        AV-return 1SG.NOM   CONJN   UV-lunch
        'I will return in order to eat lunch.'

c. {(***Ano-***)*ma-^orad   anodafak*}   (**a*)   {*i=loma^   kako*}.
    if-UV-rain   tomorrow   CONJN   LOC=house   1SG.NOM
    'If it rains tomorrow, I will stay at home.'

d. {(***Yo-***)*ka^mag=ho   kako*}   (**a*)   {*awa   ko=cokap*}.
    when-young=IPFV   1SG.NOM   CONJN   NEG.EXST   NOM=shoes
    'When I was young, there were no shoes.'

e. {*Ma-raro*(<***raro***>)*m   kako*}   (**a*)   {*ma-tawa   kako*}.
    UV-sad<RDP>   1SG.NOM   CONJN   UV-laugh   1SG.NOM
    'Though I am/was very sad, I laugh/laughed.'

f. {*Nga^ay   ko=romi^ad   anini*}   (***saka***)   {*r<om>owad kita*}.
    good   NOM=day   today   therefore   go.out<MV>   1PL.INCL.NOM
    'Because it is sunny today, let's go out.'
    (lit. 'The day is good today, (so) we go out.')

9.3.4 Coordination

Coordination expresses two sequential events that have no temporal overlap. In this case, the conjunction *ta* combines two clauses, as seen in (46).

(46) {*Ma-foti^   ko=wawa* }   ***ta***   {*mi-salama   kita*}.
       UV-sleep   NOM=child   CONJN   AV-play   1PL.INCL.NOM
       'The child sleeps, and then we play.'
       (i.e., 'Let's go out and play after the child falls asleep.')

9.4 Manner/quotation construction

The manner/quotation construction is formed by the enclitics *=sa*, *=han*, or their variants. They attach to a root, phrase, or clause, and the attached part expresses manner (or attended circumstance), quotation, or contrast in discourse. Wu (2005) calls the construction with *=sa* "the ideophone forming construction," but it seems the use of *=sa* is not restricted to ideophone forming; hence, we call it "the manner/quotation construction."

9.4.1 =*Sa* and its variants

[1] =*Sa*

=Sa expresses manner or attended circumstance. It attaches to a root, as in (47a), or a clause, as in (47b) and (47c).

(47) a. *Rakat=**sa*** *tayra* *i=pitilidan.*
      walk=SA   go   LOC=school
      '[I] walked to school.' (lit. '[I] go walk to school.')

   b. {*Ma-kalat* *no=waco*}*=**sa*** *ma-talaw* *kako* *to=waco.*
      UV-bite   GEN=dog =SA   UV-afraid 1SG.NOM   ACC=dog
      'Bitten by the dog, I am afraid of it.'

   c. {*Mi-^aca kako* *to=sapaiyo*} *=**sa*** *taira* *kako* *i=posong.*
      AV-buy 1SG.NOM ACC=medicine =SA go   1SG.NOM LOC=Posong
      'I'm going to Posong to buy medicine.'

[2] *=Saan*, *=sanay*, *=sakira*

=Saan (*=san*), *=sanay*, and *=sakira* are the quotation markers in Amis. They can also function as the hear-say evidential marker, as in (48b).

(48) a. {*Tayra* *kako* *i=taypak* *anodafak*} *=**saan**/=**sakira*** *cingra.*
      go   1SG.NOM   LOC=Taipei   tomorrow   =SAAN/=SAKIRA 3SG.NOM
      '"I will go to Taipei tomorrow," he said.'

   b. {*Ma-^orad* *anudafak*} *=**saan**/=**sanay.***
      UV-rain   tomorrow   =SAAN/=SANAY
      '[It is] said that it will rain tomorrow.'

[3] *=Sato*

The enclitic *=sato* has two uses: the manner marker and contrast/topic marker. First, *=sato* expresses a manner or a circumstance, as in (49).

(49) *Lasa<lasa>ng=**sato*** *ma-lasang=to* *ma-^emin* *ko=tamdaw.*
   drunk<RDP>=SATO   UV-drunk=PFV   UV-all   NOM=people
   'People are all drunk.'

Second, *=sato* can be used as a contrast/topic marker that can be translated as

'as for …' in English. The sentences in (50) are an excerpt from a discourse that describes a person (*kafo^ok*) who is fighting the soldiers of the Chinese army (*koaping*).

(50) *Ca   ka-tama   no=koaping   ko-ra   ci-kafo^ok.*
        NEG   GER-hit   GEN-Chinese.army   NOM-that   NOM-Kafo^ok
        '[The shot of] the Chinese army did not hit (that) Kafo^ok.'
        O-ra   ci-kafo^ok=sato   c<om>ikay=to   mi-toor.
        PRED-that   NOM-Kafo^ok=SATO   run<MV>=PFV   AV-follow
        'As for (that) Kafu^uk, he ran [and] followed [the army].'

9.4.2 =Han

=Han is a manner/quotation marker similar to *=sa*. The main differences between *=sa* and *=han* are the following: (a) *=Han* is used when someone's will is present. (b) *=Han* usually refers to an event in the future or the change of a situation by someone's will. In contrast, *=sa* simply refers to a state or situation in the present time or the past. (c) *=Sa* is an actor voice, whereas *=han* is an undergoer voice. That is to say, the instigator of the quoted part is indicated by the nominative in the case of *=sa*, and genitive in the case of *=han*.

(51) a. *Cofos=**han**=ako   kiso.*
             pour=HAN=1SG.GEN   2SG.NOM
             'I will pour [water on] you.'
     b. *{Ka-likat   i=kakarayan   a   pa-^edil   to=hekal}=**han**   no=kawas.*
          GER-light   LOC=sky   CONJN   CAUS-radiance   ACC=earth=HAN   GEN=god
             '"The light should glow and light the earth," said the God.'

The minimal pair in (52) clearly shows the contrast between *=sa* and *=han*.

(52) a. *Taladaw=**sa**   ko=sowal   no=pangcah   to-rira   a   ^alo.*
          Taladaw=SA   NOM=word   GEN=Amis   ACC-that   CONJN   river
             'That river **is called** "Taladaw" in Amis.'
     b. *Taladaw=**han**   ko=sowal   no=pangcah   to-rira   a   ^alo.*
          Taladaw=HAN   NOM=word   GEN=Amis   ACC-that   CONJN   river

'[Someone] **named** that river "Taladaw" in Amis.'

10. Text: *cikafo^ok no cepo^* (narrative)

[1]   ***Itiyaho   ira   ko cecay   a   kapah   no cepo^.***

itiya=ho	ira	ko=cecay	a	kapah	no=cepo^
then=IPFV	EXST	NOM=one	CONJN	young.man	GEN=Cepo^
once upon a time	there was	one young man			of Cepo^

     'Once upon a time, there was a young man in Cepu^.'

[2]   ***Cikafo^ok hananay   ko ngangan nira.***

ci-kafo^ok=hananay	ko=ngangan=nira
PRED-Kafo^ok=called	NOM=name=3SG.GEN
called 'Kafo^ok'	his name

     'His name was (called) Kafo^ok.'

[3]   ***Onini   a   kapah   tadanga^ay   ko tireng.***

o-nini	a	kapah	tada-nga^ay	ko=tireng
PRED=this	CONJN	young.man	very-good	NOM=body
this young man			was very good	body

     'This young man, he was very strong (the body was very good).'

[4]   ***Ki^meray   ko faloco^ nira.***

ki^mer-ay	ko=faloco^=nira
strong-NMLZ	NOM=heart=3SG.GEN
was really strong	his heart

     'His heart was really strong.'

[5]   ***Ki^mer   matayal.***

ki^mer	ma-tayal
strong	UV-work
strongly	worked

     '[He] strongly worked.'

[6] **Matengil   no niaro^   ko sowal   no cimacima.**
     ma-tengil   no=niaro^   ko=suwal   no=cima<cima>
     UV-hear   GEN=village   NOM=story   GEN=who<RDP>
     was heard   by the village   the story   of someone
     'The village heard the story (news) from someone.'

[7] **Ira   ko koapig   tayni   i cepo^**
     ira   ko=koapig   tayni   i=cepo^
     EXST   NOM=Chinese.army   come   LOC=Cepo^
     there was   Chinese army   would come   to Cepo^

miodos   to pangcah   saan   ko sowal.
mi-odos   to=pangcah   =saan   ko=sowal
AV-war   ACC=Amis   QUOT   NOM=story
attack   the Amis   said   the story
     '"There was a Chinese army. [They] would come to Cepo^ and attack Amis," the story said.'

[8] **Ora   cikafo^ok   hananay   tamdaw**
     o-ra   ci-kafo^ok=hananay   tamdaw
     PRED-that   PRED-Kafo^ok=called   person
     that   the person called 'Kafo^ok'

hakelong han   nira   ko papinapina   a   kapah
hakelong=han   nira   ko=<pa>pina<pina>   a   kapah
together=HAN   3SG.GEN   NOM=<RDP>some<RDP>   CONJN   young man
was took together   by him   some young men

tayra	*i torik*	*mitala*	*tora*	*safitay*	*no koapig.*
tayra	i=torik	mi-tala	to-ra	safitay	no=koapig
go	LOC=Torik	AV-wait	ACC-that	soldier	GEN=Chinese army
went	to Turik	waited for	that soldiers		of the Chinese army

'As for (that) Kafo^ok, he took out some young men, [they] went to Torik and waited for those soldiers of the Chinese army.'

[9] | *Ora* | *koapig* | *sato* | *ci^efa* | *cangra* | *naitira* | *i torik.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o-ra | koapig | =sato | ci-^efa | cangra | na-itira | i=torik |
| PRED-that | Chinese.army | SATO | have-horse | 3PL.NOM | ABL-there | LOC=Torik |
| as for that | Chinese army | | rode horses | they | from there | to Torik |

'As for the Chinese army, [they] rode horses from Torik.'

[10]	*Pasa^amis*	*ko cikay*	*nora*	*koapig hananay*	*safitay.*
pa-sa-^amis	ko=cikay	no-ra	koapig=hananay	safitay
CAUS-make-north	NOM-run	GEN-that	Chinese.army=called	soldier
went north	running	of that	soldiers called 'koapig'	

'The running of the Chinese army, called *kuapig*, went north.'

[11]	*Oora*	*cikafo^ok hananay*	*misimsim to*	*to faloco^.*
o-ra	ci-kafo^ok=hananay	mi-simsim=to	to=faloco^
PRED-that	NOM-Kafo^ok=HANANAY	AV-thought=PFV	ACC=heart
as for (that) Kafo^ok		considered	heart

'As for (that) Kafo^ok, [he] considered.'

[12]	*Tanamen*	*kora*	*koapig*	*pataynien*	*niyam*
tanam-en	ko-ra	koapig	pa-tayni-en	niyam
try-UV	NOM-that	Chinese.army	CAUS-come-UV	1PL.EXCL.GEN
would be tried	that	Chinese army	would be made to come	by us

saan	*ko faloco^*	*nikafo^ok*	*a*	*tora*	*kapah.*
=saan	ko=faloco^	ni-kafo^ok	a	to-ra	kapah
QUOT	NOM=heart	GEN-Kafo^ok	CONJN	ACC-that	young.man
say	the heart	of Kafo^ok,	that	young man	

'"[We] will try the Chinese army, we make them come," thought that

young man Kafo^ok.'

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Chinese Pingjiang dialect

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Introduction

The Pingjiang dialect is one of the dialects of Chinese. It is spoken in Pingjiang County, which lies in the northeast of Hunan province and borders with Hubei and Jiangxi provinces (see Figure 1). The basic word order of the Pingjiang dialect is SVO. It is an isolating language, and it is difficult for Mandarin speakers to understand. To some extent, it is not like the other dialects of Xiang and Gan. Further, it differs from Madarin Chinese in

Figure 1. Pingjiang in China

several aspects. First, Madarin Chinese has only four tones, while the Pingjiang dialect has seven. Second, compared with Mandarin Chinese, the Pingjiang dialect has more monosyllables. Third, as the major part of the Pingjiang population makes a living in the agriculture sector, words and phrases about farming constitute a large portion of the dialect's basic vocabulary. Fourth, there are also many grammatical discrepancies between the two languages. For example, according to realis and rerealis, the Pingjiang dialect uses different prepositions to express passive tense and the starting point. Further, it has two sets of the third person pronouns, two sets of personal pronoun affixes expressing respect, and three sets of demonstrative pronouns.

1.   Language and its speakers

Pingjiang is surrounded by the Gan dialect in the east, south, and north, but to its west is mostly the Xiang dialect. Because it is influenced by these dialects, the Pingjiang dialect is very complex. Most of the dialects in Pingjiang are identified as subdialcets of the Gan dialect. According to Hunansheng Pingjiang Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (1994), there are four subdialcets in Pingjiang. They are the Chengguan, Northeast, West, and Cenchuan dialects. As the Chengguan dialectal area covers the widest area and has the largest population, the study includes only this area. The population of Pingjiang is about 1 million.

2.   Phonology

2.1   Phoneme inventory

2.1.1   Consonants

There are 19 consonants in the Pingjiang dialect. The glottal stop is only phonemic at the end of a word. The distinction between aspiration and no aspiration is phonemic.

Table 1. Consonants of the Pingjiang Dialect

	Bilabial	**Labiodental**	**Alveolar**	**Retroflex**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosive	p pʰ		t tʰ		k kʰ	ʔ
Fricative		f	s	ʂ	x	
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Affricate			ts tsʰ	tʂ tʂʰ		
Liquid			l			

/n/ is a voiced nasal with three allophones. The voiced nasal /ŋ/ has two allophones.

/n/	→	[n̩]	/_u	example:	nu	[n̩]
	→	[ɲ]	/_i, y	example:	ni	[ɲi]
	→	[n]	/_ (the others)	example:	an	[an]
/ŋ/	→	[ŋ]	/_u	example:	ŋu	[ŋ]
	→	[ŋ˺]	/_(the others)	example:	ŋɑ	[ŋɑ]
				example:	ɑŋ	[ɑŋ]

2.1.2 Vowels

There are nine monophthongs /a, ɑ, e, ø, ə, o, i, u, y/ and four diphthongs /ai, ɑu, əu, øu/. The vowels are shown on the vowel chart in Figure 2. The pronunciation of the vowel in diphthongs changes. However, in this study, excepting diphthongs with /i/, diphthongs with /u/ and /y/ can associate with only certain consonants (e.g., /u/ associates with only /k, kʰ/, /y/ associates with only /tʂ, tʂʰ, ʂ/). /i/, /u/, and /y/ are closely attached to their preceding consonants, and hence, they are not considered as individual vowels. Rather, they are treated as transitional vowels. Moreover, their closeness with other vowels is different. For instance, /iɑu/ and /iou/ are /i/ + /ɑu/ and /i/ + /ou/, instead of /iɑ/ + /u/ and /io/ + /u/. Therefore, both /iɑu/ and /iou/ are regarded as the combination of the transitional vowel /i/ and diphthongs /ɑu/ and /ou/.
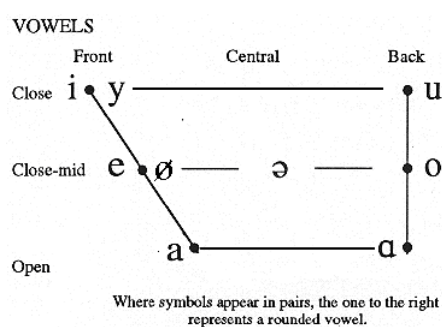

Figure 2. Vowels

2.1.3 Tones

There are seven tones in the Pingjiang dialect, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Tones in the Pingjiang dialect

Tone name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Quality of tone	33	13	35	21	55	22	4
Pronunciation	i^{33}	i^{13}	i^{35}	i^{21}	i^{55}	i^{22}	$iʔ^{4}$
Meaning	clothes	move	here	chair	remember	easy	one

2.2   Syllable structure

The syllable structure of the Pingjiang dialect is (C) (V) V(C) ^{x}. (X represents a tone.)

Table 3. Examples of the syllable structure

	Example	Meaning		Example	Meaning
$V_2{}^x$	i^{33}	'clothes'	$V_2C_2{}^x$	uʔ^4	'house'
$C_1V_2{}^x$	ke^{33}	'chicken'	$V_1V_2{}^x$	iɑ^{13}	'father (reference)'
$C_1V_2C_2{}^x$	tʰəuʔ^4	'read'	$C_1V_1V_2{}^x$	tiɑ^{33}	'Father (address term)'
$C_1V_2C_2{}^x$	tiʔ^4	'drop'	$V_1V_2C_2{}^x$	ieʔ^4	'leaf'
$C_1V_1V_2C_2{}^x$	tien^{35}	'clock'			

2.3   Phonological rules

/k kʰ x/are palatalized and become [c cʰ ɕ] when they follow [i].

$$/ \text{ k } \text{k}^h \text{ x } / \rightarrow [\text{c } \text{c}^h \text{ ɕ}] \underline{\quad}(\text{+High, +Front, -Round})$$

2.4   Prosody

The Pingjiang dialect has seven tones; see Section 2.1.3. The intonation is not obvious. No accent exists. See example (01).

(01) *nu^{21}*   *kʰi^{55}*   *ɑ^{33}*

    2SG   go   PT

   'Do you go?'

3.   Descriptive preliminaries

The Pingjiang dialect is an isolating language. Most of its words are monosyllabic. It has no affixes, but it does have some components that are affix-like, such as the plural component in personal pronouns and diminutives. In this study, I assume a WORD in the Pingjiang dialect is a unit that can be used individually and has an independent meaning. WORDs can be used both individually and along with affix-like components. Affix-like components cannot be used individually. They

must be combined with roots or other words to constitute a WORD. In this study, I do not find it necessary to make a table for the clitic in the Pingjiang dialect.

Word = (prefix-like) root (suffix-like)

Word = root ŋo^{21} 'me'

Word = prefix- root lɑu^{21} ʂy^{55} 'mouse'
old mouse

Word = root -suffix ŋo^{21} li^{33} 'we'
me ?
tiɑu^{35} tseʔ^4 'bird'
bird ?

3.1 Word classes

Words in the Pingjiang dialect can be classified into two categories: words that can be used individually and words that cannot be used individually. In the first category, there are five word classes, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, classifiers, and interjections. The second category includes another five word classes, which are prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, onomatopoeias, and particles.

3.1.1 Nouns

There are three kinds of noun. They are the pronoun, demonstrative, and common noun. When a word can take a diminutive or a classifier, it must be a common noun. The pronoun can express person. The demonstrative expresses objects. Nouns cannot be modified by number. They are also divided into common nouns and proper nouns. A common noun can refer to a person or thing, and it can take a prefix or suffix. In addition, many nouns can take the diminutive suffix *tseʔ^4*, while suffixes such as *tseʔ^4*, *lɑu^{21}*, *t^{h}øu^{13}*, and *tsu^{35}* follow nouns.

tʂ^{h}ɑ^{33}**tseʔ^4** 'toy car' uʔ^4**tseʔ^4** 'lovely house'
ts^{h}u^{13}**t^{h}øu^{13}** 'plow' p^{h}ɑ^{13}**t^{h}øu^{13}** 'plow (have tooth) '
pai^{33}**tsu^{35}** 'a person with trouble in the legs'
ŋan^{21}**tsu^{35}** 'a person with trouble in the eyes'

Suffix-like *lɑu^{21}* follows the name of a person, which expresses an honorific.

To express an honorific, a speaker simply uses it to address anyone. *lau²¹* follows the first word of a given name.

min¹³lɑu²¹   'Mr. Ming'   xiɑu³⁵lɑu²¹   'Ms. Xiao'

3.1.2   Verbs

When *tiʔ⁴* follows a word and expresses possibility, the word must be a verb, such as *kʰiaʔ⁴* in example (02). A verb expresses action, change, and state. It can be a predicate. Auxiliaries express the feelings of the speaker and work with verbs such as *iau⁵⁵* in example (03).

(02) *la³³*   **kʰiaʔ⁴   tiʔ⁴**   *tsiəu³⁵*

3BSG   drink   POT   wine

'He might have drunk wine.'

(03) *la³³*   **iau⁵⁵   kʰi⁵⁵   xan⁵⁵**

3BSG   need   go   see

'He wants to go and see.'

Some verbs can take the *-ʂəu³⁵* suffix. When a verb has the *-ʂəu³⁵* suffix, it functions like an adjective and means 'be worth doing.'

kʰiaʔ⁴   **ʂəu³⁵**   be worth eating   →   'delicious'
eat
xan⁵⁵   **ʂəu³⁵**   be worth watching   →   'interesting'
watch

3.1.3   Adjectives

Adjectives include adjectives and adverbs. Adjective can express a property or state. Adverbs can express the degree, time, frequency, extent, and tone of voice of the action, property, or state. Adverbs can modify verbs and adjectives. In example (04), *nieʔ⁴* is an adjective and *man¹³* is an adverb.

(04) i³⁵pʰai⁵⁵tiʔ⁴ **man¹³** **nieʔ⁴** le²¹

　　these days　　very　　hot　　PT　　　　S

　　'These days are so hot.'

3.1.4　Classifier

Classifiers make a noun become more concrete. See example (05).

(05) ŋo²¹　　iəu²¹　　ioŋ²¹　　**tʂoŋ³³**　　tan³³tsʰa³³

　　1SG　　have　　two　　CLF　　bike

　　'I have two bikes.'

For items that have a large plane and are thin, *tʂoŋ³³* is used. For items that are thick, *kʰuai⁵⁵* is used.

iʔ⁴**tʂoŋ³³**tsʰoŋ¹³　　　　　'a bed'
iʔ⁴**kʰuai⁵⁵**tʰəu³⁵　　　　　'a lump of soil'

For items that are slim and long, *tʰiau¹³* is used. For items with a handle, *pa³⁵* is used. For a piece of garden land, *sioŋ³³* is used.

iʔ³ **tʰiɑu¹³**ue¹³kin³³　　　'a scarf'
iʔ⁴**pɑ³⁵**san³⁵　　　　　　'an umbrella'
iʔ⁴**sioŋ³³**tsʰai⁵⁵　　　　　'a piece of garden land'

Sometimes containers such as bottles, bowls, and boxes are also used as temporary classifiers.

iʔ⁴**pʰin¹³**tsiəu³⁵　　　　　'a bottle of wine'
iʔ³**uøn³⁵**fan²²　　　　　　'a bowl of rice'
iʔ⁴**sioŋ³³**i³³　　　　　　'a box of clothes'

For animals, the most commonly used classifier is *tʂaʔ⁴*. For specific items, *ko⁵⁵* is used.

i$?^4$**tʂɑ$?^4$**tʂy^{33} 'a pig'
i$?^4$**ko^{55}**nin^{13} 'a person'
i$?^4$**ko^{55}**pɑu^{33} 'a bag'

3.1.5 The adjective class
Adjectives express character and state. They can be modified by degree adverbs.

3.1.5.1 Morphological characteristics
There are two types of adjectives: simple adjectives and compound adjectives. Simple adjectives may be either mono- or di-syllabic. Compound adjectives contain *xau^{35}*V, VO, and *Adj nin^{13}* adjectives. The following are examples of simple adjectives.

to^{33}	'more'	ʂɑu^{35}	'few'
kɑu^{33}	'high'	ŋai^{35}	'short'
tʂʰəŋ^{21}	'heavy'	kʰiɑŋ^{33}	'light'

Disyllabic adjectives fall into two types: AB and XA. AB cannot be divided into A and B. However, in the XA type, A is an adjective, and X is a modification element. To make the modification stronger, the construction uses a noun in front of an adjective to express simile. These adjectives have already been modified by some words, so they cannot be modified by degree adverbs any more (e.g., *man^{13}* 'very'). If they are used as a predicate, they require a nominalization suffix *ko^{21}*.

AB type
nie$?^4$lɑu^{22}	'noise'	tsʰin^{22}man^{22}	'quiet'
mɑ^{13}fan^{13}	'trouble'	ʂy^{33}fu$?^4$	'comfortable'
pʰiɑu^{55}lioŋ^{22}	'beautiful'	foŋ^{33}pʰien^{22}	'convince'

XA type
mi^{33}xe$?^4$	'black-like ink'
piɑ$?^4$tʂn^{55}	'straight (it can be used only for something that stands) like a wall'
mɑu^{33}kʰiɑŋ^{33}	'light like hair'

We could not find what the modification element is in some words, as *kuaŋ*[55] in *kuaŋ*[55] *tsʰiaŋ*[33] shows.

kuɑŋ**55**	tsʰiaŋ³³		min**33**	tʰien¹³
?	blue		?	sweat
'deep blue'			'very sweet'	

Compound adjectives consist of three types. When a verb appears after the adverb *xau*[35]*,* which means 'easy to do,' it forms an adjective. This is the first type of compound adjective. The second type comes from the verb object phrase. The third type is the *Adj nin*[13] type.

● *xau*[35] V type

xɑu**35**	kʰiɑʔ⁴		xɑu**35**	xan⁵⁵
good	eat		good	look
'delicious'			'beautiful or interesting'	

● VO type

The VO type refers to a verb-object phrase.

tʰiaŋ⁵⁵	fɑ²²		təŋ³⁵	su²²
listen to words, follow instructions			understand	things
'obedient'			'things are known'	

● *Adj nin*[13] type

The *Adj nin*[13] type consists of a verb, noun, or adjective plus *nin*[13] 'person.' Adjectives of this type are mostly used to express a state that evokes someone's feelings.

ŋai⁵⁵	'love'	ŋai⁵⁵nin³³	make someone like	'lover'
kʰi⁵⁵	'anger'	kʰi⁵⁵nin³³	make someone angry	'irritating'
pin³³	'ice'	pin³³nin¹³	make someone feel freezing	'icy'
sʰin⁵⁵	'cool'	tsʰin⁵⁵nin¹³	make someone feel cool	'cool'

fan^{13}	'worry'	fan^{13}nin^{13}	make someone feel worry	'worrying'
ts^{h}ɑu^{55}	'noisy'	ts^{h}ɑu^{55}nin^{13}	make someone feel noisy	'noisy'

3.1.5.2 Reduplication of adjectives

In the Pingjiang dialect, reduplication consists of the patterns AA, XAXA, and AABB. Reduplicated monosyllabic adjectives become AA, while the AB type of disyllabic adjectives become AABB, and the XA type become XAXA.

● AA type

The AA type reduplicates the same adjectives; it can express a stronger degree than the basic form. In addition, some AA types will have tone sandhi.

fəŋ^{13}	'red'	fəŋ^{13}fəŋ^{55}	'very red'
k^{h}uai^{55}	'fast'	k^{h}uai^{55}k^{h}uai^{55}	'very fast'

● XAXA type

While a stronger meaning of degree is added by reduplication, it is tinged with the nuance of minus. Words that are plus nuance cannot usually be stacked together.

siɑŋ^{55}p^{h}ɑʔ^{4}siɑŋ^{55}p^{h}ɑʔ^4 'too white'   mi^{33}ŋøn^{55}mi^{33}ŋøn^{55} 'too dark'

● AABB type

The AABB type is reduplicated from AB adjectives. This type is stronger than the AB type, and it is also used as a predicate, as in (06).

(06) *iaŋ^{13}ko^{55} k^{h}uən^{55} ɑ^{55}taʔ^4* ***ts^{h}in^{22} ts^{h}in^{22}*** *ŋɔ^{21}*   *ko^{35} ts^{h}iəu^{22} xau^{35} fɑ^{22}*
                                               k^{h}i^{55} k^{h}i^{55}

the others   sleep   REAL   quiet   1SG   so   then   easy to draw

'When the other people are all asleep, it bec*ome*s *so* quiet, so I can draw well.'

3.1.5.3 Syntactic characteristics

Adjectives cannot become predicates, except in comparative forms. If an adjective is used as a predicate, the adverb *man^{13}* 'very,' which expresses degree, is necessary, as

illustrated in (07) and (08).

(07) $kin^{33}ni\textipa{P}^4$ **man^{13}** $nie\textipa{P}^4$ le^{21}
today   very   hot   PT
'It is very hot today.'

man^{13} + adjective can modify a verb.

(08) xai^{13} $iəu^{21}$ man^{13} **$tnd^{13}fan^{22}$** xai^{33} io^{33}.
also   have   very   difficult   open   PT
'It is too difficult to open.'

3.1.6   Interjections

Interjections do not relate to other grammar elements; they function independently. In general, they express the tone of voice. Interjections always appear at the beginning of a sentence, and they are independent. See (09) for an example.

(09) **xau^{35}** ηo^{21} $ts^hiəu^{22}$ $k^h\textipa{i}^{55}$
yes   1SG   at once   go
'Ok, I'll go at once.'

3.2   Other components

The following are components that cannot be used individually, including prepositions, numerals, conjunctions, onomatopoeia, and particles.

3.2.1   Prepositions

Prepositions can make a noun phrase with a noun, as in (10) and (11). For details, please refer to Section 4.5.

(10) ηo^{21} ta^{55} $\textsubrhalfring{s}ə\textipa{P}^4t^hon^{13}$ li^{33} $k^hia\textipa{P}^4fan^{22}$
1SG   at   dining room in   take meal
'I am dining in the dining room.'

(11) *la³³*   ***loʔ⁴***   *kiau⁵⁵ʂəʔ⁴ li³³*   *tsu⁵⁵*   *tsoʔ⁴nieʔ⁴*

     3SG   at   classroom   in   do   homework

     'He is doing homework in the classroom.'

3.2.2   Numerals

Numerals are used to count things, as in (12).

(12) *ŋo²¹*   *iau⁵⁵*   ***san³³***   *pən³⁵*   *ʂy³³*

     1SG   need   three   CLF   book

     'I need three books.'

3.2.3   Conjunctions

Conjunctions have a connecting function. They can connect words of the same word class (13) or sentences.

(13) *nu²¹* *keʔ⁴* *tʰøu¹³ faʔ⁴* ***iəu²²*** *tsʰu³³* ***iəu²²*** *tsʰiaŋ³³*

     2SG POSS hair   and   thick   and   black

     'Your hair is thick and black.'

3.2.4   Onomatopoeia

The Pingjiang dialect is not rich in onomatopoeia. In the fieldwork, only 80 onomatopoeias were found, more than half of which imitate animal cries. An example is shown in (14) below.

(14) ***kʰuəʔ⁴ləŋ³³***   *keʔ⁴*   *siau⁵⁵*   *kʰiʔ³⁵ lai¹³*

     onomatopoeia   like   laugh   begin

     'Kulong, he broke into a laugh.'

3.2.5   Particles

Particles do not have meaning without other grammatical elements. There are two kinds of particles in the Pingjiang dialect: particles of intonation and particles of aspect. The particles of intonation appear at the end of the sentence, and the particles

of aspect follow verbs. See (15) and (16).

(15) *nu²¹   iau⁵⁵   xau³⁵ xin⁵⁵   ŋa⁵⁵   le³³*

    2SG   should   be careful   a little   PT

    'You should be careful.'

(16) *ŋo²¹   xan⁵⁵   ta²⁴   ṣy³³*

    1SG   read   PT   book

    'I read a book.'

4. Morphology

4.1   Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

4.1.1   Affixation

The Pingjiang dialect belongs to the isolating languages. It has no affix-generating procedure. Strictly defined, it is a language without affixation. However, it does have some components that are affix-like. Although in terms of morphology, their features as affixes are not obvious, they satisfy the definition of affixes in two ways. First, these components have relatively abstract meanings. Second, some of them are quite productive, and their usage is similar to that of affixes. Hence, in this study, I call components of this kind "affix-likes." Words with affix-likes are compound words.

    lau²¹ is a prefix-like, preceding a noun referring to a person or animal. In addition, it is used in kinship terms of the grandparent level. The meaning of *lau²¹* is 'old,' but in this lexicon, it does not mean 'old.'

lau²¹ tsiɑ³⁵	**lau²¹** mai²²
old elder sister	old younger sister
'elder sister'	'younger sister'
lau²¹ ku³³tsiɑ³⁵	ku³³tsiɑ³⁵
old aunt	aunt
'sister of grandfather'	'sister of father'
lau²¹ ṣy⁵⁵	**lau²¹** fu³⁵
old mouse	old tiger
'mouse'	'tiger'

4.1.2   Reduplication

4.1.2.1 Reduplication of kinship terms

The Pingjiang dialect employs reduplication of kinship terms. When a kinship term reduplicates, the tone sandhi will appear. When an adjective reduplicates, the last form will have tone sandhi. Its tone becomes 55. Table 4 presents examples of the reduplication of kinship terms.

Table 4. Reduplication of kinship terms

Form	kəŋ^{33}	pʰø^{22}
Meaning	'grandfather'	'grandmother'
Reduplicated form	kəŋ$^{\mathbf{21}}$kəŋ$^{\mathbf{55}}$	pʰø^{22}pʰø$^{\mathbf{55}}$
Meaning	'grandfather'	'grandmother'

4.1.2.2 Reduplication of adjectives

There is also reduplication of adjectives in the Pingjiang dialect, and it always occurs in monosyllabic adjectives. When an adjective reduplicates, the last form will have tone sandhi. Its tone becomes 55. Table 5 presents examples of the reduplication of adjectives.

Table 5. Reduplication of adjectives and nicknames

Form	fəŋ^{13}	tʰai^{22}	kɑu^{33}
Meaning	red	'big'	tall
Reduplicated form	fəŋ^{13}fəŋ^{55}	tʰai^{22}tʰai^{55}	kɑu^{33}kɑu^{55}
Meaning	'very red'	'very big'	'very tall'

4.2   Nominal morphology

We cannot judge whether a word is a noun based strictly on its form, but we can consider whether it takes suffixes or classifiers. By considering the behavior of classifiers and affix-likes, we can identify nouns.

kai^{55}	verb	'cover'
kai^{55} tseʔ^4	noun	'a lovely little cover'
ko^{55} kai^{55}	noun	'a cover'
kʰiɑʔ^4	verb	'eat'
kʰiɑʔ^{4}ko^{21}	noun	'something to eat (food)'

4.3   Verbal morphology

A verb can take a nominalization suffix-like. See Section 4.1.1.

4.4   Class-changing derivation

There are three methods to change word class: tone sandhi, consonants alternate, and zero derivation.

①	verb	/pɑ^{35}/	'give'	**pɑ^{35}**lɑ^{33}	'give him
	noun	/pɑ^{55}/	'handle'	tɑu^{33}**pɑ^{55}**	'the handle of a knife'
②	adjective	/tʂʰoŋ^{13}/	'long'	**tʂʰoŋ^{13}**tøn^{35}	'length'
	verb	/tʂoŋ^{35}/	'grow'	**tʂoŋ^{35}**tʰai^{22}	'grow up'
③	adjective	/xɑu^{35}/	'good'	man^{13}**xɑu^{35}**	'very good'
	adverb		'good'	**xɑu^{35}**xan^{55}	'good-looking' > 'beautiful'

4.5   Case

In the Pingjiang dialect, prepositions and nouns make up phrases to express Case. These are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Case prepositions of the Pingjiang dialect

Form	Meaning	Examples	Meaning
loʔ⁴	'at'	loʔ⁴ko³⁵tʂʰoŋ⁵⁵ko³³	be singing there
loʔ⁴	'from'	loʔ⁴uʔ⁴li³³lai¹³	be coming from the house
loʔ⁴	(passive)	loʔ⁴lɑ³³tɑ³⁵tɑʔ⁴	be hit by him
tɑ⁵⁵	'to'	tɑ⁵⁵tsʰɑu³³pʰiaŋ¹³li³³kʰi⁵⁵	go to the playground
tɑ⁵⁵	'on'	tɑ⁵⁵tsʰɑu³³pʰiaŋ¹³li³³sɑ³⁵	go to play on the playground
tɑ⁵⁵	'with'	tɑ⁵⁵lɑ³³uɑ²²	talk with him
tɑ⁵⁵	'for'	tɑ⁵⁵lɑ³³tsu⁵⁵	do for him
tɑ⁵⁵	'and'	nu²¹tɑ⁵⁵lɑ³³	you and him
tɑ⁵⁵	'like'	tɑ⁵⁵lɑ³³uɑ²²su⁵⁵tiʔ⁴	it appears that he was told

4.6   Noun Class

Usually, phrases made up of classifiers and nouns are used to express categories of nouns in the Pingjiang dialect (please refer to Section 3.1.4). However, with the decline of classifiers, it is becoming common that one classifier is applied to more than one occasion. For example, the classifier $tʂaʔ^4$ is used to refer to certain people (e.g., boys, girls), most animals (e.g., chickens, ducks, and pigs), and utensils (e.g., cupboard, oven). The classifier ko^{55} is applied to most people (men, women, boys, girls, etc.), as well as utensils (slices, fire tongs, etc.).

4.7   Person

The Pingjiang dialect distinguishes between the exclusive and inclusive forms of the first personal plural pronoun. Moreover, two sets of the third personal pronoun exist in the dialect. See Table 7.

Table 7. Personal pronouns in the Pingjiang dialect

	First person		Second person	Third person	
				participants or the focus of the discourse	the other case
Singular	ηo^{21}		nu^{21}	e^{21}	$l\alpha^{33}$
Plural	EXCL	INCL	$nu^{21}li^{33}$	$e^{21}li^{33}$	$l\alpha^{33}li^{33}$
	$\eta o^{21}li^{33}$	$\eta o^{21}fu^{55}$			

4.7.1　First person pronoun
$\eta o^{21}li^{33}$ is the first personal plural pronoun exclusive form. $\eta o^{21}fu^{55}$ is inclusive.

(17) $\eta o^{21}fu^{55}$　$x\alpha^{22}$　$s_{\text{-}}i^{21}$　$p^hia\eta^{13}ko\eta^{33}$　nin^{13}　nu^{21}　li^{33}　$u\alpha^{22}$　$lia?^4 san^{33}$
　　INCL　　all　　COP　Pingjiang　　people　2PL　　　speak Lishan
　　$f\alpha^{22}$　　$\eta o^{21}li^{33}$　$u\alpha^{22}$　$p^hia\eta^{13}ko\eta^{33}$　$f\alpha^{22}$
　　language　EXCL　speak Pingjiang　　language
　　'We are all Pingjiangers. You speak the Liashan dialect. We speak the
　　Pingjiang dialect. '

　The inclusive form also exists in the first person singular.

　　• speaker : father of the author　　　　　　　　listener: the author

(18) iau^{55}　ko^{55}　　$ti^{35}tsu^{35}$　$\eta o^{21}fu^{55}$　$tsai^{55}$　$f\alpha^{22}$　$t_{\text{s}}a\eta^{35}$　$a^{22}tse?^4$　$l\alpha^{21}$
　　need　CLF　　blueprint　　　　　more　graw　good　　　　PT
　　'A blueprint is necessary. It would be ready after I do a little more drawing. '

4.7.2　Third person pronoun
There are two sets of the third person pronoun in the Pingjiang dialect. They
are e^{21} (li^{33}) and $l\alpha^{33}$(li^{33}) . The distinction between them is that when the third
person is a participant or the focus of the discourse, speakers use e^{21}(li^{33}) . *m t* In

the other case, we use $la^{33}(li^{33})$. In this paper, the abbreviation of $e^{21}(li^{33})$ is 3A, and for $la^{33}(li^{33})$ is it is 3B.

(19) $e^{21}li^{33}$ mai^{21} $si^{35}i^{33}fən^{33}$ $t^hiəu\mathcal{?}^4$ k^huai^{55} $kiəu^{35}$ le^{55} $la^{33}li^{33}$

    3APL   sell   washing.powder   six   CLF   nine   PT   3BSG

    $nu^{33}pien^{33}$ $ts^hiəu^{22}$ $t^hiəu\mathcal{?}^4$ k^huai^{55} $pa\mathcal{?}^4$

    there   then   six   CLF   eight

    'If here the washing powder sells at six dollars and nine cents, they sell it at six
    dollars and eight cents. '

This discussion has clarified the different conditions in which the two sets of third person pronouns are applied, based on an examination of the colloquial materials of the Pingjiang dialect popular in the vicinity of the County Town.

I conclude that the application condition of Category A is The Third Party Participates In The Conversation or The Third Party Is The Focus Of The Conversation. The application condition of Category B is The Third Party Neither Participates In The Conversation Nor Is The Focus Of The Conversation. For a plural third party, if the person is near the speaker, Category A is used. Otherwise, Category B is used.

In narration, pronouns of Category A are used to designate a third party with respect to the narrative field; Category B is used to refer to a third party relative to the event field. In storytelling, Category B is usually used to introduce a third party. After the third party takes on the leading role, Category A replaces Category B until the story ends. During this process, the personal pronouns for the leading roles are exchanged.

5. Syntactic structure

In this section, I will elaborate the grammatical relations of nouns, including definitives, demonstratives, classifiers of nouns, and relative clauses.

5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

Most Chinese dialects have the basic word order SVO, and this is also the case for the Pingjiang dialect. Table 8 shows the word order of elements in the Pingjiang

dialect, based on the parameters of Greenberg (1963) in Payne (1997: 272).

Generally, the word order of verb (V) and object (O) in a main clause is V-O. However, if pa^{35} is used, the word order becomes O-V. See (20) and (21).

(20) *la³³   taĭ⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ xeʔ⁴ **moŋ²² tsu³⁵***

    3BSG   wear CLF black cap

    'He wears a black cap.'

(21) *nɯ²¹ pa³⁵ **moŋ²² tsu³⁵**   tsʰɿ³⁵ kuøn³³*

    2SG DIST cap   take off

    'Take off your cap.'

Table 8. Syntax of the Pingjiang dialect

Main clause	V-O
Adpositions	Preposition
Possessor and head noun	Poss.-N
Head noun and modifier	Modifier-N (sometimes N-Modifier)
Comparatives	Maker-Standard-Adj
Inflected auxiliaries	Aux-V
Question particles	Final position in the sentence
Question words	Anywhere
Affixes	Few prefixes, many suffixes

5.2   Subjects

Subjects precede the predicate. They usually consist of a noun or noun phrase, as in (22).

(22) *ŋo²¹ kʰiaʔ⁴   fan²²*

    1SG eat   rice

    'I am having a meal.'

5.3   Objects

Objects follow predicates. The object usually includes a noun or noun phrase in this location (23).

(23) *nu²¹   xaṇ⁵⁵   ʂy³³*

2SG   read   book

'You read a book.'

5.4   The noun phrase

In the Pingjiang dialect, for a noun like *fɑ³³* 'flower,' the template shown below is possible.

(DEM+)   (NUM+)   (CLF+)   (Adj+)   N   (+DIM)

If 'flower' is used as an example, the construction would be the following.

(DEM+)	(NUM+)	(CLF+)	(Adj+)	N	(+DIM)
i³⁵	ioŋ²¹	tø³⁵	si⁵⁵	fɑ³³	tseʔ⁴
this	two	piece	small	flowers	

'these two small flowers'

5.4.1   Adpositions

The Pingjiang dialect uses prepositions (see (24)), similar to most other Chinese dialects. Expressions of location are summarized in Table 9.

(24) *tʂəʔ⁴ iau³³ tɑ³³ iᵖɑ⁴¹ kau³³ ŋɑ³³   faṇ⁴² kʰiaʔ⁴ taʔ⁴*

only need at   here   cook a little rice eat   PT

'Just need to cook and eat here.'

Table 9. Expression of Location in the Pingjiang Dialect

Form	Function	Meaning
/tsøu^{35}/, /loʔ^4/	starting point	'from'
/tɑ^{55}/, /loʔ^4/	location	'at'
/tɑ^{55}/	end point	'to'
/uø^{22}/	direction	'to'
/tsøu^{35}/	by	'through'
/tʂɑu^{55}/	on the way	'along'

5.4.2 Modification of nouns
When an adjective modifies a noun, the word order is Adj-N.

tʰai^{22} nieʔ^{4}tʰøu^{13} **lɑŋ^{21}** fan^{22}

 big   sunlight   cool   rice

 'strong sunlight'   'cool rice'

Sometimes, *ŋɑ^{55}keʔ^4* 'a little' is used to modify a noun between adjectives and nouns. In this case, it functions like a comparison.

tʰai^{22}foŋ^{13} 'large room'
kʰin^{21}ləu^{22} 'near way'

tʰai^{22}**ŋɑ^{55}keʔ^4**foŋ^{13} 'room of the larger one'
i^{35}kan^{33}foŋ^{13}man^{13}tʰai^{22} 'This room is very big'
kʰin^{21}**ŋɑ^{55}keʔ^4**ləu^{22} 'the way of the nearer one'
ko^{35}tʰiɑu^{13}ləu^{22}man^{13}kʰin^{21} 'That way is very near'

5.4.3 Elements of modification and modifier
In general, the word order of modify and Modifier is M-N (25), but sometimes it is N-M.

(25) ŋo²¹ xai¹³ iəu²¹ ko⁵⁵ tʰai²² pau³³

    1SG also have CLF big bag

    'I also have a big bag.'

The N-M order is as shown in the following; it is used to express the gender of animals.

ki³³	pʰø¹³		køu³⁵	kəŋ³³
chicken	female		dog	male
'hen'			'dog'	

5.4.4 Comparative

Comparison is expressed using *pi³⁵* 'than,' which means 'compared with.' If B is the standard, and A is the thing to be compared with B, three sentences are possible. One is "A+*pi³⁵*+B+Adj (Num)" 'A is Adj than B' (26). In order to negate the comparative expression, speakers use the negative sentence "A+ *mau²²* +B +Adj" 'A is not Adj than B' (27). In addition, one can use the negative word +Adj *tsʰu²²* B 'A is not Adj than B' (28). When the subject and object are of the same quality, *ioŋ²²(Adj)ko²¹* 'same' is used.(29).

(26) ŋo²¹ **pi³⁵**   e²¹ tʰai²² ŋa⁵⁵

    1 SG comparative 3ASG old a little

    'I am older than her'.

The following expressions are used only in negation.

(27) e²¹   **mau²²** ŋo²¹ tʰai²²

    3ASG NEG 1SG old

    'She is younger than me' (lit. 'She is not older than I').

(28) *la³³   pəʔ⁴ nioʔ⁴ tsʰu̱²² nu̱²¹*

    3BSG   NEG weak than   2SG

    'She is stronger than me' (lit. 'She is not weaker than you').

(29) *ŋo²¹   tʰɯŋ¹³   la³³   ioŋ²²   tʰai̱²²   ko²¹*

    1SG   with   3ASG   same   big   PT

    'He and I are of the same age' (lit. 'I am as old as him').

5.5   The predicate phrase

5.5.1   Auxiliaries and verbs

Auxiliaries precede verbs, as demonstrated in (30).

(30) *e²¹li̱³³ iau⁵⁵ ta³⁵ ko⁵⁵ tʰien²²fa̱²² uai¹³lai¹³ ia̱²¹ foŋ³³ pʰien²² nin⁵⁵*

    3APL   want   make CLF   call   back   too convent   a little

'If they want to call back, it would be convenient.'

5.5.2   Existential sentences

To ask the location of something, speakers have to use *loʔ⁴*, and *iəu²¹* is used for asking what is at the place. Examples are shown in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31) *ʂy³³   loʔ⁴ tsoʔ⁴   ʂoŋ²²*

    book   at   table   above

    'The book is on the desk.'

(32) *tsoʔ⁴   ʂoŋ²² iəu²¹   ʂy³³*

    table   above have   book

    'There are some books on the desk.'

6.   Functional categories

Interrogative particles are used in sentence-final position. However, it is not necessary to use a declarative to formulate a question. In most cases, speakers use

the affirmation and negative of verbs or adjectives to do this. The intonation of sentences of this type does not change. Declarative sentences are neither interrogative nor imperative, and they are the unmarked sentence type.

6.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are marked by the interrogative question particle, interrogative words, or using the predicate of affirmation negative. Examples are shown in (33) and (34).

(33) *kau³⁵ pəʔ⁴ tsʰin³³ taʔ⁴ tʂʰoŋ¹³ a³³*

     do   NEG clear   PT

     'Can't you understand it?'

- Affirmation negative question

(34) *loʔ⁴ pəʔ⁴ loʔ⁴ y²¹*

     fall   NEG fall   rain

     'Is it raining or not?'

An interrogative word is used to express a questioning tone, as in (35).

Question

(35) *ŋo²¹ ua²² nu²¹ tʂaŋ⁵⁵ a²¹ tseʔ⁴ loʔ⁴ ko³⁵ kau³⁵ mo¹³ li³³ lo⁵⁵*

     1SG say   2SG just now   at   there do   what   PT

     'I said what you were doing just now?'

Answer

(36) *ŋo²¹ loʔ⁴ ko³⁵ xaŋ⁵⁵ a²² tseʔ⁴ iaŋ¹³ tʂʰy⁵⁵ la²²*

     1SG   at   there look   PT DIM other place PT

     'I was wandering around.'

6.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are mainly declarative sentences with an imperative tone. Sometimes

ta⁵⁵ŋo⁵⁵ 'for me' is also used to give an order. Its tone is more severe than that of declarative sentences. See (37) and (38).

(37) *tiaŋ⁵⁵   kuøn³³*
    throw   out
    'Throw out!'

(38) ***ta⁵⁵***   *ŋo²¹   tiaŋ⁵⁵   kuøn³³*
    for   1SG   throw   out
    'Throw out (for me)!'

6.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, possession

In order to express equation or proper inclusion, the predicate that uses the copula. Topic is marked by the topicative expression, as in (39) and (40).

(39) *la³³   ṣɿ²¹   ŋo²¹li³³   lau²¹su³³*
    3 ASG   COP   EXCL   teacher
    'He is our teacher.'

(40) *la²²   ṣɿ²¹   ko⁵⁵   lau²¹su³³*
    3ASG   COP   CLF   teacher
    'He is a teacher.'

6.3.1 Location

There are two prepositions to express location in the Pingjiang dialect. They are *loʔ⁴* and *ta⁵⁵*. *loʔ⁴* is used in realize and *ta⁵⁵* in irrealize. See (41) and (42), respectively.

(41) *la⁵⁵   **loʔ⁴**   kiau²²ṣəʔ⁴   li⁵⁵   tʰəuʔ⁴ṣy⁵⁵*
    he   at   classroom   in   study
    'He is studying in the classroom.'

(42) *tʰɿ²¹pai⁵⁵niʔ⁴ pəʔ⁴   tṣyən³⁵   **ta⁵⁵**   ṣoʔ⁴xiau²² li³³   sa³⁵*
    sunday   NEG   permission at   school   in   play
    'Don't play at school on Sunday.'

6.3.2   Possession

Possessor and noun have poss-N word order. The mark of the possessor is *keʔ⁴*, as shown in (43).

(43) *nu²¹ keʔ⁴ tʰøu¹³ faʔ⁴ iəu²² tsʰu³³ iəu²² tsʰiaŋ³³*

     2SG POSS hair   and   thick   and   black

     'Your hair is thick and black.'

When a kinship term, an affiliation organization, or a single personal pronoun takes the suffix *li³³*, in this case, the singular and plural forms are the same, as demonstrated by (44) and (45).

(44) *ŋo²¹li³³   lau²¹maʔ²²*

     EXCL   sister

     'my sister / our sister'

(45) *ŋo²¹li³³   ṣoʔ⁴xiau²²*

     EXCL   school

     'my school / our school'

When a plural personal pronoun takes *keʔ⁴*, it also expresses 'the family's,' as illustrated in (46).

(46) *la³³li³³   keʔ⁴ niəu¹³*

     3B PL   POSS oxen

'oxen of his house / their oxen'

6.4   Number

Number on the noun is expressed by the noun phrase, but it is not so strict when the noun is singular. It is only distinct at a special time. Example (47) is an answer to the question 'Do you have (a) book(s)? ' or 'You do not have (a) book(s), but I do. ' It expresses a comparative. To say 'I have a book,' one should use a sentence like example (48).

(47) ŋo²¹ iəu²¹ ʂy³³

    1SG   have book

    'I have books.'

(48) ŋo²¹   iəu²¹   **iʔ⁴**   **pən³⁵** ʂy³³

    1SG   have   one   CLF   book

    'I have a book'

Numerals are used to distinguish the non-singular.

ŋɑ⁵⁵	'a little'	man¹³to³³	'very many'
xɑu³⁵to³³	'many'	siɑ³³	'many many'

    In grammar, the expression of number is necessary, but when the number is one, it is common not to state it overtly. It is used as a definitive and subject. In (49) to (51), examples (49) and (50) have the same meaning, but local native speakers prefer (49).

(49) **pən³⁵** ʂy³³ mau²² ɑ⁵⁵taʔ⁴

    CLF   book NEG   REAL

    'The book disappeared.'

(50) **ko³⁵**   pən³⁵   ʂy³³   mau²²   ɑ⁵⁵taʔ⁴

    DEM   CLF   book   NEG   REAL

    'The book disappeared.'

(51) **ioŋ²¹** pən³⁵   ʂy³³   xɑ²²   mau²²   ɑ⁵⁵taʔ⁴

    two   CLF   book   too   NEG   REAL

    'The two books disappeared.'

6.5   Valency-changing

There is no valency-changing in the Pingjiang dialect.

6.6   Negation

There are three negation words $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$, $mo\mathfrak{i}^{4}$, and mau^{22} in the Pingjiang dialect. $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ is a common negation, $mo\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ is used to negate an imperative, and mau^{22} is used to negate a fact.

6.6.1   Negative of noun

Affirmation of nouns is expressed by the copula $s\mathfrak{i}^{21}$. The negation of nouns is $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$. See (52) and (53) below.

(52) ηo^{21} $s\mathfrak{i}^{21}$ ko^{33} $lau^{21}su^{33}$

      1SG   COP   CLF   teacher

      'I am a teacher.'

(53) ηo^{21} $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ $s\mathfrak{i}^{21}$ $lau^{21}su^{33}$

      1SG   NEG   COP   teacher

      'I am not a teacher.'

6.6.2   Negative of adjectives

The negative of adjectives is $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$. It is the same form for past and present tense, as shown by (54) and (55).

(54) $kin^{33}ni\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ $la\eta^{21}$

      today   NEG   cold

      'It is not cold today.'

(55) $ts^{h}o\mathfrak{i}^{4}ni\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ $la\eta^{21}$

      yesterday   NEG   cold

      'It was not cold yesterday.'

6.6.3   Negative of verbs

Verbs are negated when preceded by $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ or mau^{22}. The distinction of the two negative words is that when the action has not finished, mau^{22} is used. In all other cases, $pə\mathfrak{i}^{4}$ is used. The negation of the imperative is $mo\mathfrak{i}^{4}$. See (56) to (58) for examples.

(56) *la⁵⁵   pəʔ⁴   tʰəuʔ⁴ʂy⁵⁵*
3BSG   NEG   study
'He does not study.'

(57) *la⁵⁵   mau²²   tʰəuʔ⁴ʂy⁵⁵*
3BSG   NEG   study
'He hasn't study.'

(58) *nu²¹   moʔ⁴   tʰəuʔ⁴ʂy³³*
2SG   NEG   study
'Do not study.'

When an action stops or changes halfway through, the Pingjiang dialect uses *mau¹³ V taʔ⁴*. *mau¹³ V taʔ⁴* and *pəʔ⁴ V taʔ⁴* are distinct in the dialect. *mau¹³ V taʔ⁴* means to change the action when it is taking place, and *pəʔ⁴ V taʔ⁴* means to change the action before it takes place. See (59) and (60).

(59) *ŋo²¹   pəʔ⁴   kʰi⁵⁵   taʔ⁴   nu²¹li³³   iau⁵⁵   kʰi⁵⁵   e²¹li³³*
1SG   NEG   go   PERF   2 PL   want to go   3A PL
'I won't go to your home; I will go to his home.'

(60) *ŋo²¹   mau²²   kʰiʔ⁵   taʔ⁴   mai²¹   tsʰaiʔ⁵   kʰiʔ⁵   taʔ⁴   mai²¹   ʂy⁵⁵*
1SG   NEG   go   PERF buy   vegetable go   PERF   buy   book
'I didn't go to buy vegetables, I went to buy books.'

Actually, the distinction between *pəʔ⁴* and *mau²²* is that *pəʔ⁴* is relative to the thought of the actor, but *mau²²* is only used in the negative of an objective fact.

6.7   Tense, Aspect, Mood

Tense is only distinct in the negative. The negative form for the present tense is *pəʔ⁴*, but the negative for the past tense is *mau¹³*.

6.7.1 Aspect

Aspect uses the aspect particle $ta\textipa{P}^4$. It can express perfect or continuity of state when it follows a verb. When a dynamic verb takes $ta\textipa{P}^4$, it expresses the perfect. See (61).

(61) $\eta o^{21}li^{33}$ $lau^{21}ku^{33}$ $ts^ho\textipa{P}^4ni\textipa{P}^4 xan^{55}$ **$ta\textipa{P}^4$** la^{21}

      EXCL   sister in law yesterday see   PERF PT

      'My sister-in-law saw yesterday.'

A state verb that takes $ta\textipa{P}^4$ expresses the continuity of state, as in (62).

(62) tai^{55} **$ta\textipa{P}^4$** nu^{21} $tsie\textipa{P}^4$ $k^hi\textipa{P}^4$ nu^{21} la^{21} ta^{55} $nu^{33}a^{21}$ $\d{s}o\eta^{35}fu\textipa{P}^4$

      take   CONT 2SG   meet   AUX   2SG PT   at   there   enjoy

      'Take you there, and spend a happy time.'

In the Pingjiang dialect, a verb that takes $a^{55}ta\textipa{P}^4$ will express realize, as in (63).

(63) i^{35} xa^{22} $t\d{s}au^{55}$ **$a^{55}ta\textipa{P}^4$**

      these all   take (photo) REAL

      'I have pictured every aspect of this place.'

However, when $a^{55}ta\textipa{P}^4$ appears after an adjective, it makes the adjective become a verb, and takes on the meaning 'became,' as in (64).

(64) $t^h\o u^{13}fa\textipa{P}^4$ $p^ha\textipa{P}^4$ **$a^{55}ta\textipa{P}^4$**

      hair   white   REAL

      'The hair became white.'

V $ku\o n^{33}ta\textipa{P}^4$ also expresses realize. Many verbs can take $ku\o n^{33}ta\textipa{P}^4$ 'disappear.' See (65).

(65) sin^{55} ia^{21} $pə?^4$ $xiau^{35}ti?^4$ $ts^hiəu^{22}$ $lən^{35}$ $kuøn^{33}ta?^4$

message too NEG know then lost REAL

'I didn't know it was lost.'

$k^h\dot{i}^{55}$ $ta?^4$ at the end of a sentence expresses inchoative aspect. $k^h\dot{i}^{55}$ means 'to go,' but a verb plus $k^h\dot{i}^{55}ta?^4$ means 'begin to do.' If the verb is intransitive, the meaning of inchoative should be clear; see (66) and (67).

(66) la^{33} ua^{22} e^{21} $kia^{55}ṣ\dot{i}^{55}$ $t^hau^{13}k^h\dot{i}^{55}$ **$k^h\dot{i}^{55}ta?^4$**

3BSG say 3ASG begin mischief INCH

'He (teacher) says that he (boy) began to get into mischief.'

(67) $lo?^4$ y^{21} **$k^h\dot{i}^{55}ta?^4$**

fall rain INCH

'It began to rain.'

6.7.2 Mood

The Pingjiang dialect has words to express mood. However, an exception exists when $ta?^4$ is used specifically to express mood. When an adjective takes $ta?^4$, it expresses the feeling of the speaker. In some case, $t^ha\dot{i}^{55}$ 'too' is also used with Adj + $ta?^4$.

(68) $ts^hiəu^{22}ṣ\dot{i}^{21}$ ko^{55} **lan^{21}** **$ta?^4$**

just CLF lazy PT

'He is just lazy.'

(69) **$t^ha\dot{i}^{55}$** kau^{55} $ta?^4$ pan^{55} ko^{41} o^{41} $mo?^4$ $k^h\dot{i}^{55}$ $la?^4$

too high PT fall.down PT PT NEG go take

'It is too high; you would fall down. Don't go and take it.'

6.7.2.1 Subjunctive

In the Pingjiang dialect, the conjunction $ṣø^{21}$ is used to express the subjunctive, and

sometimes *le⁵⁵*. *ʂø²¹* is used in cases of assumption nature. *le⁵⁵* is used for the context with high implementation ability. See (70) and (71).

(70) *teŋ³⁵ nu²¹ tsin⁵⁵kʰi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ ʂø²¹ tʂʰyəʔ⁴ ia²¹ tʂʰyəʔ⁴ lai¹³ pəʔ⁴ tiʔ⁴*
    until 2SG enter   PREF TOP   go out   too   go out   come   NEG   POSS
    'When you entered, you could not get out.'

(71) *teŋ⁵⁵ la⁵⁵ pəʔ⁴ lai¹⁵ le⁵⁵*
    wait 3BSG NEG come   PT
    'If he will not come?'

6.7.2.2 Wish

sioŋ³⁵ (72) or *iau⁵⁵* (73)is used to express a wish. The difference between them is that *iau⁵⁵* expresses a stronger feeling.

(72) *nu²¹ sioŋ³⁵ tʰiaŋ⁵⁵ mo¹³li³³ o²¹*
    2SG want   listen   what   PT
    'What do you want to listen to?'

(73) *nu²¹ iau⁵⁵ xai³³ i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ təŋ³³si³³ nu²¹ tsʰiəu²² tsʰen²¹ i⁵a²¹ tseʔ⁴*
    2SG want   switch on DEM CLF   thing   2SG then   push   LOC   DIM
    'If you want to switch it on, please push here.'

6.7.2.3 Guessing

In the Pingjiang dialect, the expression of guessing includes the following words in (74) and (75).

- *pʰa⁵⁵* 'maybe': expresses the speaker's guess

(74) *mau²² le⁵⁵ pʰa⁵⁵ ʂi²¹ mau²² taʔ⁴ tʰien²²tʂʰi¹³*
    NEG   PT   maybe COP   NEG   PERF battery
    'Nothing. Maybe the battery runs out.'

- *tsəŋ³⁵*   express a high possibility guess

(75) *nu²¹lĭ³³*   *sien³³ tă³⁵*   **tsəŋ³⁵** *iəu²¹ niɲ¹³ laĭ¹³*   *ko²¹ lă²¹*

    2 PL   first play must have person come   DEM PT

    'You should start to play. I think someone would come.'

6.8   Information structure (topic, focus)

The methods of topicalization are using the expressions of topicalization or changing the word order. The expressions of topicalization are *tsʰiəu²²* and *ʂø²¹*. These two methods can be used in one sentence at the same time. There are no focus expressions in the Pingjiang dialect. The topicalization of the object is achieved by placing the object at the head of the sentence, as illustrated in (76).

(76) *sĭ³³tʰien³³*   **ʂø²¹**   *ʂy¹³ iă²¹*   *mau²² kʰĭ⁵⁵ kuø⁵⁵*

    the west world TOP who too   NEG   go EXP

    'The Western world (is so far away), nobody has been there.'

    The topicalization of subjects uses operation of the lexicon. The expressions of topicalization are *tsʰiəu²²* and *ʂø²¹*. Examples (77) and (78) show their use.

(77) *lă³³*   **tsʰiəu²²** *ten³⁵*   *tsʰoɲ²¹fŭ²² tsøu³⁵*   *ă⁵⁵taʔ⁴*

    3BSG TOP   wait husband go out   REAL

    'She let her husband leave.'

(78) *ĕ²¹*   **ʂø²¹** *iă²¹ pəʔ⁴*   *uă²² iă²¹*   *pəʔ⁴ io¹³tsu³⁵*

    3ASG TOP too NEG say too NEG how

    'He, he does not speak and does not do anything.'

7.   Grammatical relations

Subject is the element that appears in the head of a sentence. It also precedes verbs. The object is the element that follows verbs in a sentence. There are no morphological alternations or agreement in the Pingjiang dialect, and the frequency

of a verb predicate is very high. Therefore, the position of elements in the sentence is very important. Usually, the element preceding verbs is an actor of the action, and the element following verbs is a patient. The actor is the subject, and the patient is the object.

7.1 Subject, verb, and object

In the Pingjiang dialect, like in many Chinese dialects, the basic word order of a simple sentence is SVO. Grammatical relations are expressed by word order. See the explanation of (79) below.

(79) ηo^{21} mai^{21} $\underline{s}y^{33}$

    1SG buy   book

    'I buy books.'

The element preceding the action is the subject of the action. ηo^{21} 'I' is before the verb. It is the subject. The element following the verb is the receptor of the action. It is the object. $\underline{s}y^{33}$ 'book,' which is the object, follows the verb.

8. Clause combining

8.1 Overview of clause combining

In English, conjunctions are used in most cases to combine clauses, but in the Pingjiang dialect, conjunctions are used only occasionally. See (80), for example.

(80) $xau^{33}to^{33}$ nin^{13} tau^{55} $k\partial\eta^{33}yan^{13}$ li^{21} $p^hau^{35}p^hu^{22}$ $t^hiau^{55}u^{21}$

    many   person go   park   in jogging   dance

    'Many people go to the park to go jogging and dance.'

8.2 Coordination

Coordination means the relation of two clauses is coordinate. The Pingjiang dialect uses adverbs and conjunctions to coordinate the clause, and $ts^hi\partial u^{22}$ is most frequently used. If subjects are added, a subordination sentence becomes two independent sentences. Meanwhile, its meaning does not change. Examples are shown in (81) to (85).

(81) *iəu²¹ keʔ⁴ tsau³⁵ ŋo²¹ iau⁵⁵ **tsʰiəu²²** pa³⁵ kʰiʔ⁴ taʔ⁴ la³³ la²¹*

    someone ask   1SG want then   give   PERF 3BSG PT

    'Someone asked me to give him this, so I gave it to him.'

(82) *ŋo²¹ xan⁵⁵ tau⁵⁵ ko³⁵ ko⁵⁵ lau²¹ su³³ sin³³ li³³ **tsʰiəu²²** kin³⁵ tʂoŋ³³*

    1SG see   DEM CLF teacher   heart inside   then   feel nervous

    'I am nervous when I see that teacher.'

(83) *nu²¹ pəʔ⁴ sioŋ³⁵ kʰi⁵⁵ **tsʰiəu²²** moʔ⁴ kʰi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*

    2SG NEG want   go   then   NEG   go   PREF

    'If you don't want to go, you need not to go.'

(84) *nu²¹ pəʔ⁴ sioŋ³⁵ kʰi⁵⁵*

    2SG NEG want   go

    'You don't want to go.'

(85) *nu²¹ moʔ⁴ kʰi⁵⁵ taʔ⁴*

    2SG NEG   go   PREF

    'You need not to go.'

8.3 Subordination

Subordination means the two clauses are not of the same level; i.e., one of them is a main clause. The Pingjiang dialect does not use conjunctions to coordinate clauses. The clauses have only one subject. If they are divided into independent sentences, the meaning changes. During the dividing, adding subjects does not help generate sentences that are grammatically correct. See (86) and (87) as examples.

(86) *la³³ **kʰiaʔ⁴ taʔ⁴** kʰuən⁵⁵ kʰuən⁵⁵ taʔ⁴ kʰiaʔ⁴*

    3ASG eat   PERF sleep   sleep   PERF   eat

    'He eats and sleeps, sleeps and eats.'

(87) la^{33} $k^hu\partial n^{55}$ $ta\textipa{P}^4$ ts^hoN^{13} $\textesh oN^{22}$ xan^{55} $t^hien^{22}\textsubbridge{s}i^{22}$

    3ASG   sleep   LOC   bed   on   watch   TV

    'He is laying on the bed and watching TV.'

9. Text: The vixen

[1] e^{22} $t\textipa{\:s}a\textipa{P}^4$ $u^{13}li^{21}$ la^{33} le^{55} xan^{55} $ta\textipa{P}^4$ ko^{35} ko^{55} $xou^{22}saN^{33}$ le^{55}

                                                                $tsin^{33}$ ka^{33}

       PT   CLF   vixen   3BSG   PT   see   PREF   DEM   CLF   young man   PT

                   vixen   she   see   that   young man

    'There is a vixen. She saw a young man.'

[2] $la^{33}li^{33}$ $u\textipa{P}^4li^{33}$ man^{13} k^hu^{35} $la^{33}li^{33}$ ioN^{21} $nioN^{13}$ $tsai^{35}$ $ts^hi\partial u^{22}$

       3BPL   home   very   poor   3BPL   two   mother   son   TOP

       they   home   very   poor   they   two   mother   son

$sen^{33}f\o\textipa{P}^4$ ia^{21} $p\partial\textipa{P}^4$ xau^{35}

life   too   NEG   good

life   too   not   good

    'His family is very poor, so he and his mother live an inferior life.'

[3] ko^{35} ko^{55} $u^{13}li^{21}tsin^{33}$ le^{55} $ts^hi\partial u^{22}$ $ni\textipa{P}^4$ $ni\textipa{P}^4$ tau^{55} $ko^{35}a^{21}$ k^hi^{55} le^{55}

       DEM   CLF   vixen   PT   TOP   day   day   go   there   go   PT

       this   vixen   day   day   go   there   go

    'The vixen then goes there everyday,'

[4] $ts^hi\partial u^{22}$ $t^h\o\textipa{P}^4$ $ku\o n^{33}$ i^{33} $ts^hoN^{22}ti\textipa{P}^4$ pa^{35} ko^{55} $p^hi^{13}tsu^{35}$ $i\textipa{P}^4sai^{33}$

       TOP   take off   PREF   wear   sometime   DIST   CLF   skin   shake

              take off   wear   sometime   put   skin   shake

$ts^hi\partial u^{22}$ pa^{35} ta^{55} $la^{33}li^{33}$ $u^{21}fan^{22}$

TOP   DIST   for   3BPL   cook

        give   for   they   cook

    'she takes off her wear, and sometimes she shakes down her skin, and cooks for them.'

[5] ko³⁵ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ tsʰiəu²² ŋaⁿ²¹ ma³³ma³³li²² ko²¹
    DEM CLF mother TOP eye bad POSS
    this mother then eye bad
      'The mother's eyes are not so good.'

[6] xøu²²li³³ le⁵⁵ i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ nioŋ¹³ le⁵⁵ xiau³⁵tiʔ le⁵⁵
    then PT DEM CLF mother PT know PT
    then this mother know
      'Then, the mother, (nobody knows).'

[7] iau⁵⁵ uⁿa²² la³³ ŋaⁿ²¹ ma³³m le⁵⁵ iəu²² xaⁿ⁵⁵ tʂoŋ³³ pʰi¹³tsu³⁵
                a³³li²²   tau⁵⁵
    want say 3BSG eye bad PT but see CLF skin
    want say she eye bad but see skin
      'Although her eyes are not good, she saw the skin.'

[8] tʂy⁵⁵i⁵⁵ la³³ lai¹³ i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ tsai³⁵ o³³
    pay attention 3BSG come DEM CLF son PT
    pay attention she come this son
      'And watching her (vixen) coming, the son.'

[9] i³⁵ ko⁵⁵ tsai³⁵ tsʰiəu²² tʂy⁵⁵i⁵⁵ taʔ la³³ lai¹³
    DEM CLF son TOP pay attention PREF 3BSG come
    this son pay attention she come
      'This son is watching her coming.'

[10] xøu²²li³³ ʂø²¹ xaⁿ⁵⁵kieⁿ⁵⁵ la³³ pa³⁵ ko⁵⁵ pʰi¹³tsu³⁵ tʰøʔ taʔ
    then TOP see 3BSG DIST CLF skin take off PREF
    then see she put skin take off
foŋ⁵⁵ taʔ ko³⁵li³³

put	LOC	there
put	on	there

'Then he saw her take off the skin and put her skin there.'

[11] *e²¹*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *pa³⁵*   *la³³*   *laʔ⁴kuøn³³*   *taʔ⁴*

3ASG	then	DIST	it	take away	PREF
she	then	put	it	take away	

'He took it away.'

[12] *la³³*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *fan¹³*   *pəʔ⁴* *tiʔ⁴* *ko³⁵* *ko⁵⁵* *u¹³li²¹³*   *keʔ⁴*

3BSG	TOP	come back	NEG	can	DEM	CLF	fox	POSS
she		come back	not	can	that		fox	

şən³³tsu³⁵ *kʰi̵⁵⁵taʔ⁴*   *fan¹³*   *pəʔ⁴*   *kʰi̵⁵⁵taʔ⁴* *şø²¹a⁵⁵*

body	PREF	come back	NEG	PREF	PT
body		come back	not		

'She could not come back to the body of the fox; she could not come back to the body of the fox.'

[13] *la³³*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *xøu²²li³³* *tsʰiəu²²* *ta⁵⁵* *e²¹*   *kieʔ⁴taʔ⁴fən³³*

3BSG	TOP	then	then	with	3ASG	marry
she	then	then	then	with	him	married

'So she married him.'

[14] *ta⁵⁵* *e²¹*   *kieʔ⁴taʔ⁴fən³³* *tsʰiəu²²* *saŋ³³* *taʔ⁴* *ioŋ²¹* *ko⁵⁵* *mau¹³mau⁵⁵*

with	3ASG	marry	TOP	born	PREF	two	CLF	child
with	him	marry		born		two		child

'They married, and then they had two babies.'

[15] *saŋ³³*   *taʔ⁴* *ioŋ²¹* *ko⁵⁵* *mau¹³mau⁵⁵* *le⁵⁵*

born	PREF	two	CLF	*c*hild	PT
born		two		*c*hild	

'After they had two babies,'

[16] *la³³li³³   ko⁵⁵   nioŋ¹³   le⁵⁵   xøu²²li³³   le⁵⁵   tsʰiəu²²   ta⁵⁵keʔ⁴   xau³⁵sa³⁵*

    3BPL   CLF   mother   PT   then   PT   TOP   like   interesting

    their   mother   then   like   interesting

keʔ⁴   ioŋ²²tsu³⁵   ua²²   la³³   ua²²

POSS   situation   say   3BSG   say

    situation   say   *s*he   say

     'their (vixen and her husband) mother talked a joke to the babies, she
    said:'

[17] *təŋ²¹təŋ²¹tsʰiaŋ³³   təŋ²¹təŋ²¹tsʰiaŋ³³   nu²¹li³³   nioŋ¹³   sĭ²¹   ko⁵⁵*

    Onomatop*oe*ia   onomatop*oe*ia   2PL   mother   COP   CLF

    *t*ontontsiang   tontontsiang   you   mother   is

u¹³lĭ²¹tsiaŋ³³

vixen

vixen

     'Tontontsiang, tontontsiang, your mother is a vixen.'

[18] *la³³lĭ³³   ko⁵⁵   nioŋ¹³   tsʰiəu²²   iau⁵⁵   tʂən⁵⁵tʂy⁵*

    3BSG   CLF   mother   TOP   need   proof

    the*y*   mother   need   proof

     'Their mother (the vixen) asked her to show the proof.'

[19] *la³³   ko⁵⁵   siʔ⁴fu²²   keʔ⁴   o³³   ko⁵⁵   mau¹³mau⁵⁵   keʔ⁴   nioŋ¹³*

    3ASG   CLF   daughter   POSS   PT   CLF   child   POSS   mother

    in law

    she   daughter   child   mother

    in law

     'Her daughter in law, the babies' mother.'

[20] *la³³*   *ko⁵⁵*   *siʔ fu²²*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *iau⁵⁵*   *tʂən⁵⁵ tʂy⁵*
    3BSG   CLF   daughter in law   TOP   need   proof
    she   daughter in law   need   proof
      'Her daughter-in-law, the babies' mother, then asked her to show the
      proof.'

[21] *la³³*   *ua²²*   *sø²¹*   *xaɴ⁵⁵*   *io¹³tsu³⁵*   *ʂi²¹*   *u¹³li²¹tsiɴ³³*
    3BSG   say   TOP   see   why   COP   vixen
    she   say   see   why   is   vixen
      'She said why you said I was a vixen.'

[22] *xøu²²li³³*   *le⁵⁵*   *e²¹*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *tsiɴ³⁵taʔ*   *ua²²*   *la³³*   *ʂi²¹*
    then   PT   3ASG   TOP   always   say   3BSG   COP
    then   she   always   say   she   is
ko⁵⁵   *u¹³li²¹tsiɴ³³*   *le⁵⁵*
CLF   vixen   PT
    vixen
      'Then, the mother always said she was a vixen.'

[23] *e²¹*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *pa³⁵*   *tʂoɴ³³*   *pʰi¹³tsu³⁵*   *iʔ*   *laʔ*   *tsʰyəʔlai¹³*
    3ASG   TOP   DIST   CLF   skin   one   take   out
    she   put   skin   one   take   out
ko⁵⁵   *tʂən⁵⁵tʂy⁵⁵*   *sø²¹a⁵⁵*   *sa²¹*
CLF   proof   PT   PT
    proof
      'She (old mother) took out the skin. It is proof.'

[24] *la³³*   *tsʰiəu²²*   *pa³⁵*   *tʂoɴ³³*   *pʰi¹³tsu³⁵*   *iʔ*   *kuən³⁵*   *tsʰiəu²²*
    3BSG   TOP   DIST   CLF   skin   one   roll   TOP
    she   put   skin   one   roll
pʰau³⁵   *a⁵⁵taʔ*
run   PREF
run
      'The vixen rolled on the skin and ran away.'

[25] $xøu^{22}li^{33}$ le^{55} pa^{35} $ioŋ^{21}$ ko^{55} $ŋa^{13}tseʔ^{4}$ ia^{21} tai^{55} a^{55}

    then   PT   DIST   two   CLF   boy   too   take   PT

    then   put   two   boy   too   take

$k^{h}i^{55}taʔ^{4}$ $leŋ^{21}su^{35}$ $taʔ^{4}$

PREF   kill   PREF

         kill

    'Then, she took the boys away and killed them.'

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Tiddim Chin

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Introduction

Tiddim Chin (ISO639-3: ctd), also known as Tedim Chin, is a Tibeto-Burman language that is spoken in northeast India and west Myanmar. Phonologically, Tiddim Chin has three contrastive tones with relatively complex tone sandhi, as well as several intonation patterns. Morphologically, most of the verbs of the language, like those of other Kuki-Chin languages, possess two forms, referred to as forms I and II. This verb stem alternation cannot be linked to a single parameter of grammatical variation; however, it is conditioned by an interplay of various constructional distinctions. From a typological perspective, Tiddim Chin is a predicate final language: Its unmarked word order in an intransitive clause is SV, whereas in a transitive clause, it is AOV. It is an ergative–absolutive language. Grammatical relations are indicated by various enclitics in general.

1. The Language and Its Speakers

Genealogically, Tiddim Chin is a Tibeto-Burman language in the Kuki-Chin branch. It is mainly spoken in Chin State and Sagaing Region of Myanmar, as well as in Manipur and Mizoram of Northeast India, which Figure 1 illustrates. In the Tedim and Tonzang Townships of Chin State, Tiddim Chin is spoken as a lingua franca, thus often referred to as *zou²pâu³* or *zou²lâi³,* both of which mean "Chin language" in Tiddim Chin.

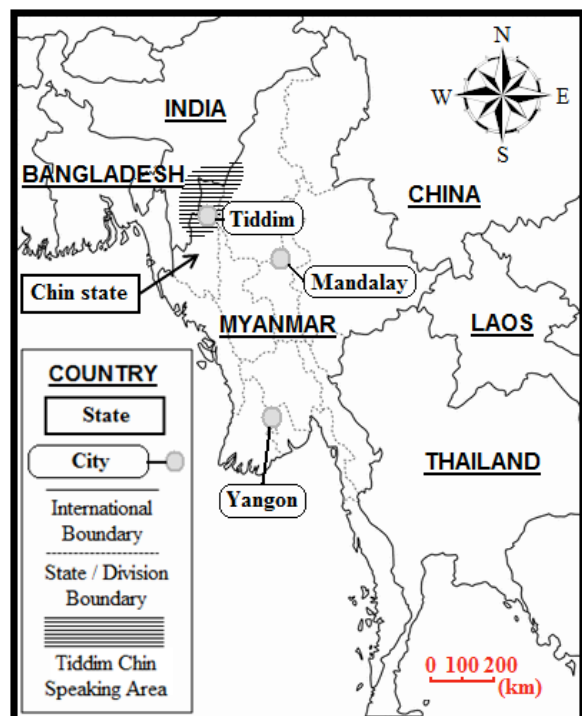The total population of Tiddim

Figure 1. Tiddim Chin speaking area

Chin speakers is estimated by Grimes ed. (2000: 564) to be 344,100.

This paper focuses on colloquial Tiddim Chin, which is spoken in Myanmar. Many Tiddim Chin speakers in Myanmar also speak Burmese, the official language of Myanmar; therefore speakers borrow a number of words from Burmese.

Since the early 20th century, Tiddim Chin speakers have extensively adopted the roman orthography developed by the American priest Rev. Joseph Herbert Cope (1882–1932). It does not represent vowel length or tone; however, a long vowel is occasionally marked by vowel doubling. For more details about Tiddim Chin orthography, see Henderson (1965: 9-14).

Although Tiddim Chin is not officially taught in elementary or high schools, speakers learn to read and write the Tiddim Chin orthography at home and at local Christian churches. Furthermore, various sorts of Tiddim Chin books, magazines, and DVDs are currently sold at Christian book shops.

Tiddim Chin's narrative and colloquial styles mainly differ in verb clause structure, as shown in (1) and (2), although both styles share the same phonological system, morphological process, and vocabulary. In this sense, the present study focuses on colloquial Tiddim Chin.

(1) *sâŋ¹*   *ka¹=* *kaʔ³*   *hî³*
    school   1=   climbᴵ   cop¹
    "I went to school." (narrative style)

(2) *sâŋ¹*   *kaʔ³*   *=iŋ³*
    school   climbᴵ   =1SG.REAL
    "I went to school." (colloquial style)

2. Phonology

2.1 Inventory of phonemes

Table 1 shows an inventory of consonant phonemes in Tiddim Chin. Any consonant except the glottal stop *ʔ* [ʔ] may occur in the syllable-initial position; however, fricatives, affricates, and aspirated and voiced stops do not occur in the syllable-final position. Note that stops are unreleased finally, and [kʰ] and [x] are free allophones of the phoneme *x*.

Table 1. Consonants

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	alveolo-palatal	velar	glottal
stop	*p* [p] *pʰ* [pʰ] *b* [b]		*t* [t] *tʰ* [tʰ] *d* [d]		*k* [k] *g* [g]	*ʔ* [ʔ]
affricate				*c* [tɕ] *ch* [tɕʰ]		
fricative		*f* [f] *v* [v]	*s* [s] *z* [z]		*x* [x ~ kʰ]	*h* [h]
nasal	*m* [m]		*n* [n]		*ŋ* [ŋ]	
liquid			*l* [l]			*lʔ* [lʔ]

The consonants *f* [f] (e.g., *fĩ²fũ²* "with buck teeth") and *cʰ* [tɕʰ] (e.g., *cʰem²cʰam²* "bearded") can be found only in ideophones. Although the consonant *j* [ʤ] is not phonemic, it occurs in some English loan words such as *ja²pân²* [ʤɑpɑːn] "Japan."

Table 2 shows the simple vowels, or monophthongs of Tiddim Chin. Length is contrastive for all vowels, except [e] and [o]. In the table, long vowels are indicated in phonemic writing with a circumflex ^ above the vowel.

Table 2. Vowels (monophthongs)

i [i], *î* [iː]		*u* [u], *û* [uː]
e [e ~ ɛ], *ê* [ɛː]		*o* [o ~ ɔ], *ô* [ɔː]
	a [ɑ], *â* [ɑː]	

Tiddim Chin also has diphthongs and triphthongs: *iu* [iu̯], *ia* [i̯ɑ], *ei* [ei̯], *êi* [ɛːi̯], *eu* [eu̯], *êu* [ɛːu̯], *ai* [ɑi̯], *âi* [ɑːi̯], *au* [ɑu̯], *âu* [ɑːu̯], *ou* [ou̯], *oi* [oi̯], *ôi* [ɔːi̯], *ui* [ui̯], *ûi* [uːi̯], *ua* [u̯ɑ], *iai* [i̯ɑi̯], *iau* [i̯ɑu̯], *uai* [u̯ɑi̯], *uau* [u̯ɑu̯], *iei* [i̯ei̯] and *uou* [u̯ou̯].

As shown in Table 3, Tiddim Chin has three distinctive tones: a rising tone, a level tone, and a falling tone. The pitch of each tone varies according to vowel length and the sonority of a syllable-final consonant.

Table 3. Tones

	long vowel	sonorant final	short vowel
rising tone	*â¹* [aː˧˥]	*am¹* [am˧˥]	*a¹* [a˧˥]
level tone	*â²* [aː˧]	*am²* [am˧]	*a²* [a˧]
falling tone	*â³* [aː˧˩]	*am³* [am˧˩]	*a³* [a˧˩]

2.2 Syllable structure

Tiddim Chin's syllable structure can be reduced to (C1) (V1) V2 (V3) (C2) / T, where C1 represents an onset consonant, V represents a vowel, C2 represents a coda consonant, and T represents a tone. Each syllable consists of a vowel and may include an onset and a coda.

A majority of Tiddim Chin morphemes are phonologically monosyllabic (e.g., *nê¹* "eat"), though a few show a disyllabic combination of two monosyllabic structures (e.g., *pa³tâu³* "nervous").

CV	*mî¹*	"person"	CVC	*mit³*	"eye"
CVV	*tâi²*	"run away"	CVVC	*sial²*	"mithan"
CVVV	*nuai¹*	"below"	CVVVC	*suaiʔ³*	"drawing"

2.3 Phonological rules

Subsections [1] through [3] describe how phonemes alternate with others when two morphemes converge in a word or a phrase.

[1] Long vowel shortening

A long monophthong in an open syllable is often shortened when another consonant follows in either a word or phrase. A level tone alternates with a rising tone if the long monophthong with the level tone is shortened, as shown in (3).

(3) *nî²* "day" + *pî¹* "AUG" → *ni¹pî¹* "week"   (*î* [iː] → *i* [i])
    [niː˧]   [piː˧˥]   [ni˧˥piː˧˥]

[2] Monophthongization

As shown in (4) and (5) below, the open diphthong *ua* or *ia* often alternates with the corresponding monophthong *o* [ɔ] or *e* [ɛ] if another consonant follows it in either a word or a phrase. A level tone alternates with a rising tone if the diphthong with the level tone is monophthongized, as shown in (4).

(4) *gua²* "bamboo" + *tuai²* "child" → *go¹tuai²* "bamboo shoot" (*ua* [u̯a] → *o* [ɔ])
    [gu̯a˧]   [tu̯ai̯˧]   [gɔ˥tu̯ai̯˧]

(5) *pia¹* "give" + *xin³* "finish" → *pe¹xin³* "gave" (*ia* [i̯a] → *e* [ɛ])
    [pi̯a˥]   [xin˩]   [pɛ˥xin˩]

[3] Tone sandhi

Tone sandhi often occurs when each tone converges in a word or a phrase. Immediately after a rising pitch, either a subsequent rising tone shifts to a higher level pitch as in (6), or the subsequent falling tone shifts to a high-falling pitch as in (7). As shown in (8), the monophthong syllable ending with either a glottal stop *ʔ* or a close consonant shifts its falling tone to a rising tone if preceded by a level tone. A syllable with a falling tone is generally uttered at a rather high pitch after a level tone as in (9); alternatively, the syllable alternates its falling tone with a rising tone if the vowel is shortened or monophthongized, as in (10).

(6) *sîk¹* "steel" + *kêu¹* "spoon" → *sîk¹kêu¹* "steel spoon"
    [si:k˥]   [kɛ:u̯˥]   [si:k˥kɛ:u̯˥]

(7) *mâi¹* "face" + *zâp³* "fanned" → *mâi¹zâp³* "fan"
    [ma:i̯˥]   [za:p˩]   [ma:i̯˥za:p˩]

(8) *kôl²gam²* "Myanmar" + *aʔ³* "LOC" → *kôl²gam² aʔ¹* "in Myanmar"
    [kɔ:l˥gam˧]   [aʔ˩]   [kɔ:l˥gam˧aʔ˥]

(9) *kam²* "mouth" + *pâu³* "spoken" → *kam²pâu³* "language"
    [kam˧]   [pa:u̯˩]   [kam˧pa:u̯˩]

(10) *pai* "go" + *tâ³* "PRF" + *dîŋ¹* "PURP" → *pai²ta¹dîŋ¹* "be about to go"
    [pai̯˧]   [tɑ:˩]   [di:ŋ˥]   [pai̯˧tɑ˥di:ŋ˥]

2.4 Prosody

In polar questions, an interrogative marker is uttered at a high pitch as shown in (11).

(11) *vok³-sa¹-meʔ³*   *na³=*   *ne¹*   *=dia²*
  [vok˩sa˥mɛʔ˩   na˩   ne˥   dia̤˥]
  pork-meat-curry   2=   eat[I]   =PURP.Q
  "Will you eat pork curry?"

As shown in (12), if a clause ends with the single subordinator *=in²* or *=â²*, or the enclitic pronoun *=in²teʔ¹* (3SG.IRR), the preceeding level tone syllable, as well as the conjunction or enclitic pronouns, is often uttered at a high pitch.

(12) *sum²*   *zoŋ²*   + *xual³*   *zin¹*   →   *sum²*   *zoŋ²*   *=â²*   *xual³*   *zin¹*
  [sum˥   **zoŋ˥**]   [xṳal˥ zin˥]   [sum˥   **zoŋ**˥ =**a**:˥   xṳal˥   zin˥]
  money search[I]   abroad travel[I]   money search[I] =CONJN abroad   travel[I]
                                "to travel in order to find money"

2.5 Morpho-phonological process

Figure 2 illustrates that genitive case in Tiddim Chin is indicated by tonal alternation or the optional genitive marker *=î* (§7.4).
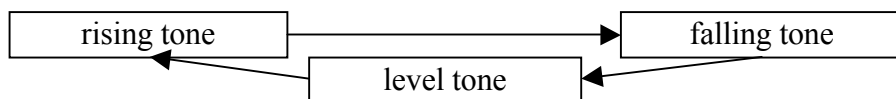

Figure 2. Tonal alternation as a genitive marker (revised from Henderson 1965)

For instance, the genitive form of a personal name *lian³* (falling tone) "Lian" is *lian²* (level tone), "Lian's" as illustrated in (13).

(13) *lian²*   *nai²*   "Lian's watch"
   PN.GEN   watch

As shown in (14) and (15), some locational nouns, such as *tuŋ¹* "above," *nuai¹* "below," *suŋ²* "inside," and *kiaŋ²* "in the vicinity of" alternate their tones with falling tones to indicate locative case.

(14)	*saˈbuai³ tuŋ¹*		*=aʔ³*	>	*saˈbuai³ tuŋ³*		"above a table"
	table	above	=LOC		table	above.LOC	

(15)	*hâu³sa³pâ³ kiaŋ²*		*=aʔ¹*	>	*hâu³sa³pâ³ kiaŋ³*		"at a leader's place"
	leader.GEN	vicinity	=LOC		leader.GEN	vicinity.LOC	

3. Word Classes

3.1 Words, affixes, and clitics

Each morpheme can be categorized as either a free or bound morpheme. Bound morphemes can be further subdivided into clitics and affixes. Affixes syntactically differ from clitics in that no other element can be inserted between a host and an affix. In other words, clitics function on a phrasal or clausal level, whereas affixes function on a word level. This paper defines both free morphemes and clitics as words. Words can be categorized into the following five major classes: verbals (§3.2), nominals (§3.3), adverbs (§3.4), particles (§3.5), and interjections (§3.6).

3.2 Verbals

Verbals are distinguished from all other word classes in that each verbal word has two verb stem forms, which are referred to as forms I and II, and can be followed by enclitic pronouns or verb modifying particles indicating tense, aspect, or mood (e.g., *=kei¹* NEG).

   Verbal words can be divided into two types according to their morpheme types: [1] verbs (i.e., free morphemes) and [2] auxiliary verbs (i.e., clitics). They do not inflect for person, number, tense, aspect, or mood.

[1] Verbs

Among verbals, free morphemes are referred to as verbs. A verb can be modified by an auxiliary verb or a verb modifying particle; either of which principally functions as a tense, aspect, or mood marker. A few verbs have morphological pairs of intransitive-transitive verbs distinguished by aspiration (e.g., *pûk¹* "to fall" vs. *pʰûk¹* "to fell") or by verb stem alternation (e.g., *tâŋ²* "to be bright" (form I) vs. *tân³* "to brighten" (form II)).

[2] Auxiliary verbs

Clitics belonging to verbals are referred to as auxiliary verbs. An auxiliary verb

always follows another verb. Auxiliary verbs are marked in boldface in examples (16) and (17).

(16) *a¹maʔ³*   *kei¹*   *=sâŋ¹*   *=in²*   *tâi³*   *hât¹*   ***zô¹***
       3SG   1SG   =than   =CONJ N   runᴵᴵ   powerfulᴵ   moreᴵ
       "He runs faster than I."

(17) *kei¹*   *a¹maʔ³*   *=toʔ³*   *pai²*   ***xol³***   ***xôm³***   ***nuam¹***   ***lou³***
       1SG   3SG   =COM   goᴵ   in advanceᴵ   altogetherᴵ   desireᴵ   NEGᴵ
       "I do not want to go together with him in advance."

3.3 Nominals

Nominals serve as arguments of a verb (i.e., subjects or objects) and can be encliticized by case markers. Nominals can also serve as heads of NPs and be modified by noun modifying particles. The majority of nominals are either monosyllabic or disyllabic words except for compound nouns. Nominals can be divided into two types according to their morpheme types: nouns (free morphemes) and bound nouns (clitics).

[1] Nouns

Nouns do not inflect for gender, number, or case, except for free personal pronouns. As described in §7.4, cases are usually marked by enclitics. The following subsections briefly explain three functional features found in nouns: numerals and two kinds of pronouns.

(a) Numerals

Numerals in Tiddim Chin are based on the decimal system.

> *xat³* "one," *niʔ³* "two," *tʰum²* "three," *lî²* "four," *ŋâ²* "five," *guk³* "six," *sa¹giʔ³* "seven," *giat¹* "eight," *kua¹* "nine," and *sôm³* "ten"

Multiples of ten greater than twenty are expressed as shown below: *sôm³+niʔ³* "twenty," *sôm³+tʰum²* "thirty," *sôm³+lî²* "forty," *sôm³+ŋâ²* "fifty," *sôm³+guk³* "sixty," *sôm³+sa¹giʔ³* "seventy," *sôm³+giat¹* "eighty," *sôm³+kua¹* "ninety." Cardinal numbers greater than a hundred are *zâ³* "hundred," *tûl³* "thousand," *tʰên³* "ten thousand," *sâŋ¹* "hundred thousand," *ôn¹* "million," *am³* "ten million," and *mak³*

"hundred million." For numerals greater than *sôm³* "ten," the conjunction *=leʔ³* "and" is often inserted between each numerical position as illustrated in (18).

(18) *tûl³* =*leʔ³* *za³+kua¹* =*leʔ³* *sôm³+giat¹* =*leʔ³* *xat³*
    thousand =CONJN hundred+nine =CONJN ten+eight =CONJN one
    "1,981"

Ordinal numbers are expressed by adding the prefix *a-* and the noun modifying particle *=nâ²* to the numeral, as in *a¹-xat³ =nâ²* "first" and *a¹-niʔ³ =nâ²* "second".

(b) Demonstrative pronouns

There are four demonstrative pronouns: *hiʔ¹* (proximal), *tua²* (distal), and *hua²* or *hia²* (far distal). The pronoun *hiʔ¹* refers to proximal objects or contexts expressed by the speaker, whereas the pronoun *tua²* refers to distal objects or contexts, that are typically located nearer to the speaker's speech partner. The pronoun *hua²* refers to far distal objects or contexts and, is also used when the speaker is in the process of recollection.

(c) Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish two quantities: singular and plural. Exclusive and inclusive are distinguished for the first-person plural. Genders (i.e., masculine and feminine) are not distinguished. Personal pronouns inflect for number and case; thus Table 4 shows only absolutive, ergative or genitive forms. Other cases are indicated by case markers (§7.4).

Table 4. Free personal pronouns

	SG			PL		
	ABS	ERG	GEN	ABS	ERG	GEN
1	*kei¹*	*ken³*	*kei³*	*kou³*		
1INCL				*ei¹*	*en³*	*ei³*
2	*naŋ¹*	*naŋ³*		*nou³*		
3	*a¹maʔ³*	*a¹man³*	*a¹mâ²*	*a¹mâu³*		*a¹mâu²*

[2] Bound nouns

Some nominals do not appear without modifiers and are referred to as bound nouns. Most bound nouns indicate location (e.g., *tuŋ¹* "above," *nuai¹* "below," and *kiaŋ²* "around," etc.) and require modifiers such as genitive-marked NPs and proclitic pronouns.

3.4 Adverbs

An adverb modifies a VP or a whole sentence by postposing or preposing it to a VP. Some adverbs are unique in their forms, such as fossilized reduplication (e.g., *kôi¹kôi¹* "here and there," *ziaʔ³ziaʔ³* "loudly," *dial¹dial¹* "fluttering movement") and semi-reduplication (e.g., *tin¹ten¹* "holding something firmly," *tʰîl¹tʰial¹* "humble and modest," *giŋ¹geŋ¹* "being thin"), neither of which can be morphologically analyzed any further. As in (19), both reduplicated and semi-reduplicated adverbs often follow VPs. See Henderson (1965: 57) and Bhaskararao (1989) for more details.

(19) *na¹= up³   =nâ² lên³ **tin¹ten¹** =in³*
      2=   believeII   =NA   holdI tight   =IMP
      "Hold your belief tight."

3.5 Particles

A particle is a clitic that precedes or follows a phrase. Particles can be divided into seven types: (a) case markers generally indicating a type of case by encliticizing them to an NP; (b) noun modifying particles following an NP, thus indicating its specific number, place, or time; (c) verb-modifying particles following a VP, thus indicating tense, aspect, or mood; (d) conjunctions connecting two words, phrases,

and clauses (e.g., =*â²*, =*in²*, =*leʔ³*, etc.); (e) adverbial particles following either an NP or a VP and modifying a predicate; (f) final particles occurring at the end of a sentence, thus indicating pragmatic effect; and (g) clitic pronouns. Clitic pronouns can be further divided into proclitic and enclitic pronouns. A proclitic pronoun's tone is determined by the subsequent tone.

Table 5. Proclitic pronouns

1	***ka¹ / ² / ³ =***	***i¹ / ² / ³ =*** (PL.INCL)
2	***na¹ / ² / ³ =***	
3	***a¹ / ² / ³ =***	

To indicate plural proclitic pronouns, the plural marker =*uʔ³* follows the NP, e.g., *ka³ nû¹ =uʔ³* "our mother". Enclitic pronouns are formally distinguished by mood, either realis or irrealis (see Table 6). The realis form describes the actual occurrence, whether past or ongoing, whereas the irrealis form describes the desire, necessity, or futurity of some event. Henderson (1965: 109) has stated that in Tiddim Chin, the use of enclitic pronouns is perhaps the most characteristic mark of colloquial style.

Table 6. Enclitic pronouns

	Realis Mood (REAL)		Irrealis Mood (IRR)	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	=*iŋ³*	=*uŋ³* (EXCL) =*haŋ³* (INCL)	=*niŋ¹*	=*nûŋ³* (EXCL) =*nî³* (INCL)
2	=*teʔ³ / cin³*	=*uʔ³teʔ³ / uʔ³cin³*	=*ni¹teʔ³ / ni¹cin³*	=*nu¹teʔ³ / nu¹cin³*
3	=Ø	=*uʔ³*	=*in²teʔ¹*	=*un²teʔ¹*

3.6 Interjections

Interjections do not have any grammatical relation to any other words, for they express the speaker's emotions (e.g., *ka¹lai³ sai³* "Oh my!", *ui³* "Ugh!", *môk¹ô³* "How pity it is!," etc.) and reactions (e.g., *hê³* "Yes." *hôi³* "Oh, yes." *hôi¹* "What?" *ô³*

"All right," etc.).

4. Morphology

4.1 Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Affixation and compounding are productive derivational processes, whereas reduplication is rarely used as a derivational process.

4.2 Nominal morphology

[1] Affixation to nouns

Tiddim Chin has various suffixes to derive one noun from another: *-tal²* (masculine suffix) as in *vok³-tal²* (pig-MAS) "hog," *-pî¹* (feminine suffix) as in *âk²-pî¹* (chicken-FEM) "hen," *-lâ²* (a suffix indicating adolescence) as in *sial²-lâ²* (mithan-young) "young mithan," etc.

[2] Compounding

As illustrated in Table 7, there are three types of compound nouns in Tiddim Chin. If the preceding noun is the subject of the following verb, the form I verb stem occurs, as shown in (21). However, as shown in (22), the form II verb stem occurs if the preceding noun is the object of the subsequent verb:

Table 7. Compound noun

(20)	Noun + Noun	*ha¹-zâ²* tooth-medicine	"toothpaste"
(21)	Noun + Verb (Form I)	*mi¹-hai¹* person-crazy[1]	"idiot"
(22)	Noun + Verb (Form II)	*kôŋ¹-gâk³* waist-tighten[2]	"belt"

[3] Reduplication

Some interrogative words, such as *baŋ³* "what" and *kua³* "who," are reduplicated, and may be translated to English as "whatever" and "whoever," respectively, as shown in (23) and (24):

(23) *baŋ³+baŋ³   na¹= silˀ³   =zoŋ³ =in²   ki³-   lôm²   =te?¹*
     what+what   2=   wear[II] =also =CONJN MDL- suit[I] =2SG.REAL
     "Whatever you wear, it suits you."

(24) *kua³+kua³ a¹= hî³   =zoŋ³ =â²   ŋâi² xa¹   =môk¹   ka¹= hi³   =vê²*
     who+who   3= COP[I] =also =CONJN love[I] NONV[I] =randomly 1=   COP[I] =MOD
     "I accidentally fell in love with whoever she is."

Aside from the interrogative words described above, nominals are rarely reduplicated. Some personal names are fully or partially reduplicated to form corresponding nicknames. For example, the boy's name *xâi²* can be fully reduplicated to make his nickname *xâi²xâi²*, whereas the girl's name *vuŋ²* can be partially reduplicated to make her nickname *vû¹-vuŋ²*.

4.3 Verbal morphology

4.3.1 Form I and form II

Each verb has two alternating stems, form I and form II, whose usage depends on grammatical context. This peculiar verb stem alternation is common to almost all Kuki-Chin languages but is not linked in any simple way to a single parameter of grammatical variation, such as tense, aspect, or mood. A form I verb generally occurs in unmarked conclusive clauses, whereas a form II verb often occurs in marked clauses, such as certain transitive or subordinate clauses.

Some verbs alternate either a single final phoneme (see (25) and (26)) or a tone (see (27)), whereas other verbs alternate both as in (28). Some other verbs, however, have formally homophonous forms I and II, as seen in (29).

	Form I	**Form II**	**Meaning**
(25)	*ciam³*	*ciap³*	"to taste"
(26)	*nê¹*	*nêk¹*	"to eat"
(27)	*pai²*	*pai³*	"to go"
(28)	*sam¹*	*sap³*	"to call"
(29)	*hoi?³*	*hoi?³*	"to be good"

Syntactically, this verb stem alternation in Tiddim Chin may have some

relevance to transitivization, nominalization, and adverbialization, each of which is described below.

[1] Transitivization

Table 8 shows that some verbs have morphological pairs of intransitive-transitive verbs derived by verb stem alternation. This morphological process is no longer productive, yet the form II verb stem occurs if attached to certain transitivizing suffixes, such as *-sak³* (substitutive or benefactive), *-pi?³* (comitative), and *-san³* (relinquitive). This will be described further in § 7.8.

Table 8. Transitivity and verb stems

Form I	Form II	Meaning
dim¹	*dim³*	"to be full"
dim³	*dip³*	"to fill"

[2] Nominalization

In Tiddim Chin, no nominalizer is necessary to nominalize a verb as shown in (30).

(30) *ka¹=*   *dôn³*   *nop³*   *=pên²*   *niaŋ²+tûi¹*   *a¹=*   *hi³*   *=vê²*
     1=   drink^{II} desire^{II} =TOP   tea+water   3=   COP^{I} =FIN
     "What I want to drink is tea."

[3] Adverbialization

In a compound verb (§4.3.2 [2]), if the second verb occurs in form II, then the first word functions adverbially: *no?³-tâi³* (fast¹-run²) "to run fast," *nâi¹-et³* (close¹-watch²) "to watch closely," *tôŋ³-om³* (corner-exist²) "to exist at the corner," *tʰûk¹-xum³* (sour¹-sweet²) "to be sour-sweet," etc.

4.3.2 Derivation process
[1] Affixation

Several verb prefixes can attach to form I verb stems in the unmarked clause, including *ki³-*, a middle voice prefix functioning as an impersonal, reflexive, or

reciprocal marker; *na¹-*, indicating an event that takes place without either of the speech participants; *va³-*, indicating the direction away from the speech participants; and *oŋ¹-*, indicating the direction toward the speech participants. Certain transitivizing suffixes, such as *-sak³* (substitutive or benefactive), *-piʔ³* (comitative) and *-san³* (relinquitive), can attach to form II verbs.

[2] Compounding

Table 9 shows Tiddim Chin's three types of verbal compounding.

Table 9. Compound verbs

(31)	Verb (Form I) + Verb (Form I)	*diŋ²-xia³* stand^I-fell^I	"to depart"
(32)	Verb (Form I) + Verb (Form II)	*sâŋ²-dian³* high^I-jump^{II}	"to jump high"
(33)	Noun + Verb (Form I)	*lam¹-daŋ¹* road-other^I	"to be surprised"

[3] Reduplication

A verb can be reduplicated to express continuous or habitual action, as seen in (34). Though it is a nonproductive process, some verbs are adverbialized by reduplication, as seen in (35).

(34) *lian³pî¹   iʔ³mû²-mû²*

PN   RDP:sleep^I

"Lianpi is always sleeping."

(35) *a¹maʔ³   kôl²+pâu³   tôm²-tôm²   =bek¹   pâu²   tʰei³*

3SG   Myanmar+language   RDP:little^I   =only   speak^I   can^I

"He can speak Myanmar language only a little."

4.4 Class-changing derivation

Within the narrow limits of this study's data, only one apparent class-changing process has been found: the nominal suffix *-vâi¹* functions as a verbalizer, as seen in *pa³sal¹-vâi¹* (male-VBLZ) "to be manly".

5. Syntax

5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

Tiddim Chin is a predicate-final language. The unmarked word order is SV in an intransitive clause and AOV in a transitive clause, as shown in (36) and (37), repectively. During discourse, however, elements of little importance tend to be omitted. As in (38), the copula verb *hî³* is used in copula clauses; its unmarked word order is SCV.

(36) *zu¹sâ¹*   *tâi²*

     mouse   run$^{\text{I}}$

     "A mouse runs." (Intransitive clause: SV)

(37) *lian³*   *=in³*   *an¹*   *nê¹*

     PN   =ERG   meal   eat$^{\text{I}}$

     "Lian ate meal." (Transitive clause: AOV)

(38) *lian³*   *=pên²*   *sâŋ¹+nâu²paŋ¹*   *hî³*

     PN   =TOP   school+child   COP$^{\text{I}}$

     "Lian is a student." (Copula clause: SCV)

5.2 Noun phrases

The basic structure of an NP is illustrated below. The head noun appears in boldface.

(DEM) (proclitic pronoun) (N.GEN or ABS) **N** (V) (noun modifier) (NUM) case marker

A demonstrative, a proclitic pronoun, or a genitive noun may precede a head noun as a modifier, whereas a verb, a noun modifier, or a numeral may follow a head noun in an unmarked construction, as shown in (39), where the head noun appears in boldface.

	DEM	proclitic pronoun	N.GEN	N	verb	NUM	case marker
(39)	*tua²*	*ka³=*	*nû³*	***pâk²***	*san²*	*xat³*	*=toʔ³*
	DEM	1=	mother.GEN	flower	red$^{\text{I}}$	one	=COM

     "with that one red flower of my mother's" (elicited example)

5.3 Verb phrases

In colloquial Tiddim Chin, a verb can be a predicate without any other element, though verbs are often accompanied by modifiers. The structure of a verb phrase can be schematized as in (40) where the main verb appears in boldface.

$$\text{(proclitic pronoun)} \quad \mathbf{V} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(auxiliary verb)} \\ \text{(verb modifier)} \\ \text{(adverb)} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{(enclitic pronoun)}$$

V	adverb	auxiliary verb	verb modifier	enclitic pronoun
(40) *tʰuak²*	*kêi²kâi²*	*zou¹*	*=kei¹*	*=uŋ³*
bearᴵ	enduringly	ableᴵ	=NEG	=1PL.REAL

"We are not able to bear it enduringly."

6. Grammatical Relations (i.e., Subject and Object)

Grammatical subjects agree with clitic pronouns in person and number, as shown in (41).

(41) *zaŋ²koŋ²*	*=aʔ¹*	*ken³*	*a¹maʔ³*	*mu³*	*=ŋei¹*	*=iŋ³*
PN	=LOC	1SG.ERG	3SG	seeᴵ	=ever	=1SG.REAL

'I have seen her in Yangon.'

Meanwhile, as in (42), an object can be identified morpho-syntactically by the prefix *oŋ¹-*, which affixes to a verb if the patient or recipient is a speech-act participant in the transitive clause:

(42) *zaŋ²koŋ²*	*=aʔ¹*	*a¹man³*	*ŋaŋ¹*	*oŋ¹-*	*mû³*
PN	=LOC	3SG.ERG	2SG	DIR-	seeᴵ

"He saw you in Yangon."

Semantically, an agent, an experiencer, and the like (i.e., agent-like argument) are prototypical subjects, whereas a patient, a causee, a recipient, and the like (i.e., patient-like argument) tend to be objects.

7. Functional Categories

7.1 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences can be categorized as either polar or content questions. In an interrogative sentence, the purposive particle *=dîŋ¹* indicates irrealis mood, whereas the auxiliary verb *lou³* indicates negative mood. The prosodic feature of interrogative sentences is discussed in §2.4.

[1] Polar questions

The expected answer to a polar question is the equivalent of either "yes" or "no". To express a polar question, one of the interrogative markers *=mô³*, *=na¹*, *=tam³*, *=dia²*, *=diam²*, *=a²*, or *=am²* needs to be used. *=mô³* can be directly attached to a VP, but the others follow VPs with proclitic pronouns. The interrogative marker *=a²* or *=am²* must follow the copula verb *hî³*. The particle *=dia²* or *=diam²* is used to indicate an interrogative sentence in the irrealis mood.

(43) *a¹maʔ³*   *ja²pân²*   *=aʔ¹*   *pai²*   *=kîk¹*   *=dîŋ¹*   *=mô³*
      3SG   PN   =LOC   go^I   =ITER   =PURP   =Q
      "Is he going to Japan again?"

(44) *sâŋ¹*   *na¹=*   *kaʔ³*   *=na¹*
      school   2=   climb^I   =Q
      "Do you go to school?"

(45) *lûn³boiʔ³*   *=in³*   *vok³-sâ¹*   *a³=*   *ne¹*   *tʰei³*   *hî³*   *=a²*
      PN   =ERG   pig-meat   3=   eat^I   can^I   COP^I   =Q
      "Can Lunboih eat pork?"

The interrogative markers *=am²*, *=diam²* and *=tam²* are used in both direct and indirect questions, as shown in (46), whereas the other interrogative markers tend to be used in direct questions.

(46) *vok³+sâ¹*   *na³=*   *ne¹*   *tʰei³*   *hî³*   *ʔ=a²/=am²*   *tʰei³*   *=keŋ¹*
      pig+meat   2=   eat^I   can^I   COP^I   =Q   know^I   =NEG.1SG.REAL
      "I don't know whether you can eat pork."

[2] Content questions

Content questions contain one of the interrogative words: *baŋ³* "what," *koi¹* "where," *kua³* "who," and *cik³* "when." In content questions, an interrogative marker is not necessary (as seen in (47)), though an interrogative marker *=a²* or *=am²* is occasionally used. Example (48) shows that the copula verb *hî³* and the interrogative marker *=a²* or *=am²* can be omitted.

(47) *koʔ¹*   *pai²*   *=dîŋ¹*
     where.LOC   go^I   =PURP
     "Where are you going?"

(48) *baŋ³*   *sêm³*   *a¹=*   (*hî³*   *=a²*)
     what   do^I   3=   COP^I   =Q
     "What did he do?"

Polar questions with speculated answers have been referred to as "biased questions" by Sadock and Zwicky (1985). The structure of the predicate in the biased question is similar to that of the predicate in the content question as in (49).

(49) *vok³+sâ¹*   *ne¹*   *tʰei³* *a¹=* *hî³*   *=a²*
     pig+meat   eat^I   can^I   3=   COP^I   =Q
     "He can eat pork, can't he?"

7.2 Imperatives

As shown in (50), the imperative marker *=in³*, *=ou³*, *=vê²* or *=sin³* follows a VP to indicate singular imperative mood, whereas attaching *=un³*, *=vuou³*, *=vê³vua²* or *=sin³ =uʔ³* to a VP indicates plural imperative mood as shown in (51). Note that *=sin³* is always uttered at a high pitch. Imperative markers can be omitted when authoritatively commanding somebody. For negative imperative mood, the negative marker *=kei¹* or *=daʔ³* is used, as seen in (52).

(50) *niaŋ²+tûi¹*   *dôn²*   { *=in³*   / *=ou³* / *=vê²* / *=sin³* }
     tea+water   drink^I   =IMP   =IMP   =IMP   =IMP
     "Drink tea!"

(51) *bôŋ²+nôi¹*   *dôn²* { =*un³*   / =*vuou³* / =*vê³vua²* / =*sin³* =*uʔ³* }
  cow+milk   say^I   =PL.IMP   =PL.IMP   =PL.IMP   =IMP   =PL
  "Drink milk, guys!"

(52) *zû²*   *dôn²* { =*ken³*   / =*kei¹*   =*ou³* / =*kei¹*   =*vê²* / =*kei¹* =*sin³* }
  liquor   drink^I   =NEG.IMP   =NEG   =IMP   =NEG   =IMP   =NEG   =IMP
  "Don't drink liquor!"

7.3 Equation, proper inclusion, location, possession
As shown in (53) and (54), the verb *hî³* is used as a copula to express equation or
proper inclusion.

(53) *a¹maʔ³*   =*pên²*   *ka³=*   *pâ¹*   *hî³*
  3SG   =TOP   1=   father   COP^I
  "He is my father."

(54) *nu¹+cîn¹* =*pên*   *sâŋ¹+sia¹+nû¹*   *hî³*
  aunt+PN   =TOP   school+teacher.GEN+woman   COP^I
  "Aunty Cin is a school teacher."

    A verb *om¹* "exist" is used in unmarked locational clauses, as shown in (55).

(55) *ka³=*   *tâ¹*   =*tê¹*   *te¹dim²*   =*aʔ¹*   *om¹*
  1=   son   =PL   PN   =LOC   exist^I
  "My sons are at Tiddim."

    As shown in (56) and (57), there are two ways to express possession. The verb
om¹ "exist" expresses not only existence but also possession:

(56) *ken³*   *mô²tô²*   *xat³*   *nei³*
  1SG.ERG   car   one   have^I
  "I have a car."

(57) *kei³*   *kiaŋ²*   =*aʔ¹*   *mô²tô²*   *xat³*   *om¹*
  1SG.GEN   place   =LOC   car   one   exist^I
  "I have a car. / There is a car at my place."

7.4 Case

Case on nouns is represented mainly by enclitics; genitive and locative cases are also indicated by tonal alternation (§2.5). Absolutive case is realized as zero-forms. Data show nine morphological cases in Tiddim Chin: =Ø for absolutive (i.e., intransitive subject, object, and subject of a copula verb); =*in³* for ergative (i.e., transitive subject); =*î²* for genitive (i.e., possessor); =*toʔ³* for comitative (i.e., company, ways, and means); =*in²* for instrumental (i.e., ways and means as well as instrument); either =*aʔ³* or =*â²* for locative (i.e., location of existence or action, as well as goal); =*doŋ¹* for terminative (i.e., terminal point of time or location); =*pan³* for ablative (i.e., starting point in time or location); =*sâŋ¹* for comparative (i.e., object for comparison).

7.5 Noun class (Gender)

There are no noun classes in Tiddim Chin.

7.6 Person

A directional prefix *oŋ¹-*, which generally indicates a deictic spatial direction or a change of state involving the speech-act participant, also functions as a kind of inverse marker in transitive clauses. The directional prefix *oŋ¹-* must be attached to a verb if a patient or recipient is a speech-act participant, as shown in (58) and (59).

(58) *lian³*   =*in³*   *kei¹*   **oŋ¹-**   *mû³*
     PN   =ERG   1SG   DIR-   see^I
     "Lian saw me."

(59) *na¹=*   *vok³+man³*   **oŋ¹-**   *pe¹*   =*kei¹*   =*niŋ¹*
     2=   pig+price   DIR-   give^I   =NEG   =1SG.IRR
     "I won't pay you the money for your pig!"

Proclitic pronouns primarily indicate either possessors (as described in §3.5) or subjects of nominalized or relativized clauses, as in (60):

(60) *tua²*   *mouʔ³*   ***a³=***   *nêk¹*   *ken³*   *mû³*   =*iŋ³*
     DEM   snack   3=   eat^{II}   1SG.ERG   see^I   =1SG.REAL
     "I saw him eating the snack."

As shown in (61), the enclitic pronoun follows the VP to mark the subject.

(61) *(ken³)*   *taŋ¹mâi²*   *tʰum²*   *lei¹*   *=iŋ³*
    1SG.ERG   cucumber   three   buyᴵ   =1SG.REAL
    "I bought three cucumbers."

7.7 Number

Number as an obligatory category does not exist in Tiddim Chin. In other words, one form can designate either a single or plural reference. To specify plurality, the optional plural marker *=tê¹* or *=teŋ²* needs to be postposed to a NP, such as *lâi³bû¹ =tê¹* (book =PL) or *lâi³bû¹ =teŋ²* (book =PL) "books."

7.8 Valence-changing
7.8.1 Valence-increasing operations

As shown in (62)b, causatives are expressed by attaching the particle *=sak³* to a form I verb stem.

(62) a. *kei¹*   *zum³*   *=aʔ³*   *pai²*
      1SG   office   =LOC   goᴵ
      "I go to the office."

    b. *nu¹+hâu³*   *=in³*   *kei¹*   *zum³*   *=aʔ³*   *oŋ¹-*   *pai²*   *=sak¹*
      aunt+PN   =ERG   1SG   office   =LOC   DIR-   goᴵ   =CAUS
      "Aunty Hau made me go to the office."

As shown in (63) to (65), the transitivizing suffixes *-sak³* (substitutive or benefactive), *-piʔ³* (comitative), and *-san³* (relinquitive) must be attached to a form II verb. In a relinquitive construction, the agent argument performs an activity leaving the patient behind.

(63) a. *nu¹+hâu³*   *=in³*   *meʔ³*   *bôl²*
      aunt+PN   =ERG   curry   makeᴵ
      "Aunty Hau made a curry."

b. *nu¹+hâu³*   *=in³*   *lian³*   *meʔ³*   *bôl³*   **-sak³**

    aunt+PN   =ERG   PN   curry   makeᴵᴵ   -TRVZ

    "Aunty Hau made a curry for Lian." (benefactive)

(64) a. *kei¹*   *vâk¹*

    1SG   go outᴵ

    "I went out."

b. *ken³*   *a¹maʔ³*   *vâk³*   **-piʔ³**

    1SG.ERG   3SG   go outᴵᴵ   -TRVZ

    "I went out along with him." (comitative)

(65) a. *nu¹+ciŋ²*   *tâi²*

    aunt+PN   runᴵ

    "Aunty Cing ran away."

b. *nu¹+ciŋ²*   *=in³*   *lian³*   *tâi³*   **-san³**

    aunt+PN   =ERG   PN   runᴵᴵ   -TRVZ

    "Aunty Cing ran away leaving Lian behind." (relinquitive)

7.8.2 Valence-decreasing operation

As shown in (66) to (68), the verbal prefix *ki³-* indicates middle voice and thus functions as an impersonal, reciprocal, or reflexive marker.

(66) *kâp¹*   *ki³-*   *tʰat³*

    PN   MDL-   killᴵ

    "Someone killed Kap." (impersonal)

(67) *kei¹*   *a¹maʔ³*   *=toʔ³*   *ki³-*   *lâi¹*

    1SG   3SG   =COM   MDL-   fightᴵ

    "I argued with him." (reciprocal)

(68) *naŋ¹*   *=leʔ³*   *naŋ¹*   *ki³-*   *dâl¹*   *=ou³*

    2SG   =CONJN   2SG   MDL-   protectᴵ   =IMP

    "Protect yourself." (reflexive)

7.9 Negation

Negation is expressed by attaching one of three negative markers: the verb modifying particles *=kei¹* and *=daʔ³*, or the negative auxiliary verb *lou³*. A

co-occurrence restriction holds in which an enclitic pronoun cannot follow the negative auxiliary verb *lou³* in a main clause; this is demonstrated in (70). Also, the negative particle *=daʔ³* occurs only in clauses indicating the speaker's intentions or in imperative sentences.

(69) *kou³ tʰei³   nuam¹ { =kei¹ / =daʔ³ } =uŋ³*
   1PL knowᴵ desireᴵ   =NEG   =1PL.REAL
   "We don't want to know."

(70) *kou³ tʰei³   nuam¹ lou³   (*=uŋ³)*
   1PL   knowᴵ desireᴵ NEGᴵ   =1PL.REAL
   "We don't want to know."

7.10 Tense, aspect, and mood

There is a major, formal distinction between irrealis and realis moods. On the one hand, realis mood is indicated either by using the realis form of an enclitic pronoun as in (71) or by zero marking as in (72). On the other hand, irrealis mood is expressed by either using the irrealis form of an enclitic pronoun, as shown in (73), or by using the purposive particle *=dîŋ¹* as in (74). The other kinds of mood, tense, and aspect are marked by verb-modifying particles such as the perfective marker *=tâ³*, the iterative marker *=kîk¹*, the continuative marker *=lâi²*, and the near future marker *=dek³*.

(71) *kou³ vâk¹   =uŋ³*   (72) *kou³ vâk¹*
   1PL go outᴵ =1PL.REAL   1PL go outᴵ
   "We went out."   "We went out."

(73) *kou³ vâk¹   =nûŋ³*   (74) *kou³ vâk¹   =dîŋ¹*
   1PL go outᴵ =1PL.IRR   1PL   go outᴵ =PURP
   "We will go out."   "We will go out."

7.11 Information structure (topic and focus)

Topic is typically expressed either by using the topic marker *=pên²* or by changing the word order. The unmarked word order of a transitive clause is AOV, though as shown in (75), OAV order also occurs in marked clauses in which O is topicalized. Focus constructions such as pseudo-cleft sentences can also occur as in (76):

(75) tua²   mou?³   =pên² lian³ =in³   ne¹   xin³

    DEM snack   =TOP   PN   =ERG eat^I finish^I

    "As for that snack, Lian has eaten it."

(76) ken³   ka³=   vuak¹ =pên²   a¹ma?³ a¹= hi³   =vê²

    1SG.ERG   1=   beat^{II} =TOP   3SG   3=   COP^I   =MOD

    "It is him that I beat up."

8. Clause Combining

8.1 Overview of clause combining

Tiddim Chin uses two major types of clause combinations: coordination and subordination. Some conjunctions and noun-modifying particles can function as subordinators.

8.2 Coordination

In coordination two clauses of equal grammatical status are combined. As shown in (77), inserting the conjunction =in³ between two clauses often indicates coordination:

(77) tû¹lâi²   =tak¹ lian³ =in³ lâi³   sim² **=in³**   a³=nûn³   an¹
  huan¹

    present time =just PN   =ERG letter read^I =CONJ N 3= mother.ERG meal
  cook^I

    "Now, Lian is reading a book, and his mother is cooking meal."

8.3 Subordination

1.1.1. Complement clauses

A complement clause corresponds to the subject or object of the verb in another larger clause. As shown in (78), noun clauses are embedded within another clause and are generally indicated either by attaching (a) a proclitic pronoun or (b) a genitive NP to a form II verb as its subject. The proclitic pronoun indicating a third person can be omitted if unnecessary.

(78) a. *hiʔ¹*   *pân³*   *tua²*   *mouʔ³*   *(a³=)*   *nêk¹*   *ken³*   *mû³*   *=iŋ³*
     DEM   man.ERG   DEM   snack   3=   eat^II   1SG.ERG   see^I   =1SG.REAL

   b. *hiʔ¹*   *pâ³*   *tua²*   *mouʔ³*   *nêk¹*   *ken³*   *mû³*   *=iŋ³*
      DEM   man.GEN   DEM   snack   eat^II   1SG.ERG   see^I   =1SG.REAL

      "I saw this man eating that snack."

As in (79) and (80), either *cî³* "to say" or *sâ³* "to think, to feel" directly follows
a clause without any subordinator or alternating the verb stem.

(79) *ken³*   *lou¹*   *=bek¹*   *koŋ¹-*   *lei¹*   *cî³*
     1SG.ERG   field   =only   1.DIR-   buy^I   say^I
     "I only bought a field, he said."

(80) *a¹man³*   *hiʔ¹*   *meʔ³*   *=pên³*   *nel²*   *sâ³*
     3SG.ERG   DEM   curry   =TOP   greasy^I   think^I
     "He thought this curry is greasy."

If a matrix verb is a speech-act verb describing either internal or external
speech (e.g., *gên¹* "speak," *doŋ³* "ask," *ki³ciam²* "promise," *tâŋ²kou²* "declare," *zâ¹*
"hear," *tʰei³* "know," *um³* "believe," *lam¹en¹* "hope," *xen²sat¹* "decide," *ŋaiʔ³sun³*
"consider," *pʰôk¹* "realize," and *tel¹* "understand" etc.), the conjunction *=in²* or *=â²*
functions as a complementizer as in (81). Irrealis mood is indicated with the
purposive particle *=dîŋ¹*, as seen in (82). The conjunction is often omitted.

(81) *lian³nou¹*   *=in³*   *huai¹kim²*   *ŋâi²*   *=in²*   *tʰei³*   *=iŋ³*
     PN   =ERG   PN   love^I   =CONJN   know^I   =1SG.REAL
     "I know that Lianno loves Huaikim."

(82) *ja²pân²*   *=aʔ¹*   *nâ³sêm³*   *=dîŋ¹*   *(=in²)*   *xen²sat¹*   *=iŋ³*
     PN   =LOC   work^I   =PURP   =CONJN   decide^I   =1SG.REAL
     "I decided that I would work in Japan."

8.3.1 Relative clauses
Tiddim Chin does not require any relativizers to indicate relative clauses. The
relative clause precedes or follows the head NP. If the subject is relativized, then

form I is selected for the verb stem in the relative clause, as shown in (83) and (84).

(83) *lian³ =in³ lâi³bû¹ a¹= saʔ³ =pian³ xat³ sim²*
    PN =ERG book 3= thick^I =rather one read^I
    "Lian is reading a book which is rather thick."

(84) *xuai² a²= zoŋ² zoŋ² a³= nû¹ =zoŋ³ tua² xuai² =in³ deʔ³*
    bee 3= search^I search^I 3= mother =also DEM bee =ERG sting^I
    "The bee also stung a mother who had searched for the bee."

Conversely, form II is chosen for the verb stem in the relative clause if a non-subject, such as an object, is relativized, as shown in (85) and (86). The subject of the relative clause appears in the form of a genitive-marked NP, or a proclitic pronoun accompanied by an optional ergative NP.

(85) { *na¹=* / *naŋ³* } *meʔ³ nêk¹ a²= lim² hî³ =a²*
    2= 2SG.GEN curry eat^II 3= tasty^I COP^I =Q
    "Is the curry that you tasted good?"

(86) *lian² paʔ¹tâk¹ huai¹nû³ xûp¹ =in³ tên³ -piʔ³*
    PN.GEN like^II PN PN =ERG marry^II -COM
    "Khup married Huainu, whom Lian liked."

If the other type of oblique NP is relativized, then the noun modifying particle *=nâ²* follows the form II verb stem. As shown in (87), the relative clause precedes the head noun in this case.

(87) *zaŋ²koŋ² =aʔ¹* { *ei³* / *i¹=* } *pai³ =nâ² mô²tô²*
    PN =LOC 1PL.INCL.GEN / 1PL.INCL go^II =NA car
    oŋ¹- ki³- leʔ³ =kîk¹
    DIR- MDL- turn^I =again
    "The car by which we went to Yangon turned back here."

8.3.2 Adverbial clauses
Adverbial clauses are indicated by either a single subordinator or by a combination

of subordinators. Subordinators can be classified either as noun-modifying particles or as conjunctions. Syntactically, there are two major types of adverbial clauses in Tiddim Chin. Some adverbial clauses employ form I verb stems for their predicates, whereas others employ form II.

[1] Form I verbs
In some adverbial clauses with clause-final subordinators such as *=in²* (purposes and sequential actions, among others), *=â²* (purposes and sequential actions, among others), *=leʔ³* (conditions), *=ta³leʔ³* (concessives), and *=na³pî¹* (concessives), the form I verb stem may be used, as shown in (88):

(88) *a¹maʔ³*   *zoŋ²*   *=in²*   *pai²*   *=iŋ³*
     3SG   search[I]   =CONJN   go[I]   =1SG.REAL
     "I went to look for him." (purpose)

An enclitic pronoun is required after the subordinators *=leʔ³* (conditionals), *=ta³leʔ³* (concessives), and *=na³pî¹* (concessives). The subordinator *=leʔ³* and the enclitic pronoun *=iŋ³* are fused to *=lêŋ³*, as shown in (89). An enclitic is occasionally followed by a subordinator *=â²* to express a reason clause, as in (90).

(89) *kei¹* *naŋ¹* *hi³* *=lêŋ³*   *tua¹*   *nû¹*   *=toʔ³* *pai²* *xôm³*   *=niŋ¹*
     1SG   2SG   COP[I] =CONJN.1SG   DEM.GEN   woman   =COM   go[I]   together[I] =1SG.IRR
     "If I were you, I'd go with the woman."

                                    (*=leʔ³* <CONJN>+*=iŋ³* <1SG.REAL> → *=leŋ³*)

(90) *lâi³* *hân³ciam²* *=iŋ³*   *=â²*   *ka¹=* *lâi³*   *oŋ²*   *ka¹=* *hi³*   *=vê²*
     letter   exert[I]   =1SG.REAL   =CONJN   1=   letter   pass[I] 1=   COP[I]
   =MOD
     "As I studied hard, I passed an exam."

[2] Form II verbs
If either conjunction *=in²* or *=â²* directly follows a predicate verb in form II with a proclitic pronoun, the clause expresses a sequential action as shown in (91). Some noun modifying particles also function as subordinators, such as *=leʔ³* (conditionals), *=ciaŋ¹* (reason, time), *=hâŋ¹* (adversative, reason), *=man³* (reason), *=kôm²*

(simultaneous action), and *=teʔ¹* ("thereafter"). These subordinators may follow a form II verb stem as in (92). As in (93), a subordinator *=ciaŋ¹* or *=hâŋ¹* occasionally alternates its tone with *=ciaŋ³* or *=hâŋ³* without either conjunction *=â²* or *=in²*:

(91) zîŋ²saŋ²   ka¹=   tʰoʔ³   =â²   xua²   vâk²   =tâ³
      morning   1=   arise^II =CONJ N weather   lighten^I   =PFV
      "When I got up in the morning, the sun had already risen." (sequential action)

(92) zaŋ²koŋ²   na¹=   tun³   =ciaŋ¹ =in²   tʰû¹   oŋ¹-   ŋaʔ³   =sak³   =ou³
      PN   2=   arrive^II =time =CONJN matter   DIR-   get^I   =CAUS   =IMP
      "Please let me know when you arrive at Yangon." (time)

(93) hiʔ¹   lâi³   sim²   ka¹=   hiʔ³   =hâŋ³   ka²=   luŋ²   lût¹   =kei¹
      DEM   letter read^I 1=   COP^II =but   1=   heart   enter^I   =NEG
      "I read this book; however, I was not interested in it." (adversative)

9. Text: "Peng Lam leh a sial"   (Peng Lam and his mithan)

[1] Nidang   lai-in,   Peng Lam   a   kici   pasal   khat   om.

ni¹+daŋ¹   =lâi²   =in²   peŋ²lam¹   a¹= ki³-   cî³   pa³sal¹ xat³   om¹

day+other¹ =around   =CONJN   PN   3=   MDL-   say^I male   one   exist^I

once upon a time   a man called Peng Lam   exists

       "Once upon a time, there was a man called Peng Lam."

[2] Tua   Peng Lam   gamlakah   vak   kawikawi.

tua²   peŋ²lam¹   gam²   lak¹   =aʔ³   vâk¹   kôi¹kôi¹

DEM   PN   jungle inside =LOC   walk out^I here and there

that   Peng Lam   in the jungle   walked here and there

       "Peng Lam was walking here and there in the jungle."

[3] A   vakna-ah   a   tawvang   beelsia   khat mu.

a¹= vâk³   =nâ²   =aʔ¹   a³= to¹+vaŋ²   bêl²+sia¹   xat³ mû³

3=   walk out^II =NA   =LOC   3=   bottom+hollow^I pot+broken^I   one   find^I

at the place where he walked   one broken pot with a hole in the bottom   found

       "He found a broken pot with a hole in the bottom."

[4] ***Tua   beelsia   a   innah   ciahpih.***

tua²   bêl²+sia¹   a³=   in¹   =aʔ³   ciaʔ³ -piʔ³

DEM   pot+brokenᴵ   3=   house   =LOC   returnᴵᴵ -COM

that broken pot   to his house   returned with

    "He returned home with the broken pot."

[5] ***Inn   a   tun   ciangin,   a   nu   a   lah   leh,***

in¹   a¹=   tun³   =ciaŋ¹ =in²   a³=   nû¹   a¹=   laʔ³   =leʔ³

house   3=   arriveᴵᴵ =TIME =CONJN   3=   mother   3=   showᴵᴵ   =CONJN

when he arrived   when he showed it to his mother

   a   nu   in   tua   beel+sia   deih   lo-in   tai.

a³=   nû¹   =in³   tua   bêl²+sia¹   deiʔ³   lou³ =in²   tâi¹

3=   mother   =ERG   DEM   pot   brokenᴵ   likeᴵ   NEGᴵ =CONJN   scoldᴵ

his mother didn't like the broken pot and   scolded him

    "When he arrived home, and showed it to his mother, his mother didn't

    like the broken pot, so she scolded him."

[6] ***Peng Lam zong lo-ah   a   pai   leh,   sial   khat mu   leuleu.***

peŋ²lam¹   =zoŋ³ lou¹   =aʔ³   a¹=   pai³   =leʔ³   sial²   xat³   mu³   lêu³lêu³

PN   =also field   =LOC 3=   goᴵᴵ   =CONJN   mithan one   findᴵ   again

Peng Lam   also   at the field   when he went   a mithan   found again

    "Peng Lam went out again and found a mithan in the field."

[7] ***Lampi-ah   tua   sial   in   ektha.***

lam¹ -pî¹   =aʔ³   tua²   sial²   =in³   êk¹   tʰâ³

road   -AUG =LOC   DEM   mithan   =ERG   feces   defecateᴵ

on the big road   that mithan   defecated

    "On the big road, the mithan defecated."

[8] ***Tua ahih   manin,   Peng Lam   in, "Hihsial   zong a   taw***

tua²   a¹= hiʔ³ =man³ =in²   peŋ²lam¹   =in³ hiʔ¹ sial²   =zoŋ³ a³= tô¹

DEM   3=   COPᴵᴵ =cause =CONJN   PN   =ERG DEM mithan =also 3= bottom

because of that   Peng Lam   this mithan   also his bottom

vang   *zel*   *ahih*   *leh*   *ka* *nu'n*   *deih* *ken* *teh"*

vaŋ² =zêl¹ a¹= hiʔ³ =leʔ³ ka³= nûn³ deiʔ³ =ken²teʔ¹

hollowᴵ =again 3= COPᴵᴵ =CONJN 1= mother.ERG likeᴵ =NEG.3SG.IRR

hollow again   so that   my mother won't like

ci-in,   *lampi-ah*   *that.*

cî³ =in² lam¹ -pî¹ =aʔ³ tʰat³

sayᴵ =CONJN road -AUG =LOC killᴵ

say, and   on the big road   killed

    "Because of that, Peng Lam said, 'The mithan's bottom has a hole, too, so my mother won't like it.' He killed it."

[9] *A*   *thah* *khit* *ciangin,*   *a*   *sateng*   *lakpan*

a¹= tʰaʔ³ xit³ =ciaŋ¹ =in² a³= sâ¹ =teŋ² lak¹ =pan³

3= killᴵᴵ finishᴵᴵ =time =CONJN 3= meat =PL inside =ABL

when he has killed it   from inside of the meat

a   *phei* *bek* *a* *innah*   *ciahpih.*

a¹= pʰei³ =bek¹ a³= in¹ =aʔ³ ciaʔ³ -piʔ³

3= thigh =only 3= house =LOC returnᴵᴵ -COM

its thigh only   to his house   returned with

    "He killed it, and returned home with only its thigh, taken from inside the body."

[10] *Lampi-ah*   *a* *ciah* *kawmin*   *Peng Lamin*   *a* *veih teh.*

lam¹ -pî¹ =aʔ³ a¹= ciaʔ³ =kôm² =in² peŋ²lam¹ =in³ a²= veiʔ³ teʔ³

road -AUG =LOC 3= returnᴵᴵ =while =CONJN PN =ERG 3= fart let.goᴵ

on the big road   with his returning   Peng Lam   his fart   let go

    "While returning home, he broke wind on the big road."

[11] **Tua   uih   lua ahih   cianga,**   **Peng Lam in   nam sia sa**
tua²   ui?³   lua² a¹= hi?³ =ciaŋ¹ =â²   peŋ²lam¹ =in³ nam² sia¹ sa³
DEM stinkᴵ veryᴵ 3= COPᴵᴵ =cause =CONJN PN   =ERG smell badᴵ feelᴵ
it   very stinky therefore   Peng Lam   smell bad feel

lua.
lua²
veryᴵ
very

> "It was so stinky that Peng Lam smelt a very bad smell."

[12] **Ahih   hanga,**   **ama'   veih ahih   lam thei   lo-in,**
a¹= hi?³ =hâŋ¹ =â²   a¹mâ²   vei?³ a¹= hi?³ lam¹ tʰei³   lou³ =in²
3= COPᴵᴵ =but   =CONJN 3SG.GEN fart   3= COPᴵᴵ factᴵ knowᴵ NEGᴵ =CONJN
but   his fart   fact   didn't know and

sial'   veih sa   ahih   ciangin,
sial¹   vei?³ sâ³   a¹= hi?³ =ciaŋ¹   =in²
mithan.GEN fart   thinkᴵ   3= COPᴵᴵ =cause   =CONJN
mithan's   fart   thought because

> "However, he didn't realize that it was his fart, and he thought it was the mithan's."

[13] **"Sial   aw, k'ong thah zawh   sawt   nai   lo   hi   ve'n.**
sial²   =ô³ koŋ¹- tʰa?³ zo?³   sôt¹   =nâi¹ lou³ hi³ =vên³
mithan =FIN 1.DIR- killᴵᴵ accomplishᴵᴵ take.timeᴵ =yet NEGᴵ COP¹ =MOD.3SG
Mithan   having killed   have not taken time yet

> "'Mithan, it hasn't been much time since I killed you!'"

A ba'hang   namsia   ta   na   hia?"
a¹= ba³hâŋ³   nam² se¹ =tâ³   na¹= hî³   =a²
3= what.cause.CONJN   smell badᴵ =PFV 2=   COP¹ =Q
for what   you smelt bad

> "'Why do you smell bad?'"

[14] **ci-in,**   ***tua***   ***sialphei***   ***pai.***

cî³   =in²   tua²   sial¹   pʰei³   pâi³

say^I =CONJN   DEM   mithan.GEN   thigh   throw.away^I

said   and   that mithan's thigh   threw away

"he said, and threw away the mithan's thigh."

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Abbreviation

1: First person, 2: Second person, 3: Third person, ¹: Rising tone, ²: Level tone, ³: Falling tone, -: Affix boundary, =: Clitic boundary, +: Compound boundary, ^{I}: Form I, ^{II}: Form II, A: Most agent-like argument of a transitve clause, ABS: Absolutive, AUG: Augmentative, C: Complement, C: Consonant, CAUS: Causative, COM: Comitative, CONJN: Conjunction COP: Copula, DEM: Demonstrative, DIR: Direction, ERG: Ergative, EXCL: Exclusive, FEM: Feminine, FIN: Final particle, GEN: Genitive, IMP: Imperative, INCL: Inclusive, ITER: Iterative, LOC: Locative, MAS: Masculine, MOD: Mood, MDL: Middle voice, NA: The noun modifying particle =*nâ²*, NEG: Negative, NONV: Non-volitional, NP: Noun phrase, O: Most patient-like argument of a transitve clause, PFV: Perfective, PL: Plural, PN: Proper noun, PURP: Purposive, RDP Reduplication, Q: Interrogative or question marker, REAL: Realis, S: Single argument of an intrantsitive clause, SG: Singular, T: Tone, TIME: Time, TOP: Topic, TRVZ: Transitivizer, V: Verb, V: Vowel, VBLZ: Verbalizer, VP: Verb phrase.

Hunza Burushaski

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Introduction

Burushaski is a language isolate situated in Gilgit-Baltistan (previously known as the Northern Areas) of Pakistan. Typologically, it shows various agglutinative characteristics, and there are many kinds of prefixes and suffixes. The language has some Indian linguistic features, for example, echo-formation (see §4.4) and conjunctive participles (see §8.3). The typological peculiarities of Burushaski are seen in the approximant consonant *y* (see §2.1.1) and in the remarkable split among morphosyntactic case marking on nominals and personal markings on verbals (see §4).

In this grammatical sketch, I focus on the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.

1. Language and its speakers

1.1   Geography and genealogy
Burushaski (ISO 693-3: bsk) is mainly spoken in Gilgit-Baltistan of Pakistan. There are three major valleys, Hunza, Nager, and Yasin, in which Burushaski speakers are resident. The Hunza and Nager valleys belong to the Gilgit district, and they face opposite each other. The Yasin valley

Figure 1. Map of Burushaski

belongs to the Ghizer district and is separated from the other two valleys by many miles of rugged mountain terrain. See Figure 1.

Around this language, there are several languages from genealogically different families. Roughly speaking, four languages have geographically immediate contact

with Burushaski: These are Shina and Khowar as Dardic (or Central Indic) languages, Domaki as a Central Indic language, and Wakhi as a Pamir language. Beyond them, Turkic, Tibetan, and the other Indo-Iranian languages, including the Kafir (Nuristani) ones, surround the area. Currently, Urdu and English are also flowing into Burushaski speakers' daily lives, and there was contact with Persian as the rulers' language in the old time.

1.2   Sociolinguistic side

The population of Burushaski speakers numbers about 100,000. Most Burushaski speakers are Muslim, especially of the Ismaili sect in Hunza. For this reason, the language shows much influence from Arabic also. The recent modernization has been changing their livelihood from agriculture and traditional industries to the tourist industry. Thus, Burushaski is rapidly losing its original vocabulary related to the old lifestyles.

2.   Phonology

2.1   Phoneme inventory

2.1.1   Consonants

There are 36 consonants in Burushaski; see Table 1 on the next page.

Normally, plosives and affricates constitute trio sets of a voiceless unaspirated, voiced, and aspirated phoneme. The alternations caused by morphophonological rules always take place within each set; see §2.4.2 also. Exceptionally, a fricative consonant /ɣ/ belongs to the set of /q/ and /qh/.

Besides [pʰ], /ph/ has the other allophone [f]; and /qh/ has the other allophone [x] in addition to [qʰ]. These [f] and [x], however, occur only in loan words.

/ẏ [ɥ]/ is not retroflex but shows a retroflex feature in morphophonology (that is why here I use an underdot to indicate this sound as well as other retroflex consonants): cf. (9).

2.1.2   Vowels

Burushaski has 5 vowels that each shows a distinction between long and short. The front vowels /i/ and /e/ form a group, and the back vowels /u/ and /o/ form another. They alternate among the types of personal prefixes within a group (cf. §4.1).

Table 1. Consonants of Burushaski

		Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	**vl.**	/p/	/t/ [t̪]		/ṭ/ [ʈ]	/k/	/q/	
	asp.	/ph/ [pʰ]	/th/ [t̪ʰ]		/ṭh/ [ʈʰ]	/kh/ [kʰ]	/qh/ [qʰ]	
	vd.	/b/	/d/ [d̪]		/ḍ/ [ɖ]	/g/ [g]		
Affricate	**vl.**		/c/ [ts]	/č/ [tɕ]	/c̣/ [ʈʂ]			
	asp.		/ch/ [tsʰ]	/čh/ [tɕʰ]	/c̣h/ [ʈʂʰ]			
	vd.			/j/ [dʑ]	/ج̣/ [ɖʐ]			
Fricative	**vl.**		/s/	/š/ [ɕ]	/ṣ/ [ʂ]			/h/
	vd.		/z/			/ɣ/ [ɣ]		
Approx.		/w/		/y/ [j]	/y̑/ [ɰ̑]			
Nasal		/m/	/n/			/ŋ/		
Rhotic			/r/ [ɾ]					
Lateral			/l/					

The most frequent vowel is /a/, and /e/ without an accent is remarkably rare in Burushaski.

Table 2. Vowels of Burushaski

High	/i/	/u/	/ii/	/uu/
Mid	/e/	/o/	/ee/	/oo/
Low		/a/	/aa/	

2.2 Syllable structure

In Burushaski, the syllable structure is $(C_1(C_2))V(C_3(C_4))$, and a phonological word consists of one or more of these syllables. C indicates a consonant, and V is a short or long vowel. There are no diphthongs.

The consonant cluster C_1C_2 is restricted to word-initial syllables, and the cluster

C_3C_4 can only be found in word-final syllables.

C_1: All consonants are verifiable in any middle position of a word, but ŋ and y do not appear in the initial syllable. C_2: Only r is available when C_1 is any of p, b, ph, t, d, th, or g. However, words with the initial consonant cluster Cr (C_1C_2) should consist of loan words and onomatopoetic words only. C_3: All consonants expect approximants w and y. C_4: 7 consonants: t, k, ṣ, š, c, ҫ, and č. All of them can be appear when C_3 is a sonorant. If C_3 is a fricative, then only k is available. The restriction of C_3C_4 clusters in loan words is less strict than the one in indigenous words: e.g., *qulp* 'lock' < Ur. *qufl*.

Besides these subsystems, there is a rule of the word-final consonant: If it is one of the consonants in a plosive/affricate trio set, it must be a voiceless unaspirated correspondent, e.g., [pahá:t] 'mountain: ABS' vs. [pahá:dar] 'mountain: DAT' (*paháaḍ* 'mountain' < Ur. *paha:ṛ*).

2.3 Prosody

Burushaski has a pitch accent system. An accented vowel is pronounced with a high pitch. I indicate such high-pitched vowels with the diacritic ´. This accent is distinctive: e.g., *íne* 'he (DIST) :ERG/GEN' vs. *iné* 'that (H): ABS'; one word has one accent in principle (but some words have two accents synchronically).

The pitch of accented long vowels must be high or a gradual fall (indicated as *áa*). If vowels take the pitch pattern of a rising tone (indicated as *aá*), they should be considered as not long vowels but vowel sequences with two identical vowels in two syllables, for example, /a.á/.

2.4 Phonological rules
2.4.1 Vowel changes

There seems no restriction on hiatus; but certain hiatuses change their own sounds almost regularly, so some hiatuses cannot be observed on the surface forms: e.g., /aí/ always becomes [eé] with a few exceptions, and /aú/ is realized as [oó].

We can observe additional vowel changes that occur morphophonologically.

2.4.2 Morphophonology

Devoicing is a phenomenon that changes one or more of the following voiced consonants into voiceless. This phenomenon is regularly invoked by a negative

prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the telic prefix *d-*, and the prefix *n-*. In this subsection, I use a double underline to mark the invoker of this morphophonological phenomenon and a frame for the altered part. See (1) and (2) below.

(1)　/b/ → /p/
　　　apáa
　　　<u>a-</u>|b|á-a-Ø
　　　NEG-COP-1SG-PRS
　　　'I am not'

(2)　/g/ → /k/
　　　áaskarcumo
　　　a:-<u>s-</u>|g|áarc-m-o
　　　1SG:III-CAUS-run-NPRS-3SG.HF
　　　'she made me run'

Unaspirating makes aspirated consonants alternate with their unaspirated correspondents. Unaspirating for a consonant is caused by verbal derivational prefixes on the condition that accent attraction moves the accent over to the vowel preceding the consonant. Examples are shown in (3) and (4).

(3)　/ch/ → /c/
　　　nícun
　　　<u>n-</u>i-|ch|ú-n
　　　CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP
　　　'bring him away and'

(4)　/qh/ → /q/
　　　góqučam
　　　<u>gu:-</u>|qh|uú-č-a-m
　　　2SG:II-be.lucky-IPFV-1SG-NPRS
　　　'I will make you lucky'

The closing phenomenon changes one or more of the following fricatives into plosives, as shown in (5) and (6). This phenomenon is sometimes verified by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the conjunctive participle prefix *n-*, and so on.

(5)　/ɣ/ → /q/
　　　óostaqami
　　　u:-<u>s-</u>da|ɣ|á-m-i
　　　3PL.X:III-CAUS-hide-NPRS-3SG.HM
　　　'he sheltered them (animals)'

(6)　/h/ → /kh/
　　　akhénuman
　　　<u>a-</u>|h|én-m-an
　　　NEG-know-NPRS-1PL
　　　'we did not know'

In contrast to closing, the opening phenomenon serves to make a following stop consonant become an approximant or drop entirely, as in (7) and (8); however, there

may not be a strict rule of pairs between a stop and an approximant/elimination, or it may be conditioned by the phonetic environment.

(7)   /b/ → /w/   (8)   /g/ → /y/

         duwáaltimi   *uyánam*

         d̲-b̲áalt-m-i   u̲-g̲án-a-m

         TEL-wash-NPRS-3SG.Y   3PL.X:I-take-1SG-NPRS

         'it was washed'   'I took them'

/č/ invokes several sound changes with an immediately preceding consonant or consonants. Such sound changes are mainly seen either with the imperfective suffix for verbs *-č* or with a plural suffix for nominals, *-čo* or *-čuko*. In examples (9) and (10), I indicate the parts in question with a frame, and the results with a waved underline.

(9)   Sound changes with /č/
         /n/ + /č/ → /y/ :cf. (10)   /l/ + /č/ → /lj/ : cf. (11)   /c/ + /č/ → /š/
         /ṭ/ + /č/ → /š/   /s/ + /č/ → /š/   /rk/ + /č/ → /rš/
         /y/ + /č/ → /c̣/

(10)   *séyam*   (11)   *taljó*
         sé⟨n-č⟩-a-m   ta⟨l-č⟩o
         say-IPFV-1SG-NPRS   pigeon-PL
         'I will say'   'pigeons'

/y/ may also change an immediately preceding consonant (see (12)). This phenomenon can be observed only in the case of the stem derivation for the plurality of a subject in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause.

(12)   Sound changes with /y/
         /y/ + /y/ → /y/   /s/ + /y/ → /š/   /c/ + /y/ → /č/
         /ṭ/ + /y/ → /č/   /t/ + /y/ → /č/

3. Descriptive preliminaries

3.1 Word classes

There are 8 word classes in Burushaski: pronouns, nouns, adjectives, numerals, copula, verbs, conjunctions, and interjections.

3.1.1 Nominals

A nominal in Burushaski is a word able to function as a head of a nominal phrase. Nominals can take case markers (§4.2). They consist of nouns and pronouns, and nouns may be either free or bound. Bound nouns are either inalienable nouns (kinship terms, body parts, emotions, etc.) or positional nouns, and they always need a personal prefix to indicate the possessor or reference point.

3.1.2 Adjectives and numerals

An adjective can modify a noun with its bare form as well as a numeral. Some adjectives take one of the plural suffixes when they modify a noun referring to plural entities. Numerals of small numbers, from 1 to 10, have more than a form corresponding to the nominal class to which the numeral refers. In addition, there are several bound nominal morphemes able to attach only to numerals to create quantified nouns: e.g., *-kuc* 'day' in *iskí-kuc* 'three days' and *tóorimi-kuc* 'ten days.'

3.1.3 Verbal

Verbals consist of verbs and copulas. Verbs in Burushaski can be a predicate of a clause independently, while a nominal, adjective, and numeral need a copula to predicate. Copulas are not the same as verbs in the morphology because they take fewer functional categories than verbs. There are two copular roots in Hunza Burushaski: *bá-* is for H-class and *b-* is for X- and Y-classes.

3.1.4 Other classes

In addition to the classes already described, Burushaski has conjunctions and interjections; they cannot be attached to by any morpheme to form inflected words anew. Interjections are used independently, although conjunctions are used inside a clause or between clauses. Figure 2 summarizes the Burushaski word classes.
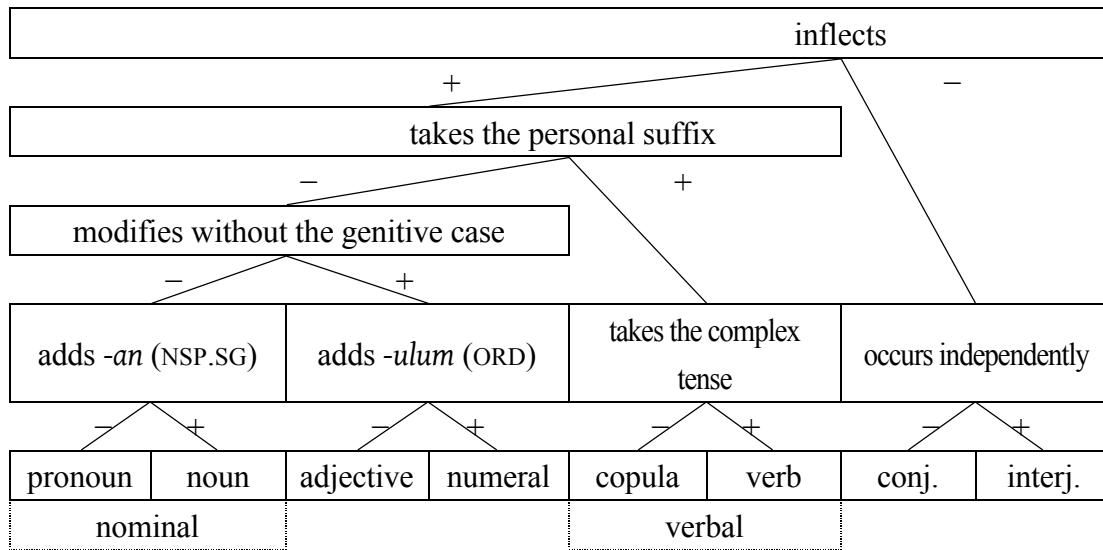
inflects		

takes the personal suffix	

modifies without the genitive case	

adds *-an* (NSP.SG)	adds *-ulum* (ORD)	takes the complex tense	occurs independently

pronoun	noun	adjective	numeral	copula	verb	conj.	interj.
nominal				verbal			

Figure 2. Word classes and the criteria of word classes in Burushaski

3.2   Nominal classes

There are four nominal classes in Burushaski. The classes are chiefly defined semantically: HM-class is for human male entities, HF-class for human females, X-class for concrete things, and Y-class for abstract things. These classes function as a property for agreement. Nominal classes will be described in greater detail in §7.5.

4.   Morphology

4.1   Overview (affixation, compounding, reduplication)

Burushaski uses the following types of word formation: prefixation, suffixation, compounding, and reduplication, including echo-formation. Affixation (both prefixation and suffixation) is found in nominal and verbal morphology. Compounding is mainly used to enlarge nominal vocabulary and sometimes to create new verb stems. Reduplication is utilized in echo-formation and onomatopoetic word formation (see §4.4).

4.2   Nominal morphology

Nouns show the typical declension in Burushaski. Therefore, I introduce the nominal morphology with an explanation of the morphology of the noun. See the noun template in Figure 3 on the next page.

(−1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	(+4)	+5
PERS	BASE	PL	NUMBER	OBL	POSITIONAL CASE	CASE

Figure 3: Template for nouns

In this figure, the bordered part represents the noun stem. The accent of nouns always realizes inside the stems. I use parentheses to indicate optional slots; slots not in parentheses are obligatory, [0: base] and [+5: case].

This templatic formation realizes as follows in (13):

(13)	*úmimuar*				(14)	*hukáikcum*				
	u-	mí	-mu	-ar		huk	-ai	-ik	-c	-um
	3PL.H:I-	mother	-OBL	-DAT		dog	-PL	-PL	-ADE	-ABL
	[−1]	[0]	[+3]	[+5]		[0]	[+1]	[+2]	[+4]	[+5]
	'for their mother'					'from the dogs'				

[−1: person] slot is observed only on inalienable or positional nouns. There are three types of personal prefix sets able to appear in this slot; see Table 3.

Table 3: Personal prefix types

		Type-I (@-/@´-)		Type-II (@⋮-)		Type-III (@⋰-)	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1		a-	mi-	á-	mé-	áa-	mée-
2		gu-	ma-	gó-	má-	góo-	máa-
3	HM	i-		é-		ée-	
	HF	mu-	u-	mó-	ó-	móo-	óo-
	X	i-	u-	é-	ó-	ée-	óo-
	Y	i-	i-	é-	é-	ée-	ée-

In this way, speakers use three types of personal prefixes for nominals, but the choice of types is strictly fixed for each stem, and the functions of each type are identical. When the personal prefixes are used with an inalienable noun, the function is either marking the possessor of the host possessed noun or setting the spatial or temporal reference point of the host positional noun, illustrated in (15):

(15)   @⋮-i 'daughter'   (16)   @ˊ-lji 'behind, after'

    a.   á-i   'my daughter'   a.   á-lji   'after me, behind me'
        1SG:II-daughter   1SG:I-behind

    b.   gó-i   'your daughter'   b.   gú-lji   'after you, behind you'
        2SG:II-daughter   2SG:I-behind

[+1: plural] and [+2: number] are the slots for marking the number of the noun referent. Normally, a plural suffix is employed in [+1] to indicate the plural referents. Occasionally, two plural suffixes appear, in both [+1] and [+2], to emphasize the plurality or extend the meaning of nouns. There are many plural suffixes in Burushaski as well as a strict rule of pairing the suffixes and nouns. Also, the [+2] slot may have a non-specific singular suffix -an. The counterpart of the singular suffix -an is a non-specific plural suffix -ik (see (17) and (18)). However, in contemporary speech, -ik is not employed very often.

(17)   sísan   (18)   sísik

    sís-an   sís-ik

    people-NSP.SG   people-NSP.PL

    'a person'   'people'

[+3: oblique case] is the slot for the oblique case markers, i.e., -mu for the third person HF- and (frequently) Z-class, and -e for the rest, which sometimes appear between the preceding nominal base and certain case markers.

[+4: positional case] always functions with any directional case marker in [+5]. See Figure 4 for the candidates of positional and directional case and Table 4 for the details of the combinations.

[+4]	form	label	position		[+5]	form	label	direction
	-al-/-ul-	locative	'at'			-e	essive	no direction
	-aṭ-	instrumental	'around, by'	×		-ar	dative	'towards, for'
	-c-	adessive	'on'			-um	ablative	'away, from'
	-či-	inessive	'in'					

Figure 4: Complex case marking system for locationals in Burushaski

Table 4: Details of the position-direction combinations

	-e		-ar		-um	
-al- /-ul-	-ale /-ulo	locative 'at, in'	-alar /(-ar úlo)	lative 'to, into'	-alum /-ulum	elative 'from, out from'
-aṭ-	-aṭe	adhesive 'around'	-aṭar	apudlative 'for'	-aṭum	delative 'from the side of'
-c-	-ce	adessive 'on'	-car	allative 'onto'	-cum	ablative 'from'
-či-	-či	inessive 'in'	-čar	illative 'into'	-čim	exlative 'out from'

In addition to the three directional case markers, [+5] can have some of the main case markers, that is, the absolute *-Ø*, ergative *-e*, and genitive *-e*. The difference between the ergative and genitive is that the former is always employed solely and the latter requires oblique marking obviously when the referent is the third person HF- or Z-class: e.g., *bilás-e* 'witch: ERG', *bilás-m-o* [bilás-mu-e] 'witch: GEN.'

Pronouns in Burushaski also decline like nouns, but their template is simpler than the one for nouns because they do not have the slot of personal prefix, plural, and number.

4.3   Verbal morphology

The Burushaski word classes that conjugate are the verb and copula. They conjugate in different ways, so I present their templates separately.

4.3.1   Morphology of verbs

At first, I explain the template for verbs in Figure 5. In Figure 5 (also Figure 6), the bordered part indicates the stem of each verb or copula.

(−4)	(−3)	(−2)	(−1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/COP	PERS/COND

Figure 5: Template for verbs

The following forms are actual instances with the representation of slotting:

(19)   *atésmanuma*

a-	d-	i̇-		s-	man		-m	-a
3PL.H-	TEL-	3SG.X:II-		CAUS-	become		-NPRS	-2SG
[−4]	[−3]	[−2]		[−1]	[0]		[+4]	[+5]

'you did not make it'

(20)   *giráčačan*

giráṭ	-ya	-č	-an	-m
dance	-PL	-IPFV	-1PL	-NPRS
[0]	[+1]	[+2]	[+3]	[+4]

'we will dance'

[−4: negative] slot can be filled by the negative marker *a-/oó-*, which distributes supplementarily and is fixed one-to-one for each verb.

[−3: telic] is the slot for two candidates, the telic derivational morpheme *d-* and the morpheme *n-,* which is observed only in converbs proper: cf. §8.3. The surface functions of *d-* are extremely complicated: see also §7.8.

[−2: personal prefix] for verbs employs the same inventory as the one for nominals: cf. §4.1. The personal prefix on verbs shows an agreement with an undergoer argument in the clause; see §6 for details.

[−1: causative] slot has only one candidate, that is, the causative prefix *s-*.

[+1: plural] is rarely filled by the plural morpheme *-ya,* which is a derivational suffix able to indicate the plurality of the referent of an absolutive argument in a clause. The range of usage of this suffix is so narrow that only a handful of verbal roots can cooperate with it now.

[+2: aspect] slot has only one candidate morpheme, imperfective *-č*.

[+3 / +5: personal suffix] take the personal suffix to indicate the subject of the verbal predicates; see also §6 for details. [+5] takes also the personal suffix of all person-number for optative mood, the counterfactual conditional suffix *-ce*, and the reminding suffix *-á*.

[+4: mood suffix / auxiliary copula] slot is somewhat omnivorous. This slot can take a number of mood suffixes, the auxiliary copula, the conjunctive participle suffix, and external derivational suffixes. The auxiliary copula is used for the complex temporality (cf. §7.10) and a clause-chaining non-finite form (cf. §8.3).

Table 5: Subject suffixes for verbs

		SG		PL	
1		-a	[+3]	-an	[+3/+5]
2		-a	[+5]	-an	[+5]
3	HM	-i	[+5]	-an	[+5]
	HF	-o	[+5]		
	X	-i	[+5]	-ie(n)	[+5]
	Y	-i	[+5]	-i	[+5]

4.3.2   Morphology of the copula

Next, I introduce the morphology of the copula here. To begin, see the template for the copula in Figure 6 below.

(−1)	0	+1	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	ROOT	PERS	ASP	PERS	MOD	PERS/COND

Figure 6: Template for the copula

[−1: negative] is quite similar to the slot for the verbs already explained above. The negative prefix for copula has no allomorph; it always takes the form *a-*.

[0: root] of the copula has two allomorphs in the Hunza dialect: *bá-* for the first and second person, and the third person H-class; *b-* for the third person X- and Y-classes.

[+1: personal suffix] slot is for the personal subject suffix of all person-numbers. Unlike the personal suffix for verbs, the one for the copula is employed to make the stem of each person-number for all the finite and non-finite forms.

[+2: aspect] can be filled by the imperfective suffix *-č*, only for the concessive construction, as in (21) below, and the conditional forms.

(21)   *waqt*   *bilíčar*   *bilá,*   *júase*
      wáqt-Ø   b-́ila-č-ar   b-́ila-Ø   jú-as-e
      time-ABS   COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-DAT   COP-3SG.Y-PRS   come-INF-GEN

rái	*apí.*
rái-Ø	a-bˊila-Ø
desire-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'(I) do have time but do not want to come.'

[+3: personal suffix] is only for the first person. In this slot appears the first person singular suffix *-a* again with the non-present mood.

[+4: mood suffix] slot takes mood suffixes and derivational suffixes.

[+5: personal / conditional suffix] is only for the optative personal suffix and conditional ending suffix *–ce*. Unlike the one occurring with verbs, it has no implicit meaning of counterfactuality.

4.4   Reduplication

Burushaski has two types of reduplication. One is onomatopoetic construction (called "expressive construction" in Indian linguistics), and the other is echo-formation, which modifies words as nouns and adjectives, phrases, and even clauses, with some semantic additions.

Onomatopoetic construction creates onomatopoeia by means of complete or partial reduplication. Some onomatopoetics consist of two or more phonological words, and some are built by words with an accent. The following are examples of onomatopoetics: *haṣháṣ @ˑt-* 'to cut with a dull blade,' *širišaráŋ* 'clink-clank (from glass or metal)' (cf. *šaráŋ* 'clank'), and *maramaráq* 'scrub-a-dub, <manner of eating greedily>' (cf. *maráaq* '<manner of lying idly>').

Echo-formation (or fixed segment reduplication, by Yip 1998 and Khan 2006 among others) is reduplication with a small change or adding some element on the initial part of the base word to create a slight difference in shade of meaning, e.g., generality, ambiguity as indicated by 'and/or something like,' emphasis, informality, and so on. There is a strong tendency on fixed segments for changes in reduplication: If the base word starts with a bilabial consonant, then the fixed segment should be /š/; in all other cases, the fixed segment ought to be /m/. (In (22) to (24), (24) is an exception.)

(22) Echo-formation for a noun word

bépay šépay   <   *bépay*

'a yak or something like [it]'   'yak'

(23) Echo-formation for an adjective word

daltás maltás   <   *daltás*

'very beautiful'   'beautiful'

(24) Echo-formation for a clause

ámular níčáa? gómular níčáa?   <   *ámular níčáa?*

'Where are you going? (speaking informally)'   'Where are you going?'

5. Syntactic structure

5.1 Basic clause structure and word order

The basic word order of Burushaski is SOV, but the order is not rigid. Example (25) shows the basic constituent order:

(25)   *dáa*   <u>*uskó*</u>   <u>*jóṭišo*</u>   <u>*urkáie*</u> ₛ   *úimo*

          dáa   uskó   jóṭ-išo   urkʼ-ai-e   u-í-mu-e

          and   three:X   small-PL   wolf-PL-ERG   3PL.X:I-self-OBL-GEN

          asqúriŋaṭe   <u>*háan*</u> ₒ

          asqúr-iŋ-aṭ-e   há-an-Ø

          flower-PL-INS-ESS   house-NSP.SG-ABS

          <u>*désmanién*</u> ᵥ.

          d-ï-s-man+bʼien-Ø

          TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become+COP-3PL.X-PRS

          'So <u>the three little wolves</u> <u>built</u> themselves <u>a house</u> of flowers.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái ke uyúm ɣuníkiṣ qhúuq*: #40)

5.2 The noun phrase

The basic order of noun phrases is as follows in (26) and illustrated in (27):

(26)   The noun phrase

          demonstrative adjective – numeral – adjective – head noun

(27) *gucé*   *uskó*   *jóṭišo*   *urkái*

      gucé   uskó   jóṭ-išo   urḱ-ai

      these:X   three:X   small-PL   wolf-PL

      DEMONSTRATIVE   NUMERAL   ADJECTIVE   HEAD NOUN

      'these three little wolves'

In the possessive structure, the possessor nominals precede the possessed nouns. We can say that Burushaski shows the tendency of both dependent-marking and double-marking in noun phrases. The former is observed in alienable possession, and the latter is in inalienable possession, while possessor nouns and pronouns are sometimes omitted. (28) shows the structure of possessive constructions.

(28) Possessive structure

      a.   *híre*   *ha*   (Dependent-Marking)

             hír-e   há

             man-GEN   house

             'the house of the man'

      b.   *híre*   *iríiŋ*   (Double-Marking)

             hír-e   i-riiŋ

             man-GEN   3SG.HM:I-hand

             'the hand of the man'

      c.   **hír*   *iríiŋ*

5.3 The predicate phrase

Predicate phrases in Burushaski are simple. Their structure is as follows in (29):

(29) The predicate phrase

    object N – adverbial N/adjective – pseudo-object N – main verb – auxiliary verb

I use the term "pseudo-object nouns" for the nouns that are compounded with the verbs to make new verbal stems: e.g., *khéel* 'sport, game' + *@-̇t-* 'to do' > *khéel @-̇t-* 'to play (vt.)'; see (30) on the next page also.

(30) *joókheel*   *káa*   *khéel étiṣ*   *méemanuman*
      joókheel-Ø   káa   khéel+ i̇-t́-ṣ   mi̇̈-man̄́-m-an
      hopscotch-ABS together   game+ 3SG.Y:II-do-OPT 1PL:III-become-NPRS-1PL
      OBJECT NOUN   ADV. NOUN   P-OBJ. MAIN VERB   AUXILIARY VERB
      'we could play hopscotch together'

Auxiliary verbs such as *@̈-man-* 'to be able' or *duún-* 'to begin' require the main verbs in either the infinitive or optative non-finite form: cf. §7.10.

6. Grammatical relations

Burushaski shows a clear split among its case-marking pattern and person-indexing patterns. They arrange the subject and the object(s) overtly.
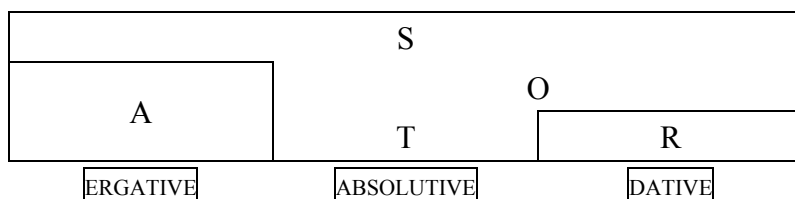

Figure 7. Flagging by the case markers

The marking pattern by the case markers shows the ergative type alignment; see Figure 7. The absolute case marker *-Ø* indicates the subject of intransitive clauses, the patient of monotransitive clauses, and the theme of ditransitive clauses. The ergative case marker *-e* marks the agent of mono- and di-transitive clauses, and the dative case marker *-ar* is used for the recipient of ditransitive clauses.
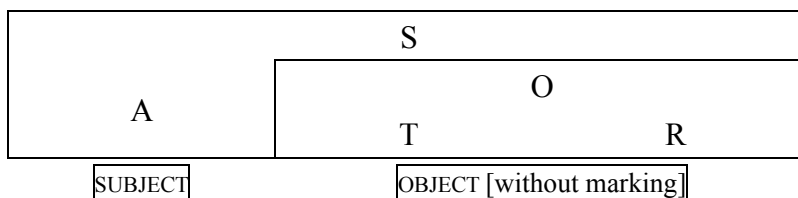

Figure 8. Indexing by the personal suffix

The indexing by the personal suffix on verbs is useful in showing which argument is the subject of clauses, because the personal suffix agrees with the subject argument irrespective of transitivity; see Figure 8. That is, if an (obligatory)

argument has agreement on the personal suffix on the verb as the head of a clause, it must be the only subject of the clause; and if not, then the argument cannot be the subject but is rather any kind of object of the clause.
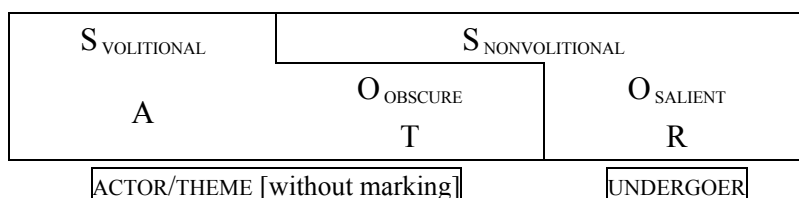
S VOLITIONAL	S NONVOLITIONAL	
A	O OBSCURE	O SALIENT
	T	R
ACTOR/THEME [without marking]		UNDERGOER

Figure 9. Indexing by the personal prefix

The indexing by the personal prefix on verbs shows the undergoer agreement system; see Figure 9. This marking distinguishes even the subject argument of intransitive clauses between volitional and nonvolitional. The personal prefix on verbs is employed for nonvolitional intransitive, many monotransitive, and all ditransitive predicates. It agrees with the nonvolitional subject argument in intransitive clauses, the salient object in monotransitive clauses, and the recipient (indirect object) in ditransitive clauses. The obscure object in monotransitive clauses, surely, and all the theme (direct object) arguments in ditransitive clauses are not agreed with by the prefix. So there may be some hierarchy of the objecthood, or patienthood, of arguments, and the employment of the personal suffix is quite sensitive to the hierarchy.

7.   Functional categories
7.1   Interrogatives
There are two types of interrogative sentences in Burushaski. One is the polar interrogative indicated by the clause-final clitic *=a*; the other is the content interrogative expressed by interrogative words in sentences having the same syntactic order as declarative ones.

7.2   Imperatives
Imperative sentences are semantically and morphologically limited to the second person subject. The imperative suffix for singular is *-i,* and the one for plural is *-in.*

7.3   Equation, classification, location, and possession

Equation, classification, location, and possession are expressed by the same construction as copular sentences with a rather strict word order, such as X – Y – copula. See examples (31) to (35).

(31)   Equation
  gusé   *jáa*   *huk*   *bi.*
  gusé-Ø   jé-e   hukʼ-Ø   bʼi-Ø
  this:X-ABS   I-GEN   dog-ABS   COP-3SG.X-PRS
  'This is my dog.'

(32)   Classification
  músa   *maalík*   *bái.*
  músa-Ø   maalík-Ø   bá-i-Ø
  Musa-ABS   owner-ABS   COP-3SG.HM-PRS
  'Musa is an owner.'

(33)   Location
  iné   *gus*   *háa*   *téšaṭe*   *bom.*
  iné   gusʼ-Ø   há-e   teš̌ʼ-aṭ-e   bá-o-m
  that:H   woman-ABS   house-GEN   roof-INS-ESS   COP-3SG.HF-NPRS
  'That woman was on the roof of the house.'

(34)   Possession with the dative possessor
  jáar   *paisáa*   *apí.*
  jé-ar   paisáa-Ø   a-bʼila-Ø
  I-DAT   money-ABS   NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS
  'I have no money. (lit., No money for me)'

(35)   Possession with a spatial expression
  jáa   *ápači*   *búṭan*   *chil*   *bilá.*
  jé-e   a-̇pa-či-e   búṭ-an   chilʼ-Ø   bʼila-Ø
  I-GEN   1SG:II-side-INE-ESS   much-NSP.SG   water-ABS   COP-3SG.Y-PRS
  'I have plenty of water (lit. Plenty of water is in my side).'

7.4   Case

Burushaski nominals have a variety of cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, and many locative cases. They are indicated by the case suffixes on the nominal: see §4.2.

7.5   Noun class

Nominals in Burushaski show four agreement classes (HM, HF, X, and Y) similar to genders; every nominal belongs to one of the classes. These classes pragmatically function as a feature for agreement. Roughly speaking, the extension of HM-class is human male, HF is human female, X is concrete objects including animals and fruits, and Y is abstract objects including liquids, trees, and notions. Not every noun can be classified by its phonological forms, but the plural suffixes tend to show the class of the host noun.

In this description, in addition to these four classes, I employ one more pseudo-class named Z-class. This is a class only relating to numerals. Numerals have Z-forms either for simple (non-referential) counting or modifying temporal nouns.

7.6   Person

There are three persons distinguished in Burushaski: first, second, and third. The distinction of nominal classes is observed only in the third person. Personal difference is reflected in the prefix on nouns, the patient prefix on verbs, and the subject suffix on verbals.

7.7   Number

Burushaski has two numbers for agreement: singular and plural. Some nouns can take two plural suffixes simultaneously to mean extended plurality, but the double plural forms function the same as the single plural forms in agreement.

7.8   Valency-changing

There is no regular morphosyntactic construction for voice changing in Burushaski. However, some morphological or morphosyntactic voice phenomena can be observed to make up for it. Most of them are simply given by verbal morphology.

The telic prefix *d-* alters certain verb stems into middle-like voice. Basically, *d-* adds a result-oriented meaning to verb roots; when a certain transitive verb root

takes *d-* and changes the semantic feature from action-oriented to result-oriented, then the interest referred by the verb stem with *d-* becomes patient-oriented, instead of actor-oriented (see (36)).

(36)   a.   Action-/actor-oriented (atelic) stem

             (khíne)   *gaṭóŋ*   *báaltumo.*

             khín-e   gaṭú-ŋ-Ø   báalt-m-o

             she:PROX-ERG cloth-PL-ABS wash-NPRS-3SG.HF

             'She washed the clothes.'

       b.   Result-/patient-oriented (telic) stem

             (*khíne)   *gaṭóŋ*   *duwáaltimi.*

                                      d-báalt-m-i

                                        TEL-wash-NPRS-3PL.Y

             'The clothes were washed.'

The telic prefix *d-* realizes several different meanings besides building middle-like voice stems.

     The personal prefix and causative prefix *s-* also change verb stem valency. Both of them can increase the number of arguments. In the case of the personal prefix, the larger the type number (I, II, or III) raises, the higher the transitivity of the verb stem: For example, compare *@ˑt-* 'to do' with *@ˑˑt-* 'to make (somebody to do).'

Table 6: Transitivity realized by combinations of the characteristics of verbal roots and the types of personal prefixes

Root		Stem			
Valency	Volitionality	Ø	I	II	III
1	±	Intransitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive
1	+	Intransitive	Transitive		Ditransitive
2	+	Transitive	Transitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
3	+		Ditransitive	Ditransitive	

Table 6 presents a rough description of the relation between the type of personal prefix and the transitivity of verb stems. In the table, the blank cells indicate that the combinations are too short to judge their transitivity.

7.9   Negation

Negation for propositions is marked by the negative prefix *a-/oó-* on the verb or the main copula. Thus, the auxiliary copula in the verbal template never takes the negative prefix.

7.10   Tense, aspect, mood

Burushaski has no tense markers. Its temporality is organized by the combinations of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and mood (present vs. non-present) markers, and the auxiliary copula, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Temporality in Burushaski organized by three axes

[+4] \ [+2]	none <PFV>	-č <IPFV>
none <PRS>	Prospective	Future‡
-m <NPRS>	Simple Past	
COP	Present Perfect	Present
COP-m	Past Perfect	Past Imperfect

‡ The formation of Future has variations on both dialects and agreements in person/number/class.

e.g.,	Prospective:	*éto*	'she will be / is / was about to do it',
	Simple Past:	*étumo*	'she did it'
	Present Perfect:	*étubó*	'she has done it'
	Past Perfect:	*étubóm*	'she had done it'
	Future:	*éčo / éčumo*	'she will do it'
	Present:	*éčubó*	'she does / is doing it'
	Past Imperfect:	*éčubóm*	'she was doing it'

The present mood is used for descriptions of the events present that are actually observed by the speaker's cognition in the present. So this mood marker functions correspondingly with what is called the present tense marker in other languages.

However, it is also used for prospective events, which have not happened yet in the present, because the inceptions of the events can be sensed now.

The pair to the present mood is, of course, the non-present mood (or the absent mood). This mood functions nearly as a tense for both past and future predicates. If an event is present but has gone now, the event is absent; and if an event will be certainly present but has not been yet now, the event is absent, too. For these events, the non-present mood marker must be used. Unlike irrealis mood in other languages, the non-present mood in Burushaski is also used for past events that the speaker considers to have happened in reality.

In addition, there are also 3 moods: imperative, optative, and conditional.

The imperative mood is used for commands and is restricted in the second person agent both morphologically and semantically.

The optative mood in finite forms is employed to express wishes or expectations, and in non-finite forms, it can be observed in the constructions of several expressions requiring a verbal complement; for example, ability expressions with the verb *@ˊ-man-* as in (37), or time expressions with the adverbial noun *qháaṣ* 'until, up to,' as in (38), are harmonious with optative non-finites; see also §5.3.

(37) *étiṣ*   *áamayabáa.*
      i̇-t-́ṣ   a̤-man-́č-a+bá-a-Ø
      3SG.Y:II-do-OPT   1SG:III-become-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS
      'I can do it.'

(38) *eérṣ*   *qháa(ṣ)*
      a-ir-́ṣ   qháaṣ
      1SG:I-die-OPT   until
      'until I die'

The conditional mood is used only for conditional forms in the subjunctive clause. However, it is not necessarily the conditional mood that is employed for conditionals; some conditional forms include the conditional mood suffix, but others do not.

All the verbal forms in Burushaski are distinguished into two groups by aspect: perfective or imperfective.

7.11   Information structure

Burushaski speakers usually set a phrase to topicalize forward. For example, the latter part of sentence (39) ('with her') can be topicalized by the fronting process as in (40).

(39)   *jáa*   *ínmo*   *káa*   *čaɣabár*   *étam.*
       jé-e   ín-mu-e   káa   čaɣabár-Ø   i̇-t́-a-m
       I-ERG   s/he:DIST-OBL-GEN   together   chat-ABS   3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-NPRS
       'I talked with her.'

(40)   *ínmo*   *káa*   *jáa*   *čaɣabár*   *étam.*
       ín-mu-e   káa   jé-e   čaɣabár-Ø   i̇-t́-a-m
       s/he:DIST-OBL-GEN   together   I-ERG   chat-ABS   3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-NPRS
       'I talked with her (lit. With her I talked).'

The topic marker *to*, loaned from Urdu, can be attached immediately after the clause-initial phrase to indicate clarification or emphasis.

8.   Clause combining

8.1   Overview of clause combining

Clause combining serves two overt means in Burushaski, coordination and subordination. There are three means of clause combining: conjunctives, converbs, and relativizers.

8.2   Coordination

Coordination with conjunctives is served by the following: *ke* 'and; then,' *dáa* 'and then,' *óor* 'and' [< Ur. *ɔːr* 'and'] (see (41)), and *leekín* 'but' [< Ur. *leːkin* 'but'].

(41)   *káman*   *guncíŋcum,*   *buá*   *halkíimi*
       kám-an   gunć-iŋ-c-um   buá-Ø   halḱ-m-i
       little-NSP.SG   day-PL-ADE-ABL   cow-ABS   bear-NPRS-3SG.X

óor	isk	désmanimi.
óor	i-sk̕-Ø	d-i̵-s-man̕-m-i
and	3SG.X:I-young-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X

'Some days later, the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.' (Shon Gukur: #12)

Frequently, clause combining is accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses simply, as in (42).

(42)

biṭáyue	yeécuman,	húke mamúe
biṭán-čo-e	i-ic̕-m-an	húke+mamó-e
shaman-PL-ERG	3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H	Huke.Mamo-ERG
šon gukúrar	ésimi:	
šón+gukúr-ar	i̵-s̕-m-i	
Shon.Gukur-DAT	3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM	

'The shamans saw it, and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur:' (Shon Gukur: #5)

8.3 Subordination

8.3.1 Adverbial clauses

These conjunctives are usually employed to create subordination: *ágar* 'if' [< Ur. *agar* 'if'] and *béšal* 'when' (see (43)) in the clause-initial position and *kúli* 'though' (see (44)) in the clause-final position. They indicate subordinating adverbial clauses, which cannot occur independently from any main clause.

(43)

eḍ	buṭ	qhoš	imáibái
éḍ-Ø	búṭ	qhóš	i-man̕-č+bá-i-Ø
Ed-ABS	much	happy	3SG.HM:I-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS
béšal	íne	icé	šurómuc
béšal	ín-e	icé	šuró-muc-Ø
when	he:DIST-ERG	those:X	pie-PL-ABS

dósmaibái			*ke.*
d-uˑs-manʹ-č+bá-i-Ø			ké
TEL-3PL.X:II-CAUS-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS			CONJN

'Ed is happy when he is baking pies.' (*uyúm daɣánum búšan*: #11)

(44)

éḍe	*ɣoyáŋcum*	*darúm*	*qháa*	*íi*	*bluuberíie*
éḍ-e	ɣoyáŋ-c-um	darʹ-um	qháaṣ	íi	bluuberíi-e
Ed-GEN	hair-ADE-ABL	still-ADJVLZ	until	just	blueberry-GEN
nas	*júċilúm,*		*altó*	*dam*	
nás-Ø	jú-č+bʹ-ila-m		altó	dám	
smell-ABS	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS		two:Y	moment	
yáṭis	*yáaltóm*		*kuli.*		
i-yaṭís-Ø	i-báalt+bá-i-m		kúli		
3SG.HM:I-head-ABS	3SG.X:I-wash+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS		though		

'Ed's hair still smelled like blueberry though he had taken two showers.'
(*uyúm daɣánum búšan*: #21)

Roughly speaking, there are two kinds of the non-finite verbal forms used for subordination in Burushaski: One is a group of converbs proper, called conjunctive participles, always formed in n-V(-n) (the converb suffix *-n* can be reduplicated up to four times to regulate the locutional rhythm in discourse); see (45). The other is a group of the forms that consist of either a participle or infinitive and case marking; see (46)–(48).

(45) Converb proper / Conjunctive perticiple: Same-subject Sequential

qhúuqe	*ganṭí*	*néɣarin*	*sénimi ...*
qhúuq-e	ganṭí-Ø	n-i-ï-ɣarʹ-n	sén-m-i
pig-ERG	bell-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.X

'The pig rang a doorbell and (the pig) said ...' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái ke uyúm ɣuníkiṣ qhúuq*: #20)

(46) Perfective participle + Dative case: Different-subject Sequential

harált	*diáarcumar*	*čaɣórum*	*maími.*
harált-Ø	d-gáarc-um-ar	čaɣór-um	man-́č-m-i
rain-ABS	TEL-run-ADJVLZ-DAT	cold-ADJVLZ	
become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y			

'After it rains, it will be cold.'

(47) Imperfective participle + Adhesive case: Same-subject Simultaneous

in	*hérčumaṭe*	*ními.*
ín-Ø	hér-č-um-aṭ-e	ní-m-i
s/he:DIST-ABS	cry-IPFV-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	go-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He went crying.'

(48) Infinitive + Locative case: Free-subj. (Different-subj. here) Simultaneous

in	*éyanasulo*	*zilzilá.*
ín-Ø	i̇-gán-as-ul-e	zilzilá-Ø
s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.HM:II-sleep-INF-LOC-ESS	earthquake-ABS

díimi.
díi-m-i
come:PFV:3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

'When he was sleeping, the earthquake came.'

8.3.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause consists of a predicative clause, either verbal or copular, one of the relativizers, which are identical to interrogatives *bésan / bésik* 'what (SG.PL / PL),' *ménan / ménik* 'who (SG.PL / PL),' *ámin / ámins / ámit* 'which (H / X / Y),' *ámitali* 'via which way,' *béšal* 'when,' *bes* 'why,' *am* 'where,' *bélaṭe* 'how,' *béerum(an) ~ beúrum(an)* 'how much,' and so on, and sometimes also the general conjunctive *ke*. The host noun that receives the modification of relative clauses almost always requires a distal demonstrative word corresponding to the relativizer in the relative clause. Hence, there may be the approvable view that relative clauses do not modify but correlate with the host nouns. This relationship is what is called correlative diptych by Lehman (1989) in his hierarchical downgrading parameter, which has the hierarchical position at the middle between parataxis and hypotaxis.

(49) *ámit*   *díśulo*   *nizá*
      ámit   díš-ul-e   nizá-Ø
      which:Y   ground-LOC-ESS   spear-ABS

      yábím   *ke*,   *ité*   *díśulo*
      i-ya+bʹi-m   ké   ité   díš-ul-e
      3SG.X:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS   CONJN   that:Y   ground-LOC-ESS

      yáare   *ité*   *γíṭulo,*   *nizá*
      i-yáar-e   ité   γíṭ-ul-e   nizá-Ø
      3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS   that:Y   sludge-LOC-ESS   spear-ABS

      níyan   *taí*   *záile*   *bim,*
      n-i-yáʹn   teíl   záil-e   bʹi-m
      CP-3SG.X:I-get-CP   such   wise-ESS   COP-3SG.X-NPRS

      'In whichever place the arrow had landed, in that place, down in that sludge,
      the arrow was stuck in that way,' (Tikkanen 1991: #207)

(50) *šon gukúr*   *biṭáne*   *bésan*   *sénuma*
      šón+gukúr   biṭán-e   bés-an-Ø   sén-um=a
      Shon.Gukur   shaman-ERG   what-NSP.SG-ABS   say-ADJVLZ=Q

      ke   *ité*   *sahíi*   *maními.*
      ké   ité-Ø   sahíi   manʹ-m-i
      CONJN   that:Y-ABS   correct   become-NPRS-3SG.Y

      'What Shon Gukur had said (= that) turned out true.' (Shon Gukur: #14)

8.3.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses appear with or without the general conjunctive *ke*. There is no
indicator word for the end of complement clauses, even though a single complement
clause can consist of more than two clauses. They are subordinational clauses that
always function as a core argument.

(51) *yaaní sénimi*   *ke,*   *isé*   *isúmal*
      yaaní sén-m-i   ké   isé   i-sumál-Ø
      FIL   say-NPRS-3SG.HM   CONJN   that:X   3SG.X:I-tail-ABS

ískilaṭar   *díibí,*   *óor*

i-skíl-aṭ-ar   díi+bʼi-Ø   óor

3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT   come:PFV:3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS   and

isée   *ɣalát*   *dukóomaninin*   *burúm*

isé-e   ɣalát   d-gü̈-manʼ-n-n   burʼ-um

that:X-ERG   wrong   TEL-2SG:III-become-CP-CP   white-ADJVLZ

ṭíko   *bi*   *séibáa.*

ṭíko-Ø   bʼi-Ø   sén-č+bá-a-Ø

stain-ABS   COP-3SG.X-PRS   say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'[Shon Gukur] said that the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.' (Shon Gukur: #9)

(52)   *šon gukúre*   *húke mamúar*

šón+gukúr-e   húke+mamó-ar

Shon.Gukur-ERG   Huke.Mamo-DAT

ésimi,   *ískan*   *bi,*

i-̈sʼ-m-i   i-skʼ-an-Ø   bʼi-Ø

3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM   3SG.X:I-young-NSP.SG-ABS   COP-3SG.X-PRS

óor   *akhóle*   *ipháṭiaṭe*   *burúm*

óor   akhól-e   i-phaṭí-aṭ-e   burʼ-um

and   here-ESS   3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS   white-ADJVLZ

péčan,   *lágan*   *bilá.*

péč-an-Ø   lágan-Ø   bʼ-ila-Ø

patch-NSP.SG-ABS   metal.finger.bowl-ABS   COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, "[This cow] is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here."' (Shon Gukur: #6)

The presence and absence of the general conjunctive *ke* show no difference, either semantically or intonationally.

9.   Shon Gukur (a folktale)

[1]   *bahaaríi*   *ṭáimulo*   *šon gukúr*   *ke*   *húke mamó,*

  bahaarí-e   ṭáim-ul-e   šón+gukúr   ké   húke+mamó-Ø

  spring-GEN   time-LOC-ESS   Shon.Gukur   CONJN   Huke.Mamo-ABS

  of spring   in time   Shon Gukur   and   Huke Mamo

áltitar   *dúcám.*

áltit-ar   d-u-sú+bá-an-m

Altit-DAT   TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

to Altit   they had brought them

       'In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit.'

[2]   *u*   *óltalik*   *húnzue*   *mašúur*

       biṭáyo

       ú-Ø   uˉ-ltalik   húnzo-e   mašúur   biṭán-čo-Ø

       they:DIST-ABS   3PL.H:II-both   Hunza-GEN   famous   shaman-PL-ABS

       they   both of them   of Hunza   famous   shamans

bam.

bá-an-m

COP-3PL.H-NPRS

were

       'Both were famous in Hunza as shamans.'

[3]   *óltalik*   *gáṭi*   *numánin*

       uˉ-ltalik-Ø   gáṭi   n-man-n

       3PL.H:II-both-ABS   gathering   CP-become-CP

       both of them   together   having become

hurúṭám.

hurúṭ+bá-an-m

sit+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

they had sat

       'The two of them were sitting together.'

[4] *óltalik*   *nuúruṭin*   *bam,*   *óltalik*

u̇-ltalik-Ø   n-hurúṭ-n   bá-an-m   u̇-ltalik

3PL.H:II-both-ABS   CP-sit-CP   COP-3PL.H-NPRS   3PL.H:II-both

both of them   having sat   were   both of them

karagáḍie   *káa*   *han*   *baṭá*   *buáan*

karagáḍi-e   káa   hán   baṭá   buá-an-Ø

Karagadimuts-GEN   together   one:X   bald   cow-NSP.SG-ABS

of the Karagadimuts clan   with   a   piebald   cow

júçibím.

jú-č+b́-i-m

come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

it was coming

> 'The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit with the Karagadimuts clan.'

[5] *biṭáyue*   *yeécuman,*   *húke mamúe*

biṭán-čo-e   i-ić́m-an   húke+mamó-e

shaman-PL-ERG   3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H   Huke.Mamo-ERG

the shamans   they saw it   Huke Mamo

šon gukúrar   *ésimi:*   *khóse*

šón+gukúr-ar   i-ś́m-i   khós-e

Shon.Gukur-DAT   3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM   this:X-GEN

to Shon Gukur   he told him   of this

yuúlulo   *isk*   *bi.*

i-uĺ-ul-e   i-sḱ-Ø   b́i-Ø

3SG.X:I-belly-LOC-ESS   3SG.X:I-young-ABS   COP-3SG.X-PRS

in its belly   its calf   is

> 'The shamans saw it, and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur: "This cow is in calf."'

[6] *šon gukúre*   *húke mamúar*   *ésimi,*

šón+gukúr-e   húke+mamó-ar   i-ś́m-i

Shon.Gukur-ERG   Huke.Mamo-DAT   3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

Shon Gukur   to Huke Mamo   he told him

ískan	*bi,*	*óor*	*akhóle*
i-sk-́an-Ø	b-́i-Ø	óor	akhól-e
3SG.X:I-young-NSP.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	here-ESS
its calf	is	and	here

iphátiaṭe	*burúm*	*péčan,*
i-phaṭí-aṭ-e	bur-́um	péč-an-Ø
3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS	white-ADJVLZ	patch-NSP.SG-ABS
at its forehead	white	patch

lágan	*bilá.*
lágan-Ø	b-́ila-Ø
metal.finger.bowl-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS
round mark	is

'Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, "(This cow) is in calf, and there is a white round patch on the forehead of the young one here."'

[7]	*šon gukúre*	*sénimi,*		*be*	*ya*	*un*
	šón+gukúr-e	sén-m-i	bé	yá	ún-Ø
	Shon.Gukur-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	no	INTERJ	thou-ABS
	Shon Gukur	he said	no	no	you

ɣalát	*báa,*	*isé*	*ṭíko*	*apí.*
ɣalát	bá-a-Ø	isé-Ø	ṭíko-Ø	a-b-́i-Ø
wrong	COP-2SG-PRS	that:X-ABS	stain-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS
wrong	are	that	stain	is not

burúm	*akhóle*	*ḍáako*		*apí.*
bur-́um	akhól-e	ḍáako-Ø	a-b-́i-Ø
white-ADJVLZ	here-ESS	embroidery.pattern-ABS	NEG-COP-3SG.X-PRS
white	here	pattarn	is not

'"You are wrong, it is not a white patch," said Shon Gukur.'

[8]	*ése*	*isúmale*		*múšaṭe*	*élar*
	és-e	i-sumál-e	múš-aṭ-e	él-ar
	that.one:X-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	edge-INS-ESS	there-DAT
	of that	of its tail	at the end	there

akhíle	*díibilá,*
akhíl-e	díi+bʹila-Ø
such-ESS	come:PFV:3SG.Y+COP-3SG.Y-PRS
such	it has come

óor	*isé*	*énḍulo*
óor	isé	énḍ-ul-e
and	that:X	end-LOC-ESS
and	that	on the end

isé	*aqhíirulo*	*burúm*	*bilá.*
isé	aqhíir-ul-e	burʹ-um	bʹila-Ø
that:X	last-LOC-ESS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-PRS
that	on the end	white	is

'"The tassel on the end of its tail has come there, and it is white."'

[9]	*yaaní*	*sénimi*	*ke,*	*isé*	*isúmal*
	yaaní	sén-m-i	ké	isé	i-sumál-Ø
	FIL	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	CONJN	that:X	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS
	that is	he said	that	that	its tail

ískilaṭar	*díibí,*	*óor*	*isée*
i-skíl-aṭ-ar	díi+bʹi-Ø	óor	isé-e
3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT	come:PFV:3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	that:X-ERG
on to its face	it has come	and	that

γalát	*dukóomaninin*	*burúm*	*ṭíko*	*bi*
γalát	d-gu̇-manʹ-n-n	burʹ-um	ṭíko-Ø	bʹi-Ø
wrong	TEL-2SG:III-become-CP-CP	white-ADJVLZ	stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS
wrong	having become	white	stain	is

séibáa.
sén-č+bá-a-Ø
say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS
you say

'"That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so."'

[10]	*óltalike*		*bée*	*ya.*	*óltalik*
	u̇-ltalik-e		bé	yá	u̇-ltalik-Ø
	3PL.H:II-both-ERG		no	INTERJ	3PL.H:II-both-ABS
	both of them		no	no	both of them

atúmayman.

a-d-u-maay´-m-an

NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-be.peaceful-NPRS-3PL.H

they disagreed

       'Both of them said: "No." The two disagreed.'

[11]	*yáa*	*téerumanar*		*isé*	*buá*	*áltitar*
	yá	téer-um-an-ar		isé	buá-Ø	áltit-ar
	INTERJ	so.much-ADJVLZ-NSP.SG-DAT		that:X	cow-ABS	Altit-DAT
	then	in that way		that	the cow	to Altit

dícuman.

d-i-sú-m-an

TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-3PL.H

they brought it

       'Then presently, men brought the cow into Altit.'

[12]	*káman*	*guncíŋcum,*	*buá*	*halkíimi*
	kám-an	gunc´-iŋ-c-um	buá-Ø	halk´-m-i
	little-NSP.SG	day-PL-ADE-ABL	cow-ABS	bear-NPRS-3SG.X
	some	after days	the cow	it born

óor	*isk*	*désmanimi.*
óor	i-sk´-Ø	d-i̇́-s-man´-m-i
and	3SG.X:I-young-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X
and	its calf	it made it

       'Some days later, the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.'

[13]	*isé*	*buáa*	*isúmale*		*mujóq*	*burúm*
	isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e		mujóq-Ø	bur´-um
	that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN		tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ
	that	of the cow	of its tail		the tassel	white

bilúm.		*óor*	*ískilar*	*kawárd*		*dálum*
b´-ila-m		óor	i-skíl-ar	kawárd		dál-um
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS		and	3SG.X:I-face-DAT	covered		over-ABL
was		and	to its face	covered		over

manílúm.

man+bˊ-ila-m

become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

it had become

      'The tassel of its tail was white, and it was hanging down over its face.'

[14]   *šon gukúr*   *biṭáne*   *bésan*   *sénum=a*   *ke*

      šón+gukúr   biṭán-e   bés-an-Ø   sén-um=a   ké

      Shon.Gukur   shaman-ERG   what-NSP.SG-ABS   say-ADJVLZ=Q   CONJN

      Shon Gukur   the shaman   what   he said   that

ité   *sahíi*   *maními.*

ité-Ø   sahíi   manˊ-m-i

that:Y-ABS   correct   become-NPRS-3SG.Y

that   true   it became

      'What Shon Gukur had said turned out [to be] true.'

[15]   *sis*   *heiráan*   *umánuman.*

      sís-Ø   heiráan   u-manˊ-m-an

      people-ABS   surprised   3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

      the people   surprised   they became

      'The people were filled with amazement.'

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