Grammatical Sketches from the Field 2

Toshihide Nakayama
Noboru Yoshioka
Kosei Otsuka

Linguistic Dynamics Science Project
Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Published by the Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Fuchu-chi Asahi-cho 3-11-1, Tokyo, 183-8534, JAPAN
E-mail: publ@aa.tufs.ac.jp
URL: http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/
Phone: +81-(0)42-330-5600
Fax: +81-(0)42-330-5610

(c) Individual Contributors, 2014
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td></td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of abbreviations and symbols</td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻÔrōê</td>
<td>Emiko TSUJI</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amis</td>
<td>Kazuhiro IMANISHI</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Pingjiang Dialect</td>
<td>Shengkai ZHANG</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiddim Chin</td>
<td>Kosei Otsuka</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunza Burushaski</td>
<td>Noboru YOSHIOKA</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 their respective languages.

Toshihide Nakayama
Noboru Yoshioka
Kosei Otsuka
## Abbreviations and symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising tone</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level tone</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling tone</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affix boundary</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clitic boundary</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound boundary</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal prefix slot</td>
<td>@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type-I personal prefix</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type-II personal prefix</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type-III personal prefix</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adessive</td>
<td>ADE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectivalizer</td>
<td>ADJVLZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>ASP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td>ASS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmentative</td>
<td>AUG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
<td>AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor voice</td>
<td>AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonant</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier</td>
<td>CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>COM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementizer</td>
<td>COMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>COND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>CONJN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>CONT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>COP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctive participle</td>
<td>CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>DECL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determiner</td>
<td>DET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminutive</td>
<td>DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essive</td>
<td>ESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>EXCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential verb</td>
<td>EXST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>FEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>FIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final particle</td>
<td>FIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>GER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-class</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HF-class</td>
<td>HF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM-class</td>
<td>HM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchoative</td>
<td>INCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>INCL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INE</td>
<td>Inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Intentional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITR</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Instrumental voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>Location voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAS</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDL</td>
<td>Middle voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MV</td>
<td>Middle voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONV</td>
<td>Non-volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPRS</td>
<td>Non-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSP</td>
<td>Non-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numerical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>(Direct) object argument of canonical transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORD</td>
<td>Ordinal number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCLF</td>
<td>Possessive classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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 (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 /ʔôrôê/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labio-</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>velarized</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p /p/</td>
<td>pw /pʷ/</td>
<td>t /t/</td>
<td>tj /c/</td>
<td>k /k/</td>
<td>kw /kʷ/</td>
<td>'ʔ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b /b/</td>
<td>bw /bʷ/</td>
<td>d /d/</td>
<td>dj /j/</td>
<td>g /g/</td>
<td>gw /gʷ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m /m/</td>
<td>mw /mʷ/</td>
<td>n /n/</td>
<td>ny /ɲ/</td>
<td>ng /ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>v /v/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gh /ɣ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w /w/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j /j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr /ɾ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>r /ɾ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2. Vowels

#### Oral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i /i/</td>
<td>ü /y/</td>
<td>u /u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>e /e/</td>
<td>ü /ø/</td>
<td>o /ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open mid</td>
<td>è /ɛ/</td>
<td>ē /æ/</td>
<td>ò /ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a /a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Nasal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>î /ĩ/</td>
<td>ũ /ũ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>è /ɛ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>õ /õ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>å /ã/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Consonants

Stops consist of voiceless phonemes /p/, /pʰ/, /t/, /k/, /kʰ/, and /ʔ/ and voiced phonemes /b/, /bʰ/, /d/, /g/, /gʰ/, and /ɡʰ/. These voiced stops are always prenasalized. Palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are realized as [tʃ] and [dʃ], respectively. Nasal phonemes include /m/, /mʰ/, /n/, /ŋ/, and /nʲ/. Palatal nasal /ɲ/ and velar nasal /ŋ/ are only found in a few words. In fricatives, there are only voiced phonemes /v/ and /γ/. Intervocalic /v/ before the vowel /a/ or /o/ tends to be pronounced as [v]. Approximant phonemes include /w/ and /j/. /j/ is realized as [Æ] before the vowel /i/. Liquids are a trill /ɾ/ and a flap /ɾ/.

#### 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 [u]. /ø/ is pronounced with slight lip-rounding. It tends to be pronounced as a central-unrounded vowel [ɔ] by elderly speakers and as a front-rounded vowel [ɔ] by younger speakers. /a/ 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 [a], like /a/ in Japanese.
Oral /e/ and /e/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ are contrastive, but their nasal counterparts are neutralized and are respectively realized as [ẽ] and [õ]. /y/ 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 ‘Ôrôê 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” /jiara/ “mat” /tay/ “lazy”
V+V+V: /puie/ “to open” /ᵐbẽœ/ “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) /me-ма/ (2) /ʔa-bia/ (3) /i da bari ve nãpol/
   [mẽ-ma]  [ʔãⁿ-bia]  [ĩⁿdãⁿ-bari ve nãpol]
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 /ɲɔ/ and /ĩ/, respectively. These allomorphs occur after verbs or bound nouns ending with nasal vowels. Shown below, (4) is the example of /ɲɔ/ following a verb ending with a nasal vowel, and (5) is the example of /ĩ/ following a bound noun ending with nasal vowel.
Moreover, the first-person singular pronoun /jɔ/ appears as /o/ when it follows possessive classifier /tì/ (for instance, /warrawa tì=ðo/ bread pclf.food1=1sg “my bread to eat”) (see also 3.2.1.3), and it appears /n̥eə/ 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:

`ai “to marry” ighù “to cook” nene “fire” puže “to open” avavoa “ladybug”`

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

`pèèrii “to roll” jouu “waterfall” maimii “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 nà ágè 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)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 3 & 3 & 1 & 31 \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
i \quad mwere \quad nà \quad djìè \\
3SG.NOM \quad break \quad NOM \quad what
\]
“What is broken?”

(9)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 4 & 4 & 2 & 3 & 3 & 4 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
i \quad mwere \quad nà \quad ágè \quad ghi=è \\
3SG.NOM \quad break \quad NOM \quad car \quad GEN=3SG
\]
“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-jô* (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

[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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object/Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>gòjò</td>
<td>'ò</td>
<td>mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ñè</td>
<td>nge</td>
<td>mange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>tjè</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INCL</td>
<td>âru</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>marru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.EXCL</td>
<td>âvu</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>mavu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>ñâhu</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>maghu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>ñâru</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>maru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>âre</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>marre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ñâve</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>mavre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ñâge</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>maghe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ñâre</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
3.2.1.3 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 ùrra vè
    coconut  PCLF.FOOD2  child  DEM:MID
    “the coconut of that child to eat”

(11) ’ôjò=è gwâ
    PCLF.DRINK=3PL  coconut
    “his coconut to drink”

3.2.1.4 Numerals
There are only five numerals: *rrakê* “one,” *kèaru* “two,” *kèrere* “three,” *kèvèè* “four,” *kènî* “five.” To represent numbers over six, numerals from one to five are combined: *kènî mè rrakê* (five and one) “six,” *kènî mè kèaru* (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: *kèaru 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 into 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 vê
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 nà gêè
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,” tôônu “always,” and rrariîvè “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; nà, allative1; wa, allative2; è, instrumental1; pè, instrumental2; veri, comitative; noa, the preposition indicating purpose; and ghai, 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 ojô 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 'Ôrôë. There are two nouns (nene “fire” and rârâ “noise”) and three verbs (mâmâ “light,” rürû “shake,” and rrârrâ “grill”) that appear reduplicated, although, the meanings of their original monosyllabic forms are not clear.

\(^1\) 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-taiá (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 pimê-arrê (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=øj (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-wo (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.
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 mēē, and a demonstrative pronoun vē modifying the head noun.

(16) kērere bē'ê a mēē vē
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) pēdurrakē őjowe pēe-jaani
some woman grandchild-PN
“some granddaughters of Jaani”

(18) 'āru ne'ò
Creeper forest
“The creeper of forest”

The word order of a proper and common noun is that a proper noun follows a common noun: mēgē őrôê (language PN) “language of őrôê.”

As in other Oceanic languages, possessive constructions in őrôê 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
    hand-PN
    “Pol’s hand”

(20) pimê-è
    eye-3SG
    “his eyes”

Indirect possession

(21) jaakè i pol
    bag GEN PN
    “Pol’s bag”

(22) nyînyâ ghi=è
    mother GEN=3SG
    “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 tjiâ pokai
    1SG.NOM arrive fly bird
    “I arrived and as a result a bird flies.”

(24) i vârâ ve jôwo
    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 nà.

\[ \text{[a]} \quad \text{predicate NP} \quad nà \quad \text{subject NP} \]

(25) ne-è nà 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:

\[ \text{[b]} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{predicate NP} \quad nà \quad \text{subject NP} \]

(26) ru duduapeî nà jaani mè marijòò
3DU.NOM cross.cousins NOM PN CONJ PN
“Jaani and Marijòò are cross-cousins.”

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

(27) i wò jèvü nà ùrò
3SG.NOM PST good 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: \( \text{s (S)} \quad \text{VP} \quad nà \quad \text{NP (S)} \)

(28) i weja nà 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) nà NP (A)

(29)  i rrárrâ rrémwââ nà 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 nà following the predicate. The subject pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase preceded by nà. In (30), the subject pronoun ru agrees in person and number with the subject noun phrase anii mè jajuè:

(30) ru djöi nò nà 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 nà 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)  
\[
i \quad \text{para} = jò \quad jè \quad jaani \quad nà \quad ujènii \\
3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{show} = 1\text{SG} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{PN} \\
\text{“Ujènii presented me to Jaani.”}
\]

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)  
\[
ge \quad 'ojò \quad kavè \quad rra \\
2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{drink} \quad \text{coffee} \quad \text{Q} \\
\text{“Do you drink coffee (or not)?”}
\]

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

(35)  
\[
ge \quad 'arra \quad djiè \\
2\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{what} \\
\text{“What did you eat?”}
\]

(36)  
\[
i \quad wakè \quad rro \quad wè \\
3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{where} \\
\text{“Where does he work?”}
\]

*rèwinà “why” usually occurs in the final position of the sentence:

(37)  
\[
i \quad da \quad èrrii \quad warawa \quad rrèwinà \\
3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{bread} \quad \text{why} \\
\text{“Why didn't he buy some bread?”}
\]

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=ì
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 nà mè pei i nepwe-jo
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 nà 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 'è a kùù
pn top man rel dance
"Bureji is a dancer."

Location is encoded by the verb tòò “be at”:

(44) i tòò òmwâ ghi=è nà 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) \[ i \ tòò \ ghi=è \ nà \ 'oerrë \ dònepë \]
\[ 3SG.NOM \ be.at \ GEN=3SG \ NOM \ blood \ native \]
“He has a blood of native people.”

(46) \[ i \ wi \ nà \ kēaru \ taiki \ ghi=è \]
\[ 3SG.NOM \ exist \ NOM \ two \ dog \ GEN=3SG \]
“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)
Õrôê 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 bobeârrî “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) \[ ê \ 'âmwi \ jaakè \ nà \ rro \ japô \]
\[ SOMEONE.NOM \ make \ bag \ DEM:NEAR \ LOC \ PN \]
“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.
'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 kà-, one of the event-classifying prefixes, which usually means “by hand, by grasping.” kà- tends to be applied to stative intransitive verbs, and pè- tends to be applied to active intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Kà- expresses more direct causation and pè- expresses indirect causation.

(48) 'ô kà-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:
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 bà “habitual,” tua “progressive,” tô “stative,” juu “inchoative,” mără “repetition,” bwiri “repetition,” and wa “continuous.” Mood markers are ôrô “probably,” wê “emphatic,” dè “assertive,” and dó “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”, dó “really,” wò “remote past,” bà “habitual,”

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 nà S → S rrè s V
s V O nà A → A rrè s V O
[2] object fronting: s V O nà A → O rrè s V nà A
[3] possessor fronting: s V O nà S-possessor → possessor rrè s V O nà 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.

(52) i da jèè ve nà potè nà 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.”

(54) wara tâ-ghèè miu vè PROH by.shooting-injured flying.fox DEM:MID
“Don’t shoot that flying fox.”

(55) nà s-possessor nà S
3SG.NOM S-possessor 2SG.NOM S
“Pol will not come to Pothé.”

(56) wara tâ-ghèè miu vè PROH by.shooting-injured flying.fox DEM:MID
“Don’t shoot that flying fox.”
In (56) below, neme pè-úrra ghi=i is the subject of intransitive verb (S), and its possessor (pè-úrra ghi=i) is topicalized in (57)

(56)  
\[
\begin{align*}
3SG.NOM & \ \text{nà} & \ \text{nà} & \ \text{nà} & 3SG.NOM \\
pè-úrra & \ \text{ghì=i} & \ \text{ghì=i} & \ \text{ghì=i} & \ \text{ghì=i} \\
\end{align*}
\]
“Your children, their faces resemble each other.”

Moreover, adverbs or adverbial phrases can be also topicalized.

(58)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jawimà} & \ \text{rrè} & \ \text{de} & \ \text{wò} & \ \text{vàrà} & \ \text{nà} & \ \text{burrai} \\
in.the.past & \ \text{TOP} & \ \text{1PL.INCL.NOM} & \ \text{PST} & \ \text{walk} & \ \text{ALL} & \ \text{PN} \\
\end{align*}
\]
“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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
& i & dè & 'ui & 'au & a & du & jèè & dè & ve \\
3SG.NOM & ASS & rain & big & CONJN & 1DU.INCL.NOM & FUT & ASS & go \\
\end{array}
\]

“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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
& i & da & japonè & i & da & jinowa & bwarrù \\
3SG.NOM & NEG & Japanese & 3SG.NOM & NEG & Chinese & also \\
\end{array}
\]

“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) \( nà \) 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 \( /ghi \). In [2], clauses with subject pronouns follow the complementizer \( nâmè \) and the subject NP of the clause is encoded by nominative preposition \( nà \). 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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllll}
& i & tò & nórò & wai & nà & mè & tòkòjè & bureji & i & jaani \\
3SG.NOM & STAT & long & already & NOM & NMLZ & look.for & PN & GEN & PN \\
\end{array}
\]

“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].

---

\(^2\) \( mè \) also functions as a prefix, which derives nouns (see 4.2 Nominal morphology).
Table 4. Type of verbs and the type of complement clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>matrix verb</th>
<th>ex.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

(63) ’ô tôneme nâmè i érrîi warawa wai nà 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 tôneme “think” can take complement clauses with subject pronouns in irrealis form (see 3.2.1.2). Shown below is an example of tôneme “think”:

(64) ’ô tôneme nâmè ma érrîi warawa nà 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, a³ or vè⁴. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject &gt; direct object &gt; indirect object &gt; oblique &gt; possessor</th>
<th>a type</th>
<th>vè type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a type</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vè type</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) 'ô a da vârâ maari
    person REL NEG walk fast
    “the person who doesn't walk fast (his attribute)”

(66) rra 'ôjowe a tôô 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)”

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 wó këri ômwâ vè
    SG woman REL PST burn(vt) house DEM:MID
    “the woman who burned that house”

(69) rra 'ôjowe vè kë 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 Ôrôè 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 contain the subject pronoun. Shown below is an example of a case with a direct object:

(70) warawa vè i rrava jè =jò nà 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) nà NP(S/A)

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

(71) i dò vârâ ghè i mè kâijâ ghi=è âgê 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 nà “when/if” or tjiè “in order to.” In adverbial clauses with nà “when/if,” subject pronouns can take realis or irrealis forms. In the former case, nà 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 tô nàmwâ pol
3SG.NOM STAT see PN
nà i kâwirri ’ê a owî 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.
“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:

“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 frequently (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 nà gèè ngeà
i wò pei nà gèè ngeà
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 nà gèè ngeà
i pei ’au nà gèè ngeà
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 wó 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 nepè rro kikuè
re bore tò pèghi=è rro nepè 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 nà mè pei i gèè
i bore 'au wai nà 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 ò tò ghaï 'arrî
re bore pèghi=è ò tò ghaï 'arrî
3PL.NOM CONJN take=3SG go.out TIME day
they then took=her go.out during day
bore pè-tori=è rro bwèdjawia vè
bore pè-tori=è rro bwèdjawia vè
CONJN CAUS-stand=3SG LOC lawn DEM:MID
then made her stand at lawn that

“Then they (her family) took her out of the house during the day and they made her stand on the lawn.”

[7] rrè métòò ne dàmâmighaïevè
rrè métòò ne dà-mà-mi-ghaï-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 nämwód na na môrere 'ê
  tjiè mare tò nämwód na na môrere 'ê
  FOR 3PL.NOM.IRR STAT watch PURP COMP some thing
  for they stay watch PURP that some thing

dekà-rrai bwiri wa 'ôjô=è rërè
  dekà-rrai bwiri wa 'ôjô=è rërè
  IPL.INCL.NOM with.hand-broken again yet PCLF:DRINK=3SG medicine
                  we make a medicine again yet for her drink medicine
rra i to tjérè wai
  rra i to tjérè 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 nämwódwándana rro mwèrè â-ê
  tjiè mare tò nämwódwândana rro mwèrè â-ê
  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-rû gêè bwiri wai ghai rerè
    re bore pè-rû gêè bwiri wai ghai rerè
    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.”
“Then they went out in the morning.”

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

References
Greenberg, J. (1966). H 1966. ‘Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements,’. Universals of language, 73-113


Amis

Kazuhiro Imanishi (University of Tokyo)

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 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" 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Epiglottal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p /p/</td>
<td>t /t/</td>
<td>k /k/</td>
<td>^ /ʡ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f /f/</td>
<td>s /s/</td>
<td></td>
<td>h /h/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>d /ɬ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>c /ʦ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r /r/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l /l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m /m/</td>
<td>n /n/</td>
<td>ng /ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>w /w/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y /j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i /i/</td>
<td></td>
<td>o /o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e /ə/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a /a/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), /ʡ/ is an epiglottopharyngeal 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 [c] when it precedes /i/, and as [s] in other positions. /h/ is realized basically as [h] or [χ] and occasionally as [h] or [x]. /l/ is realized either as a voiceless lateral fricative [l] or voiced lateral fricative [ɬ]. /ts/ is an affricate phoneme realized as [ts] when it precedes [i], and as [ts] in other positions. Some consultants produce [ʣ] as its allophone, e.g., /tsaho/ [ʣahoʔ] ‘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/, /ɾ/, /h/) precedes and/or follows it or (b) when /ɾ/ 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/ => [u] / f__, s__, m, j
    b. /o/ => [o] / t__, ɾ__, ɬ__, f, h, l, 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., /səpat/ ‘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?] ‘elder sibling’ /(CV.CV/ [CV.CV(C)])
b. /o.lah/ [(ʔ)o lah] ‘to like, be pleased’ /(V.CVC/ [(C)V.CVC])
c. /ʔəlah/ [ʔelah ~ ʔəlah] ‘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-/-[əm-] ‘(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.li.po.ŋaj/ (nai-dipong=ay) /CV.V.CV.CV.CVC/  
[na.i.li.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., /kia/ [kija] ‘perhaps,’ /soa/ [sowa] ‘not.’ See (5) for the patterns of glide insertion.
(5) Patterns of glide insertion
a. $\theta \Rightarrow [j] / \{ /i_\_a/ \} \quad \text{b. } \theta \Rightarrow [w] / \{ /u_\_a/ \}
   \quad /i_\_u/ \quad /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/ [koma(?)(ʔ)əәn] ‘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.'kaj]  (cf. [mi.lok.'lok])
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. maan  ['ma.(ʔ)an]
   what
   ‘What?’
   b. O=singsi   kiso ?  [o.ʃiŋ.'ʃi.'kʃi.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.
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. \( O=malingaday \)  \( ko=wawa=ako. \)
\[
\text{PRED=farmer} \quad \text{NOM=child=1SG.GEN} \\
\text{‘My child is a farmer.’}
\]

b. \( Mi=nengneng \)  \( to=tilifi. \)
\[
\text{AV-watch} \quad \text{ACC=TV} \\
\text{‘[I] am watching TV.’}
\]
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)  
(\text{O=} \text{ma-mi-tilid} \text{ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partial reduplication</th>
<th>(i) CV.CV(C) =&gt;</th>
<th>(i) dafak ‘morning’ =&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCV-CVCV-(C)</td>
<td>dafa-dafa-k ‘every morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) CV.C.CV(C) =&gt;</td>
<td>(ii) si^na-w ‘cold’ =&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCV-CCV-(C)</td>
<td>si^na^-^na-w ‘though it is cold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. \[ O=fafahi \ ningra \ ko-ra \ tamdaw. \]
\[ \text{PRED=wife 3SG.GEN NOM-that person} \]
‘That person is his wife.’

b. \[ Nga^ay \ ko=faloco^ no-ra \ tamdaw. \]
\[ \text{good NOM=heart GEN-that person} \]
‘That person’s heart is good.’

c. \[ O=pi-licay \ cingraan \ ko=nga^ay. \] (Fey 1984)
\[ \text{PRED=GER-ask 3SG.ACC NOM=good} \]
‘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>i<ay.  
   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>i<ay.  
   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-tangtag ‘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=dadapis.*

\[\text{UV-death=PFV=1SG GEN NOM=cockroach}\]

‘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.*

\[\text{PRED=teacher 1SG NOM}\]

‘I am a teacher.’

b. *I=taiwang ko=loma=ako.*

\[\text{LOC=Taiwan NOM=house=1SG GEN}\]

‘My house is in Taiwan.’

c. *Ma-tefad=to=ako ko=impic.*

\[\text{UV-drop=PFV=1SG GEN NOM=pencil}\]

‘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. \text{Mi-nanom ko=tamdaw to=ocy a.}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
& AV & water & NOM & person \\
& & & & ACC & tea \\
\end{tabular}
\text{‘The person is drinking tea.’}
b. \{mi-nanom-ay to=ocy a\} a \text{tamdaw}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
& AV & water-NMLZ & ACC & tea \\
& CONJ & person \\
\end{tabular}
\text{‘the person who is drinking tea’}
c. *\{mi-nanom-ay ko=tamdaw\} a \text{ocy a}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
& AV & water-NMLZ & NOM & person \\
& & & & CONJ & tea \\
\end{tabular}

Quantifiers that fill the predicate position refer to the nominative phrase only. In (17a) and (17b), \text{^aloman} ‘many’ refers to the nominative phrase. (17b) does not mean ‘I killed many cockroaches.’

(17) a. \text{^Aloman ma-patay=ako ko=dadipis.}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
& many & UV & death & 1SG & GEN & NOM & cockroach \\
\end{tabular}
\text{‘Many cockroaches have been killed by me.’}
b. *\text{^Aloman mi-patay kako to=dadipis.}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
& many & AV & death & 1SG & NOM & ACC & cockroach \\
\end{tabular}
\text{(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., \text{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. \( O=mitilidaj=ho \) kiso?
   \[ PRED=\text{student}=\text{IPFV} \quad 2\text{SG.NOM} \]
   ‘Are you still a student?’

   b. Cima 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. \( mi-patay \ ‘to kill’ \)
   \[ \text{GER-death} \quad \text{ACC=cockroach} \]
   ‘Kill the cockroach!’

   b. \( Ka-patay! \) (cf. \( ma-patay \ ‘to die’ \)
   \[ \text{GER-death} \]
   ‘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) \( Patay-en(=iso) \quad ko=dadipis. \)
   \[ \text{death-UV(=2SG.GEN)} \quad \text{NOM=cockroach} \]
   ‘Kill the cockroach!’ (lit. ‘The cockroach (should) be killed by you!’)
The actor voice *mi*- may also be imperative.

(21) *Mi-ninguy=to!*

\[ AV \text{-bathe.oneself=PFV} \]

‘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. \[ O=mama=ningra \text{ } cingra. \]

\[ \text{PRED=father}=3\text{SG.GEN} \text{ } 3\text{SG.NOM} \]

‘He is his father.’

b. \[ O=singsi \text{ } cingra. \]

\[ \text{PRED=teacher} \text{ } 3\text{SG.NOM} \]

‘He is a teacher.’

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

(23) \[ I=taypak \text{ } ko=wawa=ako. \]

\[ \text{LOC=Taipei} \text{ } \text{NOM=child}=1\text{SG.GEN} \]

‘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. \[ Ira \text{ } ko=\text{^aloman-ay} \text{ } a \text{ } tamdaw \text{ } i=taypak. \]

\[ \text{EXST} \text{ NOM=many-NMLZ} \text{ CONJN} \text{ person} \text{ LOC=Taipei} \]

‘There are a lot of people in Taipei.’

b. \[ Awa=ho \text{ } ko=wawa=ako. \]

\[ \text{NEG.EXST=} \text{IPFV} \text{ } \text{NOM=child}=1\text{SG.GEN} \]

‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pred</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Abl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>o=</td>
<td>ko=</td>
<td>no=</td>
<td>to=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ci-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ci...-an</td>
<td>i=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ca-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ca...-an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nano=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pred/Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Poss</th>
<th>Gen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Kako</em></td>
<td>kakonan, kakowanann takonan, takowanann</td>
<td>mako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Kiso</em></td>
<td>kisonan, kisowanann tisonan, tisowanann</td>
<td>miso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cingra, cira</td>
<td>cingraan, cingranan, ciraan, ciranan</td>
<td>nira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>1+2</td>
<td><em>Kita</em></td>
<td>kitaanann, kitaanann titanan, titaanann</td>
<td>mita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+3</td>
<td><em>kami</em></td>
<td>kaminan, kamiyanan, taminan, tamiyanan</td>
<td>niyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>kamo</em></td>
<td>kamonan, kamowanann tamonan, tamowanann</td>
<td>namo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>cangra</em></td>
<td>cangraan, cangranan, nangra, nangra</td>
<td>nangra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. Interrogative personal pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRED/NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cima</td>
<td>ciman, cimaan</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

   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.  
   food<MV> 1SG.NOM ACC=alcohol
   ‘I drink alcoholic drink.’

b. R<om>akat cingra to=lalan.  
   walk<MV> 3SG.NOM ACC=road
   ‘He is walking along the road.’

c. Ma-tayal koko to=dadaya.  
   UV-work 1SG.NOM ACC=night
   ‘I work at night.’

d. Sanga^en no=kawas to=sera ko=tamdaw.  
   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).
   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-ker o cingra i=lalan.*  (Location)
   UV-dance=NMLZ 3SG.NOM LOC=road
   ‘He is dancing on the road.’

b. *Tayra jako 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=da=fak 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-mdaw ‘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)

   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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Aspectual</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Modal</th>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Valency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-…-an</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Volition</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>1 or 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>Perfect/stative</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>DECL/INT</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>0 to 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Future/past</td>
<td>DECL/IMP</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-…-an</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>DECL/INT</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-…-aw</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Volition</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>DECL/INT</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>VN</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-lafj (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 volititative just like its actor voice counterpart \textit{sa-}....\textit{an} (see Section 8.6.2.1); however, it takes no nominative. See (35) for examples.

(35) a. \textit{Ma-lasang} \textit{kako}.
\begin{flushleft}
UV-drunk 1SG.NOM
\end{flushleft}
‘I am drunk.’

b. \textit{Ma-tefad} \textit{ko=impic}.
\begin{flushleft}
UV-drop NOM=pencil
\end{flushleft}
‘The pencil dropped.’

c. \textit{Ma-patay=}ako \textit{ko=dadipis}.
\begin{flushleft}
UV-death=1SG.GEN NOM=cockroach
\end{flushleft}
‘The cockroach has been killed by me.’

d. \textit{Patay-en=}ako \textit{ko=dadipis}.
\begin{flushleft}
death-UV=1SG.GEN NOM=cockroach
\end{flushleft}
‘The cockroach is going to be killed by me.’

(i.e., ‘I am going to kill the cockroach.’)

e. (\textit{O=}\textit{mi-patay-an=}ako \textit{ko=dadipis}).
\begin{flushleft}
(PRED=)UV-death-UV=1SG.GEN NOM=cockroach
\end{flushleft}
‘The cockroach was killed by me.’

f. (\textit{O=}\textit{sa-pi-nanom-aw=}ako \textit{to=}ocy\textit{a}).
\begin{flushleft}
(PRED=)UV-GER-water-UV=1SG.GEN ACC=tea
\end{flushleft}
‘I want to drink tea.’

8.7.2.3 Middle voice

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

(36) \textit{R<om>akat cingra i=lalan}.
\begin{flushleft}
walk<\textit{MV}> 3SG.NOM LOC=road
\end{flushleft}
‘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 \textit{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.
\(\text{(PRED)}=\text{IV-GER-boil}=\text{1SG.GEN} \ \text{ACC=bath} \ \text{NOM=this wood}\)
‘This wood is the instrument with which I boil the bathwater.’
b. \(O=\)ka-foti\(^{-}\)an=ako ko-ra loma\(^{-}\).
\(\text{(PRED=}\text{GER-sleep-LV}=\text{1SG.GEN} \ \text{NOM=that house}\)
‘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’)
\(\text{NEG} \ \text{GER-tired} \ \text{1SG.NOM}\)
‘I am not tired.’
b. Awa ko=nanom.
\(\text{NEG.EXST} \ \text{NOM=water}\)
‘There is no water.’
c. Aka ka-k<om>aen to=^epah.
\(\text{PROH} \ \text{GER-food<MV> ACC=alcohol}\)
‘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-ninggoy=to kako.*  
    \[AV\text{-}bathe.oneself=PFV 1SG.NOM\]  
    ‘I will bathe myself. / I (already) bathed myself.’  
  b.  *Mi-ninggoy=ho kako.*  
    \[AV\text{-}bathe.oneself=IPFV 1SG.NOM\]  
    ‘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.*  
    \[PRED=teacher \text{ NOM=}Kacaw\]  
    ‘Kacaw [OLD] is a teacher [NEW].’  
  b.  *Ci-kacaw ko=singsi.*  
    \[PRED=Kacaw \text{ NOM=}teacher\]  
    ‘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.*  
    \[UV\text{-}death=1SG.GEN \text{ NOM=}cockroach\]  
    ‘The cockroach [TOPIC] has been killed by me.’  
  b.  *O=dadipis ma-patay=ako.*  
    \[PRED=cockroach UV\text{-}death=1SG.GEN\]  
    ‘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 \textit{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 \textit{-ay}. In the nominal clause linking, the conjunction \textit{a} cannot be omitted.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(42) a.} \textit{tapang a kawas} \\
leader CONJN god \\
‘God, the leader (God as the leader)’
\item \textbf{b.} \{\textit{ma-}\textit{fer-ay} \textit{=}kakarayan\} \textit{a} \textit{^ayam} \\
UV-fly-NMLZ LOC=sky CONJN bird \\
‘bird which is flying in the sky’
\end{itemize}

9.3 Verbal clause linking
Verbal clause linking is classified according to the following criteria: (a) whether the conjunction \textit{a} may be used, (b) the existence of the conjunction \textit{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 \textit{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.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ l c c c c }
\hline
 & Conjunction \textit{a} & Conjunction \textit{ta} & Object raising & Free word order \\
\hline
SVC & + & - & - & + \\
Subordination & + & - & + & - \\
Adverbia1 & + & - & - & - \\
Adverbia2 & - & - & - & - \\
Coordination & - & + & - & - \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Verbal clause linking}
\end{table}

9.3.1 Serial verb construction
In the serial verb construction, such as in (43), the conjunction \textit{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-^rad anodafak\} (*a) \{i=loma^ kak\}.
   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.’

=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) *Lasas=lasa 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\(^\circ\)ok no cepo\(^\circ\) (narrative)

[1]  
\[ \text{Itiyaho} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{ko cecay} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{kapah} \quad \text{no cepo}^\circ. \]
\[ \text{itiya=ho} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{ko=cecay} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{kapah} \quad \text{no=cepo}^\circ \]
\[ \text{then=IPFV} \quad \text{EXST} \quad \text{NOM=one} \quad \text{CONJN young.man} \quad \text{GEN=Cepo}^\circ \]
\[ \text{once upon a time} \quad \text{there was} \quad \text{one young man} \quad \text{of Cepo}^\circ \]
\[ \text{‘Once upon a time, there was a young man in Cepo\(^\circ\).’} \]

[2]  
\[ \text{Cikafo\(^\circ\)ok hananay ko ngangan nira.} \]
\[ \text{ci-kafo\(^\circ\)ok=hananay ko=ngangan=nira} \]
\[ \text{PRED-Kafo\(^\circ\)ok=called NOM=name=3SG.GEN} \]
\[ \text{called ‘Kafo\(^\circ\)ok’ his name} \]
\[ \text{‘His name was (called) Kafo\(^\circ\)ok.’} \]

[3]  
\[ \text{Onini a kapah tada\(^\circ\)ay ko tireng.} \]
\[ \text{o-nini a kapah tada-nga\(^\circ\)ay ko=tireng} \]
\[ \text{PRED=this CONJN young.man very-good NOM=body} \]
\[ \text{this young man was very good body} \]
\[ \text{‘This young man, he was very strong (the body was very good).’} \]

[4]  
\[ \text{Ki\(^\circ\)meray ko faloco\(^\circ\) nira.} \]
\[ \text{ki\(^\circ\)mer-ay ko=faloco\(^\circ\)=nira} \]
\[ \text{strong-NMLZ NOM=heart=3SG.GEN} \]
\[ \text{was really strong his heart} \]
\[ \text{‘His heart was really strong.’} \]

[5]  
\[ \text{Ki\(^\circ\)mer matayal.} \]
\[ \text{ki\(^\circ\)mer ma-tayal} \]
\[ \text{strong UV-work} \]
\[ \text{strongly worked} \]
\[ \text{‘[He] strongly worked.’} \]
ma-tengil no=niaro^ ko=suwal no=cima<cia>
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 papanapina a kapah 
hakelong=han nira ko=<pa>pina<pina> a kapah 
3SGGEN NOM=<RDP>some<RDP> CONJN young man 
was took together by him some young men
As for (that) Kafo^ok, he took out some young men, [they] went to Torik and waited for those soldiers of the Chinese army.'

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

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

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

“We will try the Chinese army, we make them come,” thought that

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.’

pa-sa-^amis ko=cikay no-ra koapig=hananay satafin
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.’

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.'

References


Chinese Pingjiang dialect
Shengkai ZHANG

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 Mandarin Chinese in several aspects. First, Mandarin 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.

Figure 1. Pingjiang in China

1 This study is supported by Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (KAKENHI. No.20-4843).
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 subdialects of the Gan dialect. According to Hunansheng Pingjiang Xianzhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (1994), there are four subdialects 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p  pʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>t  tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>k  kʰ</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Ş</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ƞ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ts  tsʰ</td>
<td>tʂ  tʂʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/n/ → [ŋ] / _u   example: nu [ŋ]
    → [ŋ] / _i, y example: ni [ni]
    → [ŋ] / _ (the others) example: an [an]

/ŋ/ → [ŋ] / _u   example: ŋu [ŋ]
    → [ŋ] / _ (the others) example: ŋa [ŋa]
    example: ŋŋ [ŋŋ]
2.1.2 Vowels
There are nine monophthongs /a, ə, e, ɔ, o, i, u, y/ and four diphthongs /ai, ɔu, ɔu, ɔu/. 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, /iəu/ and /iou/ are /i/ + /əu/ and /i/ + /ou/, instead of /iə/ + /u/ and /iə/ + /u/. Therefore, both /iəu/ and /iou/ are regarded as the combination of the transitional vowel /i/ and diphthongs /əu/ and /ou/.

![Vowel Chart](image)

**Figure 2. Vowels**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone name</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality of tone</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13^5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21^3</td>
<td>55^2</td>
<td>22^2</td>
<td>4^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>chair</td>
<td>remember</td>
<td>easy</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(V_2^x)</td>
<td>i^33</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
<td>(V_2C_2^x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C_1V_2^x)</td>
<td>ke^33</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
<td>(V_1V_2^x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C_1V_2C_2^x)</td>
<td>tʰuʔ^4</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>(C_1V_1V_2^x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C_1V_2C_2^x)</td>
<td>tɨʔ^4</td>
<td>‘drop’</td>
<td>(V_1V_2C_2^x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C_1V_1V_2C_2^x)</td>
<td>tien^39</td>
<td>‘clock’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Phonological rules
\(/k\ k^h x/\) are palatalized and become \([c\ c^h\ c]\) when they follow \([i]\).

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

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) \(m_2^j\) \(k^h\delta^5\) \(a^3\)

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.

\[
\text{Word} = (\text{prefix-like}) \text{ root (suffix-like)}
\]

- Word = root \(\eta_0^{21}\) ‘me’
- Word = prefix-root \(\text{lau}^{21}\) \(\widehat{s}y^{35}\) ‘mouse’
- Word = root - suffix \(\eta_0^{21}\) \(\text{li}^{33}\) ‘we’
- Word = root - suffix \(\eta_0^{21}\) \(\text{tiu}^{35}\) \(\text{tse}^4\) ‘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 \(\text{tse}^4\), while suffixes such as \(\text{tse}^4\), \(\text{lau}^{21}\), \(\text{t}^h\text{ou}^{3}\), and \(\text{tsu}^{35}\) follow nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ts}^{h}\text{u}^{33}\text{tse}^4 & \quad \text{‘toy car’} \\
\text{ts}^{h}\text{u}^{13}\text{t}^h\text{ou}^{13} & \quad \text{‘plow’} \\
\text{pai}^{33}\text{tsu}^{35} & \quad \text{‘a person with trouble in the legs’} \\
\eta_0^{21}\text{tsu}^{35} & \quad \text{‘a person with trouble in the eyes’}
\end{align*}
\]

Suffix-like \(\text{lau}^{21}\) 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.

\[
\text{min}^{13}\text{lau}^{21} \quad \text{‘Mr. Ming’} \quad \text{xiau}^{35}\text{lau}^{21} \quad \text{‘Ms. Xiao’}
\]

3.1.2 Verbs
When ti’6 follows a word and expresses possibility, the word must be a verb, such as k’bia’6 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).

\[
(02) \quad \text{la}^{33} \quad \text{k’bia’6} \quad \text{ti’6} \quad \text{tsiuu}^{55} \\
3\text{BSG} \quad \text{drink} \quad \text{POT} \quad \text{wine} \\
\quad \text{‘He might have drunk wine.’}
\]

\[
(03) \quad \text{la}^{33} \quad \text{iau}^{55} \quad \text{k’f}^{55} \quad \text{xan}^{55} \\
3\text{BSG} \quad \text{need} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{see} \\
\quad \text{‘He wants to go and see.’}
\]

Some verbs can take the -sou55 suffix. When a verb has the -sou55 suffix, it functions like an adjective and means ‘be worth doing.’

\[
\text{k’bia’6} \quad \text{gou}^{36} \quad \text{be worth eating} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{‘delicious’} \\
\text{eat} \\
\text{xan}^{55} \quad \text{gou}^{56} \quad \text{be worth watching} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{‘interesting’} \\
\text{watch}
\]

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), nie’6 is an adjective and man13 is an adverb.
These days are so hot.

3.1.4 Classifier

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

(05) ɲɔ²¹ iəu²¹ iɔŋ²¹ tšoŋ³³ tan³³ tʂʰd³³

1SG have two CLF bike

‘I have two bikes.’

For items that have a large plane and are thin, tšoŋ³³ is used. For items that are thick, kʰuaí⁵⁵ is used.

iʔ³ tšoŋ³³ tʂʰoŋ¹³ ‘a bed’
iʔ³ kʰuaí⁵⁵ tʰo³⁵ ‘a lump of soil’

For items that are slim and long, tʰiau³ is used. For items with a handle, pa²⁵ is used. For a piece of garden land, sion⁷ is used.

iʔ³ tʰiau³ uc¹³ kʰin³³ ‘a scarf’
iʔ³ pa²⁵ san³⁵ ‘an umbrella’
iʔ³ sion³³ tʂʰai⁵⁵ ‘a piece of garden land’

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

iʔ³ pʰin¹³ tsiə³⁵ ‘a bottle of wine’
iʔ³ uen³⁵ fan²² ‘a bowl of rice’
iʔ³ sion³³ ‘a box of clothes’

For animals, the most commonly used classifier is tṣaʔ³. For specific items, ko⁵⁵ is used.
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’
- kau$^{33}$ ‘high’
- t$^h$nŋ$^{21}$ ‘heavy’
- šau$^{35}$ ‘few’
- ēai$^{35}$ ‘short’
- k$^h$Ian$^{33}$ ‘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**

- nıərylau$^{22}$ ‘noise’
- mɐ$^{13}$Ian$^{13}$ ‘trouble’
- p$^h$Ian$^{55}$lonŋ$^{22}$ ‘beautiful’
- ts$^h$in$^{22}$man$^{22}$ ‘quiet’
- sy$^{33}$fu$^{4}$ ‘comfortable’
- fnŋ$^{33}$p$^h$ien$^{22}$ ‘convince’

**XA type**

- mɐ$^{33}$xer$^{4}$ ‘black-like ink’
- pʃa$^{2}$tsn$^{55}$ ‘straight (it can be used only for something that stands) like a wall’
- mau$^{33}$k$^h$Ian$^{33}$ ‘light like hair’
We could not find what the modification element is in some words, as *kuaj* in *kuaj* *ts'iaf* shows.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{kuaj} & \text{ts'iaf} \\
? & \text{blue} \\
'\text{deep blue'} & '\text{very sweet'}
\end{array}
\]

Compound adjectives consist of three types. When a verb appears after the adverb *xau*, 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* type.

- **xau** V type

  \[
  \begin{array}{ll}
  \text{xau} & \text{k'iiaf} \\
  \text{good} & \text{eat} \\
  '\text{delicious'} & '\text{beautiful or interesting'}
  \end{array}
  \]

- **VO type**

  The VO type refers to a verb-object phrase.

  \[
  \begin{array}{ll}
  \text{t'iaf} & \text{fa} \\
  \text{listen to words, follow instructions} & \text{understand things} \\
  '\text{obedient'} & '\text{things are known'}
  \end{array}
  \]

- **Adj nin** type

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

  \[
  \begin{array}{llll}
  \etai & \text{‘love'} & \etai & \text{make someone like} \\
  k'hui & \text{‘anger'} & k'hui & \text{make someone angry} \\
  \text{pin} & \text{‘ice'} & \text{pin} & \text{make someone feel freezing} \\
  s'in & \text{‘cool'} & \text{s'in} & \text{make someone feel cool}
  \end{array}
  \]
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.

  - fan¹³ ‘worry’
  - tsʰau⁵⁵ ‘noisy’

- **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.

  - siaŋ⁵⁵ pʰaʔ⁴ siaŋ⁵⁵ pʰaʔ⁴ ‘too white’
  - mi³³ ɲən⁵⁵ mi³³ ɲən⁵⁵ ‘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)  

  - iaj¹³ ko⁵⁵ kʰuən⁵⁵ a⁵⁵ taʔ²⁴ tsʰu₂² tsʰu₂² ko³⁵ tsʰiəu²² xau³⁵ ʧa²²

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

  ‘When the other people are all asleep, it becomes 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 man¹³ ‘very,’ which expresses degree, is necessary, as
illustrated in (07) and (08).

(07) $\text{kin}^{33} \text{ni}^{33} \text{man}^{13} \text{nie}^{33} \text{le}^{21}$

today very hot PT

‘It is very hot today.’

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

(08) $\text{xai}^{33} \text{iu}^{21} \text{man}^{13} \text{md}^{13} \text{fan}^{22} \text{xai}^{33} \text{io}^{33}$.

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) $\text{xau}^{35} \text{io}^{33} \text{ts}^{h} \text{iu}^{22} \text{k}^{h} \text{io}^{55}$

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) $\text{io}^{33} \text{ta}^{55} \text{so}^{33} \text{t}^{h} \text{on}^{13} \text{li}^{33} \text{k}^{h} \text{io}^{33} \text{fan}^{22}$

1SG at dining room in take meal

‘I am dining in the dining room.’
3.2.2 Numerals

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

(12) ɲo²¹  iaⁿ⁵⁵  saⁿ¹³  pəⁿ¹⁵  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) nʊ²¹  keⁿ¹  tʰouⁿ³³  faⁿ²²  iəu²²  tsʰu³³  iəu²²  tsʰiəŋ³³

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) kʰuəʔ  laŋ³³  keʔ¹  siau⁵⁵  kʰiʔ⁵³  laʔ³³

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) \( n^u_21 \ ions^55 \ xions^55 \ xis^55 \ yda^55 \ le^33 \)

2SG should be careful a little PT

‘You should be careful.’

(16) \( ydo^21 \ xan^55 \ tait^9 \ s^y^33 \)

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.

\( lau^21 \) 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 \( lau^21 \) is ‘old,’ but in this lexicon, it does not mean ‘old.’

\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{tsid}^35} \\
\text{old} & \quad \text{elder sister} \\
\text{‘elder sister’} \\
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{ku}^33 \text{tsid}^35} \\
\text{old} & \quad \text{aunt} \\
\text{‘sister of grandfather’} \\
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{s}^y^35} \\
\text{old} & \quad \text{mouse} \\
\text{‘mouse’} \\
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{mai}^22} \\
\text{old} & \quad \text{younger sister} \\
\text{‘younger sister’} \\
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{ku}^33 \text{tsid}^35} \\
\text{aunt} & \quad \text{‘sister of father’} \\
\text{\textbf{\( lau^21 \)}} & \quad \text{\textbf{fu}^35} \\
\text{old} & \quad \text{tiger} \\
\text{‘tiger’}
\end{align*}
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>\k\o\j^{33}</th>
<th>p^{h}\o^{22}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated form</td>
<td>k\o\j^{24}k\o\j^{55}</td>
<td>p^{h}\o^{22}p^{h}\o^{55}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>f\o\j^{13}</th>
<th>t^{h}\a^{22}</th>
<th>k\a^{33}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated form</td>
<td>f\o\j^{13}f\o\j^{55}</td>
<td>t^{h}\a^{22}t^{h}\a^{55}</td>
<td>k\a^{33}k\a^{55}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>‘very red’</td>
<td>‘very big’</td>
<td>‘very tall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
**4.3 Verbal morphology**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nominalization Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kai&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt; tse&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘a lovely little cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt; kai&lt;sup&gt;55&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘a cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰiaŋ&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰiaŋ&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; ko&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘something to eat (food)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.4 Class-changing derivation**

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

1. **Verb / Adjective / Adverb**

   - Verb: /pa<sup>35</sup>/ ‘give’
   - Noun: /pa<sup>35</sup>/ ‘handle’
   - Adjective: /tʰoŋ<sup>13</sup>/ ‘long’
   - Verb: /tʰoŋ<sup>35</sup>/ ‘grow’
   - Adjective: /xau<sup>55</sup>/ ‘good’
   - Adverb: /xau<sup>55</sup>/ ‘good-looking’

   - ‘give him’
   - ‘the handle of a knife’
   - ‘length’
   - ‘grow up’
   - ‘very good’
   - ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loʔ⁴</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
<td>loʔ⁴ ko³⁵ ʦʰ oŋ⁵⁵ ko³³</td>
<td>be singing there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loʔ⁴</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>loʔ⁴ uʔ⁴ li³³ lai¹³</td>
<td>be coming from the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loʔ⁴</td>
<td>(passive)</td>
<td>loʔ⁴ la⁵³ ta⁵³ taʔ⁴</td>
<td>be hit by him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
<td>ta⁵⁵ tsʰ uʔ³¹ pʰ iəŋ¹³ li⁵³ kʰ i⁵⁵</td>
<td>go to the playground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
<td>ta⁵⁵ tsʰ uʔ³¹ pʰ iəŋ¹³ li⁵³ sa³⁵</td>
<td>go to play on the playground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>ta⁵⁵ la⁵³ uʔ³²</td>
<td>talk with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>ta⁵⁵ la⁵³ tsʰ uŋ⁵⁵</td>
<td>do for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>nu²¹ ta³⁵ la³³</td>
<td>you and him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta³⁵</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
<td>ta⁵⁵ la³⁵ uʔ²⁵ su³⁵ tiʔ⁴</td>
<td>it appears that he was told</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ʦʰ oŋ⁵⁵ 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 ko³⁵ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>participants or the focus of the discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>η\textsuperscript{21}</td>
<td>nu\textsuperscript{21}</td>
<td>e\textsuperscript{21}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>nu\textsuperscript{21li\textsuperscript{33}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.1 First person pronoun

\&eta;\textsuperscript{21} fu\textsuperscript{55} is the first personal plural pronoun exclusive form. \&eta;\textsuperscript{21} fu\textsuperscript{55} is inclusive.

(17) \&eta;\textsuperscript{21} fu\textsuperscript{55} xa\textsuperscript{22} \&eta;\textsuperscript{21} li\textsuperscript{23} x\textsuperscript{21} p\textsuperscript{bi}\textsuperscript{13} ko\textsuperscript{33} ni\textsuperscript{13} nu\textsuperscript{21} li\textsuperscript{33} u\textsuperscript{22} lia\textsuperscript{9} san\textsuperscript{33} INCL all COP Pingjiang people 2PL speak Lishan 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

(18) iau\textsuperscript{55} ko\textsuperscript{55} ti\textsuperscript{25} tsu\textsuperscript{35} \&eta;\textsuperscript{21} fu\textsuperscript{55} tsar\textsuperscript{55} fu\textsuperscript{22} t\textsuperscript{55} t\textsuperscript{35} a\textsuperscript{22} tse\textsuperscript{8} li\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{21} (li\textsuperscript{33}) and la\textsuperscript{33} (li\textsuperscript{33}). The distinction between them is that when the third person is a participant or the focus of the discourse, speakers use e\textsuperscript{21} (li\textsuperscript{33}).
the other case, we use \( ld^{33} (l^3) \). In this paper, the abbreviation of \( e^{21} (l^3) \) is 3A, and for \( ld^{33} (l^3) \) is it is 3B.

(19) \( e^{21} l^3 \)  \( ma^\#1 \)  \( si^\#5 \)  \( t\#i\#o\#i^\# \)  \( k\#u\#a\#5 \)  \( ki\#o\#i^\#5 \)  \( le^\#5 \)  \( ld^{33} l^3 \)

3APL sell washing powder six CLF nine PT 3BSG

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

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) $la^{33}$ $tar^{55}$ $ko^{55}$ $xe^{q}$ $moj^{22}$ $tsu^{35}$

3BSG wear CLF black cap

‘He wears a black cap.’

(21) $nu^{21}$ $pa^{35}$ $moj^{22}$ $tsu^{35}$ $ts^{h^{i^{5}}}$ $kuan^{33}$

2SG DIST cap take off

‘Take off your cap.’

Table 8. Syntax of the Pingjiang dialect

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

5.2 Subjects

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

(22) $go^{21}$ $k^{h}ia^{q}$ $fan^{22}$

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) \(\text{nu}^{21}\) \(\text{xan}^{55}\) \(\text{gy}^{33}\)
2SG read book
‘You read a book.’

5.4 The noun phrase
In the Pingjiang dialect, for a noun like \(\text{fa}^{33}\) ‘flower,’ the template shown below is possible.

\[(\text{DEM+}) \quad (\text{NUM+}) \quad (\text{CLF+}) \quad (\text{Adj+}) \quad N \quad (+\text{DIM})\]

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

\[(\text{DEM+}) \quad (\text{NUM+}) \quad (\text{CLF+}) \quad (\text{Adj+}) \quad N \quad (+\text{DIM})\]
\(\text{i}^{35} \quad \text{io}^{21} \quad \text{to}^{35} \quad \text{si}^{55} \quad \text{fa}^{33} \quad \text{tse}^{34}\)
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) \(\text{tsa}^{\#} \quad \text{iau}^{\#} \quad \text{ta}^{\#} \quad \text{i}^{\#} \quad \text{d}^{\#} \quad \text{kau}^{\#} \quad \eta^{\#} \quad \text{fan}^{\#} \quad \text{k\text{h}ia}^{\#} \quad \text{ta}^{\#}\)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tsou̯/</td>
<td>starting point</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta̯/</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta̯/</td>
<td>end point</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uo̯/</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsou̯/</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>‘through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsau̯/</td>
<td>on the way</td>
<td>‘along’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.2 Modification of nouns

When an adjective modifies a noun, the word order is Adj-N.

$^{t}$ai$^{22}$ nie?$^{t}$ou$^{13}$
big   sunlight
‘strong sunlight’

$^{l}$au$^{21}$ fan$^{22}$
cool  rice
‘cool rice’

Sometimes, $^{ŋ}a^{55}$ ke?$^{t}$ ‘a little’ is used to modify a noun between adjectives and nouns. In this case, it functions like a comparison.

$^{t}$ai$^{22}$ $^{ŋ}a^{66}$ ke?$^{t}$ foŋ$^{13}$
‘room of the larger one’

$^{t}$ai$^{22}$ foŋ$^{13}$ man$^{13}$ $^{t}$ai$^{22}$
‘This room is very big’

$^{k}$ in$^{21}$ $^{ŋ}a^{66}$ ke?$^{t}$ lau$^{22}$
‘the way of the nearer one’

$^{ko}$ $^{t}$in$^{13}$ lau$^{22}$ man$^{13}$ $^{k}$ in$^{21}$
‘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.
The N-M order is as shown in the following; it is used to express the gender of animals.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{ki}^{33} & \text{p}^{h} \theta^{13} & \text{kou}^{35} \quad \text{kou}^{33} \\
\text{chicken} & \text{female} & \text{dog} \quad \text{male} \\
\text{‘hen’} & \text{‘dog’}
\end{array}
\]

5.4.4 Comparative
Comparison is expressed using \( p^{f}^{35} \) ‘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+\( p^{f}^{35} \) +B+Adj (Num)” ‘A is Adj than B’ (26). In order to negate the comparative expression, speakers use the negative sentence “A + ma^{u}^{22} +B +Adj” ‘A is not Adj than B’ (27). In addition, one can use the negative word +Adj ts^{h}u^{22} B ‘A is not Adj than B’ (28). When the subject and object are of the same quality, \( iou^{22}(Adj)k^{a}^{31} \) ‘same’ is used.(29).

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{\( \eta^{21} \)} & \text{pf}^{35} & \text{\( e^{21} \)} \quad \text{t}^{b} a^{l}^{22} \quad \text{\( \eta^{25} \)} \\
1 \text{SG} & \text{comparative} & 3 \text{ASG} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{a little} \\
\text{‘I am older than her’}.
\end{array}
\]

The following expressions are used only in negation.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{\( \varepsilon^{21} \)} & \text{mau}^{22} & \text{\( \eta^{21} \)} \quad \text{t}^{b} a^{l}^{22} \\
3 \text{ASG} & \text{NEG} & 1 \text{SG} \quad \text{old} \\
\text{‘She is younger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not older than I’).}
\end{array}
\]
(28) la³³ pe³³ nio³³ tshu²² nu²¹
3BSG NEG weak than 2SG
‘She is stronger than me’ (lit. ‘She is not weaker than you’).

(29) yo²¹ ti³³ la³³ iou²² tša³³ 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) e²¹ li³³ iau⁵⁵ td⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ tšien²² td²² uai³³ lai³³ id²¹ foy¹¹ pšien²² 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 lo³³, and iou²¹ is used for asking what is at the place. Examples are shown in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31) sy³³ lo³³ tso³³ sôy²²
book at table above
‘The book is on the desk.’

(32) tso³³ sôy²² iou²¹ sy³³
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) \( kau^{35} \ p\ o^{\#} \ ts^{\#}i^{33} \ ta^{\#} t^{\#}s^{\#}o^{f3} \ d^{33} \)
    do \ NEG \ clear \ PT
    ‘Can’t you understand it?’

- Affirmation negative question

(34) \( lo^{\#} \ p\ o^{\#} \ lo^{\#} \ y^{21} \)
    fall \ NEG \ fall \ rain
    ‘Is it raining or not?’

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

Question
(35) \( \eta^{21} \ u^{22} \ nu^{21} \ ts^{\#}a^{f5} \ a^{21} t^{\#}s^{\#}e^{\#} \ lo^{\#} \ ko^{35} \ kau^{35} \ m^{o3} \ 1^{f3} \ lo^{55} \)
    1SG \ say \ 2SG \ just now \ at \ there \ do \ what \ PT
    ‘I said what you were doing just now?’

Answer
(36) \( \eta^{21} \ lo^{\#} \ ko^{35} \ xan^{55} \ a^{22} t^{\#}s^{\#}e^{\#} \ ia^{13} t^{\#}s^{\#}y^{55} \ 1^{a2} \)
    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
\( ta^{55} \, yo^{55} \) ‘for me’ is also used to give an order. Its tone is more severe than that of declarative sentences. See (37) and (38).

(37) \( tiy^{55} \, ku\text{ou}^{33} \)
    throw out
    ‘Throw out!’

(38) \( ta^{55} \, yo^{21} \, tiy^{55} \, ku\text{ou}^{33} \)
    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) \( la^{33} \, s\text{t}^{21} \, yo^{21} \, li^{33} \, lau^{21} \, su^{33} \)
    3 ASG COP EXCL teacher
    ‘He is our teacher.’

(40) \( la^{22} \, s\text{t}^{21} \, ko^{55} \, lau^{21} \, su^{33} \)
    3 ASG COP CLF teacher
    ‘He is a teacher.’

6.3.1 Location

There are two prepositions to express location in the Pingjiang dialect. They are \( lo^{\#} \) and \( ta^{55} \). \( lo^{\#} \) is used in realize and \( ta^{55} \) in irrealize. See (41) and (42), respectively.

(41) \( la^{53} \, lo^{\#} \, kiau^{2} \, so^{\#} \, l\text{f}^{3} \, t^{6}\text{o}^{u^{\#}} \, sy^{33} \)
    he at classroom in study
    ‘He is studying in the classroom.’

(42) \( t^{6}b^{21} \, pa^{55} \, ni^{\#} \, po^{\#} \, tsy\text{uo}^{35} \, ta^{55} \, so^{\#} \, xiau^{22} \, l\text{f}^{3} \, sa^{35} \)
    sunday NEG permission at school in play
    ‘Don’t play at school on Sunday.’
6.3.2 Possession
Posessor and noun have poss-N word order. The mark of the possessor is kei⁵, as shown in (43).

(43) nu²¹ kei⁵ tʰou³¹ fa²² iou²² tsʰu³³ iou²² tsʰia⁴³
   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) ɡo²¹ li³³ iau²¹ mai²²
   EXCL sister
   ‘my sister / our sister’

(45) ɡo²¹ li³³ ɡo²¹ xiau²²
   EXCL school
   ‘my school / our school’

When a plural personal pronoun takes kei⁵, it also expresses ‘the family’s,’ as illustrated in (46).

(46) i³³ li³³ kei⁵ niou¹³
   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) 
\[ \text{ŋd}^{21} \quad \text{iu}^{21} \quad \text{sy}^{33} \]
1SG have book
‘I have books.’

(48) 
\[ \text{ŋd}^{21} \quad \text{iu}^{21} \quad \text{i}^{7} \quad \text{pen}^{35} \quad \text{sy}^{33} \]
1SG have one CLF book
‘I have a book’

Numerals are used to distinguish the non-singular.

\[ \text{ŋa}^{55} \quad \text{‘a little’} \quad \text{man}^{13} \text{to}^{33} \quad \text{‘very many’} \]
\[ \text{xau}^{35} \text{to}^{33} \quad \text{‘many’} \quad \text{si}^{33} \quad \text{‘many many’} \]

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) 
\[ \text{pen}^{35} \quad \text{sy}^{33} \quad \text{mau}^{22} \quad \text{a}^{55} \text{tai}^{\#} \]
CLF book NEG REAL
‘The book disappeared.’

(50) 
\[ \text{ko}^{35} \quad \text{pen}^{35} \quad \text{sy}^{33} \quad \text{mau}^{22} \quad \text{a}^{55} \text{tai}^{\#} \]
DEM CLF book NEG REAL
‘The book disappeared.’

(51) 
\[ \text{ioj}^{21} \quad \text{pen}^{35} \quad \text{sy}^{33} \quad \text{xa}^{22} \quad \text{mau}^{22} \quad \text{a}^{55} \text{tai}^{\#} \]
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 \( p\)\( \text{í} \), \( m\)\( \text{o} \), and \( m\)\( \text{au} \)\( 22 \) in the Pingjiang dialect. \( p\)\( \text{í} \) is a common negation, \( m\)\( \text{o} \) is used to negate an imperative, and \( m\)\( \text{au} \)\( 22 \) is used to negate a fact.

6.6.1 Negative of noun
Affirmation of nouns is expressed by the copula \( s\)\( \text{j} \)\( 21 \). The negation of nouns is \( p\)\( \text{í} \). See (52) and (53) below.

(52) \( n\)\( o \)\( 21 \) \( s\)\( j \)\( 21 \) \( k\)\( o \)\( 33 \) \( l\)\( a\)\( u \)\( 21 \) \( s\)\( u \)\( 33 \)
1SG COP CLF teacher
‘I am a teacher.’

(53) \( n\)\( o \)\( 21 \) \( p\)\( \text{o} \)\( \text{í} \) \( s\)\( j \)\( 21 \) \( l\)\( a\)\( u \)\( 21 \) \( s\)\( u \)\( 33 \)
1SG NEG COP teacher
‘I am not a teacher.’

6.6.2 Negative of adjectives
The negative of adjectives is \( p\)\( \text{í} \). It is the same form for past and present tense, as shown by (54) and (55).

(54) \( k\)\( i\)\( n \)\( 33 \) \( n\)\( i \)\( \text{í} \)\( 33 \) \( p\)\( \text{o} \)\( \text{í} \) \( l\)\( a\)\( j \)\( 21 \)
today NEG cold
‘It is not cold today.’

(55) \( t\)\( s\)\( h\)\( 33 \) \( n\)\( i \)\( \text{í} \)\( 33 \) \( p\)\( \text{o} \)\( \text{í} \) \( l\)\( a\)\( j \)\( 21 \)
yesterday NEG cold
‘It was not cold yesterday.’

6.6.3 Negative of verbs
Verbs are negated when preceded by \( p\)\( \text{o} \)\( \text{í} \) or \( m\)\( \text{au} \)\( 22 \). The distinction of the two negative words is that when the action has not finished, \( m\)\( \text{au} \)\( 22 \) is used. In all other cases, \( p\)\( \text{o} \)\( \text{í} \) is used. The negation of the imperative is \( m\)\( \text{o} \). See (56) to (58) for examples.
When an action stops or changes halfway through, the Pingjiang dialect uses $mau^3 V ta^t$. $mau^3 V ta^t$ and $pə^t V ta^t$ are distinct in the dialect. $mau^3 V ta^t$ means to change the action when it is taking place, and $pə^t V ta^t$ means to change the action before it takes place. See (59) and (60).

(59) $ŋə^1 pə^t kʰf^s 2^t$ $nu^2 1^s l^t f^s 3^t 3^s MAU 3^t 5^s 2^t$ $iu^2 1^s kʰf^s 3^t e^2 1^s l^t f^s 3^t$
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) $ŋə^1 mau^t kʰf^s 2^t$ $mau^1 tsʰa^t kʰf^s 3^t ma^t 3^t sy^s$
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 $pə^t$ and $mau^2$ is that $pə^t$ is relative to the thought of the actor, but $mau^2$ 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 $pə^t$, but the negative for the past tense is $mau^3$. 
6.7.1 Aspect
Aspect uses the aspect particle $ta^\#$. It can express perfect or continuity of state when it follows a verb. When a dynamic verb takes $ta^\#$, it expresses the perfect. See (61).

(61) $\gamma\alpha^3 li^3 lau^2 ku^3 ts^h o^# ni^# xan^5 ta^# la^2$
EXCL sister in law yesterday see PERF PT
‘My sister-in-law saw yesterday.’

A state verb that takes $ta^\#$ expresses the continuity of state, as in (62).

(62) $ta^5 ta^# nu^2 l\varepsilon^# k^h i^# nu^2 la^2 ta^5 nu^3 d^2 s\varepsilon^5 fu^\#$
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 $a^5 ta^\#$ will express realize, as in (63).

(63) $i^5 xa^2 t\varepsilon au^5 a^5 ta^#$
these all take (photo) REAL
‘I have pictured every aspect of this place.’

However, when $a^5 ta^\#$ appears after an adjective, it makes the adjective become a verb, and takes on the meaning ‘became,’ as in (64).

(64) $t^h o^2 fu^# p^h ai^# a^5 ta^#$
hair white REAL
‘The hair became white.’

V $kuon^3 ta^#$ also expresses realize. Many verbs can take $kuon^3 ta^#$ ‘disappear.’ See (65).
message too NEG know then lost REAL

‘I didn’t know it was lost.’

$k^{h55} ta#$ at the end of a sentence expresses inchoative aspect. $k^{h55}$ means ‘to go,’ but a verb plus $k^{h55} ta#$ means ‘begin to do.’ If the verb is intransitive, the meaning of inchoative should be clear; see (66) and (67).

(66) MD V NP NP V NP 3BSG say 3ASG begin mischief INCH

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

(67) MD V NP NP V NP V 7 fall rain INCH

‘It began to rain.’

6.7.2 Mood

The Pingjiang dialect has words to express mood. However, an exception exists when $ta#$ is used specifically to express mood. When an adjective takes $ta#$, it expresses the feeling of the speaker. In some case, $t^h au^{13} k^{h55}$ ‘too’ is also used with Adj + $ta#$.

(68) MD V NP NP V NP V 7 just CLF lazy PT

‘He is just lazy.’

(69) MD V NP NP V NP V NP V 7 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 $si^2$ is used to express the subjunctive, and
sometimes le^{55}, sh^{21} is used in cases of assumption nature. le^{55} is used for the context with high implementation ability. See (70) and (71).

(70) ten^{55} nu^{21} tsin^{55} k^{h5} ta^{#} sh^{21} ts^{h}y^{o}^{#} i^{a2}^{1} ts^{h}y^{o}^{#} la^{i3} p^{o}^{#} ti^{i}^{#}  
until 2SG enter PREF TOP go out too go out come NEG POSS 
‘When you entered, you could not get out.’

(71) ten^{55} la^{*} p^{o}^{#} la^{i}^{3} le^{o} 
wait 3BSG NEG come PT  
‘If he will not come?’

6.7.2.2 Wish 
si^{o}^{fj}^{55} (72) or ia^{u}^{55} (73)is used to express a wish. The difference between them is that ia^{u}^{55} expresses a stronger feeling.

(72) nu^{21} si^{o}^{fj}^{35} t^{h}ia^{fj}^{55} mo^{l3} f^{33} o^{2l}  
2SG want listen what PT  
‘What do you want to listen to?’

(73) nu^{21} ia^{u}^{55} xa^{l3} i^{5} ko^{55} te^{fj}^{33} si^{l3} nu^{21} ts^{h}i^{o}^{u2}^{2} ts^{h}en^{2}^{1} i^{45} a^{2l} tse^{i}^{#}  
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).

- * p^{h}d^{55} ‘maybe’: expresses the speaker’s guess

(74) ma^{u2}^{2} le^{55} p^{h}d^{55} sh^{21} ma^{u2}^{2} ta^{#} t^{h}ien^{22} ts^{h}y^{l3}  
NEG PT maybe COP NEG PERF battery  
‘Nothing. Maybe the battery runs out.’
express a high possibility guess

(75) nu²¹ li³³ sien³³ td⁵⁵ tsəŋ⁵⁵ iəu²¹ nin¹³ lai³³ ko²¹ la²¹
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 əə²¹. 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) si³³ tʰiən³³ əə¹ əy¹³ ia²¹ mau²² kʰə⁵⁵ kuo⁵⁵
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 əə²¹. Examples (77) and (78) show their use.

(77) la³³ tsʰiəu²² ten³³ tsʰəf²¹ iə²² tsəu⁵⁵ ə²³⁵ iə¹⁹
3BSG TOP wait husband go out REAL
‘She let her husband leave.’

(78) e²¹ əə¹ ia²¹ əə²¹ uə²² ia²¹ əə²¹ io³³ tsu⁵⁵
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) ɲoʊ²¹  maɪ²¹  sy³³
    1SG  buy    book
    ‘I buy books.’

The element preceding the action is the subject of the action. ɲoʊ²¹ ‘I’ is before the verb. It is the subject. The element following the verb is the receptor of the action. It is the object. sy³³ ‘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) xau³³ tɔ³³  niŋ³³  tɔu⁵⁵  kɔŋ³³ yan³³  lʰ²¹  pʰau³⁵  pʰu²²  tʰiau⁵⁵ u²¹
    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 tsʰiɔu²² 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).
Someone asked me to give him this, so I gave it to him.'

'I am nervous when I see that teacher.'

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

'You don’t want to go.'

'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.

'He eats and sleeps, sleeps and eats.'
(87) 3ASG sleep LOC bed on watch TV

‘He is laying on the bed and watching TV.’

9. Text: The vixen

[1] 3BPL home very poor 3BPL two mother son TOP

‘There is a vixen. She saw a young man’

[2] 3BPL home very poor 3BPL two mother son TOP

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

[3] Dem CLF vixen PT TOP day day go there go PT

‘The vixen then goes there everyday’

[4] Top take off pref wear sometime DIST CLF skin shake
take off wear sometime put skin shake

‘she takes off her wear, and sometimes she shakes down her skin, and
cooks for them.’
The mother’s eyes are not so good.

Then, the mother, (nobody knows).

Although her eyes are not good, she saw the skin.

And watching her (vixen) coming, the son.

This son is watching her coming.

then then then then
POSS POSY POSY POSY
this mother mother mother mother
"The mother’s eyes are not so good."

‘Then, the mother, (nobody knows).’

‘Although her eyes are not good, she saw the skin.’

‘And watching her (vixen) coming, the son.’

‘This son is watching her coming.’
put LOC there
put on there

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

\[11\]
\(e^{21} ts^{bi}ou^{22} pd^{35} ld^{33} la^{3} kuen^{33} ta^{3}\)
3ASG then DIST it take away PREF
she then put it take away

‘He took it away.’

\[12\]
\(ld^{33} ts^{bi}ou^{22} fan^{13} po^{3} ti^{3} ko^{35} ko^{55} u^{3} li^{313} ke^{3}\)
3BSG TOP come back NEG can DEM CLF fox POSS
she come back not can that fox
\(sou^{3} tsu^{35} k^{3}li^{5} ta^{3} fan^{13} po^{3} k^{3}li^{5} ta^{3} se^{21} a^{55}\)
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.’

\[13\]
\(ld^{33} ts^{bi}ou^{22} xou^{22} li^{43} ts^{bi}ou^{22} ta^{55} e^{21} kie^{3} ta^{3} fe^{33}\)
3BSG TOP then with 3ASG marry
she then then then with him married

‘So she married him.’

\[14\]
\(ta^{55} e^{21} kie^{3} ta^{3} fe^{33} ts^{bi}ou^{22} say^{33} ta^{3} iog^{21} ko^{55} mau^{3} mau^{55}\)
with 3ASG marry TOP born PREF two CLF child
with him marry born two child

‘They married, and then they had two babies.’

\[15\]
\(say^{33} ta^{3} iog^{21} ko^{55} mau^{3} mau^{55} le^{55}\)
born PREF two CLF child PT
born two child

‘After they had two babies,’
Their (vixen and her husband) mother talked a joke to the babies, she said:

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

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

'Her daughter in law, the babies’ mother.'
‘Her daughter-in-law, the babies’ mother, then asked her to show the proof.’

‘She said why you said I was a vixen.’

‘Then, the mother always said she was a vixen.’

‘She (old mother) took out the skin. It is proof.’

‘The vixen rolled on the skin and ran away.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22</th>
<th>li³³</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>le⁵⁵</th>
<th>43</th>
<th>pd⁴⁵</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>ioj²ⁱ</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>ko⁵⁵</th>
<th>nd³¹</th>
<th>tse²</th>
<th>3¹</th>
<th>id¹</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>tai⁶⁵</th>
<th>d⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>take</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ kⁿ́⁵⁵ \text{ta?} \quad \text{lén}²¹\text{su}³⁵ \quad \text{ta?} \]

- \text{PREF} kill
- \text{PREF} kill

‘Then, she took the boys away and killed them.’

References


Hunansheng Pingjiangxianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (eds.) (1994) *Píngjiāng Xiànzhì* “Pingjiang County’s Local History”. Beijing: Guofang University Publisher.


**Tiddim Chin**

**Kosei OTSUKA** (University of Tokyo)

**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 zou⁴pâu⁴ or zou⁴lái⁴, both of which mean “Chin language” in Tiddim Chin.

The total population of Tiddim Chin is estimated to be around 25,000, with a large proportion living in the Tedim and Tonzang Townships of Chin State. These communities are known to be bilingual with local dialects of Chin being the dominant language.

![Figure 1. Tiddim Chin speaking area](image-url)
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 = ka²³ hi³
school 1 = climb¹ cop¹
“I went to school.” (narrative style)

(2) sâŋ¹ ka²³ =iŋ³
school climb¹ =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] 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>alveolo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p [p]</td>
<td>t [t]</td>
<td>k [k]</td>
<td>? [?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ [pʰ]</td>
<td>tʰ [tʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b [b]</td>
<td>d [d]</td>
<td>g [g]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>c [ʨ]</td>
<td>cʰ [ʨʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f [f]</td>
<td>s [s]</td>
<td>x [x ~ kʰ]</td>
<td>h [h]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ν [v̥]</td>
<td>z [z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m [m]</td>
<td>n [n]</td>
<td>η [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>l [l]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l̊ [l̊]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonants f [f] (e.g., fêːfû “with buck teeth”) and cʰ [ʨʰ] (e.g., cʰemʰcʰam “bearded”) can be found only in ideophones. Although the consonant j [ʤ] is not phonemic, it occurs in some English loan words such as jaːpân [ʤαpαːn] “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)

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i [i], ɨ [iː]</td>
<td></td>
<td>u [u], ʊ [uː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e [ɛ ~ ɛ], ɛ [ɛː]</td>
<td></td>
<td>o [ɔ ~ ɔ], ʊ [ɔː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a [ɑ], ɑ [ɑː]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tiddim Chin also has diphthongs and triphthongs: iu [iʊ], ia [iɑ], ei [eɪ], ēi [eːi], eu [eʊ], ēu [eːu], ai [ai], āi [ɑːi], au [ɑʊ], āu [ɑːʊ], ou [oʊ], oi [oi], ōi [ɔːi], ui [uɪ], ūi [uːi], ua [uɑ], iai [iɑi], iau [iɑʊ], iau [iɑʊ], iei [iɛi] and uou [uɔʊ].

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones</th>
<th>long vowel</th>
<th>sonorant final</th>
<th>short vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rising tone</td>
<td>â¹ [aː˧˦]</td>
<td>am¹ [am˧˦]</td>
<td>a¹ [a˦]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level tone</td>
<td>â² [aː˧]</td>
<td>am² [am˧]</td>
<td>a² [a˦]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falling tone</td>
<td>â³ [aː˧˨]</td>
<td>am³ [am˧˨]</td>
<td>a³ [a˨]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., paᵗâu³ “nervous”).

\[
\begin{align*}
CV & \ mî¹ & \text{“person”} & \quad CVC & \ mî³ & \text{“eye”} \\
CVV & \ tâi² & \text{“run away”} & \quad CVVC & \ sîal² & \text{“mithan”} \\
CVVV & \ nuai³ & \text{“below”} & \quad CVVVC & \ suaiʔ³ & \text{“drawing”}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[(3) \, ni² \, “day” \, + \, pi² \, “AUG” \rightarrow ni³pi¹ \, “week” \quad (i \, [i:] \rightarrow i \, [i])\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ni:³ & \quad \text{[niː]} \\
pi:³ & \quad \text{[piː]} \\
ni³pi:³ & \quad \text{[ni³piː]} 
\end{align*}
\]
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) gua³ “bamboo” + tuai² “child” → go¹tuai² “bamboo shoot” (ua [ua] → o [ɔ])
[gua³] [tuai²] [go¹tuai²]

(5) pia¹ “give” + xin³ “finish” → pe²xin³ “gave” (ia [ia] → e [ɛ])
[pia¹] [xin³] [pe²xin³]

[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? 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” → sîk'kêu¹ “steel spoon”
[si:k¹] [kêu¹] [sîk'kêu¹]

(7) mài¹ “face” + zâp³ “fanned” → mái³zâp³ “fan”
[ma:j¹] [za:p³] [ma:j³za:p³]

(8) kõl'gam² “Myanmar” + a²i “LOC” → kõl'gam² a²i “in Myanmar”
[kõ:dɡam²] [a²i] [kõ:dɡam²a²i]

(9) kam² “mouth” + pâu³ “spoken” → kam'pâu³ “language”
[kam²] [pau³] [kam'pau³]

(10) pai “go” + tâ¹ “PRF” + diŋ¹ “PURP” → pai²tâ¹diŋ¹ “be about to go”
[pa¹] [tâ¹] [diŋ¹] [pa¹tâ¹diŋ¹]
2.4 Prosody
In polar questions, an interrogative marker is uttered at a high pitch as shown in (11).

(11) vok³-sa¹-me³ ns¹= ne¹ =dia²
[pok-]sa₁me₁] na₁ ne₁ dia₁]
*pork-meat-curry 2= eat¹ =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 =in²te² (3SG.IRR), the preceding 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
[sum₁ zoŋ₁ ] [xual₁ zin₁ ] [sum₁ zoŋ₁ ] =a:¹ xual₁ zin₁ ]
*money search¹ abroad travel¹ money search¹ =CONJN abroad travel¹
“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 lian¹ (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 tuy¹ “above,” nuai¹ “below,” suŋ² “inside,” and kiaŋ² “in the vicinity of” alternate their tones with falling tones to indicate locative case.
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., \( = \text{kei}^1 \text{NEG} \)).

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., \( pûk^1 \) “to fall” vs. \( pʰûk^1 \) “to fell”) or by verb stem alternation (e.g., \( tâŋ^2 \) “to be bright” (form I) vs. \( tân^1 \) “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) \textit{a’m\text{\texta{}}a}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}\texta{}}} \textit{kei}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} =\textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} =\textit{\texti{}\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{t\text{\texta{}}i\text{\texta{}}}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} \textit{h\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{z\text{\texta{}}}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}}
3SG 1SG =than =CONJ N run\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} powerful\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} more\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}}
“He runs faster than I.”

(17) \textit{kei}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} \textit{a’ma}\textsuperscript{\text{\texta{}}}\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}\texta{}}} =\textit{\texti{}\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} \textit{\texti{}\texta{}}
1SG 3SG =COM go\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} in advance\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} altogether\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} desire\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}} NEG\textsuperscript{\text{\texti{}}}
“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.


Multiples of ten greater than twenty are expressed as shown below: \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “twenty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “thirty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “forty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “fifty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “sixty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “seventy,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “eighty,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}}\textit{\texti{}\texta{}} + \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “ninety.” Cardinal numbers greater than a hundred are \textit{z\text{\texta{}}} “hundred,” \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “thousand,” \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “ten thousand,” \textit{s\text{\texta{}}} “hundred thousand,” \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “million,” \textit{\texti{}\texta{}} “ten million,” and \textit{\texti{}\texta{}}
“hundred million.” For numerals greater than sôm³ “ten,” the conjunction =leʔ³ “and” is often inserted between each numerical position as illustrated in (18).

(18) tûl¹ =leʔ³ zaʰ+kua¹ =leʔ³ sômʰ+giat¹ =leʔ³ xat¹
thousand =CONJ hundred+nine =CONJ ten+eight =CONJ one
“1,981”

Ordinal numbers are expressed by adding the prefix a- and the noun modifying particle =nâ² to the numeral, as in a¹-xat¹ =nâ² “first” and a¹-nîʔ¹ =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).
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., koi’koi’ “here and there,” zia²zia³ “loudly,” dial’dial¹ “fluttering movement”) and semi-reduplication (e.g., tin’ten¹ “holding something firmly,” til’til¹ “humble and modest,” gil’gen¹ “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 lé’n³ tin’ten¹ =in³

2 = believeⁱⁱ =NA hold¹ 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, =le²³, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proclitic Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ka¹/²/³ = i¹/²/³ = (PL.INCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na¹/²/³ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a¹/²/³ =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To indicate plural proclitic pronouns, the plural marker =u²³ follows the NP, e.g., ka³ nû =u²³ “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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Realis Mood (REAL)</th>
<th>Irrealis Mood (IRR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=iŋ³</td>
<td>=uŋ³ (EXCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=hɨŋ³ (INCL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=te²³ / cin³</td>
<td>=u²³te²³ / u³cin³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>=Ø</td>
<td>=u³⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Interjections

Interjections do not have any grammatical relation to any other words, for they express the speaker’s emotions (e.g., ka³lai³ sai³ “Oh my!”, ui³ “Ugh!”, mōk’ō³ “How pity it is!,” etc.) and reactions (e.g., hê³ “Yes.” hôi³ “Oh, yes.” hōi³ “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 sia²-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun + Noun</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>Noun + Noun</td>
<td>ha¹-zâ²</td>
<td>“toothpaste”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tooth-medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>Noun + Verb (Form I)</td>
<td>mi¹-hai¹</td>
<td>“idiot”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>person-crazy¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>Noun + Verb (Form II)</td>
<td>kôŋ¹-gâk³</td>
<td>“belt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>waist-tighten²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[3] Reduplication
Some interrogative words, such as baŋ³ “what” and kua⁴ “who,” are reduplicated, and may be translated to English as “whatever” and “whoever,” respectively, as shown in (23) and (24):
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 xâî³ can be fully reduplicated to make his nickname xâî²xâî³, whereas the girl’s name vuŋ² can be partially reduplicated to make her nickname vû³-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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>Form II</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(25) ciam³</td>
<td>ciap³</td>
<td>“to taste”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26) nê¹</td>
<td>nêk³</td>
<td>“to eat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27) pai²</td>
<td>pai³</td>
<td>“to go”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28) sam¹</td>
<td>sap³</td>
<td>“to call”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29) hoî²³</td>
<td>hoî?p³</td>
<td>“to be good”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), -pi²³ (comitative), and -san³ (relinquitive). This will be described further in § 7.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>Form II</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dim¹</td>
<td>dim¹</td>
<td>“to be full”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dim¹</td>
<td>dip³</td>
<td>“to fill”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Transitivity and verb stems

[2] Nominalization
In Tiddim Chin, no nominalizer is necessary to nominalize a verb as shown in (30).

(30) \( ka⁴ = dôn³ \ nop³ =pên² \ nian⁴+tâi¹ \ a¹ = hi³ =vê² \)

1= drink⁽¹⁾ desire⁽²⁾ =TOP tea+water 3= COP⁽¹⁾ =FIN

“What I want to drink is tea.”

In a compound verb (§4.3.2 [2]), if the second verb occurs in form II, then the first word functions adverbially: \( no₂³-tâi³ \) (fast¹-run²) “to run fast,” \( nài¹-et³ \) (close¹-watch²) “to watch closely,” \( tôŋ³-om³ \) (corner-exist²) “to exist at the corner,” \( tʰûk¹-xum¹ \) (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; \textit{na't-}, indicating an event that takes place without either of the speech participants; \textit{va'3-}, indicating the direction away from the speech participants; and \textit{oŋ'1-}, indicating the direction toward the speech participants. Certain transitivizing suffixes, such as \textit{-sak'3} (substitutive or benefactive), \textit{-piʔ'1} (comitative) and \textit{-san'1} (relinquitive), can attach to form II verbs.

[2] Compounding
Table 9 shows Tiddim Chin’s three types of verbal compounding.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>Verb (Form I) + Verb (Form I)</td>
<td>\textit{diŋ'2-xia'3} \textit{stand'1-fell'1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>Verb (Form I) + Verb (Form \textit{sāŋ'1-dian'3})</td>
<td>\textit{high'1-jump'1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>Noun + Verb (Form I)</td>
<td>\textit{lam'1-daj'1} \textit{road-other'1}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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) \textit{liŋ'1-pi'1} \textit{iʔ'μū'2-μū'2} \textit{PN RDP:sleep'1} \textit{“Lianpi is always sleeping.”} \\
(35) \textit{a'ma'2} \textit{köl'2-pau'3} \textit{töm'2-töm'2} \textit{=bek'1 pau'2 t'ei'3} \textit{3SG Myanmar+language RDP:little'1 =only speak'1 can'1} \textit{“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 \textit{-vāi'1} functions as a verbalizer, as seen in \textit{pa'sal'1-vāi'1} (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),
respectively. During discourse, however, elements of little importance tend to be
omitted. As in (38), the copula verb hi³ is used in copula clauses; its unmarked word
order is SCV.

(36) zu'sā¹ tāi²
   mouse  run¹
   “A mouse runs.” (Intransitive clause: SV)

(37) lian³ =in³ an¹ nē³
    PN   =ERG meal  eat¹
   “Lian ate meal.” (Transitive clause: AOV)

(38) lian³ =pên² sāŋ¹+nāu²pan¹ hî³
    PN    =TOP school+child  COP¹
   “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 kā¹= nū³ pāk² san² xat³ =to²³
    DEM  1= mother.GEN  flower  red¹  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.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(proclitic pronoun)} & V \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{(auxiliary verb)} \\
\text{(verb modifier)} \\
\text{(adverb)}
\end{array} \right\} & \text{(enclitic pronoun)}
\end{array}
\]

\[(40) \quad t'uak^2 \quad kēi'kāi^2 \quad zou^1 \quad =kei^1 \quad =uŋ^3 \]
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{bear}^1 & \text{enduringly} \quad \text{able}^{1} =\text{NEG} \quad =1\text{PL. REAL}
\end{array}\]

“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).

\[(41) \quad zaŋ'kon^2 \quad =a?^i \quad ken^3 \quad a'ma^2^3 \quad mu^3 \quad =ŋei^i \quad =iŋ^3 \]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{PN} & =\text{LOC} & 1\text{SG. ERG} & 3\text{SG. see} \quad =\text{ever} & =1\text{SG. REAL}
\end{array}\]

‘I have seen her in Yangon.’

Meanwhile, as in (42), an object can be identified morpho-syntactically by the prefix \(oŋ^-\), which affixes to a verb if the patient or recipient is a speech-act participant in the transitive clause:

\[(42) \quad zaŋ'kon^2 \quad =a?^i \quad a'man^3 \quad ŋaŋ' \quad oŋ^- \quad mû^3 \]
\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{PN} \quad =\text{LOC} & 3\text{SG. ERG} & 2\text{SG. DIR- see}^i
\end{array}\]

“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 \(=mô³\), \(=n³\), \(=t³\), \(=dia²\), \(=diam²\), or \(=a²\) 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) 3SG PN =LOC go¹ =ITER =PURP =Q

“Is he going to Japan again?”

(44) school 2= climb¹ =Q

“Do you go to school?”

(45) PN =ERG pig-meat 3= eat¹ can¹ COP¹ =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) pig+meat 2= eat¹ can¹ COP¹ =Q know¹ =NEG.1SG.REAL

“I don’t know whether you can eat pork.”
[2] Content questions

Content questions contain one of the interrogative words: \( \text{bay}^3 \) “what,” \( \text{koi}^1 \) “where,” \( \text{kua}^3 \) “who,” and \( \text{cik}^4 \) “when.” In content questions, an interrogative marker is not necessary (as seen in (47)), though an interrogative marker \( = a^2 \) or \( = am^2 \) is occasionally used. Example (48) shows that the copula verb \( \text{hî}^3 \) and the interrogative marker \( = a^2 \) or \( = am^2 \) can be omitted.

(47) \( \text{ko}^2 \quad \text{pai}^2 \quad = \text{dîj}^1 \)
where.LOC go^1 =PUR.P
“Where are you going?”

(48) \( \text{bay}^3 \quad \text{sèm}^3 \quad \text{a}^1 = (\text{hî}^3 = a^2) \)
what do^1 3= COP^1 =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) \( \text{vok}^1 + \text{sâ}^1 \quad \text{ne}^1 \quad \text{têi}^3 \quad \text{a}^1 = \text{hî}^3 = a^2 \)
pig+meat eat^1 can^1 3= COP^1 =Q
“He can eat pork, can’t he?”

7.2 Imperatives

As shown in (50), the imperative marker \( = \text{in}^4, = \text{ou}^3, = \text{vê}^2 \) or \( = \text{sin}^3 \) follows a VP to indicate singular imperative mood, whereas attaching \( = \text{un}^4, = \text{vuou}^4, = \text{vê}^2 \text{vua}^2 \) or \( = \text{sin}^3 = u^2 \) to a VP indicates plural imperative mood as shown in (51). Note that \( = \text{sin}^3 \) is always uttered at a high pitch. Imperative markers can be omitted when authoritatively commanding somebody. For negative imperative mood, the negative marker \( = \text{kei}^1 \) or \( = \text{da}^2 \) is used, as seen in (52).

(50) \( \text{niay}^2 + \text{tûi}^1 \quad \text{dôn}^2 \quad \{ = \text{in}^3 \quad / = \text{ou}^3 \quad / = \text{vê}^2 \quad / = \text{sin}^3 \} \)
tea+water drink^1 =IMP =IMP =IMP =IMP
“Drink tea!”
(51) bôŋ²+nôi³ dôn³ { =un³ / =vuou³ / =vê³vua² / =sin³ =u³² }  
    cow+milk say³ =PL.IMP =PL.IMP =PL.IMP =IMP =PL  
    “Drink milk, guys!”

(52) zû² dôn³ { =ken³ / =kei³ =ou³ / =kei³ =vê² / =kei³ =sin³ }  
    liquor drink³ =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) a‘ma²³ =pên² ka¹¹ pâ¹¹ hî³  
    3SG =TOP l= father COP³  
    “He is my father.”

(54) nu¹+cîn¹ =pên⁺ sâng¹+sîa¹+nû¹  
    aunt+PN =TOP school+teacher.GEN+woman COP³  
    “Aunty Cin is a school teacher.”

A verb om³ “exist” is used in unmarked locational clauses, as shown in (55).

(55) ka³¹ =tâ¹¹ =tê¹ te‘dim² =a²¹ om³  
    l= son =PL PN =LOC exist³  
    “My sons are at Tiddim.”

As shown in (56) and (57), there are two ways to express possession. The verb om³ “exist” expresses not only existence but also possession:

(56) ken³ mô²tô² xat¹ nei³  
    1SG.ERG car one have¹  
    “I have a car.”

(57) kei³ kiaŋ² =a²¹ mô²tô² xat¹ om³  
    1SG.GEN place =LOC car one exist³  
    “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: \(=\emptyset\) for absolutive (i.e., intransitive subject, object, and subject of a copula verb); \(=in^i\) for ergative (i.e., transitive subject); \(=i^2\) for genitive (i.e., possessor); \(=to^2\) for comitative (i.e., company, ways, and means); \(=in^2\) for instrumental (i.e., ways and means as well as instrument); either \(=a^2\) or \(=\hat{a}^2\) for locative (i.e., location of existence or action, as well as goal); \(=don^i\) for terminative (i.e., terminal point of time or location); \(=pan^i\) for ablative (i.e., starting point in time or location); \(=såy^i\) 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 \(oŋ^i\)-, 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 \(oŋ^i\)- must be attached to a verb if a patient or recipient is a speech-act participant, as shown in (58) and (59).

\[
(58) \quad lian^3 =in^4 \quad ki\hat{e}^i \quad oŋ^4 \quad mû^3 \\
\quad PN =ERG \quad 1SG \quad DIR- \quad see^i \\
\quad \text{“Lian saw me.”}
\]

\[
(59) \quad na'= \quad vok^3+\text{man}^3 \quad oŋ^4 \quad pe^i =\text{kei}^i \quad =niy^i \\
\quad 2= \quad \text{pig+price} \quad \text{DIR-} \quad \text{give}^i \quad =\text{NEG} \quad =1SG.IRR \\
\quad \text{“I won’t pay you the money for your pig!”}
\]

Proclitic pronouns primarily indicate either possessors (as described in §3.5) or subjects of nominalized or relativized clauses, as in (60):

\[
(60) \quad tua^2 \quad mu=\hat{u}^2 \quad a^4= \quad nêk^i \quad ken^3 \quad mû^3 =i\hat{y}^3 \\
\quad DEM \quad \text{snack} \quad \text{3=} \quad \text{eat}^i \quad 1SG.ERG \quad \text{see}^i =1SG.REAL \\
\quad \text{“I saw him eating the snack.”}
\]
As shown in (61), the enclitic pronoun follows the VP to mark the subject.

(61) (ken¹) tay¹mái² tʰum² lei¹ =iŋ¹
1SG.ERG cucumber three buy¹ =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 lâi¹bû¹ =tê¹ (book =PL) or lâi¹bû¹ =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 zum¹ =aʔ³ pai²
1SG office =LOC go¹
“I go to the office.”

b. nu¹+hâu³ =in³ kei¹ zum³ =aʔ³ on¹- pai² =sak¹
aunt+PN =ERG 1SG office =LOC DIR- go¹ =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 -san¹ (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 make¹
“Aunty Hau made a curry.”
b. nu¹+hâu³ =in³ lian³ me?³ bôl³ -sak³
aunt+PN =ERG PN curry make” -TRVZ
“Aunty Hau made a curry for Lian.” (benefactive)

(64) a. kei¹ vâk¹
1SG go out¹
“I went out.”

b. ken³ a’ma³ vâk³ -pi³
1SG.ERG 3SG go out¹ -TRVZ
“I went out along with him.” (comitative)

(65) a. nu¹+ciŋ² tâi³
aunt+PN run¹
“Aunty Cing ran away.”

b. nu¹+ciŋ² =in³ lian³ tâi³ -san³
aunt+PN =ERG PN run¹ -TRVZ
“Aunty Cing ran away leaving Lian behind.” (relinquitive)

7.8.2 Valence-decreasing operation
As shown in (66) to (68), the verbal prefix ki¹- indicates middle voice and thus functions as an impersonal, reciprocal, or reflexive marker.

(66) kâp¹ ki³- tʰat³
PN MDL- kill¹
“Someone killed Kap.” (impersonal)

(67) kei¹ a’ma³ =to³³ ki³- lâi³
1SG 3SG =COM MDL- fight¹
“I argued with him.” (reciprocal)

(68) nay¹ =le³³ nay¹ ki³- dâl³ =ou³
2SG =CONJ 2SG MDL- protect¹ =IMP
“Protect yourself.” (reflexive)

7.9 Negation
Negation is expressed by attaching one of three negative markers: the verb modifying particles =kei¹ and =da³³, 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 t⁵ei³ nuam⁴ { =kei³ / =daʔ³ } =uŋ³
     1PL know⁴ desire⁴ =NEG =1PLREAL
     “We don’t want to know.”

(70) kou³ t⁵ei³ nuam⁴ lou³ (*=uŋ³)
     1PL know⁴ desire⁴ NEG³ =1PLREAL
     “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 =diŋ³ 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 =kîk³, the continuative marker =lâi², and the near future marker =dek³.

(71) kou³ vâk³ =uŋ³
     1PL go out¹ =1PLREAL
     “We went out.”

(72) kou³ vâk³
     1PL go out¹
     “We went out.”

(73) kou³ vâk³ =miŋ³
     1PL go out¹ =1PLIRR
     “We will go out.”

(74) kou³ vâk³ =diŋ³
     1PL go out¹ =PURP
     “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):
As for that snack, Lian has eaten it.

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) tü'läi² =tak¹ lian³ =in³ lài³ sim² =in³ a³=nûn³ an¹
     huan¹
     present time =just PN =ERG letter read¹ =CONJ 3= mother.ERG meal
cook¹

“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. hiʔ⁷ pân³ tua² mouʔ⁻ (a³=) nêk¹ ken³ mû³ =iŋ³
   DEM man.ERG DEM snack 3= eat³l 1SG.ERG see¹ =1SG.REAL
b. hiʔ⁷ pâ³ tua² mouʔ⁻ nêk¹ ken³ mû³ =iŋ³
   DEM man.GEN DEM snack eat³l 1SG.ERG see¹ =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 kôŋ⁻ lei¹ ci³
   1SG.ERG field =only 1.DIR- buy¹ say¹
   “I only bought a field, he said.”

(80) a‘man⁴ hiʔ⁷ meʔ⁻ =pên⁴ nel² sâ³
   3SG.ERG DEM curry =TOP greasy¹ think¹
   “He thought this curry is greasy.”

If a matrix verb is a speech-act verb describing either internal or external speech (e.g., gêŋ¹ “speak,” doŋ³ “ask,” ki‘ciam² “promise,” tân’kou² “declare,” zâ¹ “hear,” t‘ei³ “know,” um³ “believe,” lam'en¹ “hope,” xen’sat¹ “decide,” φai²sun¹ “consider,” ph‘ôk¹ “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 =diŋ¹, as seen in (82). The conjunction is often omitted.

(81) lian’noun¹ =in³ huai’kin² ñâi² =in² t‘ei³ =iŋ³
   PN =ERG PN love¹ =CONJN know¹ =1SG.REAL
   “I know that Lianno loves Huaikim.”

(82) ja’pân² =a²l nà’sêm³ =diŋ¹ (=in²) xen²sat¹ =iŋ³
   PN =LOC work¹ =PURP =CONJN decide¹ =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 =in¹ lái³bû¹ a¹ = sâ²⁷ =pián¹ xat³ sim²
PN =ERG book 3= thick¹ =rather one read¹
“Lian is reading a book which is rather thick.”

(84) xuai² a² = zonŋ³ zonŋ³ a¹ = nû¹ =zonŋ³ tua² xuai² =in³ de²³
bee 3= search¹ search¹ 3= mother =also DEM bee =ERG sting¹
“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 } me²³ nêk¹ a² = lim² hî³ =a³
2= 2SG.GEN curry eat²³ 3= tasty¹ COP¹ =Q
“Is the curry that you tasted good?”

(86) lian² pa²³tâk¹ huai’nû³ xûp¹ =in³ tên³ -pi²³
PN.GEN like²³ PN PN =ERG marry²³ -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) zaŋ³kôŋ³ =a²³ { ei³ / i¹= } pai³ =nâ² mô³tô²
PN =LOC IPL.INCL.GEN / IPL.INCL go²³ =NA car
ong⁷- ki³- le²³ =kîk¹
DIR- MDL- turn¹ =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), =å² (purposes and sequential actions, among others), =le?p³ (conditions), =ta’le?² (concessives), and =na’pi? (concessives), the form I verb stem may be used, as shown in (88):

(88) a’ma²³ zoŋ² =in² pai³ =in³
3SG search¹ =CONJ go¹ =1SG.REAL
“I went to look for him.” (purpose)

An enclitic pronoun is required after the subordinators =leʔ³ (conditionals), =ta’leʔ³ (concessives), and =na’piʔ (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 =å² to express a reason clause, as in (90).

(89) kei¹ naŋ¹ hi³ =lêŋ³ tua¹ nü¹ =to?p³ pai² xôm³ =nin³
1SG 2SG COP¹ =CONJN.1SG DEM.GEN woman =COM go¹ together¹ =1SG.IRR
“If I were you, I’d go with the woman.”

(=le?p³ <CONJN> +=in³ <1SG.REAL> → =leŋ³)

(90) lài³ hån’ciam² =in³ =å² ka’= lài³ on³ ka’= hi³ =vê³
letter exert¹ =1SG.REAL =CONJN 1= letter pass¹ 1= COP¹
=MOD
“As I studied hard, I passed an exam.”

[2] Form II verbs
If either conjunction =in² or =å² 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 =le?p³ (conditionals), =cian² (reason, time), =håŋ¹ (adversative, reason), =man³ (reason), =kóm²
(simultaneous action), and =teʔ² (“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) zîŋ′say² ka¹= t⁰o²= â² xua² vâk² =tâ³

morning 1= arise₉ =CONJ weather lighten⁰ =PFV

“When I got up in the morning, the sun had already risen.” (sequential action)

(92) zaŋ′kon⁰ na¹= tun³ =ciaŋ¹ =in² t⁰â¹ on⁰- ya²= sak³ =ou³
PN 2= arrive₉ =time =CONJN matter DIR- get¹ =CAUS =IMP

“Please let me know when you arrive at Yangon.” (time)

(93) hî² lîi³ sim² ka¹= hiʔ⁰ =hâŋ¹ ka²= luŋ² lît¹ =kei¹
DEM letter read¹ 1= COP₉ =but 1= heart enter¹ =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)


ni¹+daŋ¹ =låi² =in² penj¹lam¹ a¹= ki³- ci³ paσal¹ xat³ om¹
day+other¹ =around =CONJN PN 3= MDL- say⁴ male one exist¹
once upon a time a man called Peng Lam exists

“One once upon a time, there was a man called Peng Lam.”


tua² penj¹lam¹ gam² lak¹ =aʔ³ vâk¹ kőikői³
DEM PN jungle inside =LOC walk out¹ here and there
that Peng Lam in the jungle walked here and there

“Peng Lam was walking here and there in the jungle.”


a¹= vâk³ =nå² =aʔ¹ a³= to¹+vaŋ² bèl²+sia¹ xat³ mú³
3= walk out⁰ =NA =LOC 3= bottom+hollow¹ pot+broken¹ one find¹
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.”

tua² bêl³+sia¹ a³= in¹ =a³ cia³⁴ -pi³⁴
DEM pot+broken¹ 3= house =LOC return²³ -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 =cian³ =in² a³= nû¹ a¹= la³³ =le³³
house 3= arrive²² =TIME =CONJN 3= mother 3= show³³ =CONJN
when he arrived when he showed it to his mother

“When he arrived home, and showed it to his mother, his mother didn’t like the broken pot, so she scolded him.”

pen³¹lam¹ =zon³³ lou¹ =a³³ a¹= pai³³ =le³³ sial² xat³ mu³ leu³³ leu³³
PN =also field =LOC 3= go³³ =CONJN mithan one find¹ 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.”

lam¹ -pi³¹ =a³³ tua² sial² =in³ êk³ t³³
road -AUG =LOC DEM mithan =ERG feces defecate¹
on the big road that mithan defecated

“On the big road, the mithan defecated.”

tua² a¹= hi³³ =man³ =in² peŋ³ lam¹ =in³ hi³ a³ =zong³ a³= tô³
DEM 3= COP³³=cause =CONJN PN =ERG DEM mithan =also 3= bottom
because of that Peng Lam this mithan also his bottom
“Because of that, Peng Lam said, ‘The mithan’s bottom has a hole, too, so my mother won’t like it.’ He killed it.”

“He killed it, and returned home with only its thigh, taken from inside the body.”

“While returning home, he broke wind on the big road.”

“Tua uih lua ahih cianga, Peng Lamin nam sia sa

lu. lua²

very³

very

“It was so stinky that Peng Lam smelt a very bad smell.”

[12] Ahih hanga, ama’ veih ahih lam thei lo-in,

“Ahih hanga, ama’ veih ahih lam thei lo-in,

lu. lua²

very³

very

“Ahih hanga, ama’ veih ahih lam thei lo-in,

sial’ veih sa ahih ciangin,

sial¹ veih³ sa³ a¹= hi?³ =ciang¹ =in²

mihan.gen fart think³ 3= COP² =cause =CONJ

mihan’s fart thought because

“However, he didn’t realize that it was his fart, and he thought it was the mihan’s.”


“A k’ong thah zawh sawt nai lo hi ve’n.

A ba’hang namsia ta na hia?”

“A ba’hang namsia ta na hia?”

A ba’hang namsia ta na hia?”

\[\text{ci}^3 =\text{in}^2 \quad \text{tua}^2 \quad \text{sial}^1 \quad \text{pêi}^3 \quad \text{pâi}^3\]

say\(^1\) =CONJN DEM mihan.GEN thigh throw.away\(^4\)
said and that mihan’s thigh threw away

“he said, and threw away the mihan’s thigh.”

References


Abbreviation
Hunza Burushaski

Noboru YOSHIOKA (TUFS)

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 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

Figure 1. Map of Burushaski
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.

/y [ɯ]/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Retrolflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive vl.</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/t/ [t]</td>
<td>/ʈ/ [ʈ]</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/d/ [d]</td>
<td>/ɖ/ [ɖ]</td>
<td>/ɡ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp.</td>
<td>/ch/ [tsʰ]</td>
<td>/čh/ [ʨʰ]</td>
<td>/ɕh/ [ɕʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃʰ/ [ʨʰ]</td>
<td>/ʃʰ/ [ʈʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative vl.</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃʰ/ [ʃʰ]</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋʰ/ [ŋʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx.</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/yʰ/ [yʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>/r/ [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most frequent vowel is /a/, and /e/ without an accent is remarkably rare in Burushaski.

Table 2. Vowels of Burushaski

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/ee/</td>
<td>/aa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/uu/</td>
<td>/oo/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C\textsubscript{3}C\textsubscript{4} can only be found in word-final syllables.

C\textsubscript{1}: All consonants are verifiable in any middle position of a word, but environments and \textit{γ} do not appear in the initial syllable. C\textsubscript{2}: Only \textit{r} is available when C\textsubscript{1} is any of p, b, ph, t, d, th, or g. However, words with the initial consonant cluster Cr (C\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}) should consist of loan words and onomatopoeic words only. C\textsubscript{3}: All consonants except approximants w and y. C\textsubscript{4}: 7 consonants: t, k, š, c, č, and ĝ. All of these can appear when C\textsubscript{3} is a sonorant. If C\textsubscript{3} is a fricative, then only k is available. The restriction of C\textsubscript{3}C\textsubscript{4} clusters in loan words is less strict than the one in indigenous words: e.g., \textit{qulp} ‘lock’ < Ur. \textit{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., [paháːd] ‘mountain: ABS’ vs. [paháːčar] ‘mountain: DAT’ (pahá∂ ‘mountain’ < Ur. pahar).

### 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., /áu/ always becomes [eé] with a few exceptions, and /aá/ 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 \textit{a}-, the causative prefix \textit{s}-, the telic prefix \textit{d}-, and the prefix \textit{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/ \rightarrow /p/  
\textit{apáa}  
a-\textit{a}-\textit{a}-Ø  
\text{NEG-COP-1SG-PRS}  
‘I am not’

(2) /g/ \rightarrow /k/  
\textit{áaskarcumo}  
\textit{a}-\textit{s}-\textit{a}-\textit{arc}-m-o  
1SG:III-CAUS-run-NPRS-3SG.HF  
‘she made me run’

Unaspirating makes aspirated consonants alternate with their unaspirated counterparts. 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/ \rightarrow /c/  
\textit{nícun}  
n-\textit{i}-\textit{chú}-n  
\text{CP-3SG.HM:1-bring.away-CP}  
‘bring him away and’

(4) /qh/ \rightarrow /q/  
\textit{góqučam}  
gu-\textit{u}-u-\textit{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 \textit{a}-, the causative prefix \textit{s}-, the conjunctive participle prefix \textit{n}-, and so on.

(5) /γ/ \rightarrow /q/  
\textit{óostaqami}  
u-\textit{s}-\textit{da}-\textit{m}-i  
3PL:X:III-CAUS-hide-NPRS-3SG.HM  
‘he sheltered them (animals)’

(6) /h/ \rightarrow /kh/  
\textit{akhénuman}  
a-\textit{hén}-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/
    duwwáltimi
    d-alt-m-i
    TEL-wash-NPRS-3SG.Y
    ‘it was washed’

(8) /g/ → /y/
    uyánam
    u-án-a-m
    3PL.X:1-take-1SG-NPRS
    ‘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/
    /t/ + /č/ → /š/
    /s/ + /č/ → /š/
    /r[k]/ + /č/ → /rš/
    /y/ + /č/ → /č/

(10) séyam
    say-IPFV-1SG-NPRS
    ‘I will say’

(11) taljó
    tal[čo]
    pigeon-PL
    ‘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/
    /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 iskî-kuc ‘three days’ and tôrîmi-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: bî- 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.
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.
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) ánimuar
    u- mí -mu -ar
    3PL.H:1- mother -OBL -DAT
[-1] [0] [+3] [+5]
‘for their mother’

(14) hukáikcum
    huk -ai -ik -c -um
    dog -PL -PL -ADE -ABL
    [0] [+1] [+2] [+4] [+5]
    ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Type-I (@/-@')</th>
<th>Type-II (@^)</th>
<th>Type-III (@^)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>á-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>gó-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [HM]</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>é-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [HF]</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>é-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [X]</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>é-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [Y]</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>é-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):
[+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
    sís-an
    people-NSP.SG
    ‘a person’

(18) sísik
    sís-ik
    people-NSP.PL
    ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[+4]</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>label</th>
<th>position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-al/-ul-</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ať-</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>‘around, by’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-c-</td>
<td>adessive</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-či-</td>
<td>inessive</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[+5]</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>label</th>
<th>direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>essive</td>
<td>no direction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>‘towards, for’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>‘away, from’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Complex case marking system for locationals in Burushaski
Table 4: Details of the position-direction combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-e</th>
<th>-ar</th>
<th>-um</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-al-</td>
<td>-ale</td>
<td>-alar</td>
<td>-alum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ul-</td>
<td>/-ulo</td>
<td>/(-ar úlo)</td>
<td>/-ulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aṭ-</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>-atār</td>
<td>-atūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-c-</td>
<td>-ce</td>
<td>-car</td>
<td>-cum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-če-</td>
<td>-če</td>
<td>-čar</td>
<td>-čim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the three directional case markers, [+5] can have some of the main case markers, that is, the absolutive -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., bilās-e ‘witch: ERG’, bilās-m-o [bilās-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.

The following forms are actual instances with the representation of slotting:
(19) **atésmanuma**

\[
\text{a-} \quad \text{d-} \quad \text{i-} \quad \text{s-} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{-m} \quad \text{-a}
\]

\[
3\text{PL.H-} \quad \text{TEL-} \quad 3\text{SG.X:II-} \quad \text{CAUS-} \quad \text{become} \quad \text{-NPRS} \quad -2\text{SG}
\]

\([-4] \quad [-3] \quad [-2] \quad [-1] \quad [0] \quad [+4] \quad [+5]\]

‘you did not make it’

(20) **giráčačan**

\[
\text{girát} \quad \text{-ya} \quad \text{-č} \quad \text{-an} \quad \text{-m}
\]

dance \quad -PL \quad -\text{IPFV} \quad -1\text{PL} \quad -\text{NPRS}

\([0] \quad [+1] \quad [+2] \quad [+3] \quad [+4]\]

‘we will dance’

[-4: negative] slot can be filled by the negative marker \text{a-}/\text{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 \text{d-} and the morpheme \text{n-}, which is observed only in converbs proper: cf. §8.3. The surface functions of \text{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 \text{s-}.

[+1: plural] is rarely filled by the plural morpheme \text{-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 \text{-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 \text{-ce}, and the reminding suffix \text{-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th></th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>[+5]</td>
<td>-an [+]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>[+5]</td>
<td>-an [+]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>[+5]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>[+5]</td>
<td>-ie(n) [+]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>[+5]</td>
<td>-i [+]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

![Figure 6: Template for the copula](image)

[-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 | biličar | bilā | 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-b’ila-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 onomatopoeics consist of two or more phonological words, and some are built by words with an accent. The following are examples of onomatopoeics: hashás @t- ‘to cut with a dull blade,’ širišarán ‘clink-clank (from glass or metal)’ (cf. šará ‘clank’), and maramaráq ‘scrub-a-dub, <manner of eating greedily>’ (cf. maráq ‘<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 /s/; 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
\[ \text{bépay} \overset{\text{spay}}{\text{šépay}} < \text{bépay} \]
‘a yak or something like [it]’ ‘yak’

(23) Echo-formation for an adjective word
\[ \text{daltás maltás} \overset{\text{spay}}{\text{šépay}} < \text{daltás} \]
‘very beautiful’ ‘beautiful’

(24) Echo-formation for a clause
\[ \text{ámular níčáa? gómular níčáa?} \overset{\text{spay}}{\text{šépay}} < \text{ámular níčáa?} \]
‘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) \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{dáa} & \text{uskó} & \text{jótišo} & \text{urkáie} & \text{úimo} \\
\text{dáa} & \text{uskó} & \text{jótišo} & \text{urkáie} & \text{úimo} \\
\text{and three:} & \text{small-PL} & \text{wolf-PL-ERG} & \text{3PL.X:1-self-OBL-GEN} \\
\text{asqúriŋe} & \text{háan} & \text{Ø} \\
\text{asqúriŋe} & \text{háan} & \text{Ø} \\
\text{flower-PL-INS-ESS} & \text{house-NSP.SG-ABS} \\
\text{[désmanién]} & \text{v.} \\
d-i-s-man+b-ien-Ø \\
\text{TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become+COP-3PL.X-PRS} \\
\text{‘So the three little wolves built themselves a house of flowers.’ (uskó jótišo} \\
\text{urkáie ke uyüm yunıkis qhúuq: #40)}
\end{array}
\]

5.2 The noun phrase
The basic order of noun phrases is as follows in (26) and illustrated in (27):

(26) The noun phrase
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{demonstrative adjective – numeral – adjective – head noun}
\end{array}
\]
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. \textit{híre} \textit{ha} (Dependent-Marking)
   \textit{hír-} á
   \textit{man-GEN} house
   ‘the house of the man’

b. \textit{híre} \textit{iríiŋ} (Double-Marking)
   \textit{hír-} á
   \textit{B3G.HM:}í-hand
   ‘the hand of the man’

c. \textit{*hír} \textit{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., \textit{khéel} ‘sport, game’ + \textit{@\textsuperscript{-}t-} ‘to do’ > \textit{khéel @\textsuperscript{-}t-} ‘to play (vt.)’; see (30) on the next page also.
(30) joókheel káa khéel étis méemanuman
    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](image)

The marking pattern by the case markers shows the ergative type alignment; see Figure 7. The absolutive 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](image)

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.

![Figure 9. Indexing by the personal prefix](image)

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  jáe  huk-Ø  bì-i-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  tešaţe  bom.
iné  gus-Ø  há-e  teš-ţat-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-bì-la-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  büţan  chil  bilá.
jé-e  a-ća-či-e  büţ-an  chil-Ø  bì-la-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 \((\text{HM}, \text{HF}, \text{X}, \text{and} \ Y)\) 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 \text{HM}-class is human male, \text{HF} is human female, \text{X} is concrete objects including animals and fruits, and \text{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 \text{Z}-class. This is a class only relating to numerals. Numerals have \text{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 \text{d-} alters certain verb stems into middle-like voice. Basically, \text{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  
\((khíne)\)  
\(gatóy\)  
\(báaltumo.\)

\(khín-e\)  
\(gató-Ø\)  
\(báalt-m-o\)

\(s\text{he:PROX-ERG cloth-PL-ABS wash-NPRS-3SG.HF}\)

‘She washed the clothes.’

b. Result-/patient-oriented (telic) stem  
\((*khíne)\)  
\(gatóy\)  
\(duwáaltimi.\)

\(d-báalt-m-i\)

\(TEL\text{-wash-NPRS-3PL.Y}\)

‘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 \( @-t' \) ‘to do’ with \( @-f' \) ‘to make (somebody to do).’

Table 6: Transitivity realized by combinations of the characteristics of verbal roots and the types of personal prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Valency</th>
<th>Volitionality</th>
<th>Stem Ø</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>none &lt;PFV&gt;</th>
<th>-č &lt;IPFV&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+4]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none &lt;PRS&gt;</td>
<td>Prospective</td>
<td>Future&lt;sup&gt;‡&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m &lt;NPRS&gt;</td>
<td>Simple Past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP-m</td>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td>Past Imperfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>‡</sup> 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: ēčo / ēčumo ‘she will do it’
- Present: ēčubó ‘she does / is doing it’
- Past Imperfect: ēčubóm ‘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 @-man- as in (37), or time expressions with the adverbial noun qháas ‘until, up to,’ as in (38), are harmonious with optative non-finites; see also §5.3.

(37)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{étis} & \quad \text{áamayabáa.} \\
\text{é-té-s} & \quad \text{á-mañ-č-a-bá-a-Ø}
\end{align*}
\]
3SG.Y::II-do-OPT \quad 1SG:III-become-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

‘I can \textit{do it}.’

(38)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{éér}s & \quad \text{qháa(s)} \\
\text{á-ir-é-s} & \quad \text{qháas}
\end{align*}
\]
1SG:i-die-OPT \quad until

‘until \textit{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) jā́a ́ńmo káā čayabár étam.
   jé-e ́ń-mu-e káā čayabár-Ø ́i-́t-́a-m
   I-ERG s/he:DIST-obl-GEN together chat-ABS 3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-NPRS
   ‘I talked with her.’

(40) ́ńmo káā jā́a čayabár étam.
   ́ń-mu-e káā jé-e čayabár-Ø ́i-́t-́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,’ dáá ‘and then,’ óor ‘and’ [< Ur. or ‘and’] (see (41)), and leekín ‘but’ [< Ur. lekin ‘but’].

(41) káman guncýncum, buá halkúmi
    kám-án gunc-íñ-c-um buá-Ø halk-m-i
    little-NSP.SG day-PL-ade-ABL cow-ABS bear-NPRS-3SG.X
167

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) bitáyue yeécuman, húke mamúe
    bitán-čo-e i-ic'-m-an húke+mamó-e
    shaman-PL-ERG 3SG.Y:1-see-NPRS-3PL.H Huke.Mamo-ERG
    šon gukárar ésimi:
    šon+gukúr-ar i-s-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) ed buš qhoš imáibái
    éd-Ø búš qhoš i-man’č+bá-i-Ø
    Ed-ABS much happy 3SG.HM:1-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

Shon.Gukur: #12

Frequently, clause combining is accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses simply, as in (42).

(42) bitáyue yeécuman, húke mamúe
    bitán-čo-e i-ic'-m-an húke+mamó-e
    shaman-PL-ERG 3SG.Y:1-see-NPRS-3PL.H Huke.Mamo-ERG
    šon gukárar ésimi:
    šon+gukúr-ar i-s-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) ed buš qhoš imáibái
    éd-Ø búš qhoš i-man’č+bá-i-Ø
    Ed-ABS much happy 3SG.HM:1-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

Shon.Gukur: #12

Frequently, clause combining is accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses simply, as in (42).

(42) bitáyue yeécuman, húke mamúe
    bitán-čo-e i-ic'-m-an húke+mamó-e
    shaman-PL-ERG 3SG.Y:1-see-NPRS-3PL.H Huke.Mamo-ERG
    šon gukárar ésimi:
    šon+gukúr-ar i-s-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) ed buš qhoš imáibái
    éd-Ø búš qhoš i-man’č+bá-i-Ø
    Ed-ABS much happy 3SG.HM:1-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

Shon.Gukur: #12
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 participle: Same-subject Sequential

The pig rang a doorbell and (the pig) said ...’ (uskó jótïšo urkái ke uyúm yunîkîs qhúuq: #20)
Perfective participle + Dative case: Different-subject Sequential
harált [híarccumára] čayórum maními.
harált-Ø d-gáarc-um-ar čayór-un man-č-m-i
rain-ABS TEL-run-ADJVLZ-DAT cold-ADJVLZ
‘After it rains, it will be cold.’

Imperfective participle + Adhesive case: Same-subject Simultaneous
in [hérčumát] ními.
ín-Ø hér-č-um-at-e ní-m-i
s/he:DIST-ABS cry-IPFV-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS go-NPRS-3SG.HM
‘He went crying.’

Infinitive + Locative case: Free-subj. (Different-subj. here) Simultaneous
in [fyanasulu] zílzlá.
ín-Ø i-gán-as-ul-e zílzlá-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,’ běšal ‘when,’ bes ‘why,’ am ‘where,’ bélaže ‘how,’ béerum(an) ~ béárum(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 dišulo niza
ámit diš-ul-e nizá-∅
which:Y ground-LOC-ESS spear-ABS
yábím ké ité dišulo
i-ya+b’-i-m ké ité diš-ul-e
3SG.X:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS CONJN that:Y ground-LOC-ESS
yáare ité γítulo, nizá
i-yáar-e ité γıt-ul-e nizá-∅
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS that:Y sludge-LOC-ESS spear-ABS
nýan taí záile bim,
n-i-ya’-n tefl záil-e b’-i-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) šón+gukúr bitáne bésan sénuma
šon.Gukúr bitán-ERG bés-an-∅ sén-um=a
Shon.Gukur shaman-ERG what-NSP.SG-ABS say-ADJVLZ=Q
ké ité sahi maními.
ké ité-∅ sahi maním-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) yaani sénimi kä isé isúmal
yaani sén-m-i ké isé i-sumál-∅
FIL say-NPRS-3SG.HM CONJN that:X 3SG.X:I-tail-ABS
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)

The presence and absence of the general conjunctive *ke* show no difference, either semantically or intonationally.
9. Shon Gukur (a folktale)

1/ bahāarī tāimulo šon gukūr ke hūke mamó,
bahāarī-e tāim-ul-e šón+gukūr ké hūke+mamó-∅


of spring in time Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo

dāltītār dūcām.
dāltīt-ar d-u-sú+bá-an-m
Altīt-DAT TEL-3PL.H:1-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS
to Altīt they had brought them

‘In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altīt.’

2/ u ōltalik hūnzue mašúur

ū-∅ u-ōltalik hūnzoo-e mašúur biṭān-čo-∅

they:DIST-ABS 3PL.H:II-both Hunza-GEN famous shaman-PL-ABS

they both of them of Hunza famous shamans

bām.
bā-an-m
COP-3PL.H-NPRS
were

‘Both were famous in Hunza as shamans.’

3/ ōltalik gāṭī numānīn

ū-ōltalik-∅ gāṭī n-man-∅n

3PL.H:II-both-ABS gathering CP-become-CP

both of them together having become

hurūṭām.
hurūṭ-bā-an-m
sit+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

they had sat

‘The two of them were sitting together.’
The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit with the Karagadimuts clan.

'The shamans saw it, and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur: “This cow is in calf.”'
‘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.”’

‘You are wrong, it is not a white patch,” said Shon Gukur.’
"The tassel on the end of its tail has come there, and it is white."

"That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so."
atúmayan.
a-d-u-maay-́-m-an
NEG-TEL-3PL.H:!-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 guncíy cum, buá halkíimi
kám-an guncí-in-c-um buá-Ø halk-́-m-i
little-NSP.SG day-PL-ADJ-ABL cow-ABS bear-NPRS-3SG.X
some after days the cow it born
óor isk désmanimi.
óor i-sk-Ø d-i-s-mań-́-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-ADJ VLZ
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

óor iskíl, buá, áltitar.
óor i-skíl buá-Ø áltit-ar
INTERJ so.much-ADJVLZ-NSP.SG-DAT cow bear Altit
they disagreed
Then presently, men brought the cow into Altit.
Some days later, the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it.

‘Both of them said: “No.” The two disagreed.’
manílúm.
man+b-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] ʃon gukúr  biṭáne  bésan  sén-um=a  ke
ʃón+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

tité  sahíí  maními.
tité-Ø  sahíí  man-ˈm-i
that:Y-ABS  correct  become-NPRS-3SG.Y
that  true  it became

‘What Shon Gukur had said turned out [to be] true.’

sís-Ø  heiráan  u-man-ˈm-an
people-ABS  surprised  3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H
the people  surprised  they became

‘The people were filled with amazement.’

References