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This thesis, entitled

Hkongso Grammar Sketch

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with major in

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Hkongso Grammar Sketch

By

Jonathan Michael Wright

Presented to the Faculty of  
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

Master of Arts  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Hkongso Grammar Sketch**

Jonathan Michael Wright

Master of Arts

with major in

Applied Linguistics

The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics, June 2009

Supervising Professor: Paul R. Kroeger

This thesis presents a descriptive, typological sketch of Hkongso phonology and grammar. Hkongso is a Tibeto-Burman language in Southern Chin State, Myanmar, and is spoken northeast of Paletwa along the Paletchaung and Michaung rivers. The Hkongso population is under 10,000. Hkongso has five contrastive tones, no inflectional morphology, and very little derivational morphology.

Hkongso is linguistically related to the Anu of Myanmar and the Mru of Bangladesh but differs grammatically from the Chin languages around it. Hkongso has no classifier system, no verb stem alternation, and is SVO. Other word order characteristics include NAdj, RelN, DemN, NNum, AdjDeg, and NegV, which are most similar to the Karen languages of Myanmar.

Pre-verbal operators include negation and ability. Clause-final operators include TAM and subject agreement markers. In addition to coordinate and subordinate clauses, Hkongso also has clause-chaining and serial verb constructions.

Dedicated to the Hkongso people, who have longed for the written word for so many  
years.

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Glory and thanks goes first to the creator of all languages.

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Paul Kroeger for his constant guidance throughout the process of writing. He mentored me in many ways. He taught me to be persistent in finding answers and to question everything. His guidance brought about the confidence in me needed to complete this work.

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I am honored to have Dr. Fraser Bennett direct me in the process. His remarks on Tibeto-Burman phonology and grammar were essential to helping me grasp what occurs in Hkongso. I am grateful to have had his input in this paper.

I am indebted to Saya KK. His brilliance as a language associate was indispensable. Without him I would not have been able to complete this paper. I count it a great honor to know him and be considered his friend.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	V
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	VII
LIST OF TABLES .....	X
LIST OF FIGURES .....	XI
LIST OF MAPS.....	XII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	XIII
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1    LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.2    PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.3    LITERATURE REVIEW .....	3
1.4    THE HKONGSO PEOPLE.....	5
<b>CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY .....</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1    SYLLABLES .....	12
2.2    PHONEMES .....	17
2.3    PROSODIC FEATURES.....	29
2.4    MORPHOLOGY.....	30
<b>CHAPTER 3: NOUN PHRASES .....</b>	<b>34</b>
3.1    STRUCTURE AND ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS .....	34
3.2    NOUN PHRASE COORDINATION.....	39
3.3    POSSESSION .....	42
3.4    QUANTIFICATION .....	43
<b>CHAPTER 4: CLAUSE STRUCTURE .....</b>	<b>49</b>
4.1    BASIC ORDER OF CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS.....	49
4.2    GRAMMATICAL CASE.....	53
4.3    POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES.....	58
4.4    TOPIC .....	67
4.5    CLAUSE CONSTITUENT MARKING .....	69
4.6    WORD ORDER CHARACTERISTICS OF HKONGSO .....	70
<b>CHAPTER 5: PRE-VERBAL AND CLAUSE-FINAL OPERATORS .....</b>	<b>77</b>
5.1    STRUCTURE.....	77
5.2    PRE-VERBAL OPERATORS .....	78
5.3    CLAUSE-FINAL OPERATORS.....	81
<b>CHAPTER 6: NON-VERBAL PREDICATES.....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7: WORD CLASSES.....</b>	<b>104</b>
7.1    NOUN.....	104
7.2    NOUN PHRASES.....	110
7.3    VERB.....	113
7.4    ADJECTIVE .....	114
7.5    ADVERB .....	119
<b>CHAPTER 8: SENTENCE TYPES.....</b>	<b>121</b>
8.1    STATEMENTS (DECLARATIVE).....	121



8.2	QUESTIONS (INTERROGATIVE) .....	122
8.3	COMMANDS (IMPERATIVE).....	127
8.4	ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE .....	128
8.5	QUOTE STRUCTURE .....	129
<b>CHAPTER 9: CLAUSE COMBINATIONS .....</b>		<b>132</b>
9.1	COORDINATION.....	134
9.2	SUBORDINATION .....	137
9.3	MEDIAL CLAUSES .....	151
9.4	SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS.....	157
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>		<b>165</b>
<b>VITA.....</b>		<b>169</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Major syllable structure .....	13
Table 2: Minor syllables in polysyllabic words .....	14
Table 3: The semivowel /w/ .....	15
Table 4: The semivowel /j/ .....	16
Table 5: Consonant phonemes .....	18
Table 6: Prenasalization .....	25
Table 7: Homorganic prenasals .....	25
Table 8: Consonant distribution .....	26
Table 9: Vowel Phonemes .....	27
Table 10: Vocoid sequences .....	27
Table 11: Tones .....	29
Table 12: Noun phrase structure .....	34
Table 13: Subject agreement markers .....	55
Table 14: Postpositions .....	66
Table 15: NP markers .....	70
Table 16: Pre-verbal operators .....	77
Table 17: Clause-final operators .....	78
Table 18: Negation .....	78
Table 19: Clause-final operators .....	81
Table 20: Aspectual auxiliaries .....	87
Table 21: Modality .....	91
Table 22: Tense .....	92
Table 23: Mood .....	97
Table 24: Pronouns .....	112
Table 25: Pre-verbal operators .....	113
Table 26: Question words .....	124
Table 27: Coordinators .....	137
Table 28: Adverbial subordinating conjunctions .....	142
Table 29: Medial clause conjunctions .....	157

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Major syllable.....	13
Figure 2: Minor syllable.....	13
Figure 3: Prenasal minor syllable .....	13
Figure 4: Free variation.....	27
Figure 5: Grammatical case marking.....	53
Figure 6: Cross-linguistic connector placement .....	133
Figure 7: Audio waveform.....	162

## LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Anu, Hkongso, and Kasang .....	6
Map 2: Hkongso area .....	9
Map 3: Hkongso area villages.....	10

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	MAN	manner
3	third person	MIR	mirative
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb	MOD	modality
ADJ	adjective	N	nasal
ADV	adverb(ial)	N	noun
AGR	agreement	NEG	negation, negative
APPR	approximant	NP	noun phrase
ASP	aspect	NUMB	number
AUX	auxiliary	NUM	numeral
BEN	benefactive	O	object
C	consonant	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	OBL	oblique
CLS	classifier	OPT	optative
COM	comitative	P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
COMP	complementizer	P	phrase
COMPL	completive	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PERF	perfect
CONT	continual	PFV	perfective
CONTR	contradict/refuse	PL	plural
COP	copula	POL	politeness particle
DECL	declarative	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PP	postpositional phrase
DET	determiner	PROG	progressive
DU	dual	PROH	prohibitive
DUB	dubitative	PRT	particle
DUR	durative	PURP	purposive
FEM	female	Q	question particle/marker
HAB	habitual	QUAN	quantifier
HORT	hortative	REA	realis
IMP	imperative	REL	relativizer
IMPneg	negative imperative	REQ	request
INCH	inchoative	RPM	reflexive, passive, middle
INS	instrumental	RSP	reported speech particle
INTENS	intensifier	S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
INTER	interjection		
IRR	irrealis		
LNK	linker	SPACT	speech act

SUBJ	subject	TR	transitive
SUP	superlative	V	verb
SG	singular	V	vowel
T	tone	VD	voiced
TAG	tag question	VL	voiceless
TAM	tense/aspect/modality	Y/N	yes/no question marker
TOP	topic		

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a grammatical description of Hkongso [k<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ\lshoŋ ] a previously undescribed language of Southern Chin State in Myanmar. This thesis focuses on grammatical analysis, especially word order as Hkongso is a SVO Tibeto-Burman language.<sup>1</sup> The grammatical analysis is accompanied by a brief introduction to Hkongso history and geography, as well as an overview of the phonology.

### 1.1 Limitations of the study

The collection of data is limited due to restrictions placed upon foreigners. I was unable to travel to Southern Chin State, so I had to rely on Hkongso individuals who traveled to Yangon. I elicited information from these individuals and also had them collect language data via tape recorder from elders in the villages. My information is limited to word lists, elicited conversations, elicited example sentences, cultural speeches (i.e. funeral), and stories (historical, whimsical, mythical, and ethical).<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 Procedure of the study

I gained insight into the phonological and grammatical systems of related languages by researching material written on these languages. I also worked with a Hkongso man named KK in the collection and write-up of local level background questionnaires for the

---

<sup>1</sup> SVO word order is unusual among Tibeto-Burman languages.

<sup>2</sup> Word list: 1200 words, elicited conversation: 8 minutes, elicited examples sentences: 45 minutes, cultural speeches: 5 minutes, stories: 82 minutes.

Anu and Hkongso, which are tools used in survey to gain an understanding of the linguistic, geographical, historical, and sociolinguistic makeup of the target area. This tool contains interview questions which allow a sociolinguistic survey team to decide which questions need to be answered when doing a survey of the area. The interviews were taken from people that could be accessed easily. In our case, KK and I interviewed Anu and Hkongso speakers studying at schools in Yangon. The interviews provide valuable insight into the historical, geographical, and sociolinguistic make-up of the Anu and Hkongso groups. A survey taken in the spring of 2008 provides further insight into the sociolinguistic make-up of the groups. I also used a paper written by a Hkongso man (PM 2000) to gain an understanding of Hkongso culture and history.

Phonological information was elicited using a 436-word Swadesh (1955:121-37) word list that has been modified by Mann (2004). I also worked with one man coming from the eastern part of the Hkongso area to gather a corpus of textual data including words, stories, speeches, and conversations. Information obtained was then tested against other speakers of the language that traveled to Yangon. I used all of the data collected to analyze the phonology.

Stories used for grammatical analysis came from texts collected from elders in Anu and Hkongso villages and then transferred to me via tape recorder or retelling by individual Hkongso. I elicited, interlinearized, and discussed meanings of sentences in both English and Burmese.

I transcribed all data using the International Phonetic Alphabet and analyzed the data using Toolbox (SIL 2007).



### 1.3 Literature review

Hkongso is mutually intelligible with Anu, which is an unclassified Tibeto-Burman language with a population of 700 according to Gordon (2005).<sup>3</sup> While their linguistic backgrounds are linked, cultural differences have resulted in separate sociolinguistic groupings, as discussed in §1.4.1.

The Anu and Hkongso groups do not appear in studies by other linguists. However, by noting the similarities with Mru as described by Ebersole (1996), we may be able to gain a clearer picture of what is happening linguistically as well as historically in Hkongso.

The Mru language of Bangladesh and the Hkongso of Myanmar appear to be similar in many ways. One similarity is that of legend. The Joshua Project (2008) says, “The Mru of Bangladesh believe that Torai (“the great spirit”) gave all peoples, except the Mru, a written language and rules to guide their social lives. They believe that by some accident, they themselves were excluded.” In my elicitation of stories from the Hkongso, there is a great spirit, Turvai, who made the world.

The Joshua Project also writes that an alternate name for the Mru is Khammi. This is a name that I have found in use among the Anu and Hkongso people, but it has been unclear to me which group it is referring to. It does not refer to the Khumi, who live north of the Hkongso. To this point I have speculated that it is an older name referring to a historical people group.

Ebersole (1996) writes, “According to their legends [the Mru] migrated to the Chittagong hills from Arakan State several hundred years ago.” Arakan State lies in

---

<sup>3</sup> Burma Socialist Party (1968) says that the Hkongso and Anu live together in the Paletwa area and have the same culture and language.

Myanmar, directly southeast of the Mru's current location in Bangladesh. In between Arakan State and Bangladesh is the area where the Hkongso live. History reported by the Hkongso is a little different. KK (2007b) states, "Most of the subjects reported that before the Hkongso lived in that area, they came from Northern Chin State." PM (2000) states, "A group of people moved up to the Chintwin River area, and as they were living there they began to fight among themselves. So, they decided to move to other places where they could find water and pasture."

In the last few years, research on the Mru of Bangladesh has been furthered by David Peterson. At this point we have not had the opportunity to do cognate testing, but we have discussed Hkongso and Mru and see many similarities between the two languages, including SVO as basic word order. Peterson (2006:1) writes that Mru is a "language with several dozen thousand speakers (latest published census cites only about 22,000 as of 1991) in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh (southeast of Bandarban towards the borders of India and Burma)." Peterson says that there are "several dialects [and] many second language speakers." He also says that "Mru varieties [are] spoken in adjacent areas of Burma (Arakan state), [and are] largely mutually comprehensible with Bangladesh varieties."

Other studies on related languages such as Khoi Lam Thang's work on Proto Chin (Khoi 2001) are helpful in gaining insight into possible phonological features of Hkongso. So-Hartmann (1988) and Peterson (2000, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008) are helpful in identifying and discussing linguistic features of Tibeto-Burman languages in this part of Chin State.

## 1.4 The Hkongso people

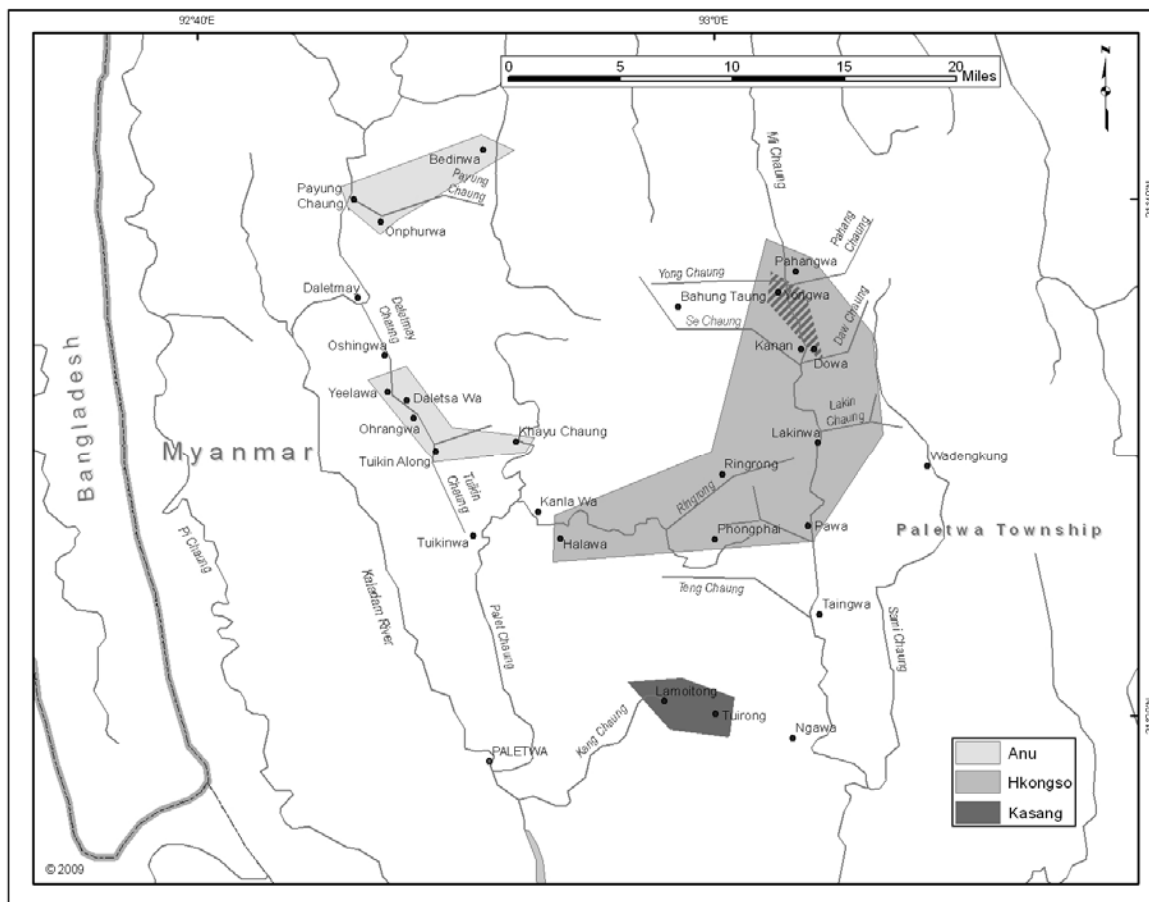
This section describes the socio-linguistic setting, geography and demographics, and economic factors of the Hkongso people. Unless specifically noted, information in this section comes from the survey proposal I compiled based on KK (2007a, b).

### 1.4.1 *Socio-linguistic setting: Identity*

I have recently used the local level background questionnaires to write a survey proposal, and a survey of the Anu and Hkongso groups was conducted in 2008. The findings of this survey provide important sociolinguistic information about the relationships between the Anu, Hkongso, and a neighboring group called the Kasang,<sup>4</sup> which are shown in Map 1.

---

<sup>4</sup> This group is included in the survey because they claim to be Hkongso.



Map 1: Anu, Hkongso, and Kasang<sup>5</sup>

Mang (2008: p.c.) says, “It is a difficult identity issue across this area to decide who is who for outsiders.” However, he does come to a conclusion about the identity of these groups, which are briefly summarized here. It is important to note that the relationships between these groups are very complex.

Mang (2008: p.c.) says, “Anu people claim that Hkongso is not a separate group, [but] is one of the four sub-groups of Anu: Hkum, Hkong, Som, and Kla.” Mang also says, “Hkongso people admit that they are related to Anu both tribally and linguistically, but they maintain that their group is related to Anu as an equal, not as a sub-group.” The

<sup>5</sup> This map is used by permission of Eva Ujlakyova.

Kasang group (also known under the names Khenlak, Ta-aw, Hkongsa-Asang, Hkongso-Asang, Asang, and Sangta) claims that “They are pure Hkongso and they deny that Kasang/Asang is their tribal name.” However, Mang (2008: p.c.) concludes, “[T]hat ‘Kasang’ is mutually intelligible with Khumi, but not Anu, is a reason to abandon the likelihood of ‘Kasang’ being ‘Hkongso’.” Therefore, Mang distinguishes three groups: Anu, Hkongso, and Kasang. Of these, Anu and Hkongso are mutually intelligible and Kasang is not linguistically related to Anu or Hkongso.<sup>6</sup>

#### *1.4.2 Geography and demographics*

According to KK (2007b), the Hkongso live in Paletwa Township, Chin State, Myanmar and their villages are listed as follows:

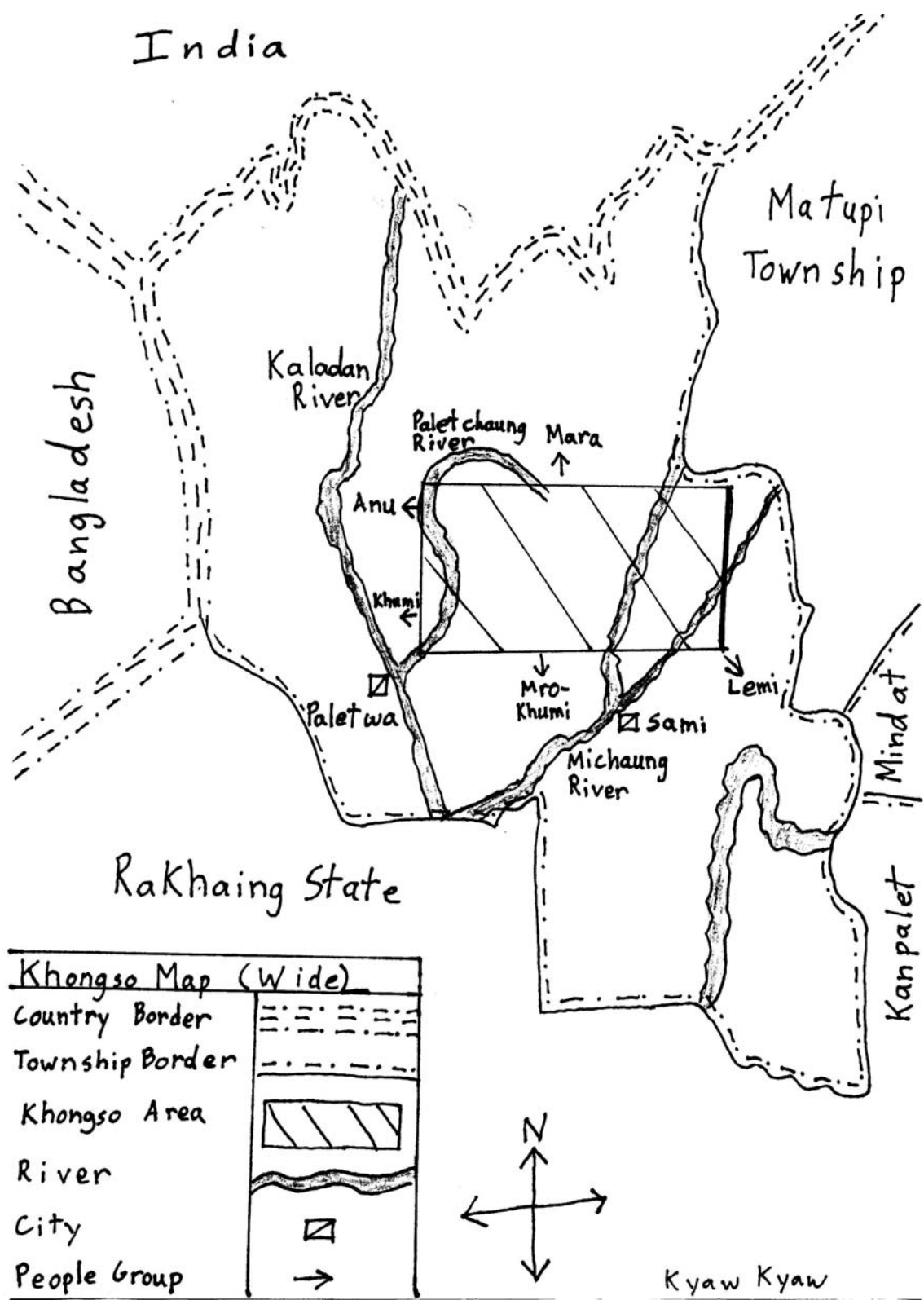
Bahungtong	Phongphai
Halawa	Ringrong
Kanan	Sami
Kanlaw	Singkangkung
Likkung (1)	Tengwa
Lakinwa	Tuikinwa
Pahang	Vadengkung
Paletwa	Youngwa
Pawa	

KK (2007b) provides two maps of the area, included here as Map 2 and Map 3. These maps show the locations of most Hkongso villages in Paletwa Township, Chin

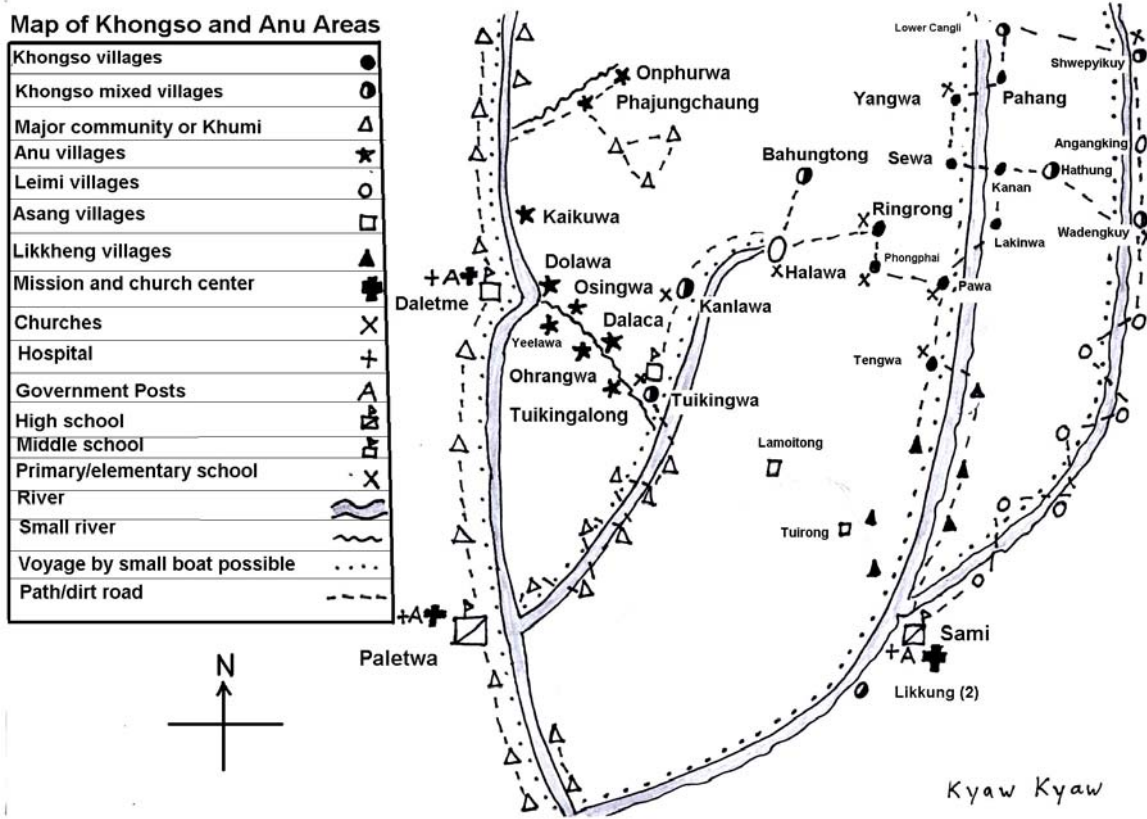
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<sup>6</sup> The final report, completed at the beginning of 2009, supports these initial findings.

State, Myanmar. Paletwa and Sami are larger towns with only a few Hkongso living there. The Leimi, Asang, and Likkheng are other language groups in the area.



Map 2: Hkongso area



Map 3: Hkongso area villages

KK (2007b) reports that there are 392 houses among the Hkongso villages. With an average of 6.25 people per house, the population is approximately 2,450. However, when I talked to Hkongso people in person, they reported that the Hkongso people numbered around 10,000.

Mang (2008: p.c.) states that there are 12 “sub-tribes” of Hkongso: Kamu, Ngan, Gwa, Hteih, Hteikloeh, Ngai, Rahnam, Kapu, Kasah, Namte, Krawktu, and Namluek.



### *1.4.3 Economy*

The Hkongso are primarily farmers who grow rice, sesame seeds, chili, ginger, bananas, mangoes, and oranges. During the months of April and May the villagers are busy with planting. Harvest season is from September to November.

The Hkongso can only earn cash by selling animals and crops from their farms. To buy and sell things, the Hkongso people go to Pawa, Kyawkhaw, Sami or Paletwa. At times traders may come to their villages to buy and sell. Among the people of the village, there is little buying and selling practiced. Mostly the people share the things they have with each other.

Building houses, making furniture, and cutting or clearing fields are done by men. Spinning, weaving, and pounding rice are only done by women.

## CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

This chapter presents an overview of the syllable structure, phonemes, tone, and morphology. Hkongso is an isolating language with little derivational morphology and no inflectional morphology. Most words are monosyllabic, but disyllabic and polysyllabic words do occur.

I use a phonetic and phonemic transcription through §2.3.2 and a technical orthography starting with §2.4. I do not use a practical orthography since the Hkongso people have not had an alphabet. One was recently created and they are in the process of establishing the alphabet. Tone is marked by (ᵀ, ᵇ, ᵇ̄, ᵇ̂, ᵇ̃) rather than numbers.

### 2.1 Syllables

#### 2.1.1 *Syllable Types and Word Patterns*

Hkongso has two kinds of syllables: full “major” syllables and reduced “minor” syllables (sometimes called presyllables).

In major syllables, all consonant phonemes can occur in the initial position of the onset (C<sub>1</sub>), but only /j/, /w/, /r/, /l/ can occur in the second position of complex onsets (C<sub>2</sub>). In the coda, only unaspirated, voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/, nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, and the voiced alveolar trill /r/ may occur. All five tones (T) can occur in major syllables. In textual analysis CV and CVC are by far the most common major syllable types. The major syllable is diagrammed in Figure 1.

T  
(C<sub>I</sub>)(C<sub>2</sub>)V(C<sub>F</sub>)

Figure 1: Major syllable

Besides CV and CVC, major syllables may be V, VC, CCV, and CCVC. Examples of major syllable shapes are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Major syllable structure

	Form	Gloss
V	[əʋ]	‘there’
VC	[apʔ]	‘to shoot’
C V	[nuʋ]	‘mother’
C V C	[bɔnʋ]	‘soil’
C C V	[kləʋ]	‘language’
C C V C	[klaŋʋ]	‘body’

Minor syllables are bound syllables with a single consonant (C<sub>I</sub>) and /ə/ as the vowel. All minor syllables have a level mid tone and never occur word-finally. The minor syllable is diagrammed in Figure 2.

C<sub>I</sub>ə

Figure 2: Minor syllable

I analyze prenasalization as another type of minor syllable.<sup>7</sup> This analysis creates another possible minor syllable shape as illustrated in Figure 3.

N̥

Figure 3: Prenasal minor syllable

---

<sup>7</sup> This analysis is discussed in §2.2.1.1.

Hkongso exhibits a rhythmic pattern consisting of combinations of minor and major syllables in an iambic pattern (unstressed-stressed) which is typical of languages of mainland Southeast Asia, including Mon-Khmer languages, Thai, and Burmese (Donegan and Stampe 1983; Wheatley 1987). In Hkongso, this iambic rhythmic pattern is manifested in words and phrases. Table 2 illustrates words that include minor syllables. The most common consonants in minor syllables are /k/, /l/, and /m/. Consonants /r/, /s/, /t/, and /v/ also appear in minor syllables with less frequency. The minor syllables in the following words, for the most part, have no apparent synchronic meaning.

Table 2: Minor syllables in polysyllabic words

/kə/	/lə/	/mə/
[kə-lkuʌ]	[lə-muʔʌ]	[mə-kleʌ]
[kə-lakʌ]	[lə-karʌ]	[mə-laiʌ]
[kə-maʌ]	[lə-laʌ]	[mə-lɔŋʌ]
[kə-maiʌ]		[mə-lukʌ]

In clauses, initial elements tend to be shortened due to clausal rhythmic patterns. Donegan and Stampe (1983:345) suggest that most Southeast Asian languages have stress-timed rhythm, “...an unmistakable symptom of which is the polarization of their accented and unaccented syllables into... ‘major’ and ‘minor’ types, the latter having a vowel we would call ‘reduced’ in English.”

### 2.1.2 Onset

The initial C is the least limited element of the syllable. Any phonemic consonant including a glottal stop may occur in this position.

Consonant clusters are only found in the onset. Unambiguous consonant clusters are restricted to the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops /k<sup>h</sup>/, /p<sup>h</sup>/, /k/, and /p/ followed

by a liquid: /kl/, /kr/, /k<sup>h</sup>l/, /k<sup>h</sup>r/, /pl/, /pr/, /p<sup>h</sup>l/, and /p<sup>h</sup>r/. Example (1) illustrates these consonant clusters.

- (1) [kləŋ\] 'leg'  
 [krum\] 'village'  
 [k<sup>h</sup>lək<sup>h</sup>+] 'to open and remove meat from a shell'  
 [k<sup>h</sup>rek<sup>h</sup>\] 'to love'  
 [plai\] 'to dance'  
 [praŋ\] 'outside'  
 [p<sup>h</sup>lək<sup>h</sup>\] 'to splatter'  
 [p<sup>h</sup>re^] 'to answer'

There are ambiguities involving palatal and labial approximants. The semivowels [w] and [j] may follow the initial consonant as illustrated in (2) and listed in Table 3 and Table 4. The vocoid sequences [iu], [ua], and [ui] are also mentioned in §2.2.2 and are illustrated in (3). Analyzing the semivowels and the initial vocoids as the consonants /w/ and /j/, as illustrated in (4) and (5) provides the simplest description of the syllable.<sup>8</sup>

- (2) [p<sup>h</sup>au+] 'to.wash'  
 [p<sup>j</sup>uŋ\] 'to.run'  
 [k<sup>w</sup>ai\] 'bee'  
 [k<sup>w</sup>an+] 'to.scratch.an.itch'
- (3) [riu\] 'to.teach'  
 [pua\] 'to.visit'  
 [kui\] 'dog'
- (4) /p<sup>h</sup>jaw+/  
 /p<sup>j</sup>uŋ\  
 /kwaj\  
 /kwan+/  
 'to.wash'  
 'to.run'  
 'bee'  
 'to.scratch.an.itch'
- (5) /rju\  
 /pwa\  
 /kwi\  
 'to.teach'  
 'to.visit'  
 'dog'

Table 3: The semivowel /w/

pw	tw	kw	
p <sup>h</sup> w			hw

<sup>8</sup> See Pike (1947:130) for a discussion on analyzing ambiguous syllable sequences.

Table 4: The semivowel /j/

pj	tj	kj	
p <sup>h</sup> j	t <sup>h</sup> j	k <sup>h</sup> j	hj
bj			
	lj		
vj			

### 2.1.3 Nucleus

The nucleus may only be a single vowel. There are vocoid sequences in syllables, but these are analyzed in §2.1.2 and §2.1.4 as semivowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel instead of vowel-vowel.

### 2.1.4 Coda

In the coda, all stops /p/, /t/, /k/, and /ʔ/ are unreleased. Nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and voiced alveolar trills /r/ may also occur in the coda as illustrated in (6).

- (6)
- |         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|
| [lapʔ]  | ‘to.shout’         |
| [ŋetʔ]  | ‘to.tear.or.break’ |
| [nikʔ]  | ‘day’              |
| [təmuʔ] | ‘brother’          |
| [karʔ]  | ‘chicken’          |
| [lam]   | ‘fish’             |
| [bɔn]   | ‘soil’             |
| [biŋ]   | ‘to.shut’          |

I have found a few exceptions to this in polysyllabic words. In (7), /l/ appears in the coda of the second syllable. This is the only example I have of /l/ appearing in the coda.

In (8) the syllable final [s] appears because it is a loan word.

- (7) [lə.ɬ.kʰəɬ.klɔm]
- ‘to be happy’

- (8) [pas˥.tor˥]  
'pastor'

The vocoid sequences [eu], [au], [ai], and [oi] occur in syllables, as illustrated in (9). Consonants may not occur after any vocoid sequence.<sup>9</sup> Analyzing the second vocoid in these sequences as the consonants [w] and [j], as illustrated in (10), better fits the unambiguous syllable types and provides a simpler description.

- |     |                      |                 |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|
| (9) | [r <sup>h</sup> eu˥] | 'hook'          |
|     | [b̥au˥]              | 'to.swell'      |
|     | [bai˥]               | 'to.spread.out' |
|     | [moi˥]               | 'meat'          |
- 
- |      |                      |                 |
|------|----------------------|-----------------|
| (10) | /r <sup>h</sup> ew˥/ | 'hook'          |
|      | /b̥aw˥/              | 'to.swell'      |
|      | /baj˥/               | 'to.spread.out' |
|      | /moj˥/               | 'meat'          |

## 2.2 Phonemes

### 2.2.1 Consonants

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Hkongso as shown in Table 5.

---

<sup>9</sup> Some loan words such as *tʃaun˥* 'school' and *cauk˥* 'book' have consonants following a vocoid sequence.

Table 5: Consonant phonemes.

	Labial /Labio Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Aspirated					
Plosive	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	
Nasal	m̥	n̥		ŋ̥	
Trill		r̥ <sup>h</sup>			
Fricative	f	s <sup>h</sup>			h
Lateral Fricative		ɬ			
Unaspirated					
Plosive V1	p	t <sup>10</sup>	c <sup>11</sup>	k	ʔ
Plosive Vd	b	d			
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Trill		r			
Fricative	v				
Lateral Approx		l			
Approximant	w		j		

The following list contains contrasts which establish the phonemic status of consonants. Prenasalized consonants are included in this list but do not occur in Table 5. Prenasals are analyzed as minor syllables and are discussed in §2.2.1.1.

/b/ and /p/

[ba]	‘bee hive’
[pa]	‘to be thin’
[beɫ]	‘to lick’
[peɫ]	‘second hand information marker’

<sup>10</sup> All voiceless alveolar plosives are fronted to the dental point of articulation.

<sup>11</sup> The pronunciation of this palatal differs based on the speaker’s idiolect. I have also heard it pronounced as [tʃ], [s], and [z]. The affricate [tʃ] and [z] occur unambiguously in loan words.



/p/ and /p <sup>h</sup> /	
[paʋ]	‘father’
[p <sup>h</sup> aʋ]	‘soft shell turtle’
[preʋ]	‘to puncture’
[p <sup>h</sup> reʋ]	‘to answer a written question’
/p/ and /m̥/	
[paiʋ]	‘to pass gas’
[m̥aiʋ]	‘fire’
[puʋ]	‘cooking pot’
[m̥urɿ]	‘to wipe face in morning’
/p/ and / <sup>m</sup> p/	
[paiʋ]	‘to pass gas’
[ <sup>m</sup> paiʋ]	‘to carry a basket’
[puʋ]	‘cooking pot’
[ <sup>m</sup> puɿ]	‘smoking pipe’
/m̥/ and / <sup>m</sup> p/	
[m̥aiʋ]	‘fire’
[ <sup>m</sup> paiʋ]	‘to carry a basket’
[m̥urɿ]	‘to wipe face in morning’
[ <sup>m</sup> puɿ]	‘smoking pipe’
/p/ and /ʔ/	
[pɔrʋ]	‘to be bloated’
[ʔɔrɿ]	‘to shiver’
/b/ and /m/	
[beɿ]	‘to lick and to sharpen’
[meɿ]	‘branch’
[baɸʋ]	‘ashes’
[maɸʋ]	‘to bite’
/m/ and /m̥/	
[maiʋ]	‘a widow living with her son’
[m̥aiʋ]	‘fire’
[muɿ]	‘to be dark’
[m̥urɿ]	‘to wipe face in morning’

/m̥/ and /ᵐm̥/	
[ma˧˥]	‘to forget’
[ᵐma˧˥]	‘road’
/m/ and /n/	
[mui˧˥]	‘to sleep’
[nui˧˥]	‘above/on’
[maŋ˧˥]	‘dream’
[naŋ˧˥]	‘to be poor’
/ŋ/ and /m̥/	
[ŋai˧˥]	‘to be good’
[m̥ai˧˥]	‘fire’
[ŋur˧˥]	‘a snakelike fish’
[m̥ur˧˥]	‘to wipe face in morning’
/f/ and /pʰ/	
[fa˧˥]	‘to be empty’
[pʰa˧˥]	‘soft shell turtle’
[feŋ˧˥]	‘to go off the wrong way’
[pʰeŋ˧˥]	‘to cut in one try’
/f/ and /v/	
[feŋ˧˥]	‘to go off the wrong way’
[veŋ˧˥]	‘to harvest’
[fa˧˥]	‘to be empty’
[va˧˥]	‘bird’
/f/ and /m̥/	
[fan˧˥]	‘to separate’
[m̥aŋ˧˥]	‘to walk’
[fi˧˥]	‘to open’
[m̥iŋ˧˥]	‘to be impossible’
/t/ and /tʰ/	
[tuŋ˧˥]	‘sesame seed’
[tʰuŋ˧˥]	‘lime used in betel nut’
[tak˧˥]	‘north’
[tʰak˧˥]	‘to die’

/t/ and /c/	
[tam\]	‘area’
[cam^]	‘to sit’
[tuk^\]	‘to know’
[cuk^\]	‘to pray’
/t <sup>h</sup> / and /s <sup>h</sup> /	
[t <sup>h</sup> am+]	‘cool’
[s <sup>h</sup> am\]	‘hair’
[t <sup>h</sup> u+]	‘to be crazy’
[s <sup>h</sup> u+]	‘to pound rice’
/d/ and /t/	
[dap^\+]	‘to be useless’
[tap^\+]	‘to be thick’
[duj^\]	‘nowadays’
[tuj^\]	‘sesame seed’
/t/ and /n̥/	
[tai\]	‘older sibling’
[n̥ai\]	‘to be good’
[tem\]	‘snail’
[n̥em^\]	‘to be short’
/d/ and /n/	
[di^\]	‘to be few’
[ni^\]	‘the date’
[daŋ^\+]	‘to reforge a knife’
[naŋ^\+]	‘to bring and give’
/t <sup>h</sup> / and /r̥ <sup>h</sup> /	
[t <sup>h</sup> u+]	‘to be crazy’
[r̥ <sup>h</sup> u:^\+]	‘to be rotten’
[t <sup>h</sup> ak^\+]	‘to die’
[r̥ <sup>h</sup> a^\]	‘strength’
/n̥c/ and /c/	
[n̥cu^\]	‘thorn’
[coi^\]	‘spoon’
[n̥cak^\]	‘demon’
[cak^\]	‘rice’

/s <sup>h</sup> / and /c/	
[s <sup>h</sup> ɔp <sup>˧</sup> ˦]	‘to do laundry’
[cɔp <sup>˧</sup> ˦]	‘to be hard’
[s <sup>h</sup> an˧]	‘rattan’
[can˧]	‘meat’
/d/ and /r/	
[kədai˧]	‘large water jar’
[kərai˧]	‘thunder’
[din˧]	‘accidentally’
[rin˦]	‘to laugh’
/d/ and /l/	
[dɔp <sup>˧</sup> ˦]	‘to be useless’
[lap <sup>˧</sup> ˦]	‘to shout’
[duŋ˧]	‘nowadays’
[luŋ˧]	‘maggot’
/ŋ/ and /ŋ <sup>h</sup> /	
[ŋau˧]	‘younger sibling’
[ŋ <sup>h</sup> au˧]	‘fat’
[ŋet˧]	‘to tighten the weave’
[ŋ <sup>h</sup> et˦]	‘to do something fast’
/ŋ/ and /ŋ̊/	
[ŋat˧]	‘loom’
[ŋ̊at˧]	‘to prepare food’
[ŋet˧]	‘to tighten the weave’
[ŋ̊et˧]	‘to tear’
/n/ and /ŋ/	
[mĩn˧]	‘to be ripe’
[mĩŋ˧]	‘to wait’
[na˧]	‘that’s right’
[ŋa˧]	‘to be bad’
/n/ and /r/	
[nui˧]	‘above’
[rui˧]	‘to be correct’
[nam˧]	‘village’
[ran˦]	‘to buy’

/r <sup>h</sup> / and /r/	
[r <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘night’
[rut <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘hand’
[r <sup>h</sup> au˧]	‘to be tall’
[rau˧]	‘to hurt’
/l/ and /r/	
[le˧]	‘rope bridge’
[re˧]	‘spear’
[la˧]	‘male animal’
[ra˧]	‘to come’
/ʃ/ and /r <sup>h</sup> /	
[ʃa˧]	‘to be far’
[r <sup>h</sup> a˧]	‘strength’
[ʃum˧]	‘to roll clay’
[r <sup>h</sup> um˧]	‘three’
/ʃ/ and /r/	
[ʃak <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘to split’
[rak <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘to itch’
[kəʃe˧]	‘to play’
[kəre˧]	‘bullet hole’
/ʃ/ and /h/	
[kuʃip <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘butterfly’
[kəʃip <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘half’
[ʃak <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘to split’
[har˧]	‘to be new’
/ʃ/ and /l/	
[ʃa˧]	‘to be far’
[la˧]	‘to be rotten’
[ʃum˧]	‘to roll clay’
[luŋ˧]	‘salt’
/ːl/ and /l/	
[ːle˧]	‘path’
[le˧]	‘rope bridge’
[ːlɔt <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘east’
[lɔt <sup>˧</sup> ˧]	‘the sun comes up’

/l/ and /j/	
[lamʌ]	‘fish’
[janʌ]	‘urine’
[liŋ]	‘horn’
[jiŋʌ]	‘tooth’
/j/ and /ŋ/	
[jaʌ]	‘to win a game’
[ŋaʌ]	‘to be bad’
[jiɾ]	‘to be sharp’
[ŋiɾ]	‘morning’
/ <sup>n</sup> s <sup>h</sup> / and /s <sup>h</sup> /	
[ <sup>n</sup> s <sup>h</sup> anʌ]	‘spider’
[s <sup>h</sup> anʌ]	‘rattan’
/s <sup>h</sup> / and /h/	
[s <sup>h</sup> iɾ]	‘to disgust’
[hiɾ]	‘lice’
[s <sup>h</sup> anʌ]	‘rattan’
[harʌ]	‘to be new’
/k/ and /k <sup>h</sup> /	
[kəɾkoi]	‘to snap or break apart’
[kəɾk <sup>h</sup> oi]	‘it's gone’
[kaŋ]	‘forced labor’
[k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	‘to be bitter’
/h/ and /k/	
[huʌ]	‘to be many’
[ku]	‘to steal’
[kaɾ]	‘chicken’
[harʌ]	‘to be new’
/ŋ/ and /k/	
[ŋat <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	‘to prepare food’
[kaŋʌ]	‘balloon’
[ŋɔɾʌ]	‘to snore’
[kɔk <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	‘white’

/ŋ/ and /k <sup>h</sup> /		
	[ŋɔr\]	‘to snore’
	[k <sup>h</sup> ɔk\]	‘foot’
	[ŋɛt\]	‘to tear’
	[k <sup>h</sup> ɛt\]	‘to be near’

/ŋ/ and /ŋ/		
	[ŋat\]	‘the fifth time’
	[ŋat\]	‘to prepare food’
	[ŋɛt\]	‘to be eaten by termites’
	[ŋɛt\]	‘to tear’

### 2.2.1.1 Prenasalization

In addition to the consonants in Table 5 there is a class of contoids that are phonetically prenasalized, as shown in Table 6. I analyze prenasals as minor syllables in §2.1.1.

Table 6: Prenasalization

<sup>m</sup> p	<sup>n</sup> t	<sup>n</sup> c	<sup>ŋ</sup> k <sup>h</sup>
<sup>m</sup> ṃ			
	<sup>n</sup> s <sup>h</sup>		
	<sup>n</sup> l		

Prenasals are homorganic with the following consonant as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Homorganic prenasals

Labial	Alveolar	Velar
[ <sup>m</sup> plɔt\] ‘door’	[ <sup>n</sup> le\] ‘path’	[ <sup>ŋ</sup> k <sup>h</sup> at\] ‘rail’
[ <sup>m</sup> ṃa\] ‘road’	[ <sup>n</sup> s <sup>h</sup> an\] ‘spider’	[ <sup>ŋ</sup> k <sup>h</sup> at\] ‘roof support beam’
[ <sup>m</sup> pu\] ‘smoking pipe’	[ <sup>n</sup> cak\] ‘demon’	[ <sup>ŋ</sup> kom\] ‘30’

I do not have enough examples to test this hypothesis, but (11) suggests that a prefix has been reduced to a nasal resulting in a prenasalized consonant. Further evidence of a

morphological process is that prenasalization only occurs on nouns in the data.<sup>12</sup> The possibility of prenasalization as a morphological process is further discussed in §2.4.

- (11) [ʰlɔtʰɿ]            ‘east’  
       [lɔtʰɿ]            ‘the.sun.comes.up’

### 2.2.1.2 Consonant Distribution

Consonant distribution is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Consonant distribution

Reduced syllables	Major syllables		
	C <sub>I</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>F</sub>
/k/ /l/ /m/ /r/	All	/j/ /w/ /r/ /l/	/p/ /t/ /k/ /ʔ/ /m/
/s/ /t/ /v/			/n/ /ŋ/ /r/ /j/ /w/

Voiceless stops have the following distribution: (1) they occur in both the onset and the coda, (2) they occur as onsets in minor syllables with /k/ being the most frequent consonant in the minor syllable. They are unreleased in the coda.

Aspirated stops, voiced stops, voiceless nasals, fricatives, the palatal /c/, and the lateral fricative only occur in the onset.

Voiced nasals occur in the onset, coda, and minor syllable, with /m/ being the second most frequent consonant in the minor syllable.

Voiced trills occur in the onset, coda and in minor syllables, but voiceless trills only occur in the onset.

Approximants occur in onsets and codas but not in minor syllables.

The lateral voiced approximant /l/ occurs in onsets and minor syllables.

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<sup>12</sup> This analysis accounts for the presence of /<sup>m</sup>m/ and /<sup>m</sup>l/ in the language, which are quite rare.



### 2.2.1.3 Free Variation Between Phones

Some phones are in free variation as shown in Figure 4.

$$\begin{aligned} /c/ &\rightarrow [c] \sim [s] \sim [\widehat{ts}] \sim [z] / \_ \text{(in all environments)} \\ /r/ &\rightarrow [r] \sim [r] \sim [ɹ] / \_ \text{(in all environments)} \end{aligned}$$

Figure 4: Free variation.

### 2.2.2 Vowels

There are ten vowel phonemes as shown in Table 9.<sup>13</sup>

Table 9: Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
Close mid	e	ə	o
Mid		ə	
Open mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a <sup>14</sup>	

The vocoid sequences in Table 10 occur phonetically in the text.<sup>15</sup> These are discussed phonemically in §2.1.2 and §2.1.4.

Table 10: Vocoid sequences

	Front	Middle	Back
Close	iu		ua ui
Close mid	eu		oi
Open		ai au	

<sup>13</sup> Nine vowel phoneme systems are much more common in SE Asia. The phonemes /ə/ and /ə/ are suspicious, but the data shows that they contrast.

<sup>14</sup> Throughout the paper I use /a/ for the open central vowel /a/. However, in italics the font renders ‘a’ as ‘ɑ’.

<sup>15</sup> The vocoid sequences [e<sup>i</sup>], [a<sup>o</sup>], and [e<sup>o</sup>] also occur. However, these occur so rarely that I am regarding them as a product of the individuals’ idiolect until further evidence is found.

The following list contains contrasts which establish the phonemic status of vowels.

/o/ and /u/	
[pɔː]	‘to take’
[puː]	‘grandfather’
/i/ and /e/	
[liː]	‘to be hot’
[leɪ]	‘to gather firewood’
/u/ and /i/	
[luː]	‘head’
[liː]	‘to look for’
/i/ and /ɪ/	
[liː]	‘to be hot’
[liː]	‘horn’
/ə/ and /ɪ/	
[kə]	‘big’
[kiː]	‘to clean a wound’
/a/ and /ɪ/	
[bapː]	‘ashes’
[bɪpː]	‘to be deep’
/a/ and /ə/	
[maː]	‘let’s’
[mə]	‘to carry a child on back’
/ə/ and /ɪ/	
[jəɪ]	‘to pull’
[jiː]	‘tooth’
/i/ and /j/	
[iuː]	‘sun goes down’
[juː]	‘pus’
/ə/ and /e/	
[təɪ]	‘to lift’
[teɪ]	‘cliff’

/ə/ and /ə/  
 [təŋ<sup>˥</sup>] ‘to lift’  
 [təɾ<sup>˥</sup>] ‘to frighten’

/ə/ and /ə/  
 [vəŋ<sup>˥</sup>] ‘continue on’  
 [vəŋ<sup>˩</sup>] ‘cost’

## 2.3 Prosodic features

### 2.3.1 Tone

Five contrastive tones are illustrated in Table 11.<sup>16</sup>

Table 11: Tones

	Tone	Contrast	
Tone 1	Mid	leŋ <sup>˥</sup>	‘gather firewood’
Tone 2	Mid falling	leŋ <sup>˨</sup>	‘lasso’
Tone 3	High	leŋ <sup>˥</sup>	‘to tie’
Tone 4	High falling	leŋ <sup>˨</sup>	‘wave’
Tone 5	Mid High Mid	leŋ <sup>˥</sup>	‘to ask’

Tones are not restricted in major syllables. Each tone may occur on open or closed syllables as illustrated in (12) and in Table 11. However, in some instances, word-initial and word-medial syllables in polysyllabic words lose their tonal contrasts, and are realized with a level mid tone as illustrated in (13). Tones are restricted to a level mid tone in minor syllables as illustrated in (14).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Tone 5 is quite rare.

<sup>17</sup> Phonemically I do not mark tone in minor syllables.

- (12) [mu˧]      ‘dark’  
       [no˧]      ‘soft’  
       [mi˧]      ‘3SG’  
       [nu˧]      ‘mother’  
       [be˧]      ‘again’
- (13) [lə˧.kʰə˧l˧.ˈklom˧]  
       ‘to be happy’
- (14) [kə˧vəŋ˧]    ‘to fall’  
       [mə˧luk˧˧]   ‘roof’

### 2.3.2 *Stress*

Stress occurs on the ultimate syllable in disyllabic and polysyllabic words as illustrated in (15).

- (15) [pəŋ˧˧lək˧˧]    ‘shallow’  
       [pʰo˧˧lar˧˧]    ‘papaya’  
       [kə˧˧tir˧˧]      ‘to talk’

## 2.4 **Morphology**<sup>18</sup>

Hkongso is a highly isolating language with very few morphological processes. In a strictly isolating language every word consists of only one morpheme (Payne 1997:27).

Hkongso has no inflectional morphology. Plurality and tense are marked via particles and auxiliaries.

The only productive derivational morphology is when the minor syllable *kə-* occurs as a prefix on the verb.<sup>19</sup> When the prefix *kə-* is added to the verb, it changes the

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<sup>18</sup> At this point in my transcriptions, I switch to using a technical orthography, created for the sole purpose of presenting the data. Consonants [s], [ts], and [z] are transcribed as /c/, and [ɾ] and [ɽ] as /r/. Unreleased and dental marks are removed, prenasals are superscripted, and vocoid sequences are transcribed using two vowels. If a syllable does not have a tone mark, it is a mid level tone.

transitivity of the verb, assigning different grammatical relations. Example (16) is a simple transitive sentence in which there is an agent and a patient. In (17) the cup is still the patient, but it appears before the verb as the subject and there is no agent in the sentence. Therefore, in (17) the reduced syllable *kə-* is acting as a valence-decreasing affix.

(16) aŋ<sup>†</sup>    pro<sup>†</sup>    pai<sup>†</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG    break    PRT    cup  
 ‘I broke the cup.’

(17) k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>†</sup>    kə-pro<sup>†</sup>    ve<sup>†</sup>  
 cup    RPM-break    COP  
 ‘The cup is broken.’

The prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ is also used in reflexivization and reciprocals, which provides further evidence that it is a valence-decreasing affix (Kroeger 2005:275). In (18) the verb *bom<sup>†</sup>* ‘hit’ appears without the prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’. As expected, there is an agent and a patient. In the reflexive example (19), the prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ is present, and the valence is decreased. This also happens in (20) and (21). The prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ occurs in the reciprocal example (21), where the valence is decreased. In examples (19) and (21), the subject is both agent and patient at the same time.

(18) aŋ<sup>†</sup>    bom<sup>†</sup>    mɔŋ<sup>†</sup>mɔŋ<sup>†</sup>    ham<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG    hit    Maung.Maung    IRR  
 ‘I will hit Maung Maung.’

(19) aŋ<sup>†</sup>    mat<sup>†</sup>    maʔ<sup>†</sup>    aŋ<sup>†</sup>    kə-bom<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG    self    SUBJ    1SG    RPM-hit  
 ‘I hit myself.’

(20) dai<sup>†</sup>    aŋ<sup>†</sup>    ciŋ<sup>†</sup>    bom<sup>†</sup>    rua<sup>†</sup>  
 Dai    1SG    together    hit    snake  
 ‘Dai and I killed a snake together.’

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<sup>19</sup> The minor syllables *tə*, *rə*, *mə*, and *lə*, as discussed in §2.1.1, occur as the initial syllable in polysyllabic words, such as *təma<sup>†</sup>* ‘daughter’, *rəs<sup>h</sup>a<sup>†</sup>* ‘sun’, *mənam<sup>†</sup>* ‘village’, and *ləmu<sup>†</sup>* ‘sky’. However, these minor syllables have no productive morphological function. They may have had morphological meaning at some point in the history of the language.

- (21) dai<sup>l</sup> aŋ<sup>†</sup> ciŋ<sup>l</sup> kə-bom<sup>†</sup>  
 Dai 1SG together RPM-hit  
 ‘Dai and I hit each other.’

This form also appears when a verb is used as a gerund. The verb takes the valence decreasing prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ and is then followed by the relative/complement clause marker *miʔl* ‘LNK’. This is illustrated in (22), which contrasts with examples (16) and (17).

- (22) k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>l</sup> kə-pro<sup>†</sup> miʔ<sup>l</sup> aŋ<sup>†</sup> kram<sup>l</sup> ʔə<sup>l</sup>  
 cups RPM-break LNK 1SG be.afraid with  
 ‘I was scared by the cup's breaking.’

The gerund clause may be marked by the topic marker *cəʋ* ‘TOP’ as illustrated in (23).

- (23) kə-bom<sup>l</sup> miʔ<sup>l</sup> cəʋ no<sup>†</sup> ŋai<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 RPM-hit LNK TOP NEG good  
 ‘Hitting is not good.’

This use of the prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ is further illustrated in examples (24) and (25). In (24) *ma<sup>l</sup>* ‘forget’ appears as a verb and in (25) *kə-* ‘RPM’ is added and the verb is changed to the gerund *kə-ma<sup>l</sup>* ‘forgetting’ or ‘losing’.

- (24) boŋ<sup>†</sup> ma<sup>l</sup> aŋ<sup>†</sup> bəʋ<sup>l</sup>  
 don't forget 1SG POL  
 ‘Don't forget me.’
- (25) kə-ma<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>l</sup> cəʋ hau<sup>†</sup> ham<sup>l</sup> rai<sup>l</sup> prai<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 RPM-forget LNK TOP look.for IRR difficult very  
 ‘Losing (something), it would be hard to look for it.’

The prefix *kə-* ‘RPM’ also appears lexicalized at times, where there is no apparent semantic meaning or grammatical function, as illustrated in examples (26) and (27). This most often occurs when a verb and a following noun form one semantic unit.

- (26) aŋ<sup>†</sup> kə-jau<sup>l</sup> tui<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 1SG RPM-swim water  
 ‘I swam./I am swimming.’
- (27) aŋ<sup>†</sup> kə-t<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>l</sup> bəluŋ<sup>†</sup>  
 1SG RPM-kick ball  
 ‘I play soccer./I am playing soccer.’

Hkongso also has reduplication, which derives adverbs from verbs. Example (28) illustrates the verb *rət* 'fast', and example (29) illustrates this verb reduplicated as the adverb *rət**rət* 'quickly'.

(28) *rət* *de*  
fast IMP  
'Be quick.'

(29) *pə* *rət*-*rət* *de*  
do fast-fast IMP  
'Do it quickly.'

At times the meaning of the verb is no longer reconstructable and only the adverbial meaning remains, as illustrated in examples (30) and (31).

(30) *kai* *ŋa* *tʰaŋ* *vəŋ*-*veŋ* *de* *ba*  
go front side keep.on IMP POL  
'Please keep going straight ahead.'

(31) *mi* *kəcai* *cə* *mər* *rə**rə* *ŋak*  
this woman TOP grumble constantly INTENS  
'She grumbles all the time!'

Another process, involving prenasalization, appears to have a limited derivational function. In examples (32) and (33), it appears that prenasalization is used as a nominalizer, taking an adjective or verb and changing it into a noun.

(32) *<sup>n</sup>le* 'path'  
*le* 'to be narrow'

(33) *<sup>n</sup>lot* 'east'  
*lot* 'the sun comes up'

These examples are all the evidence I have found of this process. The other examples of prenasalization are inconclusive. At one time in the history of the language, prenasalization may have been a productive morphological process but it is no longer so.

## CHAPTER 3: NOUN PHRASES

This chapter discusses the structure and order of constituents in noun phrases. It also describes appositive and coordinated NPs, as well as possession.

### 3.1 Structure and order of constituents

This section illustrates the number markers, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, and case markers that follow the noun which they modify. Determiners and phrasal modifiers precede the noun. NP modifiers are summarized in Table 12.

Table 12: Noun phrase structure

-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
DET	REL	POSS Phrase	N	NUMB	ADJ	NUM	CLS	QUAN	CASE
				PL					TOP

The markers *vaʔ* ‘PL’ and *jaʔ* ‘DU’ occur in the NP and also after the verb as clause-final operators.<sup>20</sup> The marker *vaʔ* ‘PL’, coordinates three or more NPs by following the list, as illustrated in example (34).<sup>21</sup>

- (34) *pəktəruaʔ məkleʔ luŋkuiʔ ʔsʰanʔ paumaʔ vaʔ cəʔ ʔoʔʔ*  
*badger firefly caterpillar spider cockroach PL TOP oh*
- kluŋriʔ preʔ haiʔ bənʔ kaiʔ kuʔ vaʔ pɛʔʔ*  
*Klungri country LOC soil go steal PL DECL*  
 ‘At that time a badger, caterpillar, spider, cockroach, and firefly all went to steal dirt from a distant country, Klungri.’<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Clause-final operators are discussed in §5.3.

<sup>21</sup> In my data *vaʔ* ‘PL’ does not appear in object NPs. See (67) for an example of a plural object.

<sup>22</sup> Italics are used in interlinear examples to highlight portions of the text described in the preceding prose.



The participants in (35) are replaced by the pronoun<sup>23</sup> *miʔ-vaʔ* ‘3PL’, which may occur in subject or object position.

- (35) *miʔ-vaʔ rukʔ juaʔ veʔ vaʔ*  
 3-PL six CLS COP PL  
 ‘There are six of them.’

In (36) the pronoun *miʔ-vaʔ* ‘3PL’ follows the list of participants. The participants in (36) are a case of left dislocation and the pronoun *miʔ-vaʔ* ‘3PL’ is functioning as the subject.

- (36) *mɔŋ-mɔŋʔ tʃɔʔ-tʃɔʔ<sup>24</sup> kokoʔ miʔ-vaʔ kaiʔ tʃaunʔ*  
*Maung.Maung Kyaw.Kyaw Ko.Ko 3-PL go school*  
 ‘Those guys, Maung Maung, KK, and Ko Ko go to school.’

The pronoun *miʔ-jaʔ* ‘3-DU’ occurs in between two NPs, coordinating them, as illustrated in examples (37) and (38).

- (37) *vaceʔ miʔ-jaʔ luŋteʔ veʔ jaʔ mə<sup>25</sup>-namʔ təmʔ pɛʔʔ*  
*bird 3-DU earthworm live DU this-village area DECL*  
 ‘A bird and a worm lived together in a village.’
- (38) *mɔŋ-mɔŋʔ miʔ-jaʔ tʃɔʔ-tʃɔʔ<sup>26</sup> pəʔ kaiʔ tʃaunʔ*  
*Maung.Maung 3-DU Kyaw.Kyaw also go school*  
 ‘Maung Maung and KK also go to school.’

Singular subjects are unmarked, as illustrated in (39).

- (39) *miʔ caʔ jəmjəkʔ ɬəʔ*  
 3SG eat slow with  
 ‘He eats slowly.’

The markers *vaʔ* ‘PL’ and *jaʔ* ‘DU’ optionally appear as clause-final operators that agree with the subject in number. The marker *vaʔ* ‘PL’ is illustrated in (34) and (35) and

<sup>23</sup> Pronouns are shown in Table 24.

<sup>24</sup> The affricate [tʃ] only occurs in loan words.

<sup>25</sup> The word *miʔ* ‘this’ is often reduced to *mə* ‘this’ or *mi* ‘this’ in compound words.

<sup>26</sup> The affricate [tʃ] occurs in Burmese loan words such as this name.

*jaʋ* ‘DU’ in (37). In (39) the subject is singular; therefore, *vaʔ* ‘PL’ and *jaʋ* ‘DU’ do not appear in the corresponding subject agreement clause-final position.

There is another word that marks NPs for number. The word *sʰiʔ* ‘PL’ optionally follows mass nouns as in (40). Plural count nouns must be marked by *vaʔ* ‘PL’ or *sʰiʔ* ‘PL’, which is illustrated in (41) and (42).<sup>27</sup>

(40) *vaiʔ cəʋ uʋ bənʋ sʰiʔ kəkʰoiʔ kiŋʔ-mʔ kəʋ*  
 Vai TOP oh.no soil PL RPM-run.out all-IRR have  
 ‘Vai said, “Oh no, the dirt is about to be all gone.”’

(41) *miʔ-vaʋ haiʔ rəcaʔ sʰiʔ caʔ cakʋ vaʋ*  
 3-PL from child PL eat rice PL  
 ‘Their children are eating.’

(42) *vaceʋ cəʔ kʰiŋʋ vaʔ sʰiʋ həmʔ*  
 bird TOP gather bird PL OBJ  
 ‘The little bird gathered up the birds.’

Example (44) illustrates the order: noun, adjective, numeral. Example (45) illustrates that multiple adjectives may follow the noun.

(43) *kimʋ*  
 ‘house’

(44) *kimʔ<sup>28</sup> kəʔ rumʋ*  
 house big three  
 ‘three big houses’

(45) *kimʔ koʔ kəʔ ljuʔ*  
 house white big four  
 ‘four big white houses’

As mentioned in the abstract, Hkongso has no classifier system. The only possible classifier is *juaʔ* ‘CLS’, which is used for counting people and is obligatory after the numeral. Example (46) illustrates the order: noun, numeral, *juaʔ* ‘CLS’. This is also used

<sup>27</sup> At this point I have not found a rule governing the use of *vaʋ* ‘PL’ and *sʰiʔ* ‘PL’.

<sup>28</sup> In these examples the tone on the word meaning ‘house’ differs due to an unknown reason. This happens at times throughout the data. However, I have not found evidence of tone sandhi.

when animals are personified, as illustrated in (47). The word *juaʔ* ‘person’ also appears as the head noun of an NP, as illustrated in (48).

- (46) əp<sup>h</sup>oi\ loŋ\ hai\ kəkʉ\ ʃum\ juaʔ  
 group among from man three CLS  
 ‘three men of the group’
- (47) təhi\ r<sup>h</sup>um\ juaʔ ve\ mi-k<sup>h</sup>a\  
 son three CLS COP this-time  
 ‘When (the ducks) had three children...’
- (48) aŋ\ hai\ juaʔ s<sup>h</sup>i\ maʔ\ kui\ aŋ\ k<sup>h</sup>əʔ\  
 1SG from person PL SUBJ roll.up 1SG have  
 ‘When my human owners tie me up...’

Example (49) illustrates the order: noun, *s<sup>h</sup>i* ‘PL’, quantifier; (50) illustrates the order: noun, quantifier; and (51) illustrates the order: noun, numeral, quantifier.<sup>29</sup>

- (49) rəca\ s<sup>h</sup>i\ bərbəʔ ra\ va\  
 child PL every come PL  
 ‘All you children, come!’
- (50) cak\ k<sup>h</sup>ətpui\ nək\ miʔ\ pa\ ca\ paik<sup>h</sup>reŋ\  
 rice a.lot INTENS LNK father eat all.gone  
 ‘So much rice...Father ate it all up.’
- (51) pa\ ca\ pai\ liŋmo-ui\ ha\ kək\  
 father eat PRT orange-fruit ten all  
 ‘Dad ate up all ten oranges.’

Case markers and the topic marker follow the noun. Example (52), illustrates the order: noun, *cə* ‘TOP’, and (53) illustrates the orders: noun, *maʔ* ‘SUBJ’ and (54) illustrates the order: noun, *həm* ‘OBJ’.

- (52) ən\ tsə\ aŋ\ luk<sup>ʔ</sup>\ loi\ hin\  
 2SG TOP 1SG compared.to young still  
 ‘You are still younger than me.’
- (53) vaʔtse\ maʔ\ tu\ jok<sup>ʔ</sup>\ luŋte\ hai\ lu\  
 bird SUBJ peck give earthworm from head  
 ‘The bird pecked the worm’s head.’

<sup>29</sup> Quantifiers are discussed in §3.4.

- (54) *dai*ᵛ *həm*ᵛ *aŋ*ᵛ *no*ᵛ *kəkrum*ᵛ *vai*ᵛ  
*Dai* *OBJ* *1SG* *NEG* *meet* *never*  
 ‘I have never met Dai.’

Determiners, possessive phrases, and relative clauses precede the noun which they modify. Examples (55), (56), and (57) illustrate possessive phrases.

- (55) *dai*ᵛ *hai*ᵛ *kəpa*ᵛ *kai*ᵛ *vit*ᵛ  
*Dai* *from* *father* *go* *field*  
 ‘Dai’s father went to the field.’
- (56) *iŋ*ᵛ *hai*ᵛ *kim*ᵛ *cə*ᵛ *ŋai*ᵛ *prai*ᵛ  
*1PL* *from* *house* *TOP* *good* *very*  
 ‘Our houses are very beautiful.’
- (57) *aŋ*ᵛ *hai*ᵛ *təhi*ᵛ *kə*ᵛ *r<sup>h</sup>um*ᵛ *jua*ᵛ  
*1SG* *from* *son* *big* *three* *CLS*  
 ‘my three big children’

Relative clauses precede the noun, as illustrated in examples (58) and (59).<sup>30</sup> In (59) the two relative clauses are marked by brackets.

- (58) *ŋai*ᵛ *dsk*ᵛ *mi?*ᵛ *kim*ᵛ *kə*ᵛ *rum*ᵛ  
*good* *view* *LNK* *house* *big* *three*  
 ‘three big beautiful houses (three big houses that are good to look at)’
- (59) [*min*ᵛ *dai*ᵛ *pe*ᵛ] *mi?*ᵛ [*mənam*ᵛ *lu*ᵛ *k<sup>h</sup>an*ᵛ *ve*ᵛ] *mi?*ᵛ *kim*ᵛ  
*name* *Dai* *called* *LNK* *village* *head* *at* *COP* *LNK* *house*  
 ‘the house that belongs to the village chief who is named Dai’

Example (60) illustrates the order: determiner, noun.

- (60) *ə*ᵛ-*mi*ᵛ *cəmra?*ᵛ *ko*ᵛ *r<sup>h</sup>um*ᵛ  
*there-DEF* *chair* *white* *three*  
 ‘those three white chairs’

Example (61) illustrates the order: determiner, possessive phrase, noun. Example

(62) illustrates the order: relative clause, possessive phrase, noun.

- (61) *ə*ᵛ-*mi*ᵛ-*va*ᵛ *aŋ*ᵛ *hai*ᵛ *kim*ᵛ *kə*ᵛ *rum*ᵛ  
*there-DEF-PL* *1SG* *from* *house* *big* *three*  
 ‘those three big houses of mine’

<sup>30</sup> Relative clauses are further discussed in §9.2.2.

- (62) nə̃l miʔl̃ luaʋ miʔl̃ ən-ʔ haĩ rutʋ ɬə̃l boŋ-ʔ cãl cakʋ  
 having LNK *dirty* LNK 2SG *from* *hand* with don't eat rice  
 'Don't eat with your dirty hand.'

### 3.2 Noun phrase coordination

Two nouns may be coordinated using the marker *hak-ʔ* 'and' or the pronoun *mĩl-jaʋ* '3-DU'.

In (63) *hak-ʔ* combines *vəceʋ* 'bird' and *luŋteʋ* 'earthworm' as the subject NP. The dual subject agreement marker *jaʋ* 'DU' appears after the verb, agreeing with the subject.

The coordinator *hak-ʔ* 'and' is further illustrated in examples (64), (65), and (66).

- (63) kənĩl lakʋ kʰaʋ vəceʋ *hak-ʔ* luŋteʋ kəkrumʋ jaʋ  
 in front one time *bird* and *earthworm* meet DU  
 pe-kʰaʋ kəroĩʋ haũl ləmsakʋ jaʋ pɛʔʋ  
 this-time together look.for food DU DECL  
 'A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.'

- (64) ən-ʔ *hak-ʔ* aŋ-ʔ haĩl ŋaʋ  
 2SG and 1SG from be.bad  
 'You and I (have) sin.'

- (65) pri-ʔ *hak-ʔ* ruãl-n<sup>31</sup> hai-ʔ kəroĩʋ  
*tiger* and *goat-NEG* able be.friend  
 'The tiger and goat cannot live together.'

- (66) mĩl cəʔʋ kimʋ ɬəkʋ mĩllukʋ mə-lukʋ *hak-ʔ* rətuỹl sʰĩl vẽl  
 this SUBJ house one so *roof* and *wall* PL COP  
 'This is a house, that is, it has a roof and walls.'

The coordinator *hak-ʔ* 'and' is also used for objects, as illustrated in (67). This use of *hak-ʔ* 'and' in coordinating plural objects is further discussed in §3.1.

- (67) daĩl bom̃l məŋ-ʔməŋ-ʔ *koko-ʔ* *hak-ʔ* loŋtʰaŋ-ʔ  
 Dai hit *Maung.Maung* *Ko.Ko* and *Longtang*  
 'Dai hit Maung Maung, Ko Ko, and Longtang.'

<sup>31</sup> Here the negative has contracted with the preceding word. This happens in fast speech when the preceding syllable is open.

In the story of the bird and worm, which began in (63), we see that once the characters are introduced, the connector changes to the pronoun *mi-l-ja* '3-DU', as in (68). This form is only used for animate subjects and objects.

- (68) *na* *kəcə* *kəcui* *va* *pe* *nə* *luŋte*  
 over after fight PL this finish earthworm  
*mi-l-ja* *vace* *pə* *kəcui* *ja* *ra* *pəʔ*  
 3-DU bird also fight DU come DECL  
 'And then they fought and the worm and the bird also fought.'

The connector *mi-l-ja* '3-DU' is further illustrated in examples (69) and (70).

- (69) *dai* *mi-l-ja* *məreŋ* *kai* *pin* *ja*  
 Dai 3-DU Mareng go trip DU  
 'Dai and Mareng went on a trip.'
- (70) *tuineŋ* *mi-l-ja* *mwa* *la* *tui* *ja*  
 Tuineŋ 3-DU Mwa scoop water DU  
 'Tuineŋ and Mwa scoop water (out of the river).'

Examples (71) and (72) illustrate *hak* 'and' and *mi-l-ja* '3-DU' in a similar context. They both coordinate two nouns, but there is a semantic distinction, which is illustrated in the translations.

- (71) *məŋ-məŋ* *hak* *tʃə-tʃə* *kai* *tʃaun*  
 Maung.Maung and Kyaw.Kyaw go school  
 'Maung Maung and KK go to school.'
- (72) *məŋ-məŋ* *mi-l-ja* *tʃə-tʃə* *pə* *kai* *tʃaun*  
 Maung.Maung 3-DU Kyaw.Kyaw also go school  
 'Those two, Maung Maung and KK, also go to school.'

In (73) *məŋ-məŋ* 'Maung.Maung' and *tʃə-tʃə* 'Kyaw.Kyaw' are coordinated with *mi-l-ja* '3-DU' and *ko-ko* 'Ko.Ko' is then added using *hak* 'with'. In (73) the subject agreement marker is optional, but if it is added, then it must be the dual subject agreement marker *ja* 'DU'. The plural subject agreement marker *va* 'PL' would be ungrammatical in (73). Therefore, (73) illustrates the marker *hak* 'with' being used as a comitative marker, meaning 'together with'. In (36), repeated here as (74), the pronoun

*mi7-va7* ‘3PL’ follows the plural subject. The subject agreement marker is optional, but if it is added, it must be *va7* ‘PL’.

- (73) *məŋ-ɬməŋ-ɬ*      *mi7-ja7*      *tʃə7-tʃə7-ɬ*      *cə7*      *ko7-ko7*      *hak7*  
*Maung.Maung*      *3-DU*      *Kyaw.Kyaw*      TOP      *Ko.Ko*      COM
- kai7*      *tʃaun7*      (*ja7*)  
 go      school      DU  
 ‘Those two, Maung Maung and KK, go to school with Ko Ko.’

- (74) *məŋ-ɬməŋ-ɬ*      *tʃə7-tʃə7-ɬ*      *ko7-ko7*      *mi7-va7*      *kai7*      *tʃaun7*      (*\*ja7*)  
*Maung.Maung*      *Kyaw.Kyaw*      *Ko.Ko*      *3-PL*      go      school      DU  
 ‘They, Maung Maung, KK, and Ko Ko, go to school.’

As (74) illustrates, when there are more than two coordinated nouns they are listed and *mi7-va7* ‘3PL’ follows. This form is used when the coordinated nouns are people, and it is also used pronominally as illustrated in the object NP in (75).

- (75) *dai7*      *ki7*      *mi7-va7*      *həm7*  
 Dai      see      *3-PL*      OBJ  
 ‘Dai sees them.’

Plural non-human participants are coordinated with *va7* ‘PL’ rather than *mi7-va7* ‘3PL’,<sup>32</sup> as illustrated in (34), repeated here as (76). Example (76) also illustrates that *va7* ‘PL’ may be followed by *cə7* ‘TOP’ when the participants are the topic.

- (76) *pəktərua7*      *məkle7*      *luŋkui7*      *n<sup>s</sup>han7*      *pauma7*      *va7*      *cə7*      *ʔo7ʔ*  
*badger*      *firefly*      *caterpillar*      *spider*      *cockroach*      PL      TOP      oh
- klun7ri7*      *pre7*      *hai7*      *bən7*      *kai7*      *ku7*      *va7*      *pε7ʔ*  
 Klungri      country      from      soil      go      steal      PL      DECL  
 ‘At that time a badger, caterpillar, spider, cockroach, and firefly all went to steal dirt from a distant country, Klungri.’

Multiple appositive noun phrases are juxtaposed without any connecting particles, as illustrated in examples (77) and (78). In appositive NP constructions possessive phrases occur initially, and proper names occur finally.

<sup>32</sup> I hypothesize that the reason for this is because the pronominal *mi7* ‘3SG’ is only used for people, but I do not have enough data to be conclusive.

- (77) [aŋ˥ kəpu˥] [klə˥ cəra˥] [loŋtʰaŋ˥] prai˥ ca˥ ve˥  
 1SG grandfather language teacher Longtang read literature COP  
 ‘My grandfather, Longtang, the master storyteller, is reading.’
- (78) [aŋ˥ cu˥] [meŋ˥ cəra˥ ma˥] [kətun˥ sen˥] pə˥ meŋ˥  
 1SG granddaughter song teacher FEM Miss Sen do song  
 ‘My granddaughter, Miss Sen, the song teacher, is singing.’

### 3.3 Possession

As illustrated in examples (79)-(82), the postposition *hai*˥ ‘from’ follows the possessor and the possessive phrase precedes the noun it modifies.

- (79) ənni˥ hai˥ kʰroŋ˥ mai˥ sʰi˥ ɲai˥ prai˥  
 2SG from gun fire PL good very  
 ‘Your guns are very nice.’
- (80) mi˥ hai˥ vənki˥ ɲai˥ prai˥  
 3SG from shirt good very  
 ‘His shirt is very nice.’
- (81) iŋ˥ hai˥ rəca˥ sʰi˥ kətɛ˥ va˥  
 1PL from child PL play PL  
 ‘Our children are playing.’
- (82) ɲa˥ kəcə˥ luŋte˥ maʔ˥ kui˥ jok˥ vəcə˥  
 over when earthworm SUBJ roll up give little.bird  
 hai˥ ɲoŋ˥ kəcə˥ va˥lce˥ cə˥ e˥ mi-kʰa˥  
 from neck when little bird TOP cry LNK-time  
 rua˥ sʰi˥ cə˥ ren˥ pɛʔ˥  
 snake PL TOP laugh DECL  
 ‘And then the worm wrapped around the neck of the bird and when the bird started crying, all the snakes laughed.’

The word *mat*˥ ‘own’ may appear in the possessive phrase as an emphatic pronoun, as illustrated in examples (83) and (84).<sup>33</sup>

- (83) kai˥ ən˥ mat˥ vit˥ de˥  
 go 2SG own field please  
 ‘Please go to your own field.’

<sup>33</sup> Other uses of the emphatic pronoun are discussed in §7.2.2.



- (84) aŋ<sup>+</sup> ton<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> rək<sup>h</sup>u<sup>v</sup>  
 1SG use 1SG own from knife  
 ‘I use my own knife.’

### 3.4 Quantification

This section presents various quantifiers that occur throughout the clause.<sup>34</sup> Some quantifiers appear in the NP and some appear clause-finally, but most quantification is formed via relative clauses. Quantifiers are also used as anaphoric/pronominal elements and as resumptive pronouns.

#### 3.4.1 All/whole

Examples (85) and (86) illustrate the quantifier *kək* ‘all’ following the object NP, but in (87) the NP precedes the verb and *kək* ‘all’ follows the verb. These examples illustrate ‘quantifier float’, where *kək* ‘all’ may occur in the NP or separated from it. The quantifier *kək* ‘all’ acts differently than most quantifiers in this way. This is common for the quantifier ‘all’ throughout Mainland South-East Asia (Manson 2006).

- (85) loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>]</sup> pai<sup>v</sup> leŋ<sup>v</sup>-ui<sup>]</sup> kəru<sup>+</sup> <sup>ʔ</sup>kəm<sup>v</sup> mi<sup>?</sup> tək<sup>+</sup> kək<sup>]</sup>  
 Longtang eat PRT banana-fruit twenty thirty LNK one all  
 ‘Longtang ate up all twenty-one bananas.’
- (86) aŋ<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> təhi<sup>v</sup> ca<sup>]</sup> cak<sup>v</sup> kək<sup>]</sup> na<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG from son eat rice all DECL  
 ‘My son ate all the rice.’
- (87) aŋ<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> təhi<sup>v</sup> p<sup>h</sup>um-ui<sup>+</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>]</sup> ca<sup>]</sup> kək<sup>]</sup> na<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG from son mango-fruit PL eat all DECL  
 ‘My son ate all the mangoes.’

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<sup>34</sup> Many quantifiers occur outside of the NP. However, they are presented in this chapter to discuss quantification as a whole.

The quantifier *kək* ʔ ‘all’ is used for measuring an amount as illustrated in (85)-(87), but it is also used for time or duration, as illustrated in (88).

- (88) pe ʔ mi ʔ luk ʔ kək ʔ<sup>35</sup> cə ʔ mi ʔ ni ʔ ve ʔ  
 this LNK more.than crow TOP LNK day stay  
 tə ʔ ni ʔ kək ʔ pɛ ʔ  
 stream day all DECL  
 ‘And then the crow went and stayed on the river the whole day.’

### 3.4.2 Many/most

The quantifier *hu* ʔ ‘many’ follows the noun in the non-verbal clauses in examples (89), (90), and (91). However, since *hu* ʔ ‘many’ is followed by the intensifiers *prai* ʔ ‘very’ and *p<sup>h</sup>i* ʔ ‘very’, it occurs as an adjective predicate.

- (89) “u ʔ ɲai ʔ kə ʔ ənni ʔ [hu ʔ prai ʔ kə ʔ]” pa-jok ʔ penə ʔ  
 oh.no good PFV 2PL many very PFV tell-give like.this  
 ‘“Whoa! That’s enough! There are so many of you!” He said.’
- (90) jua ʔ mi ʔ cə ʔ təhi ʔ kə ʔ nau ʔ [hu ʔ p<sup>h</sup>i ʔ ɲak ʔ] pɛ ʔ  
 person 3SG TOP son daughter many very INTENS DECL  
 ‘One of them had so many children.’
- (91) “ənni ʔ s<sup>h</sup>i ʔ cə ʔ loŋ ʔ [ram ʔ hu ʔ prai ʔ] loŋhu ʔ  
 2PL PL TOP point.on.leaf leaf many very Longhu  
 na ʔ nək<sup>h</sup>ə ʔ ” pa-jok ʔ penə ʔ  
 be SPACT say-give like.this  
 ‘“You have many offspring, you will be Longhu,” saying this...’

The quantifier *hu* ʔ ‘many’ is also used to mean ‘majority’ when accompanied by the locative marker *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ* ʔ ‘side’, as illustrated in examples (92) and (93). In (92) and (93) the

<sup>35</sup> This word does not fit the syllable structure presented in §2.1 in that there is a vocoid sequence followed by a consonant. The only words that exhibit this syllabic property are onomatopoeic words and loan words. Also, the vocoid sequence does not occur in the presentation of vowels and vocoid sequences presented in §2.2.2.

construction *huʋ tʰaŋʔ* ‘majority’ occurs as a resumptive pronoun and the preceding phrase is an external topic. Natural pauses made by the speaker are marked by commas.

- (92) *kʰoŋʋ-miʔ*      *rəcaʋ*    *loŋʋ,*    *huʋ-tʰaŋʔ*    *cəʋ,*  
 Hkongso-people    child    among    majority    TOP  
  
*bəmaʔ*      *caʔ*      *tukʔ*      *vaʋ*  
 Burmese    literacy    know    PL  
 ‘Out of the Hkongso children, most know Burmese.’
- (93) *kʰoŋʋ-miʔ*      *sʰiʔ,*    *huʋ-tʰaŋʔ*    *cəʋ,*    *kətəmʔ*    *pələŋkrumʋ*  
 Hkongso-people PL    majority    TOP    arrive    Paletwa  
 ‘Most Hkongso have been to Paletwa.’

### 3.4.3 Every

In (94), the quantifier *bərbəʔ* ‘every’ follows the noun it modifies. In (95) *bərbəʔ* ‘every’ occurs as a pronominal element, preceded by a relative clause.

- (94) *rəcaʔ*    *sʰiʔ*    *bərbəʔ*    *raʋ*    *vaʋ*  
 child    PL    every    come    PL  
 ‘All you children, come!’
- (95) *veʔ*    *miʔʔ*    *bərbəʔ*    *sʰinʔ*    *naŋʔ*  
 COP    LNK    every    bring    with.you  
 ‘Bring along all that there is.’

### 3.4.4 A few

The quantifier *kʰətʔdikʔ* ‘few’ follows the noun in (96). In (97) *kʰətʔdikʔ* ‘few’ follows the verb as an anaphoric/pronominal element.

- (96) *aŋʔ*    *caʔ*    *cakʋ*    *kʰətʔdikʔ*  
 1SG    eat    rice    few  
 ‘I eat a little bit of rice.’

- (97) *ca*ʔ *kʰət*ʔ*dik*ʔ<sup>36</sup> *ŋai*ʔ  
*eat* *few* *only*  
 ‘Only eat a few.’

In (98) *kʰət*ʔ*dik*ʔ ‘few’ appears as *kʰət*ʔ*didik*ʔ ‘few’, which follows the noun. This is a verbless possessive clause which contains a copula.

- (98) *mi*ʔ *kəku*ʔ *roi*ʔ *kʰət*ʔ*didik*ʔ *ve*ʔ  
 DEF man friend few COP  
 ‘He has few friends. (Lit. His friends are few.)’

The word *di*ʔ ‘few’, a short form of *kʰət*ʔ*dik*ʔ ‘few’, occurs in (99) as an adjective predicate followed by the aspectual auxiliary *hai*ʔ ‘CONT’.

- (99) *pe*ʔ *mi*ʔ*lluk*ʔ *kʰɔŋ*ʔ-*mi*ʔ *sʰi*ʔ *cə*ʔ *imi*ʔ *di*ʔ *hai*ʔ *pɛ*ʔʔ  
 this so Hkongso-people PL TOP person few CONT DECL  
 ‘Because of that there are few Hkongso people.’

The quantifier *di*ʔ ‘few’ functions as the predicate of the relative clause in examples (100) and (101).

- (100) *di*ʔ *mi*ʔʔ *kim*ʔ-*ko*ʔ  
*few* LNK house-in  
 ‘(There are) a few families.’

- (101) *kəmai*ʔ *hai*ʔ *aci*ʔ*voi*ʔ *mətun*ʔ *di*ʔ *mi*ʔʔ *tʰaŋ*ʔ *no*ʔ *ra*ʔ *va*ʔ  
 today from meeting at few LNK side NEG come PL  
 ‘At the meeting today a few people did not come.’

### 3.4.5 A lot

The quantifier *kʰət*ʔ*pui*ʔ ‘a.lot’ is very similar to *kʰət*ʔ*dik*ʔ ‘few’. In (102) *kʰət*ʔ*pui*ʔ ‘a.lot’ follows the object. However, it is possible to move *luŋ*ʔ ‘salt’ to the front of the sentence or even remove it, and *kʰət*ʔ*pui*ʔ ‘a.lot’ would remain where it is as an anaphoric/pronominal element. This is similar to examples (96) and (97), where *kʰət*ʔ*dik*ʔ ‘few’ appears after the noun or after the verb.

<sup>36</sup> It is possible that this word is replacing the NP.

- (102) s<sup>h</sup>in<sup>l</sup> naŋ<sup>l</sup> (luŋ<sup>+</sup>) k<sup>h</sup>ətpui<sup>l</sup> de<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>l</sup>  
 bring with.you salt a.lot IMP POL  
 ‘Please bring a lot of salt with you?’

Like k<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>l</sup>dik<sup>l</sup> ‘few’, k<sup>h</sup>ətpui<sup>l</sup> ‘a.lot’ may also be a predicate, followed by ŋak<sup>l</sup> ‘INTENS’, as illustrated in (103).

- (103) cak<sup>l</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ətpui<sup>l</sup> ŋak<sup>l</sup>  
 rice a.lot INTENS  
 ‘There’s so much rice!’

### 3.4.6 Some

The quantifier kət<sup>l</sup> ‘some’ functions as the predicate of relative clauses in (104), (105), and (106).

- (104) kət<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>?</sup> kui<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> təm<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup>  
 some LNK dog TOP black right.be  
 kət<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>?</sup> kui<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> rik<sup>l</sup>  
 some LNK dog TOP red.brown  
 ‘Some dogs are black and some are brown.’
- (105) kət<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>?</sup> imi<sup>l</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> kui<sup>l</sup> ve<sup>l</sup>  
 some LNK person PL TOP dog COP  
 ‘Some men have dogs.’
- (106) kət<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>?</sup> p<sup>h</sup>um<sup>l</sup>-ui<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> min<sup>l</sup> kə<sup>l</sup>  
 some LNK mango-fruit TOP ripe PERF  
 ‘Some mangoes are ripe.’

Example (107) is a verbless equative clause. The natural pauses, marked by commas, show that the first phrase is a fronted external topic. The second phrase is either a headless NP or s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ‘PL’ is functioning as a resumptive pronoun. The quantifier kət<sup>l</sup> ‘some’ occurs as the predicate of the relative clause modifying the null head or resumptive pronoun.

- (107) mi<sup>l</sup>-va<sup>v</sup> ra<sup>v</sup> mi<sup>ʔ</sup> loŋ<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup>, kət<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>ʔ</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>v</sup>,  
 3-PL come LNK among from some LNK PL TOP  
 tərat<sup>l</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>v</sup>  
 orphan PL  
 ‘Of those that have come, some are orphans.’

### 3.4.7 Indefinite

The indefinite *ʔək<sup>v</sup>* ‘one’ follows the count noun in examples (108) and (109).

Contrast is provided in (110), where the determiner *mi<sup>l</sup>* ‘DEF’ precedes the definite noun *cauk<sup>v</sup>* ‘book’.

- (108) mi<sup>l</sup> kəku<sup>v</sup> jək<sup>v</sup> aŋ<sup>l</sup> cauk<sup>v</sup> ʔək<sup>v</sup>  
 this man give 1SG book one  
 ‘He gave me a book.’
- (109) dai<sup>l</sup> kai<sup>l</sup> kəle<sup>l</sup> pənit<sup>v</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> ap<sup>l</sup> tokk<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ʔək<sup>v</sup> ham<sup>l</sup>  
 Dai go forest happen TOP shoot deer one IRR  
 ‘If Dai goes to the forest he will shoot a deer.’
- (110) kəroi<sup>l</sup> klat<sup>l</sup> vəŋ<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>l</sup> cauk<sup>v</sup>  
 20 Kyat cost this book  
 ‘The book costs 20 Kyat.’

The indefinite *ʔək<sup>v</sup>* ‘one’ remains after the verb if the NP is fronted. In examples (108) and (109) it follows the object, but in (111) it follows the verb.

- (111) tui<sup>l</sup> ko<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> lam<sup>v</sup> aŋ<sup>l</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>l</sup> ve<sup>l</sup> ʔək<sup>v</sup>  
 water in from fish 1SG at COP one  
 ‘I have a fish from the water.’

## CHAPTER 4: CLAUSE STRUCTURE

This chapter describes word order in basic clauses. Word order may be *SVO*, *SOV*, or *OSV*. However, I argue that the basic word order is *SVO*. The main word order characteristics of Hkongso are *VO*, *NAdj*, *RelN*, *DemN*, *NNum*, *AdjDeg*, and *NegV*. Section 4.6 presents the word order characteristics of Hkongso and other Tibeto-Burman languages. Clause alignment, in the form of a nominative/accusative case marking system is described in §4.2. Section 4.3 presents postpositional phrases including possession, instrumental, locative, temporal, and benefactive phrases, and §4.4 describes topic marking.

### 4.1 Basic order of clause constituents

The word order in transitive sentences can be *SVO*, *SOV*, or *OSV*, as illustrated in examples (112), (113), and (114).

(112) kəak<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> rəmpai<sup>1</sup> kək<sup>1</sup> pɛʔ<sup>1</sup>  
 crow see duck white DECL  
 ‘The crow saw the white duck.’

(113) kəak<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> rəmpai<sup>1</sup> həm<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> pɛʔ<sup>1</sup>  
 crow TOP duck OBJ see DECL  
 ‘The crow saw the duck.’

(114) rəmpai<sup>1</sup> kək<sup>1</sup> həm<sup>1</sup> kəak<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> pɛʔ<sup>1</sup>  
 duck white OBJ crow see DECL  
 ‘The crow saw the white duck.’

Variations in word order show prominence (Kroeger 2005:197). In (113) the subject is topicalized and the object comes in a marked position in front of the verb. In (114) the object is fronted to the topicalized position.

In examples (112), (113), and (114), the only sentence that does not require marking on the subject or object is (112), which has SVO order. The SOV sentence in (113) and the OSV sentence in (114) require marking to indicate which noun is the subject and which noun is the object. Since SVO order is the least marked, it provides proof that SVO is the basic word order.

To determine which order is basic, Bickford (1998:214-16) presents the following rules: use clauses with neutral semantics, avoid pronouns, use subordinate clauses, and consider distribution. To this list, Kroeger (2005:198-99) adds frequency of occurrence.

In my data, of the transitive indicative sentences with an overt subject and object, 80% are SVO, 11% are SOV, and 9% are OSV. SVO is clearly the most frequently used transitive sentence structure.

In main clauses, word order is flexible, depending on the pragmatics of the sentence. As the ditransitive examples (115)-(118) illustrate, any argument in the clause may be fronted to the topic position. Example (115), a ditransitive sentence with SVO<sub>1</sub>O<sub>2</sub> order, has no marking on the NPs. This is the only example in (115)-(118) that has neutral semantics and pragmatics, which provides evidence that basic word order is SVO. In (116), the word order is SO<sub>1</sub>VO<sub>2</sub>. The subject is marked by *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’ and the object is marked by *həml* ‘OBJ’. In (117), the secondary object is fronted and marked by *cəʋ* ‘TOP’, giving an O<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>1</sub>V word order. In (118), the word order is O<sub>1</sub>SVO<sub>2</sub> and the direct object is marked by *həml* ‘OBJ’, the subject is marked by *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’, and the secondary object occurs unmarked after the verb.

(115) *kətoʋ jəkʋ kətuŋɫ caukʋ ʔəkʋ*  
 boy give girl book a  
 ‘The boy gave the girl a book.’



- (116) kətoʋ maʔʌ kətuŋʈ həmʌ jokʋ jokʋ<sup>37</sup> cəukʈ  
 boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give book  
 ‘The boy gave the girl a book.’
- (117) cəukʈ cəʋ kətoʋ maʔʌ kətuŋʈ həmʌ jokʋ jokʋ  
 book TOP boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give  
 ‘The book, the boy gave to the girl.’
- (118) kətuŋʈ həmʌ kətoʋ maʔʌ jokʋ jokʋ cəukʈ  
 girl OBJ boy SUBJ give give book  
 ‘To the girl, the boy gave a book.’

Like ditransitive sentences, the transitive sentences with instrumental phrases<sup>38</sup> in examples (119)-(122) also illustrate flexible word order as long as the arguments are marked. Example (119) is SOV and both the subject and object are marked, but only the oblique is marked in examples (120) and (121). These are the only sentences here that have neutral semantics and pragmatics, which provides further evidence that SVO is the basic word order.

In (122), the instrumental phrase precedes the subject *aŋʈ* ‘1SG’. Normally the instrumental phrase follows the subject, but as I have mentioned before, pronouns have different word order properties. Phrasal constituents may not occur between the subject pronoun and the verb.

- (119) kənuʋ maʔʌ təhiʋ s<sup>hi</sup>ʌ həmʌ [məp<sup>h</sup>eʌ ʈəʌ] bəmʌ  
 mother SUBJ son PL OBJ stick with hit  
 ‘Mother hit the children with a stick.’
- (120) daiʌ [rək<sup>h</sup>uʋ ʈəʌ] t<sup>hi</sup>ʈ moiʈ  
 Dai knife with split meat  
 ‘Dai cut the meat with a knife.’
- (121) paʋ [hwaluŋʌ ʈəʌ] varʌ vaʌ  
 father stone with throw bird  
 ‘Father pelted the bird with a stone.’

<sup>37</sup> The verb *jokʋ* ‘give’ often appears after the main verb as a valency-increasing auxiliary. Here, since the main verb is *jokʋ* ‘give’, it may appear that this is reduplication, but it is not, as is explained in §9.4.

<sup>38</sup> The instrumental phrases are in brackets.

- (122) [tai\ hai\ k<sup>h</sup>ronmai\ ɬə\ ] aŋ\ ap\ pəkter\  
 brother from gun with 1SG shoot boar  
 ‘With my brother's gun I shot a boar.’

Examples (123) and (124) illustrate subordinate clauses. In (123), word order is SVO in the relative clause *aŋ\ roi\ jok\ aŋ\* ‘my friend gave me’, and in (124), word order is SV in the relative clause *kuimen\ ma?\ map\ jok\* ‘the cat bit’. In (125) word order is SVO in the complement clause *lonṭ<sup>h</sup>aŋ\ ap\ tokk<sup>h</sup>i\ ɬək\ ham\* ‘Longtang will shoot a deer’. I have not found SOV or OSV word order in subordinate clauses. This provides further evidence that basic word order is SVO.

- (123) [aŋ\ roi\ jok\ aŋ\] mi?\ kui\ t<sup>h</sup>ək\  
 1SG friend give 1SG LNK dog die  
 ‘The dog that my friend gave me died.’

- (124) [kuimen\ ma?\ map\ jok\] mi?\ ut\ t<sup>h</sup>ək\  
 cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die  
 ‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’

- (125) [lonṭ<sup>h</sup>aŋ\ ap\ tokk<sup>h</sup>i\ ɬək\ ham\] mi?\ dai\ im\  
 Longtang shoot deer one IRR LNK Dai hope  
 ‘Dai hopes that Longtang will shoot a deer.’

SVO is the basic word order because: 1) it occurs most frequently; 2) SVO clauses have neutral semantics and pragmatics; 3) subject and objects are unmarked in SVO clauses; and 4) subordinate clauses are SVO.

The Mru and Hkongso languages have similar word order properties, yet these properties are strikingly different from other Tibeto-Burman languages. Ebersole (1996:1) says, “Unlike most of the Kuki-Naga languages [Mru] has an SVO word order and is not inflected. Most of the roots are monosyllabic, they are often compounded to form new words.”<sup>39</sup> This is true for Hkongso as well.

Mru has not yet been classified and is still controversial as it is an SVO language in the Tibeto-Burman family. Ebersole writes, “Mru is a relatively isolated Tibeto-Burman

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<sup>39</sup> David Peterson (p.c.) has also stated that Mru has SVO basic word order.

language. Schafer classifies it as the single member of the Mruish branch of the Burmish family. Löffler states that it probably developed from Proto-Kukish-Burmish.” Thought to be an isolate among Tibeto-Burman languages, Mru has been placed in its own branch. In the same way, Hkongso appears out of place in the Tibeto-Burman family.

## 4.2 Grammatical Case

In defining grammatical relations many linguists use the roles S, the only nominal argument of a single-argument clause, A, the most agent-like argument of a multi-argument clause, and P, the most patient-like argument of a multi-argument clause (Payne 1997:133). Example (126) illustrates an intransitive clause whose single argument is *pupetV* ‘turtle’.

(126) *pe*ᵀ *kəcə*ᵀ *pupet*ᵀ *ma*ʔᵀ *pa-jok*ᵀ *pɛ*ʔᵀ  
 this when turtle SUBJ tell-give DECL  
 ‘At that time, the turtle spoke.’

Example (127) illustrates a transitive clause whose agent-like argument is *kənuV* ‘mother’ and whose patient-like argument is *təhiV* ‘son’.

(127) *kənu*ᵀ *ma*ʔᵀ *təhi*ᵀ *s<sup>hi</sup>*ᵀ *həm*ᵀ *bəm*ᵀ  
 mother SUBJ son PL OBJ hit  
 ‘Mother hit the children.’

Hkongso treats S and A the same and P differently. This is illustrated in (126) and (127), where S in the intransitive example (126) and A in the transitive example (127) take the case marker *maʔᵀ* ‘SUBJ’, but P in (127) is marked with *həmᵀ* ‘OBJ’. This marking is summarized in Figure 5.

Intransitive	S - <i>maʔᵀ</i>	
Transitive	A – <i>maʔᵀ</i>	P - <i>həmᵀ</i>

Figure 5: Grammatical case marking

This system is a nominative/accusative system (Payne 1997:134), where *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’ is the nominative case marker and *həmʌ* ‘OBJ’ is the accusative case marker.

#### 4.2.1 Subject marking

Subject marking via *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’ is obligatory only when the word order makes the arguments of the verb ambiguous. Example (128) has SVO word order, so case marking is optional. The subject *paʌ* ‘father’ precedes the verb and the object *pakʌ* ‘pig’ follows it. Therefore subject and object are unambiguous, even though there is no marking. However, in (129), the subject marker *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’ is obligatory because the object *pakʌ* ‘pig’ is fronted. If the subject marker were left off, we would not know who did the killing and who was killed.

(128) *paʌ*      *bomʌ*    *pakʌ*  
 father hit pig  
 ‘Father killed a pig.’

(129) *pakʌ* *cəʌ* *paʌ*    *maʔl*    *bomʌ*  
 pig TOP father SUBJ hit  
 ‘The pig, father killed.’

In (130) the subject *təhiʌ* ‘son’ is marked with *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’, and subject agreement marked by *vaʌ* ‘PL’ follows the verb. If the subject and object are switched, as illustrated in (119), repeated here as (131), then *kənuʌ* ‘mother’ is marked by *maʔl* ‘SUBJ’, and the clause-final plural subject agreement auxiliary *vaʌ* ‘PL’ is omitted, since singular subject agreement is unmarked.

(130) *təhiʌ* *sʰiʌ*    *maʔl*    *kənuʌ*    *həmʌ*    *məpʰeʌ*    *ʔəʌ*    *bəmʌ*    *vaʌ*  
 son PL SUBJ mother OBJ stick with hit PL  
 ‘The children hit mother with a stick.’

(131) *kənuʌ*    *maʔl*    *təhiʌ*    *sʰiʌ*    *həmʌ*    *məpʰeʌ*    *ʔəʌ*    *bəmʌ*  
 mother SUBJ son PL OBJ stick with hit  
 ‘Mother hit the children with a stick.’

Singular subjects such as *luŋteŋ* ‘worm’ in (132) are unmarked. Dual subjects such as *vəceŋ hak-ŋ luŋteŋ* ‘bird and worm’ in (63), repeated here as (133), and plural subjects such as *rəcaŋ s<sup>hi</sup>ŋ* ‘child PL’ in (134) have corresponding clause-final subject agreement markers. These markers are often used in discourse as a way of allowing the audience to follow the story without unnecessary repetition of the subject and without pronouns.

(132) *luŋteŋ cəŋ no-ŋ hjaŋ pənəŋ no-ŋ kaiŋ m̄maŋ tukŋ pɛʔŋ*  
 worm TOP NEG want since NEG go path clear DECL  
 ‘However, the worm did not want to do it, so he did not go to clear the path.’

(133) *kəniŋ lakŋ k<sup>ha</sup>ŋ vəceŋ hak-ŋ luŋteŋ kəkrumŋ jaŋ*  
 in.front one time bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU  
  
*pe-ŋ k<sup>ha</sup>ŋ kəroiŋ hauŋ ləmsakŋ jaŋ pɛʔŋ*  
 this time together look.for food DU DECL  
 ‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’

(134) *mi-ŋ vaŋ haiŋ rəcaŋ s<sup>hi</sup>ŋ caŋ cakŋ vaŋ*  
 3 PL from child PL eat rice PL  
 ‘Their (plural) children are eating.’

The singular, dual, and plural subject agreement markers occur as clause-final operators<sup>40</sup>, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Subject agreement markers

	Single	Dual	Plural
SUBJ AGR Marker	Unmarked	<i>jaŋ</i>	<i>va-ŋ</i>

#### 4.2.2 Object marking

The object marker *həmŋ* ‘OBJ’ follows the noun. Most often the object is marked when it precedes the verb and needs to be differentiated from the subject. When the

<sup>40</sup> Clause-final operators are discussed in §5.3.

object follows the verb, such as *mɔŋ+mɔŋ* ‘Maung.Maung’ in (135), it usually appears unmarked. However, since object marking in SVO sentences is optional, it is possible to use *həm* ‘OBJ’ with an object after the verb, as illustrated in (136).

(135) aŋ<sup>1</sup> bom<sup>1</sup> mɔŋ<sup>1</sup>mɔŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG hit Maung.Maung  
 ‘I hit Maung Maung.’

(136) luŋte<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>1</sup> ruə<sup>1</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> həm<sup>1</sup> pɛ<sup>2</sup>  
 earthworm TOP gather snake PL OBJ DECL  
 ‘The worm gathered up the snakes.’

When the object precedes the verb, the subject and object are distinguished via case marking. As discussed in §4.4, any argument may be fronted for topicalization. In such cases, it usually takes the topic marker. If the object takes the topic marker, the subject must take the subject marker to differentiate between the two arguments. This is illustrated in (137).

(137) kja<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> dai<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> s<sup>h</sup>ɔt<sup>1</sup>  
 cow TOP Dai SUBJ stab  
 ‘The cow, Dai stabbed.’

The object may also retain the object marker when it is fronted to the topic position. It is my hypothesis that any argument occurring before the subject is topicalized. Therefore, a topic does not always have to take a topic marker. In (138) the object *kənu* ‘mother’ is moved to the front and yet it still has the object marker.

(138) kənu<sup>1</sup> həm<sup>1</sup> təhi<sup>1</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> məp<sup>h</sup>e<sup>1</sup> ɬə<sup>1</sup> bɔm<sup>1</sup> va<sup>1</sup>  
 mother OBJ son PL SUBJ stick with hit PL  
 ‘The children hit mother with a stick.’

#### 4.2.3 Secondary objects

As discussed in §4.2, subjects are marked by *ma<sup>2</sup>* ‘SUBJ’ and objects are marked by *həm* ‘OBJ’. Secondary objects are never marked by a case marker.

Hkongso word order is rather free and ditransitive sentences are no exception. In (139), the direct object *kətuŋʰ* ‘girl’ is topicalized and the secondary object *kuiʰ leʌ* ‘dog small’ occurs after the verb. In (140), *kətuŋʰ* ‘girl’ precedes the verb and *kuiʰ leʌ* ‘dog small’ follows it. In (141), all three arguments precede the verb. The secondary object *kuiʰ leʌ* ‘dog small’ is topicalized, followed by the subject *kətoʌ* ‘boy’, and the direct object *kətuŋʰ* ‘girl’ directly precedes the verb, taking the object marker. In (139)-(141), the recipient is marked with *həmʌ* ‘OBJ’ so the recipient is the direct object and the theme is the secondary object. The secondary object never takes a case marker, even when it precedes the verb, as in (143).

(139) *kətuŋʰ* *həmʌ* *kətoʌ* *maʔʌ* *jokʌ* *jokʌ* *kuiʰ* *leʌ*  
 girl OBJ boy SUBJ give give dog small  
 ‘To the girl, the boy gave a puppy.’

(140) *kətoʌ* *maʔʌ* *kətuŋʰ* *həmʌ* *jokʌ* *jokʌ* *kuiʰ* *leʌ*  
 boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give dog small  
 ‘The boy gave the girl a puppy.’

(141) *kuiʰ* *leʌ* *cəʌ* *kətoʌ* *maʔʌ* *kətuŋʰ* *həmʌ* *jokʌ* *jokʌ*  
 dog small TOP boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give  
 ‘The puppy, the boy gave to the girl.’

When neither object is marked, as in (142), the ambiguity is resolved based on position (Kroeger 2005:62). In (142) *aŋʰ* ‘1SG’ is closer to the verb and is therefore the direct object, and *kuiʰ leʌ* ‘dog small’ is the secondary object.

(142) *miʌ* *kəkuʌ* *jokʌ* *aŋʰ* *kuiʰ* *leʌ*  
 this man give 1SG dog small  
 ‘He gave me a puppy.’

Example (143) contains a benefactive phrase which illustrates the ditransitive sentence structure: OBJ<sub>1</sub>-BenP-OBJ<sub>2</sub>-SUBJ-V. In this example, the secondary object *caukʌ* ‘book’ and the subject *aŋʰ* ‘1SG’ are unmarked. This is accounted for because subject pronouns always occur closest to the verb. Therefore, even though the subject and

secondary object are unmarked, it is clear which is the subject and which is the secondary object.

- (143) daiᵛ həmᵛ kəpaᵛ kəhəmᵛ caukᵛ ʔəkᵛ aŋᵛ jəkᵛ jəkᵛ  
 Dai OBJ father BEN book one 1SG give give  
 ‘I gave Dai a book for his father.’

In ditransitive sentences, it is clear which argument is the secondary object. When one object is marked like a transitive object and the other is not, the unmarked object is the secondary object. Word order also makes it clear when both objects appear after the verb and are unmarked.

### 4.3 Postpositional Phrases

#### 4.3.1 Possession

The postposition *haiᵛ* ‘from’ is used to mark the locative source, as illustrated in example (144). Therefore, it is glossed ‘from’, even though it is used for ownership in the following examples.

- (144) pələŋkrumᵛ tʰaŋᵛ haiᵛ aŋᵛ ʔoiᵛ raᵛ  
 Paletwa at from 1SG return come  
 ‘I’ve returned from Paletwa.’

The postposition *haiᵛ* ‘from’ is used for nominal possession as illustrated in examples (145)-(149). The postposition *haiᵛ* ‘from’ follows the possessor and the possessive phrase precedes the noun it modifies.

- (145) aŋᵛ haiᵛ təhiᵛ kaiᵛ vitᵛ  
 1SG from son go field  
 ‘My son went to the field.’

- (146) daiᵛ haiᵛ kəpaᵛ kaiᵛ vitᵛ  
 Dai from father go field  
 ‘Dai’s father went to the field.’



- (147) iŋ<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> kim<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> ŋai<sup>1</sup> prai<sup>1</sup>  
 1PL from house TOP good very  
 ‘Our house is very beautiful.’
- (148) ʔainəŋ<sup>1</sup> ən<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> cəuk<sup>1</sup> ri<sup>1</sup> de<sup>1</sup>  
 borrow 2SG from book some.more REQ  
 ‘Please let me borrow your book some more.’
- (149) mi<sup>1</sup>-va<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> rəca<sup>1</sup> s<sup>hi</sup><sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> va<sup>1</sup>  
 3-PL from child PL eat rice PL  
 ‘Their (plural) children are eating.’

In some cases of possession, such as in (150), *hai<sup>1</sup>* ‘from’ may be left off.

- (150) cək<sup>1</sup> ləp<sup>1</sup> əŋ<sup>1</sup> nam<sup>1</sup> cak<sup>1</sup> ri<sup>1</sup> lək<sup>1</sup>  
 come.on go 1SG village rice some.more friend  
 ‘Hey friend, come over to my house for dinner.’

#### 4.3.2 Instrumental

The postposition ʔə<sup>1</sup> ‘with’ is used to mark instruments, comitative phrases, and manner phrases. Examples (151), (152), and (153), illustrate the instrumental use of ʔə<sup>1</sup> ‘with’.

- (151) pa<sup>1</sup> re<sup>1</sup> ʔə<sup>1</sup> s<sup>hət</sup><sup>1</sup> kja<sup>1</sup>  
 father spear with stab cow  
 ‘Father stabbed the cow with a spear.’
- (152) tai<sup>1</sup> kideŋ<sup>1</sup> ʔə<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>  
 brother pencil with write letter  
 ‘Brother writes a letter with a pencil.’
- (153) dai<sup>1</sup> hwaluŋ<sup>1</sup> ʔə<sup>1</sup> var<sup>1</sup> ən<sup>1</sup>  
 Dai stone with throw 1SG  
 ‘Dai pelted me with a stone.’

Instrumental phrases immediately precede the verb in (151), (152), and (153). This is further illustrated in example (154), where the subject and object precede the instrumental phrase.

- (154) dai<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup> tai<sup>1</sup> həm<sup>1</sup> məp<sup>he</sup><sup>1</sup> ʔə<sup>1</sup> bəm<sup>1</sup>  
 Dai SUBJ brother OBJ stick with hit  
 ‘Dai hit brother with a stick.’

Instrumental phrases immediately precede the verb, unless a pronominal subject is present, as in (155).<sup>41</sup>

- (155) *tai*ᵛ      *hai*ᵛ   *kideŋ*-ᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *aŋ*-ᵛ   *ki*-ᵛ   *ca*ᵛ  
*brother*   *from*   *pencil*   *with*   1SG   *write*   *letter*  
 ‘With my brother’s pencil I wrote a letter.’

The postposition *ʔə*ᵛ ‘with’ is also used as a comitative, as in (156).

- (156) *kar*ᵛ*ma*ᵛ      *tsə*ᵛ      *rəmpai*ᵛ   *təhi*ᵛ   *s<sup>h</sup>i*ᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *kə-roi*ᵛ  
*chicken-FEM*   *SUBJ*   *duck*      *son*   *PL*      *with*   *RPM-friend*  
 ‘The hen was together/amiable/close with the duck’s children.’

The postposition *ʔə*ᵛ ‘with’ is also used as a postposition in manner adverbial (adjunct) phrases, as in (157), and as a postposition in gerund constructions as in (158).<sup>42</sup>

- (157) *jəmjak*ᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *aŋ*-ᵛ   *məŋ*ᵛ   *ve*ᵛ   *p<sup>h</sup>ut*ᵛ  
*slow*      *with*   1SG   *walk*   *stay*   *PROG*  
 ‘I am walking slowly.’

- (158) *bom*ᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *ən*-ᵛ   *mət*ᵛ   *hai*ᵛ   *ju*ᵛ   *mi*ᵛᵛ   *cə*ᵛ   *no*-ᵛ   *ŋai*ᵛ  
*hit*      *with*   2SG   *self*   *from*   *wife*   *LNK*   *TOP*   *NEG*   *good*  
 ‘Hitting your own wife is not good.’

Manner adverbial phrases are further illustrated in examples (159) and (160).

Example (157) illustrates a manner adverbial phrase formed with the postposition *ʔə*ᵛ ‘with’, but (159) uses the construction *mi*ᵛᵛ *ʔə*ᵛ ‘LNK with’. Example (160) adds the manner marker *ma*-ᵛ ‘MAN’ to the end of this construction.<sup>43</sup>

- (159) *r<sup>h</sup>et*-ᵛ   *prai*ᵛ   *mi*ᵛᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *aŋ*-ᵛ   *məŋ*ᵛ   *ve*ᵛ   *p<sup>h</sup>ut*ᵛ  
*fast*      *very*   *LNK*   *with*   1SG   *walk*   *stay*   *PROG*  
 ‘I am walking very quickly.’

- (160) *r<sup>h</sup>et*-ᵛ   *mi*ᵛᵛ   *ʔə*ᵛ   *ma*-ᵛ   *mi*ᵛ   *ca*ᵛ  
*fast*      *LNK*   *with*   *MAN*   3SG   *eat*  
 ‘He ate quickly.’

<sup>41</sup> Pronouns often have different word order properties than other nouns.

<sup>42</sup> Gerunds are often formed via the valence decreasing prefix *kə*-, as described in §2.4.

<sup>43</sup> This word appears regularly in constructions involving manner, but more research is necessary to determine in what situations it is necessary.

Manner adverbial phrases may also follow the verb, as illustrated in (161).

- (161) mi<sup>l</sup>    t̥i<sup>r</sup>    jəmjək<sup>l</sup>    t̥ə<sup>l</sup>  
 3SG    speaks    *slow*    *with*  
 ‘He speaks slowly.’

Examples (162), (163), and (164) are imperative sentences which show that manner adverbs may be followed by the manner postposition *t̥ə<sup>l</sup>* ‘with’, the sentence marker *de<sup>l</sup>* ‘IMP’, or both.

- (162) ca<sup>l</sup>    jəmjək<sup>l</sup>    t̥ə<sup>l</sup>  
 eat    *slow*    *with*  
 ‘Eat slowly.’

- (163) ca<sup>l</sup>    jəmjək<sup>l</sup>    de<sup>l</sup>  
 eat    *slow*    IMP  
 ‘Please eat slowly.’

- (164) ca<sup>l</sup>    jəmjək<sup>l</sup>    t̥ə<sup>l</sup>    de<sup>l</sup>  
 eat    *slow*    *with*    IMP  
 ‘Please eat slowly.’

#### 4.3.3 *Locative*

Locative postpositional phrases (in italics) are illustrated in (165)-(169). Examples (165)-(169) contain a copula and a topic, which is the subject.

- (165) va<sup>l</sup>    cə<sup>l</sup>    <sup>ŋ</sup>k<sup>h</sup>at<sup>l</sup>    nui<sup>l</sup>    ve<sup>l</sup>  
 bird    TOP    *rail*    *on*    COP  
 ‘There’s a bird up on the rail.’

- (166) va<sup>l</sup>    cə<sup>l</sup>    <sup>m</sup>plət<sup>l</sup>    kɛn<sup>l</sup>    ve<sup>l</sup>  
 bird    TOP    *door*    *near*    COP  
 ‘There’s a bird near the door.’

- (167) va<sup>l</sup>    cə<sup>l</sup>    kim<sup>l</sup>    ko<sup>l</sup>    ve<sup>l</sup>  
 bird    TOP    *house*    *in*    COP  
 ‘There’s a bird inside the house.’

- (168) va<sup>l</sup>    cə<sup>l</sup>    məluk<sup>l</sup>    j̥i<sup>l</sup>    ve<sup>l</sup>  
 bird    TOP    *roof*    *on.top.of*    COP  
 ‘There’s a bird perched on top of the house.’

- (169) kar<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>]</sup> r<sup>hi</sup>ŋ<sup>]</sup> lo<sup>\</sup>  
 chicken FEM TOP live tree under  
 'The hen lives under the tree.'

Two postpositions, *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup>* 'at' and *k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup>* 'at', are used for general locations. The postposition *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup>* 'at' is illustrated in examples (170), (171), and (172).

- (170) va<sup>]</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> maŋsaŋ<sup>]</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>]</sup>  
 bird TOP porch at COP  
 'The bird is at the porch.'

- (171) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> pələŋkrum<sup>\</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup>  
 1SG go Paletwa at  
 'I go to Paletwa.'

- (172) va<sup>]</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> kim<sup>+</sup> ŋa<sup>]</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>]</sup>  
 bird TOP house front at COP  
 'The bird is at the front of the house.'

The postposition *k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup>* 'at' is the most general of the locative postpositions. It can be used to mark goals as illustrated in (173) and (174), physical possession as illustrated in (175), and thought processes as illustrated in (176).

- (173) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> nu<sup>\</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup>  
 1SG go mother at  
 'I go to mother.'

- (174) kai<sup>]</sup> kja<sup>\</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup> de<sup>]</sup>  
 go cow at please  
 'Please go to the cow, (he said).'

- (175) aŋ<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup> kar<sup>+</sup> lui<sup>\</sup> ŋ<sup>]</sup>kom<sup>+</sup> ve<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG at chicken egg thirty COP  
 'I have thirty eggs.'

- (176) aŋ<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>?</sup><sup>\</sup> mi<sup>]</sup> kəku<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>?</sup><sup>\</sup> r<sup>h</sup>au<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG at TOP this man TOP tall  
 'To me, he is tall.'

The postposition *hai<sup>]</sup>* 'from', denoting the source, differs in that it may follow the other locative postpositions as illustrated in (177)-(180).

- (177) pa<sup>\</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>\</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> pu<sup>]</sup> nam<sup>\</sup>  
 father at from 1SG go grandfather village  
 'From Dad, I go to Grandad's home.'

- (178) *pələŋkrum*ʌ *tʰaŋ*ʌ *hai*ŋ *aŋ*ʌ *foi*ʌ *ra*ʌ  
*Paletwa at from* 1SG return come  
 'I come back from Paletwa.'
- (179) *tui*ʌ *ko*ʌ *hai*ŋ *lam*ʌ  
*water in from* fish  
 'The fish from the water...'
- (180) *pəktərua*ŋ *cə*ʌ *təram*ʌ *ko*ʌ *hai*ŋ *tʰeŋ*ŋ *m?*ŋ  
*badger TOP ear in from put.in* LNK  
  
*bən*ʌ *sʰi*ŋ *həm*ŋ *hik*ʌ *mi-kla*ŋ *pɛ?*ʌ  
*soil PL OBJ drop this-occur DECL*  
 'It happened that the badger took the dirt from inside his ear and put it down.'

Locative phrases usually precede the verb, but they may follow it as illustrated in examples (181), (182), and (183). In (181) the locative phrase is marked by *tʰaŋ*ʌ 'at' and in (182) it is marked by *ko*ʌ 'in'. Example (183) illustrates four locative phrases following the verb. Each phrase is marked by a separate postposition depending on the subject's location in relation to the given space or object. Multiple locative phrases are arranged with the more general location on the left and the more specific on the right.

- (181) *va*ŋ *kəji*ʌ *ləmuk*ʌ *nam*ʌ *tʰaŋ*ʌ  
*bird fly sky village at*  
 'The bird is flying in the sky.'
- (182) *pʰum*ŋ *ui*ŋ *kəjun*ʌ *tui*ʌ *ko*ʌ  
*mango fruit drop water in*  
 'The mango fell into the water.'
- (183) *kuimeŋ*ʌ *mui*ʌ *ve*ŋ *tek*ŋ *ko*ʌ *rəʔun*ŋ *tʰaŋ*ʌ  
*cat sleep stay room in corner at*  
  
*cəboi*ʌ *klə*ŋ *mat*ʌ *hai*ŋ *van*ʌ *bai*ʌ *nui*ʌ  
*table under self from cloth spread.out on*  
 'The cat is sleeping in the room, in the corner, under the table, on his blanket.'

Multiple locative phrases may precede and follow the verb as in (184), where one locative phrase precedes the verb and two follow it.

- (184) *kim*ʌ *ko*ʌ *aŋ*ʌ *ke*ʌ *ca*ʌ *mplət*ŋ *kɛn*ʌ *cəboi*ʌ *kʰuŋ*ʌ *nui*ʌ  
*house in* 1SG write letter door near table desk on  
 'In the house, I write a letter, behind the door, on the table.'

Multiple locative phrases may precede the verb if they are contained within a subordinate clause. In (185) four locative clauses appear in the relative clause, modifying the subject.

- (185) *r<sup>h</sup>ik*∨ *o*∨ *vidaŋ*∫ *vi*∨ *<sup>n</sup>ɔt*∨ *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ*∨ *hai*∫  
*Hrik* *river* *Vidang* *lake* *east* *side* *from*
- p<sup>h</sup>uk*∨ *ko*∨ *ve*∫ *mi*?∫ *lam*∨ *cə*∨ *kə*∫ *prai*∨  
*outcropping* *in* *live* *LNK* *fish* *TOP* *big* *very*  
 ‘The fish that lives under an outcropping on the east side of the Vidan lake in the Hrik river is very big.’

#### 4.3.4 Temporal

Locative postpositions are also used temporally as illustrated in (186) where *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ*∨ ‘at’ follows *jak*∨ ‘night’.

- (186) *jak*∨ *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ*∨ *he*∨ *s<sup>h</sup>i*∨ *no*∨ *ki*∨ *mi*∫*par*∫*mi*?∫  
*night* *at* *enemy* *PL* *NEG* *see* *so.that*
- mai*∨ *tər*∫ *ɬə*∫<sup>44</sup> *kai*∫ *mə-k<sup>h</sup>a*∫  
*fire* *take* *with* *go* *this-time*  
 ‘At night, so that their enemies couldn't see them, by taking fire with them, they went.’

Other postpositions such as *k<sup>h</sup>a*∫ ‘time’ are strictly used for marking points in time. In (187) *k<sup>h</sup>a*∫ ‘time’ marks the time of day and in (188) it refers to a point in time earlier in the speaker’s life.

- (187) *tʃaun*∨ *cə*∨ *ku*∨ *nəri*∨ *k<sup>h</sup>a*∫ *p<sup>h</sup>oŋ*∨ *ham*∫  
*school* *TOP* *9* *hour* *time* *open* *IRR*  
 ‘The school will open at nine o'clock.’
- (188) *kəni*∫ *la*∫ *k<sup>h</sup>a*∫ *aŋ*∨ *kai*∫ *india*∨  
*in.front* *year* *time* *1SG* *go* *India*  
 ‘Long ago I went to India.’

<sup>44</sup> This is glossed as ‘with’, as ‘with’ encompasses the multiple functions of this subordinator: manner, instrumental, and comitative.

The temporal postposition *mɔʋ* ‘at’, as illustrated in (189), (190), and (191) is used for temporal points that have not yet occurred.

(189) *təŋiʋ* *mɔʋ* *aŋ* *kəkɾum* *mi* *kəkuʋ* *həm*  
*tomorrow at 1SG meet this man OBJ*  
 ‘I will meet him tomorrow.’

(190) *təfə* *mɔʋ* *aŋ* *kai* *tʃeŋmai* *ham*  
*next.year at 1SG go Chiangmai IRR*  
 ‘Next year I will go to Chiangmai.’

(191) *tam* *mɔʋ* *aŋ* *kai* *təʔo* *ham*  
*soon at 1SG go river IRR*  
 ‘Before long I will go to the river.’

The postposition *lukʋ* ‘side’, as illustrated in (192) and (193) may appear with past and future events. However, it is used for events that are temporally close to the speaker. The temporal use of *lukʋ* ‘side’ is metaphorical. Literally it refers to the side of an object as illustrated in (194).

(192) *njak* *miʔ* *təbaiʋ* *lukʋ* *aŋ* *kai* *pəlaŋkɾumʋ*  
*previous LNK week side 1SG go Paletwa*  
 ‘Last week I went to Paletwa.’

(193) *r<sup>h</sup>umʋ* *laʋ* *lukʋ* *pə* *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *dɛŋ* *ve* *pətʋ* *bɛ*  
*three month side also training class COP DECL RSP*  
 ‘There is a training class in three months.’

(194) *va* *cə* *rətʊŋ* *lukʋ* *ve*  
*bird TOP wall side COP*  
 ‘The bird is on the side of the house.’

#### 4.3.5 Benefactive

The benefactive phrase, as illustrated in (195), (196), and (197), is marked by the postposition *kəhəmʋ* ‘BEN’.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Benefactives are further discussed in §9.4.

- (195) koko<sup>+</sup> həm<sup>]</sup> tai<sup>\</sup> kəhəm<sup>\</sup> cauk<sup>\</sup> ɬək<sup>\</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> jok<sup>\</sup> jok<sup>\</sup> jo<sup>]</sup>  
 Ko.Ko OBJ brother BEN book one 1SG give give REA  
 ‘I gave Ko Ko a book for his brother.’
- (196) kar<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> kar<sup>+</sup> le<sup>]</sup> s<sup>hi]</sup> kəhəm<sup>\</sup> hau<sup>+</sup> lamcak<sup>\</sup>  
 chicken FEM TOP chicken small PL BEN look.for food  
 ‘The hen searched for food for the chicks.’
- (197) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kəhəm<sup>\</sup> s<sup>hin]</sup> naŋ<sup>+</sup> tui<sup>\</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>+</sup> de<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG BEN bring along water cup IMP  
 ‘Please bring a cup of water for me.’

#### 4.3.6 Postposition

The postpositions are listed in Table 14.

Table 14: Postpositions

Postposition	Function	‘Meaning’/(Use)
hai <sup>]</sup>	possession/locative	‘from’
t <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>+</sup>	temporal/locative	‘side’
nui <sup>\</sup>	locative	‘on’
kən <sup>\</sup>	locative	‘near’
ko <sup>+</sup>	locative	‘in’
ji <sup>]</sup>	locative	‘on top of’
lo <sup>\</sup>	locative	‘under’
klə <sup>]</sup>	locative	‘under’
k <sup>h</sup> am <sup>\</sup>	locative/possession	(general use)
ɬə <sup>]</sup>	instrument/manner/comitative	(general use)
k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>]</sup>	temporal	(general use)
mə <sup>\</sup>	temporal	(future)
luk <sup>\</sup>	temporal/locative	‘side’
kəhəm <sup>\</sup>	benefactive	‘for’



#### 4.4 Topic

Unusual orders of nominals indicate pragmatic topic or focus (Payne 1997:272 and Kroeger 2004:141). In Hkongso, the basic word order is SVO, as illustrated in (198). Example (199), illustrates OSV word order. This unusual order of nominals requires special marking on the nominals. The object *tsak*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘rice’ is fronted, taking the marker *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘TOP’, and the subject *pa*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘father’ requires a case marker. When the topic marker appears, the nominal refers to what the sentence is about and the information it conveys is “old information” (Kroeger 2004:136).

The marker *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘TOP’ may follow any argument that is fronted regardless of the transitivity of the sentence. When an argument of the verb, such as the object *tsak*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘rice’ in (199), is topicalized, *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘TOP’ replaces the grammatical case marker. However, when an adjunct phrase, such as location, is topicalized, the *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘TOP’ follows the postposition, as illustrated in (205).

(198) *pa*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *tɕa*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *tsak*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 father eat rice  
 ‘Father ate rice.’

(199) *tsak*<sup>ʔ</sup> *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *pa*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *ma*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *tɕa*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 rice TOP father SUBJ ate  
 ‘The rice, father ate.’

Subjects, such as *kək*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘crow’ in (200), may also take the topic marker.

(200) *ŋa*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *kʰa*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *kək*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *rəmpai*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *kək*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *ham*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *ki*<sup>ʔ</sup>    *pɛ*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 over time crow TOP duck white OBJ see DECL  
 ‘At that time the crow saw a white duck.’

Example (116), repeated here as (201), illustrates a ditransitive sentence without special marking or movement for topic. In (118), repeated here as (202), the object is fronted as the topic but is not marked with *cə*<sup>ʔ</sup> ‘TOP’. Payne (1997:273) states, “The leftward nominal in left-dislocation occupies a constituent structure position that stands

outside the clause but is still adjoined to the clause at a higher level. In the generative tradition, that position is often referred to as the topic position.” Hkongso utilizes a similar fronted position for topicalization.

(201) kətoʋ maʔʔ kətuŋʈ həmʔ jəkʋ jəkʋ cəukʈ  
 boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give book  
 ‘The boy gave the girl a book.’

(202) kətuŋʈ həmʔ kətoʋ maʔʔ jəkʋ jəkʋ cəukʈ  
 girl OBJ boy SUBJ give give book  
 ‘To the girl, the boy gave a book.’

The marker cəʋ ‘TOP’ may appear on any argument. This is illustrated in (117), repeated here as (203), where the secondary object is fronted and takes the topic marker.

(203) cəukʈ cəʋ kətoʋ maʔʔ kətuŋʈ həmʔ jəkʋ jəkʋ  
 book TOP boy SUBJ girl OBJ give give  
 ‘The book, the boy gave to the girl.’

The marker cəʋ ‘TOP’ may also appear in an intransitive sentence, as illustrated in (204). Example (205) illustrates that a postpositional phrase may also take the topic marker.

(204) ruaʋ sʰiʔ cəʋ renʔ pɛʔʋ  
 snake PL TOP laugh DECL  
 ‘All the snakes laughed.’

(205) tuiʋ koʈ cəʋ lamʋ veʔ  
 water in TOP fish there.is  
 ‘There is a fish in the water.’

When the topic marker appears on a subject or object, it almost always takes the place of the subject and object markers.<sup>46</sup> However, when other phrases, such as those expressing location, are topicalized, the topic marker follows the postposition as in (205) and (206).

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<sup>46</sup> I have only found the subject marker followed by the topic marker in only one example, as follows:

ᵑʰiŋʔ-maʋ maʔʔ tsəʋ aŋʈ nəʋ pɛʈ kəʔ kəkʋʋ pɛʔʋ  
 mountain-FEM SUBJ TOP 1SG what can.be big SUP DECL  
 ‘The mountain replied, “Who is greater than me?”’

- (206) aŋ<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>+</sup>ni<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> klaŋ<sup>+</sup> ŋai<sup>+</sup> prai<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG to TOP Mani TOP body good very  
 ‘To me, Mani is very pretty.’

Example (206) illustrates that cə<sup>+</sup> ‘TOP’ may appear twice in the same sentence. The first phrase aŋ<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>+</sup> ‘1SG to’ is a topicalized adjunct. It occurs a second time in (206) because cə<sup>+</sup> ‘TOP’ is obligatory in verbless attributive and equative clauses. Verbless equative clauses are illustrated in (207), (208), and (209).

- (207) dai<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>+</sup> kəpu<sup>+</sup>  
 Dai TOP 1SG from grandfather  
 ‘Dai is my grandfather.’

- (208) pa<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> mə-nam<sup>+</sup> lu<sup>+</sup>  
 father TOP this-village head  
 ‘Father is the chief.’

- (209) dai<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> meŋ<sup>+</sup> s<sup>h</sup>əra<sup>+</sup>  
 Dai TOP song teacher  
 ‘Dai is the music teacher.’

#### 4.5 Clause constituent marking

The topic marker, grammatical case markers, and pospositions follow the nouns they mark. This marking is summarized in Table 15.

Table 15: NP markers

	Marker	Case/gloss	Primary usage
Topic	cəŋ		Topic
Grammatical Cases	maʔŋ	nominative	SUBJ
	həmŋ	accusative	OBJ
Postpositions	haiŋ	‘from’	possessor; source
	ɬəŋ	‘with’	instrument
	k <sup>h</sup> amŋ	‘at’	location
	k <sup>h</sup> aŋ	‘at’	temporal
	kəhəmŋ	‘for’	benefactive

#### 4.6 Word order characteristics of Hkongso

Dryer (in press), in discussing word order features in Tibeto-Burman languages, looks at the following word order relationships: adjective and noun, relative clause and noun, demonstrative and noun, numeral and noun, degree word and adjective, and negative and verb. This section examines these word order relationships in Hkongso and shows how Hkongso relates typologically to the Tibeto-Burman language family and SVO languages in general.

There are a few other SVO languages among the Tibeto-Burman family. Dryer (in press:13) states, “The distribution of OV and VO order among Tibeto-Burman languages is fairly clearcut and easy to describe. VO order is found in only two groups, namely Karen and Bai, and the remaining languages are all not only OV but generally fairly rigidly verb-final.” Dryer (in press:14) also states,

The distribution of OV and VO order within Tibeto-Burman conforms loosely to an east west dimension that we will see is useful for understanding the distribution of a number of word order characteristics. Both of the groups exhibiting VO order, Karen and Bai, are towards the east. When we look at the

distribution of word order outside Tibeto-Burman, we see that the languages to the east are VO, namely languages within Chinese, Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer, and Hmong-Mien, while those to the west and southwest are OV, namely Indic languages within Indo-European.

Hkongso is VO but geographically is to the west of the Tibeto-Burman area. Dryer explains the existence of Bai and Karen through contact with other language families. Since Hkongso is in the west, we cannot use the same hypothesis for its properties.

In Hkongso the adjective follows the noun. Dryer (in press:32) writes, “The pattern of distribution of the two orders of adjective and noun within Tibeto-Burman is complex. Not only is it common to find languages within the same higher-level group with different orders, but it is also common within the same lower-level groups.” Dryer provides a map showing the distribution of NAdj and AdjN languages. On his map, all the languages in and around Myanmar are NAdj. However, Dryer claims that many Naga, Chin, and Burmish languages have both NAdj and AdjN orders with neither dominant. Dryer (in press:35) says, “Languages towards the east are closer to Tai-Kadai and Mon-Khmer languages, which are NAdj, while languages towards the west are closer to the large area stretching from northern Asia down into India, including Indic languages within Indo-European, which are almost entirely AdjN.” Furthermore, Dryer claims that the order of noun and adjective does not correlate with the order of verb and object, but does correlate to geographic location when we look at the larger picture. Dryer (in press:35) provides a map of Asia showing NAdj heavily dominant throughout Southeast Asia while AdjN is dominant throughout India and Northeast Asia.

Examples (210), (211), (212), and (213) illustrate that the order of adjective and noun in Hkongso is NAdj.

- (210) *vənkiʔ* *oiʔ* *cəʔ* *noʔ* *ŋaiʋ*  
*shirt* *old* TOP NEG good  
 ‘The old shirt is no good.’

(211) *vənki/ rik7 cə\ no- ɲai\ ləŋ\*  
*shirt red TOP NEG good CONTR*  
 ‘The red shirt is no longer good.’

(212) *təʔik7 har\ ve\ rəs<sup>h</sup>iak\*  
*skirt new COP many*  
 ‘There are a lot of new skirts.’

(213) *van- oi- ve\ ma\*  
*blanket old COP Y/N*  
 ‘Is there a rag?’

RelN is the only word order I have encountered in Hkongso relative clauses.<sup>47</sup>

However, RelN is extremely rare in VO languages throughout the world. Payne (1997:326) states that this possibility does not even exist: “Languages which are dominantly VO in main-clause constituent order always have postnominal relative clauses.” Dryer claims that unlike the order of adjective and noun, relative clause and noun does correlate with the order of object and verb. About VO and RelN languages, Dryer (in press:25) states, “This RelN order is extremely unusual among VO languages. In fact, the only VO languages in my database in which RelN is attested as the dominant order are Bai, the Chinese languages, and Amis, an Austronesian language of Taiwan.” Karen, one of the few VO Tibeto-Burman languages, has NRel structure.

Examples (123), repeated here as (214), (124), repeated here as (215), (216), and (217) illustrate the order of relative clause and noun in Hkongso as RelN.

(214) [*aŋ- roi\ jok\ aŋ-*] *mi? \ kui\ t<sup>h</sup>ək\*  
 1SG friend give 1SG LNK dog die  
 ‘The dog that my friend gave me died.’

(215) [*kuimen- ma? \ map\ jok\*] *mi? \ ut\ t<sup>h</sup>ək\*  
 cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die  
 ‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’

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<sup>47</sup> See §9.2.2 for a discussion of relative clauses.

- (216) [nai\ dɛk\ ] miʔ\ kim\ kə\ cə\ mənəm\ lu\  
 good viewing LNK house big TOP village head  
 dai\ kʰan\ ve\ miʔ\ na\  
 Dai at live LNK be  
 ‘The big house that is good to look at belongs to the village chief Dai.’

- (217) [mat\ ja\ kədok\ ] miʔ\ tum\  
 self DU agree LNK place  
 kətəm\ kai\ ri\ tʰaŋ\ vit\ pɛʔ\  
 arrive go first side PFV DECL  
 ‘The place that they agreed on, (the turtle) arrived there first.’

Dryer states that the cause for change in Bai word order from OV to VO is unclear. However, the rarity of a VO and RelN language leads him to claim that if a language with Proto Tibeto-Burman roots (OV and RelN) changes to VO, that language will also change to NRel. His explanation for Bai changing to VO and retaining RelN is language contact with Chinese (VO and RelN). The existence of Hkongso as a VO and RelN language is yet to be explained.

Examples (218), (219), and (220), show the order of demonstrative and noun, which, according to Dryer (in press:43), “does not correlate crosslinguistically with the order of object and verb.”

- (218) cə\ mi\ kim\ ko\ rʰum\  
 here DEF house white three  
 ‘these three white houses’

- (219) ə\ mi\ kim\ ko\ rʰum\  
 there DEF house white three  
 ‘those three white houses’

- (220) ə\ mi\ va\ kim\ kə\ rum\  
 there DEF PL house big three  
 ‘those three big houses’

These examples show that the demonstrative precedes the noun (DemN). Among Tibeto-Burman languages DemN is the most common order, but NDem is also found, even within the same subgroup. However, among Burmese-Lolo languages there is a clear split. Burmish languages are dominantly DemN and Loloish languages are

dominantly NDem. Several Chin languages have the demonstrative simultaneously before and after the noun.

Dryer (in press:50) makes the following crosslinguistic typological generalizations. There is no correlation between demonstrative and noun order and object and verb order, but there is a correlation between demonstrative and noun order and adjective and noun order. Generally, if the adjective appears before or after the noun, then the demonstrative will appear there also, but if they occur on different sides of the noun, then “it is generally the case that it is the demonstrative that precedes the noun and the adjective that follows.” This is what is found in Hkongso. The demonstrative precedes the noun and the adjective follows it.

In Hkongso the numeral follows the noun (NNum), as illustrated in (221)-(224). According to Dryer, crosslinguistically, the order NumN is only slightly more common in VO languages and NNum is slightly more common in OV languages. However, in Tibeto-Burman languages the order NNum is much more common and only Bodic languages have the order NumN.

(221) *aŋʔ rəcaʋ rʰumʋ juaʔ veʃ*  
 1SG child three person COP  
 ‘I have three children.’

(222) *aŋʔ kuiʋ preʋ veʃ*  
 1SG dog two COP  
 ‘I have two dogs.’

(223) *aŋʔ kʰamʋ karʔ luiʋ ʰkomʔ veʃ*  
 1SG at chicken egg thirty COP  
 ‘I have thirty eggs.’

(224) *paʋ caʃ paiʋ liŋmoʔ uiʃ haʋ kəkʃ*  
 father eat PRT orange fruit ten all  
 ‘Dad ate up all of the ten oranges.’



The degree word follows the adjective (AdjDeg), as illustrated in examples (225), (226), and (227). Reduplicated degree words, as in (228), precede the adjective.<sup>48</sup>

(225) kəfar\ cə\ hap\ p<sup>hi</sup>\ mi\ no\ hai\ mui\ ɲak\  
last.night TOP hot very LNK NEG able sleep INTENS  
'Last night it was so hot that I couldn't sleep at all.'

(226) tim\ priŋ\ p<sup>hi</sup>\ ɲak\ rə\ vɛ\ ə\  
wind strong very INTENS CONT PRT really  
'Yeah, the wind was really strong.'

(227) “ənni\ s<sup>hi</sup>\ cə\ loŋ\ ram\ hu\ prai\ loŋhu\  
DU PL TOP point.on.leaf leaf many very Longhu  
na\ nək<sup>hə</sup>\ ” pa-jok\ pɛ?  
be SPACT say-give DECL  
'They said, “You have many offspring, you will be Longhu.”’

(228) mi\ kəku\ cə\ k<sup>hi</sup>ri-k<sup>hi</sup>ri\ ŋa\ ɲak\  
this man TOP very-very bad INTENS  
'He is so bad.'

The dominant order in Tibeto-Burman languages is DegAdj, but AdjDeg is the dominant pattern among the Kuki-Chin and Karen subgroups. When comparing the order of noun and adjective with degree word and adjective, the Hkongso order of NAdj and AdjDeg is the dominant pattern among Kuki-Chin languages and Karen languages.

The negative marker *no-* ‘NEG’ appears before the verb (NegV), as illustrated in (229)-(232). Dryer (in press:77) states, “VNeg order is dominant in an area corresponding roughly to the section of India east and northeast of Bangladesh, including most Bodo-Garo, Tani, and Kuki-Chin languages, while NegV order is dominant in two areas, one to the west, in Bodic, and one to the east, including Nungish, Jinghpo, Northeast Tibeto-Burman, and Burmese-Lolo languages.” Therefore, Hkongso finds itself as an orphan amongst the VNeg languages that geographically surround it. Peterson (2005b:7) shows that Mru order is VNeg. This is one area that Hkongso differs from Mru. Perhaps this

<sup>48</sup> This is the only reduplicated degree word I have found that modifies adjectives.

difference is due to language contact. Examples (229)-(232) illustrate the order of negative and verb in Hkongso.

(229) daiᵛ cəᵛ cəᵛ caᵛ noᵛ veᵛ  
 Dai TOP here at NEG COP  
 'Dai is not here.'

(230) ʔəʔᵛ aŋᵛ noᵛ kaiᵛ ləŋᵛ  
 reject 1SG NEG go CONTR  
 'No, I won't go.'

(231) “aŋᵛ noᵛ hjaᵛ ləŋᵛ kəᵛ ” pa-jokᵛ pɛʔᵛ  
 1SG NEG want CONTR PERF tell-give DECL  
 “I don't want/love (him) anymore,” she said.'

(232) aŋᵛ noᵛ caᵛ jokᵛ pramᵛ  
 1SG NEG eat give medicine  
 'I'm not taking medicine.'

The word order characteristics of Hkongso can be summed up as VO, NAdj, ReIN, DemN, NNum, AdjDeg, and NegV. Characteristically, Hkongso is very similar to Mru. I assume that the two languages are historically related. However, the word order characteristics have little in common with the surrounding languages. Among Tibeto-Burman languages Hkongso is most similar to the Karen languages of Southeast Burma.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> These languages differ in that Karen languages are NRel, and Hkongso is ReIN.

## CHAPTER 5: PRE-VERBAL AND CLAUSE-FINAL OPERATORS

This chapter describes operators that precede the verb and operators that occur clause-finally.<sup>50</sup> Pre-verbal operators form a constituent with the verb, but clause-final operators do not, since objects may occur between them and the verb. This separation of the verb and clause-final operators by the object is also evident in the related Mru language of Bangladesh, as discussed by Peterson (2005:3): “Pronominal objects, if present always occur sandwiched between the verb stem and following particles.”

### 5.1 Structure

As illustrated in §4.1, word order in Hkongso is SVO. Verbal negation and ability auxiliaries precede the verb as shown in Table 16.<sup>51</sup>

Table16: Pre-verbal operators

-2	-1	0
NEG	AUX	V

The object often follows the verb, separating the verb from subject agreement markers, adverbs, TAM auxiliaries, and mood auxiliaries, which are clause-final operators. Kroeger (2005:342) defines auxiliary as “a ‘helping verb’ or particle which expresses verbal inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, modality, and/or agreement,

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<sup>50</sup> The terms ‘pre-verbal operators’ and ‘clause-final operators’ refer to the position. I use terms such as ‘auxiliary’ and ‘particle’ to refer to the individual words.

<sup>51</sup> Directionals and valence increasing constructions occur as serial verb constructions, which are discussed in §9.4. Valence decreasing constructions occur as a prefix on the verb and are discussed in §2.4.

but does not have lexical semantic content like a normal verb.” Clause-final operators in Hkongso are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17: Clause-final operators

+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
SUBJ AGR	ADV	ASP	MOD	TENSE	MOOD	POL

## 5.2 Pre-verbal operators

### 5.2.1 Negation

Negative statements are formed when *noʔ* ‘NEG’ precedes the verb, but its use is often pragmatically determined. Negative commands are formed when *boŋʔ* ‘don’t’ precedes the verb. Particles for absoluteness, contradiction, refusal, and politeness may follow the verb.<sup>52</sup> Negation is summarized in Table 18.

Table 18: Negation

Pre-verbal	Verb	Post-verbal
<i>noʔ</i> ‘NEG’		<i>vaiʔ</i> ‘Never’
<i>boŋʔ</i> ‘NEG Imperative’		<i>ləŋʔ</i> ‘Contradict/Refuse’

The negation marker *noʔ* ‘NEG’ is illustrated in the existential clause in (233) and it precedes *kokʔ* ‘white’ in the statement in (234).

(233) *kəʔniʔ lak-kʰaʔ bəŋliarʔ noʔ veʔ mi-kʰaʔ miʔʔ*  
 in.front one-time world NEG COP this-time LNK  
 ‘A long time ago, when there was no world...’

(234) *rəsʰaʔ iuʔ kəpəʔ noʔ kokʔ raʔ pɛʔʔ*  
 sun enter even.until NEG white INCH DECL  
 ‘Even by sunset, the crow had not become white.’

<sup>52</sup> This section deals primarily with pre-verbal operators, but I include clause-final negation particles here in order to present negation as a whole.

The particle *vai*ʋ ‘never’, which always co-occurs with *no*ʋ ‘NEG’, follows the verb in (235).

- (235) miᵛ kəkuᵛ həmᵛ aŋʋ noʋ kəkruᵛ vaiᵛ  
 this man OBJ 1SG NEG meet never  
 ‘I haven’t ever met him.’

The particle *ləŋ*ᵛ ‘CONTR’, which also always co-occurs with *no*ʋ ‘NEG’, follows the verb *na*ʋ ‘right’ to contradict a statement in (236). The verb *na*ʋ ‘right’ appears without *no*ʋ ‘NEG’ in (237). In (238) *ləŋ*ᵛ ‘CONTR’ occurs clause-finally to refuse a command.<sup>53</sup>

- (236) noʋ naᵛ ləŋᵛ  
 NEG right CONTR  
 ‘That’s not it.’

- (237) iᵛ sʰiᵛ zəᵛ təmukʔᵛ haiᵛ təhiᵛ naᵛ  
 1PL PL TOP God from son right/true/is  
 ‘We are the children of God.’

- (238) oʔᵛ noʋ poʋ iᵛ mətᵛ utᵛ təmaᵛ ləŋᵛ  
 huh NEG take 1PL own mouse daughter CONTR  
 ‘What? I won’t take one of our mouse daughters as a wife.’

Non-verbal predicates such as *məlai*ʋ ‘wealthy’ in the attributive clause in (239) and *məŋ*ʋ *sʰəra*ᵛ ‘song teacher’ in the equative clause in (240) are negated by the construction *no*ʋ *na*ʋ ‘not right’.

- (239) a:ᵛ aŋʋ məlaiʋ noʋ naʋ ləŋᵛ  
 well 1SG wealthy NEG right CONTR  
 ‘No, I’m not rich.’

- (240) daiᵛ cəᵛ məŋʋ sʰəraᵛ noʋ naᵛ ləŋᵛ  
 Dai TOP song teacher NEG right CONTR  
 ‘No, Dai is not the music teacher.’

Politeness often prohibits the use of the negative. To refuse an offer with the negative marker is rather blunt, so to be polite speakers use a different construction. In

<sup>53</sup> The particles *vai*ʋ ‘never’ and *ləŋ*ᵛ ‘CONTR’ may be described as negative polarity items. However, I have no examples of them occurring in interrogatives.

(241) the speaker wants to refuse an offer to eat with a friend, but does not want to be rude, so he uses the interjection *aːl* ‘well’.

(241) aːl caːl vaːl ɲak˥ εːl lək˥  
 well eat PL INTENS INTER friend  
 ‘Well, you all go ahead and eat.’

The negative command marker *boŋ˥* ‘don’t’ is illustrated in examples (242) and (243).

(242) nəːl miːl luaːl miːl rut˥ ɬəːl boŋ˥ caːl cak˥  
 having LNK dirty LNK hand INS don't eat rice  
 ‘Don't eat with a dirty hand.’

(243) boŋ˥ raːl baːl lək˥  
 don't come POL friend  
 ‘Please don't come.’

### 5.2.2 Ability

This section describes the auxiliaries *hai˥* ‘able’, *kʰəmːl* ‘able’, and *tuk˥*, ‘know’, which are agent-oriented modalities. Agent-oriented modalities “include ability, permission, obligation, desire (desiderative), intention, etc.” (Kroeger 2005:166). Permission is formed via complement clauses, as discussed in §9.2.3. Obligation, desire, intention, etc. are discussed in §5.3.

The auxiliary *hai˥* ‘able’ follows *no˥* ‘NEG’ and precedes the verb, as illustrated in examples (244) and (245). In natural text *hai˥* ‘able’ is only used in negative constructions. In elicited examples such as (246) it is possible to use *hai˥* ‘able’ for positive abilities. However, as illustrated in examples (247) and (248) normally *kʰəmːl* ‘able’ is used for positive abilities.

(244) cuŋ˥ rauːl pʰiːl miːl no˥ hai˥ muiːl ɲak˥  
 cold hurt very LNK NEG able sleep INTENS  
 ‘It was so cold that I couldn’t sleep at all.’

(245) mu<sup>1</sup>mai<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>?<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>1</sup> kəcə<sup>2</sup>?<sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>1</sup> no<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> au<sup>1</sup>  
 cloud SUBJ cover 1SG if 1SG NEG able shine  
 ‘If the clouds cover me I can not shine.’

(246) aŋ<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> au<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG able shine  
 ‘I am able to shine.’

(247) aŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>m</sup> au<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG able shine  
 ‘I can shine.’

(248) aŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>m</sup> kə-t<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>1</sup> bəluŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG able RPM-kick ball  
 ‘I can play soccer.’

In (249) the verb *tuk* ‘know’ also appears in the positive ability auxiliary position, even though it contains separate lexical meaning when it occurs as the main verb.

Positive ability may also be formed via complement clauses, which are discussed in §9.2.3.<sup>54</sup>

(249) aŋ<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>1</sup> kə-t<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>1</sup> bəluŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG know RPM-kick ball  
 ‘I know how to play soccer.’

### 5.3 Clause-final operators

This section describes clause-final operators, including subject agreement, adverbs, TAM, mood, and formality or politeness particles. Table 17 is repeated here as Table 19 for easier reference. This section describes each position as it occurs in the table.

Table 19: Clause-final operators

+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
SUBJ	ADV	ASP	MOD	TENSE	MOOD	POL
AGR						

<sup>54</sup> It is possible that this example contains a serial verb construction.

### 5.3.1 Subject agreement

The subject agreement auxiliary is the first element in the cluster of clause-final operators. In (250) the subject agreement auxiliary *ja*ʋ ‘DU’ follows the verb, but in (251), the object *kau*ʋ ‘bamboo’ comes between the verb and the auxiliary.

(250) *vəce*ʋ *hak*ʋ *luŋte*ʋ *kə-krum*ʋ *ja*ʋ *pɛʔ*ʋ  
 bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU DECL  
 ‘A little bird and a worm met.’

(251) *dai*ʋ *mi*ʋ-*ja*ʋ *mərəŋ*ʋ *tu*ʋ *kau*ʋ *ja*ʋ  
 Dai 3-DU Mareng cut bamboo DU  
 ‘Dai and Mareng cut bamboo.’

This is further illustrated in (252), where the subject agreement auxiliary *va*ʋ ‘PL’ follows the object *bən*ʋ ‘soil’. If the object and auxiliary were reversed, as in (253), the result would be ungrammatical.

(252) *no*ʋ *hai*ʋ *kai*ʋ *ku*ʋ *bən*ʋ *va*ʋ *pɛʔ*ʋ  
 NEG able go steal soil PL DECL  
 ‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’

(253) \**no*ʋ *hai*ʋ *kai*ʋ *ku*ʋ *va*ʋ *bən*ʋ *pɛʔ*ʋ  
 NEG able go steal PL soil DECL  
 \*‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’

The subject agreement auxiliary marks the subject as dual *ja*ʋ ‘DU’ or plural *va*ʋ ‘PL’ (singular is unmarked). Often, this auxiliary is all that is needed for maintaining character reference throughout a story. In (63), repeated here as (254), the subject is omitted in the second clause, but *ja*ʋ ‘DU’ is retained. Therefore, no pronoun is needed in the second clause.

(254) *kəni*ʋ *lak*ʋ *kʰa*ʋ *vəce*ʋ *hak*ʋ *luŋte*ʋ *kəkrum*ʋ *ja*ʋ  
 in.front one time bird and earthworm RPM-meet DU  
  
*pe*ʋ *kʰa*ʋ *kəroi*ʋ *hau*ʋ *ləmsak*ʋ *ja*ʋ *pɛʔ*ʋ  
 this time together look.for food DU DECL  
 ‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’



### 5.3.2 Clause-final adverbs

Adverbs occur clause-finally after subject agreement auxiliaries. Often adverbs are created by reduplicating verbs, such as *təŋʷ-təŋʷ* ‘return-return’ and *rətʷ-rətʷ* ‘fast-fast’ in examples (255) and (256).

(255) miŋ jaŋ juŋ hwaŋ cəŋ kəŋakŋ jaŋ təŋʷ-təŋʷ ɳakŋ  
 this DU wife husband TOP quarrel DU return-return INTENS  
 ‘That couple quarrels all the time.’

(256) caŋ rətʷ-rətʷ deŋ baŋ  
 eat fast-fast IMP POL  
 ‘Please eat quickly.’

At times the meaning of the verb is no longer reconstructable and only the adverbial meaning remains, as illustrated in (30), repeated here as (257).

(257) kaiŋ ŋaŋ tʰaŋʷ vəŋʷ-veŋʷ deŋ baŋ  
 go front side keep.on IMP POL  
 ‘Please keep going straight ahead.’

Example (258) illustrates the adverb *pʰiŋʷ* ‘really’ and the particle *ɳakŋʷ* ‘INTENS’ following the object. Example (259) illustrates the order: verb, object, adverb, aspect. Example (260) illustrates the adverb *rətʷ-rətʷ* ‘gradually’ as it follows *kəŋ* ‘big’ and precedes TAM.

(258) awe:ŋ aŋʰ tʰimŋ əŋʷ pʰiŋʷ ɳakŋʷ awe:ŋ  
 PRT 1SG miss 2SG really INTENS PRT  
 ‘I’ve really missed you a lot.’

(259) pupətŋ cəŋ miŋʷ mətŋ həmŋ jarŋ vitŋ  
 turtle TOP wait 3SG OBJ casually PFV  
 ‘The turtle was casually waiting on him.’

(260) aŋʰ haiŋ kuiŋ leŋ pəŋ kəŋ rətʷ-rətʷ raŋ kəŋ  
 1SG from dog small as.for big gradually INCH PERF  
 ‘My puppy has been getting bigger and bigger.’

The particle *ɳakŋʷ* ‘INTENS’ appears in sentences containing stative verbs and verbs describing attributes but not in sentences with active verbs or motion verbs. As illustrated

in examples (255) and (31), repeated here as (261), *ṅak*ʼ ‘INTENS’ gives the speaker the ability to add more emotion to the sentence.

- (261) *mi*ʼ *kəcaɪ*ʼ *cə*ʼ *mər*ʼ *rə*ʼ*rə*ʼ *ṅak*ʼ  
 this woman TOP grumble constantly INTENS  
 ‘She grumbles all the time!’

However, *ṅak*ʼ ‘INTENS’ also occurs with adjective predicates, where it follows the adjective, as illustrated in (262).

- (262) *koko*ʼ *cə*ʼ *kʰri*ʼ-*kʰri*ʼ *ṅa*ʼ *ṅak*ʼ  
 Ko.Ko TOP very-very bad INTENS  
 ‘Ko Ko is so bad.’

The particle *ṅak*ʼ ‘INTENS’ also occurs after verbs that take *kə*- ‘RPM’, the reflexive/passive/middle prefix. This is illustrated in the passive construction in (263).

- (263) *hi*ʼ *kʰa*ʼ *kʰəŋ*ʼ *kə*-*ta*ʼ *ṅak*ʼ *mi*-*kla*ʼ *pə*ʼ  
 drop time mat RPM-complete INTENS this-occur DECL  
 ‘‘When (they) put it down, it happened that the mat was so filled up!’’

### 5.3.3 Aspect

Aspectual auxiliaries show whether the situation is perfective, being completed, or imperfective, being open-ended. They also show if the situation is changing or static, instantaneous or extended, singular or repetitive.

The auxiliary *vit*ʼ ‘PFV’ is a perfective marker which ‘‘refers to an entire event as a whole’’ (Kroeger 2005:158). In (264) *vit*ʼ ‘PFV’ follows the verb and precedes the mood auxiliary. In (265) *vit*ʼ ‘PFV’ is followed by the tense auxiliary *kə*ʼ ‘PERF’.

- (264) *tə*ʼ*hi*ʼ *rʰum*ʼ *jua*ʼ *ve*ʼ *mi*-*kʰa*ʼ *rəmpai*ʼ  
 son three person COP this-time duck  
  
*kənu*ʼ *cə*ʼ *tʰək*ʼ *vit*ʼ *pə*ʼ  
 mother TOP die PFV DECL  
 ‘‘When they had had three children, the mother passed away.’’

- (265) mi᷑ kəku᷑ həm᷑ aŋ᷑ kə-krum᷑ vit᷑ kə᷑  
 this man OBJ 1SG RPM-meet PFV PERF  
 'I have already met him.'

The imperfective auxiliary *hai᷑* 'HAB', as illustrated in (266), refers to a habitual action, which "describes a recurring event or ongoing state which is a characteristic property of a certain period or time" (Comrie 1976:27-28). However, *hai᷑* 'PROG', as illustrated in (267) and (268), is ambiguous as it can also be used to refer to a progressive action, which is an action that is ongoing but not completed.

- (266) kəak᷑ hai᷑ rəui᷑ ko᷑ cəʔ᷑ rəmpai᷑  
 crow from insides in TOP duck  
 "ən᷑ pe᷑ tan᷑ kok᷑ ṅak᷑ miʔ᷑  
 2SG this much white INTENS LNK  
 tui᷑ nui᷑ ve᷑ hai᷑ lat᷑ co᷑"  
 water on top COP HAB just that's.why  
 'Inside, the crow felt, "Oh, you must be so white because you stay on top of the water.'"

- (267) na᷑ pe᷑ hai᷑ miʔ᷑ mi᷑ kəku᷑ kai᷑ mət᷑ vit᷑ hai᷑ va᷑  
 what happen PROG LNK this man go own field PROG Q  
 'What was happening that he went to his field? (Why did he go to his field?)'

- (268) na᷑ pe᷑ rau᷑ hai᷑ va᷑ tim᷑ rau᷑ ma᷑  
 what happen hurt PROG Q wind hurt Y/N  
 'Why are you hurting? Is it gas?'

The imperfective auxiliary *ri᷑* 'DUR' indicates that the event extends over time. In (269) *ri᷑* 'DUR' follows the verb and in (148), repeated here as (270), *ri᷑* 'DUR' follows the object.

- (269) a᷑ ʔoi᷑ rəp᷑ ham᷑ kə᷑ ve᷑ ri᷑ pəde᷑  
 what return already IRR PERF stay DUR won't.you  
 'What? You have to go already? Stay some more, won't you?'

- (270) ʔainəŋ᷑ ən᷑ hai᷑ cəuk᷑ ri᷑ de᷑  
 borrow 2SG from book DUR please  
 'Please let me borrow your book some more.'

The inchoative "refers to a change of state or entering a state" (Kroeger 2005:157). In Hkongso it is created by grammaticalizing the verbs *ra᷑* 'come' and *kai᷑* 'go'. The

grammaticalized verb *ra-* ‘come’ is illustrated in examples (272),<sup>55</sup> which contrasts with (271), and (234), repeated here as (273).

(271) miṽ    ləp<sup>h</sup>aṽ    cəṽ    liŋṽ    praiṽ  
 this    tea        TOP    hot    very  
 ‘The tea is very hot.’

(272) miṽ    ləp<sup>h</sup>aṽ    cəṽ    liŋṽ    ra-    kə-  
 this    tea        TOP    hot    come    PERF  
 ‘The tea has become hot (and is ready to drink).’

(273) rəs<sup>h</sup>aṽ        iuṽ    kəpəṽ    no-    kokṽ    ra-    pɛʔṽ  
 sun.enter    even    until    NEG    white    come    DECL  
 ‘Even by sunset, (the crow) had not become white.’

The grammaticalized verb *kai* ‘go’ is illustrated in examples (274) and (275).

Example (274) contrasts with examples (272) and (271). At times *kai* ‘go’ is used and at times *ra-* ‘come’ is used to mark the change of state.<sup>56</sup>

(274) miṽ    ləp<sup>h</sup>aṽ    cəṽ    s<sup>h</sup>uŋṽ    kai    vit    kə-  
 this    tea        TOP    cold    go    PFV    PERF  
 ‘The tea has become cold.’

(275) karṽ-maṽ        cəṽ    riuṽ    jəkṽ    kəjauṽ    tuiṽ    miṽ-k<sup>h</sup>aṽ  
 chicken-FEM    TOP    teach    give    swim    water    LNK-time  
  
 kəbutṽ    tuiṽ    nə-    t<sup>h</sup>əkṽ    kai-    vit    pɛʔṽ  
 go.under    water    after    die    go    PFV    DECL  
 ‘So, to teach them to swim, the hen went down into the water and drowned.’

The verb *ve* ‘stay’, which is most often used as a copula, has many meanings such as ‘live’, ‘stay’, ‘have’, and ‘there is’. In (276) *ve* ‘stay’ functions as a stative aspectual auxiliary. It co-occurs in (276) with *hin* ‘still’, carrying the sense of remaining in the same state.

<sup>55</sup> Also see (234) and (260) where the inchoative *ra-* is glossed ‘INCH’ rather than ‘come’.

<sup>56</sup> My data is insufficient to determine when *kai* ‘go’ is used and when *ra-* ‘come’ is used. Burmese has a semantic difference between grammaticalized forms of words meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’ which function as inchoatives. Burmese speakers literally say, ‘Sun hot go’ or ‘Sun hot come’. If ‘go’ is used, then the weather has already become hot, but if ‘come’ is used, then the weather is still getting hot.

- (276) mi<sup>l</sup> ləp<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>v</sup> liŋ<sup>v</sup> ve<sup>l</sup> hin<sup>v</sup>  
 this tea TOP hot stay still  
 ‘The tea is still hot.’

The verb *ve<sup>l</sup>* ‘stay’ also co-occurs with *p<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>v</sup>* ‘PROG’ to indicate the progressive aspect, as illustrated in (277) and (278).<sup>57</sup>

- (277) faŋ<sup>l</sup> ra<sup>v</sup> ve<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>v</sup>  
 rain come stay PROG  
 ‘It is raining.’

- (278) aŋ<sup>l</sup> jau<sup>v</sup> va<sup>l</sup> ve<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>l</sup>  
 1SG watch bird stay PROG  
 ‘I am watching a bird.’

Aspectual auxiliaries are summarized in Table 20.

Table 20: Aspectual auxiliaries

Aspect	Auxiliary	USE	
Perfective	vit <sup>l</sup>	Perfective	
Imperfective	hai <sup>l</sup>	Progressive	Habitual
	ri <sup>l</sup>	Durative	
	ra <sup>l</sup>	Inchoative	
	kai <sup>l</sup>	Inchoative	
	ve <sup>l</sup>	Stative	
	ve <sup>l</sup> p <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>l</sup>	Progressive	

#### 5.3.4 Modality

There are two general modality categories: speaker-oriented and agent-oriented. Speaker-oriented modalities include epistemic modalities, “relating to the speaker’s state of knowledge or belief (possibility, probability, certainty, etc.)” (Kroeger 2005:166). Agent-oriented modalities include deontic modalities, “relating to obligation or permission on the part of the agent.”

<sup>57</sup> I do not have enough data to say how this differs from the progressive marker *hai<sup>l</sup>* ‘PROG’.

Hkongso speaker-oriented modalities include the dubitative, expressing doubt, possibility, showing the speaker's uncertainty, and mirative, expressing the speaker's surprise at what he is saying. These modalities are formed by adding clause-final auxiliaries, and different shades of certainty may be communicated through the speaker's choice of auxiliary.

Examples (279) through (282) illustrate the contrast between different speaker-oriented modalities. Example (279) illustrates possibility with a high level of certainty through the construction *mɪʋ aʋ* 'might PRT'.<sup>58</sup> In (280) *mɪʋ* 'might' appears in a subordinate clause, illustrating a lower degree of certainty. Example (281) illustrates a low degree of certainty through the use of the dubitative construction *piʋ-bəʋ-təʋ* 'DUB'. Example (282) illustrates certainty based on inference by providing supporting evidence following the main clause. I have not discovered at this time an evidential grammatical marker that means the speaker is an eye-witness to the reported event. Rather, as illustrated in (282), speakers show this level of certainty by juxtaposing proposition and evidence clauses with the inference auxiliary *taŋakʋ* 'must' occurring in the proposition clause.

(279) kəjakʋ      faŋʋ      raʋ      mɪʋ      aʋ  
 yesterday rain come might PRT  
 'I'm pretty sure it rained yesterday.'

(280) [kəjakʋ      faŋʋ      raʋ      mɪʋ ]      [aŋʋ      peʋ ]  
 yesterday rain come might 1SG think  
 'I think it may have rained yesterday.'

(281) kəjakʋ      faŋʋ      raʋ      piʋ-bəʋ-təʋ  
 yesterday rain come DUB  
 'I'm not sure if it rained yesterday.'

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<sup>58</sup> This particle is used for a high degree of certainty, meaning "I'm pretty sure that..."

- (282) [faŋ<sup>+</sup> ra<sup>+</sup> taŋak<sup>+</sup>] [tui<sup>+</sup> kə<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>]</sup>  
 rain come *must* water big PFV  
 'It must have rained, the water is high.'

Inference is further illustrated in (283).

- (283) [mi<sup>]</sup> rau<sup>]</sup> taŋak<sup>+</sup>] [pik<sup>+</sup> liŋ<sup>\</sup> prai<sup>+</sup> vit<sup>]</sup>  
 3SG hurt *must* skin hot very PFV  
 'He must be sick, his body has gotten really hot.'

Example (281) uses *pi<sup>\</sup>-bə<sup>\</sup>-tə<sup>\</sup>* 'DUB' for the dubitative, but (284) uses the construction *bə<sup>\</sup>-pe<sup>\</sup>-tə<sup>\</sup>* 'DUB' for the dubitative.<sup>59</sup> Examples (281) and (284) both speak of an action that may have happened in the past. Dubitative situations in the future are formed using the auxiliaries *li<sup>m</sup>-/ham<sup>]</sup>* 'might IRR', as illustrated in examples (285) and (286).

- (284) pa<sup>\</sup> ɬoi<sup>+</sup> ra<sup>+</sup> kə<sup>]</sup> bə<sup>\</sup>-pe<sup>\</sup>-tə<sup>\</sup>]<sup>60</sup>  
 father return come PERF DUB  
 'I think father might have come back.'

- (285) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>\</sup> li<sup>m</sup>-/ham<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go field *might* IRR  
 'I might go to the field.'

- (286) aŋ<sup>+</sup> pi<sup>r</sup>\ tʃaun<sup>\</sup> li<sup>m</sup>-/ham<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG attend school *might* IRR  
 'I might attend school.'

Examples (287) and (288), which simply have the irrealis auxiliary *ham<sup>]</sup>* 'IRR', express greater certainty about the future events than (285) and (286).<sup>61</sup>

- (287) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go field IRR  
 'I'll go to the field.'

<sup>59</sup> I am uncertain of how these differ.

<sup>60</sup> In this example, tense appears before modality. This violates the statement that tense comes after modality. The dubitative construction would need to be broken down into separate meanings to determine the reason.

<sup>61</sup> There is still some degree of uncertainty when the irrealis marker is used, as it is an event that has not happened.

- (288) aŋʰ kaiʰ təʔoʰ hamʰ  
 1SG go river IRR  
 ‘I’ll go to the river.’

The irrealis auxiliary *həmʰ* ‘IRR’ also shows speculation, as illustrated in (289).

- (289) paʰ kurʰ miʰ miʔʰ veʰ moŋʰ hamʰ  
 father carry rice LNK COP 30kg IRR  
 ‘Father carries rice, there must be a mong.’

The mirative, where the speaker is surprised at what he is saying, is formed via the construction *latʰ-beʰ-toʰ* ‘MIR’, which is illustrated in (290).

- (290) a:ʰ ənʰ raʰ latʰ-beʰ-toʰ  
 Hey 2SG come MIR  
 ‘Hey, you’re here.’

Hkongso agent-oriented modalities include permission, obligation, and the desiderative, showing desire or want.

Obligation is shown via various auxiliaries, based on the agent’s perceived ability to carry out the action. The auxiliary *sʰaŋʰ* ‘should’, as illustrated in examples (291) and (292) show obligation, yet the agent is unsure if he will be able to do the action.

- (291) aŋʰ kaiʰ vitʰ sʰaŋʰ  
 1SG go field should  
 ‘I should go to the field.’

- (292) aŋʰ praiʰ caʰ sʰaŋʰ  
 1SG read literature should  
 ‘I should read.’

Examples (293)-(296) provide evidence that *sʰaŋʰ* ‘should’ is an agent-oriented modality. Example (293) is grammatical and (294) is ungrammatical. I hypothesize that this is because the verb *kiʰ* ‘see’ in (294) is a non-agentive verb and the agent-oriented modality marker *sʰaŋʰ* ‘should’ cannot occur with a non-agentive verb. Likewise, (293) is grammatical because *sʰaŋʰ* ‘should’ appears with the agentive verb *jauʰ* ‘watch’. This hypothesis would be proven if evidence could be provided that proves *kiʰ* ‘see’ is non-agentive and *jauʰ* ‘watch’ is agentive. Examples (295) and (296) provide this evidence. Example (295) is grammatical and (296) is ungrammatical. Since non-agentive verbs



cannot occur in commands, it is clear that *ki-* ‘see’ in (296) is a non-agentive verb and *jauV* ‘watch’ in (295) is an agentive verb.

(293) aŋ↓ no↓ jauV s<sup>h</sup>aŋ↓ va↓  
 1SG NEG watch should bird  
 ‘I should not watch the bird.’

(294) \*aŋ↓ no↓ ki↓ s<sup>h</sup>aŋ↓ va↓  
 1SG NEG see should bird  
 \*‘I should not see the bird.’

(295) jauV va↓ de↓  
 watch bird IMP  
 ‘Watch the bird.’

(296) \*ki↓ va↓ de↓  
 see bird IMP  
 \*‘See the bird.’

Modalities are summarized in Table 21.<sup>62</sup>

Table 21: Modality

Modality	Auxiliary	USE	
Speaker-oriented	a↓	Certainty	
	m̄i↓	Possibility	
	pi↓ bə↓ tə↓	Dubitative (past)	
	bə↓ pe↓ tə↓	Dubitative (past)	
	li↓m↓ hə↓m↓	Dubitative (future)	
	hə↓m↓	Irrealis	Speculation
	taŋak↓	Certainty	Inference
	lat↓-be↓-to↓	Mirative	
Agent-oriented	s <sup>h</sup> aŋ↓	Obligation	‘should’

<sup>62</sup> Stronger obligation, the desiderative, and absolute certainty of carrying out an obligated action is formed through a biclausal structure which is discussed in §9.2.3.

### 5.3.5 Tense

Tense, which Comrie (1985:9) describes as “the grammaticalized expression of location in time,” is marked by a realis vs. irrealis system in Hkongso. Realis tense is used for actual events in the present and past while irrealis tense is used for future, unrealized, possible, or potential situations (Kroeger 2005:149). The perfect tense is also used to express a past event that is relevant to the current situation. Tense auxiliaries are summarized in Table 22.

Table 22: Tense

Marker	Tense
joŋ/unmarked	Realis
hamŋ	Irrealis
kəŋ	Perfect
hamŋ kəŋ	Immediate future

Tense auxiliaries occur after subject agreement and adverbs. Example (297) illustrates *hamŋ* ‘IRR’ following *vaŋ* ‘PL’. If this position is reversed, as in (298), the result would be ungrammatical.

(297) kaiŋ kuŋ bɔŋ vaŋ hamŋ pɛŋ  
 go steal soil PL IRR DECL  
 ‘They will go steal dirt.’

(298) \*kaiŋ kuŋ bɔŋ hamŋ vaŋ pɛŋ  
 go steal soil IRR PL DECL  
 \*‘They will go steal dirt.’

Example (260), repeated here as (299), illustrates tense following an adverb and an aspectual auxiliary.

(299) aŋŋ haiŋ kuiŋ leŋ pəŋ kəŋ *rit-rit-* raŋ kəŋ  
 1SG from dog small as.for big *gradually* INCH PERF  
 ‘My puppy has been getting bigger and bigger.’

Realis may be shown by the auxiliary *joʔ* ‘REA’, as illustrated in (300) and (301). However, this auxiliary only appeared in elicited examples and was never a part of a longer text. Most of the time, even in elicited text, realis is unmarked, which is illustrated in examples (302) and (303).

(300) *daiʔ cəʔʔ ɾakʔbitʔ haiʔ miʔlukʔ kaiʔ tokkʰiʔ apʔ ʔəkʔ joʔ*  
 Dai TOP hungry PROG so go deer shoot one REA  
 ‘Dai was hungry so he went to shoot a deer.’

(301) *miʔ kəkʊʔ jəŋʔ veʔ joʔ*  
 this man stand stay REA  
 ‘He stood up.’

(302) *aŋʔ caʔ*  
 1SG eat  
 ‘I ate./I am eating.’

(303) *kəniʔ lakʔ kʰaʔ juŋʔ hakʔ pupetʔ kəkʁumʔ jaʔ pɛʔʔ*  
 in.front one time rabbit and turtle meet DU DECL  
 ‘Long ago a rabbit and a turtle met.’

Examples (304) and (305) are marked by *hamʔ* ‘IRR’ and refer to situations that have not happened yet. Examples (306) and (307) illustrate the use of *hamʔ* ‘IRR’ in complement clauses referring to potential situations.<sup>63</sup>

(304) *aŋʔ caʔ hamʔ*  
 1SG eat IRR  
 ‘I will eat.’

(305) *pɾɛŋməriʔ caukʔ pəʔ plunʔ mikʰaʔ kəriuʔ hamʔ pɛʔʔ*  
 primer book do finish when teach IRR DECL  
 ‘When we finish the primer, we will teach it.’

(306) *aŋʔ [plaiʔ hamʔ] hjaʔ*  
 1SG dance IRR want  
 ‘I want to dance.’

(307) *[aŋʔ jaʔ hamʔ] aŋʔ imʔ*  
 1SG win IRR 1SG hope  
 ‘I hope I will win.’

<sup>63</sup> §9.2.3 provides examples that support the subordinate clause boundaries that I mark in these examples.

In informal speech *ham7* ‘IRR’ can often be shortened to *-m7* ‘IRR’, as illustrated in examples (308) and (309). Sometimes all that is left from the irrealis marker is nasalization or a high tone. This is one of the only morphological changes in Hkongso that a verb can undergo.

(308) ləkʰ ɤ̃ ĩ sʰĩ haĩ cã vẽ rã-m̃ kə̃ pə̃cə̃  
 friend hey 1PL PL from literacy COP *come-IRR* PERF TAG  
 ‘Hey man. We are about to have our own literacy, did you know?’

(309) rã-m̃ lã luk̃ pə̃ sʰãŋ̃ dɛ̃ŋ̃ vẽ pət̃ bɛ̃  
*come-IRR* month more also training class COP DECL RSP  
 ‘Next month there’s a training class, I’ve heard.’

However, if *ham7* ‘IRR’ follows a stop as in (310), it cannot be shortened.

(310) daĩ ap̃ pak̃ tək̃ ham̃  
 Dai shoot pig one IRR  
 ‘Dai will shoot a pig.’

The auxiliary *kə̃* ‘PERF’, as illustrated in examples (311), (312), and (313) marks the perfect, which is “used to express a past event which is relevant to the present situation” (Kroeger 2005:158).

(311) ãŋ̃ haĩ tə̃hĩ tʰə̃ŋ̃ rã ãŋ̃ haĩ kʰjã rək̃ kə̃  
 1SG from son grow come 1SG from waist up.to PERF  
 ‘My son has grown to about waist high.’

(312) kə̃lum̃ praĩ mũ lũ kə̃  
 thanks very belly full PERF  
 ‘Thank you very much. I’m full. (I’ve gotten full)’

(313) tuĩ lẽ kə̃  
 water small PERF  
 ‘The water has gone down.’

The auxiliaries *ham7* ‘IRR’ and *kə̃* ‘PERF’, as illustrated in examples (314) and (315), combine to create the immediate future tense. The combined literal meaning of these two auxiliaries is ‘will have’, but it is used to refer to the immediate future, meaning ‘about to’.

- (314) aŋ<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>]</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> kə<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG eat IRR PERF  
 ‘I’m about to eat. (Lit. I will have eaten.)’
- (315) aŋ<sup>+</sup> ɬoi<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> kə<sup>]</sup> lək<sup>]</sup> ə<sup>]</sup> pə<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG return IRR PERF friend really do  
 i<sup>]</sup> ci<sup>]</sup>bai<sup>]</sup> ri<sup>]</sup><sup>64</sup> ma<sup>]</sup>  
 1PL shake.hands DUR let’s  
 ‘Well, I really am about to go. Let’s shake hands (say goodbye).’

### 5.3.6 Mood

Mood indicates “what the speaker wants to do with the proposition” (Bybee 1985:22). In Hkongso mood auxiliaries indicate whether the proposition is a statement (declarative), command (imperative), or question (interrogative). They may also mark an exhortation (hortative) or hope (optative).

In narratives the declarative mood is often marked by *pət<sup>]</sup>* ‘DECL’.<sup>65</sup> Sentences in narratives may extend for 5-10 clauses, so *pət<sup>]</sup>* ‘DECL’ is quite useful for marking the end of the thought. The auxiliary *pət<sup>]</sup>* ‘DECL’ is illustrated in examples (316) and (317), and unmarked declarative sentences are illustrated in examples (318) and (319).

- (316) pjuŋ<sup>]</sup> ja<sup>]</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>]</sup> kəcə<sup>]</sup> kətəm<sup>]</sup> m<sup>m</sup>ma<sup>]</sup> klək<sup>]</sup> kəcə<sup>]</sup>  
 run DU LOC when arrive path half when  
 juŋ<sup>]</sup> cə<sup>]</sup> “pupət<sup>]</sup> no<sup>+</sup> um<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> həm<sup>]</sup> ləŋ<sup>]</sup> ” pe-k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>]</sup>  
 rabbit TOP turtle NEG catch 1SG OBJ CONTR this-time  
 tuklim<sup>]</sup> mə-tum<sup>]</sup> mui<sup>]</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>]</sup> pət<sup>]</sup>  
 shade this-place sleep go PFV DECL  
 ‘When they were racing and got half way, the rabbit, saying, “The turtle won’t catch me,” went to sleep in the shade.’

<sup>64</sup> This is glossed durative, which is the primary use of this word, but the secondary use, illustrated here, is the habitual.

<sup>65</sup> This auxiliary rarely occurs outside of narratives.

(317) kəniᵛ lakᵛ kʰaʔᵛ utᵛ cəᵛ təhiᵛ veᵛ pətᵛ  
 in.front one time mouse TOP son COP DECL  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a mouse who had a son.’

(318) miᵛ tuiᵛ cəᵛ liŋᵛ praiᵛ  
 this water TOP hot very  
 ‘The water is very hot.’

(319) hwaluŋᵛ ʔəᵛ aŋᵛ varᵛ məŋᵛməŋᵛ həmᵛ  
 stone with 1SG throw Maung.Maung OBJ  
 ‘I threw a rock at Maung Maung.’

Imperative mood is indicated by *deᵛ* ‘IMP’, as illustrated in examples (320) and (321).

(320) kaiᵛ caᵛ vaᵛ deᵛ  
 go eat PL IMP  
 ‘You all go eat.’

(321) jəmjəkᵛ deᵛ  
 slow IMP  
 ‘Be slow.’

It is evident that *deᵛ* ‘IMP’ is an imperative marker because it is ungrammatical to use it with the inanimate addressee in (322) and with the involuntary action in (323).

(322) \*miᵛ ləpʰaᵛ cəᵛ liŋᵛ jəmjəkᵛ deᵛ  
 this tea TOP hot slow IMP  
 \*‘Tea, heat slowly please.’

(323) \*kiᵛ deᵛ  
 see IMP  
 \*‘See!’

Interrogative mood is indicated by *maᵛ* ‘Y/N’ for yes/no question, as illustrated in examples (324) and (325), and *vaᵛ* ‘Q’ for open questions, as illustrated in examples (326) and (327).

(324) caᵛ cakᵛ kəᵛ maᵛ  
 eat rice PERF Y/N  
 ‘Have you eaten?’

(325) ənᵛ haiᵛ pʰəŋpiklaŋᵛ cəᵛ harᵛ maᵛ  
 2SG from pants TOP new Y/N  
 ‘Are your pants new?’

(326) hwaluŋl ɬəl ənɿ varʌl miŋ həmŋl vaɿ  
 stone with 2SG throw 3SG OBJ Q  
 ‘Who did you throw the rock at?’

(327) veŋ ʰkʰətɿ niŋ hamŋl vaɿ  
 stay how.much day IRR Q  
 ‘How long will you stay?’

Hortative mood is indicated by *mɔɿ* ‘HORT’, as illustrated in examples (328) and (329).

(328) “tuɿ iŋ vitɿ ˈm̩maɿ mɔɿ ” pajokɿ pɛʔɿ  
 chop 1PL field path HORT tell-give DECL  
 ‘“Let’s go clear the path to our field,” (the bird) said (to the worm).’

(329) iŋ ciɿbaiɿ riŋ mɔɿ  
 1PL shake.hand some.more HORT  
 ‘Let’s shake hands.’

Optative mood is indicated by *nəkʰəɿ* ‘OPT’ in (330).

(330) “luŋteŋ ənɿ kəviŋɿ aŋɿ tuɿ miŋ ˈm̩maɿ kəcəɿ  
 worm 2SG use 1SG chop LNK path if  
 tʰəkɿ kiŋlikŋl nəkʰəɿ ” pe-nəŋ  
 die surely OPT this-having  
 tʰokɿbakɿ jokɿ kʰɛkŋl pɛʔɿ  
 curse give adamantly DECL  
 ‘Worm, if you go on the path that I have cleared, may you surely die,” he cursed the worm in anger.

The clause-final auxiliaries used to mark mood, including the declarative, imperative, interrogative, hortative, and optative moods are summarized in Table 23.

Table 23: Mood

Auxiliary	Mood
pɛtɿ	Declarative
deɿ	Imperative
maɿ (Y/N)	Interrogative
vaɿ (open)	Interrogative
mɔɿ	Hortative
nəkʰəɿ	Optative

### 5.3.7 Politeness

The auxiliary *baʋ* ‘POL’, which marks politeness, appears clause-finally in (331)-(333). Example (331), illustrates *baʋ* ‘POL’ following a mood auxiliary, example (24), repeated here as (332), illustrates *baʋ* ‘POL’ following the object, and (333) illustrates *baʋ* ‘POL’ following an adverb.<sup>66</sup>

(331) s<sup>h</sup>in<sup>l</sup> naŋ<sup>l</sup> tui<sup>l</sup> de<sup>ʋ</sup> ba<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 bring with.you water IMP POL  
 ‘Please bring some water with you?’

(332) boŋ<sup>l</sup> pabək<sup>l</sup> tsak<sup>ʋ</sup> ba<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 don’t take rice POL  
 ‘Please don’t take (any) rice.’

(333) no<sup>l</sup> ŋai<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>l</sup> akraun<sup>ʋ</sup> boŋ<sup>ʋ</sup> tir<sup>l</sup> pot<sup>l</sup>pot<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>ʋ</sup>  
 NEG good LNK about don’t tell anymore POL  
 ‘Don’t talk about bad things anymore.’

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<sup>66</sup> I have not found evidence of politeness markers indicating various levels of politeness and formality.



## CHAPTER 6: NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

Payne (1997:111-12) identifies various types of clauses containing non-verbal predicates including equative, attributive, existential, locational, and possessive clauses. He says, “These construction types tend to be similar to one another grammatically in that they all tend to lack a semantically rich lexical verb.”

Non-verbal predicates in Hkongso occur with the copula *veŋ* ‘COP’, as illustrated in the existential clause in (334), or with no copula, as illustrated in the attributive clause in (335). When there is no copula, the subject is always followed by *cəŋ* ‘TOP’.

(334) Existential  
 k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>+</sup>    veŋ  
 cup        COP  
 ‘There is a cup.’

(335) Attributive  
 k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>+</sup>    cəŋ        leŋ  
 cup        TOP        small  
 ‘The cup is small.’

This chapter discusses various types of clauses that contain non-verbal predicates: existential, possessive, locational, quantificational, equative, and attributive.

In the existential clause in (336), the copula *veŋ* ‘COP’ occurs clause-finally. In (309), repeated here as (337), it is followed by mood particles. Example (338), is a yes/no question and *veŋ* ‘COP’ is followed by the question marker *maŋ* ‘Y/N’.

(336) rəcaŋ    s<sup>h</sup>iŋ    haŋ    jua<sup>+</sup>    veŋ  
 child    PL     ten    CLS    COP  
 ‘There are ten children.’

(337) raŋ-mŋ    laŋ        lukŋ        pə<sup>+</sup>    s<sup>h</sup>aŋŋŋ    dɛŋ<sup>+</sup>    veŋ    pɛtŋ    bɛŋ  
 come-IRR month more also training class COP DECL RSP  
 ‘Next month there's a training class, I've heard.’

- (338) vənkiɫ rikɫ veɫ maɫ  
 shirt red COP Y/N  
 'Is there a red shirt?'

Existential predicates may be directly negated by *noɫ* 'NEG', as illustrated in examples (339) and (340). Example (339) contains an indefinite subject *imiɫ* 'person' and (340) contains a definite subject *paɫ* 'father'. This difference is reflected in the structure, as the indefinite *imiɫ* 'person' in (339) occurs just before the negated copula and *paɫ* 'father' in (340) occurs at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the location and then the negated copula.

- (339) cəɫ caɫ imiɫ noɫ veɫ  
 here at person NEG COP  
 'There are no people here.'

- (340) paɫ cəɫ cəɫ caɫ noɫ veɫ  
 father TOP here at NEG COP  
 'Father is not here.'

Possessive predicates are also formed by using the copula *veɫ* 'COP'. Examples (341) and (342) illustrate how existential and possessive predicates in Hkongso have the same structure.<sup>67</sup>

- (341) Existential  
 rəcaɫ s<sup>hi</sup>ɫ haɫ juaɫ veɫ  
 child PL ten person COP  
 'There are ten children.'

- (342) Possessive  
 aŋɫ təhiɫ haɫ juaɫ veɫ  
 1SG son ten person COP  
 'I have ten children.'

Possessive predicates are further illustrated in examples (343)-(345).

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<sup>67</sup> I think it would be possible to think of existential predicates and possessive predicates as the same and give the possessive predicates a translation such as "At me, there are ten children." However, for the sake of easier illustration I have discussed them as different constructions.

(343) dai<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> kim<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup><sup>68</sup>  
 Dai TOP house in COP  
 ‘Dai has a house.’

(344) aŋ<sup>1</sup> kui<sup>1</sup> pre<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG dog two COP  
 ‘I have two dogs.’

(345) tui<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> lam<sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>am<sup>1</sup><sup>69</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> ɬək<sup>1</sup>  
 water in from fish 1SG at COP one  
 ‘I have a fish from the water.’

Locational predicates differ slightly from existential and possessive predicates. Examples (346) and (347) illustrate the contrast between locational and possessive predicates. Example (346), comparable to (343), is a possessive sentence and the copula *ve<sup>1</sup>* ‘COP’ occurs clause-finally. Example (347) differs only in the position of the nominal *kim<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>* ‘house in’, but the meaning changes to be locational rather than possessive.

(346) Possessive  
 va<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> kim<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup>  
 bird TOP house in COP  
 ‘The bird has a house.’

(347) Locational  
 va<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> kim<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>  
 bird TOP COP house in  
 ‘The bird is in the house.’

Locational predicates are further illustrated in examples (348)-(350). As illustrated in (205), repeated here as (350), it is possible to topicalize the locational predicate.

(348) kar<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> r<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>1</sup> jɿ<sup>1</sup>  
 chicken FEM SUBJ COP tree branch  
 ‘The hen is on the tree branch.’

<sup>68</sup> This sentence appears to mean ‘Dai is in the house.’ However, my informants were certain it meant ownership. I suspect that when the words *kim<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>* ‘house in’ come together they have a semantic meaning other than the locative. I have seen this used for ‘family.’ So, perhaps it is referring to something like ‘home’.

<sup>69</sup> This locational PP is used with animate participants to show physical possession. The postpositional possessive *hai<sup>1</sup>* ‘from’ shows ownership.

(349) kar<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>7</sup> r<sup>hi</sup>ŋ<sup>7</sup> lo<sup>\</sup>  
 chicken FEM TOP COP tree under  
 'The hen is under the tree.'

(350) tui<sup>\</sup> ko<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> lam<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>7</sup>  
 water in TOP fish COP  
 'There is a fish in the water.'

Quantificational clauses, like locational clauses, are formed when the copula *ve<sup>7</sup>* 'COP' precedes the predicate. In (351) *ve<sup>7</sup>* 'COP' precedes the numeral. This is different from the existential sentence in (336), repeated here as (352), where the copula follows the numeral.

(351) Quantificational  
 kui<sup>+</sup> le<sup>7</sup> təhi<sup>7</sup> ve<sup>7</sup> ŋau<sup>7</sup>  
 dog small son COP five  
 'The puppies are five.'

(352) Existential  
 rəca<sup>\</sup> s<sup>hi</sup><sup>\</sup> ha<sup>7</sup> jua<sup>+</sup> ve<sup>\</sup>  
 child PL ten CLS COP  
 'There are ten children.'

The quantificational predicate may also be formed without *ve<sup>7</sup>* 'COP'. In (353) there is no copula and the subject is marked by *cə<sup>\</sup>* 'TOP'. This predication differs from the possessive predicate in (342), repeated here as (354), where there is a clause-final copula. This difference in form creates a different meaning, which is illustrated in the translations of the examples.

(353) Quantificational  
 aŋ<sup>+</sup> təhi<sup>7</sup> s<sup>hi</sup><sup>7</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> ha<sup>7</sup> jua<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG son PL TOP ten CLS  
 'My children are ten.'

(354) Possessive  
 aŋ<sup>+</sup> təhi<sup>7</sup> ha<sup>7</sup> jua<sup>+</sup> ve<sup>\</sup>  
 1SG son ten CLS COP  
 'I have ten children.'

Equative and attributive clauses are generally formed in the same way as the quantificational clause in (353). They are formed when the subject is marked *cə<sup>\</sup>* 'TOP'

and *veɿ* ‘COP’ does not appear. Equative clauses are illustrated in examples (355)-(357), and attributive clauses are illustrated in examples (358) and (359).

(355) Equative  
 daiɿ cəɿ aŋɿ haiɿ kəpuɿ  
 Dai TOP 1SG from grandfather  
 ‘Dai is my grandfather.’

(356) Equative  
 daiɿ cəɿ meŋɿ s<sup>h</sup>əraɿ  
 Dai TOP song teacher  
 ‘Dai is the music teacher.’

(357) Equative  
 miɿ kəkʉɿ cəɿ daiɿ  
 this man TOP Dai  
 ‘He is Dai.’

(358) Attributive  
 miɿ kəkʉɿ cəɿ r<sup>h</sup>auɿ  
 this man TOP tall  
 ‘He is tall.’

(359) Attributive  
 maɿniɿ cəɿ klaŋɿ ŋaiɿ praiɿ  
 Mani TOP body good very  
 ‘Mani is very pretty.’

Some attributive clauses contain intensifiers such as *k<sup>h</sup>riɿ-k<sup>h</sup>riɿ* ‘very-very’ in the predicate adjective phrase. Examples (228), repeated here as (360), and (361) illustrate *k<sup>h</sup>riɿ-k<sup>h</sup>riɿ* ‘very-very’ as it precedes the head adjective. It is significant that this modifier does not modify verbs and it never occurs after the adjective in the predicate adjective phrase.

(360) miɿ kəkʉɿ cəɿ k<sup>h</sup>riɿ-k<sup>h</sup>riɿ ŋaɿ ŋakɿ  
 this man TOP very-very bad INTENS  
 ‘He is so bad.’

(361) karɿ-maɿ cəɿ kiɿ miɿk<sup>h</sup>aɿ k<sup>h</sup>riɿ-k<sup>h</sup>riɿ vanɿ ŋakɿ pɛʔɿ  
 chicken-FEM TOP see LNK-time very-very pity INTENS DECL  
 ‘When the hen saw (him), she took great pity on him.’

## CHAPTER 7: WORD CLASSES

### 7.1 Noun

Structurally, there are no morphological processes that modify nouns in Hkongso. Distributionally, nouns appear as heads of noun phrases, are modified by determiners, relative clauses, possessive phrases, adjectives, and numerals, and may be marked for plurality. Also, nouns can not be directly negated.

In many of the world's languages, nouns have other distinctive properties such as classifiers and gender. These properties were not mentioned above. As illustrated in Corbett (2005:136), Chin State exists in an area that is dominated by languages with no gender system. Likewise, Hkongso has no gender system that might allow us to further identify nouns. Also, Hkongso has no numeral classifier system. The classifier *juaʔ* 'CLS', which is used for people, is the only classifier that exists in the language, as illustrated in (362).

(362) təhi\ r<sup>h</sup>um\ juaʔ ve\  
son three CLS COP  
'There are three sons.'

The absence of a classifier system is rather striking for a Tibeto-Burman language. Gil (2005:226) states, "The main concentration of numeral classifiers is in a single zone centered in East and South-East Asia, but reaching out both westwards and eastwards." Gil (2005:228) demonstrates that not only are these classifier systems present throughout South-East Asia, but their use is obligatory. Numeral classifiers are often used to identify nouns in Tibeto-Burman languages, but since Hkongso has no classifier system, classifiers cannot be used to establish nouns as a word class.

Nouns appear as the heads of NPs. In (363) *lam*ʋ ‘fish’ is the head of the topicalized subject NP. In (364) *tim*ʋ ‘wind’ is the head of the subject NP, and in (365) *tokk<sup>hi</sup>*ʋ ‘deer’ is the head of the object NP.

(363) p<sup>h</sup>ukʋ          koʋ    veʋ    miʔʋ    lamʋ    cəʋ    kəʋ    praiʋ  
 outcropping in    live    LNK    fish    TOP    big    very  
 ‘The fish that lives in the outcropping is very big.’

(364) *tim*ʋ    *ma*ʔʋ    hutʋ    aŋʋ    kəcəʋ  
*wind*    *SUBJ*    blow    1SG COND  
 ‘If the wind blows me...’

(365) loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋʋ    apʋ    miʔʋ    tokk<sup>hi</sup>ʋ    həmʋ    hauʋ    deʋ  
 Longtang shoot    LNK    deer    OBJ    look.for    IMP  
 ‘Look for the deer that Longtang shot.’

Distributionally, determiners and possessive phrases only precede and modify nouns, as illustrated in (61), repeated here as (366), where the determiner<sup>70</sup> *ə*ʋ.miʋ *va*ʋ ‘there-DEF PL’ and the possessive phrase *aŋ*ʋ *hai*ʋ ‘1SG from’ precedes the noun *kim*ʋ ‘house’. Likewise, numerals, except for the indefinite *ʔək*ʋ ‘one’, occur in NPs, following the noun, as illustrated in (366), where *ʔ<sup>h</sup>um*ʋ ‘three’ follows the noun *kim*ʋ ‘house’.<sup>71</sup> Numerals also appear as predicates, as illustrated in (367).

(366) əʋ.miʋ          vaʋ    aŋʋ    haiʋ    kimʋ    kəʋ    ʔ<sup>h</sup>umʋ  
 there-DEF PL    1SG from    house    big    three  
 ‘those three big houses of mine’

(367) aŋʋ    haiʋ    kimʋ    veʋ    ŋauʋ  
 1SG    from    house COP    five  
 ‘My houses are five.’

Examples (368), and (369), further illustrate determiners preceding the noun and numerals following the noun.

<sup>70</sup> I have not determined if the ‘determiner’ construction is actually a relative clause. I suspect that it may be since *mi*ʋ ‘DEF’ is so similar to the relative clause marker and determiners appear in the same position as relative clauses.

<sup>71</sup> Adjectives, as discussed in §7.4, appear in NPs, in relative clauses, and as predicate adjectives.

(368) cə̌.mǐ      vənki-   riǩ   ř<sup>h</sup>um̌  
 here-DEF shirt red three  
 ‘these three white chairs’

(369) ə̌.mǐ      vənki-   riǩ   ř<sup>h</sup>um̌  
 there-DEF shirt red three  
 ‘those three white chairs’

Example (370) illustrates the head noun *təhi* ‘son’ preceded by the possessive phrase *ən- hai* ‘2SG from’.

(370) ən-   hai   təhi   ve   ham-   va  
 2SG from son COP where Q  
 ‘Where is you son?’

Example (371) illustrates the noun *kar- lui* ‘chicken egg’ followed by the numeral *kəru- ʰkom- mi?* *ɲau* ‘twenty-five’.

(371) kar-   lui   kəru-   ʰkom-   mi?   ɲau   ve  
 chicken egg twenty thirty LNK five COP  
 ‘There are twenty-five eggs.’

Relative clauses only precede nouns, as illustrated in (372), where the relative clause *ɲai- dək* ‘good to look at’ precedes the head noun *kim* ‘house’.

(372) ɲai-   dək-   mi?   kim-   kə-   rum-   ve  
 good to.look.at LNK house big three COP  
 ‘There are three big houses that are good to look at.’

The plural *s<sup>h</sup>i* ‘PL’ only follows nouns, as illustrated in (373), where *s<sup>h</sup>i* ‘PL’ follows the noun *ř<sup>h</sup>iŋ- o* ‘mountain valley’.

(373) ř<sup>h</sup>iŋ-   o-   s<sup>h</sup>i-   no-   ve   lək<sup>h</sup>a  
 mountain valley PL NEG COP let  
 ‘Let there be no mountains or valleys.’

Another test for words that appear in the noun position is to say what may not be done to them. For example, the predicate of the clause in (374) is *rəmpai* ‘duck’. Since the clause does not contain a verb, how may it be negated? When the negative marker is added, as in (375), the verb *na-* ‘right’, which may be negated, must be added. If *rəmpai* ‘duck’ is directly negated, as illustrated in (376), the result is ungrammatical.



- (374) ɤ̃.mĩ            cə̃    rə̃mpaĩ  
 there-DEF    TOP    duck  
 'That is a duck.'
- (375) ɤ̃.mĩ            cə̃    rə̃mpaĩ    nõ    nã  
 there-DEF    TOP    duck    NEG    right  
 'That is not a duck.'
- (376) \*ɤ̃.mĩ            cə̃    nõ    rə̃mpaĩ  
 there-DEF    TOP    NEG    duck  
 'That is not a duck.'

### 7.1.1 Count noun

Count nouns can be modified by numerals and marked for indefiniteness and plurality.

Example (377) shows that the noun *liŋmõ* 'orange' is a count noun, as it is modified by the numeral *hã* 'ten'.

- (377) *liŋmõ*-*uĩ*    *hã*    *vẽ*  
*orange-fruit*    *ten*    COP  
 'There are ten oranges.'

Examples (378) and (379) show the noun *kuĩ* 'dog' is a count noun as it is modified by numerals.

- (378) *kuĩ*    *ŋã*    *rum̃*  
*dog*    *bad*    *three*  
 'three bad dogs'
- (379) *təm̃*    *mĩ?*    *kuĩ*    *ŋã*    *ljũ*  
*black*    LNK    *dog*    *bad*    *four*  
 'four bad dogs that are black'

In (380) the count noun *p<sup>h</sup>um̃*-*uĩ* 'mango-fruit' is modified by the plural marker *s<sup>h</sup>ĩ* 'PL'.

- (380) *p<sup>h</sup>um̃*-*uĩ*    *s<sup>h</sup>ĩ*    *cã*    *kək̃*    *dẽ*  
*mango-fruit*    *PL*    *eat*    *all*    *IMP*  
 'Eat all the mangoes.'

Example (381) illustrates the count noun *tokk<sup>hi</sup>l* ‘deer’ marked with *tək<sup>v</sup>* ‘one’ for indefiniteness.

- (381) dai<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>v</sup> loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>l</sup> ap<sup>l</sup> tokk<sup>hi</sup>l tək<sup>v</sup> ham<sup>l</sup> mi?<sup>l</sup> im<sup>v</sup>  
 Dai TOP Longtang shoot deer one IRR LNK hope  
 ‘Dai hopes that Longtang will shoot a deer.’

### 7.1.2 Mass noun

Mass nouns may not be modified by numerals.<sup>72</sup> This is illustrated in examples (382)-(384). Example (382) illustrates the count noun *liŋmo<sup>l</sup>-ui<sup>l</sup>* ‘orange-fruit’ modified by the numeral *ŋau<sup>l</sup>* ‘five’. When this is attempted with mass nouns, such as *mi<sup>v</sup>* ‘uncooked rice’ in (383), the result is ungrammatical. For (383) to be grammatical, a measure word, such as *təŋ<sup>l</sup>* ‘basket’ in (384), must be added.

- (382) Count noun  
 pa<sup>v</sup> s<sup>h</sup>um<sup>v</sup> liŋmo<sup>l</sup>-ui<sup>l</sup> ŋau<sup>l</sup>  
 father sell orange-fruit five  
 ‘Father sold five oranges.’

- (383) Mass noun  
 \*pa<sup>v</sup> s<sup>h</sup>um<sup>v</sup> mi<sup>v</sup> ŋau<sup>l</sup>  
 father sell uncooked.rice five  
 \*‘Father sold five rice.’

- (384) Mass noun  
 pa<sup>v</sup> s<sup>h</sup>um<sup>v</sup> mi<sup>v</sup> ŋau<sup>l</sup> təŋ<sup>l</sup>  
 father sell uncooked.rice five basket  
 ‘Father sold five baskets of rice.’

Examples (385) and (386), illustrate the mass nouns *cak<sup>v</sup>* ‘rice’ and *tui<sup>v</sup>* ‘water’ followed by quantifiers.

- (385) aŋ<sup>l</sup> ca<sup>l</sup> cak<sup>v</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ətpui<sup>v</sup>  
 1SG eat rice a.lot  
 ‘I eat a lot of rice.’

<sup>72</sup> In some situations they may take the plural marker.

- (386) aŋʈ k<sup>h</sup>am\ tui\ k<sup>h</sup>ətʌdikʌ  
 1SG drink water few  
 'I drink a little bit of water.'

As mentioned, mass nouns are quantified via a following measure word (which is a count noun) such as *təŋʈ* 'basket', *curʌ* 'package', or *biŋliŋʌ* 'cup'. Then the count noun is counted. Example (387) is ungrammatical, because the numeral *təkʌ* 'one' directly modifies the mass noun *cakʌ* 'rice', but examples (388) and (384) are grammatical because the numeral modifies the measure word rather than the mass noun.<sup>73</sup>

- (387) \*aŋʈ caʌ cakʌ təkʌ  
 1SG eat rice one  
 '\*I eat one rice.'
- (388) aŋʈ caʌ cakʌ curʌ təkʌ  
 1SG eat rice package one  
 'I eat a package of rice.'

Examples (389) and (390) illustrate possible ways to measure the mass noun *tuiʌ* 'water'.

- (389) aŋʈ k<sup>h</sup>amʈ tuiʌ klaiʌ təkʌ  
 1SG drink water gourd one  
 'I drink a gourd of water.'
- (390) jokʌ naŋʌ tuiʌ biŋliŋʌ təkʌ deʌ  
 give with.you water cup one IMP  
 'Please give me a cup of your water.'

Examples (391) and (392) illustrate the mass noun *təʔiʌ* 'sand' followed by the measure words *m<sup>h</sup>paiʌ* 'basket' and *rutp<sup>h</sup>aʌ* 'palm', which are measured for quantity by *bəkʌ* 'full'.

- (391) puʌ kurʌ təʔiʌ m<sup>h</sup>paiʌ bəkʌ  
 grandfather carry sand basket full  
 'Grandfather carried a basket full of sand.'

<sup>73</sup> The numeral one appears to differ from other numerals. It occurs after the measure word, but other numerals occur before the measure word. However, I feel that I need more data to provide a conclusive statement about this difference.

- (392) s<sup>h</sup>in<sup>l</sup> naŋ<sup>l</sup> təʔi<sup>v</sup> rutp<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup> bək<sup>v</sup> de<sup>v</sup>  
 bring with you sand palm full IMP  
 ‘Please bring a hand full of sand with you.’

Rather than being quantified, mass nouns are modified with adjectives, such as *kəma<sup>l</sup>* ‘great’ or *le<sup>l</sup>* ‘small’, as illustrated in examples (393) and (313), repeated here as (394).

- (393) tui<sup>v</sup> kəma<sup>l</sup> ara<sup>l</sup> ŋak<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>v</sup>  
 water great full INTENS POL  
 ‘The water (river) is so full!’

- (394) tui<sup>v</sup> le<sup>l</sup> kə<sup>v</sup>  
 water small PERF  
 ‘The water has gone down.’

Mass nouns are, at times, marked with the plural marker *s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup>* ‘PL’. In (395) *cak<sup>v</sup>* ‘rice’ and *təi<sup>l</sup>* ‘sand’ are followed by *s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup>* ‘PL’. I hypothesize that this occurs because the speaker is conceptually referring to the individual grains.

- (395) s<sup>h</sup>əmtəŋ<sup>l</sup> nui<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> cak<sup>v</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> luk<sup>v</sup> cə<sup>v</sup>  
 plate on from rice PL much TOP  
 təi<sup>l</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> cekcek<sup>+</sup> ŋak<sup>+</sup>  
 sand PL mixed.in INTENS  
 ‘Sand is mixed in with the rice on the plate.’

## 7.2 Noun Phrases

This section describes words such as proper names and pronouns that take the place of entire noun phrases.

### 7.2.1 Proper names

Proper names replace the entire NP and rarely appear with modifiers, adjectives, possessors, relative clauses, etc. However, it may be possible to modify proper names if the referent is not automatically identifiable from the context. For example, in (396) there

are several men named *tʃəʔtʃəʔ* ‘KK’ and the speaker wants to identify one specific man, so he uses the relative clause *ɾʰauʔ miʔʔ* ‘tall LNK’ to identify which one he is talking about.

- (396) *ɾʰauʔ miʔʔ tʃəʔtʃəʔ cəʔ əŋʌnaʔ miʔ vaʔ*  
*tall LNK Kyaw.Kyaw TOP which 3SG Q*  
 ‘Which one is the tall KK?’

Proper names do not differ from other NPs in their distribution regarding semantic and grammatical markers. In (73), repeated here as (397), the proper nouns *mɔŋʔmɔŋʔ* ‘Maung Maung’ and *tʃəʔtʃəʔ* ‘KK’ take the topic marker *cəʔ* ‘TOP’. In (398) *daiʔ* ‘Dai’ takes the subject marker *maʔʔ* ‘SUBJ’, and in (399) *daiʔ* ‘Dai’ takes the object marker *həmʔ* ‘OBJ’.

- (397) *mɔŋʔmɔŋʔ miʔ-jaʔ tʃəʔtʃəʔ cəʔ kokoʔ hakʔ kaiʔ tʃaunʔ*  
*Maung.Maung 3-DŪ Kyaw.Kyaw TOP Ko.Ko COM go school*  
 ‘Those two, Maung Maung and KK, go to school with Ko Ko.’

- (398) *daiʔ maʔʔ jokʔ aŋʔ raŋprukʔ*  
*Dai SUBJ give 1SG embarrassment*  
 ‘Dai made me lose face.’

- (399) *paʔ maʔʔ daiʔ həmʔ loŋtʰaŋʔ apʔ miʔʔ tokkʰiʔ*  
*father SUBJ Dai OBJ Longtang shoot LNK deer*  
*hauʔ ʔəʔ həmʔ hjaʔ*  
*look.for with IRR want*  
 ‘Father wants Dai to find the deer that Longtang shot.’

### 7.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns also replace an entire NP and have all the distributional properties of NPs (Payne 1997:43). In the languages of the world pronouns are marked for person, number, gender, class, grammatical relations, and honorifics. However, pronouns in Hkongso are only marked for person and number and are used for referring to people or personified participants.

The pronoun *mi*ʌ-*va*ʌ ‘3-PL’ in (401) replaces the noun phrase *mɔŋ*ʌ-*mɔŋ*ʌ *koko*ʌ *hak*ʌ *lonŋ*<sup>h</sup>*aŋ*ʌ ‘Maung Maung Ko Ko and Longtang’ in (67), repeated here as (400).

(400) daiʌ bomʌ mɔŋʌ-*mɔŋ*ʌ kokoʌ hakʌ lonŋ<sup>h</sup>aŋʌ  
 Dai hit Maung.Maung Ko.Ko and Longtang  
 ‘Dai hit Maung Maung, Ko Ko, and Longtang.’

(401) daiʌ bomʌ miʌ-*va*ʌ  
 Dai hit 3-PL  
 ‘Dai hit them.’

Grammatical case rarely appears on pronouns, because pronominal subjects have a default position directly before the verb, and pronominal objects almost always follow the verb. Therefore, no case marking is necessary. However, example (402) illustrates that grammatical case marking such as *həm*ʌ ‘OBJ’ is optional on pronouns.

(402) utʌ maʔʌ mʉnʌ aŋʌ (həmʌ) vitʌʌ  
 mouse SUBJ tear.up 1SG (OBJ) PFV  
 ‘Mouse will have torn me up!’

Table 24 shows the inventory of pronouns in Hkongso. They distinguish three persons (first, second, and third) and number (singular, dual, and plural).

Table 24: Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	aŋʌ	aŋʌ s <sup>h</sup> iŋʌ	iʌ, iŋʌ
2 <sup>nd</sup>	ənʌ	ənʌ s <sup>h</sup> iŋʌ	ənniʌ
3 <sup>rd</sup>	∅, miʌ	miʌ-jaʌ	miʌ- <i>va</i> ʌ

Pronouns may also precede the emphatic pronoun *mət*ʌ ‘self’, as illustrated in examples (403) and (404).

(403) kaiʌ ənʌ mətʌ kimʌ deʌ  
 go 2SG self house IMP  
 ‘Please go to your house.’

(404) aŋʌ tonʌ aŋʌ mətʌ haiʌ k<sup>h</sup>ronʌ maiʌ  
 1SG use 1SG self from gun fire  
 ‘I use my own knife.’

This emphatic pronoun *mat* 'self' can also be modified by the word *matak* 'only', as illustrated in examples (405) and (406).

(405) ən<sub>v</sub>    *mat*<sub>l</sub>    *matak*<sub>v</sub>    ma<sub>v</sub>  
 2SG    self    only    Y/N  
 'Are you here by yourself?'

(406) vace<sub>v</sub>    cə<sub>v</sub>    *mat*<sub>l</sub>    *matak*<sub>v</sub>    tu<sub>l</sub>    penə<sub>l</sub>  
 bird    TOP    self    only    chop    having  
 'The bird cleared (the path) by himself.'

The word *mat* 'self' is also used as a reflexive pronoun as illustrated in example (19), repeated here as (407).

(407) aŋ<sub>l</sub>    kə-bom<sub>l</sub>    aŋ<sub>l</sub>    *mat*<sub>l</sub>  
 1SG    RPM-hit    1SG    self  
 'I hit myself.'

### 7.3 Verb

Verbs appear as the predicates of clauses and include "lexemes which express the least time-stable concepts, e.g., events such as 'die', 'run', 'break', etc." (Payne 1997:47).

Structurally, only verbs may take the valence-decreasing prefix *kə*- 'RPM'.

Distributionally, verbs, as well as predicate adjectives, can be preceded by negation markers and ability auxiliaries, which are shown in Table 17, repeated here as Table 25.

Table 25: Pre-verbal operators

-2	-1	0
NEG	AUX	V

Examples (408)-(410) illustrate the verb *ca* 'eat'. In (409) *ca* 'eat' is preceded by the negation marker *no* 'NEG' and in (410) *ca* 'eat' is preceded by *no* 'NEG' and the ability auxiliary *hai* 'able'.

- (408) aŋ<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG eat  
 'I eat.'
- (409) aŋ<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG NEG eat  
 'I did not eat.'
- (410) aŋ<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG NEG able eat  
 'I was not able to eat.'

As illustrated in (409), verbs are negated directly, which provides a useful test for the word class 'verb'. Other word classes, such as nominals and postpositional phrases, must be negated by adding the verb *na<sup>+</sup>* 'right', as illustrated in (375) and (376).

Structurally, only verbs can take the valence-decreasing prefix *kə-* 'RPM'. In example (16), repeated here as (411), the verb *pro<sup>+</sup>* 'break' takes an agent and a patient, but when the valence decreases, as in (412), the prefix appears.

- (411) aŋ<sup>+</sup> *pro<sup>+</sup>* pai<sup>+</sup><sup>74</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG *break* PRT cup  
 'I broke the cup.'
- (412) k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>]</sup> *kə-pro<sup>+</sup>* mi<sup>?</sup> pək<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> kram<sup>]</sup>  
 cup *RPM-break* LNK made 1SG be.afraid  
 'The cup breaking made me scared.'

#### 7.4 Adjective

Like verbs, adjectives may occur as predicates and in relative clauses. They may also be negated, and some adjectives may also be marked for ability. However, unlike verbs, they may occur as a modifier directly after the noun, be modified by the intensifier *prai<sup>]</sup>* 'very', be marked with the inchoatives *kai<sup>]</sup>* 'go' and *ra<sup>+</sup>* 'come', and be modified by the

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<sup>74</sup> This particle is similar to the English 'up' in 'Eat it up'.



superlative *prekʰ* ‘SUP’. Furthermore, adjectives may not occur in the imperative form, as illustrated in (413).

- (413) \*miᵛ ləpʰaᵛ cəᵛ liŋᵛ jəmjəkᵛ deᵛ  
 this tea TOP hot slow IMP  
 ‘\*Tea, hot slowly.’

Distributional properties of adjectives are illustrated in examples (414), (415), and (416). In (414) the adjective *leᵛ* ‘small’ appears as a predicate and is modified by *praiᵛ* ‘very’. In (415) *leᵛ* ‘small’ appears in the relative clause *leᵛ miʔᵛ* ‘small LNK’, which modifies the noun *kuiᵛ* ‘dog’. In (416) *leᵛ* ‘small’ follows the noun.

- (414) miᵛ kuiᵛ cəᵛ leᵛ praiᵛ  
 this dog TOP small very  
 ‘This dog is very small.’

- (415) leᵛ miʔᵛ kuiᵛ mapᵛ jəkᵛ daiᵛ  
 small LNK dog bite give Dai  
 ‘The dog that’s small bit Dai.’

- (416) kuiᵛ leᵛ mapᵛ jəkᵛ daiᵛ  
 dog small bite give Dai  
 ‘The small dog bit Dai.’

Some words that appear in the adjective position occur naturally after the noun as a modifier. These are listed in (420). However, there are other words in this class that are not used after the noun.

In examples (417), (418), and (419) the word *ləkʰəlklomᵛ* ‘happy’ appears as a predicate in (417) and in a relative clause in (418), but as illustrated in the ungrammatical (419), it does not occur as a modifier after the noun.

- (417) miᵛ kəkᵛ cəᵛ ləkʰəlklomᵛ  
 this man SUBJ happy  
 ‘He is happy.’

- (418) ləkʰəlklomᵛ miʔᵛ kuiᵛ mapᵛ jəkᵛ daiᵛ  
 happy LNK dog bite give Dai  
 ‘The dog that’s happy bit Dai.’

- (419) \*kui\ lək<sup>h</sup>əlklom\ map\ jok\ dai\  
 dog happy bite give Dai  
 ‘The happy dog bit Dai.’

Furthermore, it would be understandable to use the words in (421) as nominal modifiers, but the Hkongso do not use them in this way. In order to use them as nominal modifiers, they would have to occur before the noun in a relative clause.

- (420) kui\ le\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *small* dog bit Dai.’  
 kui\ ŋa\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *bad/ugly* dog bit Dai.’  
 kui\ kətəŋ\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *old* dog bit Dai.’
- (421) \*kui\ lik\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *heavy* dog bit Dai.’  
 \*kui\ ɔn\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *fat* dog bit Dai.’  
 \*kui\ r<sup>h</sup>et\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *fast* dog bit Dai.’  
 \*kui\ kə\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *big* dog bit Dai.’  
 \*kui\ ŋai\ map\ jok\ dai\ ‘The *good* dog bit Dai.’

Some adjectives may be modified by negation, intensifiers, ability, aspect, or superlatives. Others may not be modified in this way. This section does not provide an exhaustive list of adjectives and how they may be modified. However, some adjectives are discussed in depth for contrast.

Some adjectives, such as *liŋ* ‘hot’, describe states that may change. Examples (422), (423), and (424) illustrate that *liŋ* ‘hot’ is an adjective, as it may occur after a noun, in a relative clause, and as a predicate.

- (422) mi\ ləp<sup>h</sup>a\ liŋ\ cə\ no\ ŋai\  
 this tea hot TOP NEG good  
 ‘This hot tea is not good.’

- (423) liŋ\ miʔ\ ləp<sup>h</sup>a\ cə\ no\ ŋai\  
 hot LNK tea TOP NEG good  
 ‘The tea that is hot is not good.’

Predicate adjectives such as *liŋ* ‘hot’ can be modified by intensifiers like *prai* ‘very’ in (271), repeated here as (424). They can also be negated as in (425). However, if the predicate adjective is negated and the intensifier is present, as in (426), the result is

ungrammatical. As illustrated in (427), the speaker must add the word *ləŋʌ* ‘CONTR’, which means here ‘anymore’, to make the sentence grammatical.<sup>75</sup>

(424) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ liŋʌ̯ praɪ̯l̯  
 this tea TOP hot very  
 ‘The tea is very hot.’

(425) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ noʌ̯ liŋʌ̯  
 this tea TOP NEG hot  
 ‘The tea is not hot.’

(426) \*mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ noʌ̯ liŋʌ̯ praɪ̯l̯  
 this tea TOP NEG hot very  
 ‘The tea is not very hot.’

(427) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ noʌ̯ liŋʌ̯ praɪ̯l̯ ləŋʌ̯  
 this tea TOP NEG hot very CONTR  
 ‘The tea is not very hot anymore.’

Predicate adjectives are frequently marked with the inchoatives *kai̯l̯* ‘go’ and *raʌ̯* ‘come’. These grammaticalized verbs, illustrated in examples (274), repeated here as (428), and (272), repeated here as (429), show a change of state has occurred. Also, in (428) the sentence is modified by the perfective marker *vit̯l̯* ‘PFV’ to show that the motion into the state has been completed. The grammaticalized verb *ve̯l̯* ‘stay’, illustrated in (276), repeated here as (430), is used for stative adjectives to show that they are remaining in the state for an extended period of time.

(428) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ s<sup>h</sup>uŋʌ̯ kai̯l̯ vit̯l̯ kə̯ʌ̯  
 this tea TOP cold go PFV PERF  
 ‘The tea has become cold.’

(429) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ liŋʌ̯ raʌ̯ kə̯ʌ̯  
 this tea TOP hot come PERF  
 ‘The tea has become hot (and is ready to drink).’

(430) mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯ʌ̯ liŋʌ̯ ve̯l̯ hi̯nʌ̯  
 this tea TOP hot stay still  
 ‘The tea is still hot.’

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<sup>75</sup> I do not know how this affects categorical placement. This may be a semantic property of the word rather than grammatical.

In (431) it is ungrammatical to mark the predicate adjective for ability, as there is no agent. However, as (432) and (433) illustrate, predicate adjectives may be marked for ability if there is an agent. Example (432) may also be used without the negative marker.

(431) \*mi̯l̯ ləp<sup>h</sup>a̯l̯ cə̯v̯ hai̯l̯ liŋ̯v̯  
 this tea TOP able hot  
 \*‘The tea is able to be hot.’

(432) dai̯l̯ cə̯v̯ no̯- hai̯l̯ r̯<sup>h</sup>au̯-<sup>76</sup>  
 Dai TOP NEG able tall  
 ‘Dai is not able to be tall (to grow tall).’

(433) dai̯l̯ cə̯v̯ no̯- hai̯l̯ ŋai̯l̯  
 Dai TOP NEG able good  
 ‘Dai is not able to be good.’

Some adjectives can be marked with the superlative *prek-* ‘SUP’, as in examples

(434) and (435).

(434) mənam̯v̯ ko̯l̯ dai̯l̯ cə̯v̯ r̯<sup>h</sup>au̯- prek-  
 village in Dai TOP tall SUP  
 ‘Dai is the tallest in the village.’

(435) ma̯l̯ni̯- cə̯v̯ klaŋ̯v̯ ŋai̯l̯ prek-  
 Mani TOP body good SUP  
 ‘Mani is the prettiest.’

As illustrated in (436) the adjective *kəŋ* ‘great’ occurs with the superlative *kək̯v̯* ‘SUP’. In (437) two individuals are compared and the adjective/superlative construction *kəŋ kək̯v̯* ‘great SUP’ remains the same. However, the word *luk̯v̯* ‘compared to’ appears after the participant that is not greater. Example (438), which contrasts with (434), further illustrates the comparative *luk̯v̯* ‘compared to’.

(436) iŋ̯l̯ nam̯v̯ hai̯l̯ meŋ̯v̯ s<sup>h</sup>əra̯- kəŋ kək̯v̯ miʔ̯l̯ cə̯v̯ dai̯v̯  
 1PL village from song teacher great SUP LNK TOP Dai  
 ‘Our village’s greatest song teacher is Dai.’

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<sup>76</sup> This sentence is used when someone younger is taller than someone older. Culturally the older man should be taller, but since he is not, this is the reason that is given.

- (437) mu+mai\ cə+ aŋ\ luk\ məteŋ\ kə\ kək\ mi+na\<sup>77</sup>  
 cloud TOP 1SG *compared.to* unfortunately great SUP LNK-be  
 ‘So, unfortunately the clouds are greater than me.’
- (438) dai\ cə?\ koko+ luk\ r<sup>h</sup>au+  
 Dai TOP Ko.Ko *compared.to* tall  
 ‘Dai is taller than Ko Ko.’

## 7.5 Adverb

Adverbs, which are words that describe the manner in which the action is done, only occur in the clause-final operator position and cannot appear in a sentence without a verb. Their ability to be separated from the verb by the object and by the subject agreement marker provides evidence of their position. Adverbs are frequently derived by reduplicating verb roots<sup>78</sup> as in examples (439) and (31), repeated here as (440). Adverbs may also be simple roots, as in examples (441) and (442).

- (439) mi\ tsa\ rət-rət\ ɬə\  
 3SG eat *fast-fast* with  
 ‘He eats quickly.’
- (440) mi\ kəcai\ cə\ mər+ rə\ rə<sup>79</sup> nak\  
 this woman TOP grumble *constantly* INTENS  
 ‘She grumbles all the time!’
- (441) t<sup>h</sup>ək\ kiŋlik\ nək<sup>h</sup>ə\  
 die *surely* OPT  
 ‘May (you) surely die.’
- (442) t<sup>h</sup>ok\ bak\ jok\ k<sup>h</sup>ək\ pɛ?  
 curse give *adamantly* DECL  
 ‘(He) cursed (the worm) adamantly.’

Example (443), illustrates the adverb *p<sup>h</sup>i\* ‘really’ as it is separated from the verb *t<sup>h</sup>im\* ‘miss’ by the object *ən\* ‘2SG’. Example (259), repeated here as (444), illustrates

<sup>77</sup> This is a conjunction that occurs between the clause in this example and the following clause in the story.

<sup>78</sup> Reduplicated verbs are discussed further in §2.4.

<sup>79</sup> In some reduplicated adverbs, the meaning of the individual verb roots has been lost.

the adverb *jar*<sup>v</sup> ‘casually’ as it is separated from the verb *miŋ*<sup>ʎ</sup> ‘wait’ by the object *mət*<sup>v</sup> ‘3SG’<sup>80</sup>. Example (255), repeated here as (445), illustrates adverb *təŋ*<sup>v</sup>*təŋ*<sup>v</sup> ‘return-return’ as it is separated from the verb *kəŋak*<sup>t</sup> ‘quarrel’ by the subject agreement marker *ja*<sup>v</sup> ‘DU’.

(443) *iŋ*<sup>t</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>im*<sup>v</sup> *ən*<sup>v</sup> *p<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>v</sup> *ŋak*<sup>v</sup>  
 1PL *miss* 2SG *really* INTENS  
 ‘We’ve really missed you a lot.’

(444) *pupət*<sup>v</sup> *cə*<sup>v</sup> *miŋ*<sup>ʎ</sup> *mət*<sup>v</sup> *həm*<sup>l</sup> *jar*<sup>v</sup> *vit*<sup>v</sup>  
 turtle TOP *wait* 3SG *OBJ* *casually* PFV  
 ‘The turtle was casually waiting on him.’

(445) *mi*<sup>l</sup>-*ja*<sup>v</sup> *ju*<sup>l</sup> *hwa*<sup>v</sup> *cə*<sup>t</sup> *kəŋak*<sup>t</sup> *ja*<sup>v</sup> *təŋ*<sup>v</sup>*təŋ*<sup>v</sup> *ŋak*<sup>v</sup>  
 3-DU wife husband TOP *quarrel* *DU* *return-return* INTENS  
 ‘That couple quarrels all the time.’

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<sup>80</sup> This differs from the normal third person pronoun *mi*<sup>l</sup> ‘3SG’. I have not had the opportunity to further investigate this difference.

## CHAPTER 8: SENTENCE TYPES

This chapter describes statements, questions, commands, illocutionary force, and quote structures. Sentence types are usually marked via clause-final mood auxiliaries.

### 8.1 Statements (declarative)

Statements in narratives are marked by *pɛʔʋ* ‘DECL’, as in example (446), but in other discourse types they are unmarked, as illustrated in example (447).<sup>81</sup>

(446) *rəmpaiʋ kənuʋ cəʋ tʰəkʋ vitʋ pɛʔʋ*  
duck mother TOP die PFV DECL  
‘The mother duck died.’

(447) *aŋʋ caʋ vitʋ kəʋ*  
1SG eat PFV PERF  
‘I have already eaten.’

Narrative sentences are often made up of multiple clauses joined together with various conjunctions, as illustrated in (448). The declarative *pɛʔʋ* ‘DECL’ ends the sentence and provides a pause in the discourse.

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<sup>81</sup> See §4.1 for further examples of statements.

- (448) pə<sup>82</sup>-kʰə\ pjuŋ\ mi-kʰa\ miʔ\ tur\  
 this-after run this-time LNK Tur
- vai\ mi\-ja\ kʰam\ kətəm\ mi-kʰa\  
 Vai 3-DU at arrive this-time
- tur\ mi\-ja\ vai\ cə\ kʰəŋ\ bai\ kʰə\  
 Tur 3-DU Vai TOP mat spread.out having
- pəktərua\ cə\ təram\ ko\ hai\ tʰeŋ\ mi\  
 badger TOP ear in from put LNK
- bən\ sʰi\ həm\ hik\ mi-kla\ pɛʔ\  
 soil PL OBJ drop this-occur DECL  
 ‘It happened that, running like this they came to Tur and Vai and when  
 Tur and Vai had spread out a mat, the badger took the dirt that he had  
 put inside his ear and put it down.’

## 8.2 Questions (interrogative)

Content questions contain a question word and yes-no questions do not. This is the main difference between the grammatical structures of the two interrogative forms (Kroeger 2005:203). Example (268), repeated here as (449), illustrates a content question followed by a yes-no question. The content question contains the question phrase *na\ pɛ\* ‘why (Lit. what happen)’, but the yes-no question does not contain a question word.

- (449) [na\ pɛ\ rau\ hai\ va\ ] [tim\ rau\ ma\  
 what happen hurt PROG Q wind hurt Y/N  
 ‘Why are you hurting? Is it gas?’

### 8.2.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are usually formed via the clause-final auxiliary *ma\* ‘Y/N’, but they are also formed via tag questions. Example (450) illustrates a declarative sentence, and (451) illustrates the corresponding yes-no question.

<sup>82</sup> The word *pɛ\* ‘this’ is often reduced to *pə* ‘this’ in compound words.



(450) dai<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>1</sup> mat<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> vit<sup>1</sup>  
 Dai go self from field  
 'Dai went to his own field.'

(451) dai<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>1</sup> mat<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> vit<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>  
 Dai go self from field Y/N  
 'Did Dai go to his own field?'

Examples (452) and (453) further illustrate the use of the clause-final *ma<sup>1</sup>* 'Y/N'.

(452) vənki<sup>1</sup> har<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>  
 shirt new COP Y/N  
 'Is there a new shirt?'

(453) cə<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>oŋpiklaŋ<sup>1</sup> cə<sup>1</sup> har<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>  
 here DEF pants TOP new Y/N  
 'Are these pants new?'

Interrogatives formed via tag questions are illustrated in examples (454) and (456).

In (454) the speaker makes a statement and then adds the tag question ɔ:<sup>1</sup> 'TAG' to see if the listener is in agreement or not. The speaker is expecting a reply, whether positive or negative, and in (455) the listener replies affirmatively.

(454) əbəle<sup>1</sup> kəmai<sup>1</sup> cə?<sup>1</sup> fəŋ<sup>1</sup> ra<sup>1</sup> ham<sup>1</sup> peni<sup>1</sup> ɔ:<sup>1</sup>  
 Aaw today TOP rain come IRR think TAG  
 'Aaw. I think it might rain today. Whadaya think?'

(455) ra<sup>1</sup> lim<sup>1</sup> ham<sup>1</sup>  
 come might IRR  
 'It might come.'

Example (456) illustrates an interrogative formed via a word of uncertainty; *mahə<sup>1</sup>*

'maybe'. In (457) the listener affirms the speaker's doubt.

(456) far<sup>1</sup> ciŋ<sup>1</sup> tim<sup>1</sup> haŋ<sup>1</sup> ŋak<sup>1</sup> rə<sup>1</sup> mahə<sup>1</sup>  
 night whole wind blow.hard INTENS CONT maybe  
 'The wind might have blown hard all night.'

(457) tim<sup>1</sup> priŋ<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> ŋak<sup>1</sup> rə<sup>1</sup> vɛ<sup>1</sup> ə<sup>1</sup>  
 wind strong very INTENS CONT COP really  
 'Yeah, it was blowing really hard the whole time.'

## 8.2.2 Content

Question words in content questions appear as shown in in Table 26.

Table 26: Question words

Question word	Use	Position
mi̯	who	in situ
na̯	what	in situ
ham̯	where	in situ
na̯ pe̯ hai̯ mi̯	why	clause-initial
hakk <sup>h</sup> a̯	when	clause-final operator
<sup>n</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ət̯	how many	prenominal

The question word *mi̯* ‘who’ appears in situ. That is, it appears in the natural position of the word that is being replaced. So, if the subject is being questioned, then *mi̯* ‘who’ will appear where the subject would normally be in a declarative sentence. In (458) the question word *mi̯* ‘who’ follows the topicalized adjunct phrase *mi̯ kək̯u̯ hai̯ vit̯ t<sup>h</sup>aŋ̯* ‘his field’ and precedes the verb *kai̯* ‘go’. The question word *mi̯* ‘who’ in (458) occupies the same position as *aŋ̯* ‘1SG’ in (459).

(458) mi̯ kək̯u̯ hai̯ vit̯ t<sup>h</sup>aŋ̯ mi̯ kai̯ va̯  
 this man from field to who go Q  
 ‘Who went to his field?’

(459) mi̯ kək̯u̯ hai̯ vit̯ t<sup>h</sup>aŋ̯ aŋ̯ kai̯  
 this man from field to 1SG go  
 ‘I went to his field.’

In (326), repeated here as (460), the object is replaced by the question word *mi̯* ‘who’, which follows the verb and is marked by *həm̯* ‘OBJ’. This is the default position for objects.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> In my data, *mi̯* ‘who’ only appears directly before the verb and directly after it, as illustrated in (458) and (460).

- (460) *hwaluŋ* ɬəŋ ənʌ varʌ *mi*ʌ həmʌ<sup>84</sup> vaʌ  
 stone with 2SG throw *who* OBJ Q  
 ‘Who did you throw the rock at?’

When the question word replaces an oblique or adjunct, it follows the verb, as illustrated in examples (461) and (462). This helps to identify the oblique default position in declarative sentences, since the oblique may occur in various positions, as illustrated in (463) and (464).<sup>85</sup>

- (461) *məŋ* ɬəŋ ɬəŋ həmʌ ənʌ varʌ *na*ʌ ɬəŋ vaʌ  
 Maung.Maung OBJ 2SG pelt *what* with Q  
 ‘With what did you pelt Maung Maung?’

- (462) *mi* ɬəŋ kəkuʌ kaiʌ mətʌ vitʌ *hakk*<sup>h</sup>aʌ haiʌ vaʌ  
 this man go self field *when* from Q  
 ‘When did he go to his field?’

- (463) *hwaluŋ* ɬəŋ aŋ ɬəŋ varʌ məŋ ɬəŋ həmʌ  
 stone with 1SG pelt Maung.Maung OBJ  
 ‘I pelted Maung Maung with a rock.’

- (464) *məŋ* ɬəŋ həmʌ *hwaluŋ* ɬəŋ aŋ varʌ  
 Maung.Maung OBJ stone with 1SG pelt  
 ‘Maung Maung, I pelted with a rock.’

The question word *na*ʌ ‘what’ takes the place of the NP that is under inquiry. Therefore, it may occur at any NP position in the sentence. Example (465) illustrates an object replaced by *na*ʌ ‘what’, and (461) illustrates an instrument replaced with *na*ʌ ‘what’.

- (465) *kə*jak ɬəŋ mi ɬəŋ caʌ *na*ʌ vaʌ  
 yesterday 3SG eat *what* Q  
 ‘What did he eat yesterday?’

Examples (450) and (451), repeated here as (466) and (467), along with (468) illustrate the contrast between a declarative sentence, a yes-no question and a content question. As noted above, the yes-no question in (467) is marked with the clause-final

<sup>84</sup> Only rarely does the object take the object marker when it appears after the verb.

<sup>85</sup> These are possible answers to (461).

*maʋ* ‘Y/N’. In the same way, the content question in (468) is marked with the clause-final *vaʋ* ‘Q’. However, in the content question, the NP *m̄atʋ haiʋ vitʋ* ‘his own field’ is replaced with the question word *hamʋ* ‘where’.

(466) Declarative  
 daiʋ kaiʋ m̄atʋ haiʋ vitʋ  
 Dai go self from field  
 ‘Dai went to his own field.’

(467) Yes-no question  
 daiʋ kaiʋ m̄atʋ haiʋ vitʋ maʋ  
 Dai go self from field Y/N  
 ‘Did Dai go to his own field?’

(468) Content question  
 daiʋ kaiʋ hamʋ vaʋ  
 Dai go where Q  
 ‘Where did Dai go?’

When inquiring about the reason why someone did something, the phrase *naʋ peʋ haiʋ miʋ* ‘what was happening that’ occurs clause-initially, as illustrated in examples (469) and (470).

(469) *naʋ peʋ haiʋ miʋ miʋ kəkuʋ kaiʋ təʋoʋ haiʋ vaʋ*  
*what happen PROG LNK this man go river PROG Q*  
 ‘What was happening that he went to the river? (Why did he go to the river?)’

(470) *naʋ peʋ haiʋ miʋ caʋ cakʋ kəjakʋ haiʋ vaʋ*  
*what happen PROG LNK eat rice yesterday PROG Q*  
 ‘Why did he eat rice yesterday?’

The adjunct question word *hakkʰaʋ* ‘when’ occurs in the adverbial clause-final operator position, preceding TAM and mood auxiliaries. In (471) *hakkʰaʋ* ‘when’ precedes the content question auxiliary *vaʋ* ‘Q’, in (472) it precedes the irrealis *hamʋ* ‘IRR’, and in (473) it precedes the progressive auxiliary *haiʋ* ‘PROG’.

(471) *kəjakʋ caʋ cakʋ hakkʰaʋ vaʋ*  
 yesterday eat rice when Q  
 ‘When (at what time) did he eat rice yesterday?’

(472) kəriu\    hak-k<sup>h</sup>a\    ham\    pe\    va\  
 learn    when    IRR    happen    Q  
 ‘When will we learn this?’

(473) mi\    kəku\    kai\    mat\    vit\    hakk<sup>h</sup>a\    hai\    va\  
 this    man    go    self    field    when    PROG    Q  
 ‘When was he going to his field?’

When inquiring about the amount of something the question word *ʔk<sup>h</sup>ət\* ‘how.many’ is used preminally, as illustrated in (474).

(474) ve\    ʔk<sup>h</sup>ət\  
 stay    how.many    ni\    ham\    va\  
 day    IRR    Q  
 ‘How many days will you stay?’

### 8.3 Commands (imperative)

Imperatives are marked clause-finally by the imperative auxiliary *de\* ‘IMP’. Negative imperatives are marked clause-initially by the negative imperative auxiliary *boŋ\* ‘IMPneg’. Both forms may be altered for politeness through the use of particles.

The actor in imperatives is always second person and usually is the grammatical subject of the clause (Kroeger 2005:199). Therefore, any reference to the subject is usually redundant. Examples (475) and (320), repeated here as (476), illustrate imperatives with no overt subject. In (476) the subject agreement auxiliary *va\* ‘PL’ follows the verb, making the subject number explicit.

(475) kai\    kim\  
 go    house    IMP  
 ‘Go to the house!’

(476) kai\    ca\    va\    de\  
 go    eat    PL    IMP  
 ‘You all go eat!’

In (477) the politeness particle *ba\* ‘POL’ follows *de\* ‘IMP’, making the sentence more polite.

(477) kaiŋ    caŋ    vaʋ    deʋ    baʔ  
           go    eat    PL    IMP    POL  
           ‘You all go eat!’

The negative imperative marker *boŋʔ* ‘IMPneg’ occurs clause-initially, as illustrated in (478).

(478) boŋʔ        kaiŋ        ənʋ        mətʔ        haiŋ        vitʋ  
           IMPneg    go        2SG        self        from        field  
           ‘Don’t go to your field.’

The politeness particle *baʔ* ‘POL’ can also occur in negative imperatives as illustrated in (479).

(479) boŋʔ        bomŋ        aŋʔ        baʔ  
           IMPneg    hit        1SG        POL  
           ‘Please don’t hit me.’

If the speaker really feels bad about what they are asking the other person to do, the word *lɔkʋ* ‘friend’ is tagged on the end, as illustrated in (480). In (480), the subject agreement auxiliary *vaʋ* ‘PL’ occurs as it is in agreement with the omitted subject.

(480) a:ʋ        boŋʋ        caŋ        vaʋ        baʔ        lɔkʋ  
           hey    IMPneg    eat        PL        POL        friend  
           ‘Oh, don’t eat, allright.’

#### 8.4 Illocutionary force

Illocutionary force is “like gravity in physics.” It “is not something which can be ‘seen’ directly. It shows itself only through its effects” (Goddard 1998:139). Therefore, a sentence may look grammatically like a declarative, but the speaker is actually using it as a question. Or a question may be used as a declarative sentence. For example, in (481) the speaker finds that the clay that he is sculpting with is almost gone. He voices his surprise and frustration with a sentence using the question construction *naʔ peʔ miʔʔ* ‘why (Lit. what happen that)’. However, he does not expect a response. He is making a

declarative statement. This is evident by the missing content question particle that should come on the end if it were actually intended to be a question.

- (481) *naʔ peʔ miʔʔ miʔ bɔnʔ cəʔ kəkʰoiʔ kiŋʔ hamʔ kəʔ*  
*what happen LNK this soil TOP run.out all IRR PERF*  
 ‘How can it be that the dirt is almost all gone!’

Often, yes-no questions are used to make declarative statements, as illustrated in examples (482) and (483), where the speaker is surprised at what he finds.

- (482) *ənʔ caʔ cakʔ haiʔ maʔ*  
 2SG eat rice PROG Y/N  
 ‘You are eating!’

- (483) *ənʔ veʔ kimʔ latʔ maʔ*  
 2SG live house just Y/N  
 ‘You are living at home!’

## 8.5 Quote structure

Direct quotes, as illustrated in examples (484), (485), and (328), repeated here as (486), are formed when the quote precedes *paʔ-jəkʔ* ‘say-give’. The verb *jəkʔ* ‘give’ often appears after other verbs to create a serial verb construction, as discussed in §9.4. When *jəkʔ* ‘give’ occurs with *paʔ* ‘say’ they form an intonationally inseparable entity.

- (484) “*poʔ muʔmaiʔ təmaʔ deʔ*” *paʔ-jəkʔ*  
 take cloud daughter IMP say-give  
 ‘“Please take the cloud's daughter as your wife,” (the sun) said (to the mouse).’<sup>86</sup>

- (485) “*kjaʔ maʔʔ tʰjaʔ aŋʔ kəcəʔ*  
 cow SUBJ step.on 1SG if  
  
*minʔ kaiʔ vitʔ*” *paʔ-jəkʔ beʔ pətʔ*  
 collapse go PFV say-give PRT DECL  
 ‘“If a cow steps on me I will crumble down,” (the mountain) said (to the mouse).’

<sup>86</sup> Usually the referents of the story do not need to be expressed as they are understood from context.

- (486) “tu+ i| vit| m̄ma| mɔ| ” pa|-jɔk| pɛ?|  
 chop 1PL field path HORT say-give DECL  
 ‘Let’s go clear the path to our field,’ (the bird) said (to the worm).’

Example (487) illustrates that *pa|-jɔk|* ‘say-give’ can both precede and follow the quote.

- (487) ŋa+ kʰa| kək| cə?| rəmpai| həm|  
 over time crow TOP duck OBJ  
  
*pa|-jɔk|* mi?| cə?| “lək| ə:| ən| tsə?+  
*say-give* LNK TOP friend excuse.me 2SG TOP  
  
 klaŋ| ŋai| pʰi+ bɛ| ” *pa|-jɔk|* pɛ?|  
 body good very so say-give DECL  
 ‘At that time the crow said to the duck, “Excuse me, friend, you look very, very pretty,” (he said).’

In (488) a direct quote is marked simply by *pa|* ‘say’ rather than by *pa|-jɔk|*.<sup>87</sup>

- (488) ŋa|-kəcə?+ mu|mai| cə?| “e:| aŋ+ na| kə+ ” pa| pɛ?|  
 over-when cloud TOP yes 1SG be great say DECL  
 ‘After that the cloud said, “Yeah, I am great.”’

Direct quotes are also formed with the verb *tir|* ‘tell’, as illustrated in (489).

- (489) təhi+ mi?| ut+ kə| həm| “pə:+ jɔk| ju+  
 son LNK mouse white OBJ take give wife  
  
 i| mat| ut+ təma| həm| mi?| ” *tir|-jɔk|* mi+|kʰa?+  
 1PL self mouse daughter OBJ LNK tell-give this-time  
 ‘When he told the white mouse, who was his son, “Take a wife that is our own kind...”’

Indirect quotes are formed when *pe|-nə+* ‘this-be’ in (490) or *pe|-mi?|* ‘this-LNK’ in

(491) precedes the verb *tir|* ‘tell’.

- (490) mi| kək| [mat+ hai| təhi| kai| bəŋkok| jo| ] *pe|-nə+* *tir|*<sup>88</sup>  
 this man self from son go Bangkok REA this-be tell  
 ‘He said that his son went to Bangkok.’

<sup>87</sup> In my data, the two word quote formula is the most frequent form. I need more data to say in what situations each form may occur. Also, I do not have enough data to say why the tone on *pa|* ‘say’ differs in this example.

<sup>88</sup> This word most often appears when there is a subject and object, which is why it is glossed here as ‘tell.’ However, in the translation, ‘tell’ does not appear to be appropriate, as the audience is unknown.



- (491) mi<sup>1</sup> kəku<sup>v</sup> [mi<sup>1</sup> kəku<sup>v</sup> jua<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>1</sup>  
 this man this man person go  
 beŋkək<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>v</sup> jo<sup>1</sup>] pe<sup>+</sup>mi<sup>?</sup> t<sup>ir</sup><sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 Bangkok to REA this-LNK tell 1SG  
 'He told me that the man went to Bangkok.'

Example (492) illustrates reported speech containing an imperative. The form in (492) differs from the reported speech in (491), which contains a declarative. In (492) *pe<sup>+</sup>* 'this' is not present.

- (492) mi<sup>1</sup> [tsa<sup>1</sup> tsak<sup>v</sup> ham<sup>1</sup>] mi<sup>?</sup> t<sup>ir</sup><sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 3SG eat rice IRR LNK tell 1SG  
 'He told me to eat rice.'

## CHAPTER 9: CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

This chapter describes clause combinations which involve coordination, subordination, clause-chaining, and serial verb constructions.

Both clauses in a coordinate clause have “the internal structure of an independent sentence, and neither is embedded in the other” (Kroeger 2005:219). This differs from a subordinate clause “which functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head.” This chapter describes three types of subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses in §9.2.1, relative clauses in §9.2.2, and complement clauses in §9.2.3.

The terms ‘coordinate’ and ‘subordinate’ are sufficient for describing co-ranking languages but not chaining languages.

Longacre (1985:238) states, “Sentence structures around the world may be conveniently divided into two main types called ‘co-ranking’ structures and ‘chaining’ structures.” Co-ranking structures can have several (independent) verbs of the same rank, but chaining structures do not. In chaining structures the “sentence typically ends in a dominating verb of fuller structure than any of the preceding verbs. These preceding verbs are commonly referred to as medial verbs while the dominating verb at the end is known as the final verb” (Longacre 1985:238).

This chapter presents evidence of chaining and co-ranking sentence structures in Hkongso. Co-ranking structures involve coordination and subordination, but in chaining structures “the subordinate/coordinate distinction is irrelevant and both are absorbed into the medial/final distinction” (Longacre 1985:239).

Kroeger (2004:249) also distinguishes coordinate from medial clauses: “A coordinate clause takes independent tense and agreement marking, can be independently

marked for interrogative mood or negation, etc., whereas medial clauses have none of these properties.” Furthermore, “medial clauses are not subordinate to (i.e. embedded within) the final clause. Rather, medial and final clauses must be sisters” (Kroeger 2004:249). In this chapter it is my goal to present examples of subordination and coordination as well as examples of medial and final clauses.

Givón (1990:891) compares OV and VO clause-chaining languages, concluding, “OV clause-chaining languages give finite marking to the chain-final clause, while VO clause-chaining languages give finite marking to the chain-initial clause.”<sup>89</sup>

Hkongso does not fit this cross-linguistic generalization. It is a VO language, yet finite (TAM) marking occurs on the final clause, with the medial clauses strung to the left. Givón (1990:890) provides, with a disclaimer, a cross-linguistic schematic rendition of how the connector attaches, illustrated in Figure 6.

VO language:	[first clause], conj-[second clause]
OV language:	[first clause]-conj, [second clause]

Figure 6: Cross-linguistic connector placement

Again, Hkongso does not fit this schema. Hkongso is VO, but the connector attaches intonationally to the clause it follows.

Another important consideration in the discussion of coordinate and subordinate clause combinations is Haiman and Thompson’s (1984:511) work on features of subordination, which are discussed in §9.2.

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<sup>89</sup> Givón is aware that this is not a perfect correlation throughout the world’s languages.

## 9.1 Coordination

Coordination involves two conjoined clauses that both have the internal structure of an independent sentence. In example (493) both clauses have independent internal structures which contain TAM auxiliaries and the interrogative mood auxiliary *maʔ* ‘Y/N’.<sup>90</sup>

- (493) [ənʌ kaiʌ vitʌ hamʌ maʔ ]  
 2SG go field IRR Y/N
- noʔ-naʌ-kəcəʔ [ənʌ kaiʌ təʔoʔ hamʌ maʔ ]  
 NEG-right-if 2SG go river IRR Y/N  
 ‘Will you go to the field or the river?’

The ability of both clauses to take TAM auxiliaries and be marked for mood is a distinguishing feature of clausal coordination in Hkongso. The coordinated imperative clauses in (494) both take the imperative mood auxiliary *deʌ* ‘IMP’.

- (494) [kaiʌ vitʌ deʌ ] noʔ-naʌ-kəcəʔ [kaiʌ təʔoʔ deʌ ]  
 go field IMP NEG-right-if go river IMP  
 ‘Go to the field or the river.’

Examples (493) and (494) involve alternations using the coordinator *noʔ-naʌ-kəcəʔ* ‘NEG-right-if’. This coordinator can also occur between two phrases, as illustrated in (495). Examples (496) and (497) illustrate reduction of the second clause, where the subject and verb are both omitted. This is not nominal coordination as the mood auxiliary *maʔ* ‘Y/N’ occurs on both clauses.

- (495) [kokʌ maʔ ] noʔ-naʌ-kəcəʔ [təmʌ maʔ ]  
 white Y/N NEG-right-if black Y/N  
 ‘White or black?’
- (496) [ənʌ hjaʌ liŋmoʔ uiʌ maʔ ] noʔ-naʌ-kəcəʔ [leŋʌ uiʌ maʔ ]  
 2SG want orange fruit Y/N NEG-right-if banana fruit Y/N  
 ‘Do you want an orange or a banana?’

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<sup>90</sup> Simple yes/no questions are illustrated in §8.2.1.

- (497) [miᵛ sʰɔtᵛ kjaᵛ maᵛ ] noᵛ-naᵛ-kəcəᵛ [pakᵛ maᵛ ]  
 3SG stab cow Y/N NEG-right-if pig Y/N  
 ‘Did he stab a cow or a pig?’

Clausal reduction also occurs in imperative sentences, as illustrated in (498), where the verb *sʰɔtᵛ* ‘stab’ is omitted from the second clause.

- (498) sʰɔtᵛ kjaᵛ deᵛ noᵛ-naᵛ-kəcəᵛ pakᵛ deᵛ  
 stab cow IMP NEG-right-if pig IMP  
 ‘Stab a cow or a pig.’

Declarative alternations can also be reduced, as illustrated in (499), where *miᵛ* ‘3SG’ is omitted from the second clause and in (500) where *sʰɔtᵛ* ‘stab’ is omitted from the second clause. Declarative alternations are used to express uncertainty and therefore take the particle *bəᵛ* ‘PRT’, which also occurs in dubitative constructions, as illustrated in (281), repeated here as (501).<sup>91</sup>

- (499) [miᵛ kaiᵛ vitᵛ bəᵛ ] noᵛ-naᵛ-kəcəᵛ [kaiᵛ təʔoᵛ bəᵛ ]  
 3SG go field PRT NEG-right-if go river PRT  
 ‘He went to the field or the river.’

- (500) [sʰɔtᵛ kjaᵛ bəᵛ ] noᵛ-naᵛ-kəcəᵛ [pakᵛ bəᵛ ]  
 stab cow PRT NEG-right-if pig PRT  
 ‘(He) stabbed a cow or a pig.’

- (501) kəjakᵛ faŋᵛ raᵛ piᵛ-bəᵛ-təᵛ  
 yesterday rain come DUB  
 ‘I’m not sure if it rained yesterday.’

Coordination involving contrast, the notional ‘but/however’, is formed by combining two clauses with the coordinator *peᵛkəpəᵛ* ‘however’, as illustrated in (502). The mood auxiliary *peᵛ* ‘DECL’ only occurs at the end of the second clause in (502). In (503) *peᵛ* ‘DECL’ occurs at the end of both clauses and *peᵛkəpəᵛ* ‘however’ appears between the two clauses.

- (502) [preŋᵛ hamᵛ veᵛ ] peᵛkəpəᵛ [kəkraᵛ hamᵛ hinᵛ peᵛ ]  
 translate IRR PRT however take.time IRR still DECL  
 ‘(Yes.) We will translate, but it will take time.’

<sup>91</sup> Uncertainty is further discussed in §5.3.4.

- (503) [[“aŋ<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> hja<sup>\</sup> ləŋ<sup>\</sup> kə<sup>\</sup> ”] pa-jok<sup>\</sup> pɛʔ<sup>\</sup> ]  
 1SG NEG want CONTR PERF tell-give DECL  
*pe<sup>\</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* [kəpə<sup>\</sup> mət<sup>\</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> [“boŋ<sup>\</sup> kram<sup>]</sup> ]  
*however* father self TOP don't fear  
 [aŋ<sup>+</sup> keŋ<sup>]</sup> maŋ<sup>]</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> hin<sup>+</sup> ”] pa-jok<sup>\</sup> pɛʔ<sup>\</sup> ]  
 1SG hear dream IRR still tell-give DECL  
 “I don't love (him) anymore,” (she said). But the father said, “Don't be scared. I will listen to my dreams some more.”

The coordinator *pe<sup>\</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* ‘however’ also appears as *petək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* ‘however’, as illustrated in examples (504) and (505). In (504) neither clause is marked for TAM or mood. As mentioned in §5.3.5, realis may be unmarked. In (505) the two statements made by the cloud contrast and are separated by *petək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* ‘however’.

- (504) [dai<sup>]</sup> con<sup>]</sup> praŋ<sup>]</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>\</sup> ] *petək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* [dɛŋ<sup>+</sup> cəʔ<sup>\</sup> ve<sup>]</sup> kim<sup>\</sup> ]  
 Dai leave outside LOC *however* Daeng TOP COP house  
 ‘Dai went out but Daeng stayed at home.’

- (505) mu<sup>]</sup>mai<sup>\</sup> cəʔ<sup>\</sup> “e:<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> na<sup>\</sup> kə<sup>+</sup> ” pa<sup>\</sup> pɛʔ<sup>\</sup>  
 cloud TOP yes 1SG be great tell DECL  
*“petək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* aŋ<sup>]</sup> luk<sup>\</sup> kə<sup>]</sup> kək<sup>\</sup> mi<sup>?</sup><sup>]</sup> ve<sup>+</sup> hin<sup>]</sup> ”  
*however* 1SG compared.to great SUP LNK COP still  
 ‘The cloud said, “I am great.” “However, there is still one who's even greater than me.”’

The coordinator *mi<sup>?</sup><sup>]</sup>tək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* ‘however’ is also used to show contrast, as illustrated in (506).

- (506) “e:<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> kə<sup>\</sup> kək<sup>\</sup> mi<sup>?</sup><sup>]</sup>  
 yes 1SG big SUP LNK  
*mi<sup>?</sup><sup>]</sup>tək<sup>]</sup>kəpə<sup>]</sup>* aŋ<sup>+</sup> luk<sup>\</sup> kə<sup>]</sup> kək<sup>\</sup> mi<sup>?</sup><sup>]</sup> ve<sup>+</sup> hin<sup>]</sup> ”  
*however* 1SG compared.to big SUP LNK COP still  
 ‘Yes, I am the one that's the greatest, but there is one who's even greater than I am.’

Coordinators are summarized in Table 27.

Table 27: Coordinators

Coordinator	Function	Notion
noʎ-naʎ-kəcəʎ	alternation	or
pəʎkəpəʎ	contrast	however/but
pətəkʎkəpəʎ	contrast	however/but
miʎtəkʎkəpəʎ	contrast	however/but

## 9.2 Subordination

Traditionally, there is a division, or dichotomy, between subordinate and coordinate clauses. However, “The difference is not a simple dichotomy” (Martin 1992:16). Givón (1990:848) claims that “[many] languages do not make a clear morphosyntactic distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses. Rather they make finer disconnections as to the type of connectivity.” To determine these distinctions, Haiman and Thompson (1984:511) identified seven features that are found in subordinate clauses:

1. identity between the two clauses of subject, tense, or mood
2. reduction of one of the clauses
3. grammatically signaled incorporation of one of the clauses
4. intonational linking between the two clauses
5. one clause is within the scope of the other
6. absence of tense iconicity between the two clauses
7. identity of speech act perspective between the two clauses

As illustrated in §9.1, coordinate clauses are conjoined by coordinators and each coordinate clause can be marked for TAM and mood.<sup>92</sup> The features of subordinate

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<sup>92</sup> This is a typical feature of coordination. Not every clause in coordinate structures is marked for TAM and mood.

clauses differ in that they are marked by a subordinating conjunction, typically *mi?* ‘LNK’, which corresponds to Haiman and Thompson’s feature number three.

Furthermore, subordinate clauses are not marked for mood, which corresponds to Haiman and Thompson’s feature number two.

In §9.2.1 through §9.2.3, I do not abandon the notion ‘subordination’, as Haiman and Thompson (1984:520) suggest. Rather, I maintain the traditional terms, distinguishing three types of subordinate clauses: “those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses)” (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172).

### 9.2.1 *Adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses are “not complements because they do not constitute logical arguments of the main verb; rather, they simply add ‘adverbial’ information” (Payne 1997:317). Adverbial information includes time, location, manner, purpose, reason, condition, etc. In the adverbial clauses presented in this section, the information is unnecessary for what Kroeger (2005:76) calls the well-formedness of the matrix clause. Rather, the information modifies the matrix clause.

Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) identify three ways of marking adverbial clauses in subordinate constructions:

- (a) subordinating morphemes
- (b) special verb forms
- (c) word order



Hkongso uses the subordinating morphemes *mi* *par* *mi*?*l* ‘so that’, *ʔ**l* ‘with’, *ham* *mi*?*l* ‘PURP’, *mi* *luk*? ‘since’, *kəcə*?*l* ‘if’, and *kəpə*? ‘if’ for marking adverbial clauses.

Multiple adverbial clauses may appear before the main clause. Example (186), repeated here as (507), illustrates two adverbial clauses and an adverbial phrase preceding the main clause. Adverbial information about time comes in the clause-initial adverbial phrase and is marked by the temporal/locative postposition *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ*? ‘side’. Reason occurs in the first clause which is marked by the subordinator *mi* *par* *mi*?*l* ‘so that’. In this construction *mi*?*l* ‘LNK’ is the main subordinator used in Hkongso and the other syllables are not reconstructable. Manner occurs in the second adverbial clause and is marked by the instrumental/manner postposition *ʔ**l* ‘with’. Neither adverbial clause is marked for TAM or mood.

- (507) [jak<sup>ʌ</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>ʌ</sup>] [he<sup>ʌ</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>ʌ</sup> no<sup>ʌ</sup> ki<sup>ʌ</sup> mi<sup>ʌ</sup>par<sup>ʌ</sup>mi<sup>ʌ</sup>?<sup>ʌ</sup>]  
 night side enemy PL NEG see so.that
- [mai<sup>ʌ</sup> tər<sup>ʌ</sup> ʔ<sup>ʌ</sup>]<sup>93</sup> kai<sup>ʌ</sup> mə-k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ʌ</sup>  
 fire take with go this-time  
 ‘At night, so that their enemies couldn't see them, they went, by taking fire with them.’

The postpositional *ham* *l* ‘PURP’, combined with the subordinator *mi*?*l* ‘LNK’, is used to mark purpose adverbial clauses.<sup>94</sup> Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) distinguish purpose from reason by saying, “They differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realized at the time of the main clause

<sup>93</sup> This is glossed ‘with’, which encompasses the multiple functions of this subordinator: manner, instrumental, and comitative.

<sup>94</sup> As illustrated in §9.2, relative clauses may also contain this marker.

event.” Following this argument, examples (508)-(510) contain purpose rather than reason clauses.

(508) [pə̃ mənəm̃ lũ] ham̃ miʔ̃ iŋ̃ ruĩ mĩ kək̃ũ həm̃<sup>95</sup>  
do village head PURP LNK 1PL choose this man OBJ  
‘We chose him to be the village chief.’

(509) daĩ ap̃ naŋ̃ tokk<sup>h</sup>ĩ ʔək̃  
Dai shoot be.so deer one  
[[əŋ̃ lamcak̃ nə̃] cã] ham̃ miʔ̃<sup>96</sup>  
cook food having eat PURP LNK  
‘Dai shot a deer in order to have food to eat.’

(510) [rəs<sup>h</sup>ã raũ] miʔ̃ nik̃ k<sup>h</sup>ã [r<sup>h</sup>ak̃ ip̃ p<sup>h</sup>ĩ]  
sun hurt LNK day time mind thirst very  
miʔ̃ kək̃ cə̃ [k<sup>h</sup>am̃ tuĩ] ham̃ miʔ̃ kət<sup>h</sup>ip̃ təõ  
LNK crow SUBJ drink water PURP LNK go.down stream  
‘On a day when the sun was painful, a crow, who’s mind thirsted greatly,  
went down to the river to drink water.’

Reason adverbial clauses are marked by the subordinating conjunction *miʔ̃luk̃*

‘since’, as illustrated in (511a) and (511d).

- (511)
- a) [kələ̃ kəlũ uĩ cə̃ rik̃ nõ vẽ] *miʔ̃luk̃*  
wild gooseberry fruit TOP red NEG COP *since*  
‘Since there was no red wild gooseberry’,
- b) kiŋkũ cə̃ nõ haĩ mañ pə̃-t̃nə̃  
owl TOP NEG able get this-having  
‘the owl was not able to obtain any and so’
- c) kək̃wã təmã həm̃ cum̃ miʔ̃ nĩ  
scissortail daughter OBJ take LNK day  
‘when the day came to take the scissortail’s daughter’,
- d) [nõ haĩ s<sup>h</sup>uñ kələ̃ kəlũ uĩ] *miʔ̃luk̃*  
NEG able bring wild gooseberry fruit *since*  
‘since he was not able to bring a wild gooseberry’,

<sup>95</sup> It is possible that this is a complement clause construction.

<sup>96</sup> This is the only example of reason/purpose clauses I have that follows the matrix clause.

- e) no<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>+</sup> po<sup>+</sup> kəkwa<sup>+</sup> təma<sup>+</sup> pɛʔ<sup>+</sup>  
 NEG able take scissortail daughter DECL  
 ‘he was not able to take the scissortail’s daughter.’

The subordinating conjunction *mi<sup>+</sup>luk<sup>+</sup>* ‘since’ is further illustrated in examples (512) and (513).

- (512) [tim<sup>+</sup> priŋ<sup>+</sup>] *mi<sup>+</sup>luk<sup>+</sup>* kim<sup>+</sup> kə-pur<sup>+</sup>  
 wind strong since house RPM-knocked.down  
 ‘The house is knocked down because the wind was so strong.’

- (513) [no<sup>+</sup> tin<sup>+</sup>] *mi<sup>+</sup>luk<sup>+</sup>* imi<sup>+</sup> s<sup>hi</sup><sup>+</sup> cən<sup>+</sup> rəs<sup>hi</sup>ak<sup>+</sup> pɛʔ<sup>+</sup>  
 NEG sound since person PL come.out many DECL  
 ‘Because there was no sound (heard) many people came out.’

Conditional adverbial clauses, illustrated in examples (514) and (515) are marked by the subordinating conjunction *kəcə<sup>+</sup>* ‘if’.<sup>97</sup>

- (514) i<sup>+</sup> s<sup>hi</sup><sup>+</sup> pə<sup>+</sup> pu<sup>+</sup> kətaŋ<sup>+</sup> ɬə<sup>+</sup> kəkrum<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup> h<sup>+</sup>a<sup>+</sup> kəcəʔ<sup>+</sup>  
 1PL PL also grandpa old.man with meet IRR want if  
 təmuk<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>+</sup> raks<sup>hi</sup>ak<sup>+</sup> ɬə<sup>+</sup> ve<sup>+</sup> va<sup>+</sup>  
 God from will with COP PL  
 ‘If we want to be with grandpa again, let’s live according to God’s will.’

- (515) [rəs<sup>ha</sup><sup>+</sup> rau<sup>+</sup>] *kəcə<sup>+</sup>* kai<sup>+</sup> vit<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup>  
 sun hurt if go field IRR  
 [faŋ<sup>+</sup> ra<sup>+</sup>] *kəcə<sup>+</sup>* kai<sup>+</sup> reu<sup>+</sup> var<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup>  
 rain come if go hook throw IRR  
 ‘If the sun’s out, I’ll go to the field. If it rains, I’ll go fishing.’

When multiple conditional clauses are listed, each clause takes the subordinating conjunction *kəpə<sup>+</sup>* ‘if’, as illustrated in examples (516) and (517).

- (516) [pə<sup>+</sup> tok<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>+</sup> kəpə<sup>+</sup>] [pə<sup>+</sup> nam<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>+</sup> kəpə<sup>+</sup>]  
 do work LNK if do village LNK if  
 [ca<sup>+</sup> cak<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>+</sup> kəpə<sup>+</sup>] ve<sup>+</sup> kuŋ<sup>+</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 eat rice LNK if COP after side  
 ‘When working, building a house or eating, (he) would fall behind.’

<sup>97</sup> This subordinating conjunction also appears in clause-chaining structures, as illustrated in §9.3. In chaining structures, it is used to mark circumstance, where the preceding clause is the circumstance for the following one.

- (517) [dai<sup>l</sup> pə<sup>l</sup> mɛŋ<sup>v</sup> kəpə<sup>t</sup>]  
 Dai do song if
- [no<sup>t</sup> pə<sup>l</sup> kəpə<sup>t</sup>] dɛŋ<sup>t</sup> cə<sup>ʔv</sup> plai<sup>t</sup> ham<sup>l</sup>  
 NEG do if Deng TOP smooth IRR  
 ‘If Dai sings or not, Deng will still dance.’

To summarize, most adverbial clauses occur before the main clause, are marked by a subordinating conjunction, and do not have TAM or mood auxiliaries. Adverbial subordinating conjunctions are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28: Adverbial subordinating conjunctions

Subordinator	Function
mi <sup>l</sup> par <sup>l</sup> mi <sup>ʔ</sup>	purpose
ʔə <sup>l</sup>	manner
ham <sup>l</sup> mi <sup>ʔ</sup>	purpose/reason
mi <sup>l</sup> luk <sup>v</sup>	reason
kəcə <sup>ʔv</sup>	conditional
kəpə <sup>t</sup>	adverbial clause chain

### 9.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses always precede the nouns they modify and always occur with the relativizer *mi<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘LNK’. They are not marked for TAM or mood, may be restrictive or non-restrictive, use only the gap strategy, and the relativized functions may be the subject, object, secondary object, and adjunct.

Relative clauses, “which function as modifiers of nouns,” differ from adverbial clauses, “which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions” (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172). The relative clause in (518) modifies the noun *rəs<sup>h</sup>a<sup>v</sup>* ‘sun’.

- (518) [kə:<sup>ʔ</sup> kə<sup>t</sup> mi<sup>ʔ</sup>] rəs<sup>h</sup>a<sup>v</sup> təma<sup>v</sup> həm<sup>l</sup> po<sup>t</sup> ham<sup>ʔ</sup>  
*big SUP LNK sun daughter OBJ take IRR*  
 ‘I will marry the sun’s [who is the greatest] daughter.’

Hkongso relative clauses are externally headed, as the head noun occurs outside the modifying clause (Kroeger 2005:232). In (518) the head noun *rəs<sup>h</sup>aʎ* ‘sun’ follows the relative clause.

A restrictive relative clause “restricts (or narrows) the identity of the referent to a specific member of that class,” and a non-restrictive relative clause “simply presents additional information about that referent” (Kroeger 2005:231). A non-restrictive relative clause is illustrated in (518), where the referent is already known and the relative clause serves to present additional information.

Restrictive relative clauses are illustrated in examples (123), repeated here as (519), (520), (522), and (124), repeated here as (521), where the speaker is providing information that helps the hearer to narrow the identity of the referent.

(519) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> roi<sup>]</sup> jok<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] kui<sup>+</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ək<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG friend give 1SG LNK dog die  
 ‘The dog that my friend gave me died.’

(520) [ca<sup>+</sup> le<sup>+</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] ləŋki<sup>+</sup> pə<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> ŋai<sup>+</sup>  
 size small LNK longyi as.for NEG good  
 ‘The longyi<sup>98</sup> that is small is no good.’

(521) [kuimeŋ<sup>+</sup> ma<sup>?</sup> map<sup>+</sup> jok<sup>+</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] ut<sup>+</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ək<sup>+</sup>  
 cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die  
 ‘The mouse that the cat bit died.’

(522) mi<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> [luŋ<sup>+</sup> məriŋ<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>+</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] imi<sup>+</sup>  
 3SG TOP salt chili eat LNK person  
 ‘He is someone who eats salt and chili. (He is wise and capable.)’

In examples (519)-(521) the relative clause modifies the subject, and in (522) it modifies the predicate nominal. Example (523) illustrates a relative clause modifying the object *m<sup>h</sup>maʎ* ‘path’.

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<sup>98</sup> This is a type of sarong or skirt that is worn in Myanmar by men and women. It is a loop of cloth that extends from the waist to the feet and is tied in front by men and folded and tucked in at the hip by women.

(523) *luŋte*‿ *ən*‿ *kəviŋ*‿ [*aŋ*‿ *tu*‿ *mi?*‿] *m̄ma*‿ *kəcə*‿  
 earthworm 2SG use 1SG chop LNK *páth* when  
 ‘Worm, if you go on the path that I have cleared...’

In (523) *m̄ma*‿ ‘path’ is the object of the modifying clause. Therefore, in (523) the relativized function, which is “the Grammatical Relation that is assigned to the head noun within the modifying clause” (Kroeger 2005:236), is object.

In Hkongso the relativized functions are object, as illustrated in (521) and (523), subject, as illustrated in (520) and (522), secondary object, as illustrated in (519), and adjunct, as illustrated in (511), repeated here as (524).<sup>99</sup>

(524) [*kəkwa*‿ *təma*‿ *həm*‿ *cum*‿ *mi?*‿] *ni*‿  
 scissortail daughter OBJ take LNK day  
 ‘(On) the day that (he was) to take the scissortail's daughter’,

There are “three basic strategies which languages commonly use to indicate the relativized function within a relative clause; (i) gaps; (ii) relative pronouns; and (iii) pronoun retention” (Kroeger 2005:236-38). Hkongso uses the gap strategy, which contains a missing argument in the modifying clause and “the head noun is interpreted as filling this gap” (Kroeger 2005:237). For example, in (519) the noun *kui*‿ ‘dog’ is modified by a relative clause, but *kui*‿ ‘dog’ does not actually appear in the clause.

As mentioned, there are no relative pronouns. Relative clauses are formed through the subordinating conjunction *mi?*‿ ‘LNK’, which functions as a relativizer and a complementizer. In (525) *mi?*‿ ‘LNK’ is used in both ways. The first clause is a relative clause that modifies the noun *tokk<sup>h</sup>i*‿ ‘deer’. This is a part of the larger complement clause, which is also marked by *mi?*‿ ‘LNK’.

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<sup>99</sup> I do not have the data to say if the relativized function may be possessor.

- (525) [[lonʈ<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> ap<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>?</sup>] tokk<sup>h</sup>i<sup>]</sup> həm<sup>]</sup> hau<sup>]</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> miʔ<sup>?</sup>]  
 Longtang shoot LNK deer OBJ look.for IRR LNK  
 pa<sup>]</sup> maʔ<sup>]</sup> dai<sup>]</sup> həm<sup>]</sup> hja<sup>]</sup> tə<sup>]</sup>  
 father SUBJ Dai OBJ want with  
 ‘Father wants Dai to find the deer that Longtang shot.’

### 9.2.3 Complement clauses

A complement clause “functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause” (Noonan 1985:42). In Hkongso, complement clauses differ from adverbial and relative clauses in that complements can be marked for TAM. Complement clauses, like other subordinate clauses, are marked by *miʔ* ‘LNK’.<sup>100</sup>

Examples (412), repeated here as (526),<sup>101</sup> and (527) illustrate subject complements and examples (528) and (529) illustrate object complements.

- (526) [k<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>]</sup> kə-pro<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>?</sup><sup>102</sup>] pək<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> kram<sup>]</sup>  
 cup RPM-break COMP cause 1SG be.afraid  
 ‘The cup breaking made me scared.’
- (527) [dai<sup>]</sup> bom<sup>]</sup> mat<sup>]</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> ju<sup>]</sup> miʔ<sup>?</sup>] pək<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> kram<sup>]</sup>  
 Dai hit self from wife COMP cause 1SG be.afraid  
 ‘Dai hitting his wife made me surprised (Lit. scared).’
- (528) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> ham<sup>]</sup>] aŋ<sup>+</sup> tuk<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go IRR 1SG know  
 ‘I know (how) I will go.’
- (529) [iŋ<sup>+</sup> ja<sup>]</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> pe<sup>+</sup> miʔ<sup>?</sup>] aŋ<sup>+</sup> juŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 1PL win IRR this COMP 1SG believe  
 ‘I believe that we will win.’

<sup>100</sup> This is typical, not all complement clauses are marked by this subordinating conjunction. Some have no marking of subordination.

<sup>101</sup> The complement clause in this example contains a gerund, which is also illustrated in (22) and (23).

<sup>102</sup> I normally gloss this word as LNK (linker) because it is used in different kinds of clause combinations, but in this chapter I label it as COMP (complementizer) to aid in understanding.

Payne (1997:314) states, “In VO languages object complements tend to follow the matrix verb,” and “In OV languages, object complements tend to precede the matrix verb.” In §4.6, it is shown that Hkongso is a VO language that has many OV characteristics. That object complements tend to come before the verb, as illustrated in examples (528) and (529), is another characteristic of Hkongso that is more typical of OV languages.

Languages employ different methods of forming complement clauses. Noonan (1985:44) states, “A complement type is identified basically by (1) the morphology of the predicate; (2) the sorts of syntactic relations it has with its arguments; and (3) the external syntactic relations of the complement construction as a whole.” Kroeger (2005:222-23) states that some of the structural features that need to be considered in analyzing and comparing different types of subordinate clause include: verb form, subject, word order, matrix verb, and complementizer. Since the matrix verb often determines the form of the complement clause, it is helpful to categorize these verbs by their general semantic class.

Saying and knowing predicates are illustrated in examples (530)-( 533).

Complements in examples (530), (531), and (532) are all formed with the complement clause preceding the matrix clause, and no complementizer is present. In examples (529) and (533) the complement clause precedes the matrix clause, but the complementizer *miʔʔ* ‘COMP’ is present.

(530) [miʔ raʔ hamʔ ] aŋʔ imʋ  
 3SG come IRR 1SG hope  
 ‘I hope he will come.’

(531) [kəjakʔ faŋʔ raʔ miʋ ] aŋʔ peʋ  
 yesterday rain come DUB 1SG think  
 ‘I think it might have rained yesterday.’

(532) [aŋʔ kaiʔ hamʔ ] aŋʔ tʰaŋʔ  
 1SG go IRR 1SG think  
 ‘I think I will go.’



- (533) [iŋ<sup>+</sup> ɲai<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> pe<sup>+</sup>-mi<sup>?</sup>] aŋ<sup>+</sup> juŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 1PL good IRR this-COMP 1SG believe  
 ‘I believe that we will be fine.’

Examples (125), repeated here as (534), and (381), repeated here as (535), illustrate how the subject of the matrix clause may be topicalized, thereby preceding the complement clause.

- (534) [loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> ap<sup>+</sup> tokk<sup>h</sup>i<sup>]</sup> ɬək<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] dai<sup>]</sup> im<sup>\</sup>  
 Longtang shoot deer one IRR COMP Dai hope  
 ‘Dai hopes that Longtang will shoot a deer.’
- (535) dai<sup>]</sup> cə<sup>\</sup> [loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> ap<sup>+</sup> tokk<sup>h</sup>i<sup>]</sup> ɬək<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> mi<sup>?</sup>] im<sup>\</sup>  
 Dai TOP Longtang shoot deer one IRR COMP hope  
 ‘Dai hopes that Longtang will shoot a deer.’

When *pək<sup>+</sup>* ‘cause’ occurs in a single clause,<sup>103</sup> as in (536), it means ‘to scare or surprise’. In the biclausal constructions in examples (537) and (538) *pək<sup>+</sup>* ‘cause’ is used as a causative. The complement clauses are marked by brackets. There is no overt subject in the complement clauses. Rather, the object of the matrix clause is also functioning as the subject of the complement clause. So, in (537), the object of the matrix clause *dai<sup>]</sup>* ‘Dai’ is also the subject of the complement clause,<sup>104</sup> and in (538), the object of the matrix clause *loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup>* ‘Longtang’, is the subject of the complement clause.

- (536) dai<sup>]</sup> pək<sup>+</sup> jok<sup>\</sup> loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 Dai scare give Longtang  
 ‘Dai scared Longtang.’
- (537) dai<sup>]</sup> həm<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>+</sup> pək<sup>+</sup> jok<sup>\</sup> [loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> bom<sup>\</sup>]  
 Dai OBJ 1SG cause give Longtang hit  
 ‘I caused Dai to hit Longtang.’
- (538) dai<sup>]</sup> pək<sup>+</sup> jok<sup>\</sup> loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>+</sup> [dai<sup>]</sup> mət<sup>\</sup> hai<sup>]</sup> ju<sup>]</sup> bom<sup>\</sup>]  
 Dai cause give Longtang Dai self from wife hit  
 ‘Dai caused Longtang to hit his (Dai) wife.’

<sup>103</sup> This clause contains a serial verb construction.

<sup>104</sup> Example (537) provides evidence for marking the clausal boundaries in (538).

Modality predicates are illustrated in examples (539)-(544). The complement clauses that modality predicates take come before the matrix clause. In examples (539)-(541) the subject of the matrix clause is also the subject of the complement clause. In (539) the subject *aŋ+* ‘1SG’ only appears in the complement clause between the object, *miŋ kəkuʋ* ‘this man’, and verb, *kəkrumŋ* ‘meet’.

Similarly, in (306), repeated here as (540), and (541), the subject only appears in the complement clause. This is a case of backward control. Polinsky and Potsdam (2003:1) describe backward control as a pattern “in which the controllee is structurally superior to the controller.” Control is defined by Polinsky and Potsdam (2006:1) as “a dependency between two argument positions in which the referential properties of the overt controller determine the referential properties of the silent (zero) controllee.” The English translation in (539) ‘I want to meet him’, illustrates English forward control. The ‘I’ is the controller in the superior matrix clause which controls the ‘silent’ controllee in the complement clause. If this English sentence contained backward control, it would look like this: “\_\_ want to I meet him.” This type of control is what is illustrated in the Hkongso sentences in (539)-(541).<sup>105</sup>

(539) [miŋ kəkuʋ həmŋ aŋ+ kəkrumŋ hamŋ ] hjaʋ  
 this man OBJ 1SG meet IRR want  
 ‘I want to meet him.’

(540) [aŋ+ plaiʋ hamŋ ] hjaʋ  
 1SG dance IRR want  
 ‘I want to dance.’

(541) [aŋ+ muiʋ hamŋ ] hjaʋ  
 1SG sleep IRR want  
 ‘I want to sleep.’

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<sup>105</sup> Backward control is rare. I feel that more evidence is needed to prove that this is indeed what is happening and determine when it happens.

Example (542) shows that *hja* 'want' is not a clause-final operator as it occurs as the main verb. Therefore, examples (540) and (541) are not single clauses but are biclausal.

- (542) “aŋ<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> *hja* ləŋ<sup>+</sup> kə<sup>+</sup> ” pa-jok<sup>+</sup> pɛʔ<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG NEG *want* CONTR PERF tell-give DECL  
 ‘“I don't love (him) anymore,” she said.’

In other modality predicates, such as those in examples (543) and (544), the subject appears in both clauses.

- (543) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> pə<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup>] aŋ<sup>+</sup> tuk<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG do IRR 1SG know  
 ‘I know (how) to do it.’

- (544) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup>] aŋ<sup>+</sup> tuk<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG go IRR 1SG know  
 ‘I know (how) to go.’

Permissive modality is formed in the same way as (539)-(541). The permissive is formed by using a complement clause, as illustrated in (545). In this example the final word *man* 'get' is functioning as a permissive verb. The verb *man* 'get' is not a clause-final operator as it also occurs as a verb in the main clause, as illustrated in (546). Because of this and because the irrealis auxiliary *ham* 'IRR' in (545) precedes *man* 'get', there must be two separate clauses.

- (545) aŋ<sup>+</sup> kə-t<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>+</sup> bəluŋ<sup>+</sup> ham<sup>+</sup> man<sup>+</sup>  
 1SG RPM-kick ball IRR get  
 ‘I am allowed to play soccer.’

- (546) kiŋku<sup>+</sup> cə<sup>+</sup> no<sup>+</sup> hai<sup>+</sup> man<sup>+</sup>  
 owl TOP NEG able get  
 ‘The owl was not able to get (any wild gooseberries).’

The agent-oriented modality of obligation is discussed in §5.3.4. However, some forms of obligation appear as a biclausal form. Strong obligation, illustrated in (547) and (548), is shown through the use of the verb *kla* 'occur', preceded by a complement clause.

(547) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] kla<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go field IRR occur  
 ‘I must go to the field. (Lit: It happens that I will go to the field.)’

(548) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> t[ʃaun<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] kla<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go school IRR occur  
 ‘I must go to school. (Lit: It happens that I will go to school.)’

Absolute certainty of carrying out an obligated action is illustrated in examples (549) and (550), where the agent feels that he/she really has no choice whether or not he/she will do the action. In these examples certainty is shown through the matrix verb *kla<sup>]</sup>* ‘occur’, preceded by the complement clause, which contains the inference word *taŋak<sup>\</sup>* ‘must’.<sup>106</sup>

(549) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> vit<sup>\</sup> taŋak<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] kla<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go field must IRR occur  
 ‘It happens that I must go to the field.’

(550) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> kai<sup>]</sup> t[ʃaun<sup>\</sup> taŋak<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] kla<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG go school must IRR occur  
 ‘It happens that I must go to school.’

As examples (551) and (552) illustrate, other verbs may take the place of *kla<sup>]</sup>* ‘occur’ in this construction.

(551) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> pə<sup>+</sup> tək<sup>+</sup> taŋak<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] ve<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG do work must IRR COP  
 ‘There is work I must do.’

(552) [aŋ<sup>+</sup> prai<sup>+</sup> ca<sup>\</sup> taŋak<sup>\</sup> ham<sup>]</sup> ] ve<sup>]</sup>  
 1SG read literacy must IRR COP  
 ‘There is reading I must do.’

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<sup>106</sup> The word *taŋak<sup>\</sup>* ‘must’ is also illustrated in examples (282) and (283).

### 9.3 Medial Clauses

As previously mentioned in this chapter, medial clauses are strung to the left and the finite clause comes at the end of the sentence, on the right. Example (63), repeated here as (553), shows that medial clauses are not marked for mood but final clauses are.

In the final clause in (553) the subject is omitted, but the subject agreement auxiliary *ja* ‘DU’ occurs. This is a pattern that often happens in Hkongso narratives. The subject in the final, finite clause is often reduced to agreement, and TAM and mood marking is usually omitted in the preceding clauses. I propose that succession sentences such as (553) are forms of clause-chaining with a finite clause on the right and medial clauses to the left. There is no limit to the number of clauses that can be juxtaposed in this way. When the sentence ends, the final declarative auxiliary *pɛʔ* ‘DECL’ appears.

- (553) [kəniŋ    lakʋ    kʰaʋ    vəceʋ    hakɫ    luŋteʋ    kəkɾumʋ    jaʋ]  
 in.front    one    time    bird    and    earthworm    RPM-meet    DU
- pe-kʰaʋ*    [kəroiʋ    hauŋ    ləmsakʋ    jaʋ    pɛʔŋ]  
*this-time*    together    look.for    food    DU    DECL  
 ‘A long time ago a little bird and a worm met and then went together to find something to eat.’

In (553) two clauses are combined by the succession conjunction *pe-kʰaʋ* ‘this-time’. The marker *mi-kʰaʋ* ‘this time’ also serves as a succession conjunction between two clauses. In (554) it occurs in between the second and third clauses.

- (554) ŋaŋ    kəcəɫ    [luŋteŋ    maʔŋ    kuiŋ    jokʋ    vəceʋ    haiŋ    ŋoŋŋ]    kəcəɫ  
 over    when    earthworm    SUBJ    roll.up    give    bird    from    neck    when
- [vaŋceʋ    cəɫ    eŋ]    *mi-kʰaʋ*    [ruaʋ    sʰiŋ]    cəʋ    renŋ    pɛʔŋ]  
 bird    TOP    cry    *this-time*    snake    PL    TOP    laugh    DECL  
 ‘And then, when the worm wrapped around the bird’s neck, the bird cried, and then all the snakes laughed.’

In (554) the conjunction *kəcəʔ* ‘when’<sup>107</sup> appears in between the first clause and second clause. When it occurs in a clause-chaining structure the preceding clause is the circumstance for the following clause. Since chaining structures most frequently occur in narratives, the relationship between the two clauses is usually temporal. For example, in (554) the clause preceding *kəcəʔ* ‘when’ is the circumstance for the following clause. The bird cried because/when the worm wrapped around his neck. Since this is a story, there is an obvious temporal relationship.

In my data, clauses marked by *pe-kʰaʋ* ‘this-time’, *mi-kʰaʋ* ‘this-time’, and *kəcəʔ* ‘when’ always contain “material which supplies the main points of the discourse” (Hopper and Thompson 1980:280).<sup>108</sup>

The conjunctions *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’, *peʔ-kʰəʔʋ* ‘this-having’, *nəʔ* ‘having’, and *peʔ-nəʔ* ‘this-having’ also frequently occur in clause-chaining structures. These conjunctions follow clauses that are not final clauses, i.e. do not take mood marking. Furthermore, these clauses do not take TAM marking. In my data, none of the information found in clauses marked by these conjunctions include “material which supplies the main points of the discourse.” Rather, these clauses contain information “which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on” the speaker’s goal.

In (555), the clauses marked by *mi-kʰaʔ* (*mi-kʰaʋ*) contain information that “supplies the main points of the discourse.” This is evident as the main characters, at this point in the story, are animals that are trying to make their way to Tur and Vai. Therefore, the actions that they perform are mainline events.

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<sup>107</sup> This conjunction also appears in adverbial clauses, marking condition, as discussed in §9.2.1.

<sup>108</sup> A common topic in the discussion of narrative discourse is foreground and background. Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) describes foreground as “the material which supplies the main points of the discourse,” and background is the “part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it.”

In (555) there is one clause that is marked by *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’. This clause provides supporting information.

- (555) [pʰuŋʅ ]    *mi-kʰaʅ*    miʔʅ    [turʅ    vaiʅ    miʅ-jaʅ    kʰamʅ  
run            *this-time*    LNK    Tur    Vai    3-DU    to
- kə-təmʅ ]        *mi-kʰaʅ*  
          KPM-arrive    *this-time*
- [turʅ    miʅ-jaʅ    vaiʅ    cəʅ    kʰəŋʅ    baiʅ ]        *kʰəʔʋ*  
          Tur    3-DU    Vai    TOP    mat    spread.out    *having*<sup>109</sup>
- [pəktəruaʅ    cəʅ-    [təramʅ    koʅ    haiʅ    tʰeŋʅ ] ]    miʔʅ  
          badger            TOP    ear            in    from    put.in    LNK
- bənʅ    sʰiʅ    həmʅ    hikʅ ]    [mi-kləʅ    pɛʔʅ ]  
          soil    PL    OBJ    drop    this-occur    DECL
- ‘(They) ran, and (they) came to Tur and Vai, and with Tur and Vai having spread out a mat, the badger took the dirt that was inside his ear and put it down, so it happened.’

Example (316), repeated here as (556), further illustrates the marker *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’, which is preceded by the word *peʅ* ‘this’. In the clause marked by *peʅ-kʰəʔʋ* ‘this-having’, the information is not a mainline event, as it contains the subject’s thought, which comments on the action.

- (556) juŋʅ    cəʅ    [“pupetʅ    noʅ    umʅ    aŋʅ    həmʅ    ləŋʅ ”]    *peʅ-kʰəʔʋ*  
rabbit    TOP    turtle    NEG    catch    1SG    OBJ    CONTR    *this-having*
- tuklimʅ    mə-tumʅ    muiʅ    kaiʅ    vitʅ    pɛtʅ  
          shade        this-place    sleep    go        PFV    DECL
- ‘The rabbit, thinking, “The turtle won’t catch me,” went to sleep in the shade.’

The marker *nəʅ* ‘having’, as illustrated in (557), is also used for clauses that contains supporting information.

<sup>109</sup> The word ‘having’ in English seems to be the best way to gloss this conjunction. An example in English would be, “Having bought groceries, she went home.”

- (557) [kar<sup>l</sup>-ma<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> riu<sup>l</sup> jok<sup>l</sup> kəjau<sup>l</sup> tui<sup>l</sup> ] mi<sup>l</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>  
 chicken-FEM TOP teach give swim water this-time  
 [kəbut<sup>l</sup> tui<sup>l</sup> ] nə<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ək<sup>l</sup> kai<sup>l</sup> vit<sup>l</sup> pɛ<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>l</sup>  
 go.under water having die go PFV DECL  
 ‘The hen went to teach (them) to swim, and having gone under the water,  
 died.’

In examples (558) and (559) the marker *nə<sup>l</sup>* ‘having’ occurs with *pe<sup>l</sup>* ‘this’. Example (558) comes from a story in which a bird and worm are the main characters. In (558) the clause marked by *pe<sup>l</sup>-nə<sup>l</sup>* ‘this-having’ contains an action that is performed by peripheral characters, which is supporting information for the mainline event.

In (559) *pe<sup>l</sup>-nə<sup>l</sup>* ‘this-having’ marks the second clause, which is modified by the adverbial reason clause that precedes it. The first and second clause in (559) sets up the scene for the following clauses.

- (558) ɲa<sup>l</sup> kəcə<sup>l</sup> [kəcui<sup>l</sup> va<sup>l</sup> ] pe<sup>l</sup>-nə<sup>l</sup> [luŋte<sup>l</sup>  
 over when fight PL this-having earthworm  
 mi<sup>l</sup>-ja<sup>l</sup> vace<sup>l</sup> pə<sup>l</sup> kəcui<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> ra<sup>l</sup> pɛ<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>l</sup>  
 this-DU bird also fight DU come DECL  
 ‘And then they were fighting and the worm and the bird also started to  
 fight.’

- (559) [kələ<sup>l</sup> kəlu<sup>l</sup> ui<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> rik<sup>l</sup> no<sup>l</sup> ve<sup>l</sup> ] mi<sup>l</sup>luk<sup>l</sup>  
 wild gooseberry fruit TOP red NEG COP since  
 ‘Since there was no red wild gooseberry’,

[kiŋku<sup>l</sup> cə<sup>l</sup> no<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> man<sup>l</sup> ] pe<sup>l</sup>-nə<sup>l</sup>  
 owl TOP NEG able get this-having  
 ‘the owl was not able to obtain any and so’

[kəkwa<sup>l</sup> təma<sup>l</sup> həm<sup>l</sup> cum<sup>l</sup> ] mi<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>l</sup> ni<sup>l</sup>  
 scissortail daughter OBJ take LNK day  
 ‘when the day came to take the scissortail's daughter’,

[no<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> s<sup>h</sup>un<sup>l</sup> kələ<sup>l</sup> kəlu<sup>l</sup> ui<sup>l</sup> ] mi<sup>l</sup>luk<sup>l</sup>  
 NEG able bring wild gooseberry fruit since  
 ‘since he was not able to bring a wild gooseberry’,

[no<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> pə<sup>l</sup> kəkwa<sup>l</sup> təma<sup>l</sup> pɛ<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>l</sup> ]  
 NEG able take scissortail daughter DECL  
 ‘he was not able to take the scissortail's daughter.’



At this point I present a larger section of text. In (560) clauses are marked with brackets, adverbial phrases are marked with parentheses, and mainline verbs are underlined. The first mainline verb is *kaiŋ kuʋ* ‘go steal’, which is an SVC. The second is *kaiŋ* ‘go’, the third is *pjuŋŋ* ‘run’, and the fourth is also *pjuŋŋ* ‘run’. Each of these verbs in this chain of clauses are related in the action that the main characters are involved in. The first three of the four clauses these verbs appear in are followed by the conjunction *mə-kʰaŋ* (*mi-kʰaʋ*) ‘this-time’, which I have presented as marking mainline events. The fourth mainline verb occurs in the final clause.

Two clauses, one in (d) and one in (h), are marked with *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’. In (d) *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’ is preceded by *peʔ* ‘this’. This is the only clause where the subject differs from the subject found in clauses expressing mainline events. In (560) the two clauses marked by *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’ in (d) and (h) do not appear to be in a temporal succession relationship with the clauses that follow them. The temporal relationship between the clause marked by *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’ in (d) and the following clause seem to be simultaneous. They were running as their enemies could see them. Likewise, the clause marked by *kʰəʔʋ* ‘having’ in (h) and the following clause seem to be temporally simultaneous. They ran as the firefly was lighting the way.

In (560) clauses (e)-(g) contain medial clauses, but they are not marked by any conjunction. This does not seem typical of medial clauses in Hkongso. Usually medial clauses are marked by a temporal conjunction.

Another thing to note in (e)-(g) is that the subjects of the three medial clauses are different from the subject of the final clause. The final clause contains the plural subject agreement marker *vaʋ* ‘PL’, but the medial clauses contain singular subjects. I hypothesize that this possibility occurs when the individual subjects of the medial clauses are subsets of the subject of the final clause.

- (560)
- (a)  $\text{ŋa}^+ \text{ mə-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow} \text{ [(kluŋri}^+ \text{ pre}^{\downarrow} \text{ hai}^{\downarrow} \text{ ) bɔn}^{\downarrow}$   
 over this-time Klungri country from soil
- $\text{ka}^{\downarrow} \text{ ku}^{\downarrow} \text{ va}^{\downarrow} \text{ ] mə-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow} \text{ mi}^?^{\downarrow}$   
 go steal PL this-time LNK
- (b)  $\text{[(jak}^{\wedge} \text{ t}^h\text{aŋ}^+ \text{ ) [he}^+ \text{ s}^h\text{i}^{\downarrow} \text{ no}^+ \text{ ki}^+ \text{ ] mi}^{\downarrow}\text{par}^{\downarrow}\text{mi}^{\downarrow}$   
 night side enemy PL NEG to.see so.that
- (c)  $\text{[mai}^{\downarrow} \text{ tɔr}^{\downarrow} \text{ t}^{\ominus} \text{] } \text{ka}^{\downarrow} \text{ ] mə-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow}$   
 fire take with go this-time
- (d)  $\text{ŋa}^+ \text{ mə-k}^h\text{a}^+ \text{ [[he}^+ \text{ s}^h\text{i}^+ \text{ ma}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ ki}^+ \text{ ] pe}^+ \text{-k}^h\text{ə}^?^{\downarrow}$   
 over this-time enemy PL SUBJ to.see this-having
- $\text{pjuŋ}^{\downarrow} \text{ ] mə-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow}$   
 run this-time
- (e)  $\text{[luŋkui}^{\downarrow} \text{ cə}^+ \text{ kuŋ}^{\downarrow} \text{ t}^h\text{aŋ}^+ \text{ s}^h\text{i}^k^{\downarrow} \text{ s}^h\text{ao}^{\wedge} \text{ ]}$   
 caterpillar TOP after side stick.out spikes
- (f)  $\text{[pao}^{\downarrow}\text{ma}^{\downarrow} \text{ cə}^{\downarrow} \text{ pəktərua}^{\downarrow} \text{ həm}^{\downarrow} \text{ k}^h\text{ukkəŋ}^{\downarrow} \text{ ]}$   
 cockroach TOP badger OBJ cover
- (g)  $\text{[}^n\text{s}^h\text{an}^+ \text{ cə}^{\downarrow} \text{ [o:}^{\downarrow}\text{naŋ}^{\downarrow} \text{ s}^h\text{i}^{\downarrow} \text{ ve}^{\downarrow} \text{ mi-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow} \text{ ] s}^h\text{an}^+ \text{ }^n\text{le}^{\downarrow} \text{ ]}$   
 spider TOP river.valley PL COP this-time spin bridge<sup>110</sup>
- (h)  $\text{mi}^{\downarrow} \text{ plun}^{\downarrow} \text{ mi-k}^h\text{a}^{\downarrow} \text{ mi}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ [mək}^h\text{le}^{\downarrow} \text{ cə}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ ŋa}^{\downarrow} \text{ t}^h\text{aŋ}^{\downarrow}$   
 this finish this-time LNK firefly TOP front side
- $\text{tir}^+ \text{ mai}^{\downarrow} \text{ ] k}^h\text{ə}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ [pjuŋ}^{\downarrow} \text{ va}^{\downarrow} \text{ mi}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ kla}^{\downarrow} \text{ pe}^?^{\downarrow} \text{ ]}$   
 light.up fire having run PL LNK occur DECL

‘(a) And so they went to steal the dirt from Klungri (country), and (b) at night, so their enemies couldn’t see, (c) by taking fire, they went, and then, (d) their enemies having seen, they ran, and (e) (with) the caterpillar sticking out his spikes behind them, (f) the cockroach covering the badger, (g) the spider, when there were river valleys, spinning a bridge and (h) they, with the firefly having lit the way, ran on, so it happened.’

Medial clause conjunctions are summarized in Table 29. The ‘structural type’ describes the temporal relationship between the preceding and following clause and the ‘information type’ describes the information that appears in the preceding clause.

<sup>110</sup> This refers to a type of bridge made out of rope.

Table 29: Medial clause conjunctions

Conjunction	Structural type	Information type
pe-k <sup>h</sup> a\	succession	mainline
mi-k <sup>h</sup> a\	succession	mainline
kəcə\	circumstance	mainline
k <sup>h</sup> əʔ\, pe\+k <sup>h</sup> ə\, nə\, pe\+nə\	succession/ simultaneous	supporting

## 9.4 Serial verb constructions

### 9.4.1 Introduction

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are found in many languages, and “are characteristic of certain linguistic areas and families, including the languages of Western Africa, mainland Southeast Asia, and many pidgin and creole languages” (Kroeger 2004:226).

Dixon (2006:344) describes SVCs as “a most useful grammatical device, coding all sorts of grammatical processes that may be realized through affixation in other languages—aspect, modality, valency-changing, definiteness, and very many others.” Hkongso, like many Tibeto-Burman languages, uses SVCs for many of these processes as illustrated in examples (561) and (537), repeated here as (562).

(561) Benefactive  
*kai\ s<sup>h</sup>om\ hau\ jok\ tok\ de\*  
*go help search give work IMP*  
 ‘Go help (him) find a job.’

(562) Causation  
*dai\ həm\ aŋ\ pək\ jok\ loŋ<sup>h</sup>aŋ\ bom\*  
*Dai OBJ 1SG surprise give Longtang hit*  
 ‘I caused Dai to hit Longtang.’

There are restricted positions in Hkongso SVCs. For example, directionals, such as *kai* ‘go’ are restricted to the beginning of the SVC and *jok* ‘give’ is restricted to the end of the SVC, as illustrated in (561). The two verbs in the middle are unrestricted in that any verb may appear in this position.

Hkongso also uses the verb *jok* ‘give’ in speech acts as illustrated in (563).

(563) Speech Act

“*po* | *kja* | *təma* | *de* | ” *pa* | *jok*  
 take cow daughter IMP say give

“‘Please take the cow’s daughter as your wife,’ (the mountain) said (to the mouse).’

“The term ‘serial verb’ has been used by different authors in slightly different ways, and linguists sometimes disagree about whether a particular construction in a given language is ‘really’ a serial verb or not” (Kroeger 2004:222). Kroeger (2004:229-30) and Dixon (2006:339-44) present characteristic properties of SVCs for the analysis of multiverbal constructions. The following section identifies the verb *jok* ‘give’ in multiverbal constructions as SVCs by using features from both lists.

#### 9.4.2 *Serial Verb Constructions with ‘give’*

“In valency-increasing SVCs, ‘give’ typically forms causative constructions. Benefactive SVCs add the role of recipient or beneficiary; they may also involve the verb ‘give’” (Aikhenvald 2006:26).

The verb ‘give’ appears in many Tibeto-Burman SVCs. In Lisu, “The verb ‘give’ is also used post-head in a benefactive meaning, sometimes with a causative result. As a pre-head it is a permissive causative” (Bradley 2003:231). Wheatley (2003:203) provides a Burmese example with ‘give’ functioning as a benefactive, and Soe (2003:185) labels Burmese ‘give’ as a causative and benefactive. In Lahu, ‘give’ is used in benefactive and causative constructions (Matisoff 2003:219).

This section shows that the verb *jokʋ* ‘give’ exhibits the prototypical properties of SVCs. In examples (564) and (565), *jokʋ* ‘give’ occurs as the sole verb in a clause, showing that it can occur as a morphologically independent main verb. Therefore it is not an auxiliary and thus fulfills Dixon’s property #3 and Kroeger’s property #1.

(564) aŋʔ    *jokʋ*    caukʋ  
          1SG   give    book  
          ‘I gave a book.’

(565) maŋʔmaŋʔ        *jokʋ*    aŋʔ    pakʋ    ʔəkʋ  
          Maung.Maung   give   1SG   pig    a  
          ‘Maung Maung gave me a pig.’

SVC property #10 by Dixon (2006:343) states, “Asymmetrical SVCs tend to become grammaticalized, and symmetrical SVCs (where both members come from an unrestricted class) tend to become lexicalized.” The SVC in (561) is asymmetrical, “with a major member (wide range of possibilities) and a minor member (limited set of possibilities).” In (561), *s<sup>h</sup>omʋ* ‘help’ and *hauʔ* ‘search’ retain their individual lexical meaning, but the verbs *kaiʔ* ‘go’ and *jokʋ* ‘give’ become grammaticalized, providing functions rather than lexical meanings.

Examples (566), (567), and (143), repeated here as (568), differ from (565). In (565) word order is subject, verb, direct object, secondary object, and there are no case markers. In examples (566), (567), and (568), the direct object precedes the verb and an additional *jokʋ* ‘give’ is added, creating an SVC. Why do examples (566)-(568) contain SVCs and (565) does not? Aikhenvald (2006:25) writes, “Serial verb constructions are often used as valency-increasing mechanisms, to mark causatives, benefactives, instrumentals, and comitatives or sociatives. They are also employed for specifying arguments, that is, to introduce direct objects and various other arguments and obliques.”

Hkongso topicalizes arguments by fronting. It is possible that *jokʋ* ‘give’ is used along with fronting in these constructions to “specify” or “introduce” the argument.<sup>111</sup>

(566) *məŋ+məŋ+ həm̩ aŋ+ jokʋ jokʋ caukʋ*  
 Maung.Maung OBJ 1SG give give book  
 ‘I gave a book to Maung Maung.’

(567) *mi̩ kəkʋ ə+ mi̩ kəkʋ həm̩ jokʋ jokʋ caukʋ ʔəkʋ*  
 this man there this man OBJ give give book one  
 ‘He gave a book to that man.’

(568) *dai̩ həm̩ kəpaʋ kəhəm̩ caukʋ ʔəkʋ aŋ+ jokʋ jokʋ jo̩*  
 Dai OBJ father for book one 1SG give give REA  
 ‘I gave Dai a book for his father.’

Examples (566), (567), and (568) appear to be reduplication, but this is not the case.

Hkongso does have reduplication as illustrated in examples (569) and (570), but a reduplicated verb can only occur as an adverb and never in the place of the matrix verb. Furthermore, as illustrated in (569) and (570) and many other examples in this paper, *jokʋ* ‘give’ directly follows a variety of verbs and not just *jokʋ* ‘give’, as would be expected of a reduplicated matrix verb.

(569) *riu̩ jokʋ riŋta+ be̩-be̩ deʋ*  
 teach give story again-again IMP  
 ‘Please tell the story again and again for me.’

(570) *kai̩ jokʋ təŋləŋ+ təŋləŋ+ pətʋ*  
 go to give often DECL  
 ‘(He) goes often (to see her).’<sup>112</sup>

The verb *jokʋ* ‘give’ appears in benefactive SVCs, as illustrated in (561) and (571).

The verb *pə+* ‘do’ is illustrated in (551), repeated here as (572), as the matrix verb to provide contrast with the SVC in (571).

(571) *aŋ+ kai̩ pə+ jokʋ tək+*  
 1SG go do give work  
 ‘I go do work for (him).’

<sup>111</sup> At this point I only have enough data to present a hypothesis.

<sup>112</sup> This is a euphemism for having sexual relations.

- (572) aŋɿ    pɹɿ    tɔkɿ    taŋakɿ    hamɿ    veɿ  
 1SG    do    work    must    IRR    COP  
 ‘There is work I must do.’

Examples (561) and (571) contain more than one verb, but the clause remains a single event.<sup>113</sup> This fulfills Dixon’s SVC property #1 and Kroeger’s SVC property #4. Furthermore, there is no linkage of coordination or subordination.

The verb *jokɿ* ‘give’ also appears in speech act SVCs, as illustrated in examples (573) and (442), repeated here as (574). In these examples, as in all SVCs in Hkongso, the verbs are not marked independently for tense, aspect, and modality.

- (573) loŋhuɿ    pe-nəɿ    p<sup>h</sup>auɿ    jokɿ    peʔɿ  
 Longhu    this-having    call    give    DECL  
 ‘(They) called him Longhu.’

- (574) t<sup>h</sup>okɿbakɿ    jokɿ    k<sup>h</sup>ɛkɿ    peʔɿ  
 to.curse    give    adamantly    DECL  
 ‘(He) cursed (the worm) adamantly.’

The audio waveform for (574) is shown in Figure 7.

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<sup>113</sup> The evidence for this is based on the speaker’s intuition.

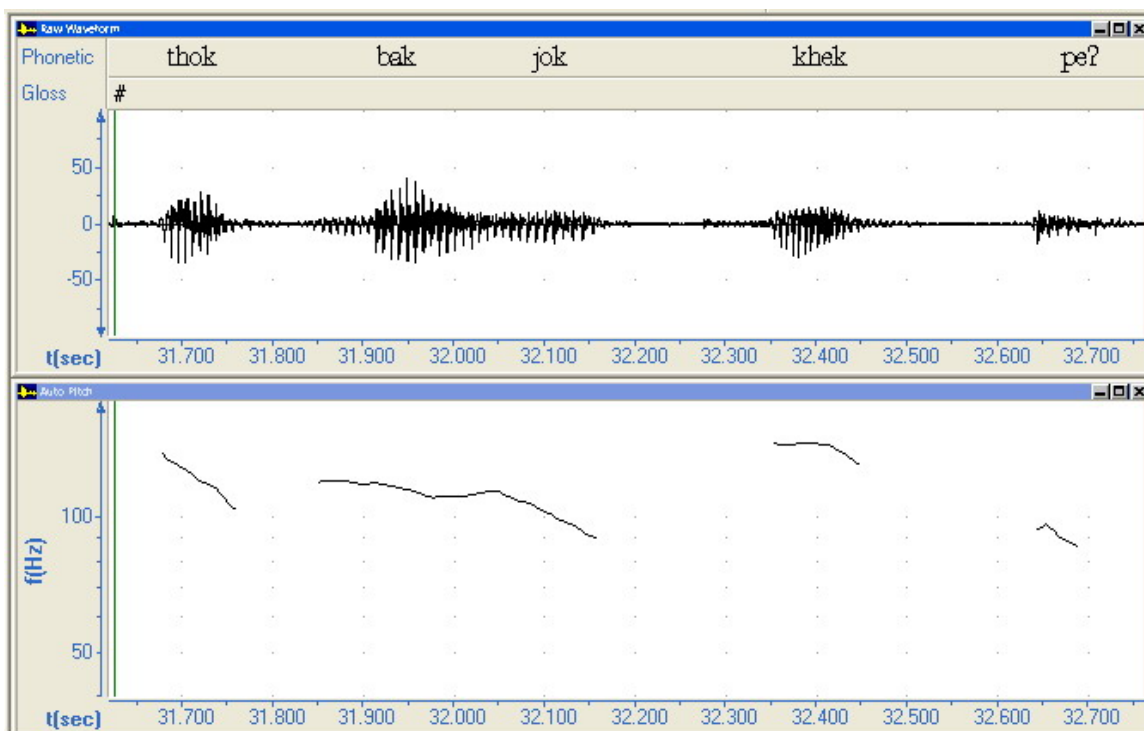


Figure 7: Audio waveform

Figure 7 shows the verb *jok* ‘give’ following another verb with no pause separating them. The SVC belongs to a single intonation contour, thus exhibiting Kroeger’s SVC property #3. If the verb *t<sup>h</sup>ok*/*bak* ‘to.curse’ occurs as a single verb, there is a final velar stop /k/, but when *jok* ‘give’ follows it, the stop is omitted.

The verb *jok* ‘give’ also appears in causative SVCs, which is typical of the verb ‘give’ (Aikhenvald 2006:25). Hkongso causative formations, as illustrated in (537) and (538), repeated here as (575) and (576) are biclausal and the SVC occurs in the initial clause.

(575) [dai<sup>l</sup> h<sup>am</sup><sup>l</sup> a<sup>ŋ</sup><sup>l</sup> p<sup>ək</sup><sup>l</sup> j<sup>ok</sup><sup>l</sup>] loŋt<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ŋ</sup><sup>l</sup> bom<sup>ŋ</sup>  
 Dai OBJ 1SG cause give Longtang hit  
 ‘I caused Dai to hit Longtang.’

(576) [dai<sup>l</sup> p<sup>ək</sup><sup>l</sup> j<sup>ok</sup><sup>l</sup> loŋt<sup>h</sup>a<sup>ŋ</sup><sup>l</sup>] dai<sup>l</sup> ma<sup>t</sup><sup>ŋ</sup> hai<sup>l</sup> ju<sup>l</sup> bom<sup>ŋ</sup>  
 Dai cause give Longtang Dai self from wife hit  
 ‘Dai made Longtang hit his (Dai) wife.’



Example (578) is the answer to (577). In (578) the SVC *caʔ jokʔ* ‘eat give’ is negated by *noʔ* ‘NEG’. When negated, the SVC is not separated by the negation, but rather functions like a single predicate as in Dixon’s property #4 and Kroeger’s property #5.

(577) ənʔ    caʔ    jokʔ    naʔ    pramʔ    vaʔ  
 2SG    eat    give    what    medicine    Q  
 ‘What medicine are you taking? (Lit. What medicine are you made to take?)’

(578) naʔ    pramʔ    pəʔ    aŋʔ    noʔ    caʔ    jokʔ    pramʔ  
 what    medicine    as.for    1SG    NEG    eat    give    medicine  
  
 pəʔ    aŋʔ    noʔ    haiʔ    ranʔ    neʔ    pramʔ    ruŋʔ    rauʔ  
 also    1SG    NEG    able    buy    PRT    medicine    price    hurt  
  
 miʔʔ    hakʔ    pəsanʔ    pəʔ    noʔ    veʔ  
 LNK    and    money    as.for    NEG    COP  
 ‘Medicine? I’m not taking any. I can’t afford any medicine. Medicine is very expensive and I don’t have any money.’

#### 9.4.3 Direction

Direction verbs occur as matrix verbs and in SVCs, where they indicate motion of the action. The verb *kaiʔ* ‘go’ occurs as the main verb in (579) and in an SVC in (252), repeated here as (580), where motion is added to the action ‘steal’. Example (580) also illustrates how SVCs may occur with pre-verbal auxiliaries, which are discussed in §5.2.

(579) daiʔ    kaiʔ    pələŋkɹumʔ  
 Dai    go    Paletwa  
 ‘Dai went to Paletwa.’

(580) bənʔ    noʔ    haiʔ    kaiʔ    kuʔ    vaʔ    pɛʔʔ  
 soil    NEG    able    go    steal    PL    DECL  
 ‘They weren’t able to go steal dirt.’

9.4.4 *Residue*

As illustrated below, there are some examples of the verb *jok* 'give' in an SVC that does not appear in a benefactive, causative, or speech act function.

- (581) *loŋt<sup>h</sup>aŋt* *pjuŋ* *kai* *r<sup>h</sup>a* *ma?* *mi* *lluk*  
 Longtang run go strength by so  
*p<sup>h</sup>o* *jok* *hu* *mat<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *rəp*  
 tired give most become already  
 'The harder Longtang ran the more tired he got.'
- (582) *biŋt* *jok* *kim* *vit* *pɛ?*  
 shut give house PFV DECL  
 '(He) shut the door.'
- (583) *va* *hai* *təm* *mətun*  
 PL from area at  
*kət<sup>h</sup>eŋ* *kətəp* *k<sup>h</sup>oŋ* *ve*  
 replace take.ownership occupy live  
*jok* *mi* *lluk* *ən* *cə* *k<sup>h</sup>oŋ* *na* *nək<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 give so 2SG SUBJ Hkong right SP.ACT  
 'On other people's land, (you) take over and live, so you will be Hkong.'
- (584) *təo* *mi-tum* *dai* *ma?* *kai* *jok*  
 stream this-place Dai SUBJ go give  
 'To the river Dai went.'
- (585) *ə* *mi* *vit* *mi-tum* *dai* *ma?* *kai* *jok* *va*  
 there this field this-place Dai SUBJ go give Q  
 'What field did Dai go to?'
- (586) *ə* *mi* *vit* *cə* *dai* *ma?* *kai* *jok* *pət*  
 there this field SUBJ Dai SUBJ go to give DECL  
 'That field Dai went to.'
- (587) *kuimeŋt* *ma?* *map* *jok* *mi?* *ut* *t<sup>h</sup>ək*  
 cat SUBJ bite give LNK mouse die  
 'The mouse that the cat bit died.'

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