A GRAMMAR OF KARBI

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: A Grammar of Karbi

Karbi is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken by half a million people in the Karbi Anglong district in Assam, Northeast India, and surrounding areas in the extended Brahmaputra Valley area. It is an agglutinating, verb-final language.

This dissertation offers a description of the dialect spoken in the hills of the Karbi Anglong district. It is primarily based on a corpus that was created during a total of fifteen months of original fieldwork, while building on and expanding on research reported by Grüßner in 1978. While the exact phylogenetic status of Karbi inside TB has remained controversial, this dissertation points out various putative links to other TB languages.

The most intriguing aspect of Karbi phonology is the tone system, which carries a low functional load. While three tones can be contrasted on monosyllabic roots, the rich agglutinating morphology of Karbi allows the formation of polysyllabic words, at which level tones lose most of their phonemicity, while still leaving systematic phonetic traces.

Nouns and verbs represent the two major word classes of Karbi at the root level; property-concept terms represent a subclass of verbs.

At the heart of Karbi morphosyntax, there are two prefixes of Proto-TB provenance that have diachronically shaped the grammar of the language: the possessive prefix *a-* and the nominalizer *ke-*. Possessive *a-* attaches to nouns that are modified by preposed elements and represents the most frequent morpheme in the corpus. Nominalization involving *ke-* forms the basis for a variety of predicate constructions, including most of Karbi subordination as well as a number of main clause constructions. In addition to nominalization, subordination commonly involves clause chaining.

Noun phrases may be marked for their clausal role via *-phān* ‘non-subject’ or *-lòng* ‘locative’ but frequently remain unmarked for role. Their pragmatic status can be indicated with information structure markers for topic, focus, and additivity.

Commonly used discourse constructions include elaborate expressions and parallelism more generally, general extenders, copy verb constructions, as well as a number of final particles.

Audio files are available of the texts given in the appendices, particular examples illustrating phonological issues, and phonetic recordings of tone minimal sets.

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To the Karbi people

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a grammar of Karbi as spoken in the hills of the Karbi Anglong district in Assam, Northeast India. It expands on research findings reported in Grüßner's (1978) grammar of the phonology and morphology of the language, but also offers a more comprehensive treatment of issues in Karbi syntax, semantics, and pragmatics.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In §1.1, the Karbi people and their language and culture are introduced. Next, an overview of the linguistic context of Karbi is offered, i.e., the relationships between Karbi and surrounding languages, as that context helps understand why modern Karbi grammar is the way it is. On the one hand, that involves the relationship to other Tibeto-Burman languages, as discussed in §1.2. On the other hand, and very importantly, it also involves the contact relationship specifically with the Austroasiatic Khasi languages, and possibly other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Meithei, as discussed in §1.3.

In §1.4, an overview of what little is known on different varieties of Karbi is provided, including the major dialectal divide between Hills and Plains (or, Amri) Karbi, and some notes on variation within Hills Karbi, the major dialect group that this grammar is based on.

A sociolinguistic profile of language endangerment (mostly based on Hills Karbi) is included in §1.5.

Elements of Karbi oral literature are discussed in §1.6, including notes on specific genres of oral literature in the context of Northeast India, as well as including remarks on the Karbi song language.

In §1.7, an overview of the linguistic literature and linguistic resources on Karbi is provided.

Finally, §1.8 discusses Karbi orthography and ongoing issues in standardization efforts as well as an outline of conventions followed in this dissertation. The organization of this grammar is outlined in §1.9.

1.1. Karbi People, Language, and Culture

1.1.1. Names and ISO Codes for the Karbi Language

In the last few decades, there has been a movement among the Karbis to push for the autonym *Karbi* or the elaborate form *Karbi Karbak* (see §12.2.2 on elaborate expressions). While this name has long been in use, it is a recent development that *Karbi* is favored over the logonym *Arleng* (i.e., *arlēng* 'man, person').[1] This might be due to the existence of *arlēng* as a simple noun root for 'man, person'.[2]

Mikir is a formerly commonly used exonym, which has become pejorative within the last few decades in particular. Now most Karbis have strong objections against it, which has to do with a number of offensive hypotheses for the etymology of this name. *Bhoi Mynri* is mentioned by Grüßner (1978:6) as an exonym used by the neighboring Khasis of Meghalaya, to the immediate west of Karbi Anglong (see §1.3). According to my language consultants, this term *Bhoi Mynri* may also specifically refer to the variety of Plains Karbi spoken across the western border of Assam in Meghalaya (§1.4.1).

The Hills Karbi variety has the ISO 639-3 code 'mjw', whereas the Plains Karbi variety has the ISO code 'ajz' (for dialect differences, see §1.4.1).

1.1.2. Number of Speakers and Geographical Spread of Karbi

The Census of India from 2001 reports a total of 419,534 native speakers of Karbi, which is also the figure cited in the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013). The *Karbi Lammet Amei* (§1.1.4) estimates a higher number of speakers, at over half a million.

Karbi is spoken in Assam and adjacent areas in neighboring states in Northeast India. There are also reported to be Karbi villages in Bangladesh and Burma. For a map of Northeast India, that shows the borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China (to the northeast of Northeast India), and Burma, see Figure 1.

[1] In one of the recorded texts collected for the corpus of this dissertation, the storyteller finds himself saying *Arlengpi* for 'Karbi woman' (using the female *-pī* suffix) and corrects himself and says '*Karbipi'*.

[2] Note, however, that there also is another general noun *monít* 'person, man', which is a borrowing from Asamese.

Figure 1. Northeast India (taken from maps.google.com)

Karbi is the third-largest minority language in the state of Assam in terms of number of speakers, following Boro and Mising. The center of the Karbi-speaking area and political home of the Karbis is the Karbi Anglong (literally, 'Karbi Hills') district (see §1.1.5 on some remarks on the political history of this district). As shown in Figure 2, Karbi Anglong is divided into a smaller western part and a larger eastern part. While the district capital Diphu is located in the southern portion of the eastern part, the western part is generally considered to be home to the traditional-cultural center of the Karbis. Specifically, the village of *Ronghang Rongbong* near Hamren in western *Karbi Anglong* is considered to be the major traditional-cultural center of the Karbis as it is home to the Karbi kings, i.e., *lindók-pō*.

The topographical map in Figure 2 also shows that Karbi Anglong is located at the southern edge of the Brahmaputra Valley (the Brahmaputra being the river to the north in Figure 2) and most of it in the lower hills that mark the transition between the

river valley area and the hill range that extends to the south and the southeast as hinted at in Figure 1.[3]

Figure 2. Topographical map of the Karbi Anglong district (taken from maps.google.com)

1.1.3. Aspects of Karbi Traditional Culture and Social Organization

Changes in the lifestyle of the Karbis are occurring at an exponentially increasing pace in recent years. Due to urbanization and increased physical and virtual infrastructure, elements of the traditional culture are both becoming more endangered as well as newly embraced and cherished. Traditional village life involving *jhum* cultivation and collecting wild vegetables and fruit in the jungles and forests is becoming more and more confined to remote places that are not connected with physical infrastructure.

While a substantial number of Karbis have nowadays converted to Hinduism or Christianity, the traditional religion of the Karbis is still practiced by a considerable portion of the population. It involves different gods and goddesses, but also has a strong animist element. In cases of major life events such as weddings or deaths, as well as other

[3] This is part of the hill range that extends all the way into Southeast Asia and represents something of a cultural area, with similar histories of the people inhabiting them, see Scott (2009).

crucial times such as sickness or before going on a long trip, priests perform rituals that typically involve sacrifice of animals (such as chickens or ducks) in conjunction with chants that are orally transmitted from generation to generation, typically using the Karbi song language (§1.6.2), see Figure 3.

Figure 3. Priest performing a duck sacrifice

An important cultural symbol is the Jambili athon (Figure 4). The bird on top represents values such as wisdom, intellectuality, and leadership. The lower four birds in the four directions are the followers.

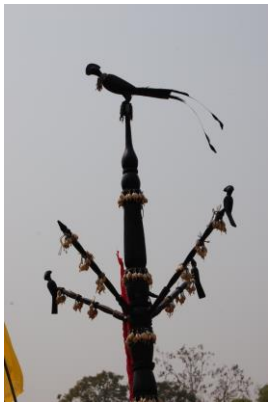

Figure 4. Jambili athon

There are five major clans in Karbi society: Terang, Teron, Inghi (also spelled Enghi or Enghee), Ingti (also spelled Engti), and Timung.[4] These five major clans are

[4] These are the clan names in the Hills Karbi variety; in Plains Karbi, some names are slightly different, e.g., *Timung* is *Tumung* (see §1.4.1 on dialect differences between what I refer to as Plains and Hills Karbi).

further divided into subclans. This division into clans and subclans has important societal consequences such as marriage restrictions.

An excellent resource on Karbi cultural studies are the two volumes 'Karbi Studies'. The first volume is edited by Dharamsing Teron, with contributions both from Karbi and international scholars (D. Teron 2012), while the second volume is entirely authored by Teron (D. Teron 2011). Further information can also be obtained from the official website of the Karbi Anglong district (http://www.karbianglong.nic.in/) and a blog maintained by Morningkeey Phangcho (http://karbi.wordpress.com/).

1.1.4. The *Karbi Lammet Amei* (KLA)

This dissertation is the result of close collaboration with members of the *Karbi Lammet Amei*, who in fact initiated the project in 2007: most notably Mr. Sikari Tisso, as well as Mr. Khor Sing Teron. The *Karbi Lammet Amei* (KLA; from *Karbì lám-mét a-méi* 'Karbi word-artful POSS-assembly') is a language and literature organization based in the district capital Diphu, but with branches in larger villages and towns. The KLA was founded on March 27, 1966, with the goal of preserving and promoting the Karbi language so it could be taught in schools and other institutions of higher education, while also engaging in the promotion of Karbi literature (Khor Sing Teron, p.c.).

1.1.5. The *Karbi Anglong* District

The Karbis have had their own autonomous *Karbi Anglong* district (lit., *Karbi a-inglóng* 'Karbi POSS-hill' > 'Karbi hills') for a number of decades. The district was first formed in 1951, although at that time, the North Cachar Hills to the south of the present-day western and eastern part still belonged to the district (then called 'United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District'). In 1970, the two parts were separated, and the 'Mikir Hills' district was renamed as *Karbi Anglong* in 1976, with Diphu in the eastern part as the capital. *Karbi Anglong* is the largest district of Assam.[5]

[5] This information comes from http://www.karbianglong.nic.in/, which is the official website of the Karbi Anglong District Administration, accessed on February 3, 2014.

1.2. Karbi in Tibeto-Burman

While there has never been any doubt that Karbi is a Tibeto-Burman language, the exact phylogenetic status inside Tibeto-Burman has not been possible to determine. This is despite the fact that information on Karbi has been available early on (§1.7.1), and that it has been considered in the early large-scale Tibeto-Burman classification proposals as well as in the modern, detailed comparative work. The difficulties of working out the exact phylogenetic status of Karbi are likely in large part due to a history of language contact and grammatical reorganization as a result of it (§1.3).

1.2.1. Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeast India

Northeast India is home to the greatest diversity of Tibeto-Burman languages, including languages from several different branches, such as Bradley's (2002) Western, Sal, and Central branches, see Figure 5.

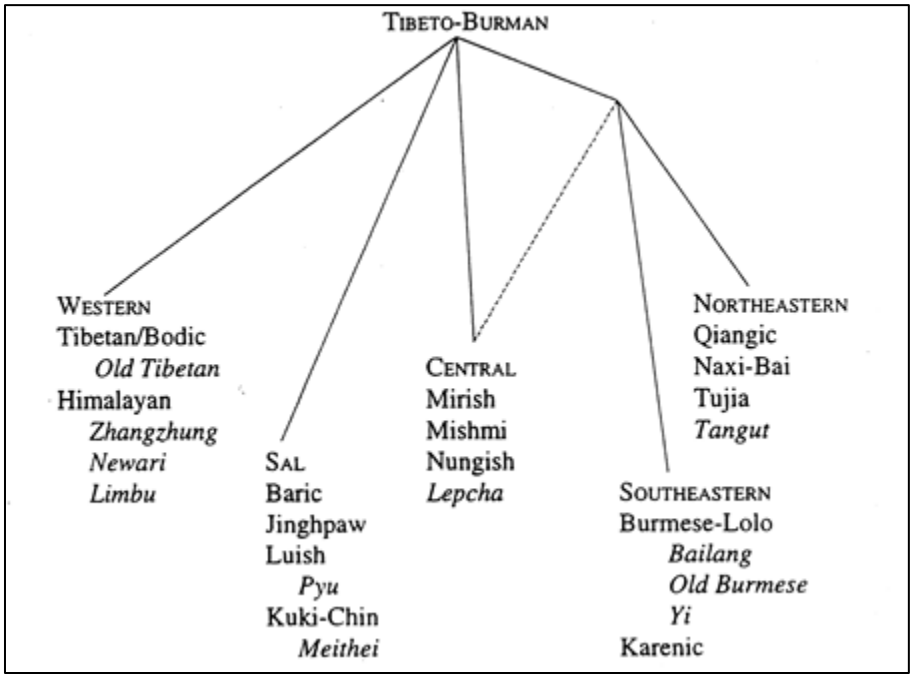

Figure 5. Classification of Tibeto-Burman according to Bradley (2002)

Bradley's Sal branch is a more inclusive version of this branch whose name was coined by Burling (1983), but renamed later more transparently as the 'Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw' branch (Burling 2003). Besides this Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw subbranch,

Burling's (2003) attempt at classifying the Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India includes a substantial number of other low-level branches, whose higher-level groupings remain far from clear. As seen in the classification of the languages of the 'Eastern Border' in Figure 6, Karbi has in this context always been one of two languages (the other being Meithei, the state language of Manipur) that have been particularly difficult to associate with one of the other low-level branches.

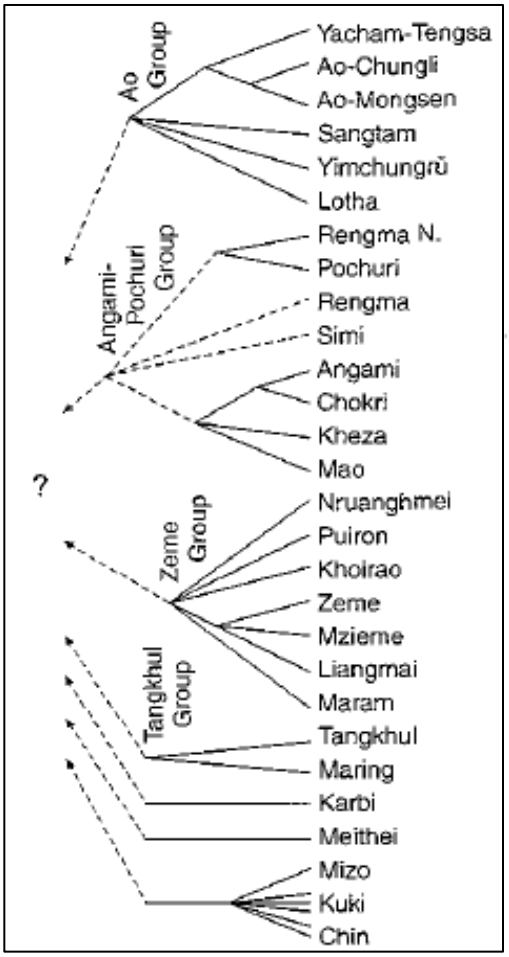

Figure 6. Burling's (2003:184) 'Relationships among the languages of the Eastern Border

1.2.2. Karbi in Tibeto-Burman Classification Proposals

Karbi (then referred to as 'Mikir') was included in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) by Grierson and Konow in the early 20th century (Grierson 1903), which represents

the first attempt at classifying Tibeto-Burman languages. Already at that time, there was a fair amount of information available on the language. In the LSI, it is noted that Karbi "has received some attention from the missionaries who work among them", and "we have a vocabulary and some short pamphlets written in it and an admirable grammar with selected texts from the pen of the late Sir Charles Lyall" (Grierson 1903:69). A classificatory problem Grierson and Konow encountered is noted in the next two sentences:

> In Volume III, Part ii of the Survey I have classed Mikir as falling within the Nāgā-Bodo Sub-Group. The language has affinities with Bodo, but subsequent investigation has shown that it is much more closely connected with Kuki, and that it should be classed […] as belonging to the Nāgā-Kuki Sub-Group, in which it occupies a somewhat independent position.

While the absence of a closer link between Karbi and Bodo-Garo[6] has not been controversial since, there are three other groups in particular that have been linked to Karbi: Meithei, Naga, and Kuki-Chin (the latter two of which were put into one group, going back to the LSI, see above).[7]

However, the evidence that underlies the grouping of Karbi with Meithei might better be analyzed as borrowings (§1.3). The putative grouping with Naga is complicated due to the fact that it is not currently clear at all what 'Naga' actually is, as there is a long-standing confusion of ethnic and linguistic labels surrounding the term 'Naga' (Burling 2003) (i.e., using ethnic labels as linguistic labels, see also §1.4.2 for a similar problem within Karbi 'dialects'). A possible link to Kuki-Chin currently appears promising. As pointed out in various places throughout this dissertation, particular links to Kuki-Chin exist, for example with respect to: the negative equational copula (§4.6.2.2); the cislocative as well as speech act participant non-subject marking (§6.3.1.4); the reflexive/reciprocal prefix (§6.4.3); and the focus marker *=si* (§9.7.3.1.5), among other constructions. However, working out the exact details as well as implications of these

[6] Bodo-Garo languages form a "compact, low-level branch of Tibeto-Burman" (DeLancey 2012). The few similarities that exist between Karbi and Bodo-Garo, such as the Karbi *ke-* nominalizer that is a cognate of a Bodo-Garo adjectival prefix (Konnerth 2009, 2012), stem from a very high node, possibly Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

[7] There also was a proposal by Bauman (1976) to consider Karbi the missing link in a connection between Kuki-Chin and Lepcha.

similarities and apparent cognates is a matter of future research. This will likely include the difficult work of carefully disentangling areally from genetically shared features.

In sum, it has remained difficult to come up with a classification proposal that places Karbi in a closer relationship with one of the (geographically) neighboring branches. This is despite early availability of information on Karbi grammar and lexicon (§1.7.1), but certainly has to be seen in the context of the remaining lack of information on some of the Kuki-Chin and so-called 'Naga' languages. What appears quite obvious, however, is that a major factor in obscuring the relationships between Karbi and other Tibeto-Burman languages has been language contact and contact-induced changes in Karbi grammar and lexicon. In particular, it has been known since the Linguistic Survey of India that Karbi has been in close contact (and, in fact, the closest contact of all TB languages) with the Austroasiatic Khasi languages to the west in Meghalaya.

1.3. The Role of Contact in the Development of Karbi

DeLancey (2012) offers a creolization account for the origins of the Bodo-Garo branch of Tibeto-Burman, which likely applies in the historical development of Karbi as well, as in fact also suggested by DeLancey. At a smaller scale than Bodo-Garo, Karbi shares the ethnolinguistic profile of a language a) spoken by a relatively large number of people (in the local linguistic context), b) spread across a relatively large area, and c) extending into the plains (as opposed to being only spoken in the hills) (see §1.1.2).[8]

While Bodo-Garo is argued to have an origin in a lingua franca in DeLancey's proposal, such an extreme case of contact influence does not need to be assumed in the case of Karbi. However, a considerable impact from contact has to be part of the history of Karbi. Specifically, there is robust evidence of changes in Karbi grammar and lexicon

[8] This was also noted as a striking difference between the Karbis and other ethnic groups by Walker (1925) in the preface to his dictionary. He says, "[…] the Mikirs are among the more numerous of the Assam frontier races, and […] they are scattered over a wide area, from Golaghat to Kamrup and the Khasi Hills beyond Gauhati, and from the Cachar plains near Silchar to the forests north of Bishnath in Darrang […]." A similar remark about the relatively wide geographic spread of the Karbis in the local context stems from the Linguistic Survey of India, where it is noted that "it cannot be doubted that in former times the Mikirs occupied a comparatively large tract of country in the lower hills and adjoining lowlands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Patkoi" (Grierson 1903:69).

(as well as, in fact, culture and social organization[9]) due to contact with the Khasi languages (Grierson 1903; Grüßner 1978; Joseph 2009). This branch of Austroasiatic is centered in a region to the west of the Karbi-speaking area, across the border in the state of Meghalaya. More research on the Khasi branch is needed in order to be able to connect a particular language more closely to extensive contact with Karbi. At this point, specifically the language (and ethnic group) referred to as Jaintia or Pnar appears to be the one closest linked to contact with Karbi.

In addition to contact with the Khasi languages, there is some evidence hinting at a possible contact scenario with Meithei. The one strong piece of evidence is the peculiarity of numerals 'eight' and 'nine' being morphologically complex forms that translate as 'ten minus two' and 'ten minus one' (§4.8.2). This subtractive construction for 'eight' and 'nine' is not attested so far in any other language in the region. The corresponding constructions in Karbi and Meithei look calqued, since the individual morphemes do not correspond.

Another strong piece of evidence is that Meithei has a female *-pi* suffix corresponding to Karbi *-pī* 'female' (§5.4.1.1). This is noteworthy because it is not a typical Tibeto-Burman form and to my knowledge not attested anywhere else in the family.[10]

In addition to the evidence from numerals and the female suffix, there are several other correspondences that could potentially contribute to a model of Karbi-Meithei contact (without being strong evidence). For example, the Karbi word *ōk* 'meat' is peculiar because the more common Tibeto-Burman root for a word 'flesh' is something like Matisoff's (2003) reconstructed **sya*. Now the Meithei word for 'pig' is *ók* (Chelliah 1997), and considering that pork is the major and favorite type of meat eaten by the Karbis, *ōk* might be a borrowing from this Meithei word for 'pig'. At the same time, the Meithei *ók* is similar to roots for the word 'pig' in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

[9] As pointed out by Grüßner (1978), a number of lexical items referring to social organization as well as the kingdom system are borrowings from Khasi, obviously suggesting that the concept was borrowed along with the word. Examples include *lindók-pō* 'king' (with the male suffix *-pō*) from Khasi *lyngdoh* 'priest', and the word *kúr* for 'clan'.

[10] The typical Tibeto-Burman female suffix has a bilabial nasal. For example, in Tibetan, the male and female suffixes are *-pa* and *-ma*, respectively.

Matisoff (2003) here reconstructs **p^{w}ak* (the Karbi word is *phāk*. Therefore, this does not represent strong evidence for a borrowing from Meithei into Karbi.[11]

1.4. Varieties of the Karbi Language

While the details of the Karbi dialect situation are outside the scope of this dissertation, it appears that there is a high degree of homogeneity - perhaps surprisingly so, given the large geographic spread of the language. This was also noted by Walker (1925) as he writes in the preface to his dictionary that "in spite of the fact […] that [the Karbis] are scattered over a wide area, […], the language is practically one and the same throughout."

The highly simplified 'big picture' of the dialect situation, is that there is a major dividing line (political as much as, or even more than, linguistic in nature) between the Hills Karbis (Karbis from *Karbi Anglong* (KA)) and the Plains Karbis (Karbis mostly living in the plains of Assam largely north of KA), as discussed in §1.4.1.

Within each of these major two varieties, there is relatively little dialectal variation. However, investigating the nature of dialectal variation is complicated due to the application of dialect labels by Karbi native speakers, which are grounded in historical ethnic/familial and/or geographical affiliation, as outlined in §1.4.2.

Following this discussion, §1.4.3 further discusses two of these dialect labels from the Hills Karbi variety: the Rongkhang or Ronghang dialect, which (with apparently wide-spread acceptance) is being used as the basis for standardization; and the Hills (not Plains) Amri Karbi dialect, which is spoken in the western part of Karbi Anglong, where the traditional-cultural center of the Karbis lies.

Finally, §1.4.4 offers a list of some lexemes that have been found to exhibit (mostly, vowel) alternations in the speech of different native speakers, without, however, actually appearing to represent dialect isoglosses.

Note that besides these geographical and historical/ethnic dialect groups, there appears to be some evidence for a Christian sociolect (possibly specifically in the Tika region), with some slight differences in lexicon and grammar from the non-Christian

[11] In addition, there is also a demonstrative *si* in Meithei (Chelliah 1997) that represents an alternative (or possibly ultimately the same) cognate for the focus marker *=si* in Karbi (which is suggested to be connected to an equational copula *si(i)* in Central Kuki-Chin in §9.7.3.1.5).

sociolect (see §1.7.2 on Grüßner's work, which was based on a variety with some such features). All of these issues pertaining to linguistic varieties of Karbi require further research.

In the discussion of varieties of the Karbi language, in the following subsections as well as in the entire dissertation, I want to emphasize that not a single word is written with a political motive behind it. My goal has always been to describe the linguistic landscape in a scientific way and to be as neutral as possible when it comes to the politics that are, of course, tied to it in real life. I truly hope that no part of the discussion of the different varieties of the Karbi language is offensive to anybody.

1.4.1. Plains Karbi ("Amri Karbi") and Hills Karbi

The Plains Karbi variety spoken in the Kamrup and Marigaon districts of Assam as well as partly in the Ri-Bhoi district of Meghalaya is commonly referred to as 'Amri Karbi' in the linguistic literature and in the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013). However, it should be noted right away that Karbis identifying with the western subvariety of Hills Karbi use the same name for themselves, possibly because of an ultimately shared geographical origin and/or common ancestors (§1.4.3).

Members of the *Karbi Lammet Amei* (§1.1.4) have expressed their concern to me over the use of the name *Amri* for the Plains Karbi variety, while this name is embraced by many speakers of this variety. The term 'Dumra' or 'Dumrali' is also used to refer to this variety of the Karbi language and the people that speak it.

In the following discussion, I will use the geographically based terms 'Plains Karbi' and 'Hills Karbi' to refer to the two major linguistic varieties of the Karbi language, which, again, include further 'sub'-varieties based on linguistic features, which are, however, not as different from one another as are the two major varieties. Although these geographic terms are not ideal either since there are Karbis living in the plains who do not speak the 'Plains Karbi' variety, I follow M. Teron and Tumung (2007) in using 'Plains Karbi' and 'Hills Karbi' in these ways, as the terminological debate is currently still ongoing and there simply is no ideal set of terms to use at this point. Note that the name *Amri* refers to a historical administrative unit in the Karbi kingdom, and, as mentioned above, in addition to Plains Karbis, the group of Hills Karbis living in the

western part of the *Karbi Anglong* district also identify with this name, see §1.4.2 and §1.4.3 below.

There is a strong political movement on part of the Plains Karbis to consider their variety of Karbi a different language rather than just a different dialect from the variety of Karbi that is spoken in the Hills. This likely has to do with the unequal power relations between the two groups. While there are close to half a million native speakers of Hills Karbi that have autonomy in the Karbi Anglong district, the Plains Karbi speaking population is scattered across a number of districts, and a 2003 figure reported by the Ethnologue estimates the number of speakers at a total of 125,000 (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013).[12]

According to my Hills Karbi language consultants, there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the Hills and Plains Karbi. This is especially true for Hills Karbi speakers that are fluent in Assamese (which most people living in the urban areas are), as the Plains Karbi variety has a large number of Assamese loans due to closer contact with Assamese in the plains. It is also noted in the Ethnologue that "some Amri Karbi villages shifted completely to Assamese due to intermarriage and the perception that Assamese is preferred for children to do well in school."

In addition to the larger number of Assamese loans, some of the more noticeable ways in which Plains Karbi is different from Hills Karbi are the following. First, there are differences between the song language (§1.6.2) and the ordinary language. Specifically, Plains Karbi uses lexemes in ordinary, colloquial speech, which are only used in the song language of Hills Karbi, and vice versa.

A phonological difference is that Plains Karbi has preserved coda /l/, which in Hills Karbi has changed into diphthongs or glide codas, depending on the analysis (see §3.1.2 and §3.4).

In the domain of morphology, there are two salient differences. First, the unusual onset-reduplicative negative suffix *-Cē* in Hills Karbi (§3.8.6.3) corresponds to just *-e* without the onset reduplication in Plains Karbi. Second, the Hills Karbi negative existential copula is *avē*, while Plains Karbi instead uses the form *ingjong* (§4.6.2.1.1).

[12] It is not clear what the basis is for this figure provided by the Ethnologue. The Census data of close to a half a million native speakers of Karbi do not specify whether a distinction was made between Hills and Plains Karbi (and hence it likely was not).

With respect to syntax, there are two frequently occurring Plains Karbi constructions that are not used in Hills Karbi. On the one hand, the positive existential copula *dō* is often used following a bare stem. It is not clear to my Hills Karbi language consultants what the function of this construction is, but it is very striking to them. On the other hand, habitual aspect is marked by the suffix *-man* in Plains Karbi, where in Hills Karbi simply the bare stem is used.

Within the Plains Karbi variety, there is also some amount of dialectal variation. For example, in the Ri-Bhoi district of Meghalaya, the *Bhoi Mynri* variant is spoken.

A good resource on the Plains Karbi variety is the trilingual dictionary edited by M. Teron and Tumung (2007), which includes both Plains and Hills Karbi forms of each lexical item, as well as translations into Assamese and English.

1.4.2. Relationships between the Hills Karbi 'Dialects'

There are four 'dialect' labels that are used by Hills Karbi native speakers to identify their own and other people's speech: *Amri*, *Rongkhang* (or *Ronghang*), *Chinthong*, and *Killing*. Originally, however, these labels are connected to historical administrative units of the Karbi kingdom and the people that lived in these administrative units. Therefore, while there certainly is a historical connection between an individual's affiliation to one of these groups and the variety s/he speaks, this is not always the case anymore in the year 2014.

Since this discussion of these different groups is only for the purpose of sketching out the linguistic landscape, everything said here comes through the lense of linguistic variation and is considered in its relevance to linguistic varieties. I would like to acknowledge that it is shorthand to speak of 'Amri Karbi' or 'Rongkhang Karbi' and that the more accurate way of referring to the people that identify with these names is to say *Amri aso* 'children / inhabitants of Amri' and *Rongkhang aso* 'children / inhabitants of Rongkhang.'

According to Dharamsing Teron (p.c.), the following can be said about these 'dialect' groups:

The three major groups are *Amri*, *Rongkhang*, and *Chinthong*. The *Killing* group appears to be a part of the *Rongkhang* group. The *Amri* group was the first to migrate into

the present-day *Karbi Anglong* area. They split up and some of them went to present-day western *Karbi Anglong* (i.e., the group discussed in §1.4.3), while others moved into the plains (i.e., the Plains Karbis, discussed above in §1.4.1).

The *Rongkhang* group is mostly located in the southern portion of the eastern part of *Karbi Anglong*, where the district capital Diphu is located. This group became the most dominant and influential group, which is why the *Rongkhang* 'dialect' is currently considered the standard dialect. Note, however, that linguistically, it is not possible for my language consultants to pinpoint defining differences between *Rongkhang* and the 'dialects' of eastern *Karbi Anglong* and the area to the south, i.e., *Chinthong*, and *Killing*. (The *Killing* group is geographically centered in places such as Kheroni, Jyrikyndeng, and further into the North Cachar Hills area.)

1.4.3. Hills Karbi: Differences between *Rongkhang* (Hills Karbi; Diphu) and *Amri* (Hills Karbi; Western Karbi Anglong) Dialects

While any particular differences between the *Rongkhang* dialect and other dialects to the north and the south are not easy to discern for my language consultants (although among themselves, they may identify with different dialect groups, see §1.4.2 above), there are a number of differences between, on the one hand, *Rongkhang* and the other putative dialects, and, on the other hand, the *Amri* dialect in western *Karbi Anglong*. These differences are not only lexical in nature, but also include two systematic phonological differences. First, the *Amri* dialect has a sixth phonemic vowel, which is a high to mid-high, front, centralized /ɪ/ (§3.2.1). Second, the *Amri* dialect has preserved /ei/ and the /ai/ diphthongs (or vowels /e/ and /a/ with palatal glide coda, see §3.4), while the *Rongkhang* dialect has merged them to /ai/ (§3.2).

In addition, there are number of differences in other grammatical domains as well. For example, the *pe-~pa-* 'causative' prefix is seemingly only ever produced as *pa-* in the *Amri* dialect, i.e. without any allomorphy (see §3.9.2.1). Another difference is that that 'afterthought' particle *=he* (§12.3.9) is more frequently used in *Amri* speech, and that the particle *hedī* is prominently used as a marker of narrative style specifically in this dialect (§12.3.12).

1.4.4. Variation in Lexemes

Table 1 provides lists of sample lexemes, of which there are two (or more) variants based on vowel alternations. No study has been conducted yet to see whether these alternation patterns somehow align in the speech of individual native speakers.

Table 1. Vowel alternations

Alternation	Gloss	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/
i~e~u	'banana'	*phinū*	*phenū*			*phunū*
i~e	'trade'	*bihá*	*behá*			
	'match'	*chináng*	*chenáng*			
	'eggplant'	*hipī*	*hepī*			
	'main people in charge'	*khitirí*	*khetirí*			
	'king(<Ind)'	*richó*	*rechó*			
i~u	'yam'	*phirùi*				*phurùi*
	'snake'	*phirūi*				*phurūi*
	'rat'	*phijū*				*phujū*
e~a	'field hut'		*mendu*	*mandu*		
	'dried fish'		*menthu*	*manthu*		
	'when'		*(ko)mentu, (ko)nemtu*	*(ko)mantu, (ko)namtu*		
e~o	'cotton'		*pheló*		*pholó*	
	'alkaline'		*phelō*		*pholō*	
	'story'		*temó*		*tomó*	
a~o	'girl'			*okarjāng*	*okorjāng*	
a~u	'carry on back'			*bā*		*bū*

While Table 1 shows that many different vowel alternation patterns exist, it should be noted that in almost all cases, the vowel alternation occurs in the first syllable of a disyllabic word. The only two exceptions are the two words listed last: *okarjāng~okorjāng* 'girl' and *bā~bū* 'carry on back'.

In addition to the simple vowel alternations in lexemes listed in Table 1, there also exists lexical variation in other words, such as *mensopi* or *nemsopi* for 'papaya'.

1.5. Sociolinguistic Profile of Language Endangerment

The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger lists Karbi as a 'vulnerable' language (Moseley 2010). This section contains a brief sociolinguistic

evaluation of the current status of endangerment of the Karbi language.[13] It includes a discussion of setting factors (§1.5.1), the impact of language contact (§1.5.2), issues relating to domains, vitality, and attitudes (§1.5.3), and the official policy concerning the language (§1.5.4). §1.5.5 summarizes the degree of language endangerment Karbi is experiencing, and §1.5.6 lays out current and proposes future remedial action to strengthen the status of Karbi.

1.5.1. Setting Factors

The following setting factors that have an impact on the degree of language endangerment are discussed here: number of speakers, which, however, is discussed above in §1.1.2; languages represented in education (§1.5.1.1); virtual and physical infrastructure in the community (§1.5.1.2); the relationship between government and language (policy) (§1.5.1.3); and, finally, how Karbi is represented in mass media (§1.5.1.4).

1.5.1.1. Education

Even within the Karbi Anglong District, most schools have either Assamese or English as the medium of instruction, depending on whether they are government or Christian schools. Within the last fifteen to twenty years or so, a few Christian primary schools have started to teach in Karbi (and other local minority languages), spearheaded by Frs. UV Joseph and Joseph Teron, and textbooks have been developed (along with Br. Benjamin Kathar). There also are a few private schools that teach in Karbi. Moreover, there has been an effort to translate existing textbooks from Assamese into Karbi. By and large, however, children go to Assamese or English medium schools.

1.5.1.2. Virtual and Physical Infrastructure

A very sudden increase in virtual infrastructure in recent years (which was very noticeable even just between 2008-2012), i.e., availability of electricity, TVs, cell phones,

[13] This profile was put together as part of a seminar on 'The Sociolinguistics of Language Endangerment' offered by David and Maya Bradley at the 2011 LSA Institute in Boulder, CO. I would like to thank David and Maya for the feedback they provided me and for engaging me in thinking about these issues.

and the internet, will likely affect the community. Increase in physical infrastructure has recently improved mobility, and will almost certainly affect the community as well. A lot is currently changing, and the endangerment situation five years ago was likely substantially different from what the situation will be like in five to ten years from now.

Language shift to Assamese is a lot more common among Amri Karbis, who live in the plains, compared to *Karbi Anglong* Karbis, who live in the hills. This has likely been the case historically (in the last several centuries or so) as well, since there are a lot more Assamese loans in the Plains Karbi variety (§1.4.1).

1.5.1.3. Government

The Karbis live in their autonomous *Karbi Anglong* district with a *Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council* (and that is also its official name, i.e. it is in English rather than Karbi) (see §1.1.5). This political autonomy strengthens the status of the language.

1.5.1.4. Media

There are a few newspapers in Karbi. The *Arleng Daily* and the *Thekar*[14] are written in Roman script, while there are also newspapers that use the Assamese script. The KLA publishes quite a lot of books in Karbi. There is a local film industry that produces movies and comedy shows (and some documentaries) in Karbi. There also is a Karbi language TV program.

There has been a recent increase in availability of Karbi media on the internet. In particular, there are Karbi blogs and there are a number of songs sung in Karbi (but following the 'mainland' Indian *Bollywood* style) on Youtube.

1.5.2. Contact and Change

The major dominant language in the area that many Karbi speakers shift to is Assamese. Shifting to Assamese occurs among all of Assam's minority languages, since it is the main lingua franca for speakers of different minority languages. While English

[14] The *Thekar* now also has an online edition: http://thekararnivang.com/.

functions as a lingua franca to some degree as well (especially in the Christianized areas), Assamese is more widespread.

1.5.3. Domains/Vitality/Attitudes

1.5.3.1. Domains

There are two situations of language use within the Karbi community that I have experienced first hand and can comment on. One is life in the district capital Diphu, the other is life in a Christian village in rural western *Karbi Anglong*. As would be expected, the differences are very noticeable.

In Diphu, especially among the middle class, it is typical for Karbis under the age of 35 to 40 years or so, to be quadrilingual. While Karbi is the native language that is spoken in the home, it is also common for them to use Assamese, English, and Hindi (probably in that order of frequency) on a regular basis. It is therefore no problem for them to switch to whatever language is shared with their interlocutor(s). If several languages are shared, it is typically with first priority Karbi and then Assamese that are used, but that is not always the case, and people enjoy switching between languages. For example, I have heard Karbi native speakers in their late twenties talk to each other using Karbi, but suddenly switch to Assamese or English words or entire sentences.

In the villages that I have visited, this multilingual situation does not exist to that extent. While it is common for Karbis except for the older generation to speak Assamese to varying degrees, they may only ever use Assamese when they go to the weekly or biweekly market where many sellers only speak Assamese and no Karbi. There is a trend for the younger generation, especially with increases in physical and virtual infrastructure, to be exposed to English and Hindi and to know how to say a few things in these languages. In addition, in the villages in western Karbi Anglong with Tiwa-speaking[15] villages nearby, it is also common for Karbis to know Tiwa to varying degrees (and vice versa).

[15] Tiwa is a Bodo-Garo language spoken mostly inside the *Karbi Anglong* district.

1.5.3.2. Vitality

The overall vitality is currently good for Hills Karbi. Most commonly, Karbi is transmitted to the younger generation and used in the homes.

1.5.3.3. Attitudes

The attitudes of the Karbi community towards their language are generally positive. I have not met Karbis who did not consider their language important to them.[16] The fact that the KLA (§1.1.4) exists also speaks to that: The KLA is a non-governmental organization that survives on private donations; its members volunteer, with no monetary compensation for their work.

1.5.4. Official Policy Concerning the Language

According to the Indian constitution, every Indian citizen has the right to go to school in his/her mother language, but this right is not strongly financially supported and therefore not well implemented.

1.5.5. Summary of Degree of Endangerment

The Karbi language currently looks healthy. However, especially the increase in infrastructure is changing so dramatically that consequences will likely become more and more noticeable in the near future. Although the facts are that a) there are a large number of speakers; b) the language is almost always transmitted to the children; and c) the community is politically protected by having their own autonomous district, the dominant Assamese language creates a lot of pressure that many in the community feel. The KLA's largest current concern is the standardization of the writing system. This will serve both the purpose of doing language maintenance as well as result in added prestige.

[16] Although it is the case that since I was closely collaborating with the KLA the whole time, the group of Karbis I came in contact with were people who particularly cared about their language.

1.5.6. Current and Suggested Future Remedial Action

In accordance with the KLA's concerns, the standardization of the orthography could be a large step to strengthen the language, as it would likely represent a prerequisite for the large-scale development of school materials in Karbi and the use of Karbi in higher education.

1.6. Karbi Oral Literature and the Karbi Song Language

1.6.1. Karbi Oral Literature

The orally transmitted traditional literature of the Karbis is a fundamental part of Karbi culture. As part of data collection for this grammar, a number of folk stories were recorded that tap into this rich treasure of Karbi oral literature. While the stories are always narrated in the ordinary language, there are a lot of songs (mostly ballads that tell a particular story) as well as (religious) chants which are sung using the song language (see §1.6.2 below). However, also the ordinary language used to tell folk stories has elements specific to the genre, see §12.1.4 on the discourse structuring markers *e* and *'mh*, as well as §12.3.12 on the 'narrative style marker' *hedī*, in particular.

There are a few things that need to be taken into consideration in order to situate Karbi oral literature in the context of the oral literatures of the various ethnic groups in Northeast India. First, a typical genre is folk stories about the origins of subclans, such as the story about the three Bey brothers (see Appendix E). Typically, these stories offer a (mythological) explanation of how the division into subclans among members of a particular clan or subclan came about, and they often also contain societal rules such as restrictions on (everyday life) interactions between members of particular subclans.

Second, an apparently common story in the context of Northeast India that exists in Karbi oral literature as well is the story *Miso-rongpo lapen Chongho-kaloso* (see Appendix D). This folk story starts with a fight between a frog and an ant (although it might involve other animals in the traditions of other language communities), resulting in a chain reaction of events, in which one animal suffers from being disturbed or hurt by another animal, and as a consequence accidentally disturbs or hurts another animal, and so on. Examples from what appears to be the same basic story in Khumi (Kuki-Chin) are

used in a discussion of elaborate expressions in Khumi by Peterson (2010:96-7), and DeLancey (p.c.) has come across stories with the same basic structure in other languages of Northeast India as well.

Another narrative that is characteristic of the region (specifically the hill region stretching from Northeast India across Southeast Asia) concerns the loss of an allegedly previously existing script. This narrative is analyzed by Scott (2009) as a literary-mythological account of an intentional decision by these peoples for an oral literary tradition and against a written tradition. He makes this argument in the context of his larger hypothesis that the hills peoples of Southeast Asia[17] have a history of intentionally fleeing the developing civilizations in the valleys (which were heavily built on slavery in their early beginnings) in order to maintain (cultural and political) independence and societal equality.

In Karbi, there also exists a narrative of a lost script that was used to write Karbi. But, and this account is similar to stories in other languages of the region (Scott 2009), the only record of the script was on a deer hide, which in times of starvation had to be eaten in order to survive, and was therefore lost.

1.6.2. Karbi Song Language

The Karbi song language is used for oral literature that is sung or chanted (hence the name) rather than narrated. It is also referred to as the poetical language. According to my language consultants, between the two major dialects of Hills and Plains Karbi, there is an interesting relationship between song language and ordinary language such that Hills Karbi song language words are ordinary language words in Plains Karbi and vice versa.[18]

Many lexical items that occur in the Hills Karbi song language represent borrowings from Khasi languages (with which there exists a history of contact, §1.3). For example, the word *um* is used for 'water' in the song language, which is a common

[17] That is, the peoples inhabiting the hill range that stretches across Southeast Asia, which Scott refers to as *Zomia*, with the claim that that is not only a geographic label but also needs to be understood as an area of a shared cultural-political history.

[18] Note that it is not common for members of the Karbi language community to understand all the song language words. They typically know a few individual words, but no more than that.

component of toponyms in western Karbi Anglong in names such as Umswai, Umlapher, Umkachi (or Amkachi), etc. The song language is thus an important object for further study in order to trace Khasi borrowings in Karbi. A first move in this direction is the book *Karbi lamlir achili* (lit., 'the seeds of the Karbi poetical language'), a collection of Hills Karbi song language words (some of which with context in songs and chants in which they are used) edited by eminent Karbi language and literature scholar Longkam Teron (L. Teron 2008). It is furthermore a topic for future study to investigate the grammatical structure of song language texts.

Note that an interesting aspect in the transition from traditional to modern culture is that the song language is also used in modern (Indic, Bollywood-style) Karbi pop songs. However, Christian songs do not make use of the song language but of the ordinary language.[19]

1.7. Previous Study of Karbi Grammar

There are a small handful of important names in Karbi linguistics, which should be mentioned at the outset of this section. The chronologically first mention should be made to George D. Walker, who published a fairly comprehensive dictionary in 1925. In the mid 1960s, the late French missionary Father Balawan put together a word list with parts of a grammatical description (published as Balawan (1978)). Not much later, Karl-Heinz Grüßner worked on Karbi grammar. Around the same time, Karbi scholar Professor Rongbong Terang published a Karbi dictionary (Terang 1974). Within the last decade or so, substantial contributions have also been made by another important Karbi scholar, Longkam Teron.

1.7.1. Early Work on Karbi

Early resources on Karbi include word lists by Robinson (1849), Stewart (1855), and Kay (1904), as well as information provided in sections on Karbi in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1903). A historical ethnographic description with some

[19] There might be several reasons for this. For once, it might be because most Karbi speakers do not understand song language words. Another reason could be that the song language is closely linked to the traditional religious belief and rituals.

references to Karbi grammar as well as several texts with translation was "edited, arranged and supplemented" by Sir Charles Lyall based on notes by the Indian Civil Service officer Edward Stack (Stack and Lyall 1908). Several other early resources on Karbi linguistics are listed by Grüßner (1978:218-21).

1.7.2. Karl-Heinz Grüßner's Work

Karl-Heinz Grüßner worked on Karbi in the early 1970s. Based in Shillong, he collaborated with Karbi native speakers Harrison Langne and Clement Singnar and took a number of trips to villages in western Karbi Anglong to record texts and work with other native speakers. Grüßner wrote a grammar of Karbi as his PhD dissertation at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, published as Grüßner (1978). The grammar is an excellent resource especially on Karbi phonology and morphology, which is all the more impressive considering the relative non-availability of technical equipment at the time. Grüßner made reel-to-reel audio tape recordings, which he subsequently transcribed for use as examples in his grammar.[20] Grüßner was the first to investigate the tone system of Karbi and he systematically indicated tones in his work. While he was working on Karbi grammar he also began compiling words for what became a 241-page dictionary manuscript, which he never published.

Grüßner's work was mostly based on the speech of Christianized Karbi native speakers from around Tika in western Karbi Anglong. According to some of my language consultants, there are some subtle aspects of the variety Grüßner worked on that partially overlap and are partially different from their own varieties:

For example, Grüßner reports the systematic use of *pe-* 'causative' before monosyllabic roots but the allomorph *pa-* before disyllabic roots (corresponding to parallel allomorphy in the nominalizer *ke-~ka-(~ki-)*), which is a pattern found in *Rongkhang* speech; however, Grüßner also reports the use of /ei/ instead of only /ai/, which is typical of (Hills Karbi) *Amri* speech (§1.4.3). There also are some lexical differences according to my language consultants. For example, while one of the bamboo parts used to make fire via friction is referred to as *theng-dang* in my consultants' speech

[20] Grüßner has since digitized his old audio recordings.

(with the first element in the compound being *thēng* 'wood'), Grüßner reports the word to be *me-dang* (with the first element being *mē* 'fire'). These subtle differences are suspected to be part of an (again, subtly) distinct sociolect typical of the Christian villages in the area. While the issue of Karbi varieties cannot be treated here in any comprehensive way (see also §1.4), it should be noted that certain discrepancies in grammatical description between Grüßner's work and the present work might be due to dia-/socio-lectal differences.

The lasting contribution of Grüßner's work cannot be underestimated. The level of detail and carefully researched description, especially given the historical context when much less was known about the Tibeto-Burman language family, is truly remarkable.[21]

1.7.3. Longkam Teron's Work

Longkam Teron's perhaps most well-known contribution is a grammar with the Karbi name *Karbi lamtasam* (L. Teron 2005a). Significant other contributions include his collections of proverbs (L. Teron 2005b), and idioms and phrases (L. Teron 2006). Particularly important for further study of the origins of Karbi and the historical contact situation is the collection of words used as part of the (Hills Karbi) song language, *Karbi lamlir achili* (lit., 'the seeds of the Karbi poetical language') (L. Teron 2008) (see §1.6.2 above).

1.7.4. Other Resources on Karbi Grammar and Lexicon

In 1966, besides Father Michael Balawan, Father John Mariae also produced work on Karbi grammar and lexicon, which was only later published and is now available as a booklet called 'Karbi Self-taught' (Mariae 2007). An overview of the history of research on Karbi grammar is offered by D. Teron (2011:148-57).

[21] I also want to take this opportunity to again thank Karl-Heinz for all his support, his enthusiasm, and for freely and fully sharing everything and anything he had that could possibly help me in my endeavours to work on Karbi grammar.

In addition to the resources on Karbi grammar mentioned above, important contributions are also a number of dictionaries. The first comprehensive dictionary (Karbi to English and English to Karbi) was published by Walker (1925).

The Karbi scholar Bidorsing Kro produced a Karbi to Karbi dictionary with explanations in Assamese and English that was first published in 2002, with a second edition that has been published since Kro (2009). Another dictionary emerging from scholarship from within the Karbi community is Taro (2010). A comparative dictionary of Plains and Hills Karbi by M. Teron and Tumung (2007) represents an important resource on the major dialectal divide within the language.

1.8. Writing in Karbi and Conventions Followed in This Grammar

The Karbi Roman script orthography was developed by missionaries in the 19th century. Currently there also exists a Karbi orthography using the devanagari-based Assamese script. However, the *Karbi Lammet Amei* advocates for the use of the Roman script. Although there is a standardized set of letters in the Roman script that adequately represent Karbi phonemes, the orthography is to date not standardized, which is a matter of concern for many in the community, specifically, of course, for the members of the *Karbi Lammet Amei*.

The controversial issues arise with respect to a) word boundaries; b) capitalization after adding prefixes; c) syllable boundaries; and, most importantly, d) the representation of tone.

Regarding a) word boundaries, the status of clitics is controversial. For example, it is not clear whether the very frequently occurring topic marker *=ke* (§10.7.1) should be attached to the last word of the noun phrase that it is phonologically bound to, or not.

With respect to b) capitalization after adding prefixes, the most frequent issue is the occurrence of the possessive prefix *a-* (§5.3.1) on proper names. For example, in the simple noun phrase 'this Karbi woman', the word 'Karbi woman', i.e., *Karbipi*, needs to have the *a-* prefix on it. That is, one could write this noun phrase as *laso aKarbipi*, with *a-* in lower case and *Karbipi* capitalized, but that looks odd to some members of the community.

The issue of c) representing syllable boundaries is often (but not exclusively)[22] encountered when a vowel-initial syllable occurs in the middle of a word. This represents a problem because vowel onsets are accompanied by glottalization, which is not represented in the writing system, but is noticeable in this context since it prevents resyllabification (see §3.3). For example, adding the predicate derivation suffix *-ò* 'much' (§6.5.5.1) to the existential copula *dō* results in a pronunciation of [dōʔò]. As a result, many members in the community dislike a representation as *doo*, resorting to either using a dash (i.e., *do-o*) or an apostrophe (i.e., *do'o*).

Finally, d) the representation of tone has typically been avoided. Neither the Roman script nor the Assamese devanagari-based script has been successfully modified to represent tone. Different proposals have been put forth to do so, but none has been systematic; either only one tone (usually the most salient mid tone that features glottalization) is represented and/or only certain rhymes are marked for tones (and not actually consistently). For example, tone in open syllables that lack a coda consonant has been represented with an <h> coda by some Karbis - however, it is sometimes the low tone that is represented by this orthographic <h> coda (e.g., *neh* '1EXCL'), and sometimes the mid tone (e.g., *meh* 'fire'). Another proposal specifically aiming at the representation of the mid tone in nasal coda syllables was to write an orthographic homorganic stop, e.g., *(a-)tump* for the plural word with a bilabial nasal coda, *(a-)phant* for the non-subject marker with an alveolar nasal coda, or *langk* for 'water' for a velar nasal coda.

Except for where the representation is not systematic or phonological (i.e., the attempts so far at representing tone), all of these issues are mostly political in nature and there is no right or wrong in linguistic terms. In this dissertation, I follow the orthography Grüßner (1978) used. This has the following implications for the four orthography problems outlined above:

For a) word boundaries, clitics are written as one word with the element that they are phonologically bound to. For b) capitalization after adding prefixes, the above representation is used, i.e., lower case prefix with capitalized proper noun stem (i.e., *aKarbipi*). With respect to c) syllable boundaries, the apostrophe is used, i.e., *do'o* for the

[22] The other situation where this issue arises is when a multisyllabic word contains a consonant combination of /pl/, /pr/, /kl/, or /kr/ between two vowels, where the two consonants could be split up as coda plus initial or an open syllable followed by a consonant cluster.

example word from above. Finally, for d), the representation of tone, Grüßner's approach with diacritical marks is used: the grave for low tone (e.g., low tone *thì* 'die'); the acute for high tone (e.g., *thí* 'snatch, grab'); and the macron[23] for mid tone (e.g., *thī* 'be short').

In this dissertation, examples are offered with both a word line and a morpheme line, where tone is only indicated in the morpheme line but not in the word line. The details of the representation of tone is further discussed in §3.5.9; the details of the representation of data in general in this dissertation is further discussed in §2.4.3.

1.9. Organization of This Grammar

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter II discusses the theoretical framework and methodological approach employed in this dissertation, as well as the data that were collected and produced as part of this research, and that are used as a basis for the grammatical description.

Chapter III is dedicated to Karbi phonology, a large portion of which concerns the Karbi tone system, which poses difficulties for thorough description due to its low functional load.

Karbi morphology is dealt with in Chapters IV through VI. Chapter IV establishes basic facts about Karbi word classes or parts of speech, while Chapter V and Chapter VI discuss nominal morphology and verbal morphology, respectively.

In Chapters VII and VIII, syntactic issues concerning the noun phrase and predicate constructions are discussed.

Chapter IX is solely dedicated to nominalization and nominalization-based constructions, as nominalization represents a major structural device with functional application in a number of different domains of grammar (including simple derivation of nouns from verbs, noun phrase modification, monoclausal predicate constructions, as well as clause combining).

The status of clausal participants, and the distinction between arguments and obliques (or the relative absence thereof), as well as the constructions they occur in is the topic of Chapter X.

[23] Note that in his dictionary manuscript, Grüßner also sometimes used the circumflex for the mid tone, e.g., representing 'be short' as *thî*.

A discussion of clause types and clause combining, including non-declarative speech acts, is offered in Chapter XI.

Finally, Chapter XII provides an overview of the major constructions that have functions on the level of the larger discourse.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

This chapter deals with the methodology and general approach to grammar writing that underlies this dissertation, as well as the various data-theoretical aspects and practical workflows involved in the collection and organization of the data that this grammar is based on.

Most of the existing literature on linguistic data management has been published within the fields of language documentation (Himmelmann 1998; Gippert, Himmelmann, and Mosel 2006; Himmelmann 2006a; Woodbury 2011) and the description of (especially endangered) languages (Austin and Sallabank 2011). While this grammar of Karbi is primarily aimed to be a descriptive resource, attempts were made to incorporate the insights from the recently emerged (or, as some would argue, revived) field of 'language documentation' (or 'documentary linguistics').

This chapter begins with a discussion of the general approach and theoretical framework underlying this grammar (§2.1). In §2.2, an overview of the corpus, including data types and data formats is offered. Aspects of primary data collection are discussed in §2.3, while §2.4 deals with the processing of primary data to derive annotation files representin the main corpus for this dissertation.

2.1. Approach and Theoretical Framework

The approach taken in this dissertation contains three major components. First, it is firmly rooted in a functional-typological framework. Second, it embraces collaboration with the language community as the best approach for data collection and analysis. Third, the analysis presented in this descriptive grammar gains explanatory force through a historical-comparative perspective on the grammatical constructions that are discussed.

2.1.1. Functional-Typological Framework

First and most importantly, this dissertation is based on a functional-typological framework. This approach permeates all aspects in the design, data collection, and analysis and write-up.

For the design and data collection aspects, this framework puts an overarching emphasis on a data-driven and inductive, as well as data-rich approach to document how Karbi is actually spoken in a wide variety of natural uses of the language. As a result, the vast majority of examples that are offered in this dissertation to illustrate a particular point come from naturally produced speech rather than elicitation via translation from English. Elicitation serves an important purpose in supplementing information that did not happen to be provided in data from natural speech, but it should always be treated with the necessary caution.

The implications of using this framework for the analysis and argumentation consist in the understanding that there most typically are functional motivations for patterns and that there are also functional motivations for exceptions to patterns.

For example, Karbi classifiers generally do not mark a distinction between singular and plural: the same classifier is used when counting one or many items of a particular kind. This is functionally motivated because classifiers only ever occur with numerals to form classifier-numeral words in Karbi (§4.4.1). Therefore, having different classifier forms to distinguish singular from plural would be redundant.

However, there is one case in which there actually are two forms that are used for classifying the same entity: humans (or personified animals or objects in folk stories, §4.4.1.4). For humans, there are two classifiers, the singular classifier *nūt* and the plural classifier *bàng*. On a first level of explanation, there are two forms for the human classifier, because *nūt* actually is a borrowing from Khasi (Joseph 2009). On a deeper level of explanation, however, it is functionally motivated that the classifier (set) for humans is more special than most if not all other classifiers and is also the most frequently used classifier (set) in the corpus.

The functional-typological approach takes function and use seriously. From there, as this approach considers language a tool for a language community, the typological component is relevant: It motivates why some aspects of language are shaped similarly

cross-linguistically, which is due to the shared aspects of human life everywhere in the world. But it also motivates why other aspects of language are shaped differently cross-linguistically, which is due the aspects of human life that are different in different parts of the world, just as there exist different cultures.

2.1.2. Collaboration with the Language Community

This dissertation project was initiated by the Karbi community through the *Karbi Lammet Amei* (KLA; §1.1.4), and was therefore collaborative in nature from the beginning. Due to this close collaboration with the KLA, numerous aspects of data collection and processing were enhanced.

For example, the KLA (and specifically my closest collaborator Sikari Tisso) identified speakers that were able to tell particular stories and provide particular information. Due to the KLA's own interest in the success of the project, they (and again, most importantly Sikari Tisso) also greatly helped with all aspects of the practical realization and facilitation of the project, which always represents a major and time-consuming task in fieldwork (which at times is even impossible for an outsider linguist without collaborators from within the community).

2.1.3. Historical-Comparative Perspective

The historical-comparative approach to linguistic explanation understands grammatical constructions as being shaped by their historical origins, which can often be investigated by conducting comparative research.

For example, there are main clause constructions in Karbi that feature the *ke-* prefix that functions as the main nominalizer in the language, without having an inflected element to render the clause finite (§9.7.3). The historical perspective taken in that section aims to explain how that *ke-* prefix in those constructions can still be diachronically analyzed as the nominalizer, even though it has to be analyzed as a different element synchronically. A specifically comparative component to explanation is part of the analysis for the focus type of diachronic nominalization construction. This construction can be accounted for with recourse to a copular form that does not exist in Karbi but does exist in the related Kuki-Chin branch of Tibeto-Burman.

2.2. Corpus

2.2.1. Data Types

The data that were collected and generated for this grammar are organized into three subcorpora, as laid out in Table 2. They are 1) data based on individual recording sessions; 2) context-free elicitation data; and 3) the lexical database. All of these data are - or are based on - spoken data. Additionally, three other types of data were available: 4) data from Grüßner's (1978) work and specifically his transcriptions and translations of audio data he had collected, which, therefore, are also spoken data, 5) an extensive dictionary manuscript that Grüßner provided me, containing 240 pages of morphemes with indication of tone, and 6) data extracted from written texts, mostly school textbooks.

Table 2. Subcorpora of Karbi data

SUBCORPUS	CONTENT
1. Texts / Recording session data	Audio/Video recordings (and images) along with their transcriptions, translations, and analyses
2. Elicitation data	Elicitation based on grammatical, phonological, or lexical topics
3. Lexical database	Database including all morphemes occurring in recordings
(4. Grüßner's (1978) data)	Transcriptions / translations of audio recordings; individual examples
(5. Grüßner's dictionary manuscript)	Manuscript of a dictionary of 240 pages with tones represented
(6. Written text data)	Mostly from school textbooks, but also from other published sources

2.2.1.1. Texts / Recording Session Based Data

The most important data type are the data from recording sessions, as they represent the most natural use of the language (§2.1.1). Most of the time and effort spent on this dissertation research were devoted to the transcription, translation and analysis of the speech recordings. Within this data type, I distinguish between primary or media data and derived data or annotations. Within the derived data type, I distinguish between the two types of representation/translation and grammatical annotation as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Recording session based data types

Primary data / media data	**Audio recordings**		
	Video recordings		
Derived data / annotations	**Representation & Translation**	**Transcription**	
		Translation	
	Analysis	**Grammatical annotation**	**Parsed Karbi words**
			English glosses for Karbi morphemes
			Part-of-speech labels for Karbi morphemes
			Grammatical / cultural notes
		Text-based elicitation	

As detailed in Appendix H, which shows the metadata for those texts that were fully transcribed, translated, analyzed and further annotated, the primary data that these texts are based on consist of a total of 01:21:36 (hh:mm:ss) of media files that include video, and a total of 00:40:02 of audio-only recordings, for a total of about two hours. As for the data derived from these media data, the two hours of spoken language are represented by a total of approximately 12,500 transcribed Karbi words.

2.2.1.1.1. Relationships between Text / Recording Session Based Data Types

For visualization purposes, a simplified account of the relationships between the text / recording session based data types and processing procedures is modeled in Figure 7. It consists of three levels as indicated on the left-hand side: the media, basic annotation, and analysis levels. Generally, oval fields represent different data types, although the two types of media data are lumped together since they are supposed to document the same recording session, with video enriching the audio data as available.

Arrows generally originate in one data type that 'is needed/used for' another data type. Figure 7 represents that on the basic annotation level, transcription and translation data are derived from media data. The translation may in theory be based solely on the audio data, but in my experience is often aided by reading the transcription, which is what the arrow with the dotted line represents.

Between the basic annotation and analysis levels (both of which are actually annotation types), the arrows go in both directions. This is because the data derived from

the media files can be said to mutually inform one another. For example, the analysis (very broadly speaking, i.e. consisting of parsing, glossing, assigning part of speech labels, etc.) is derived from the transcription, translation, and media files, while also in return informing transcription and translation.

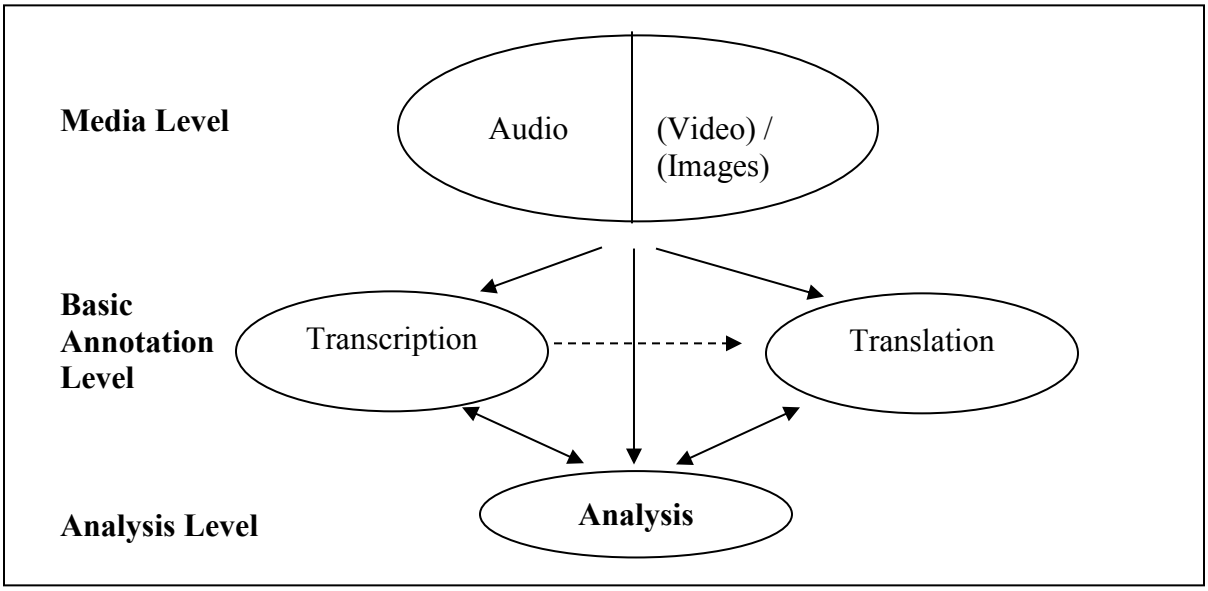

Figure 7. Relationships between recording session based data types / processing procedures

2.2.1.1.2. Discussion of the Distinction between Primary and Derived Data

A distinction between primary data and data from how primary data is further processed (i.e., derived data), as done in Table 3 above, is typically made in the language documentation literature, although the dividing line may be drawn in different ways.

For example, Himmelmann seemingly distinguishes between primary data and their transcription and translation on the one hand and the analysis on the other hand in an earlier publication (1998:161–2), but in a later publication (Himmelmann 2006a:14) distinguishes between primary data consisting of "recordings/records of observable linguistic behavior and metalinguistic knowledge (possible basic formats: session and lexical database)" and the "apparatus", which consists of metadata and annotations (including transcription, translation, and "further linguistic and ethnographic glossing and

commentary"). That is, Himmelmann also distinguishes between essentially three types of data (primary - transcription and translation - analysis), but puts the transcription and translation in earlier work with the primary data and in later work with the analysis. As represented in Table 3, I consider transcription and translation derived data or annotations just like the different types of grammatical annotations (see also Schultze-Berndt 2006).

Primary data in my conceptualization are media data, i.e. audio and video recordings as well as images such as photographs of the speakers and of the recording session. The idea is that primary data are the most objective, 'raw' data.

Derived data are derived from primary data and include transcription and translation on the one hand, and analysis of the texts on the other hand. We can distinguish here the former two from the latter in that transcription and translation are still more objective and can be fairly easily carried out by trained research assistants, while the analysis requires a fully trained linguist. The analysis may include grammatical annotations such as the parsed Karbi text, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and part of speech tags as well as grammatical and cultural notes for different layers of syntactic analysis of the given parts of a text and ethnolinguistic commentary. The analysis may also include separate files with elicitation based on the given parts of a text.

Although there is a sense that we can distinguish between primary and derived data, where primary data are objective and 'raw', while further data that are derived from the primary data consist of more (inter)subjective analysis and interpretation that may turn out to be incorrect or flawed, this distinction is actually blurred. In fact, even with the primary, 'raw' media data, no true objectivity is guaranteed, since even here, subjective decisions about where to set up the camera and microphones and what types of microphones to choose have an impact on the resulting recordings (Good 2011).

2.2.1.2. Context-Free Elicitation Data

Context-free elicitation data were collected on phonological and grammatical topics, although grammatical topics are mostly investigated through textual examples and elicitation based on those. An example of context-free elicitation are elicited clauses that include comparative constructions or clauses that include indefinite quantifiers in order to learn more about these particular grammatical constructions.

Phonological elicitation was mostly aimed at the Karbi tone system, e.g., eliciting roots that undergo morphophonemic changes due to adding certain prefixes, or elicitation of words with similar tone patterns.

2.2.1.3. Lexical Database

The lexical database has been built up parallel to the text database of recording session based data due to the way the software Toolbox, which was used for grammatical annotations, works. Therefore, the lexical database includes all morphemes that occur in the recorded texts with some additional opportunistic data entries. It is a basic lexical database, which will require further work to be usable as a dictionary. As of now, entries generally only consist of the Karbi morpheme, an English gloss, a part of speech label, and in some cases additional grammatical, lexical, or cultural notes.

2.2.2. Data Formats and Software

Data formats ideally depend on their purpose: a) for the purpose of working with the data; b) for the purpose of presenting the data within the academic research community or the Karbi community; or, c) for archiving and longevity of the data (Johnson 2004, 146; Austin 2006, 96–7; Good 2011, 227–8).

Table 4 summarizes what formats are used for what data type depending on the respective goal. For the master copies of all types of files, archival formats were chosen following best practices, which recommend the use of uncompressed, widely used, non-proprietary formats in order to ensure long-term preservation and avoid loss of quality (Bird and Simons 2003; Johnson 2004; Austin 2006).

The choice of working format depends on the software used, and in the case of these Karbi data involve, for example, the .eaf format, which is the format the ELAN software generates.[24] Still the working format should also be uncompressed, i.e. be of the highest possible quality, for example the working format for audio recordings is the uncompressed .wav format, which is also the archiving format. Video files, on the other hand, involve three different working formats. The .mts format is the high definition format that is generated by the video camera used for this project (the Canon Vixia HF S-

[24] Note, however, that the .eaf format is in fact a type of XML format (see MPI LAT).

10). This format is neither a good working, nor presentation, nor archiving format and therefore has to be converted first. As a working format, a smaller format is advantageous since it requires less storage space and runs faster. For the current project, high resolution video data were not required and so we typically used smaller .wmv or .avi formats as the working format as they are supported by ELAN.

The presentation format is largely intended to serve Karbi community members. Therefore, the important consideration is to try and make the files small and portable and widely accessible. That means that unlike the working and archiving formats, the presentation format does not have to be of the highest possible quality but it is more important that data transfer is easy and that the data do not get modified. Therefore, .mp3 for audio or .pdf files for text data are preferred presentation formats.

Table 4. Data types and archiving, working, and presentation formats

Type	Working format	Archiving format	Presentation format
Audio recordings	.wav		.mp3
Video recordings	.mts, .wmv, .avi	.mp4	.wmv, .avi, .mp4
Images	.jpg	.tif	.jpg
Transcriptions	.eaf, .txt	.xml	.eaf, .doc
Translations	.eaf, .txt	.xml	.eaf, .doc
Grammatical annotations	.eaf, .txt	.xml	.eaf, .doc
Lexical database	.txt, .doc	.xml	.doc, .pdf
Text data[25]	.txt; .doc, .xls	.rtf, .csv	.doc, .xls, .pdf

Table 5 provides a list of all software used in the course of the project. For basic text annotation, ELAN[26] was used. ELAN (the 'EUDICO Linguistic Annotator') is software developed by the Language Archiving Technology (LAT) group of the Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. The other main software, which was used for linguistic analysis and the creation of a lexical database, is Toolbox.[27] Toolbox was developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics

[25] Text data includes data types such as elicitation data, tabular data, coding schemes, concordance / examples lists, and questionnaire responses.

[26] ELAN, developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands: http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/

[27] Toolbox, developed by SIL International: http://www.sil.org/computing/toolbox/

(SIL). For phonetic analysis, Praat[28] was used. In order to edit audio files, the freely available Audacity[29] software was used. In order to extract audio from video files, the VLC media player[30] software was used. Lastly, to write texts and create tables, Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel were also used.

Table 5. Working and presentation software used for different data types

Type	Working software	Presentation software
Audio recordings	Audacity, ELAN, Praat, Emu	Audacity
Video recordings	VLC media player, ELAN	VLC media player
Images	N/A	
Transcriptions	ELAN	ELAN
Translations	Toolbox, ELAN	
Grammatical annotations	Toolbox	
Lexical database	Toolbox, MS Word	MS Word, Adobe Reader, (Lexique Pro)
Text data	MS Word, Toolbox, MS Excel	MS Word, MS Excel, Adobe Reader

2.3. Primary Data Collection

Data collection was carried out over a total of 15 months consisting of five phases: January - March 2009 (phase 1); February - May 2010 (phase 2); January - March 2011 (phase 3); September - December 2011 (phase 4); September - December 2012 (phase 5).

Specifically, phase 1 mostly consisted of word elicitation aimed at Karbi phonology and simple sentence elicitation without recording much. During phase 2 a festival to celebrate Karbi culture took place in the local capital Diphu. This festival brought a number of village elders to Diphu, about ten of who agreed to be recorded, performing a variety of genres. We were able to record them in a recording studio in Diphu and collected a lot of primary data in the form of recording sessions involving both audio and video data. These data are mostly folk stories as well as some procedural texts.

[28] Praat, developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink: http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/

[29] Audacity, developed by Dominic Mazzoni and Roger Dannenberg at Carnegie Mellon University: http://audacity.sourceforge.net/

[30] VLC media player, developed by the VideoLAN Project: http://www.videolan.org/vlc/

A lot of song data were also recorded during phase 2, which, however, have not been analyzed yet since Karbi song language is entirely different from the ordinary language and requires further research (§1.6.2).

During phase 3 some additional phonological data were collected. As part of phase 4, a one-week recording trip was carried out in November 2011, which resulted in a number of recorded interviews, conversations, narrations of local histories and folk stories, most of them pertaining to a research project dedicated to investigating the status of women in Karbi society. During the final stage of phase 5, a few other texts were collected, including an on-line narration of the Pear Story (Chafe 1980).

2.3.1. Acknowledgment of Karbi Speakers that Facilitated Data Collection

I would like to acknowledge the participation and support from the following people: Maloti Rongpharpi, Kache Rongpharpi, the Assistant Teachers at Lorulangso LP School: Punyalata Ingtipi and Rani Teronpi, Maggie Katharpi, Chandra Kanta Terang, Puspa Engtipi, Kahan Terangpi, and Dr. Janta Pator (Diphu); Burnesh Milikpi, Keshop Terang, Jugal Timung, Rajen Kro, Dim Teron, and Hemari Rongpi (Jyrikyndeng); Aren Ingti, Pretty Ingtipi, and Kamal Chandra Kro (Dongkamokam); Chandra Sing Tisso (Podumsarpo); Harsing Ronghang, Ronghang Lindok and his assistants (Ronghang Rongbong); Longsing Tokbi (Amtereng); Bidyaram Rongpi (Hamren); Dhansing Terang, Kare Rongpipi, and Harsing Kro (Boythalangso); Anjan Teron and Dhaniram Ingleng (Bhoksong); Modon Kro (Rambangla); Sarthe Phangcho (Putsari Hindu arong); Mahin Phangcho (Umpanai); Hem'ari Ingjai (Pharkong Abi); Sika Hansepi (Men Terang); Kache Kropi (Balijuri); Chandra Sing Teron; Kasang Teronpi (Dingso Terang); Rongbang Teron and Seng Tisso (Ujandongka); Welisbon Ronghipi (Umswai Model); Longsing Bey (Murap, Umlaper); Joysing Tokbi (Laru aum, Umlaper); the people of Sohliya (Meghalaya); Owen Terang and the people of Marmein (Meghalaya); Dhiren Ingti and Dhiren Ronghang (Kamrup); Khayasing Hanse (Bokoli); Sarhon Ronghang, KLA; Sangvai Teronpi and Hangmiji Hanse (Hongkram); Dr. Mansing Rongpi, MLA, Dispur; and Father Joseph Teron, Don Bosco. Kardom.

2.3.2. Data Collecting Team

The data collecting team consists first and foremost of Mr. Sikari Tisso, who represents the Karbi Lammet Amei (§1.1.4). As my main collaborator on this project, he was involved in and/or facilitated almost every recording session. He also interviewed various Karbi speakers for this project.

Mr. Tisso was born in 1955 and grew up in Western Karbi Anglong but moved to Diphu in his late twenties. He says of himself that he now speaks an idiolect where he mostly speaks the main Diphu dialect of Karbi interspersed with several features of the Western Karbi Anglong Amri dialect that he grew up speaking.

Furthermore partially involved in the primary data collection efforts were especially Mr. Bhudeswar Timung, as well as Ms. Amphu Rongpipi, and the Kro and Hanse families in Diphu and Umswai, respectively. Mr. Bhudeswar Timung played an important role in the data collection trip of November 2011, where he interviewed speakers and also facilitated data collection otherwise. He currently lives and is originally from Socheng in eastern Karbi Anglong. He speaks the standard (*Rongkhang*) dialect of Karbi. Ms. Amphu Rongpipi facilitated the collection of recordings from her mother, Puspa Ingtipi, and her grandmother, Kahan Terangpi. She and her family are from Diphu and speak the standard dialect. The Kro family has been my main host family. I stayed with them and enjoyed their generous hospitality for large periods of my time in Karbi Anglong. I was able to record Mrs. Sashikola Hansepi and Ms. Rasinza Kropi of the Kro family. The Hanse family was my host family in Umswai, West Karbi Anglong for a few weeks in fall 2011 and fall 2012. They also facilitated the recording of native Karbi speakers of Umswai.

2.3.3. Recorded Speakers: IRB Procedure and Ethics

Metadata information about the fifteen speakers of the fully annotated texts that represent the main corpus for this dissertation is provided in Appendix H. Before recording sessions, the data collection team made sure to obtain informed consent from the speaker(s) that we were going to record following standard practice (see for example Dwyer 2006:43-5) as well as fulfilling requirements imposed by the University of Oregon's Institutional Research Board (IRB). To that end, consent forms were created in

English and translated into Karbi, which are attached as Appendix I.[31] The consent forms gave speakers the following explicit options:

1) Do you want to be acknowledged or remain anonymous?
2) Is it okay for us to video record you? a) no, b) yes, but only if the video is used for linguistic analysis but not for public access, c) yes and public access is fine
3) For each one of the following three types of data individually: 1) video data, 2) audio data, 3) transcriptions of video/audio data; what type of access do you agree to? a) no access, b) access restricted, to be determined by Karbi Lammet Amei, c) public

The speakers were asked to check the appropriate and sign and date. Although Dwyer (2006:44) reports that in certain cultural settings "written forms may breed mistrust" and that they "may wisely be viewed with suspicion", my experience was that the written consent forms were actually viewed as carrying prestige, and one of my host families asked for another copy to keep and told other people about it in my presence.

2.3.4. Recorded Genres

Both from a documentary and descriptive linguistics perspective it is desirable to collect texts from as many different types of genres as practically feasible (which, however, does impose a very real limit) since certain aspects of grammar and certain constructions may only be used in particular speech genres. Since speech genres vary according to a number of different parameters, one of the goals of documentary linguistics is to discover what parameters may be crucially involved in defining significantly different speech genres. One parameter suggested to play an important role by Himmelmann (1998:176ff.) is spontaneity. The list of genres collected for this corpus is provided in Table 6 organized according to this parameter of spontaneity (see also Appendix H, where the genre of each fully annotated recording is identified).

In addition to degree of spontaneity and genre, Table 6 also includes a column of 'category', which is divided into 'monologue' and 'dialogue'. Generally, dialogues are more spontaneous, because it is usually not possible to predict what the interlocutor will say.

[31] A good idea would have been to have designated fields on the consent form for speaker metadata.

Table 6. Text genres

Spontaneity	Category	Genre
Less spontaneous ↕ More spontaneous	Monologue	Folk tale
		Procedural text
		Personal narrative
		Pear story
	Dialogue	Interview/Conversation

The folk tales are the least spontaneously produced genre, as they follow a given plot line and to some degree probably also particular structural patterns. Despite this (in some sense, undesirably) low level of spontaneity, this genre was recorded the most: Not only was it very important for the *Karbi Lammet Amei* (§1.1.4) to record as many folk tales as possible, but this genre also has a high priority from a documentary viewpoint as it represents the major component of the Karbi oral literature (§1.6.1). As such, it is important for academic disciplines besides linguistics, such as anthropology, ethnography, or folklore studies, and, it can also provide information on the cultural-linguistic history of the Karbis, thus relating back to being of immediate concern to linguistics.

Procedural texts may or may not be as spontaneous as folk tales. Some of the procedural texts in the main corpus narrate traditional cultural practices that are likely to be retold and transmitted, and therefore not spontaneous. An example is the text about the alkaline food *kangmoi ahan* that involves burning *jhum* fields and picking up the ashes as an ingredient ('SiH, KH'). Other procedural texts, however, such as the recipe for pork with fermented bamboo shoots ('PI, BPR'), are clearly spontaneously produced.

Personal narratives are intermediate with respect to spontaneity. The two personal narratives in the main corpus, 'SH, CSM' and 'SiT, HF', both represent retellings of trips to festivals the day before. In both cases, the speakers retell the events from their memories without much planning or outlining, but due to the nature of them being monologues, less spontaneity is involved.

The Pear Story (Chafe 1980) was recorded as an on-line narration: The speaker was telling what was happening as he was watching the video clip. Therefore, this was all spontaneous.

Finally, another recording made from a spontaneously produced genre, which was fully annotated, were about two thirds of an interview between two speakers. While the

interviewer had an outline with questions he wanted to ask, everything produced on part of the interviewee was fully spontaneous.

2.3.5. Recording Procedures and Settings

2.3.5.1. Audio-Recording Formats

To ensure highest quality, audio recordings were created in .wav format with a sampling rate of 48 kHz with a bit depth of 16 or 24 following best practices that recommend at least 44.1 kHz and 16 bits (Johnson 2004, 147; Austin 2006, 107), while anticipating that 48 kHz and 24 bits will be the future archival standard for audio files (Nathan 2011, 260). During all recording sessions, the actually recorded audio was monitored by using headphones (Austin 2006:90).

2.3.5.2. Recording Settings

Another aspect involved in the attempt to collect high quality audio data has to do with the recording setting. A notorious difficulty in collecting high quality audio data in the fieldwork context is the level of background noise. This was certainly the case for this project, where it often seemed impossible to escape the constant background noise.[32] However, early on in the project, Sikari Tisso was able to identify a sound studio in Diphu, owned privately by Mr. Chandra Kanta Terang, who made it available for recordings for this dissertation research. As a consequence, a number of recordings were made in the sound studio in order to get audio data of better quality by eliminating most of the background noise.

However, a new issue (of unclear ramifications) that arose as a result of solving the background noise problem, was that this recording studio would get hot and stuffy after awhile since it did not have any direct opening to the outside. Due to the stuffiness, other native Karbi speakers were not very motivated to join the recording sessions, resulting in several sessions that were recorded with speakers one-on-one, which is not ideal considering the goal of obtaining data in natural settings. Nonetheless, it is not clear

[32] Specifically, background noise such as animal sounds, people chatting or singing, children crying, people physically working on some project, echo inside rooms, noisy electricity or generators, fans, etc.

what type of impact (if any) this procedure had on the speech or grammar used in the recordings obtained that way. It might be the case that some speakers were actually more comfortable being in a dark room by themselves without other people gathering around them and watching them.

2.3.5.3. Recording Equipment

The recording equipment that was used includes a high definition video camera, two different digital audio recorders, and various microphones for use in different recording contexts (for details, see metadata spread sheet in Appendix H). More often than not, a session was recorded both with the video camera and with the audio recorder to ensure high quality audio data.[33]

A variety of microphones were used, including a cardioid condenser hand-held microphone, an omni-directional condenser hand-held microphone, 2 lavalier clip-on omni-directional condenser microphones, one head-mounted unidirectional dynamic microphone, and one omni-directional dynamic hand-held microphone (see metadata spread sheet in Appendix H for exact models).

The most versatile and most often used microphone was the hand-held condenser microphone, which was used in various settings. Depending on the model used on a given the trip, the hand-held condenser microphone picked up sound either in a cardioid or an omni-directional pattern, both of which can be used to record several speakers, and thanks to the above-mentioned recording setting in a recording studio (§2.3.5.2), the omni-directional microphone did not pick up too much background noise in the recordings obtained in that setting.

The condenser omni-directional microphone (which has enhanced capabilities of picking up sound due to additional battery / phantom power) proved a lot more useful than the dynamic omni-directional microphone (which in fact turned out useless).

The two omni-directional lavalier microphones were used in recording interviews and other conversations, especially those involving just two speakers.

[33] This practice proved useful since the special cable connecting external microphones to the video camera (female XLR to 3.5mm mini plug) turned out - after several recordings - to be of inconsistent quality during the 2010 trip.

Lastly, the head-mounted unidirectional microphone was used for phonetic recordings, as well as in the monologue narration of the Pear Story. The head-mounted type was considered somewhat uncomfortable by speakers, and thus was not used much.

2.4. Data Processing: From Primary to Derived Data

This section describes the methods and workflows followed in processing primary (i.e., media) data.

2.4.1. Workflow: Preparing and Processing Media Files

The workflow followed in preparing and processing media files is shown in Figure 8. It is an idealized version of the workflow, because in reality, it cannot always be followed as smoothly and consistently. For example, backing up was not always done as systematically, or when doing the analysis we realized that something was off in the transcription or segmentation and had to go back to that. Nevertheless, this workflow illustrates the general steps taken in processing the data for this dissertation.

The first step after obtaining media files was to put the files from the SD card (which in my case was the medium on which all media files were recorded) on the laptop and then to label them. The original files (usually) remained on the SD cards so that at that point, there existed two sets of copies. The labeling conventions I followed for audio and video files (and later on annotation files derived from those) was to always include speaker initials, a two or three letter text name acronym, and the date of recording (as a code consisting of year, month, day, where the year is only the last two digits) in this order as seen in Table 7. Adding a sequence number was typically not necessary as in most cases only one media file pertaining to a particular text and one or several particular speakers were recorded on a given day.

Table 7. Sample file label

File label	Speaker name	Text name	Media file date
SH_CSM_090226	Sashikola Hansepi	Chomangkan Story Mother	February 26, 2009

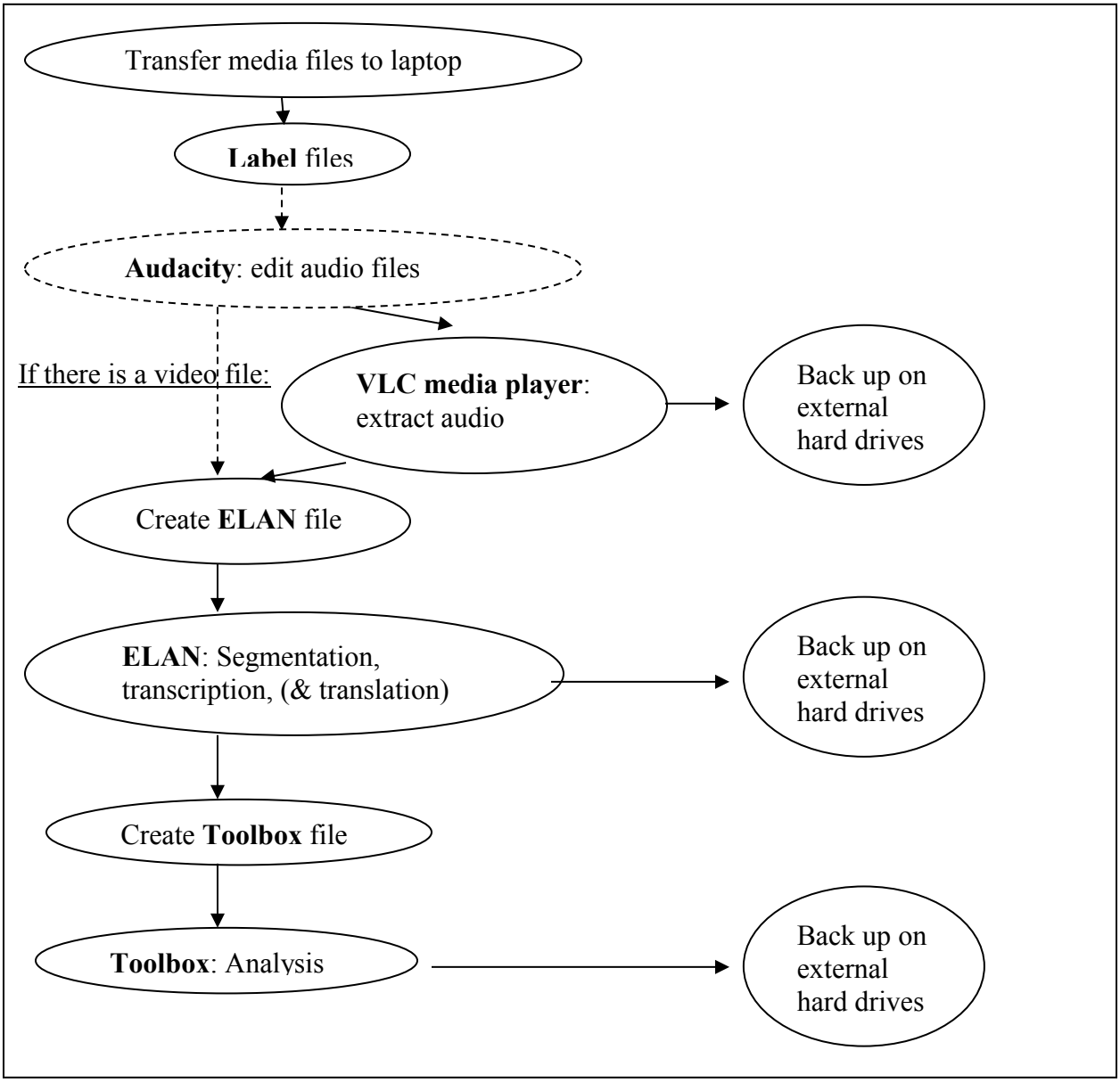

Figure 8. Data processing workflow

After all files were accordingly labeled, some of the audio files were edited to cut the beginning or end before the speaker/singer started or after s/he had ended. This was done using the free software Audacity. In addition, video files also had to first be converted before proceeding further. The video camera used for this project generates AVCHD or .mts files, which cannot be used for processing the data. Therefore, all video .mts files were converted into .avi or .wmv format for working/processing purposes. Furthermore, using the freely available VLC media player software, audio files in .wav

format were extracted from the video files. The reason for this is that ELAN (currently) only provides a waveform (which is helpful for segmenting and transcribing) if an actual audio file is uploaded. Therefore, audio files were extracted and uploaded into ELAN together with their video files in order to obtain a representation of the waveform.

Next, an ELAN file was created for segmentation and transcription purposes (see §2.4.2.1 and §2.4.2.2 below). The ELAN file was then exported into Toolbox to proceed with the analysis. In order to supply Toolbox with the fields necessary to do the analysis, i.e., at least the "/mb" field for the parsed Karbi text, the "/ge" field for the English gloss, the "/ps" field for part of speech labels, and the "/ft" field for the free translation, I added these fields into new tiers in ELAN and left them blank in ELAN. After export into Toolbox, these fields were exported as well and were ready to be used in Toolbox for the analysis (§2.4.2.3), the free translation (§2.4.2.4), and the ethnographic and linguistic notes (§2.4.2.5).

2.4.2. Annotation

In the subsections to follow, I discuss the various annotation components, both the more basic components of segmentation, transcription, and translation, as well as the types of annotation that both represent and are based on the analysis of Karbi grammar. This notion of 'annotation' including all of transcription, translation, and analysis follows the terminology of Bird and Liberman (2001) and Schultze-Berndt (2006).

The discussion is roughly ordered according to the typical workflow: what needs to be done first is the segmentation of the audio or video file into intonation units (§2.4.2.1), then followed the transcription (§2.4.2.2) (sometimes but rarely along with the translation), and then followed the analysis including parsing, glossing (§2.4.2.3), typically the translation (§2.4.2.4), and adding ethnographic and grammatical notes (§2.4.2.5).

2.4.2.1. Segmentation

Segmentation of audio files of spoken texts was carried out based on auditory impressions, such that each segment represents an intonation unit. Typically, I myself did

the segmentation, mostly due to the fact that this was something I could do relatively quickly compared to research assistants who did not use computers on a regular basis.[34]

2.4.2.2. Transcription

The transcription of texts was carried out by native Karbi speaking research assistants Amphu Rongpipi, Klirdap Langne Teronpi, Serdihun Beypi, and Larshika Tissopi. All of them read and write English and Karbi.

All texts were transcribed using a Karbi orthography that follows Grüßner's (1978) work (§1.8); phonetic transcriptions were not prepared. Within the orthographical transcription, however, certain very basic non-linguistic and paralinguistic aspects were transcribed as suggested by Schultze-Berndt (2006:229): whispering, laughing, the existence of short pauses, and hesitation markers are indicated. Furthermore, false starts were transcribed, as also advised by Himmelmann (2006b:269), as they "may prove crucial for various interpretative and analytical tasks."

An issue was the accurate transcription of minor dialect differences such as using a different vowel. For example, one dialect has *richo* for 'king', whereas the standard dialect has *recho* (see §1.4.4). Research assistants transcribing texts would understandably often slip into transcribing how they would say a word instead of how the recorded speaker said it. Overall, text transcription was very close to the text. False starts and other types of misspoken words were indicated by angular brackets < >.

2.4.2.3. Parsing and Glosses

The way Toolbox works, every project typically involves a text database and a lexical database. Because of that, morphological parsing and glossing becomes semi-automated with a growing lexical database.

In choosing glosses for grammatical morphemes, the conventions of the February 2008 version of the Leipzig Glossing Rules were followed (see also §2.4.3).

[34] This was generally possible due to the considerable overlap in the phonological marking of intonation units cross-linguistically (Himmelmann 2006). There still remained a few segmentation issues in some cases that had to be changed at a later point.

2.4.2.4. Free Translation

Free translations from Karbi into English were typically added while analyzing a text, intonation unit by intonation unit, although a few texts were translated in the process of being transcribed. The type of free translation provided for most texts was rather close to the original Karbi structure, so in fact more literal than free. This decision was based on the wish to highlight Karbi idiomatic expressions or constructions. Where the actual meaning became obscure, a brief explanation was added in the free translation or in the ethnographic notes. As advised by Schultze-Berndt (2006:236), anything that had to be added in the translation in order to render the particular English clause grammatical, most typically noun phrases or pronouns, was put in brackets to indicate that the corresponding form was absent in the Karbi original text.

2.4.2.5. Ethnographic and Linguistic Notes

Ethnographic notes were added, for example, for customs that were perhaps referred or alluded to in a particular clause in a text.

Linguistic notes were added if, for example, a) a language consultant told me that the use of a particular morpheme was unacceptable in her/his dialect or odd; or b) if there was something peculiar about a phonological issue, such as a much lengthened vowel; or c) when doing minor text-based elicitation, such as asking whether a particular information structure marker could be replaced by a different one with roughly the same meaning.

2.4.3. Representation of Text Examples in this Dissertation

Following the annotation principles outlined in §2.4.2.1 through §2.4.2.4 above, text examples in this dissertation include four lines, as illustrated in (1), (a) through (d).

(1) Representation of text examples in this dissertation

(a) *[…] alamthe neli lapu'ansi non ephonglokke*

(b) [a-lamthē nè-lì lapù=án=si nón e-phóng-lók=ke]

(c) POSS-matter 1EXCL-HON like.this=that.much=FOC:RL now one-CLF:time-only=TOP

(a) *atomo kethan kangton'iklo; kardom'iklo ho*
(b) [a-tomó ke-thán ke-ingtòn-īk-lò] kardóm-īk-lò ho]
(c) POSS-story NMLZ-tell NMLZ-conclude-FRML-RL GREETING-FRML-RL EMPH:INTERACT
(d) '[…] this matter I'm telling, just this one thing (i.e., doesn't want to tell any other stories), I'm finished telling the story, thank you' [SeT, MTN 052]

In (a), the word line, tone is not marked (see §3.5.9), except in some cases where prosodic extra high pitch occurs, typically serving as non-final marking, as in (2) below (see §11.2.1.2). The spelling conventions for Karbi that are used in the word line (and elsewhere) are outlined in §1.8. Square brackets with three dots […] are included whenever either the beginning or the end of an intonation unit, or both, are left out (because they are irrelevant to the point being made). In order to indicate words or parts of words that the speaker did not intend to say (where s/he misspoke), <angle brackets> are used. If these are full words, then they are also listed in the morpheme and gloss lines (and translated in the free translation line).

In the morpheme and gloss lines, (b) and (c), there are three symbols that may indicate a morpheme boundary: the dash ('-') as the default, which includes the morpheme boundary between affixes, and between roots in compounds; furthermore, the equal sign ('=') for clitics; and finally, the tilde ('~') for reduplication.

Moreover, in the morpheme line (b), tone is marked following the conventions discussed in §3.5.9. This line may also include square brackets that indicate constituency. In the gloss line (c), abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (§2.4.2.3) where possible. Borrowings are indicated where known, e.g., *monít* 'person(<Asm)' is identified as being a borrowing from Assamese. The period ('.') is used when more than one English word or abbreviation is needed as a gloss for the Karbi morpheme. The colon (':') is used to indicate a subtype: for example, 'CLF:round' stands for the classifier that classifies round entities. Here, the first component of the gloss, 'CLF', represent the general type or category of element, while the second component, 'round', indicates the particular subtype of classifier, i.e., the classifier for round entities.

Finally, the free translation line (d) corresponds with the word line in indicating (with square brackets and dots inbetween) when the beginning or end of the intonation unit are not included. Parentheses are used when an additional word is needed in the translation to render the English sentence grammatical, or when context is needed that is

pragmatically understood in Karbi but not in English, e.g., the fact that *há* in (2) refers to the wife's parents' place.

(2) Tone marking in word line: prosodic extra high pitch on *-lò* 'realis' as marker of non-final status

amat la apiso abangke akhalun ***chinghortangló***

amāt	[là	a-pisò	abàng=ke]	a-khalùn	che-inghór-tāng-lò
and.then	this	POSS-wife	NPDL=TOP	POSS-kd.big.basket	RR-carry.load-finish-RL

ha kedamlo amát

há	ke-dàm-lò	amāt
over.there	NMLZ-go-RL	and.then

'and then, the wife put the basket rope around her head and was just leaving to go over there (to her parents' place)' [SeT, MTN 041]

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

This chapter begins with a description of Karbi segmental phonology including consonant phonemes and allophones (§3.1), vowel phonemes and allophones (§3.2), and syllable structure including permissible onset clusters (§3.3). Syllables with (orthographic) rhymes <ei>, <ai>, <oi>, or <ui> may be described as rhymes with a diphthong nucleus or as rhymes with a monophthong nucleus and a glide coda. In §3.2 and §3.3, I present the diphthong analysis, but §3.4 discusses both alternative analyses, as they work equally well for the available evidence.

Moving on to suprasegmental elements of Karbi phonology, §3.5 discusses the tone system, which is peculiar due to its low functional load, and §3.6 offers a few remarks on stress. In §3.7, several characteristics of hypoarticulated speech are presented, and §3.8 offers a brief overview over the characteristic phonological shapes of different morpheme types including a discussion of the exceptional phonological features of interjections (§3.8.5) and patterns of reduplication (§3.8.6).

Finally, §3.9 discusses morphophonemics. Morphophonological tone changes are discussed (§3.9.1), as well as the allomorphy of and/or resulting from the prefixes *ke-* 'nominalizer', *pV-* 'causative', *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal', and *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' (§3.9.2).

For a thorough discussion of phonological strategies involved in the nativization of especially older (rather than more recent) borrowed lexical items, see Grüßner (1978: 28-33). Grüßner points out what happens with onset voiced aspirated stops from Indic, onset clusters such as /sm/, /skh/, and /sy/ from Khasi, and documents vowel changes and tone assignment.

3.1. Consonants

There are a total of 18 consonant phonemes in Karbi that contrast with each other in minimal sets. All but one of the 18 phonemes, which is the velar nasal /ŋ/, occur at the

beginning of syllables (see §3.1.1 and Table 8), whereas the syllable coda position is limited to a much more restricted set of consonants (see §3.1.2 and Table 16).

3.1.1. Consonant Onsets

In the class of syllable onset consonants (see Table 8), stops are the only manner of articulation that exists at all places of articulation except for the glottal stop. Phonetically, there is a glottal stop in the language, which, however, only surfaces as part of the mid tone and occurs in conjunction with glottalization across the whole syllable (see §3.5), as well as with syllable-initial vowels (§3.3). Note that Table 8 shows one phoneme in two different cells: the palatal /ɟ~j/ has allophonic variation in its manner of articulation, and is therefore given as both a stop and a glide. Details will be discussed below.

Table 8. Syllable-initial consonants[35]

	Bilabial			Alveolar			Palatal			Velar			Glottal
Stops	b	p	p^h~ɸ <ph>	d	t	t^h <th>	ɟ~j <j>	c <ch>			k	k^h <kh>	
Fricatives	β~w <v>			s									h
Nasals	m			n									
Lateral				l									
Rhotic				r~ɾ									
Glide							ɟ~j <j>						

The bilabial voiceless aspirated stop /p^h/ is in free variation with a bilabial voiceless fricative /ɸ/. It seems as though the younger generation, and particularly speakers of the Christian sociolect, tend to use /ɸ/ more. It should also be noted that the name of the capital *Diphu* as a specific lexical item is most commonly pronounced with

[35] Representation in <angle brackets> indicate the orthographic representation of the respective phoneme followed in this grammar.

/ɸ/. Grüßner (1978: 12) also noted the use of the fricative /ɸ/ in the then younger generation and ascribes it to contact with the dominant language Assamese, where the fricative production is the standard realization of orthographic, or perhaps 'original', <ph> according to him. Scott DeLancey (p.c.) notes that this allophonic alternation between /p^h~ɸ/ also occurs in Boro (Boro-Garo, Tibeto-Burman; Assam, Northeast India), and may be an areal feature. Indeed, the alternation between /p^h~ɸ/ geographically extends into Northeastern Bhutan, where it is found in at least Kurtöp (but presumably other languages as well) (Hyslop 2011: 106).

The alveolar stop series /d/, /t/, /t^h/ is complete, while the palatal and velar series each lack one member: the palatal series /ɟ/, /c/ (<ch>) lacks the voiceless aspirated stop, while the velar series /k/, /k^h/ lacks the voiced stop. Lacking specifically the velar voiced stop is common across phonological systems of languages of the world for a phonetic reason: it is more difficult to produce a negative voice onset time (VOT) for the velar place of articulation because there is less room in the vocal tract for voicing to build up (Ohala 2010: 667).

The palatal voiced stop [ɟ] is in free variation with the palatal glide [j]. The choice of which allophone should be considered primary largely depends on whether one wants to focus more on synchrony or more on diachrony. The stop articulation [ɟ] is more common in the dialects now considered standard. Perhaps related to the orthographic representation as <j>, there is a prescriptive tendency in favor of the stop [ɟ], while rejecting the glide pronunciation. However, especially in syllable onset but word-medial position, most native speakers at least sometimes produce a glide instead of the stop. The glide [j] pronunciation appears quite frequent in the more conservative varieties in West Karbi Anglong, and perhaps also more so among older people. It also seems that sometimes an intermediate, fricative-like version is produced such that it almost seems to be more of an allophonic continuum of manner of articulation that spans from a more stop-like across a more fricative-like to a more glide-like production.

Grüßner (1978: 12) also reports a voiced "fricative" production of /ɟ~j/,[36] which he says he especially noticed among older people and particularly in the context of singing and reciting traditional texts. He also cites data from Robinson (1849), which show transcriptions of this phoneme sometimes as <j> and sometimes as <y>. Grüßner (1978: 12) suspects that there was and is an ongoing sound change from the "fricative" to the stop citing Shafer (1966) for the claim that "*/y/" is historically earlier. More recent research by Matisoff (2003) suggests that the Karbi /ɟ~j/ phoneme does indeed reconstruct to Proto-Tibeto-Burman as the glide */j/.[37] To summarize, then, the stop pronunciation [ɟ] is primary synchronically in the now considered standard dialects in that it is most frequent. The glide pronunciation [j], however, is primary diachronically, because it appears to be reconstructible and is quite frequent in the more conservative dialects and especially among older speakers.

The fricative series is restricted to /s/ and /h/ as well as a bilabial voiced fricative /β/ (rather than a bilabial glide [w] as reported by Grüßner (1978: 12) or a labiodental voiced fricative [v] as suggested by the spelling). By describing this as a bilabial voiced fricative /β/, we can explain both salient facts, which are, on the one hand, observing speakers produce this consonant more like a bilabial rather than a labiodental, and, on the other hand, especially preceding unrounded vowels, it sounds a lot more like a fricative (and, indeed, closer to [v]) than a glide. The exact production of this phoneme also seems to be variable between a more fricative-like and a more glide-like articulation when comparing different dialects. While the subdialects of Hills Karbi tend more towards a fricative-like articulation, a more glide-like articulation is found in the Ri-Bhoi variety spoken in the border area between Assam and Meghalaya.

[36] Grüßner (1978: 12) writes that it is a fricative using [j] as a phonetic symbol for it; it appears that he has the glide in mind instead.

[37] Evidence includes the following forms: *arjàp* 'to stand' from Proto-Tibeto-Burman **r(y)ap*; *hijap* 'fan' from **ya:p*; *phijū* 'rat' from **b-yəw*; *jòng* 'to point' from **yuŋ 'finger'*; *jó* 'night' from **ya*; *jòr* 'to sell' from **ywar*; *thijōk* 'deer' from **d-yuk*; and *arjāng* 'to be lightweight' from **r-ya:ŋ*.

In onset position, nasals are limited to bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/. Other sonorants include the lateral /l/ and rhotic /r~ɾ/, the latter of which is usually produced as the flap /ɾ/ in onset position rather than the trill /r/.[38]

The onset position allows clusters of two consonants. These are exclusively combinations of stops with the lateral or the rhotic. Permissible onset clusters are discussed in §3.3.

3.1.1.1. Stop Onset Minimal Sets

A minimal triplet for the bilabial stop series (voiced, voiceless, aspirated) in onset position with an open, mid tone rhyme is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. Minimal set for bilabial stop onsets

b__		*bī*	'to be small'
p__		*pī*	'to give'
ph__		*phī*	'to roast'

Table 10 offers a minimal triplet for the alveolar stop series (voiced, voiceless, aspirated) in onset position with an open, low tone rhyme.

Table 10. Minimal set for alveolar stop onsets

d__		*dè*	'tongue'
t__		*tè*	'older sister', 'to spread out in sun'
th__		*thè*	'to be big'

Table 11 gives a minimal pair for the two palatal stops: voiced /ɟ~j/ (<j>) (also listed in a minimal set with liquid onsets in Table 15) and voiceless unaspirated /c/ (<ch>), with a low tone, velar nasal coda rhyme.

Table 11. Minimal set for palatal stop onsets

j__		*jèng*	'to spin (thread)
ch__		*chèng*	'to begin'

[38] The rhotic occurs in an onset cluster with the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop in two lexical items, *thrōk* 'six' and *thrōksí* 'seven'. In this case, the rhotic is produced like the approximant /ɹ/ (see §3.3 and Table 25), which is a production also found in coda position (see §3.1.2).

Table 12 offers a minimal pair for the aspirate-nonaspirate contrast among voiceless velar stops. The voiced velar stop is not a native phoneme of Karbi (but see §3.1.1.4 for the voiced velar onset in borrowings).

Table 12. Minimal set for velar stop onsets

k__		*kán*	'to dance'
kh__		*khán*	'to be in a hurry'

3.1.1.2. Fricative Onset Minimal Set

In Table 13, monosyllabic roots with the same, stopped low tone rhyme but different fricative onsets, voiced /β~w/ (<v>), voiceless /s/, and voiceless /h/, are contrasted.

Table 13. Minimal set for fricative onsets

v__		*vèk*	'to swim; to steer'
s__		*sèk*	'to put, to attach'
h__		*hèk*	'to open up'

3.1.1.3. Sonorant Onset Minimal Sets

Table 14 and Table 15 give minimal pairs for the two nasal onset phonemes /m/ and /n/, and for the liquids /l/ and /r/ and the palatal glide (/stop) /ɟ~j/, respectively.

Table 14. Minimal set for nasal onsets

m__		*mò*	'strip of field'
n__		*nò*	'ear'

Table 15. Minimal set for liquid and glide onsets

l__		*ló*	'to send'
r__		*ró*	'to praise'
j__		*jó*	'night'

3.1.1.4. Marginal Onset Consonants and Consonant Clusters

Through prolonged contact and (more modern) multilingualism with Indic languages, many Karbi speakers[39] produce voiced aspirated onsets in (modern) borrowed lexical items that have them. Some lexical items are pronounced either with the voiced aspirate or without depending on the speaker. A typical strategy to avoid the voiced aspirate is to break it up with a vowel and getting the sequence voiced stop - vowel - /h/.

For example, two different speakers in two different texts of the present corpus used the word /bhari/ 'big (<Asm)'. Although both are fluent in Assamese, one person produced the voiced aspirate and pronounced it as /bhari/, while the other person pronounced it as /bahari/, inserting the vowel. It appears that many of the older borrowings are being reborrowed by modern multilingual speakers, who then easily pronounce the voiced aspirate stops. Such examples can also be found in borrowings from English. For example, the onset cluster in the word 'school' used to be broken up by an inserted vowel by borrowing the word as /sikur/ (also replacing word-final /l/ by /r/). In modern times, this word has been reborrowed as /skul/.

Another marginal onset consonant is /g/, which, for example, is produced in *garí* 'car (<Asm)' or in the reborrowed form *gakhír* 'milk (<Asm)', which in an older borrowed version is *kakhír*.

3.1.2. Consonant Codas

Table 16 shows all consonants found in syllable-final position. Compared to the 17 phonemes found in onset position, only 7 contrastive phonemes occur in coda position.

Table 16. Syllable-final consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	pˀ (<p>)	tˀ (<t>)		kˀ (<k>)	
Fricatives					
Nasals	m	n		ŋ (<ng>)	
Lateral					
Rhotic		r~ɾ~ɹ			

[39] In particular, those with some fluency in Assamese, Bengali, and/or Hindi.

In syllable-final position, there is only one member each of stops and nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar positions, as well as the rhotic. Stops are unreleased. The velar nasal is the only syllable-final consonant that does not also occur as a syllable onset. The rhotic /r~ɾ/ varies between a more flap-like production and a more trill-like production, as in onset position. Word-finally, it often is a trill. Word-medially before a syllable starting in an alveolar consonant, the rhotic is often produced like an approximant in alveolar position, [ɹ], or in retroflex position, [ɻ]. In fact, it appears that speakers of the younger generation in general tend to an approximant production of rhotic codas. Grüßner (1978: 15) also notes that some speakers produce what he calls a retroflex (and uses the symbol of the retroflex flap [ɽ] for) for the rhotic, in free variation with [r].

Note that Plains Karbi has preserved coda /l/ in words such as *phirul* 'snake', *mol* 'back', or *ingkol* 'twenty', which in Hills Karbi has turned into diphthongs or glide coda, depending on the analysis: *phirūi* 'snake', *mòi* 'back', and *ingkòi* 'twenty' (see §3.4).

3.1.2.1. Stop Coda Minimal Set

Table 17 shows two sets of three monosyllabic verb roots that are minimally contrasted by their coda stops.

Table 17. Minimal sets for stop codas

__p		*thàp*	'to put inside'		*ráp*	'to help'
__t		*thàt*	'to slaughter, to kill'		*rát*	'public (<Asm)'
__k		*thàk*	'to weave', 'to answer'		*rák*	'to tear'

3.1.2.2. Sonorant Coda Minimal Set

Table 18 offers two sets of near minimal sets contrasting sonorant codas, though not consistently with the same tone. The /d/-initial set has the same tone for nasals at all three places of articulation, however.

Table 18. Minimal sets for sonorant codas

__m		*vám*	'waist'		*dám*	'to oust'
__n		*ván*	'share'		*dán*	'to trap'
__ng		*vàng*	'to come'		*dáng*	'to put on stove'
__r		*vár*	'to throw'		*dār*	'to break'

3.1.2.3. Marginal Coda Consonants

Hills Karbi speakers of especially the young to middle-aged generations and especially those living in the towns rather than the villages may keep the lateral /l/ in coda position in modern borrowings (or, reborrow the words with /l/ coda), such as *skúl* 'school' from English, or *narikol* 'coconut' from Assamese. Coda /l/ used to be (and still is in the speech of some speakers) changed to either coda /r/ or a palatal diphthong. Thus, the older borrowed version of English 'school' is *iskúr*, while the older borrowed version of Assamese 'coconut' is *narikói*.

Another and even more marginal coda consonant is /h/. The typical pronunciation of the interjections *dah!* 'let's go!' and *dih!* 'leave me!', as well as *boh*, an interjection borrowed from Assamese to express surprise, is with coda /h/.

3.2. Vowels

Karbi has a five vowel monophthong system with /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/, see Figure 9 (though also note §3.2.1). In open syllables, the vowels are articulated as more maximally dispersed from each other, while in closed syllables, they are more centralized. While /i/, /e/, /a/, and /o/ are produced in a manner very similar to the basic phonetic values of [i], [e], [a], and [o], the /u/ vowel is often produced without much lip rounding. In syllable-initial position, vowels are always preceded by a glottal stop (also see §3.3).

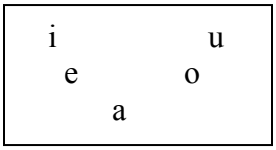

Figure 9. Standard Karbi vowel monophthongs

Table 19 offers minimal sets for vowel monophthongs in open syllable roots with a bilabial voiced /b/ initial. The data are organized into three sets according to tone: the first set has low tone roots, the second set has mid tone roots, and the third set has high tone roots.

Table 19. Minimal sets for vowel monophthongs in open syllables

/i/					*bī*	‘to be small’, ‘goat’		*bí*	‘to keep’
/e/		*bè*	‘handle’, ‘to chase away’		*bē*	‘CLAN’		*bé*	‘to sieve’
/a/		*bà*	‘paddy disease’		*bā*	‘to carry (child) on back’			
/o/		*bò*	‘to apply fish poison’		*bō*	‘inner part of fruit’		*bó*	‘to sacrifice’
/u/					*bū*	‘to carry (child) on back’, ‘small bamboo basket’		*bú*	‘to plait’, ‘bundle’

Karbi rhymes /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/ may be analyzed as vowel diphthongs (see §3.4). Table 20 provides a minimal set of these rhymes following the same initial /b/ as in Table 19. Diphthongs are never followed by a coda consonant, they only occur in open syllables. They do occur with all three tones. Note that the /ei/ diphthong only occurs in the Amri dialect of Hills Karbi spoken primarily in West Karbi Anglong. The Amri dialect has both the /ei/ and the /ai/ diphthongs, while the standard Rongkhang dialect has merged them to /ai/ (see §1.4.3 on Hills Karbi dialects).

Table 20. Minimal sets /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, /ui/

[/ei/		*bèi*	‘to console’		*théi*	‘EE:méi’ (‘assembly’)]
/ai/		*bái*	‘older sister (<Asm)’,		*thāi*	‘arrow’
/oi/		*bói*	‘to be miserable, to die (poet.) (<Asm)’		*thói*	‘plains (<Asm)’
/ui/		*bùi*	‘to accumulate, pile up’		*thùi*	‘to wrap’

Although both examples with the /oi/ rhyme in Table 20 are borrowings from Assamese, there are lexical items with /oi/ in Karbi that are not borrowed from Assamese as well, such as *krōi* ‘to agree’ or *mòi* ‘back’.

3.2.1. Hills Amri Karbi Sixth Vowel

As mentioned above, the Hills Amri Karbi variety is interesting in that it has the /ei/ diphthong that does not exist in the standard Hills Karbi (*Rongkhang*) variety. The Amri Karbi variety is also very interesting for its vowel monophthong system. While the five monophthong vowel system shown in Figure 9 above is the accepted standard vowel inventory of Karbi, the Amri Karbi variety from West Karbi Anglong has an additional

vowel.[40] This sixth vowel is a high to mid-high, front, centralized vowel /ɪ/ (see Figure 10).

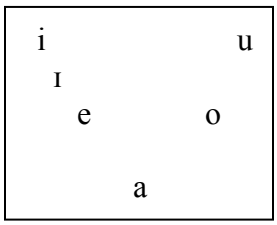

Figure 10. Amri Karbi vowels

A full study of this vowel still needs to be conducted to examine any co-occurrence or positional restrictions in detail. It seems clear, however, that wherever /ɪ/ occurs in Amri Karbi, the standard Karbi varieties have the high front vowel /i/. A few items where /ɪ/ occurs are given in Table 21. Note that the standard Karbi variety has the same items except for using /i/ instead of /ɪ/. The minimal pairs that contrast /i/ and /ɪ/ in Amri Karbi are therefore homophonous in the standard Karbi varieties.

Table 21. Set of items with /ɪ/ in Amri Karbi

#	Item with /ɪ/	Gloss	Minimal Pairs
1	*ì*	'to sleep'	*ì* 'to defecate', *è* 'to plant'
2	*thí*	'to snatch'	
3	*thìnì*	'to almost die'[41]	
4	*rī*	'base of a tree'	*rī* 'rope'
5	*rí*	'hand'	
6	*sɪ'ī*	'leprosy'	
7	*Inghì*	'CLAN'	
8	*pɪsàr*	'mother's younger sister'	
9	*thèngpī*	'tree'	*thèng-pī* 'beat-BEN', 'to beat for somebody'
10	*mēkkrī*	'beautiful eyes (poetic)', 'NAME'	*mēkkrī* 'tear'

[40] Note that there may be a difference between the Christian and non-Christian sociolects of the Amri Karbi variety. While the non-Christian sociolect definitely has the sixth vowel, it appears that the Christian sociolect does not. This would also explain why Grüßner (1978), who had worked with speakers of the Christian sociolect of the Amri Karbi variety, does not report this vowel.

[41] *thìnì* is a lexicalized item, where *thì* 'to die' is clearly recognizable, but *nì* does not appear to synchronically be a suffix.

The ten examples given in Table 21 have /ɪ/ in different positions in the word and with different tones. The existence of minimal pairs between /i/ and /ɪ/ suggests that /ɪ/ historically was a phoneme of Pre-Karbi that was later on merged in the standard dialects, while the more conservative Amri Karbi variety has preserved the /ɪ/.

Basic five vowel systems with a less stable sixth vowel are also found in the Boro-Garo branch. Burling (2013) gives an interesting comparative description of the 'sixth' vowel in these languages, which in Boro-Garo, however, are all back and not front like in Karbi (though also high to mid-high). In the modern Boro-Garo languages, the basic five vowels have not changed and can be easily reconstructed, while the 'sixth' vowel is different in the different languages, and has merged with either /u/ or /o/ in one of them, Dimasa.

3.2.2. Marginal Vowels and Phonetic Variation

There are three marginal monophthong vowels that occur in a very limited set of morphemes. These are the open [ɛ], the open [ɔ], and the [o^{w}] off-glide version of /o/. Table 22 shows all three with examples. Note that all of the examples in Table 22 are phrase-final or phrase-'independent' markers with highly pragmatic functions.[42] It seems that the open [ɛ] and the open [ɔ] are better analyzed as part of prosody (perhaps with the function of marking the end or boundary of a phrase).[43] This will need to be addressed in future research.

The off-glide [o^{w}] is not so much associated with morphemes that occur in regular discourse. Seemingly the most frequent morpheme where this off-glide occurs is *ho* 'here.you.go', which is an interjection that accompanies an act of offering an object, usually when the intended recipient of that object has their attention focused elsewhere. This *ho* 'here.you.go' and a separate discourse particle *ho* form a very clear minimal pair

[42] Their highly pragmatic function in phrase-final position is also the reason why these are unmarked for tone. It has been impossible to determine the tone given that the pitch on these markers is heavily influenced by prosodic patterns (§3.5.9).

[43] Another phenomenon I have observed is that in Y/N-questions without the question particle *ma* at the end, if the verb has the suffix *-lò* 'RL' (for example in common questions like *àn chō-ét-lò*? 'have you eaten?'), the *-lò* is typically produced with a very open /ɔ/ as compared to the parallel answer or statement *àn chō-ét-lò* '(I) have eaten.'

for /oʷ/ versus /ɔ/. Otherwise, /oʷ/ also occurs in the expression used to call dogs when they are fed, in *dododo* (multiple repetitions of *do* with /oʷ/, not just exactly three). Finally, the off-glide [oʷ] also occurs as a variant of [o], seemingly for stylistic reasons, whose exact effects are unclear. For example, I have heard people sometimes say *avelo* 'not exist anymore' articulated more as [aβeloʷ] than [aβelo].

Table 22. Marginal monophthong vowels

Vowel	Example items	Meaning / Function
[ɛ]	*-te*	'if'
	=ke	'TOP'
	=le	'FOC:IRR'
	he	'AFTERTHOUGHT'
	mane	'HESIT'
/ɔ/	*to*	'okay'
	ho	'EMPH.INTERACT'
	ko	addressing word among men
/oʷ/	*ho*	'here.you.go'
	dododo	'[calling dogs to feed them]'

For a discussion of the functions of the interjections and hesitation words listed in Table 22, see Chapter XII.

Besides these marginal monophthong vowels, there also is one lexical item borrowed from Assamese, which has a unique two vowel sequence: *diá* 'forgive(<Asm)'. There is no glottal stop inbetween the two vowels, but instead a glide transition. Some speakers produce a more nativized version of this verb root by inserting a palatal voiced stop (which anyway alternates with the glide), resulting in *dijá*.

3.3. Syllable

Table 23 gives an overview of all types of open syllables, i.e. those that lack a coda consonant, and provides a sample monosyllabic root for each. Table 24 does the same for closed syllables, i.e. those that do have a coda consonant (see Table 16 for an overview of possible coda consonants).

Table 23. Open syllable types – diphthong analysis

Description		Schematic	Example	Gloss
Onset	Nucleus			
None	Monophthong	V	*ì*	'to sleep'
	Diphthong	VV	*òi*	'to pick up sth. spread out (like a cloth that was spread out to dry in the sun)'
Simple	Monophthong	CV	*ló*	'to send'
	Diphthong	CVV	*thùi*	'to wrap by rolling'
Cluster	Monophthong	CCV	*kló*	'to fall'
	Diphthong	CCVV	*krōi*	'to agree'

Table 24. Closed syllable types

Onset	Schematic	Example	Gloss
None	VC	*ìk*	'older brother', 'to be black'
Simple	CVC	*lám*	'language', 'word', 'matter'
Cluster	CCVC	*plāng*	'to become'

Open syllables can have a monophthong or a diphthong nucleus, while closed syllables only have monophthong nuclei. In other words, a diphthong cannot be followed by a coda consonant.[44]

Both open and closed syllables can have either no consonant onset, a single consonant onset, or a consonant cluster onset. If there is no consonant onset, the vowel is realized with a preceding glottal stop. This glottal stop surfaces strongly in word-medial syllables, where it prevents resyllabification. If there is a single consonant onset, that consonant belongs to the set provided in Table 8. The set of consonant clusters that occur in onset position is given in Table 25.

Table 25 shows that only voiceless stops occur as the first consonant in onset clusters, and only the rhotic or the lateral occur as the second consonant in onset clusters.

The bilabial stops feature most productively in clusters: both voiceless stops, the unaspirated /p/ and the aspirated /ph/, occur with both the rhotic and the lateral. [45]

[44] This can be explained as being (at least partly) due to a diachronic development whereby rhymes with a historical coda /l/ turned into the modern day diphthongs, see footnote 49 in the next section §3.4.

[45] There appears to be some amount of dialectal variation such that /phr/ (as in the western Amri, Rongkhang, and Chinthong dialects) may be produced without aspiration as [pr] in the eastern dialects. For example, the word *samphrì* 'sun (poetic); NAME' may be pronounced as *samprì*, *aphráng* 'front' may be pronounced as *apráng*, and *nemphrù* 'have sweet smell' may be pronounced as *nemprù*.

Table 25. Onset cluster types

Stop	Liquid	Cluster	Example	Gloss
/p/	/l/	/pl/	*plāng*	'to become'
	/r/	/pr/	*prāp*	'to be fast'
/ph/	/l/	/phl/	*phlòng*	'to burn'
	/r/	/phr/	*phráng*	'front'
/th/	/r/	[/thr/]	*thrōk*	'six'
/k/	/l/	/kl/	*klém*	'to do'
	/r/	/kr/	*Krō*	'CLAN'
/kh/	/r/	[/khr/]	*khràng*	'tree sp.'[46]

As for alveolar stops, only the aspirated stop occurs with the rhotic, and only in two words, and really just in one morpheme: *thrōk* 'six' and *thrōksí* 'seven' (which is derived from *thrōk* 'six' plus *isī* 'one'). I have heard Karbi speakers[47] say that *thrōk* 'six' comes from a longer form *therok* without the onset cluster, and this longer form is also recorded by Matisoff (2003: 145). That means then, that the alveolar stops essentially do not participate in onset clusters with the lateral and the rhotic, which also makes sense from an articulatory point of view. It presumably is also because of this reason that in *thrōk* 'six' and *thrōksi* 'seven', the rhotic is produced as an approximant, which it is not otherwise in onset position. The velar voiceless unaspirated stop /k/ productively occurs in clusters with both the lateral and the rhotic, while the voiceless aspirated stop /kh/ only occurs with the rhotic and only in a limited number of morphemes, mostly in suffixes. The example given in Table 25, *khràng* 'tree sp.' might be the only actual root that has this onset cluster.

Finally, it should be noted that the syllable is a very salient unit in Karbi. It appears that the majority of roots and certainly the great majority of affixes are monosyllabic. To my knowledge, resyllabification does not occur across morpheme boundaries.

[46] Grüßner (1978: 13) mentions that the botanical name for *khràng* is "Amora Rehituka".

[47] I particularly noted that Mr. Sikari Tisso mentioned this longer form *therok*. Mr. Tisso is originally from Boksong in West Karbi Anglong and identifies himself as an Amri dialect speaker, specifically of the non-Christian sociolect.

3.4. Palatal Glide Coda versus Diphthongs

For syllables such as *bai*, *bei*, *boi*, or *bui*, it is not obvious which analysis is preferable: whether they should be treated as C<u>VC</u> syllables where the coda is a palatal glide /j/, or whether they should be treated as C<u>VV</u> syllables with a diphthong nucleus. Both analyses introduce similarly small amounts of complexity to the description of the phonological system.

The palatal glide analysis requires us to pose a new coda phoneme, i.e. the palatal glide. Since there are no other palatals or glides in coda position, this is a disadvantage to this analysis. Furthermore, the same palatal glide is in a sense an entirely new phoneme, since in syllable onset position, we only have /ɟ~j/. This allophonic alternation is only found in the palatal onset but not in the coda.

The diphthong analysis introduces more complexity at the level of possible syllable types. Instead of having a constant monophthong nucleus with either no, one, or two consonants in onset position and with either no or one consonant coda, we now have monophthong or diphthong nuclei in open syllables, but only monophthong nuclei in closed syllables. Both the introduction of a new type (i.e., the possibility of a diphthong nucleus) and of the resulting asymmetry (i.e., the occurrence of diphthong nuclei only in open syllables) are disadvantages to this analysis.

The historical dimension to this problem does not seem to offer any help for the synchronic analysis of the data. There is evidence that the voiced palatal onset with allophonic variation between /ɟ~j/ reconstructs to a glide */j/ in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) (see footnote 37 in §3.1.1). But even if the stop /ɟ/ is a 'new' development in Karbi, it is still a synchronic fact that there is allophonic variation between /ɟ~j/ in onset position, but not in coda position. Although Matisoff (2003) reconstructs what he calls 'palatal diphthongs' for PTB, i.e. the type of rhyme under consideration, it does not appear that the Karbi rhymes are reflexes of those PTB palatal diphthongs.[48] Instead there are a

[48] I only found one item where PTB *-ay may be reflected by Karbi -ai, which is *chài* from PTB *dzay 'cattle' (Matisoff 2003). In my own corpus I only have *chainōng* 'cow', which is clearly a compound with the second root coming from *nōng* 'to cultivate, loosen soil'. In a dictionary manuscript that Grüßner was working on in the 1970s, he also lists *chài* as an individual root meaning 'mithun, Gaxaeus Ganrus'.

number of instances in which Karbi /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/ reconstruct back to a monophthong plus coda */-l/ in PTB.[49] This reconstruction also explains the dialectal difference, where Plains Karbi has the forms *phirul* 'snake', *mol* 'back', or *ingkol* 'twenty'.

Following the current orthographic standard, diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/ rather than palatal glide codas are written in this dissertation.

3.5. Tone

Karbi has three tones, which I will refer to as low, mid and high, following Grüßner (1978). However, while low and high would seem to be fitting labels, this is not necessarily the case for the mid tone, which is the odd one out of the three tone categories. When contrasting monosyllabic roots, for example, in a minimal triplet of tone, the auditory characteristics of the three tones are as follows.

The low tone seems to be produced at about the normal pitch level of a given speaker. It is usually realized with a bit of a falling contour.

The high tone is produced at a significantly higher pitch level, and sometimes has a bit of a rising contour associated with it when followed by at least one other syllable within the same word. When the high tone is on a word- or phrase-final syllable, for example in the case of eliciting a monosyllabic stem as its own word, then the high tone is produced with a steep falling contour as part of the additional layer of phrase-final prosody.

Lastly, the mid tone sometimes has an intermediate pitch level between the low and the high tone, but not always, as will be discussed below in more detail below. It is different from the low and the high tone in that it has glottalization associated with it. This glottalization surfaces most clearly in open and sonorant-final syllables when they occur as the last (or only) syllable of a word.

A significant finding of this dissertation is that stopped or checked syllables, i.e., those ending in a stop /p/, /t/, or /k/, may be mid tone. The previous description of the tone system by Grüßner (1978) had stopped syllables be exclusively low or high, while

[49] Evidence includes Hills Karbi words *ingvùi* 'to mix, stir' from PTB **ŋwal*; *phurūi* 'snake' from **s-brul*; *thùi* 'to wrap (something large)' from **r-tul*; ***herēi*** 'hail' from **ryal*; *ingkòi,* 'twenty' from **m-kul*; and, *thāi* 'arrow' from **tal*.

reserving the mid tone for non-stopped syllables only, i.e., open or sonorant-final syllables.

The three tones can be contrasted in minimal sets as shown in §3.5.1 and §3.5.2. These minimal sets were discovered both in an early stage of the research for this grammar that was dedicated to phonological issues, as well as later on and throughout the project when encountering new roots in the process of analyzing texts. In the early stages of the research project, some time was spent going through the list of phonotactically possible monosyllables and eliciting which possible syllables were indeed morphemes of Karbi and which were not. That way, a few minimal pairs were discovered. However, identifying the tone even just of monosyllabic roots, but even more so of disyllabic or polysyllabic roots or of suffixes or clitics has remained a challenge throughout the course of research for this grammar. It is my goal for this section to both justify why what we have in Karbi should indeed be analyzed as a tone system, and to then lay out why it has been so challenging to describe this tone system, and to apply the tonal analysis to the task of accurately representing spoken Karbi in the transcription of texts recorded for the main corpus of this grammar. Note that this grammar only indicates tone at the morpheme but not the word level, and only on roots and suffixes, but not on prefixes, the one proclitic, or enclitics (see §3.5.6 and §3.5.9).

In §3.5.3, I describe how the minimal sets and at least two other kinds of evidence form the basis of the claim that Karbi does indeed have tone. With this in mind, §3.5.4 lays out why this tone system is weak and carries a low functional load.

The next section §3.5.5 discusses two tone sandhi effects that occur across stems and suffixes. In §3.5.6, the interactions between tone and different phonological and morphological levels are discussed. This includes a discussion of the tone-bearing unit and tone at the word level, which is not marked in this grammar. In §3.5.7, remarks on some of the tone patterns and tone changes that occur in compounds are offered. A discussion of practical strategies that can be and have been used to identify the tones of individual morphemes is given in §3.5.8. This is followed by a section that describes the conventions for marking tones that are followed in this grammar in §3.5.9. Finally, §3.5.10 provides some remarks on a few tone minimal pairs across nouns and verbs that

may suggest a historically derivational function of tone in Karbi, which is, however, synchronically not productive.

3.5.1. Tone Minimal Sets: Monosyllabic Roots

There are two tables below that offer tone minimal sets for monosyllabic roots that have either a voiceless onset (Table 26), or a voiced onset (Table 27). Since the voicing status of the onset is known to give rise to tonogenesis cross-linguistically, it is important to note that all three tones occur after voiced and voiceless onsets in Karbi.

Both Table 26 and Table 27 also give minimal triplets across coda type. A 'perfect' minimal triplet that has all three minimally contrasted roots belong to the same word class, so either all nominal or verbal (following criteria outlined in §4.1.1), could not be found. This is telling of the low functional load of this tone system (see §3.5.4.2). As mentioned above, this study has found stop coda syllables carrying the mid tone, contrary to Grüßner (1978). However, stopped mid tone syllables are still a bit different from non-stopped mid tone syllables: stopped mid tone syllables appear to participate in phonological contrast a lot less frequently than non-stopped mid tone syllables. In fact, when I first came across stopped mid tone syllables, I thought they were mid tone **because** they did not participate in tone contrast. These were roots such as *tūk* 'to dig (a small hole)', *ūp* 'to boil', and *e-nūt* 'one-CLF:HUM:SG', which do not have segmentally identical counterparts with a low or a high tone. Further research has revealed, however, that there are some minimal pair contrasts that mid tone stopped syllables participate in (see below). Regarding a three-way tone contrast, I only have found one single fairly good minimal triplet for stopped monosyllabic roots, the one given in Table 26: *hùt*, *hūt*, and *hút*. Even this minimal triplet is a bit problematic, because *hūt* may only ever be used as a relator noun with a dependent noun or a subordinator with a dependent clause, in both of which cases it occurs with the *a-* 'possessive' prefix. Non-stopped monosyllabic roots, on the other hand, display the three-way tone contrast clearer with a number of true minimal triplets (presumably around a dozen to perhaps a couple of dozen). Table 26 and Table 27 show *phì*, *phī*, and *phí*, and *sàng*, *sāng*, and *sáng* as sample minimal triplets following a voiceless onset, and *lò*, *lō*, and *ló*, and *ròng*, *rōng*, and *róng* as sample minimal triplets following a voiced onset.

Table 26. Minimal sets for tones after voiceless onsets

Tone	Open syllable		Sonorant coda		Stop coda	
L	*phì*	'grandmother'	*sàng*	'to spread'	*hùt*	'to dig (a large hole)'
M	*phī*	'to roast'	*sāng*	'raw rice'	*hūt*	'time' (*ahūt* 'during')
H	*phí*	'to give birth'	*sáng*	'to take rest'	*hút*	'to question/examine a wrongdoer'

Table 27. Minimal sets for tones after voiced onsets

Tone	Open syllable		Sonorant coda		Stop coda	
L	*lò*	'male animal'	*ròng*	'village'	*rèt*	'to cut off small pieces'
M	*lō*	'banana leaf'	*rōng*	'plant'	*lūt*	'to enter'
H	*ló*	'to send, to let loose'	*róng*	'to borrow'	*rét*	'to stalk prey'

There is one other, not even as good, minimal triplet for stopped syllables that I have come across, which is given in Table 28. While the low versus mid tone opposition, *thèk* 'to know' and *thēk* 'to move wood in fire' is solid, the high tone counterpart is a type of exclamative expression that is usually accompanied with a gesture that indicates the amount or size of a given entity.

Table 28. Additional stopped syllable tone minimal triplet

Stop coda	
thèk	'to know'
thēk	'to move wood in fire'
(là) thék	'this much!'

Table 29 offers minimal pairs of stopped syllables displaying all three pairwise contrasts: the mid tone versus the high tone, the low tone versus the high tone, and the low tone versus the mid tone. While especially for the low versus high but also the low versus mid oppositions of stopped syllables, there are a few other minimal pairs besides the ones listed in Table 29, the two minimal pairs of the mid versus high opposition given in this table are the only ones I have come across.

Note also that *dúk* 'hardship; be poor' is a borrowing from Assamese. Borrowings from the non-tonal surrounding languages that have been strong donor languages in the history of contact with Karbi, i.e., Indic languages (Assamese, Hindi, Bengali), English, and Khasi, typically receive the high tone (see also Grüßner (1978: 31-32)).

Table 29. Stopped syllable tone minimal pairs for M-H, L-H, and L-M

Minimal pair	L tone		M tone		H tone	
M vs. H			*dūk*	'dust'	*dúk*	'hardship(<Asm)', 'be poor(<Asm)'
			hōk	'truth'	*hók*	'to approve'
L vs. H	*ràp*	'to stick'			*ráp*	'to help'
	chòk	'to beat'			*chók*	'to be okay'
L vs. M	*mèk*	'wound'	*mēk*	'eye'		
	sòk	'to get water'	*sōk*	'paddy'		

3.5.2. Tone Minimal Sets: Disyllabic Roots

Table 30 offers two minimal triplets of disyllabic roots, where only the ultimate, i.e., prominent, syllable (cf. §3.6) carries contrastive tone. These were the only tone minimal triplets of disyllabic roots I was able to identify, although there might be additional ones, especially with one of the frequent first syllables and frozen prefixes *ing* or *ar* (cf. §4.7).[50]

Table 30. Minimal triplets of disyllabic roots[51]

Tone	Triplet 1		Triplet 2	
L	*ingthì*	'to kill a louse'	*inglè*	'wild fig tree'
M	*ingthī*	'to wash, rinse (an object)'; 'comb'	*Inglē*	'FEM.NAME'
H	*ingthí*	'to wash, clean (head, hair)'	*inglé*	'to offer'

Table 31 complements Table 30 with more contrastive sets of disyllabic roots, where, however, only minimal pairs and not minimal triplets where available. For the minimal pair *ingrī* 'sp.grass' versus *ingrí* 'be intoxicated', Grüßner, in his dictionary manuscript, also lists a low tone counterpart, actually making it a minimal triplet. However, *ingrì* 'to have equal portions, be equal' seems to only occur with the *pV-* 'CAUS' prefix as *pangrì* 'to make equal', which is why it is not listed here.

[50] The phonological study of disyllabic roots with initial *ing* and *ar* would have been impossible for me without the thorough compilation of those forms by Grüßner in his dictionary manuscript.

[51] See §3.5.9 for explanations of how tone is marked in morphemes with more than one syllable. Note that in this dissertation, tone is only marked at the morpheme level but not at the word level (§3.5.6).

Table 31. Minimal pairs of disyllabic roots

Minimal pair	L tone		M tone		H tone	
M vs. H			*inghōr*	'carrying load'	*inghór*	'to carry a load'
			ingrī	'sp.grass'	*ingrí*	'be intoxicated'
L vs. H	*chitìm*	'half'			*chitím*	'mosquito'
	ingjìr	'sister'			*ingjír*	'to dissolve'
L vs. M	*phelò*	'cotton'	*phelō*	'potash'		
	phurùi	'yam'	*phurūi*	'snake'		
	inglìt	'be slippery'	*inglīt*	'water leech'		

3.5.3. Phonological Basis of the Tone System

There are at least three different pieces of evidence for the phonological basis of the Karbi tone system that also serve to justify analyzing it as a tone system, rather than, e.g., a pitch accent system. First and foremost, of course, we need to consider the evidence of minimal pairs and triplets that contrast monosyllabic and also a couple of disyllabic roots for tone, presented in the previous sections §3.5.1 and §3.5.2. The fact that there is a large number of monosyllabic roots, and still a considerable number of disyllabic roots that are segmentally identical and are only distinguished by pitch height or a combination of pitch height and glottalization should lead us to believe that tone is as phonological as are the consonant and vowel phonemes.

Second, there is a certain level of awareness of tones among native speakers. For example, my consultant Sikari Tisso pointed out a small number of cases where in the recordings that we collected for this project and then analyzed, the speaker in a particular recording made a speech error that consisted in using the wrong tone.[52] The fact that he was able to tell me he heard the wrong tone speaks to the phonological basis of tones. Furthermore, many different people have mentioned to me the tone minimal pairs of *phurùi* 'yam' versus *phurūi* 'snake', and *làng* 'to see, look' versus *lāng* 'water', after I say that I am studying Karbi. What is interesting, however, is that it tended to be exactly

[52] Examples are the use of a high tone in **a-phí* instead of low tone *a-phì* 'POSS-grandmother' in KK, BMS 093, and a low tone pronunciation of high tone *nón* 'now' in *nón-pu-án-tā* 'up until now' in SiH, CW 017.

these two minimal pairs that people point out to me, as if they were the conventionalized prototypes of tone minimal pairs. Another example of the awareness of tones among native speakers is the tongue twister given in (3), which also is something several different people have pointed out to me, and Grüßner (1978: 26) also recorded it.

(3) Tone tongue twister
lang langlanglanglang
lāng làng-langláng-làng
water see-try-still
'still trying to see the water'

Native speaker awareness of tones is also evidenced in attempts to incorporate some tone marking in the orthography. There is a movement to represent the salient glottalized mid tone in sonorant-final syllables by adding a homorganic stop at the end, such as <atump> for *a-tūm* 'POSS-PL', <ront> for *rōn* 'custom, or <langk> for *lāng* 'water'. However, the proposal does not include marking the mid tone on open or stopped syllables, and does not at all include marking the low or the high tone (see also the discussion in §1.8). Thus, despite these different signs of native speaker awareness of tones, it is perhaps still not clear how truly systematic or phonological this awareness is.

A last type of evidence for the phonological basis of tone comes from morphophonological patterns that change the tonal category of a root or a suffix depending on the morphological environment (see §3.9.1). Since there are a number of different such patterns where the tone category affiliation of a syllable changes to another tone category, this logically then is evidence that there are, in fact, tone categories.

3.5.4. Low Functional Load

The idea that different phonemic contrasts may have different degrees of functional load in the overall phonemic system goes back to the Prague School (*inter alia* Mathesius 1929; Jakobson 1931). There have also been approaches to quantify the functional load of phonemic contrasts (e.g. Hockett 1967; Surendran and Niyogi 2006). The goal of this section is, however, to argue in a qualitative way for why tones in Karbi only carry a low functional load.

I present six different types of evidence that the Karbi tone system does indeed carry a low functional load within Karbi phonology. While each piece of evidence by itself would not be conclusive, the various types of evidence together form the argument for the low functional load of tones in Karbi.

The first type of evidence comes from native speakers' difficulty in identifying tone categories. The next two types of evidence come from what we can refer to as the paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions of the functional load of tone. The paradigmatic dimension consists in the contrastiveness of the tone system or the existence of tone minimal sets. The syntagmatic dimension consists in the context of a tonal morpheme, both within the same word and at the phrasal or clausal level, which may greatly contribute to the identification of that morpheme. The fourth type of evidence presented here is the occurrence of categorical tone changes and cases of indeterminability of the tones of certain morphemes due to over-layering prosody. The fifth type of evidence comes from a phonetic study that looked at both acoustic measurements of tones and at the performance of native speakers as they tried to identify lexical items in a perception study (Konnerth and Teo in press)

Lastly, evidence for the low functional load of the tone system also comes from the fact that only roots and suffixes bear tone (see §3.5.6).

3.5.4.1. Native Speakers' Difficulty to Identify Tone Categories

My Karbi language consultants experience a lot of difficulty in identifying the tone category of a morpheme, especially when there is no tone minimal counterpart. The method of humming or whistling the tone as a way to get rid of the disturbance introduced by the segmental structure, a method often used in fieldwork to identify the tone of a syllable, was not successful. Instead, what we would do to determine the tone of a morpheme was try and find a near minimal counterpart that would have the same rhyme or at least close to the same rhyme, and/or follow the strategies outlined in §3.5.8.

Even those native speakers heavily invested in the project, i.e., members of the *Karbi Lammet Amei* (see §1.1.4), who also work on a dictionary that is supposed to indicate tone, have a hard time trying to learn to determine the tone category of a root or

a suffix, which, I believe, is already suggestive of the low functional load of this tone system.

3.5.4.2. Low Contrastiveness

By 'low contrastiveness' I refer to the overall small number of tone minimal triplets (see §3.5.1 and §3.5.2), and to the virtual absence of tone minimal triplets, where all three members belong to the same basic morphosyntactic word class (the only example I have come across is the all-verbal triplet *ingthì* vs. *ingthī* vs. *ingthí* in Table 30). Since roots generally do pattern quite differently in discourse depending on whether they are nominal (being able to take the *a-* 'POSS' prefix) or verbal (being able to take the *ke-* 'NMLZ' prefix) (see §4.1.1), a minimal triplet, where one member is verbal while the other two are nominal, or vice versa, practically only counts as minimal **pair** at the discourse level. Of course, minimal pairs also matter, and there still are a lot of minimal pairs, where both members belong to the same word class.

Furthermore, it appears that minimal sets only exist within monosyllabic roots and perhaps a handful of monosyllabic suffixes, as well as within disyllabic roots. Also, the kind of disyllabic roots that occur in minimal sets are mostly those that have the common first syllable *ing* or *ar* (see §3.5.2). Other than those, there are only very few minimal sets of disyllabic roots.

3.5.4.3. Large Amount of Contextuality

If the morphological (or phrasal/clausal) context of a tonal morpheme frequently helps identify its meaning or function, then that reduces the functional load of that tonal morpheme. In Karbi, there is a large class of predicate derivation suffixes, some of which combine more productively with different kinds of roots, but some of which also have very specific semantics and only combine with a very limited number of verbs, sometimes even just one (§6.5.1.1.3). This latter type of predicate derivation suffixes with narrow semantics is of interest here, because it provides a morphological context that helps identify stems that are part of tone minimal sets.

Furthermore, even if a particular predicate derivation suffix may occur with a small number of different stems, there are certain stem-suffix collocations that seem

remarkably frequent, such that they seem a) semantically close to the prototypical meaning of the stem without the suffix, and b) to some degree lexicalized as a unit of their own. As a result of that, native speakers have quite frequently used predicate derivations to differentiate between members of minimal sets in the course of research on tone for this project. Examples are *thī-hèk* 'be.short-small' and *thí-jòk* 'snatch-quickly' (§6.5.1.1.3). Thus the existence of predicate derivations with narrow semantics and especially the cases of frequently collocating stem-suffix combinations are another factor that reduces the functional load of tone in Karbi.

Another, quite curious piece of evidence that suggests that the context of a root matters is that for recordings made for the phonetic analysis of tone, where stems were recorded once in isolation followed by three times in a carrier phrase ("*Neli ___ pusi kepu.*"), one particular speaker merged mid and high tone items produced in isolation to the low tone such that the phonetic recordings of the items *thī* 'be short' and *thí* 'snatch' would be (and sound to other native speaker) as follows:

"***Thì**. Neli thī pusi kepu. Neli thī pusi kepu. Neli thī pusi kepu.*" (for *thī* 'be short')

"***Thì**. Neli thí pusi kepu. Neli thí pusi kepu. Neli thí pusi kepu.*" (for *thí* 'snatch')

Note that other native speakers thought this speaker was first saying the verb 'die' and then switched to 'be short' or 'snatch', respectively.

It is perhaps not clear whether this should count as evidence that the context matters so much that an item without a context, i.e. if produced in isolation, does not receive tonal specification by this speaker. However, it does represent more proof for the low functional load of tone.

3.5.4.4. Speaker Differences in Realization of Mid versus High Tones

An acoustic study of Karbi tone has shown that there are differences between speakers in whether they realize the mid versus high tone distinction in pitch (Konnerth and Teo in press). This study examines two native Karbi speakers, one female and one male, in their respective realizations of the three tones in the following three contexts: 1) monosyllabic bare stems, 2) monosyllabic stems with the suffix *-jí* 'IRR2', and 3) monosyllabic stems with the suffix *-pò* 'IRR1'. Although both speakers originally come from different areas of Karbi Anglong, they have both lived in Diphu for a long time.

Averaged F0 values of the three tones show that the male speaker consistently differentiated the mid and the high tone through F0 in all three contexts, while the female speaker merged the mid and the high tone. For both speakers, the low tone was consistently lower than the mid or the high tone in a statistically significant way.

It is not quite clear what the reason behind this difference between the two speakers in the realization of the mid versus the high tone is, but to evaluate the phonological basis of the mid versus high tone distinction produced by the male speaker, a follow-up perception study was conducted, discussed in the next section §3.5.4.5.

3.5.4.5. Production-Perception Mismatch

A perception study to investigate the phonological basis of the differential realizations of the mid versus high tones of two native Karbi speakers (§3.5.4.4) is described in Konnerth and Teo (in press). It turns out that the statistically significant F0 differentiation between the mid and the high tone produced by the male speaker did not help listeners correctly identify the target member of tone minimal sets. Both the female and the male speaker's stimuli of mid and high tone members of tone minimal sets elicited error rates of 50% or higher in the case of stems either with the suffix *-jí* 'IRR2' or with the suffix *-pò* 'IRR1'.[53] Since listeners essentially guessed the target stem at chance level, there is an interesting mismatch between production and perception in the case of the male speaker: Although he produced a statistically significant F0 difference between the mid and the high tone in these two contexts, listeners were not able to pick up on it. Strikingly, the male speaker himself participated in the perception study and listening to his own stimuli, he still had an error rate of 20% for stems with the suffix *-jí* 'IRR2' and an error rate of 50% for stems with the suffix *-pò* 'IRR1'. These results of the acoustic and follow-up perception study underscore the low functional load of tone in Karbi.

[53] Listeners could listen to the stimuli as much as they wanted. The stimuli were the target item once in isolation and three times in the carrier phrase *Neli* ___ *pusi kepu.* 'I said ___'.

3.5.4.6. Prosodic Tone Changes and Indeterminability

There are at least two types of instances in the corpus of recorded texts where a morpheme that we know to have a particular tone in a pragmatically unmarked context occurs with a different tone in a particular pragmatic or prosodic context. This is different from morphophonemic tone changes, discussed in §3.9.1, which are explained purely by the morphological environment of a tonal morpheme without reference to prosody.

In (4), *kopù* 'how' in *kopuloma* is originally low tone, as indicated in the morpheme line. However, in the emphatic context in this example (i.e., with a sense of 'how only', as the speaker is desperate) *kopù* is actually produced with a high tone, as indicated in the word line.[54]

This prosodic tone change is even more striking considering that *kopú* with the high tone exists separately and means 'where'.[55]

(4) Prosodic tone category change *kopù* 'how'

*mh bojarta **kopú**loma chetongji?*			
mh	bojár=tā	**kopù**=lo=ma	chetòng-jí
INTERJ	market(<Asm)=ADD	how=FOC=Q	meet-IRR2

'in the market, how only will I possibly meet her?' [KK, BMS 067][56]

The suffix *-dèt* 'PFV' also consistently becomes high tone *-dét* when followed by *-pen* 'NF:with' as in (5), or when followed by a relator noun derived subordinator such as *aphī* 'after' in (6) (see also §11.2.1.2).

(5) Prosodic tone category change *-dèt* 'PFV' preceding *-pen* 'NF:with'

loledetpen pini bamhetsi mh [diho				
ló-Cē-dét-pen	pini	bām-hèt-si	mh	[diho
let.loose-NEG-PFV-NF:with	HESIT	embrace-firmly-NF:RL	INTERJ	leave.me!

[54] This tone change appears to not be restricted to this speaker or text. My language consultants recognize the change to high tone as something natural in the given context.

[55] The two items *kopù* and *kopú* are parallel to *lapù* 'like this' and *lapú* 'this side, here', although with the demonstrative *la*, this prosodically-driven tone change does not happen to my knowledge.

[56] The audio file for KK, BMS 067 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3TT4P7M, see Appendix B.

puta] kroikredetlo ansi
pù=tā krōi-Cē-dèt-lò ánsi
QUOT=ADD:although agree-NEG-PFV-RL and.then
'he didn't let her go, he was embracing her tightly, although she said «leave me (alone)!», he didn't agree' [KK, BMS 080][57]

(6) Prosodic tone category change *-dèt* 'PFV' preceding *aphī* 'after'
garipen vangdét aphisi netum dakpen Hongkram
garí=pen vàng-dèt aphī=si ne-tūm dāk=pen Hongkrām
car(<Asm)=with come-PFV after=FOC 1EXCL-PL here=from PLACE

kedam kechenglo
ke-dàm ke-chèng-lò
NMLZ-go NMLZ-begin-RL
'after the car came, we started going from here to Hongkram' [SH, CSM 008][58]

As a related phenomenon, there are two interjections, where an additional pitch level contrast appears to exist on top of glottalization that typically uniquely identifies the mid tone. The two items are *ōi* with a lower pitch level, which is a frequent affirmative interjection 'yes', and *ōi* with a higher pitch level, which is used as an addressing word among Karbi women. This 'pseudo pitch contrast' most certainly only exists due to the inherent functional difference between an affirmative interjection and an addressing word used to get somebody's attention, but it should perhaps still be noted, because it is consistent and salient to native speakers.

Finally, the tone categories of enclitics as well as of suffixes such as *-te* 'COND' and *-si* 'NF:RL' seem almost impossible to determine due to the high prominence of prosodic contours over those morphemes (see §3.8.2 and §3.8.4). The same is true for discourse markers such as *te* 'so then' or *mati* 'common ground (CG)' (cf. *vàng-lò=ke=**matì*** 'come-RL=TOP=CG' with low tone on *matì*, versus *dō=**matí** ho* 'exist=CG EMPH:INTERACT', with high tone on *matí*).[59]

[57] The audio file for KK, BMS 080 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3Q23XJN, see Appendix B.

[58] The audio file for SH, CSM 008 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N39W0CR4, see Appendix B.

[59] See HK, TR 023 and 092.

3.5.5. Tone Sandhi Effects

Two consistent tone sandhi effects have been found. The first occurs on the tone of a stem that follows the prefix *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' ('AUTO.BEN/MAL'). While both prefixes *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' ('RR') and *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL' change the tone on monosyllabic stems such that a low tone turns into a mid tone and a mid tone into a high tone (see §3.9.2.2), the *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL' prefix induces additional tone sandhi (see also §3.9.2.2 for a discussion of the differences between *che-* and *cho-*). The sandhi surfaces as a higher pitch level compared to either the *che-* 'RR' prefixed counterpart or a *ke-* 'NMLZ' prefixed stem that matches the stem tone derived by *che-* and *cho-*. Table 32 contrasts the same stems with *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' and *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal'. The tone sandhi is indicated by **bold** print. The sandhi effect also persists on high tone stems, although no category tone change occurs. The example in Table 32 is *thán* 'to tell'. Here, *chethán* with the *che-* 'RR' prefix and *kethán* with the *ke-* 'NMLZ' prefix are identical in pitch contour, whereas *chothán* with the *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL' prefix displays the higher pitch sandhi.

Table 32. Sandhi effects on stem induced by prefix *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL'[60]

Stem	Gloss	*cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL'	*che-* 'RR'	*ke-* 'NMLZ'
thàn	'to cut'	*[cho-**thān**]*	*[che-thān]*	
hūm	'to pick up'	*[cho-**húm**]*	*[che-húm]*	
thán	'to tell'	*[cho-**thán**]*	*[che-thán*	*ke-thán]*

The second consistent tone sandhi effect is found on low tone suffixes after mid tone stems. Specifically, low tone suffixes following mid tone stems share characteristics with mid tone suffixes. Table 33 gives examples of a low tone suffix, *-ò* 'much:S/O' and a mid tone suffix, *-thū* 'again', as they follow the mid tone stem *chō* 'eat'. In the stem plus suffix forms in the second column, i.e., *chō-ò* and *chō-thū*, the low tone suffix *-ò* 'much:S/O' is still clearly different from *-thū* 'again': the latter carries the salient word-final glottalization associated with the mid tone, while the former does not.

The low tone suffix does, however, behave like a mid tone suffix in the third and fourth columns, after *-lò* 'RL' or *-Cē* 'NEG' are added. This is diagnosed with the help of

[60] See §3.5.6 and §3.5.9 on how tone is marked in this dissertation (specifically, only on roots and suffixes but not on prefixes, for reasons outlined in those sections).

these two suffixes, which can be used to identify the tone of a stem (see §3.5.8.2 and §3.5.8.3), and particularly attaching *-lò* 'RL' makes the mid tone very salient.

Table 33. Tone sandhi effects on low tone suffix after mid tone stem

Suffix	*chō* 'to eat' with suffix	+ *-lò* 'RL'	+ *-Cē* 'NEG'
-ò 'much:S/O'	*chō-ò*	*chō-ò-lò*	*chō-ò-ē*
-thū 'again'	*chō-thū*	*chō-thū-lò*	*chō-thū-thē*

This sandhi effect, whereby a low tone suffix shares contour characteristics with mid tone suffixes, only occurs after mid tone stems. After a low tone stem such as *dàm* 'go' (or after a high tone stem), this sandhi effect does not occur, and *dàm-ò-lò* and *dàm-thū-lò* have clearly distinct pitch contours.

3.5.6. Tone and Phonological and Morphological Units

Due to the low functional load of the tone system argued for in §3.5.4, it has not been possible to describe tone patterns at the word level. While certain word tone patterns at a phonetic, non-contrastive level could be observed, they have continually proven to not be strong, consistent, or categorical enough to allow for a phonological description. Future research with a more narrow focus on these issues will hopefully shed more light on them.

For the purposes of this grammar, tone is considered a property of syllables in tonal morphemes, i.e., in roots and suffixes. Tonal morphemes can be regularly contrasted with other tonal morphemes and their tone can thus be identified. The one (verbal) proclitic slot, the half a dozen prefixes, and the roughly same number of enclitics (see §3.8) – which are all monosyllabic – are considered toneless morphemes. Likewise, non-final syllables of multisyllabic morphemes are also typically toneless. Most probably, an analysis of tone at the word level and the difference between tone-bearing syllables and toneless syllables requires a phonetic in-depth study of stress. In the current work, stress is only discussed briefly in §3.6.

While the accuracy of tone assignment on monosyllabic tonal morphemes is near-perfect, some difficulty is encountered in disyllabic and, even more so, in polysyllabic tonal morphemes, when a syllable other than the last syllable may carry an inherent tone.

This is especially the case in borrowings and in compound nouns (for the latter see §3.5.7). While borrowings generally carry the high tone (Grüßner 1978: 31-32), it is not always clear whether in disyllabic borrowings, the first, unstressed syllable tends to also be high tone or toneless. To my knowledge, most instances of disyllabic borrowings do not have a tonally specified first syllable, such as *tarík* 'date (<Asm)', *biskút* 'baked.snack (<Eng)', or *semé* 'vow (<KhJ)'. Grüßner, in his dictionary manuscript, however, also lists *tárí* 'knife (<Asm)', *dáktár* 'doctor (<Eng)', and *tásám* 'stress, wear and tear (<Khs)', all with a high tone first syllable.

While the present work does not describe tone at the word-level, Grüßner (1978: 19) does offer a description of how tone is realized on toneless syllables. This description suggests that toneless syllables alternate between low and high surface realizations (see Table 34) which needs to be read from right to left. If the tone-inherent, stressed syllable (right-most column in the table) is low, then the preceding toneless syllable (middle column in the table) is realized as ('realized as' is indicated by the arrow in the table) high. If the tone-inherent syllable is mid or high, then the preceding toneless syllable is realized as low. If there is another toneless syllable (left-most column) preceding a first toneless syllable, then this syllable is realized as low tone if followed by a high tone syllable, and is realized as a high tone if followed by a low tone syllable. According to Grüßner, sequences of toneless syllable follow this alternating pattern.

Table 34. Grüßner's (1978) account of tone assignment to toneless syllables

Preceding toneless, unstressed syllable	Preceding toneless, unstressed syllable	Tone-inherent, stressed syllable
→ *low*	→ *high*	**LOW**
→ *high*	→ *low*	**MID**
→ *high*	→ *low*	**HIGH**

While auditory observations confirm Grüßner's basic idea that the first toneless syllable of a sesqui- or disyllabic word appears to build up a pitch contrast to the following tonal syllable, the alternating pattern in multisyllabic words described by Grüßner (1978: 19) has not been found. My own impression is that instead, the pitch contrast builds up across the sequence of toneless syllables, followed by the fully realized tone of the tone-inherent syllable.

3.5.7. Tone (Changes) in Compounds

There are certain tendencies for the tone patterns in disyllabic compounds. Table 35 gives an overview of those. The tone patterns low-mid (LM), mid-mid (MM), and high-low (HL) are underlined, because they appear to be robust patterns, which occur on many items. The patterns mid-low (ML) and mid-high (MH) are in [square brackets] to indicate their marginal status: Only *vōtèk* as ML, and *thrōksí* and *thēngphráng* as MH were found in the corpus. The LL and LH patterns do not appear as marginal as ML and MH, but also not as robust as LM, MM, and HL. Those compounds that have changed one or both tones compared to the respective tone of each part that they appear to be derived from are in **bold**.

Table 35. Compound tones

Tone pattern	Compound	Gloss	First Root	Gloss	Second Root	Gloss
LL	*tàrkòng*	'bamboo mat to sit on'	*tàr*	'bamboo mat'	*?*	?
LM	*ànsām*	'cold rice'	*àn*	'rice'	*ingsām*	'be cold'
	mèthān	'dog'	*armē*	'tail'	*thàn*	'to cut'
	pìbā	'cloth to carry baby on back'	*pé*	'cloth'	*bā*	'to carry baby on back'
	nòklāng	'molasses'	*nók*	'sugarcane'	*lāng*	'water'
LH	*làmmét*	'literature'	*lám*	'language'	*?*	?
[ML]	*vōtèk*	'wild bird'	*vō*	'bird'	*?*	?
MM	*lōthē*	'banana (fruit)'	*lō*	'banana leaf'	*thē*	'fruit'
	chōjūn	'feast, celebration'	*?chō*	'to eat'	*?jùn*	'to drink'
[MH]	***thrōksí***	'seven'	*thrōk*	'six'	*isī*	'one'
	thēngphráng	'EE: thengpī ('tree')'	*thēng*	'wood'	*?*	?
HL	*hánthàr*	'sp.vegetable'	*hán*	'vegetable'	*?*	?

The only two tone patterns that are not listed in Table 35 are high-mid (HM) and high-high (HH). The HH pattern does appear to exist outside of borrowings (for which there are a number of attested items, see §3.5.6) in compounds recorded by Grüßner (1978: 36): *tím-kráng* 'sp.mosquito' (first part from *chitím* 'mosquito'), or *krák-sái* 'opening' (first part from *ingkrák* 'hole'). Grüßner (1978: 36) also offers one item with

what he transcribes as a HM pattern: *ták-sū* ‘wood chip’ (from *ingták* ‘splinter’ and *ingsū* ‘thorn’). However, the first part *ták* might actually be mid tone,[61] which then would match the word *jintāk* ‘bamboo strap’, which occurs in the corpus of this grammar. The HM pattern might then not actually occur in compounds. Evidence in favor of this hypothesis is that in Table 35, the first part of *nòk-lāng* ‘molasses’ is *nók* ‘sugarcane’, and the first part of *pì-bā* ‘cloth to carry baby on back’ is *pé* ‘cloth’, so that HM patterns changed into LM patterns. While the HM pattern perhaps does not occur in compounds, it does, however, occur in words formed by a high tone stem with the diminutive suffix *-sō*, such as *lám-sō* ‘a small matter’ or *lún-sō* ‘a little song’. Among them, there is also *chérsō* ‘splinter’, which is (historically) composed of *chēr* ‘to chip off’ and *-sō* but has arguably undergone lexicalization.

It appears then that there are no clear restrictions on tone patterns in disyllabic bimorphemic stems, but there are tendencies for more common patterns.

3.5.8. Strategies Used for Identifying Tones of Roots and Suffixes

There are several strategies that have greatly facilitated the daunting task of marking tone in the texts that represent the corpus for this grammar. In what follows, I describe these strategies. The two strategies described in §3.5.8.2 and §3.5.8.3 use suffixes to help identify root tones and are largely based on differences in the distribution of perceived prominence among the target tonal morpheme and the added suffix.

3.5.8.1. Syllable under Investigation Is the Last Syllable of the Word and Non-Stopped

If the syllable whose tone needs to be determined is an open or sonorant-final syllable, i.e., does not end in /p/, /t/, or /k/, and if it is either a monosyllabic root or suffix, or the last syllable of a multisyllabic root (or suffix, although there are very few multisyllabic suffixes), then it helps to listen out for the word-final glottalization that occurs with the mid tone. The word-final mid-tone glottalization is quite salient. The difference between the low tone and the high tone is not as easy to perceive, because a single word out of context always receives a phrase-final falling intonation. What our research team has done to identify low versus high tones is compare near-minimal pairs

[61] According to Grüßner, stopped syllables are only low or high but never mid.

(if minimal pairs do not exist). This has sometimes been a difficult task as well, because the slightly different segmental shape of a near-minimal pair was at times distracting to the task of determining category membership. The method of humming tones to get rid of the distraction from segmental differences did not work for our research team.

3.5.8.2. Syllable under Investigation Followed by *-lò* 'realis'

Adding *-lò* 'realis' (§6.9.1) to stems has proven the best way to perceive tone categories of roots or derivational suffixes. Compared to determining the tone category of a word-final tonal morpheme (§3.5.8.1), this strategy eliminates the problem of phrase-final intonation, because the target syllable is not the last syllable of the word. This helps distinguish low from high tone on the target syllable. However, in comparison to that same strategy, we are also left without the salient glottalization associated with the mid tone. It turns out, however, that even in the absence of glottalization, the mid tone leaves a very salient auditory trace when *-lò* 'realis' is added. Specifically, a prominence shift happens with mid tone stems, whereby mid tone stem plus *-lò* 'RL' has a perceived prominence on the suffix, while with low or high tone stems plus *-lò* 'RL', the perceived prominence remains on the stem. Phonetically underlying this perceived prominence shift from mid tone stem to suffix appears to be a delay in the falling pitch contour of low tone *-lò* 'realis'. While after low and high tone stems, the falling pitch contour over *-lò* 'realis' is more or less linear, after mid tone stems it is delayed across the /l/ and only falls at the beginning of the vowel /o/.

Since this strategy helps identify the mid tone without relying on glottalization, it led to the discovery of the mid tone on stopped syllables, which due to their segmental nature with unreleased coda stops are already perceived as glottalized.

3.5.8.3. Syllable under Investigation Followed by *-Cē* 'NEG'

An additional strategy that facilitates distinguishing between the mid and the high tone (which often is a difficult task, see §3.5.4.4 and §3.5.4.5) consists in adding the mid tone negative suffix *-Cē*. Here again (as with *-lò* 'realis', see the previous section §3.5.8.2), the emerging tone patterns between the three different target syllable tones and the suffix tone are different in the distribution of perceived prominence. While the

emerging tone pattern of a low or mid tone target syllable and *-Cē* 'NEG' has the *-Cē* 'NEG' suffix more prominent, while the emerging tone pattern of a high tone target syllable and *-Cē* 'NEG' has the high tone target syllable more prominent. This strategy then helps distinguish between a high tone versus a mid tone (or low tone) target syllable, while it does not help distinguish between a low tone and a mid tone target syllable.

3.5.9. Representation of Tone in This Grammar

In the text examples in this grammar, tone is only marked on morphemes but not on words. In particular, it is only marked on roots and suffixes, not on the items in the verbal proclitic slot or on prefixes. On enclitics, it is generally not marked, although the additive particle *=tā* is realized with a clear and consistent glottalization that identifies it as mid tone. The other enclitics are not marked for tone due to their susceptibility to assimilate to pitch contours of prosody (§3.8.4).

If a tone changes due to morphophonemics (see §3.9.1), the new tone (and not the underlying tone) is indicated. For example, the prefix *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' changes the low tone of *dàm* 'go' to a mid tone, and so the in-text example will indicate the tone of the stem in *che-dām* 'RR-go' as mid.

In disyllabic or sesquisyllabic morphemes (or prefix-stem combinations, for that matter), the default realization of the preceding, unstressed, toneless syllable is to build up a contrast to the tone of the tone-inherent, stressed, final syllable such that a toneless syllable preceding a final low tone syllable is realized as high tone, and a toneless syllable preceding a final mid or high tone syllable is realized as low tone (see §3.5.6). If the unstressed syllables in a particular multisyllabic morpheme follow that default pattern of realization, their tone is not marked. If they deviate from this pattern, then their tone is marked. Table 36 gives examples of how tone is represented on the unstressed syllable of disyllabic roots in this grammar.

The first three columns show the default patterns H-L, L-M, and L-H, for which the unstressed first syllable remains unmarked. One example of a disyllabic stem and one example of a prefix plus monosyllabic stem each are given. The second three columns show the non-default patterns L-L, M-L, M-M, M-H, and H-H, for which the unstressed first syllable is marked for tone. An example for each is given; note, however, that the

examples of M-L and M-H are the only ones there are in the corpus (see also §3.5.7). Furthermore, the H-M example *chérsō* 'splinter' is (historically) composed of *chēr* 'to chip off' and the diminutive suffix *-sō* but has arguably lexicalized so that it is listed here as a disyllabic stem.

Table 36. Tone representation on unstressed syllables in disyllabic morphemes (default and non-default)

Default pattern	Example (tone unmarked)	Gloss	Non-default pattern	Example (tone marked)	Gloss
H-L	***han****thàr*	'sp.vegetable'	L-L	***tàr****kòng*	'bamboo mat to sit on'
	nang*=lè*	'CIS=reach'	M-L	***vō****tèk*	'wild bird'
L-M	***ing****hōn*	'to love'	M-M	***phū****lē*	'pot'
	nang-*pō*	'2:POSS-father'	H-M	***chér****sō*	'splinter'
L-H	***ing****lóng*	'hill'	M-H	***thēng****phráng*	'EE: thengpī ('tree')'
	a-*hán*	'POSS-cooked.vegetable'	H-H	***bí****rík*	'chili'

Note that there are some individual roots and suffixes that are not marked for tone in this grammar. These represent instances, where I have not yet been able to confirm the correct tones.

3.5.10. Remarks on Historically Grammatical Functions of Tone

While tone in Karbi is synchronically only lexical (if that), Grüßner (1978: 47; 53) has compiled a list of corresponding noun and verb stems that form tone minimal pairs. I repeat some of his examples along with my own examples.

It can be noted that nouns tend to take the mid tone, and may correspond to (and perhaps be derived from) low or high tone verbs, although there is also one example each of a high tone noun corresponding to a low tone verb and of a low tone noun corresponding to a high tone verb. In addition, there are also homophonous verb-noun pairs such as *ing'òm* 'cheek; to carry in mouth'.

Table 37. Verb-Noun tone minimal pairs (G = Grüßner 1978)

Tone pattern (Verb-Noun)	Verb		Noun	
L-M	*ingkrùng*	'to sieve' (G)	*ingkrūng*	'strainer' (G)
	thàn	'to cut' (G)	*thān*	'piece' (G)
	bùi	'to compile'	*būi*	'pile'
	ingsìr	'to filter'	*ingsīr*	'filter'
	kàm	'to step'	*kām*	'step (classifier)'
H-M	*béng*	'to chop off' (G)	*bēng*	'chip, piece' (G)
	arpán	'be wide' (G)	*arpān*	'width' (G)
	bú	'to plait'	*bū*	'bamboo container'
	inghór	'to carry a load'	*inghōr*	'carrying load'
L-H	*ingnìm*	'to smell' (G)	*ingním*	'smell' (G)
H-L	*lún*	'to sing' (G)	*lùn*	'song' (G)

There is another pattern among tone minimal pairs that Grüßner (1978: 91) mentions. This is between verbs that Grüßner suggests are semantically related. However, the semantic relationships between the seven minimal pairs he lists (copied into Table 38) are not always obvious. There is one potentially compelling example, which is *chàm* 'wash' and *chām* 'be wet'. In absence of further minimal pairs with an action-result type of relationship, however, this may just be a coincidence.

Table 38. Tone minimal pairs in semantically related verbs according to Grüßner (1978: 91)

L tone		H tone (or M tone)	
àp	'shoot, hit'	*áp*	'fit, be correct'
chàk	'receive'	*chák*	'put down a deposit, provide collateral'
chòk	'beat'	*chók*	'be okay, be fine'
chàm	'clean'	*chām*	'be wet'
plèng	'be full'	*pléng*	'be finished'
làng	'see'	*láng*	'refund, return (collateral)'
ràp	'stick'	*ráp*	'help'

3.6. Stress

Stress arguably is not part of Karbi phonology proper, because it never creates a lexical contrast between two morphemes, and a detailed phonetic study of stress is outside the scope of this grammar. That said, however, a few remarks on stress are in

order. Stress does play a major role in the surface realizations of word-level tone, and the study of stress would also complement the (diachronic and synchronic) understanding of word and morpheme structure.

There is an interaction between stress and tone. Grüßner (1978: 23; my translation) remarks that "in syllables with main stress and medium stress, tones are pronounced clearly. In syllables with weak stress, tones become indistinguishable and approximately converge towards Tone 1 [i.e., the low tone]." He continues to link the strength of stress to morpheme type: "the main stress usually resides on the stem syllable, [i.e.] the syllable with the semantically most important function. It [i.e., that syllable] is usually the syllable of a free morpheme. If this [morpheme] is multisyllabic, then the main stress resides on the last syllable."

My own observations match Grüßner's. There exists an iambic stress pattern in Karbi multisyllabic morphemes such that the sequence of syllables is unstressed-stressed. There are a large number of disyllabic roots that almost exceptionlessly follow this iambic pattern, and the same stress pattern exists on combinations of prefixes with monosyllabic stems such as *a-lám* 'POSS-language' or *ke-chō* 'NMLZ-eat'. In fact, this iambic pattern is typical in many branches of Tibeto-Burman (though note that Tibetan and Kiranti, for example, are trochaic), and exists both across the modern languages and has diachronically shaped cognates all across the family. Matisoff (2003) in his Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman remarks on this as follows.

> "Compounding has been a pervasive morphological process for at least the past two millennia of the history of the ST [Sino-Tibetan] family, as part of the languages' response to the ever-present danger of homophony among their monosyllabic morphemes. […] The unstressed vowel of the first syllable in such a compound is typically schwa; the tone loses its original contour and becomes "neutral"; if there is a final consonant it tends to drop; and eventually its semantic identity is likely to become obscured. This is the process of "prefixization", whereby a fully meaningful morpheme is reduced to a prefix, in such a way that the original disyllable becomes a sesquisyllabic unit." (Matisoff 2003: 153-154)

While there is a tendency in Karbi for unstressed syllables (and especially pre-stem ones and non-ultimate ones inside the stem) to be toneless (see §3.5.6), future research needs to investigate this in detail. In particular, the unstressed (because more

inflection-like, see §6.2.1) modal suffixes *-lò* 'realis', *-pò* 'IRR1', and *-jí* 'IRR2' are certainly tonal: *-lò* and *-pò* are low tone, while *-jí* is high tone.

The derivational suffixes, on the other hand, are part of the stem, and as such, a derivational suffix added to a simple stem may receive the main stress. Take, for example, *lè-lē* 'reach-NEG', where the stress is on the suffix and indicated by underlining (though see §3.5.8.3 for a description of the prominence shift that happens with high tone simple stems), or *dàm-bōm* 'go-CONT', where it is also the suffix that is more prominent. This can be contrasted with *nè=tā* '1EXCL=ADD', where the first person exclusive pronoun is stressed and not the additive enclitic.

There is a single exception to the iambic stress pattern that I have come across, which is the distal demonstrative *hála*. It has a very prominent first syllable, although the vowel is actually quite short as if the onset /l/ of the second syllable also closed the first syllable. The second syllable is unstressed and reduced.

3.7. Characteristics of Hypoarticulated Speech

This section describes several characteristics of hypoarticulated speech observed across different native speakers.

3.7.1. /t/ → Ø / ___ v, l

The change described by the rule [/t/ → Ø / ___ v, l] is not specific to particular morphemes but happens generally. Examples of this hypoarticulation pattern are *konát=lo* 'where=FOC', which ends up pronounced as *konálo* or, showing the same pattern twice: *e-nūt-vèt-lò* 'one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL', which ends up pronounced as *enuvelo*.

3.7.2. Imperative Onsets: /n/ → [α nasal] / [α nasal] ___

In hypoarticulated speech, the two imperative suffixes *-nōi* 'informal conditioned imperative (INFRML.COND.IMP)' (§11.1.2.2) and *-nōn* 'conditioned imperative (COND.IMP)' (§11.1.2.3) assimilate their alveolar nasal onset to the place of articulation of a nasal in coda position of the preceding syllable. This has been observed in forms such as *vàng-nōn* 'come-COND.IMP' or *dàm-nōi* 'go-INFRML.COND.IMP', which, in hypoarticulated

speech, are produced as *vàng-ngōn* and *dàm-mōi*, or, perhaps more accurately, *và.ngōn* and *dà.mōi*, since gemination is not audible in hypoarticulated imperatives. The rapid speech in these hypoarticulated imperatives is also underscored by the mid tone on the suffixes, which actually appears quite iconic for the imperative semantics, also because all other imperative suffixes also have the mid tone (see §11.1.2).

3.7.3. *-jí* 'IRR2?', *-lò* '?', *-si* '?' → a / ___ *-lāng* 'still', *-nāng* 'HORT'

This rule aims to represent the changes from *vàng-jí-lāng* 'come-IRR2?-still' and *dàm-lonāng* 'go-HORT:EMPH' or *dàm-sināng* 'go-HORT:CON' to *vàngalāng* and *dàmanāng*, respectively, in hypoarticulated speech. This hypoarticulated production has been observed in the speech of several speakers and confirmed as a natural pattern. Since it is specifically these two constructions where this hyperarticulation reduction happens, it likely indicates ongoing grammaticalization / lexicalization (see also §6.2.3.3). In fact, *-jí-lāng* may better be analyzed as a single lexicalized suffix, the same way as *-lonāng* and *-sināng* should probably be considered single lexicalized suffixes (and not sequences of *-lò* 'RL' or *-si* 'non-final:realis' and *-nāng* 'hortative', see §11.1.3.3).

3.8. Phonological Shapes of Morpheme Types

This section presents an overview of the characteristics of the different morpheme types with respect to their phonological shape.

3.8.1. Roots

Roots carry tone, and probably the majority of roots are monosyllabic. There are, however, also a large number of disyllabic roots and sesquisyllabic roots (i.e., with a reduced first syllable), while very few roots have more than two syllables. There are two very prominent, synchronically non-morphemic first syllables that occur in many of the disyllabic roots: /ing/ and /ar/, which are discussed in §4.7.

3.8.2. Suffixes

Suffixes are minimally syllabic, and mostly monosyllabic, although there are a few disyllabic ones. Besides roots, suffixes are the only morpheme type that carries tone.

However, the tones of subordinating suffixes that have clausal scope and therefore are highly susceptible to prosodic pitch contours have been virtually impossible to determine, such as *-te* 'conditional' and *-si* 'non-final:realis', and are therefore not marked for tone.

3.8.3. Prefixes

Prefixes are toneless, and there are only a small number of them, which are exhaustively listed in Table 39. With the exception of personal possessive prefixes, the category of prefixes in Karbi is characterized by a highly reduced phonological shape. When added to monosyllabic stems, they form sesquisyllables (Matisoff 2003: 153 ff.) such as *a-lám* 'POSS-language' or *ke-chō* 'NMLZ-eat' (see also §3.6).

Only the second and third person possessive prefixes have a coda consonant, and only the personal possessive prefixes as a group can be extended with the honorific *-lì* (§12.4.1).

Table 39. Karbi prefixes

Word class of host stem	Prefix	Gloss
Nominal (Classifier)	*e-*	'one'
Nominal	*a-*	'POSS'
	ne(li)-	'1EXCL.POSS(.HON)'
	e(li)-	'1INCL.POSS(.HON)'
	nang(li)-	'2.POSS(.HON)'
	alang(li)-	'3.POSS(.HON)'
Verbal	*pV-*	'VBLZ', 'CAUS'
	ke-	'NMLZ'
	che- ~ ch-	'RR'
	cho-	'AUTO.BEN/MAL'

3.8.4. Clitics

All attested clitics are listed in Table 40. They are generally unmarked for tone, since they occur at phrasal boundaries, where prosodic pitch contours are so prominent that the underlying tone labels such as 'low tone' or 'high tone' do not appear to apply. There are two exceptions: *=tā* 'additive', which consistently occurs with mid tone

glottalization and is therefore marked as such, and *=án* ‘this much’, which consistently occurs with high tone.

Clitics are generally reduced monosyllables without a coda consonant. The exception is *nang=* and the longer pronominal forms with the *-lì* ‘honorific’ in the proclitic category, as well as *=pen* ‘with; from’ and ‘non-final’ among the enclitics, as well as disyllabic discourse markers that appear synchronically lexicalized, i.e., *=mati*, *=kema*, and *=tamē*, the last of which appears to be historically composed of *=tā* ‘additive’ and *mē* ‘be good’, so literally ‘also good’.

Table 40. Karbi clitics

Clitic position	Functional domain	Form	Gloss
Proclitic	Path	*nang=*	‘CIS’ (§6.3.2)
	Person marking	*ne(li)=*	‘1EXCL.NSUBJ’ (§6.3.1.4)
		e(li)=	‘1INCL.NSUBJ’(§6.3.1.4)
		nang(li)=	‘1/2.NSUBJ’(§6.3.1.4)
Enclitic	Information structure	*=ke*	‘TOP’ (§10.7.1)
		=si	‘FOC’(§10.7.3)
		=le	‘FOC.IRR’ (§10.7.4)
		=tā	‘ADD’(§10.7.2)
		=he	‘AFTERTHOUGHT’ (§12.3.9)
		=mati	‘CG’ (§12.3.11)
	Interrogative	*=ma*	‘Q’ (§11.1.1.1)
		=bo	‘RQ’ (§11.1.1.6)
	Other	*=pen*	‘with; from’ (§7.8.1)
		=án	‘this.much’(§7.8.2)

3.8.5. Interjections

It is cross-linguistically typical for phonological shapes of interjections to push the phonological and phonetic boundaries of the sound system of a language. In Karbi, this is also documented in various sections of this chapter on phonology.

For example, addressing words may participate in an otherwise non-phonemic vowel contrast (cf. *ko* [kɔ] in §3.2.2), or in an otherwise non-phonemic tone contrast (cf. *ōi* in §3.5.4.6). Moreover, the expressions *dah* ‘let’s go!,’ *dih* ‘leave me!,’ and *boh* to express surprise are typically said with final aspiration, which is otherwise not a phonemic category of Karbi (see §3.1.2.3).

3.8.6. Reduplication

Karbi has several productive patterns of reduplication and quasi-reduplication at the morphological level as discussed in this section. Syntactic reduplication of full verbs also occurs, but is discussed in §12.2.3. In the sections below, the phonological properties of reduplication of noun and verb stems is discussed. The typical pattern is that the last syllable of the stem represents the portion that is reduplicated, while the semantic or syntactic scope is over the whole stem. For the various grammatical functions of reduplication, see §5.5 for reduplication in nouns, and §6.6 for reduplication in verbs.

Reduplication patterns are as follows. There is reduplication without a vowel change, as discussed in §3.8.6.1, reduplication with a change in vowel in the reduplicated form, as shown in §3.8.6.2, and finally we find a peculiar quasi-reduplicative construction of repeating just the onset in the verbal negative construction discussed in §3.8.6.3. Note that the different phonological patterns with respect to involving a vowel change or not involving a vowel change do not align with functional differences.

3.8.6.1. Reduplication of Stems (without Vowel Change)

Table 41 lists some of the examples of reduplication found in the corpus. Note that the tone patterns recorded here should be considered preliminary and require further research.

Table 41. Full reduplication of roots or suffixes without vowel change

Example	Gloss	From
thè-ò~ò	big-much~DIST.PL	HK, TR 177
thakthāk	same	RBT, ChM 053
serhè~serhé	fast~INTENS	HK, TR 093
ke-chō-dūn~dūn	NMLZ-eat-JOIN~HAB	KK, BMS 060
hín~hìn	side~DL	HI, BPh 006
kengkèng[62]	all the way	SiT, PS 010
nang=pa-kló-rùi~rùi-lò	CIS=CAUS-fall-many:S/O~DIST.PL-RL	KTo, PS 004
thēp-hòi~hōi-lò	dry.up-little.bit~INTENS-RL	PI, BPR 013

[62] The reduplicated form *kéngkèng* is apparently derived from *kèng* 'be straight' (ultimately from *kèng* 'foot').

As we can see, reduplication without vowel change occurs with all vowels, including monophthongs and diphthongs. While it is typically only the last syllable of the stem that is reduplicated (which is the suffix in the cases of *thè-ò~ò* and *ke-chō-dūn~dūn*, we also find disyllabic reduplication, as in *serhè~serhé*.

3.8.6.2. Reduplication of Stems with Vowel Change

Table 42 offers different examples of stem reduplication, in which the vowel in the reduplicated portion changes. The pattern we can observe is that every vowel changes to /a/, while /a/ changes to /u/; diphthongs work the same way.

Table 42. Vowel change patterns in quasi-reduplicative constructions

Vowels	Example	Gloss	From
i ~ a	*siksāk*	be.difficult	RBT, ChM 017
	arlèng-pìk~pāk	be.steep-very~DIST.PL	SiT, HF 020
u ~ a	*ingjòng-lùn~làn-lò*	move-big~DIST.PL-RL	HK, TR 180
e ~ a	*bī-hèk~hāk-làng*	be.small-small~DL-still	CST, RO 006
	pòn-pē pon-pā	carry-NEG carry-EE:NEG	KK, BMS 109
	pí-nē~pina-nē-dèt-jí	what-INDEF~EE:pínē-NEG-PFV-IRR2	HK, TR 140
ei ~ ai	*hei~hai*	these~DIST.PL	SiT, HF 018
o ~ a	*kedō kedā*	NMLZ-exist NMLZ-EE:dō	HK, TR 058
	thè-ò~á	be.big-very~DIST.PL	SiT, HF 050
a ~ u	*kàr-hàng~hùng-lò*	burn-quite~DIST.PL-RL	HK, TR 180
ai/ei ~ ui	*hai~hui* *hei~hui*	these~DIST.PL	SH, CSM 014 SiH, CW 008

This quasi-reduplication strategy that involves a change in vowel is employed in several domains of grammar. It is found in nominal morphology, see §5.5; in verbal morphology, see §6.6; in elaborate expressions, see §12.2.2.1; and in the disagreement construction, see §12.2.4.1.

3.8.6.3. Negation: Onset Reduplication of Last Stem Syllable

Verbal negation is indicated by the onset reduplicating suffix *-Cē*, which repeats the full onset of the last syllable of the verb stem. Table 43 offers a number of sample monosyllabic and disyllabic stems with their respective forms of the negative suffix.

The sample forms in Table 43 show that the rhyme of the suffix is invariably /ē/, while the onset of the suffix repeats the simple onset of onset cluster (as in ***krōi-krē***) of the last syllable of the stem. If the last syllable of the stem does not have an onset consonant, i.e., if it is vowel-initial, in which case the syllable starts with a glottal stop, then the suffix repeats that (as in *ar'ì-**ē***, or, without the morpheme boundary: *ar'ì**'ē***).

Table 43. Forms of quasi-reduplicative -*Cē* 'NEG' with different stems

Type	Stem	Gloss	Stem with -*Cē* 'NEG'
Monosyllabic	*lè*	'to reach'	***lè-lē***
	krōi	'to agree'	***krōi-krē***
	kán	'to dance'	***kán-kē***
	thàk	'to answer', 'to weave'	***thàk-thē***
Disyllabic	*ar'ì*	'to crave'	*ar'ì-**ē***
	teròi	'to do'	*te**r**òi-**rē***
	ingtòn	'to conclude'	*ing**t**òn-**tē***
	hijūk	'to laugh'	*hi**j**ūk-**jē***

Example (7) gives an in-text example of the verbal negation of the complex stem *chesikmek'et* that has one prefix and two suffixes. It shows that only the last syllable /èt/ is relevant to determine the form of the negative suffix, which consequently is simply *-ē*.

(7) In-text example of verbal negation of a complex stem
*adappen, hadakpen nangchesikmek'et**'e**detlo*
adàp=pen hádak=pen nang=che-sík-mék-èt-**C**ē-dèt-lò
morning=from there=from CIS=RR-prepare-in.advance-all:S/O-**NEG**-PFV-RL
'from the morning, from there we hadn't prepared everything at all in advance' [SH, CSM 062]

Note that the /k/ coda of the preceding syllable does not resyllabify to become the onset of the following syllable /èt/.

3.9. Morphophonemics

This section discusses phonological changes that occur as a result of morphological processes. This includes tone changes in stems and suffixes (§3.9.1), and prefix allomorphs and prefix-induced stem vowel deletion (§3.9.2).

3.9.1. Tone Changes

There are several robust patterns of tone change, whereby the tone of a stem or a suffix changes from one category to another. These tone category changes represent evidence for the phonological basis of the Karbi tone system.

3.9.1.1. Stem Tone Change Induced by *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' and *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive'

Grüßner's (1978: 37) excellent work on Karbi phonology was the first to note that the *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' and *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' prefixes change the tone of immediately following monosyllabic stems according to the pattern shown in Table 44: low tone stems become mid, mid tone stems become high, and high tone stems do not change (though see §3.5.5 for additional phonetic sandhi effects that occur as a result of prefixing *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive').

Table 44. Monosyllabic stem tone changes after *che-* 'RR' and *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL'

Underlying stem tone	New stem tone	Sample stem	With *che-* 'RR'		With *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL'	
LOW →	MID	rì	che-rī	'find (one's own)'	cho-rī	'find (for oneself)'
MID →	HIGH	kūp/ tūk	che-kúp	'cover (one's own, oneself)'	cho-túk	'dig (for oneself)'
HIGH →	HIGH	thán	che-thán	'teach (one's own children)'	cho-thán	'teach (for a living)'

In addition to this pattern, *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' also has the same morphophonemic effect on at least low tone disyllabic verb stems such as *ingvài* 'choose', which turns into mid tone, *cho-ngvāi*. This is not true for *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal', and so *ch-ingvài* remains low tone (see also a discussion of other differences between *che-* and *cho-* in §3.9.2.2). There are several stems that do not change their tone after *che-* is added: *ch-arjū* 'RR-ask', *che-tòng* 'RR-meet', *cherùi* 'return' (*rùi* by itself does not occur), *che-ràp* 'RR-stay.together', *ch-ingkī* 'RR-chat'.

Contrary to Grüßner's (1978: 37) account, however, our research team did not find a tone change, whereby a mid tone stem that turned into a high tone stem after *che-*,

such as *che-én* from *ēn* 'take', subsequently turned into a low one stem if followed by the negative suffix: **che-èn-ē*; instead, the stem remained high tone, *che-én-ē*.

3.9.1.2. Stem Tone Change Induced by Possessive Prefixes

As first pointed out by Grüßner (1978: 21; 39), disyllabic nominal stems may change their tones as well when a prefix is added. Grüßner described this change primarily as a stress shift and the tone change as epiphenomenal, which is certainly an interesting idea worth investigating further. The reliable pattern is that mid-mid disyllabic stems change to high-low after *a-* 'possessive' or *ne-* '1EXCL:POSS' (or presumably a different personal possessive prefix, although the other prefixes were not specifically checked) is attached. This is illustrated in Table 45.

Table 45. Disyllabic stem tone changes following possessive prefixation

Underlying tones	New tones	Sample stem	With *a-* 'possessive' and *ne-* '1EXCL.POSS'	
MID-MID →	HIGH-LOW	*sōpī*	*a-sopì*	'daughter'
			ne-sopì	'my daughter'
		hēmtāp	*a-hemtàp*	'house on stilts'
LOW-HIGH →		*biskút*	*a-biskùt*	'baked.snack(<Eng)'
		kulát	*a-kulàt*	'shop(<Asm)'

The mid-mid to high-low tone change is almost exceptionless,[63] but there also seems to be a pattern for low-high stems to change to high-low as well, such as *biskút* and *kulát* in Table 45. At this point, it is not clear how productive this pattern is and whether it might be limited to borrowings. Note that no change was found to occur in LL stems such as *kòngsìn* 'kind of shovel' and *a-kòngsìn*, LM stems such as *korpī* 'sister-in-law' and *a-korpī* or *lamthē* 'matter' and *a-lamthē*, HL stems such as *kortè* 'same gender siblings' and *a-kortè*, but also other LH stems such as *lammét* 'literature', which remains

[63] The only exception I have encountered is in compounds with the clan name *Krō* (although the clan name *Bēy*, pronounced as /bē/, is regular). Here, if *hēm* 'house, family' is added, then *Krō-hēm* does not change to **a-Kro-hèm*, but remains *a-Krō-hēm*. With the clan name *Bēy*, the pattern is regular and *Bēy-hēm* changes into *a-Bey-hèm*. The same is true for the difference between *Krō-pī* 'CLAN-female', which remains mid-tone *a-Krō-pī*, while *Bēy-pī* regularly turns into *a-Bey-pì*, curiously enough.

a-lammét and does not undergo the tone change compared to other LH stems given in Table 45.

3.9.1.3. Derivational Suffix Tone Change

There are a number of derivational suffixes that have low and mid tone allomorphs, where the mid tone allomorph occurs after low or mid tone stems, while the low tone allomorph occurs after high tone stems. Table 46 shows this pattern with the sample suffix *-dùn ~ -dūn* 'JOIN' following the low tone stem *thàk* 'answer', the mid tone stem *pī* 'give', and the high tone stem *lóng* 'get'.

Table 46. Tone change patterns for derivational suffixes

Stem tone	Suffix tone	Sample stem	With *-dùn ~ -dūn* 'JOIN'	
LOW	→ **MID**	*thàk*	*thàk**-dūn***	'answer-JOIN'
MID	→ **MID**	*pī*	*pī**-dūn***	'give-JOIN'
HIGH	→ **LOW**	*lóng*	*lóng**-dùn***	'get-JOIN'

Table 47 offers an exhaustive list of all derivational suffixes that have so far been found to participate in the tone change shown in Table 46.[64] It also lists the lexical source of the suffix where synchronically found in the language. It may not be a coincidence that all of the lexical source verbs are low tone, i.e., that the original low tone leads to this allomorphy.

Table 47. List of derivational suffixes that participate in tone change

Derivational suffix	Gloss	Lexical source
-dàm ~ -dām	'GO'	<*dàm* 'go'
-dùn ~ -dūn	'JOIN'	<*dùn* 'join'
-bòm ~ -bōm	'CONT' ('continue')	-
-thù ~ -thū	'again'	-
-pòn ~ -pōn	'take.away'	<*pòn* 'carry, take'
-hài ~ -hāi	'dare'	<*hài* 'dare; win'
-ùn ~ -ūn	'be.able'	< *ùn* 'win, conquer'
-thèk ~ -thēk	'know.how'	< *thèk* 'know (how)'

[64] Grüßner (1978: 37) mentions some of these as well.

In addition to the derivational suffixes in Table 47, the bound forms *-thòm ~ -thōm* of the numeral *kethòm* 'three', which occur suffixed to classifiers, undergo the same tone allomorphy. Examples of low, mid, and high tone classifiers used with *-thòm ~ -thōm* are: *hòng-thōm* 'CLF:long.cylindrical-three', *jōn-thōm* 'CLF:animal-three', and *phóng-thòm* 'CLF:times-three'.[65]

3.9.1.4. Idiosyncratic Tone Allomorphy

There also are cases of more idiosyncratic tone changes. There is one example in the corpus, where *pV-* 'causative' changes mid tone *mē* 'be good' into a high tone, *pamé*, see (8). Since *pV-* 'causative' occurs with a very low frequency, it is not clear whether this is a robust pattern or not.

(8) Stem tone change *pa-mé* from *mē* 'be good'

ok paka paka han paka paka					
ōk	paká	paká	hán	paká	paká
meat	very.good	very.good	curry	very.good	very.good

lopen thuidun pame pamepo			
lō=pen	thùi-dūn	pa-**mé**	pa-**mé**-pò
banana.leaf=with	wrap-JOIN	CAUS-be.good	CAUS-be.good-IRR1

'she would wrap very good meat and very good curry very nicely for him to take along (to the field)' [CST, RO 014]

A highly idiosyncratic instance of tone allomorphy occurs in the suffix *-vèt ~ -vét* 'only'. Table 48 shows different numerals that this suffix may attach to (though it also attaches to other nominal stems). The numerals are sorted into three columns: the one that only low tone *-vèt* attaches to, those that only high tone *-vét* attaches to, and, lastly, those for which both low tone *-vèt* and high tone *-vét* were deemed acceptable.

I do not see any kind of pattern to the different judgments of acceptable allomorphs of this suffix depending on the stem.

[65] Grüßner (1978: 65) also mentions the alternation in *-thòm ~ -thōm*, and claims that mid tone classifiers become low tone in this construction, e.g. *jōn-thōm* were to become *jòn-thōm*. I don't have any evidence, however, that this particular construction results in any idiosyncratic tone change of that kind; I rather assume Grüßner here describes a general pattern of tonal unspecificity on unstressed syllables.

Table 48. Idiosyncratic tone allomorphy of *-vèt* ~ *-vét* 'only'

Only *-vèt* acceptable		Only *-vét* acceptable		Both *-vèt* and *-vét* acceptable	
sirkēp	'nine'	*isī*	'one'	*hiní*	'two'
		kethòm	'three'	*phlī*	'four'
		kēp	'ten'	*phō*	'five'
		pharó isī	'one hundred'	*thrōk*	'six'
				thrōksí	'seven'
				nerkēp	'eight'
				pharó kethòm	'three hundred'

3.9.2. Prefix Allomorphs and Prefix-Induced Stem Vowel Deletion

Prefixes are generally reduced monosyllables (although the personal possessive prefixes form an exception, see §3.8.3). Due to their reduced structure, prefixes also tend to have allomorphs, which are described in this section. There also is a sense, however, that certain prefixes have more 'phonological strength' than others and may cause vowel deletion on the stem. The difference in 'phonological strength' is particularly striking between the two similar prefixes *che-* 'reciprocal/reflexive' and *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive', which is discussed in §3.9.2.2.

An important caveat to keep in mind here is that the following discussion is based on transcriptions of these prefixes in the text corpus. However, as mentioned above, these prefixes are very reduced. Their vowel may be as reduced as to be limited to just two to three periodic voicing cycles. Although our research team double-checked transcriptions to achieve a high level of accuracy, there are still a number of instances in the corpus where it remains unclear whether the vowel should be transcribed as /e/ or /a/.

3.9.2.1. Prefix Vowels: *ke-* 'NMLZ', *pV-* 'CAUS', *che-* 'RR', *cho-* 'AUTO.BEN/MAL', *a-* 'POSS'

Grüßner (1978: 93) describes a pattern of allomorphy between *ke-* and *ka-* of the nominalizer as well as *pe-* and *pa-* of the causative, whereby *ke-* and *pe-* occur before monosyllabic stems, while *ka-* and *pa-* occur otherwise; "suffixes do not count in determining monosyllabicity, prefixes, however, make the verb multisyllabic" (93). This

regular pattern is not found in the corpus of this grammar. Instead a much messier pattern emerges as shown in Table 49 and Table 50.

As shown in Table 49, monosyllabic stems always take *ke-*, and there appears to only be one exception: *ka-prék* 'NMLZ-be.different'. As pointed out by UV Jose (personal communication), however, *prék* is likely to be an early borrowing from Assamese *belek* (which has now been reborrowed as *belek*). If that is indeed the history of Karbi *prék*, then the *ka-* is a neat piece of evidence because it tells the disyllabic origin of *prék*.

Table 49. Forms of prefix *ke-* 'NMLZ'

Form of stem	Form	Example	Gloss	Example source
Monosyllabic	*ke-*	*ke-dàm*	'NMLZ-go'	CST, RO 026
Disyllabic (due to another prefix)	*ke- ~ ka-*	*ka-pa-lì*	'NMLZ-CAUS-flow'	ST, HF 021
		ke-pa-sáng	'NMLZ-CAUS-rest'	ST, HF 026
		ke-pe-thì	'NMLZ-CAUS-die'	RBT, ChM 028
Disyllabic starting with consonant		*ka-tikí*	'NMLZ-loosen.soil'	CST, RO 007
		ke-laná	'NMLZ-take.care'	KK, BMS 105
Disyllabic starting with /ing/ or /ar/		*ka-ngtòn*	'NMLZ-conclude' (< *ingtòn*)	CST, RO 056
Disyllabic starting with other vowel		*ke-ora* *ka-ora*	'NMLZ-take.care'	CST, HM 063 KK, BMS 105

In every context other than pure monosyllabic stems, there seems to be free allomorphic variation between *ke-* and *ka-*. Although some tendencies may turn out to align with dialectal areas, there is some amount of variation within the same speaker, which shows that it is not just a matter of different dialects.

Table 50 gives examples of the two allomorphs of *pV-* 'causative'. Unlike the allomorphy of *ke-* 'nominalizer', *pe-* appears to only ever occur before monosyllabic stems, although *pa-* is used in that context as well, seemingly especially in the non-Christian variety of the Hills Amri dialect in western Karbi Anglong.

The reflexive/reciprocal prefix *che-* alternates with *ch-*, which only occurs before disyllabic stems that begin with /ar/ or /ing/, as shown in Table 51. Although the corpus of this grammar always has *ch-* before disyllabic stems that start in /ar/, discussions within our research team suggest that the resulting first syllable can often be pronounced either as /char/ or as /cher/ (as in *chermát* in Table 51, but also, e.g., *charlì ~ cherlì* 'to

learn, study'). Forms with /cher/ are also recorded by Grüßner in his dictionary manuscript.

Table 50. Forms of prefix *pV-* 'causative'

Form of stem	Form	Example	Gloss	Example source
Monosyllabic	*pe- ~ pa-*	*pe-kló*	'CAUS-fall'	RBT, ChM 021
		pa-klàng	'CAUS-appear'	HK, TR 090
Disyllabic (due to another prefix)	*pa-*	*pa-che-ūn*	'CAUS-RR-be.able'	WR, BCS 023
Disyllabic starting with consonant		*pa-the'āng*	'CAUS-dawn'	KK, BMS 062
Disyllabic starting with /ing/ or /ar/		*pa-rtìng*	'CAUS-spin' (<artìng)	KK, BMS 103
Disyllabic starting with other vowel		*pa-ora*	'CAUS-take.care	KK, BMS 110

Table 51. Forms of prefix *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal'

Form of stem	Form	Example	Gloss	Example source
Monosyllabic	*che-*	*che-thāk*	'RR-weave'	KST, PS 007
Disyllabic (due to another prefix)		*che-pe-thì*	'RR-CAUS-die'	RBT, ChM 023
Disyllabic starting with consonant		*che-mathá*	'RR-think'	CST, HM 067
Disyllabic starting with other vowel		*che-erí*	'RR-let.loose (<Asm)'	KK, BMS 122
Disyllabic starting with *ing-* or *ar-*	*ch- (~che-)*	*ch-arkòk*	'RR-clean'	KK, BMS 113
		charmát (~chermát)	'test if taste is good'	SiH, KA 009
		ch-ingthùm	'RR-go.and.bring'	RBT, ChM 027

Another morphophonemic change that occurs in conjunction with prefixes is vowel deletion in disyllabic roots starting with *ing-* and *ar-* (see §4.7 on these frozen prefixes in disyllabic roots). Table 52 shows that the initial vowel of disyllabic stems beginning with *ing-* is deleted after the prefixes *ke-* 'nominalizer, *pV-* 'causative', *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive', and the possessive prefix *a-*.

Table 52. Initial vowel deletion in *ing-* stems after prefixes *ke-*, *pV-*, *cho-*

Prefix	Stem	Vowel deletion
ke-	*ingnì* 'to sit'	*ka-ngnì*
pV-		*pa-ngnì*
cho-		*cho-ngnī*
a-	*ingtòng* 'type of bamboo basket'	*a-ngtòng*

Examples of the vowel deletion that occurs between prefixes *ke-* 'nominalizer', *pV-* 'causative', and, less robustly, *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' and *a-* 'possessive/modified' and disyllabic stems that start in *ar-* is given in Table 53 (see discussion of Table 51 above for the case of *che-* 'RR'). Note that in the case of the *a-* prefix, there is typically no morphophonemic change if the *ar-* disyllabic root is a lexical noun (e.g., *arnàm* 'god'). If instead the *ar-* disyllabic root is, however, a noun that almost always occurs with the *a-* prefix (like relator noun *arlō*, or presumably any other noun that requires a possessive prefix, see §4.4.5), one of the two /a/ vowels typically is deleted.[66]

Table 53. Vowel deletion between *ar-* stems and prefixes *ke-*, *pV-*, *che-*, *a-*

Prefix	Stem	Vowel deletion
ke-	*arjū* 'to ask'	*karjū*
pV-	*artìng* 'to spin'	*partìng*
[che-	*(armát)*	*che-rmát, ch-armát]*
a-	*arnàm* 'god' *arlō* 'inside (relator noun)'	*[a'arnam]* *arlō*

Lastly, one question regarding prefix vowel allomorphy concerns the difference between *ke-* and *pV-* as they occur before monosyllabic stems with either a high or a non-high vowel. Due to the perception of vowel harmony that assimilates *ke-* to *ki-* and *pe-* to *pi-* before high vowels, the Karbi Lammet Amei (see §1.1.4) has issued the spelling rule to write *ki-* and *pi-* (or *pa-* depending on the dialect, see discussion above) in those instances. However, the first person exclusive possessive prefix *ne-* is not perceived to

[66] More research is required to understand under exactly which circumstances the *a-* prefix is not used or pronounced on nouns that begin with *ar-*, or, rather, under which circumstances it actually is used, as there are only two instances in the corpus, where that is the case (*a-arnàm* 'POSS-god' in HK, TR 111 and *a-arlēng* 'POSS-person' in SH, CSM 039).

change to *ni-* before high vowels. The research question then is whether *ke-* and *ne-* behave the same before monosyllabic stems with high vowels or not.

A brief phonetic study to evaluate this research question was conducted. The stimuli listed in Table 54 were recorded from one female speaker and one male speaker, both residing in Diphu.[67] Four tokens of each type were recorded: once in isolation, and three times in the carrier phrase *Neli ___ pusi kipu.* 'I said ___.' All four tokens were then measured for F1 and F2 formant values of the vowel of the first syllable, i.e. either the vowel of the prefix *ke-* 'nominalizer', or the vowel of the possessive prefix *ne-* '1EXCL:POSS', and in one case, the vowel in the first syllable of *nipī* 'mother-in-law' for reference of a lexical reduced /i/. The results of these measurements are given in Table 54.

Table 54. Vowel formant values of *ke-* 'NMLZ' and *ne-* '1EXCL.POSS' preceding high and non-high vowels

Following stem vowel	Prefix	Item	Gloss	Female Speaker			Male Speaker	
				Avg. in Hz			Avg. in Hz	
				F1	F2		F1	F2
High vowel /i/ or /u/	*ke-* 'NMLZ'	***ki**sùng*	'be difficult'	386	2,519		395	1,916
		***ki**pī*	'to give'	350	2,727		337	2,036
		***ki**pún*	'to measure'	391	2,691		354	1,938
	ne- '1EXCL.POSS'	***ne**hìm*	'my biscuit'	400	2,650		364	1,965
		***ne**pī*	'my mother'	400	2,628		386	1,964
		***ne**lún*	'my song'	409	2,582		403	1,927
Non-high vowel /o/ or /a/	*ke-* 'NMLZ'	***ke**sàng*	'to spread'	446	2,506		425	1,773
		***ke**rō*	'to hit'	437	2,400		386	1,943
		***ke**sáng*	'to take rest'	482	2,482		447	1,834
	ne- '1EXCL.POSS'	***ne**vàm*	'my waist'	468	2,459		468	1,862
		***ne**pō*	'my father'	450	2,464		386	1,878
		***ne**lám*	'my language'	491	2,482		403	1,840
In monomorphemic stem		***ni**pī*	'mother in law'	373	2,563		299	2,060

[67] These are the same two speakers that were consulted in the phonetic tone study mentioned in §3.5.4.4 and §3.5.4.5.

In order to visualize these results, Figure 11 shows the formant values of the female speaker's stimuli, and Figure 12 of the male speaker, respectively, in the spatial arrangement typical of the discussion of vowels, i.e. as in Figure 9 above.

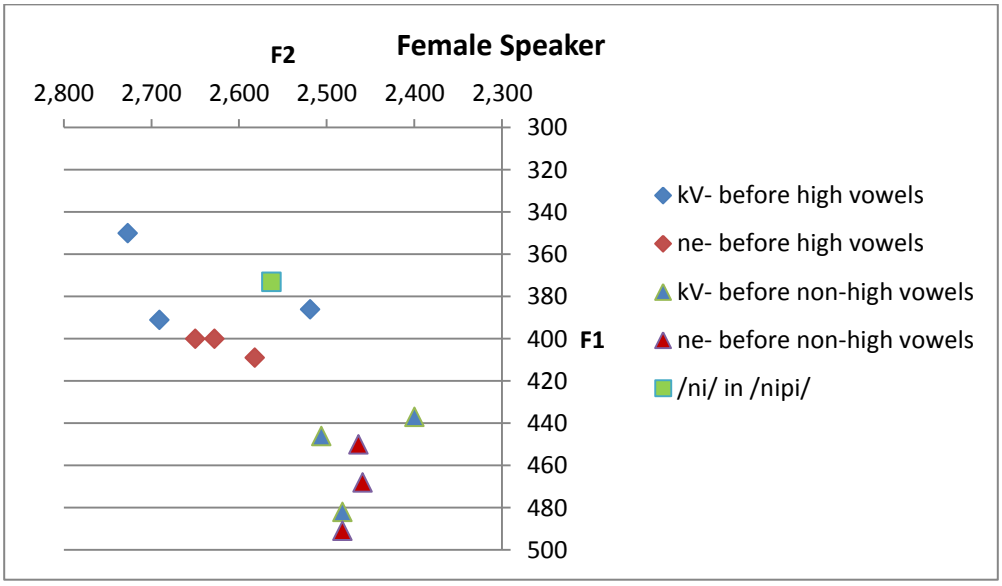

Figure 11. Female speaker vowel formant values for *ke-* and *ne-* before high and non-high vowels

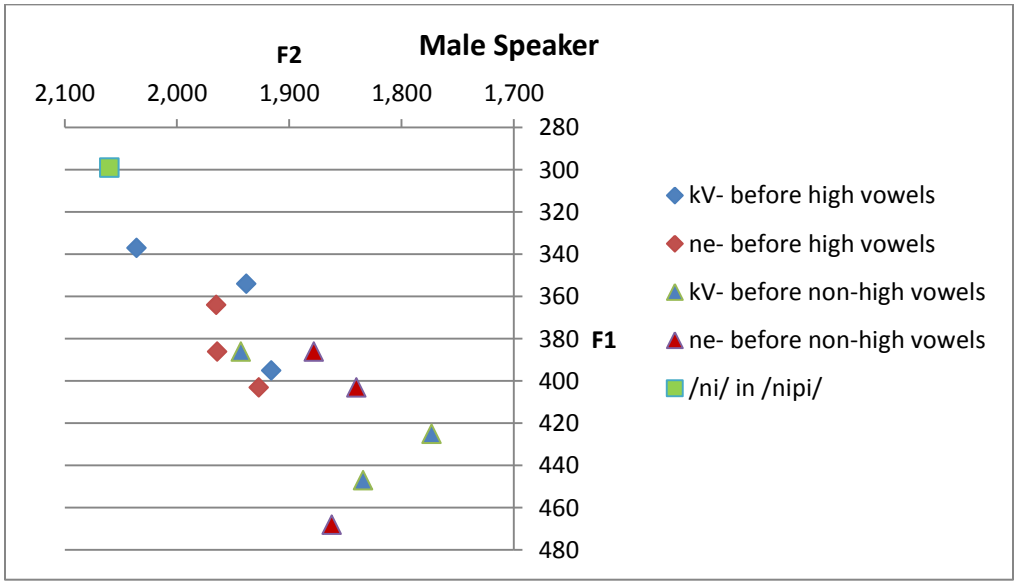

Figure 12. Male speaker vowel formant values for *ke-* and *ne-* before high and non-high vowels

The most /i/-like vowel is therefore in the left upper corner, while more centralized productions are further right and further down. The blue symbols are the data points for *ke-* and the red symbols are the data points for *ne-*, while the diamonds are the prefixes occurring before high vowels and the triangles are the prefixes occurring before non-high vowels. The green square is for the vowel in the first syllable of *nipī* 'mother-in-law'.

Keeping in mind that this study only looks at a highly limited amount of data, i.e., every data point is the average across just four tokens, the emerging picture is somewhat different between the female and the male speaker. The formant values of the female speaker's stimuli suggest that *ke-* 'nominalizer' and *ne-* 'first person exclusive possessive' before high vowels group together, and the two prefixes before non-high vowels group together (i.e., all diamond symbols group together and all triangle symbols group together). At the same time, there is quite a bit of variability among blue diamonds, i.e. *ke-* before high vowels, which really means more data are required. At the same time, because of the grouping just mentioned, the *ke-* and the *ne-* vowels appear to largely participate in the same vowel harmony, although the vowel harmony for *ke-* appears a bit stronger.

The male speaker's data, on the other hand, are a lot messier with regard to *ke-* and *ne-* before non-high vowels, i.e., the triangle symbols. Before high vowels, *ke-* and *ne-* also behave quite similarly, and, again, more data are needed to see whether the difference bears out statistically.

I would argue that the fact that for both speakers, the data points for *ke-* before high vowels, i.e. the blue diamonds, are spread apart quite a bit, whereas the data points of *ne-* before high vowels, i.e. the red diamonds, are clustering quite closely, suggests that there really is difference between *ke-* and *ne-*. This difference may of course be expected due to the much higher frequency of *ke-* compared to *ne-*. An interesting parallel between both speakers is also that specifically the data point of *kipī* is the one that has the lowest F1 and the highest F2 average values. Since *kipī* is likely to have a higher frequency than the other two stimuli from the same category, *kisùng* and *kipún*, as well as having the /i/ in the stem as opposed to /u/, this piece of evidence contributes to a bigger picture of a host of different factors all playing into these formant differences. I

would conclude that this brief phonetic study suggests that there is indeed a difference between the vowels or vowel variability in *ke-* compared to *ne-*, and choosing different spelling conventions for the two can in fact be argued for with these data. Further data, of course, would help to evaluate the research question with more accuracy.

3.9.2.2. *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' and *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal': Differences in Phonological Strength

This section considers three differences between the similar prefixes *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' and *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' with regard to what may be understood as phonological strength. The similarity between the prefixes is not only their shared onset palatal stop, but also the tone change both prefixes cause in monosyllabic stems, see §3.9.1.1.

The first difference is also mentioned in §3.9.1.1 and consists in *cho-* changing low tones into mid tones in disyllabic stems in addition to monosyllabic stems such that low tone *ingvài* 'choose' turns into mid tone *cho-ngvāi* due to prefixation of *cho-*, while prefixation of *che-* does not result in a tone change, so *ch-ingvài* remains low tone. The tone change from mid tone to high tone in disyllabic stems, however, does not seem to occur. Instead, mid tone disyllabic stems remain mid tone after prefixation of *cho-*. Examples are *cho-ngdī* from *ingdī* 'break a long object'; *cho-nghū* from *inghū* 'steal'; and *cho-ngmōi* from *ingmōi* 'cook with alkaline'.

The second difference can be seen in the same example: *cho-* keeps its /o/ vowel when attaching to disyllabic stems that start with /ing/, while *che-* looses its vowel.

The third difference is described in §3.5.5: While *che-* and *cho-* both change the tone category of low and mid tone monosyllabic stems (as described in §3.9.1.1), *cho-* additionally induces a sandhi effect that is absent in the prefixation and resulting tone change caused by *che-*. Therefore, while *che-dām* and *cho-dām* both change low tone *dàm* 'to go' to mid tone, the resulting *che-dām* has the same pitch contour as *ke-bān* 'NMLZ-be.old', a non-derived sesquisyllabic mid tone stem, while *cho-dām* has a higher pitch contour.

These three differences thus provide converging evidence that *che-* is phonologically/phonetically weaker than *cho-*. Due to the related semantics of *che-* and

cho- in that both function to detransitivize, i.e., *che*- as a reflexive/reciprocal marker and *cho*- as a auto-benefactive/malefactive marker, the following historical scenario can be hypothesized: The origin of *cho*- could be a bimorphemic sequence of *che*- plus another prefix, which was fused while leaving behind these traces of being more than just a typical, sesquisyllabically patterning prefix like *che*-. It is not clear at this point, however, what the second morpheme in that assumed historical morpheme sequence could have been.

CHAPTER IV

WORD CLASSES

This chapter deals with Karbi word classes. It starts with the two major word classes of nouns and verbs (§4.1), and then tackles the question of what the status of property-concept terms or 'adjectives' is in Karbi in §4.2. Specifically, it is argued that property-concept terms are a subclass of verbs, which is substantiated with a number of morphosyntactic tests. The next section §4.3 then offers a summary of the previous two sections by discussing the clausal functions of nouns, verbs, and property-concept terms.

Section §4.4 is devoted to the discussion of the various subclasses of nouns found so far, and a separate section §4.5 gives an overview of pro-forms that include personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative pronouns and pro-adverbs, and pronouns and pro-adverbs of universal quantification. Section §4.6 is about verb subclasses, although the discussion of the large verbal subclass of property-concept terms occurs in §4.2.

In §4.7, frozen prefixes on Karbi nouns and verbs are surveyed. Some of these have long been known and used in the reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphology. Finally, §4.8 goes over several minor word classes, including adverbs, numerals, as well as subordinators and coordinators.

4.1. Nouns and Verbs

There are two cross-linguistic, basic clausal functions of predicate and argument(s), or predication and reference. In Karbi, we have distinct verbal and nominal roots, and there is a statistical correlation such that verbal roots more frequently occur in the element that fulfills the function of predication, and nominal roots more frequently occur in the element that fulfills the function of reference. However, as discussed in the following sections, there is an asymmetry such that an element of any word class can function as the predicate of the clause (without the need of derivational morphology that makes it a verb stem), while nominalization is necessary for a verbal root to function as a noun stem.

Below I will argue that Karbi has old prefixal morphology that distinguishes between nominal and verbal roots, but that the (perhaps younger) verbal suffixal morphology does not help much.

4.1.1. Morphosyntactic Criteria for Nouns and Verbs at the Root Level

The two most frequent prefixes in Karbi are *a-* 'possessive (POSS)' (see §5.3.1) and *ke-* 'nominalizer (NMLZ)' (see §6.4.1). Using these two prefixes, it is possible to divide the Karbi lexicon into three categories: those root that only take *a-* 'POSS' but not *ke-* 'NMLZ', those roots that only take *ke-* 'NMLZ' but not *a-* 'POSS', and finally those roots that take neither. While this last category of items that take neither is a residual category that needs to be further investigated with the help of other morphosyntactic tests, the first two categories are Karbi noun roots and Karbi verb roots. At the root level, all and only Karbi verbs can take the *ke-* 'NMLZ' prefix, e.g., *chō* 'eat' in (9), and all and only Karbi nouns can take the *a-* 'POSS' prefix, e.g., *àn* 'cooked rice' in (10).

(9) (a) *ke-chō*
NMLZ-eat
'eating'

(b) **a-chō*
POSS-eat

(10) (a) **ke-àn*
NMLZ-cooked.rice

(b) *a-àn*
POSS-cooked.rice'
'(particular) rice'

Since *ke-* is a nominalizer, however, the derived stem that carries *ke-* becomes a member of the word class of nouns, and is then eligible to take *a-* 'POSS', as in (11), where the verb root *kú* 'crow (of a rooster)' is nominalized via *ke-* and then takes the possessive *a-*.[68]

(11) *a-ki-kú […]*
POSS-NMLZ-crow
'his crowing (i.e., of a rooster) […]' [SeT, MTN 010]

[68] It should be noted that besides the *a-* 'possessive' prefix, the other personal possessive prefixes (see §5.3.2) should also work as a morphological test for nounhood.

There is thus an asymmetry between these two word-class diagnostic prefixes: the nominalizer *ke-* attaches to roots, while the possessive *a-* attaches to stems.

As for syntactic criteria that distinguish between nouns and verbs, the largely cross-linguistically valid ones apply. For example, nouns head noun phrases in which they may be modified by a range of different elements including demonstratives, numerals (in classifier constructions), or relative clauses (see Chapter VII). Verbs typically form the predicate and occur clause-finally (although nominal predicates do occur in Karbi), and have different restrictions as to what types of predicate constructions they may occur in. There are certain predicate constructions that only verbs occur in, but never nouns (see Chapter VIII).

4.1.2. Lack of Word Class Distinctions with Suffixal Aspect, Modality, and Negation

It is cross-linguistically common that only verb stems may carry morphology dedicated to the marking of tense, aspect, and modality. In Karbi, it is certainly the case that more frequently, verbal hosts have aspectual and modal suffixes attached to them. But aspectual and modal suffixes on nouns, adverbs, or interjections are not unacceptable to Karbi native speakers, when those stems function as non-verbal predicates.

Take as examples the irrealis suffixes *-pò* 'IRR1' and *-jí* 'IRR2' (§6.9.2), which typically go on verb stems, and cover a wide range of irrealis functions, including future, epistemic uncertainty, and past habituals, among others. However, (12) shows that irrealis *-pò* may also attach to content question words such as *kosón* 'how.' In this case, *kosón* functions as a nominal predicate, which translates as 'how will it be?' due to the future reading of the irrealis marker after a preceding conditional clause marked by *-te* 'conditional, if.'

(12) Irrealis *-pò* on content question word *kosón* 'how'
"o neta dak dokokte kosonpo?"
[o nè=tā dāk dō-kòk-te] [kosón-pò]
INTERJ 1EXCL=ADD:DM here stay-firmly-COND how-IRR1
'[…] "oh, if I stay back here, how will it be?" […]' [SH, CSM 062]

Moreover, irrealis *-pò* may attach to other types of nominal stems. In (13), it attaches to the extended classifier stem *e-nūt-vét* 'one person only, alone', which

functions as a noun phrase in this example, and specifically a nominal predicate. Again, the irrealis suggests a future interpretation, translating as '(she) will be alone.'

(13) Irrealis *-pò* on numeral plus classifier *e-nūt* functioning as a nominal stem
anke komat aphansi kipitekangpo, enutvetpo
[ánke [komāt aphān=si] ke-pī-tekáng-pò] e-nūt-vét-pò
and.then who NSUBJ=FOC NMLZ-give-leave-IRR1 one-CLF:human:SG-only-IRR1
'but who will (we) give (her) to, (she) will be alone' [SH, CSM 063]

What holds for irrealis *-pò* also holds for irrealis *-jí*. In (14), *-jí* attaches to *hōk* 'truth', which is clearly recognized as a noun by the possessive prefix *a-*. Here the irrealis has an epistemic reading of expressing uncertainty, 'might (they) be the truth?".

(14) Irrealis *-jí* on nominal *a-hōk* 'POSS-truth'
ai! laso alam abangke ahokjima laho?
ai [lasō a-lám abàng=ke] [a-hōk-jí=ma laho]
how.strange! this POSS-word NPDL=TOP POSS-truth-IRR2=Q EMPH
'oh, might these stories (that the children are telling) be true (lit., the truth)?' [CST, HM 070]

The morphologically interesting word *pinepinanedetjima* in (15) shows quite clearly the range of verbal suffixes that a nominal stem may take, even in natural discourse. Following the derived indefinite stem *pí-nē* 'something' and a reduplicative suffix *~pinā*, which indicates distributive plurality ('any kinds'), we find the negative suffix *-Cē*, the perfective suffix *-dèt*, and the irrealis suffix *-jí*, lastly followed by the question particle *=ma*.

(15) Negative, perfective *-dèt*, and irrealis *-jí* on derived indefinite stem *pí-nē* 'something'
te mo pinepinanedetjima ko jirpo pu
te mò pí-nē~pinā-Cē-dèt-jí=ma ko jīrpō pu
therefore future what-INDEF~DIST.PL-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q buddy:VOC friend QUOT
'and there won't be any (difficulties/problems/dangers), my friend?' [HK, TR 140]

In addition to irrealis *-pò* and *-jí*, which attach to different kinds of nominal stems without any prior requirement of verbalization (though there is a verbalizing prefix *pa-*, see §5.3.3), realis *-lò* also commonly occurs on non-verbal stems, as discussed in §6.9.1.7.

Other verbal suffixes include continuative *-bōm~-bòm*, emphatic *-vèk* 'definitely', and the verbal honorific *-īk*. The typical use of continuative *-bōm~-bòm* on verb stems is

shown with *vàng* ‘come’ in (16) (also see §6.5.6.3), whereas (17) shows that it also occurs on the adverb *lasón* ‘like this, this way’ for a predicate reading of ‘this way / like this it would go on and on.’

(16) Continuative *-bōm~-bòm* on verb stem *vàng* ‘come’
vangbomlo vangbomlo
vàng-bōm-lò vàng-bōm-lò
come-CONT-RL come-CONT-RL
‘(one after the other, i.e. the tigers) keep coming’ [HK, TR 182]

(17) Continuative *-bōm~-bòm* on adverb stem *lasón* ‘like this’
lasonbomlo, haita haipik
lasón-bòm-lò hài=tā hài-pìk
that.way-CONT-RL have.bad.character=ADD:WRT have.bad.character-very
‘this way it would go on and on, as far as bad characters go, she really had a very bad character […]’ [CST, RO 016]

In (18), the certainty marking suffix *-vék* ‘definitely’ occurs on a verb stem, which is where it usually occurs (although more typically with one of the irrealis suffixes *-pò* or *-jí*). But in (19), we find *-vék* ‘definitely’ on the interjection *kalàng* ‘yes’ with the purpose of showing that the speaker emphatically agrees.

(18) *-vék* ‘definitely’ on verb stem *lóng-dùn* ‘get-JOIN’
tangka atibuk longdunvekpo ili
tángká a-tibùk lóng-dùn-vék-pò ì-lì
money POSS-earthen.pot get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON
together we will surely get the earthen pots with money [HK, TR 136]

(19) *-vék* ‘definitely’ on interjection *kalàng* ‘yes’
kalangveklo, la abangke; lapulo di
[kalàng-vék-lò là abàng=ke] [lapù=lo dī]
yes-definitely-RL this NPDL=TOP like.this-RL Q.tag
‘it's very true, this (is), it's like this, isn't it?’ [KaR, SWI 057]

Lastly, (20) and (21) provide another example of a typically verbal suffix used on a noun stem: the formality marker *-īk* (see §12.4.2). In (20), it attaches to the verb stems *chetòng* ‘meet’ and *thán* ‘tell’. Note also that the pronoun *ilitum* carries a separate *-lì*

'honorific' marker, which acts as a nominal honorific/formal counterpart to the verbal *-īk* marker.

(20) Formality marker *-īk* on verb stems

*pini chetong'**ik**loklo, ilitum temole*
pinì chetòng-**īk**-lòk-lò e-**li**-tūm temó=le
today meet-**FRML**-happen.to-RL 1PL.INCL-**HON**-PL story=FOC:IRR

*chethan'**ik**ronglonang*
che-thán-**īk**-ròng-lonāng
RR-tell-**FRML**-instead-lo.HORT
'[…] today we meet, let's tell a story instead (of doing other things)' [CST, HM 002]

In (21), the formality marker *-īk* occurs on the head noun *a-lám* 'POSS-matter' of the noun phrase *non ethe alam* 'another issue', which functions as a nominal predicate in this example.

(21) Formality marker *-īk* on nominal predicate

*non ethe alam'**ik**lo*
nón e-thē a-lám-**īk**-lò
now one-CLF:word/matter POSS-matter-**FRML**-RL
'(let's talk about /) there is another issue' [KaR, SWI 176]

4.1.3. Summary: Nouns and Verbs in Karbi

The evidence presented in §4.1.1 and §4.1.2 shows that there are inherently nominal roots and inherently verbal roots. A pair of diagnostic affixes are the *a-* 'possessive' prefix, which only attaches to nominal roots functioning as stems (or nominal stems derived from verbal roots), and the *ke-* 'nominalizer' prefix, which only attaches to verbal roots. As is the case cross-linguistically, knowing that a particular root belongs to the Karbi word class of verbs predicts that it will most frequently function as the predicate of a clause; knowing that a particular root belongs to the Karbi word class of nouns predicts that it will relatively rarely function as the predicate of a clause, and instead regularly heads a noun phrase in order to indicate reference to an entity.

The evidence presented above has further demonstrated that noun roots/stems do not need to be modified in any way to function as predicates. Nominal predicates may

contain a range of prototypically verbal suffixes including the irrealis modal *-pò* and *-jí* suffixes, aspectual suffixes such as *-dèt* 'perfective', *-bōm~-bòm* 'continuative', the certainty expressing suffix *-vék* 'definitely', the formality marker *-īk*, and even the quasi-reduplicative negative suffix, which perhaps is the most surprising given its tight morphophonological integration with the stem it attaches to as well as considering that there is a negative equational copula *kalī*, which could easily (and does usually) serve to negate nominal predicates (see §4.6.2.2 and §8.1.2).[69] Overall, the ease with which nominal roots or stems function as predicates in Karbi has likely functioned as a catalyst for the grammaticalization of nominalization-based constructions such as nominalized main clause constructions (see §9.7.3), or the development of subordinators from relator nouns (§4.8.3).

As for the other direction, for verbal roots to function as noun stems, nominalization via *ke-* is required (see Chapter IX).

4.2. Verbs and 'Adjectival Verbs': The Status of Property-Concept Terms

The previous section has shown that we can sort roots into the large categories of nouns and verbs. A third major category of word classes in languages of the world are 'adjectives'. I use quotation marks because the term 'adjectives' inherently implies that there is a structural class of adjectives with the semantics of referring to property concepts. The existence of such a class is however not universal across languages of the world, which has been widely shown ever since the publication of Dixon's (1977) 'Where have all the adjectives gone?' In order to talk about the semantic class of 'adjectives' without the implication that they form a lexical category, I will use the expression 'property-concept term' (PCT) (Thompson 1988).

In what follows, I show that there is a tremendous overlap in the kinds of morphosyntactic constructions that simple (i.e., underived) prototypical verb stems and simple stems with the semantics of property-concept terms occur in. One such

[69] As another example of negating a nominal predicate by means of the quasi-reduplicative suffix, consider *tekè* 'tiger' and *tekè-kē* 'it's not a tiger', which was deemed acceptable. However, *tekè kalī* with the syntactic expression of nominal predicate negation via the equational negative copula *kalī* would be the more normal way of saying 'it's not a tiger.'

construction was already discussed above: the prefixation of the nominalizer *ke-*, which occurs on PCT roots just as productively as it occurs on prototypically verbal roots.

Table 55 gives an overview of the morphosyntactic constructions that are discussed in the following sections in an attempt to identify criteria to distinguish between the semantic category of actions or events (i.e., 'verbs') and the semantic category of PCTs (i.e., 'adjectives').

Table 55. Morphosyntactic criteria for the attempt to identify a class of 'adjectives'

Possible PCT class criteria
May take *-mū(-chòt)* 'comparative'
May take *-néi* 'superlative'
"V=tā V-suffixes" intensifier construction
"V pa-V" adverb construction
Possible verbhood criteria
May take aspectual and modal suffixes (May function as the predicate of a clause)
May take an imperative / hortative suffix
Noun modification
May modify nouns (*ke-* 'NMLZ' required)

The following subsections are organized as follows. Before discussing the criteria in Table 55, I provide a list of roots that belong into different semantic types of property concept terms in §4.2.1. Then I discuss the 'possible PCT class criteria' (as listed in Table 55) in §4.2.2, and 'possible verbhood criteria' in §4.2.3, and move on to whether there are differences in 'noun modification' constructions in §4.2.4. The discussion of the various criteria is summarized in §4.2.5, and §4.2.6 surveys some marginal types of PCTs with different morphosyntactic properties.

4.2.1. Basic Property Concept Terms (PCTs)

According to Dixon (1977, 2004), the most basic property concept terms fall under the semantic domains of AGE, DIMENSION, VALUE, and COLOR. Dixon predicts that even languages with very small, closed adjective classes have adjectives that belong into these four semantic domains. According to him, if languages have larger adjective categories, their members will also cover the semantic domains of SPEED, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, and HUMAN PROPENSITY. In Karbi, roots that belong in six of Dixon's seven

domains share the properties discussed in the following sections. All domains except for that of HUMAN PROPENSITY are expressed by roots; some basic ones are given as examples in Table 56.

Table 56. Basic Property-Concept Terms: Karbi sample roots

Type	Sample roots	Gloss
AGE	*bī* *sàr*	'be young, small' 'be old (person)'
DIMENSION	*thī* *thè*	'be short' 'be big'
VALUE	*mē* *henō*	'be good' 'be bad'
COLOR	*lòk* *èt* *lìr* *lù* *èr* *ìk*	'be white' 'be yellow, fair, brown' 'be grue (green, blue)' 'be grue (green, blue)' 'be red' 'be black'
SPEED	*pràp* *inglèn*	'be fast' 'be slow'
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	*ingtāng* *ingdūk* *sò*	'be strong, tough' 'be soft, immature' 'be hot'
HUMAN PROPENSITY	n/a	n/a

The domain of HUMAN PROPENSITY is the only one for which simple roots are not readily found; no such root occurs in the corpus.[70] Instead what we find is that derived stems and complex predication constructions are used to express concepts of HUMAN PROPENSITY. Table 57 offers examples of derived stems and of so-called 'psycho-collocations' (Matisoff 1986), i.e., predicate constructions that involve an obligatory noun like *nīng* 'heart/mind' along with a property-concept term root (for further discussion, see §8.6.2).

[70] Exceptions are metaphorically extended roots, such as *rè* 'be sharp (like, e.g., a blade)', which, just like English, has a metaphoric sense 'be smart, clever' (see, e.g., HK, TR 064).

Table 57. Sample complex stems expressing concepts of HUMAN PROPENSITY

Type	Stem structure	Gloss	Translation
Derived stem	*ch-ingkī-mē*	'RR-talk-GOOD'	'nice to talk to, kind, generous'
	làng-nō	'see-BAD'	'be bad, evil'
Psycho-collocation	*a-nīng ingsām*	'POSS-heart/mind be.cold'	'be glad, happy, be grateful'
	a-nīng aróng	'POSS-heart/mind be.happy'	'be happy'

4.2.2. Possible Property-Concept Term (PCT) Criteria: Gradability, Intensification, Adverb Derivation

What is perhaps most commonly cited as a prototypical semantic characteristic unique to property concept terms is gradability (see, e.g., Croft 2001: 87). That is, the prototypical morphosyntactic property of a word class of adjectives is that it has dedicated constructions to indicate the comparative ('more X') and superlative ('the most X') degrees. In Karbi, this criterion fails to isolate property-concept terms from the larger verb category. First consider (22) and (23), where the comparative suffix *-mūchòt* and the superlative suffix *-néi* attach to the PCT root *thè* 'be big'.

(22) Comparative *-mūchòt* on *thè* 'be big'
*anke ejon nangtetphlut <a…> nang**themuchot***
ánke e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt <a> nang=**thè-mūchòt**
and.then one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O <a.> CIS=**be.big-COMPAR**
'and then, one (tiger) came out (of the jungle or some area in the Rongker ground) and he was bigger (than expected and than the previous one)' [HK, TR 172]

(23) Superlative *-néi* on *thè* 'be big'
*ake**thenei** akehoineilo tangho {'sh!..} vanglo*
a-ke-**thè-néi** akehòi-néi-lò tànghò {'sh} vàng-lò
POSS-NMLZ-**be.big-SPLT** powerful.person-SPLT-RL REP wow! come-RL
'he was the biggest and the most powerful one (so they say) {wow!}... he came' [HK, TR 033]

Compare this to (24), where the same comparative and superlative suffixes attach to the underived, propotypical (i.e., non-PCT) verbal stems *chō* 'eat' and *kán* 'dance'.

(24) *chō-mūchòt* ‘eat-COMPAR’ *kán-mūchòt* ‘dance-COMPAR’
chō-néi ‘eat-SPLT’ *kán-néi* ‘dance-SPLT’
[SiT 130827, elicitation]

The resulting meaning is ‘eat more’, ‘eat the most’, and ‘dance more’ and ‘dance the most’, i.e., quantification of the action or event (‘dancing more’), or, in a sense, quantification of the object in transitive events (‘eating more’). The comparative and superlative constructions are fully productive among roots that may take *ke-* ‘nominalizer’, i.e., both PCT roots and prototypical verb roots (see also §6.5.5.1). Grüßner (1978: 107) even provides the example shown in (25), where the superlative *-néi* attaches to a classifier marked diminutive by *-sō*, in order to get a reading of ‘the smallest [of the given cylindrical items]’.

(25) *a-plàng-sō-néi*
POSS-CLF:cylindrical-DIM-SPLT
‘the smallest (loaf of bread)’ (Grüßner 1978: 107)

I was able to confirm the construction in (25) as a productive pattern, but only with classifiers. In order to use this construction with a common noun, a noun phrase as in (26) needs to be formed so the superlative still occurs on a diminutive marked classifier. Using a noun root in this construction such as **hēm-sō-néi* ‘house-DIM-SPLT’ is unacceptable.

(26) *hēm* *a-hūm-sō-néi*
house POSS-CLF:container-DIM-SPLT
‘the smallest house’

Lastly, also note that there is another superlative construction, which consists of the suffix *-sí* attaching to nominal PCTs, as in (27) (see §5.4.5).

(27) *ne-ìk* *a-klèng-sí*
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-old.one-SPLT
‘my oldest brother’

It turns out then that gradability is not a useful criterion for differentiating a word class of property-concept terms (PCTs) in Karbi. Comparative and especially superlative constructions by no means exclusively take PCT roots.

Another construction semantically related to gradability that can be considered in the search for constructions that distinguish between PCT roots and prototypical verb roots is the "V=*tā* V-suffixes" copy verb construction (see §12.2.3.2). It has an intensifying function, which may be more prototypically related to property-concept terms rather than actions or events. However, (28) and (29) show that not only PCT roots like *mē* 'be good', but also prototypical verb roots like *lè* 'reach' participate in this construction.

(28) "V=*tā* V-suffixes" construction with PCT root *mē* 'be.good'
*"nang vangchitlo! **meta melo**" pu tangho* (both laughing)
[nàng vàng-chìt-lò] **[mē=tā mē-lò]** pu tànghò
you come-just.right-RL be.good=ADD be.good-RL QUOT REP
'"you came just right, it's very good" (he) said (*both laughing*)' [HK, TR 082]

(29) "V=tā V-suffixes" construction with verb root *lè* 'reach'
lasi laso adakke tovarta mesen apot
lasì lasō a-dàk=ke továr=tā mē-sén apōt
therefore this POSS-road.inbetween=TOP road=ADD be.good-INTENS because

***leta ledappranglo** Bokolia'an*
lè=tā lè-dàppràng-lò Bokoliá-án
reach=ADD reach-early-RL PN-till
'so for this stretch, the road was good, and so we reached Bokolia early' [SH, CSM 012]

Lastly, the most promising candidate among morphosyntactic constructions with the potential to uniquely identify PCT roots as a distinct word class is a derivational adverb construction. It consists of the main verb stem followed by a modifying root that carries the causative prefix *pe-* (§8.3.2). An example is (30), where *tòk* 'pound' is modified by *pe-mé* 'CAUS-be.good' to mean 'pound well'.

(30) Derivational adverb construction
lapente menthuta ekdom langpong tok peme
lapènte menthū=tā ékdóm langpōng [tòk **pe-mé]**
after.this dried.fish=ADD EXCM(<Asm) small.bamboo.container pound **CAUS-be.good**
'after that, you need to pound the dried fish in the Langpong well' [SiH, KH 011]

It appears that prototypically verbal roots do not participate in this construction. For example, it is not possible to say **dàm pa-vèk* 'go CAUS-steer/drive' to mean 'go by driving' or **ch-ingkī paháng* 'RR-talk CAUS-shout' to mean 'talk to one another by shouting'.

However, this construction is not entirely productive with (basic) PCTs either. For example, *tún pa-mé* 'cook CAUS-be.good' to mean 'cook well' is acceptable, but *tún pa-henō* 'cook CAUS-be.bad' to mean 'cook poorly, badly' is not acceptable.[71]

4.2.3. Possible Verbhood Criteria: Aspectual and Modal Suffixes, Directives

Among morphosyntactic constructions that are prototypically verbal, predication is not a useful one in Karbi because different types of nominal and pronominal stems quite easily function as predicates (§4.1.2). It comes as no surprise then that PCT roots also easily function as predicates and take a range of aspectual and modal suffixes. Examples are (31) and (32), in which *mén* 'be ready to eat' and *mē* 'be good' function as predicates and take the perfect suffix *-ét* 'already' with realis *-lò* in (31), and the negative quasi-reduplicative, the perfective suffix *-dèt* and realis *-lò* in (32), respectively.

(31) PCT root/stem with aspectual/modal suffixes
lasi "vangnoi, po! han an men'etló […]"
lasì vàng-nōi pō hán àn mèn-ét-lò
therefore come-INFRML.COND.IMP father curry rice be.ready.to.eat-PRF-RL
'and then, "come, father, the food is ready […]"' [KK, CC 036]

(32) PCT root/stem with aspectual/modal suffixes
laso Nagaonpen Karbi Anglong laso ahoipen lapu'an anke
[lasō Nagaon=pen Karbì Anglóng] [lasō a-hōi=pen lapú-án ánke]
this PLACE=from PLACE this POSS-boundary=from this.side-till and.then

tovar mesen nangji apotlo, bonseta tovarta'an memedetlo
továr mē-sén náng-jí apōtlo bónsetā továr=tā=án **mē-Cē-dèt-lò**
road be.good-INTENS need-IRR2 should but road=ADD=all **be.good-NEG-PFV-RL**
'[…] the boundary between Nagaon and Karbi Anglong, from the boundary, up to this side, the road should be good, but the road is not good at all' [SH, CSM 022]

[71] However, it is possible to say *tún pa-lang-nō* 'cook CAUS-look-BAD' with that meaning.

Even though a range of declarative verbal suffixes occur with simple stems consisting of PCT roots in the corpus, there is no instance of a PCT root occurring with directive suffixes such as conative imperative *-thā*, conditioned imperatives *-nōn* and *-nōi*, prohibitive *-rī*, and hortative *-nāng* and conative hortative *-nàng* (§11.1.2 and §11.1.3). Instead, where PCT roots occur with directive suffixes, they also take the causative prefix *pe-~pa-* as in (33). In this example, *pa-* is obligatory.

(33) PCT root with *pe-~pa-* 'causative' and directive suffix
paprapnang ho {mm}
pe-pràp-nàng ho {mm}
CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON EMPH:INTERACT AFF
'let's try to be quick (i.e., with our Rongker)' [HK, TR 155]

This may not be a general characteristic of non-volitional events, as shown in (34), where the lexicalized collocations *nīng vàng* 'mind come' and *phú sò* 'head be hot' have the meaning of 'throw up' and 'have a fever', and can occur with the prohibitive suffix *-rī*.

(34) *nang-nīng vàng-rī* *nang-phú sò-rī*
2POSS-mind come-PROH 2POSS-head be.hot-PROH
'don't throw up!' 'don't have a fever!' [SiT 130825]

Besides *sò* 'be hot' in the expression for 'have a fever', the PCT *thè* 'be big' also takes a directive suffix, as in *thè-thā* 'be.big-CON.IMP', which may be said to children with the meaning 'grow up (well)!'. It is not clear whether *thè* in this case is the PCT 'be big' or a case of polysemy, where it is actually a verb with the meaning 'grow up'.

All in all then, evidence from directive suffixes does point towards a distinction between 'proper' verbs and PCTs. Being more of a semantic rather than a structural issue, however, this is not the kind of evidence we might want to strongly rely on to talk about a separate word class of adjectives.

4.2.4. Noun Modification

The last morphosyntactic construction that deserves mention here is evidence from noun modification. It was previously assumed (see Grüßner (1978) and Konnerth

(2011), which was based on data in Grüßner (1978)) that the noun modification constructions of PCT roots and prototypical verb roots show a clear syntactic difference. While both are marked morphologically the same, i.e., nominalization via *ke-*, the order of head noun and modifier appeared to mark a clear difference: PCT-based modifiers are post-head, whereas prototypical verb-based relative clauses are pre-head. Elicited PCT-based modifiers and prototypical verb-based relative clauses have shown the same pattern.

It turns out, however, that this clear distinction does not hold up against a large body of natural data. There are instances in the corpus of pre-head PCT-based modifiers and there is one potential instance of a post-head relative clause (although it is impossible to distinguish in purely structural terms a simple (i.e., verb-only) post-head relative clause from a simple internally-headed relative clause in a verb-final language such as Karbi).

Noun modification nominalization constructions are discussed in detail in §7.7.1, but relevant examples are repeated here: (35) shows a 'standard' post-head PCT-based modifier, (36) a 'standard' pre-head prototypical verb-based relative clauses, (37) a pre-head PCT-based modifier, and (38) what can be interpreted as a post-head, but also as an internally-headed, relative clause.

(35) PCT root following the head noun it modifies

*methan atum'anke abangke ha **kasu keme***

[[methān a-tūm-án=ke] abàng=ke] há **[[kasú]$_{HN}$ [ke-mē]$_{PCT}$**
dog POSS-PL-all=TOP NPDL=TOP over.there(<KhJ) plate NMLZ-be.good

***harlung keme**pen langta junlong anta*

[harlūng]$_{HN}$ [ke-mē]$_{PCT}$ =pen] [[lāng=tā jùn-lōng] [àn=tā
bowl NMLZ-be.good=with water=ADD:COORD drink-GET rice=ADD:COORD

cholong, pirtheta bangke, mh

chō-lōng]] [pirthé=tā bàng=ke] mh
eat-GET world=ADD:EXH NPDL=TOP DSM

'all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything [KK, BMS 056]

(36) Relative clause verb preceding the head noun it modifies

Lily, la nelitum aphan nangkejapon aosopi,

Lilý **[là [ne-li-tūm aphān nang=ke-já-pòn]$_{RC}$ [a-osopì]]$_{HN}$**
NAME **this 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lead-take.away POSS-lady**

elong adim dosi computer akam klemlo
e-lòng a-dím dō-si computer a-kám klém-lò]
one-CLF:place POSS-place exist-NF:RL computer(<Eng) POSS-work do-RL
'[…] Lily, the lady who took us there, she stayed in one place and did her computer work, and she said to us, <enjoy yourselves as much as you want>' [SiT, HF 034]

(37) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *dúk* 'be poor'
*halata **kidukthektik amonitlo***
hála=tā **[ke-dúk-thektík a-monít-lò]**
that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL
'that one also is an unimaginably poor man' [HK, TR 128]

(38) Possibly post-head relative clause
nangso kithike enutnat, nesoke
[[nang-osō ke-thì=ke] e-nūt-nàt] [ne-osō=ke
2:POSS-child NMLZ-die=TOP one-CLF:HUM:SG-only 1EXCL:POSS-child=TOP

bangthrok phosi kithi.
[bàng-thrōk phō=si] ke-thì]
CLF:HUM:PL-six five=FOC NMLZ-die
'only one child of yours has died, but of mine, so many (lit. five, six) have died' [RBT, ChM 043]

4.2.5. Summary: Basic Property-Concept Terms (PCTs)

To summarize the discussion above, consider Table 58, which is based on Table 55 above, but has added columns that show the participation of prototypical verb roots and PCT roots in each construction.

Table 58. Possible morphosyntactic criteria for 'adjectives'

Possible adjective class criteria	Prototypical Verbs	PCTs
May take *-mū(-chòt)* 'comparative'	YES	YES
May take *-néi* 'superlative'	YES	YES
"V=tā V-inflection" intensifier construction	YES	YES
"V pa-V" adverb construction	**NO**	**SOME**
Possible verbhood criteria		
May take aspectual and modal suffixes (May function as the predicate of a clause)	YES	YES
May take an imperative / hortative suffix	**YES**	**Mostly NO**
Noun modification		
May modify nouns (*ke-* 'NMLZ' required)	**YES, pre-head or post-/internal-head**	**YES, post-head or pre-head**

Printed in **bold** in this table are those three constructions that do show a difference between prototypical verb roots and PCT roots, whereas all the other constructions do not. Out of the three constructions, there is not a single one that shows the kind of clear evidence that one would comfortably use to argue in favor of a really distinct adjective class. I conclude that 'adjectives', or basic PCT roots, are a subclass of verbs in Karbi.

4.2.6. Marginal Types of Property-Concept Term (PCT) Constructions

The majority of PCTs share the properties laid out in the previous sections and summarized in §4.2.5. But there are a few other, marginal types of PCT constructions that occur in the corpus and should be mentioned. Compared to the properties shared by basic PCTs, these PCT constructions appear not to be productive: there are very small sets of items that can occur in these constructions. They are listed in Table 59, which also references relevant examples given below. Note that most of these PCTs have semantics related to SIZE, which is one of the core semantic categories of 'adjectives' according to Dixon (1977).

Table 59. Marginal types of property-concept term constructions

	Form	Gloss	Pre- or Post-head	Example
Nominal, non-reduplicated	*aklèng*	'old one'	post-head	(39),(41)
	adakvám	'second-born one'	post-head	(40),(41)
Nominal, reduplicated	*achitchit*	'tiny'	pre-head	(42)
	ajerjer	'small'	post-head	(43)
PCT.root-pō derived	*thè-pō*	'big-MODIF'[72]	post-head	(44)
	thè-pī	'big-AUGMENT'	post-head	(45)
	díng-pō	'long-MODIF'	post-head	(46)
Borrowed	*paká*	'very good'	post-head	(47)
			pre-head	(48)
	bharí	'very big'	post-head	(49)
			pre-head	(45),(46)
Other	*penáng*	'a lot'	post-head	(50)

[72] The 'modifier' suffix *-pō* appears to derive modifiers from PCT roots, but it is not synchronically productive.

(39) *Aklèng* as nominal modifier

*nangong **akleng** ahemke nangong*
[nang-ōng **a-klèng** a-hēm=ke] [nang-ōng
2:POSS-maternal.uncle **POSS-old.one** POSS-house=TOP 2:POSS-maternal.uncle

ahemripo ahemke la'an abang
a-hēm'rī-pō a-hēm=ke] la-án abàng
POSS-oldest.son-male POSS-house=TOP this-that.much NPDL

ki'ikrintile putangho
ke-ìk-rintí=le pù-tànghò
NMLZ-be.black-equally:PL:S/A=FOC:IRR QUOT-REP
'the family of your older maternal uncle, the family of your uncle who is the eldest son of the family, all of them are so black (so you shouldn't get your wife from them)' [WR, BCS 014]

(40) *Adakvám* as nominal modifier

*Ke'et abang aphanlo... nangong **adakvam***
ke-èt abàng a-phān=lo] [nang-ōng **adakvám**
NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL POSS-NSUBJ=FOC 2:POSS-maternal.uncle **second.born**

ahemsi kene asopi arje
a-hēm=si] kenē [a-oso-pì arjè
POSS-house=LOC HESIT POSS-child-female appearance

kemerintihe po nang hadak Bey
ke-mē-rintí=he] [pō nàng hádāk Bēy
NMLZ-be.good-equally:PL:S/A=you.know father you there CLAN

Ki'ik ahemsi nang piso hangdamrong
ke-ìk a-hēm=si nàng pīsō hàng-dām-ròng]
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=LOC 2 wife call-GO-instead
'it's to your second-born (maternal uncle), you know, to Bey the Fair (that you should go and ask for a wife), at your second-born maternal uncle's house, his daughters are all equally beautiful, you know, father, you went there to the house of Bey the Black to ask for a wife instead' [WR, BCS 013]

(41) *Aklèng* and *adakvám* as nouns

*Bey atum korte bangkethom do; **aklengsi** abangke*
[Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō] **[a-klèng-sí** abàng=ke
CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist **POSS-old.one-SPLT** NPDL=TOP

Bey Ki'ik, adakvam abangke Bey Ke'et,
Bēy ke-ìk] [adakvám abàng=ke Bēy ke-èt
CLAN NMLZ-be.black second.child NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

akibi abangke Bey Ronghang
[a-ke-bī abàng=ke Bēy Ronghāng]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=TOP CLAN CLAN
'there were three Bey brothers, the oldest one was Bey the Black, the second one was Bey the Fair, and the small one was Bey Ronghang' [WR, BCS 002]

(42) *Achitchit* preceding its head
penke damsi isi aporke Kohima rongsopi lelo... laso
pèn=ke dàm-si isī a-pór=ke Kóhìmà ròngsōpī lè-lò lasō
and.then=TOP go-NF:RL one POSS-time=TOP PLACE town reach-RL this

*adak isi hini **achitchit** arong kephopon do*
a-dāk **[isī hiní achítchít a-ròng]** ke-phō-pōn dō
POSS-road.inbetween one two tiny POSS-village NMLZ-reach-in.passing exist
'and then we went and at one o'clock, we reached Kohim Town..., one the road inbetween / up to there, there were one or two tiny villages that we had crossed [SiT, HF 017]

(43) *Ajerjer* following its head noun
*atema **ajerjer** do mati ho*
[a-temá **ajerjēr]** dō matí hò
POSS-tobacco.container(<Asm) **small** exist CG EMPH:INTERACT
'he had a small tobacco container, OK?' [HK, TR 018]

(44) *thè-pō* 'big (< *thè* 'be big' and *-pō* 'MODIF') following its head noun
*anke ha langso asiluka **thepota** pulelo*
ánke há [langsō a-sílukā the-**pō**=tā] pù-lè-lò
and.then over.there this POSS-sp.tree(<Asm) **be.big-MODIF**=ADD:DM say-again-RL
'and then, there, this big siluka tree replied (said again)' [KK, BMS 107]

(45) *thè-pī* 'big (< *thè* 'be big' and *-pī* 'AUGMENT') following its head noun and *bharí* 'very big (<Ind)' preceding its head noun
*la **bhari** talo **thepi** nangkekapji kopuloma*
là **[bharí** taló **the-pī]** nang=ke-káp-jí kopú=lo=ma
this **very.big(<Ind)** sea **be.big-AUGMENT** CIS=NMLZ-cross.water-IRR2 how=FOC=Q
'how will we be able to cross the huge sea?' [KK, BMS 100]

(46) *díng-pō* ‘long (< *ding* ‘be long’ and *-pō* ‘MODIF’) following its head noun and *bharí* ‘very big (<Ind)’ preceding its head noun [73]

***bhari** arleng **dingpo** arluló*
[bharí arlèng **dīng-pō]** arlū-lò
very.big(<Ind) slope **be.long-MODIF** climb-RL
‘and she climbed a very big slope’ [SeT, MTN 046]

(47) *paká* ‘very good(<Ind)’ following its head noun

anbor chipurlo amethang la apo abang
àn-bòr che-pūr-lò a-metháng là a-pō abàng
rice-wrapped.bundle RR-open.unfold-RL POSS-self this POSS-father NPDL

a'anbor hanbor tangte an kelok
a-àn-bòr hán-bòr tángtē àn ke-lòk
POSS-rice-wrapped.bundle curry-wrapped.bundle TOP rice NMLZ-be.white

*angthip pura pura ekdom han **paka***
angthíp purá purá ékdóm [hán **paká]**
unbroken.rice all(<Asm) all(<Asm) EXCM(<Asm) curry **very.good(<Ind)**
'they opened their rice bundles, and then when the father opened his own rice and curry bundles, all of it only the white unbroken (=the best) rice, oh so good, very good curry' [CST, RO 035]

(48) *paká* ‘very good(<Ind)’ preceding its head noun

***paka** angplum khaipiklo*
[paká a-ingplùm] khái-pìk-lò
very.good(<Ind) POSS-sprouts grow-very-RL
‘[…] it is sprouting very nicely […]’ [HK, TR 149]

(49) *bharí* ‘very big (<Ind)’ following its head noun

*[...] langso atalo **bhari***
langsō [a-taló **bharí]**
this POSS-sea very.big(<Ind)
‘[…] this huge sea’ [KK, BMS 044]

[73] Note that there is another occurrence of *-pō* ‘big(?)’ in the corpus, where it is a lot less clear whether it’s a productive use of *-pō*, or an idiosyncratic, lexicalized instance. This is *ingnar nothongpo* ‘deaf elephant’, a character in a folk story (note also the use of *-pō* and *-pī* in animal species names in §5.4.1):

*[...] **ingnar nothongpo** aphan arjudamlo*
[ingnàr nothōng-pō aphān] arjū-dām-lò]
elephant deaf-male NSUBJ ask-GO-RL
'[…] he went to ask the deaf elephant' [RBT, ChM 032]

(50) *penáng* ‘a lot’ following its head noun
[…] photo ***penang*** *endunlo*
[photó **penáng]** ēn-dūn-lò
photo(<Eng) a.lot take-JOIN-RL
‘ […] (we) took many photos’ [SiT, HF 035]

4.3. Summary: The Clausal Functions of Nouns, Verbs, and Property-Concept Terms (PCTs)

Croft (2001: 99) offers a figure that shows a semantic map of English parts of speech constructions, mapping particular constructions that English nouns, adjectives, and verbs occur in onto the three basic clausal functions of reference, modification, and predication. In Figure 13, I have copied Croft’s visual representation for mapping parts of speech constructions onto clausal functions for Karbi without, however, providing details of different constructions. Instead I have limited this figure to a very basic, and in that sense simplified, picture of the clausal functions of noun, PCT, and verb roots in Karbi.

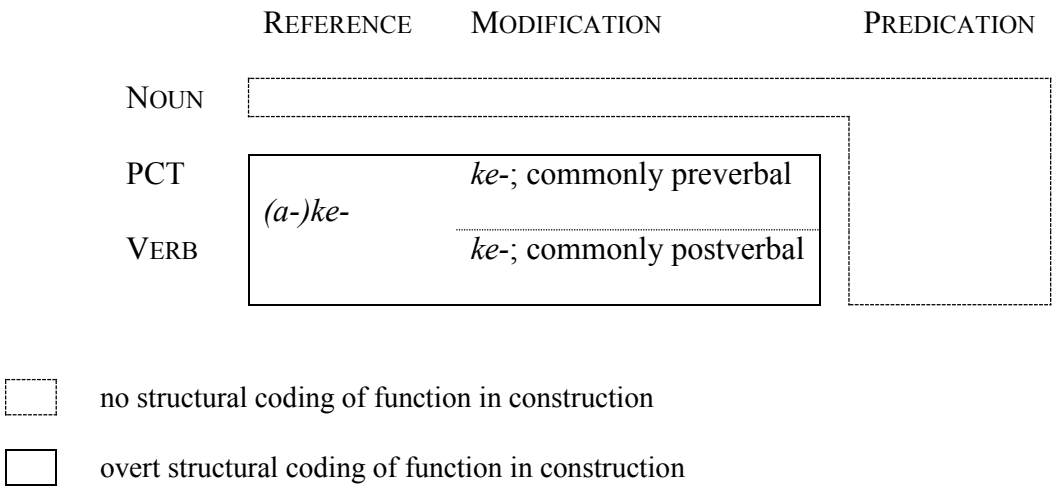

Figure 13. Semantic map of basic clausal functions of Karbi parts of speech (following Croft's (2001: 99) model)

What is striking about Figure 13 is that nouns can assume any clausal function without overt marking, and that noun, PCT, and verb roots all can function as the predicate of a clause without overt marking. Furthermore, basic PCT and prototypical

verb roots basically pattern the same, although I indicate the different syntactic tendencies in noun modification by the narrowly dotted line.

While I have shown nouns (§4.1.2) and PCTs (§4.2.3) in predicate function, as well as PCTs and prototypical verbs marked by *ke-* 'nominalizer' in modification function (§4.2.4), and a verb marked by *a-ke-* 'POSS-NMLZ-' in reference function (§4.1.1), what is still missing are examples of an unmarked noun in modification function and a PCT root marked by *a-ke-* 'POSS-NMLZ-' in reference function. These are given in (51) and (52), respectively.

(51) Unmarked *richó* 'king' as a modifier (possessor) of *sōpī* 'daughter'
***richo** asopi abang ha langhe lang kachinglu...*
[**richó** a-oso-pì] abàng há lānghē lāng ke-chinglú]
king POSS-child-FEM NPDL over.there washing.place water NMLZ-take.bath
'[…] the daughter of the king was taking a bath there at the washing place […]' [RBT, ChM 026]

(52) *helō* 'be far' marked nominalized and possessed in reference function
***akehelo**pen <nang> kevang apot*
a-ke-helō=pen <nang=> ke-vàng apōt
POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from nang= NMLZ-come because
'[…] since she has come from far away […]' [SH, CSM 048]

4.4. Noun Subclasses

Second after proper nouns, the largest word class that we can consider a subclass of nouns are classifiers, which are discussed in §4.4.1. In turn, classifiers create subclasses of nouns by virtue of being classifiers. Some nouns are not enumerated in a classifier constructions, however, but instead are directly modified by numerals; information on this is found in §4.4.2. Section §4.4.3 briefly discusses how nouns with human/personified referents are treated differently from nouns with non-human/non-personified referents in Karbi grammar. Section §4.4.4 is about relator nouns, i.e., those words that function the same way adpositions do in other languages. In §4.4.5, the subclass of those nouns that need to carry a possessive prefix is investigated, including body part and kinship terms. Note that relator nouns as well as body part and kinship terms all need to be considered bound roots since they require a possessive prefix in order

to occur in an utterance. Nevertheless, the completely different clausal function of relator nouns compared to body part and kinship terms advocates fo their discussion in separate sections. Lastly, §4.4.6 offers a brief discussion of frozen nominal prefixes given by Grüßner (1978).

4.4.1. Classifiers

Numerals typically require classifiers in order to form a classifier-numeral word that can then be used in noun modification (for an exception to this general principle, see §4.4.2 and §7.7.2.1.4 for the 'non-classifier' or 'direct enumeration' construction). Classifiers can be categorized into groups depending on which of three different constructions they occur in: a) the typical classifier construction (see §7.7.2.1.1); b) the self-referential classifier construction (see §7.7.2.1.2); and c) the 'not fully grammaticalized' construction (see §7.7.2.1.3). In addition, in the case of typical classifiers and not fully grammaticalized classifiers, we can distinguish whether classifiers are 'true', i.e., sortal classifiers, or mensural classifiers; this distinction does not occur within the class of self-referential classifiers, as they classify themselves. The five different types of classifiers that emerge from this categorization are shown in Table 60.

Table 60. Classifier types

SORTAL	MENSURAL
Typical classifiers	Typical classifiers
Not fully grammaticalized classifiers	Not fully grammaticalized classifiers
Self-referential classifiers	

In the sections that follow, §4.4.1.1 gives an overview of sortal classifiers (including 'typical' and 'not fully grammaticalized' ones), §4.4.1.2 an overview of mensural classifiers (likewise including 'typical' and 'not fully grammaticalized' ones), and §4.4.1.3 lists self-referential classifiers.

Classifiers represent a subclass of nouns in that they may take the possessive/modified *a-* prefix (§4.1.1). In (53), the speaker uses the classifier *-púm* for round objects to refer to a 'tube-shaped' object, here specifically the top tube of a bicycle.

In this example, the classifier functions just like a noun, evidenced not only by prefixing *a-* 'possessive', but also by being modified by *ingchìn* 'iron', and occurring in the relator noun construction with *-lòng* 'LOC'.

(53) Classifier for round objects *-púm* functioning as a head noun 'tube'
lapenke hala kangni adim along ingnithekthesi <a>
lapèn=ke [hála ke-ingnì a-dím a-lòng] ingnì-thēk-Cē-si
and.then=TOP that NMLZ-sit POSS-place POSS-LOC sit-see-NEG-NF:RL

*si ingchin **apum** along ingnisi... saikel*
sì [[ingchìn **a-púm]** a-lòng] ingnì-si... saikél
therefore iron **POSS-CLF:round** POSS-LOC sit-NF:RL bicycle(<Eng)

kevekponlo
ke-vèk-pōn-lò
NMLZ-steer-take.away-RL
'and then, he doesn't know how to sit down on that sitting place (seat), and then on the iron bar (/top tube) he sits and steers the bicycle away' [SiT, PS 024]

Some classifiers appear to only occur with *a-* 'possessive' in a universal quantification construction that additionally requires suffixation of *-tín* 'each', as in (54); further research is required to confirm this.

(54) Human singular classifier *nūt* with *a-* 'possessive' and *-tín* 'each'
*anke osomar atumta **anuttin**ta*
ánke osō-mār a-tūm=tā **a-nūt-tín**=tā
and.then child-PL POSS-PL=ADD:even POSS-CLF:HUM:SG(<Khs)-each=ADD:EXH

arep amoi kesolo
a-rēp a-mòi ke-sò-lò
POSS-side POSS-back NMLZ-hurt-RL
'and then, even the children as well, each of them, had their waist and back hurting […]' [SH, CSM 070]

Of course many classifiers have their origins in and still synchronically exist side-by-side with true nouns, in which case they have a regular noun counterpart. One could consequently argue that whenever *a-* occurs on a 'classifier', that instance actually represents the noun and not the classifier. However, *nūt* in (54) is a good test case because it is a classifier borrowed from Khasi, as Joseph (2009) has convincingly argued,

and thus does not originate in a native Karbi noun. Still *nūt* may occur with *a-* 'possessive' and *-tín* 'each', which provides evidence for arguing that classifiers are a subgroup of nouns.

In addition to classifiers forming a subclass, each group of nouns classified by one particular classifier of course also forms a subclass of nouns.

4.4.1.1. Sortal Classifiers

Sortal classifiers are 'true' classifiers in the sense that they actually 'classify' or 'sort' nouns into categories, in Karbi specifically only when they are counted (although see §7.7.2.6.1 for the grammaticalization of an indefinite article from a classifier-numeral word counting 'one' item). As we would expect, the great majority of sortal classifiers are typical, i.e. fully grammaticalized, classifiers (§4.4.1.1.1), but there is one, presumably one of the most frequently used classifiers, that is not fully grammaticalized, which is the human plural classifier *bàng*, discussed in §4.4.1.1.2.

4.4.1.1.1. Typical Classifiers

Table 61 offers a list of grammaticalized sortal classifiers. The 'source' column specifies whether a particular classifier is recorded in my corpus ('C') and/or by Grüßner (1978) ('G').[74] The classifiers are sorted by semantic category for presentational purposes. Due to space constraints, possibly related Karbi lexical or grammatical items and/or Tibeto-Burman cognates are given in footnotes as opposed to another column.

Table 61. List of sortal classifiers that occur in typical classifier construction (G = Grüßner (1978: 68-70))

Category	Classifier	Gloss / Description	Classified items	Source
Animate	*nūt*[75]	'CLF:HUM:SG(<Khs)'	one human being (only used for singular reference)	C/G
	dón	'CLF:family'	families/houses (in a village)	C/G

[74] For the items recorded by Grüßner only but not in the present corpus, a characterization of what is classified is provided instead of a full gloss.

[75] From Standard Khasi reconstructed form **shi-ngut* or Pnar reconstructed form **chi-ngut* (Joseph 2009).

	jōn[76]	'CLF:animal'	animals: dogs, tigers, birds	C/G
	rōng	'CLF:plant'	referring to the plant as a whole (e.g., trees)	C/G
Physical properties	*hòng*	'CLF:long.cylindrical'	long, cylindrical items: arms, legs, table legs, jambili athons (Karbi totem, see Figure 4 in §1.1.3), matches (G)	C/G
	pàk[77]	'CLF:flat'	medium- to large-sized flat items: knives, shovels, books, shirts, bamboo mats	C/G
	plàng	'CLF:small.flat'	small flat items: baked items,	C/G
	púm	'CLF:round'	round items: e.g. round fruits like oranges, apples, eggs	C/G
	jèng[78]	long/thin[79]	hair	G
	krì	'CLF:line'	long, flat items: strips of meat	C/G
	rī	long/thick	ropes	G
Functional properties	*hùm*	'CLF:house'	houses, busses (G), packs of cigarettes (G)	C/G
	pòng	bigger containers	water containers made from bamboo	G
	bòng	smaller containers	cups/bowls	G
	thē	fruit and animal calls[80]	oranges, animal calls	G
	bè[81]	tools with handles	brooms	G
Nature and environment	*kròng*	'CLF:road'	roads, paths	C/G
	jài[82]	fields	paddy fields	G
	ròi	water areas, moving waters	rivers	G
	mū	grains, seeds	rice grains	G

[76] Perhaps from *arjōn* 'length of an animal from head to tail' (Grüßner 1978: 66).

[77] This may be cognate with Meithei *pak* 'be broad, be wide' (Chelliah 1997: 335).

[78] Presumably from *jèng* 'thread' (Grüßner 1978: 66).

[79] See footnote 74.

[80] Like with *jōn* (see below) Grüßner (1978: 68) suggests there is only one classifier *thē*, where we may want to pose two homophonous classifiers based on the highly diverging semantics.

[81] Presumably from *bè* 'handle (n.)'.

[82] Presumably from *jāi* 'EE:rīt (field)'.

	pháng[83]	bush, shrub	bamboo bush	G
Generics/ Abstract items	*sòn*	'CLF:thing'	"things" (*hormú* 'thing'), words, songs, matters, news; also: for kinds/types of items (e.g. drums),	C/G
	thē	'CLF:word'	words, matters, issues	C/G
	lòng[84]	'CLF:place'	markets (G),	C/G
Time	*jōn*[85]	'CLF:month'	months	C/G

4.4.1.1.2. Not Fully Grammaticalized Classifier *bàng* 'CLF:HUM:PL'

The plural human classifier *bàng* is the only sortal classifier attested so far that is not fully grammaticalized, as evidenced by the fact that independent instead of bound numerals are used for 'two' and 'three' (but not 'one', since only *nūt* is used to count 'one person').

Form	Gloss	Classifies	Source	Lexical origin
bàng	'CLF:HUM:PL'	humans (plural only)	C/G	*bàng* 'body'

This is shown in (55), where *bàng* takes the independent numeral *hiní* 'two' instead of the bound numeral *-ní*, which in the same example occurs in the first line on the typical classifier *púm*. In (56), *bàng* occurs with the independent numeral *kethòm* 'three' instead of bound *-thòm ~ -thōm*.

(55) Text example of *bàng-hiní* 'CLF:HUM:PL-two'

an laso a'oso abang thesere pumni hala
án [lasō a-osō abàng] [theseré púm-ní] [[hála
and.then this POSS-child NPDL fruits CLF:round-two that

ajirpo ***banghini*** *aphan chepaklangdamlo*
a-jirpò **bàng-hiní**] aphān] che-pa-klàng-dām-lò
POSS-friend **CLF:HUM:PL-two** NSUBJ RR-CAUS-appear-go-RL
'and then, this boy went to show the two pieces of fruit to those two friends' [SiT, PS 040]

[83] The same form **phaŋ* is reconstructed for Proto-Bodo-Garo as a "classifier for plants" (Joseph and Burling 2006: 120).

[84] Presumably related to the relator noun *-lòng* 'LOC'.

[85] Grüßner (1978: 67) suggests there is only one classifier *jōn* that is used to enumerate both animals and months (as well as moons and, according to him, eyes). I have kept the two separate here.

(56) Text example of *bàng-kethòm* 'CLF:HUM:PL-three'
*hako ahut hedi, Bey atum korte **bangkethom** do tangho*
[hakó ahūt hedī] [Bēy a-tūm] [kortè **bàng-kethòm]** dō tànghò
that.time during EMPH TITLE POSS-PL brother **CLF:HUM:PL-three** exist REP
'in the old days, you know, right?, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

The classifier *bàng* must have grammaticalized from the noun *bàng* 'body', which must also be the origin of the indefinite *bàng* 'somebody'. Presumably the classifier has then also given rise to what I call here the 'noun phrase delimiter' *abàng* (see §10.5). The noun *bàng* 'body' also occurs in a grammaticalized construction, in which it is used with a personal possessive pronoun instead of just the personal pronoun by itself, seemingly in order to specifically refer to a person's physical presence, as in (57).

(57) *Nang-bàng* '2:POSS-body' used instead of *nàng* 'you'
"O vo'arbipi, nangbang doma?", pulo, "Do."
[[o vōarbí-pī nang-bàng dō=ma] pù-lò] [dō]
VOC sp.bird-female 2:POSS-body stay=Q say-RL stay
'O Voarbipi, are you there?', (the king and his people) said, '(I) am (here).' [RBT, ChM 039]

4.4.1.2. Mensural Classifiers

Unlike sortal classifiers, mensural classifiers are not 'true' classifiers in the sense that they do not 'classify' items but only 'measure' them. Presumably all languages have a way of expressing mensural classification, whereas sortal classification is a typological feature limited to certain parts of the world, Southeast Asia being a prominent one.

Some mensural classifiers are grammaticalized and occur in the 'typical classifier' construction that sortal classifiers in Table 61 in §4.4.1.1.1 occur in as well (which is a good reason to call both types 'classifiers'). They are listed in §4.4.1.2.1. Others are not fully grammaticalized, and may even be created ad hoc; these are discussed in §4.4.1.2.2.

4.4.1.2.1. Typical Classifiers

Table 62 offers a list of mensural classifiers that appear in the 'typical' classifier construction, i.e., including a head noun and a numeral-classifier word that consists of a

classifier and a bound numeral. The classifiers are sorted into semantic categories for presentational purposes.

Table 62. List of mensural classifiers (G = Grüßner (1978: 68-70))

Category	Form	Gloss / Description	Measured items	Source	Possible lexical origin
Animate	*jàk*	group[86]	people, animals	G	
	hùr	group	people, animals	G	
Food and drink	*óm*	'CLF:mouthful'	mouthfuls	C/G	*ing'òm* 'cheek', 'to carry in mouth'
	jói	sip, drink	liquor	G	
	ván	share, portion	rice, curry	G	*ván* 'id. (n.)'
	bō	pieces of naturally partitioned fruit	pieces of orange, jackfruit	G	*bō* 'inside of fruit (n.)'
	chèt	piece	meat, bread	G	*chèt* 'small piece'
Bundles	*pèng*	bundle of chopped wood	bundle of chopped bamboo	G	
	thìk	bundle	(10-15) bananas	G	
	làp	bundle	grass, thatch	G	? *-làp* 'completely'
Part of whole	*sēk*	'CLF:section'	bamboo sections, periods of time	C	
	bēng[87]	'CLF:half'		C, G	
	thān[88]	piece	stone	G	*thàn* 'cut (v.)'
	phán	pieces of a whole	--	G	
	mò	strip of field	fields	G	*mò* 'id. (n.)'
Specific number	*chór*	'CLF:pair'	drums, cows, earrings	C, G	*chór* 'spouse'
Other	*phār*	layers	cloth	G	
	dú	windings	windings of rivers	G	

As an example of a mensural classifier, see *bēng* 'CLF:half' in (58).

[86] See footnote 74.

[87] Grüßner (1978: 65-66) reports the form *engbèng* instead of *bēng* for 'half'.

[88] Note that in the case of *thān* '(CLF:)piece', we see a pattern of corresponding low tone verbs and mid tone classifiers/nominals. For more information on this tone correspondence, see §3.5.10.

(58) Classifier for ‘half’ *bēng*

hala arleng ebeng'an *amatsi akhalun ingpuvakló […]*

hála arlèng e-bēng-án amātsi a-khalùn ingpú-vàk-lò

that slope one-CLF:half-up.to and.then POSS-kd.big.basket open-RES:open-RL

‘she (had climbed) **half of the slope** and then she opened her khalun basket […]’ [SeT, MTN 050]

Note that Grüßner (1978: 70-71) offers additional measuring units including ones for weight, volume, length, area, money, traditional items, and time; he provides some traditional units and units borrowed from Assamese/Indic and English.

4.4.1.2.2. Not Fully Grammaticalized Classifiers

In his list of classifiers, Grüßner (1978) offers the three that I provide below in Table 63, which occur in the not fully grammaticalized construction involving the head noun, the classifier, and the independent numeral, e.g., *sabí betùng isī* ‘one set of keys’ (Grüßner 1978: 69). In addition to these, any noun that denotes a container of some sort can be used ad hoc as a mensural classifier in this construction, e.g., *harlūng* ‘cup’ to measure cups of tea, for example, or *bórtín* ‘bucket’ to measure buckets of water (Grüßner 1978: 70).

Table 63. Not fully grammaticalized mensural classifiers

Form	Gloss	Measured items	Source
betùng	bundle	grape-type fruit, keys	G
phār	layers	cloth	G
mokhá	a few	books	G

4.4.1.3. Self-Referential Classifiers

A list of all self-referential classifiers attested so far is offered in Table 64. The term ‘self-referential classifier’ is taken from DeLancey and Boro (in preparation). It refers to those classifiers that count themselves instead of counting (and being morphosyntactically dependent on) a head noun (see §7.7.2.1.2).

Table 64. Self-referential classifiers

	Form	Gloss	Measured items	Source	Possible lexical origin
Time	*arnì ~ nì* [89]	'CLF:day'	days	C/G	*arnì* 'day (noun)'
	jó	'CLF:night'	nights	C/G	*jó* 'night (noun)'
	rūi	'CLF:week'	weeks	C/G	
	phói	'CLF:times'	once, twice, etc.	C	
	phòng			C/G	
	bói			C/G	
	[pùr			G]	
Other	*kām*[90]	'CLF:step'	steps	C	*kàm* 'step (v.)'

Almost all self-referential classifiers are time units as has also been noted for self-referential classifiers in Boro (DeLancey and Boro in preparation). However, in Karbi there is at least *kām* counting steps, which also acts as a self-referential classifiers as seen in (59). For *jó* 'night' and *nì* 'day' acting as self-referential classifiers, see (60). Note the irregular form for 'one day' as *arnì-sī* - there is no other classifier found so far that follows this pattern.

(59) Self-referential classifier *kām* 'CLF:step'
*amat hala hi'ipi abangke **ekam anta** kamkelang*
amāt [hála hī'ipī abàng=ke] **[e-kām án=tā]** kàm-Cē-làng
and.then that witch NPDL=TOP one-**CLF:step** that.much=ADD:even step-NEG-still
'and then, the witch, didn't even (wasn't even able to) take just one step' [CST, HM 105]

(60) Self-referential classifiers *jó* 'CLF:night' and *arnì* 'CLF:day'
*aphi atum **ejo arnisi** dokokta*
a-phì a-tūm e-**jó** **arnì**-sī dō-kòk=tā
POSS-grandmother POSS-PL one-**CLF:night** **CLF:day**-one stay-back=ADD

"ehem chedamnang erit chedamnang […]"
e-hēm chV-dām-nāng e-rīt chV-dām-nāng
1PL.INCL-house RR-go-HORT 1PL.INCL-field RR-go-HORT
'the grandmother and grandfather stayed just one night and one day, and then (the old man) said "let's go home, let's go to our property […]"' [KK, BMS 093]

[89] The enumeration with 'one' is irregular: it is *arnì-sī* 'day-one' for 'one day', rather than **e-nì*.

[90] Note that in the case of *kām* 'CLF:step', we see a pattern of corresponding low tone verbs and mid tone classifiers/nominals. For more information on this tone correspondence, see §3.5.10.

4.4.1.4. Human and Animal Classifiers and Personification

In folk stories, animals frequently act as rational beings. This has ramifications on the classifier-marked distinction between humans and animals, as the human classifiers *-nūt* (for singular) and *bàng-* (for plural) are typically used for animals as well. Although in (61), the dog *methān-sibóngpō* is counted via the animal classifier *jōn*, as the storyteller summarizes that between the one dog and the two people, there were three of them, she uses the plural human classifier in the classifier-numeral word *bàng-kethòm*.

(61) Dog *methān-sibóngpō* included in count with human classifier *bàng*

“dah!” pu'ansi, ***methan-sibongpo ejon,***

dáh	pu-ánsi	**methān-sibóngpō**	e-**jōn**
go!	QUOT-after.that	**dog.sp**	one-**CLF:animal**

aphipen aphu, mh, ***bangkethom***

a-phì=pen	a-phù	mh	**bàng-kethòm**
POSS-grandmother=with	POSS-grandfather	DSM	**CLF:HUM:PL-three**

vangchomchomchomchomchom

vàng-chóm~chóm~chóm~chóm~chòm

come-a.little~DIST.PL~DIST.PL~DIST.PL~DIST.PL

"”let's go!”, and then one dog, his grandmother and his grandfather, all three, went step by step by step’ [KK, BMS 099]

An even clearer example is (62), where the human plural classifier *bàng* is used to count ants, which represent protagonists in this folk story.

(62) Human classifier *bàng* used to count animals in folk story

<chongh..> miso-rongpo atum korte ***banghini***

<chongh..>	**[misò-rongpō**	a-tūm]	[kortè	**bàng-**hiní]
<fro(g)>	**ant.sp**	POSS-PL	brother	**CLF:HUM:PL-**two

‘there were two <fro(g)>, ant brothers’ [RBT, ChM 008]

The lines in (63) and (64) give the context for the use of the animal classifier to refer to a human in (65). In this folk story, tigers celebrate the same ceremony as humans/Karbis, which requires sacrificing chickens and/or goats, as explained in (63) (which represents an utterance not by the primary storyteller but by a native Karbi speaking listener, as indicated by the curly brackets).

(63) Context for (65)
{la monitsi kenangpo he, halatum aphanke,
là monít=si ke-náng-pò he hála-tum aphān=ke
this man=FOC NMLZ-need-IRR1 AFTERTHOUGHT that-PL NSUBJ=TOP

halatum aphanke bi vosi ketheklo}
hála-tūm aphān=ke bī vō=si ke-thèk-lò}
that-PL NSUBJ=TOP goat chicken=FOC NMLZ-see-RL
'{ […] they will need human beings, right? They consider them goats and chickens (i.e. what is sacrificed)}' [HK, TR 042]

The line in (64) immediately precedes (65) and mentions the 'village head tiger' (where the use of this terminology further underscores the personification), who collects the humans that are caught by the other tiger as sacrifice for the ceremony.

(64) Context for (65)
huladak ateke akangbura ahemsi
húladāk a-tekè a-kangburá a-hēm=si
there POSS-tiger POSS-village.head.man(<Asm) POSS-house=FOC

bidamlo tangho {mm}
bí-dàm-lò tànghò mm
keep-go-RL REP AFF
'[…] that tiger had gone and put them in the house of the village head tiger' [HK, TR 045]

The line in (65) clearly refers to the tigers requiring one more human being as sacrifice. The animal classifier *jōn* anaphorically refers to humans used as sacrifice.

(65) *e-jōn* 'one-CLF:animal' used to refer to human in folk story
bidamlo… te, ejon nangalang
bí-dàm-lò te e-jōn náng-jí-lāng
keep-go-RL and.then/therefore one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still
'he had gone and put them there, and then, one more is needed […]' [HK, TR 046]

What these examples show is that the classifier use is dynamic and depends more on the perspective of 'higher' vs. 'lower' being, rather than objectively human vs. animal.

4.4.2. Nouns That Are Counted with Numerals Only (without Classifiers)

Besides self-referential classifiers (§4.4.1.3), there is also a class of nouns that occur in enumeration constructions with independent numerals only, rather than with bound numerals like self-referential classifiers do (§7.7.2.1.4). Examples (66) and (67) show the difference between *ningkán* 'year', which is counted with independent numerals *isī* 'one' and *hiní*, and *arnì ~ nì* 'CLF:day', which is a self-referential classifier that occurs with bound numerals *-ní* 'two' and *-thōm* 'three'.

(66) *Ningkán* 'year' counted with independent numerals
[...] ningkan isi hini dolo
[ningkán **isī** **hiní]** dō-lò
year **one** **two** stay-RL
'[…] they stayed (like this) for a few years' [KTa, TCS 078]

(67) *arnì ~ nì* 'day' as a self-referential classifier
anke ninibak do nithombak do […]
ánke nì-**ní**-bāk dō nì-**thōm**-bāk dō
and.then CLF:day-**two**-about stay CLF:day-**three**-about stay
'and then, they stayed a few days […]' [KTa, TCS 018]

Table 65 offers a list of these nouns that are counted with independent numerals (instead of classifier-numeral words), sorted into 'monosyllabic', 'disyllabic', or 'borrowed'. Note that some of the 'monosyllabic' and 'disyllabic' nouns may in fact be borrowed as well, which is, however, yet to be investigated.

The reason a distinction is drawn between monosyllabic and disyllabic stems is that Grüßner (1978: 64-65) suggests that might be a criterion: he suggests that multisyllabic stems occur with independent numerals, whereas monosyllabic stems occur with bound numerals. As Table 65 shows, this is not true without exceptions, but it could very well represent the right tendency.

Table 65. Nouns counted with numeral only (without classifier)

Category	Form	Gloss
Monosyllabic	*hák*	'finely woven bamboo basket'
	ròng[91]	'village'
	khái	'tribe, community'
Disyllabic	*phatáng*	'kind of bamboo basket'
	ningkań	'year'
	batái	'time' (as in 'once', 'twice', etc.)
	arlōng	'stone, rock'
	hamphāng	'society'
	róng'ajé	'festival'
	jamboróng	'bag'
Borrowed	*hoptá*	'week(<Asm)'
	khontá	'hour(<Asm)'
	pór	'time(<Asm)'
	bahák	'share, portion(<Asm)'
	joiné	'reason(<Ind)'

Words borrowed from Assamese/Indic or English (as, e.g., 'computer') occur in this direct enumeration construction and not with classifiers. An example is (68), where the Assamese derived *hoptá* 'week' is counted with the independent numerals *isī* and *hiní* without an additional classifer.

(68) Assamese derived *hoptá* 'week' in direct enumeration construction
*lasi dak **hopta isi hini** angbong dolo […]*
[lasì dāk **[[hoptá isī hiní]** angbòng] dō-lò]
therefore here **week(<Asm) one two** middle stay-RL
'and so it was for up to one or two weeks […]' [KK, BMS 117]

While certain nouns only occur in the direct enumeration construction when counted, other nouns may occur in the direct enumeration construction while also occurring in classifier constructions. An example is (69), in which *lám* 'matter' is counted with *isī* 'one' instead of *e-sòn* 'one-CLF:thing'.

[91] Grüßner (1978: 67) reports that *ròng* occurs as a self-referential classifier the same way as *jó* 'night' (§4.4.1.3).

(69) *Lám* 'matter' in direct enumeration instead of classifier construction
*sita non **isi alam** abangke*
setā nón **[isī a-lám]** abàng=ke
but now **one POSS-matter** NPDL=TOP
'but on another matter […]' [KaR, SWK 097]

This option to occur in the direct enumeration construction may in fact be true of all nouns that perhaps more typically occur in classifier constructions. According to Grüßner (1978: 67), it is true of all nouns with inanimate referents; those that refer to humans or animals have to be counted with the classifiers *nūt* 'CLF:HUM:SG', *bàng* 'CLF:HUM:PL', or *jōn* 'CLF:animal'. Example (70) shows, however, that perhaps at least mistakenly,[92] even nouns with animate referents may occur in the direct enumeration construction in natural texts, here *básápī* 'wife of headman'.

(70) Noun with human referent in direct enumeration construction
*ako langmemedet setame **isi basapi**lo*
akó làng-mē-Cē-dèt setāmē [**isī** **básápī**-lò]
then see-GOOD-NEG-PFV nevertheless **one** **wife.of.headman**-RL
'and then, even though I may not be perfect (in it), I'm a Basapi (wife of headman)' [KK, CC 006]

Where there is an option between using the classifier or the direct enumeration construction, my impression is that younger speakers use direct enumeration more frequently than older speakers do. In addition, younger native Karbi speakers have been observed to switch to Assamese numbers in enumeration constructions, which is certainly a common type of contact influence given that markets are typically Assamese-speaking places.

4.4.3. Human/Personified vs. Non-Human/Non-Personified

It may be fairly universal that languages have some grammatical domains where human/personified referents are distinguished from non-human/non-personified ones, for example in English interrogative pronouns 'who' versus 'what'. In Karbi, this distinction additionally exists in classifiers (though see the discussion in §4.4.1.4), as well as in

[92] It was suggested to me that the speaker in (70) mistakenly said *isī* instead of *e-nūt*.

'differential' plural marking via *-tūm* (§7.6) and primary object marking via *-phān* (§10.6.5).

4.4.4. Relator Nouns

Relator nouns exhibit structural properties of nouns while functioning the same way adpositions do in languages that have them as a distinct category (Starosta 1985; DeLancey 1997). The reason why they structurally overlap with nouns is because they grammaticalize from lexical nouns. In Karbi, the possessive construction that relator nouns most typically occur in involves a possessor noun followed by an *a-* 'possessive/modified' marked possessed noun, schematically: $[N]_{POSR}$ $[a\text{-}N]_{POSD}$ (see also §7.3 and §7.4); the *a-* marked possessed noun is the relator noun. An example is (71), where *a-ràì* is the relator noun, and the expression *langrōi a-ràì* 'at the side of the river' functions like an adpositional phrase in English, here specifically as a locational oblique.

(71) Relator noun *a-ràì*
*anke dak langroi **arai** chingki chethan*
ánke dāk [langrōi **a-ràì]** chingkī che-thán
and.then here river **POSS-side** talk RR-tell
'and then, here**, at the side of the river**, they discussed everything among themselves' [KK, BMS 104]

Relator nouns are bound roots. Although they most frequently occur with the *a-* 'possessive, modified' prefix in the corpus, they may also occur with personal possessive prefixes. An example is (72).

(72) *-thàk* 'on.top' with personal possessive prefix *e-* '1PL:INCL'
*[…] pholong jonni hu **ethakpen** barithe aso*
[pholòng jōn-ní] hú **e-thàk=pen** [barithè a-osō]
grasshopper CLF:animal-two over.there **1PL:INCL-on.top=from** god POSS-child

nangklochomlo dei
nang=kló-chòm-lò déi
CIS=fall-together.few.close-RL OK?
'[…] two grasshoppers, over there, **from above us**, children of god fell down' [KTa, TCS 009]

A list of so far attested relator nouns is given in Table 66. They are grouped by semantic domain. Instances of the common pathway of metaphorical shift of 'locational > temporal > causal' are *-ingbòng*, *-phràng*, and *-phī*, of which at least the latter two have corresponding lexical nouns with locational semantics that undoubtedly represent their origins. What may be the lexical source of the relator noun, or anyway a related lexical/grammatical item is provided where known. Some of the relator nouns given here are recorded with different tones by Grüßner (1978), which is mentioned in footnotes.

Table 66. Relator nouns

Semantic domain	Form	Gloss	Lexical source or related item	Gloss
Locational	*-thàk*	'on.top'		
	-ingsóng	'high.up'		
	-ingnò	'in.front'	*ingnò*	'front'
	-rúm	'below'		
	-rèi ~ -rài[93]	'at.side.of'	*-rèi~-rài*[94]	'sideways'
	-kùng			
	-dūng[95]	'near'		
	-lìng	'at.bottom.of'		
	-arlō	'inside'		
	-nát(thū)[96]	'towards'		
	-ingdén[97]	'towards' (general direction)[98]		
	-jō	'amidst'		
	-dàk	'road.inbetween'		
Locational/	*-ingbòng*	'in.middle.of'[99]		

[93] Grüßner (1978: 77) reports this item with high tone as *réy*.

[94] A text example of this suffix is in the verb *che-lāng-rài-lò* 'RR-see-sideways-RL' meaning 'looked sideways' (HK, TR 053).

[95] Grüßner (1978: 77) reports this item with high tone as *dúng*.

[96] Grüßner (1978: 77) reports this item with high tone on *-thú*.

[97] Grüßner (1978: 77) reports this item with low tone as *ingdèn*.

[98] Grüßner (1978: 77) reports the meaning 'opposite from' for *ingdèn*. I have put "general direction" in brackets to indicate that this item has a more general sense than the more specific *anát(thū)*.

[99] The difference in meaning between *angbòng* 'in.middle.of' and *ajō* 'amidst' is that *angbòng* locates a person or thing right in the middle or center of something, whereas *ajō* more generally locates a person or thing within a defined area.

Temporal	*-phràng*	'before'	*a-phràng*	'front'
	-phī	'after'	*a-phī*	'backside'
Temporal[100]	*-hūt*	'during'		
Causal	*-pōt*	'because'		
	-joiné			
	-jōk			
Other[101]	*-lòng*	'LOC'	*lòng*	'classifier:place'
	-phān	'for; NSUBJ; GOAL'		
	-lokòt ~ *-logòt*	'with(<Asm)'	*logot* (<Asm)	'id.'
	-pár	'beyond'		
	-tèng	'according.to'		
	-hín	'associated.with'	*hín*	'side'

Relator nouns may occur with *=pen* 'with, from' to add an ablative dimension to the meaning of the relator noun. Examples are (73) and (74).

(73) Relator noun *-ngsóng* 'high.up' with *=pen* meaning 'from high up'
thengpi angsongpen nangkeklosi {mm} thinilo {mm}
thengpī angsóng=pen nang=ke-kló-si mm thìnì-lò mm
tree/wood high.up=from CIS=NMLZ-fall-NF:RL AFF be.almost.dead-RL AFF
'(he) had fallen down from the tree and hurt himself badly, but by trying very hard came home [HK, TR 196]

(74) Relator noun *-nát* 'towards' with *=pen* meaning 'from the direction of'
anung anatpen ketheklong <ma> kosonma angno
[[anùng a-nát=pen] ke-theklōng <ma> kosón=ma] [[angnò
back POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see Q how=Q in.front

anatpen ketheklong kosonma
a-nát=pen] ke-theklōng kosón=ma]
POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see how=Q
'from the backside, how (the houses) look, from the front, how they look, (we went to see) […]' [SiT, HF 048]

[100] Grüßner (1978: 77) also lists *akó* 'as long as, until' as a relator noun. Since this marker only occurs as a subordinator in the corpus, I discuss it in §4.4.4.7.1.

[101] Grüßner (1978: 77) also records the Assamese loan *abírudhé* 'against, opposed to' as a relator noun. This form does not occur in the present corpus.

Finally, a frequent use of relator nouns in discourse is that of discourse connectors at the beginning of an intonation unit. This construction involves an anaphoric use of the proximal or distal demonstrative followed by a relator noun, as in (75) and (76).

(75) RN discourse connector construction with *-hūt* 'during'
halaso ahut *documentaryta paklangbom nelitum langdamlonglo*
[hálasō ahūt] documentary=tā pa-klàng-bōm ne-li-tūm làng-dām-lōng-lò
that during doc.=ADD:also CAUS-appear-CONT 1EXCL-HON-PL see-GO-GET-RL
'they also were showing a documentary **at that time**, and we got to go and see it [SiT, HF 057]

(76) RN discourse connector construction with *-phī* 'after'
laso aphi *laso aHingchong musoso hala habit*
[lasō aphī] lasō a-Hingchòng musosō hála habít
this after this POSS-CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender that jungle

kethondamti ahut mok ingchirlo
ke-thòn-dām-tí ahūt mōk ingchìr-lò
NMLZ-drop-go-get.rid.off during breast be.hungry-RL
'**after that**, the Hingchong sisters, as they were dropped in that jungle, they were hungry' [CST, HM 025]

4.4.4.1. General Relator Noun *-lòng* 'locative'

The general relator noun *-lòng* 'LOC' is the most frequent relator noun in the corpus, due to its bleached semantic content. It can be used instead of a relator noun with a more specific semantic content. Examples below show the functional range covered by *-lòng* 'LOC'. First, (77) shows two instances of *-lòng* 'LOC' in its locative function.

(77) Relator noun *-lòng* with basic locative function
richoke ha ***pharla alongsi***
[richó=ke há **[pharlá a-lòng=si]**
king=TOP over.there **outside.part.Karbi.house POSS-LOC=FOC**

pohui moidai along *doji*
[pohùi mòidāi a-lòng] dō-jì
pillow backrest POSS-LOC exist-IRR2
'"[…] the king will be over there **in his pharla**, **on his comfortable bed**, […]"' [CST, HM 044]

Examples of other locational uses of *-lòng* are given below. In (78), *-lòng* has an allative function of 'motion towards' a place, or location of a person or entity. In (79), *-lòng* indicates a relationship where one item is attached to another item. Example (80) shows that *-lòng* may be used even when there is a more specific relator noun that describes a spatial configuration, in this case *arlō*, which specifically means 'in'.

(78) Relator noun *-lòng* with allative function

voarbipi along *richo atum damlilo*
[vōarbípī a-lòng] [richó a-tūm] dàm-lì-lò
bird.sp **POSS-LOC** king POSS-PL go-again-RL
'the people of the king again went **to the Voarbipi bird'** [RBT, ChM 038]

(79) Relator noun *-lòng* marking attachment

*anke **laso athongkup along** lujisi*
ánke **[lasō a-thongkūp a-lòng]** lují=si
and.then **this** **POSS-tobacco.container** **POSS-LOC** mirror=FOC

kapabon
ke-pa-bōn
NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached
'and then, **on this tobacco container**, there was a mirror **attached'** [HK, TR 026]

(80) Relator noun *-lòng* meaning 'in'

*anke **hala jamborong alongke**.... dak laso aduma*
ánke **[hála jamboróng a-lòng=ke....]** dāk lasō a-dumá
and.then **that** **bag** **POSS-LOC=TOP** here this POSS-tobacco

thongkup dolo {dolo}
thongkūp dō-lò {dō-lò}
tobacco.container exist-RL exist-RL
'and then, **in this bag**...., here he had this tobacco container' [HK, TR 073]

In (81), the metaphorical use of *-lòng* is shown, as the context here is 'working *for* a particular project'. Furthermore, (82) shows that for certain verbs, such as *dùn* 'follow', *-lòng* marks the object, i.e., the person being followed.

(81) Relator noun *-lòng* meaning 'for'

Hydro-Electric-Project alongsi *kam klem'ikbom*
[Hydro-Electric-Project a-lòng=si] kám klém-īk-bōm
NAME **POSS-LOC=FOC** work do-FRML-CONT
'I work **for the Hydro-Electric Project'** [KaR, SWK 010]

(82) Relator noun *-lòng* marking O argument of *dùn* ‘follow’
apiso along *chidunkri […]*
[a-pisò a-lòng] chV-dūn-krì
POSS-wife **POSS-LOC** RR-follow-follow.closely
‘he followed his wife closely […]’ [KK, BMS 082]

Finally, there are instances where *-lòng* heads clauses and *alòng* with the frozen *a-* prefix functions as a subordinator. In (83), *-lòng* functions as the head noun of the locative relative clause ‘where the birds don’t chirp’. In (84) and (85), *alòng* marks subordinate clauses that indicate simultaneity in (84) and perhaps causality in (85) (where the elaborate expression *boché charí* ‘rule, be in charge of’ occurs in a parallelism construction, see §12.1.1).

(83) Relator noun *-lòng* functioning as locative relative clause head noun
[…] hi'ipi abangke etum aphan ha ***votek ingrengre***
[hī'ipī abàng=ke] [e-tūm aphan] há **[[vōtèk ingrèng-Cē]**
witch NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ over.there wild.bird call(small.animals)-NEG

voso ingrengre along *ekethondamti*
[vōsō ingrèng-Cē] **a-lòng]** e=ke-thòn-dām-tí
EE:vōtèk call(small.animals)-NEG **POSS-LOC** 1PL.INCL=NMLZ-drop-GO-get.rid.off
‘[…] that witch went and left us over there **where the birds don't chirp**' [CST, HM 062]

(84) Relator noun *alòng* with subordinating function
ingparke ***bhari arleng dingpo karlu alongke,***
ingpár=ke **[bharí arlèng dīng-pō ke-arlū alòng=ke]**
besides=TOP very.big(<Ind) slope be.long-big NMLZ-climb **LOC=TOP**

la apenan abangke barso kedo kangtung
là a-penàn abàng=ke barsō ke-dō ke-ingtúng
this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP urine NMLZ-exist NMLZ-desire
‘and then, **when she was climbing up on the long slope**, the husband felt the need to go to the bathroom’ [SeT, MTN 048]

(85) Relator noun *alòng* with subordinating function
si la hemtun isi ***kaboche along kachari along***
sì là hēmtūn isī **[ke-boché alòng]** **[ke-charí alòng]**
therefore this good.family one NMLZ-create LOC NMLZ-rule LOC

<so'arlosomar atum> arlosomar atum arpu ko'an do?
<sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm> árlosō-mār a-tūm arpū ko'án dō
women-PL POSS-PL woman-PL POSS-PL responsibility how.much exist
'so **with running a family and being in charge**, how much responsibility do women have?' [KaR, SWK 026]

4.4.4.2. Locational Relator Nouns

Examples of locational relator nouns are given below in (86) - (94). They are given in the order of Table 66 as repeated in Table 67 for easier reference.

Table 67. Overview of locational relator nouns

Form	Gloss
-thàk	'on.top'
-ingsóng	'high.up'
-ingnò	'in.front'
-rúm	'below'
-rèi ~ -rài	'at.side.of'
-kùng	
-dūng	'near'
-lìng	'at.bottom.of'
-arlō	'inside'
-nát(thū)	'towards'
-ingdén	'towards' (general direction)
-jō	'amidst'
-dàk	'road.inbetween'

(86) Relator noun *-thàk* 'on.top'
*ok an hor setame **longle athaksi** pichomchomlo*
[ōk àn hōr setāmē]] **[longlē a-thàk=si]** pī-chòm~chòm-lò]
meat rice liquor nevertheless **earth POSS-on.top=FOC** give-a.little~DIST.PL-RL
'[…] they gave him a little bit of meat and rice and liquor each, **on the ground**' [KK, BMS 055]

(87) Relator noun *-ingsóng* 'high.up'
*ha **thengpi angsongsi** dolo banghinita {mm}*
há **[thengpī a-ingsóng=si]** dō-lò bàng-hiní=tā mm
over.there **tree/wood POSS-high.up=FOC** exist-RL CLF:HUM:PL-TWO=ADD:EXH AFF
'high up there in the tree they are, both of them' [HK, TR 152]

(88) Relator noun *-ingnò* ‘in.front’
korte banghini <angno> angno *nangklolo*
[kortè bàng-hiní <a-ingnò> a-ingnò] nang=kló-lò
same.gender.siblings CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-in.front POSS-in.front CIS=fall-RL
‘[…] in front of the two brothers they fell’ [KTa, TCS 010]

(89) Relator noun *-rúm* ‘below’
thengpi arum *nanglelo […]*
[thengpī a-rúm] nang=lè-lò
tree/wood POSS-below CIS=reach-RL
‘he got to where he was right below the tree […]’ [SiT, PS 017]

(90) Relator noun *-rài* ‘at.side.of’
anke dak ***langroi arai*** *chingki chethan*
ánke dāk **[langrōi a-rài]** chingkī che-thán
and.then here **river POSS-at.side.of** talk RR-tell
‘and then, here, at the side of the river, they discussed everything among themselves’ [KK, BMS 104]

(91) Relator noun *-kùng* ‘at.side.of’
tovar akungkung *laso kejorta penang'an do*
[[továr a-kùng~kūng] [lasō] [ke-jòr-tā]] penáng-án dō
road POSS-at.side.of~DIST.PL this NMLZ-sell-if a.lot-that.much exist
‘at the sides of the road, there are a lot of places where they sell pineapple’ [SiT, HF 016]

(92) Relator noun *-dūng* ‘near’
laso <la> thesere kelik amonit ***adung'an*** *nanglelo*
[lasō <là> theseré ke-lík a-monít] **a-dūng-án]** nang=lè-lò
this this fruits NMLZ-pluck POSS-man **POSS-near-up.to** CIS=reach-RL
‘near to this fruit picking man he reached’ [SiT, PS 010]

(93) Relator noun *-lìng* ‘at.bottom.of’
ha ***Hajong aling*** *abojar pulo tangho*
[há **[[Hajōng a-lìng]** a-bojár] pù-lò tànghò]
over.there(<KhJ) **HILL POSS-at.bottom.of** POSS-market(<Asm) say-RL REP
‘”there (to) the market at the foot of the Hajong it is said that (she will come) […]”’ [KK, BMS 064]

(94) Relator noun *-arlō* ‘in’
*“konatlo?” pu, “ha, **longku arlo**”*
konát=lo? pu há **[longkū a-arlō]**[102]
where=FOC QUOT over.there **cave POSS-in**
'”where are they” (the king asked), “over there **inside the cave**” (the girls said)’ [CST, HM 111]

(95) Relator noun *-nát* ‘towards’
*pen pasi'idunvotsi phutup humra **aphi***
pèn pasi'í-dùn-vòt-si phutūp hūm-rà [a-phī
and.then whistle-JOIN-fast.sound-NF:RL hat pick.up-NF:IRR POSS-backside

***anat** chevangthulo*
a-nát] che-vàng-thū-lò
POSS-towards RR-come-again-RL
‘and then, he whistled for him, picked up the hat and brought it back’ [SiT, PS 036]

(96) Relator noun *-jō* ‘amidst’
*ha nampi namdur **ajo**<pen>] pathite*
há [[nāmpī nāmdūr] **a-jō]** <=pen>] pa-thì-tē
over.there(<KhJ) big.forest EE:nampī **POSS-amidst** <=from> CAUS-die-if

pathikhangjanganang pu amat
[pa-thì-khangjáng-lonāng pu amāt]
CAUS-die-do.irreversibly-HORT:EMPH QUOT and.then
‘”[…] in the middle of the jungle, if this causes them to die, then let it happen”’ [CST, RO 049]

(97) *-dàk* ‘road.inbetween’
*bonseta **Dobokapen** <Hojai> **Hojai adak***
bónsetā **[[[Doboká=pen** <hojai> **Hojái] a-dàk]**
but **PN=from** PN **PN** **POSS-road.inbetween**

abangke tovar henopik
abàng=ke] továr henō-pìk
NPDL=TOP road bad-very
‘but between Doboka and Hojai the road is very bad’ [SH, CSM 017]

Note that there is no example of *angdén* ‘towards’.

[102] Note that when *a-* ‘possessive, modified’ attaches to disyllabic roots that start in *ar-*, one of the two /a/ vowels that end up occurring in a row is often deleted, especially in grammaticalized constructions such as the relator noun construction (see §3.9.2.1).

4.4.4.3. Locational/Temporal Relator Nouns

Relator nouns that encode both locational and temporal concepts most likely originate in locational lexical nouns. As part of a typical shift from locational to temporal concepts, they end up encoding temporal relations as well. Table 68 lists three locational/temporal relator nouns. Below examples are given that show the locational use of *angbòng* 'amidst' in (98) and its temporal use in (99).

Table 68. Locational/temporal relator nouns

Form	Gloss
-ingbòng	'in.middle.of'
-phráng	'before'
-phī	'after'

(98) Locational use of *-ingbòng* 'amidst'
*amatsi etum aphanke dak **habit angbongsi***
amātsi e-tūm aphān=ke dāk **[habít a-ingbòng=si]**
and.then 1PL:INCL-PL NSUBJ=TOP here **jungle POSS-in.middle.of=FOC**

nangkethonti
nang=ke-thòn-tí
CIS=NMLZ-drop-get.rid.off
'and then, she took us here in the middle of the jungle and abandoned us [CST, HM 052]'

(99) Temporal use of *-ingbòng* 'amidst'
*lasi dak **hopta isi hini angbong** dolo […]*
[lasì dāk **[[hoptá isī hiní] a-ingbòng]** dō-lò]
therefore here **week(<Asm) whole two POSS-amidst** stay-RL
'and thus they stayed for up to one or two weeks, […]' [KK, BMS 117]

The uses of *-phī* 'backside' and of *-phráng* 'front' as lexical nouns are shown in (100) and (101). Although the corpus does not contain occurrences of *aphī* and *aphráng* as relator nouns, the acceptability of expressions like *rūi-ní aphī/aphráng* 'after/before two weeks' and *chiklō e-jōn aphī/aphráng* 'after/before one month' was confirmed in elicitation.

(100) *-phī* used as lexical noun 'backside'
*pen pasi'idunvotsi phutup humra **aphi***
pèn pasi'í-dùn-vòt-si phutūp hūm-rà **[a-phī**
and.then whistle-JOIN-fast.sound-NF:RL hat pick.up-NF:IRR **POSS-backside**

anat *chevangthulo*
a-nát] che-vàng-thū-lò
POSS-towards RR-come-again-RL
'and then, he whistled for him, picked up the hat and brought it back' [SiT, PS 036]

(101) *-phráng* used as lexical noun 'front'
lapenke saikel along ***aphrang anatsi*** *kethap*
lapèn=ke [saikél alòng] **[a-phráng** a-nát=si] ke-thàp
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) LOC **POSS-front** POSS-towards=FOC NMLZ-put.inside
'and then he put them on the bicycle in the front' [SiT, PS 023]

Synonyms of *-phī* and *-phráng* used as lexical nouns for 'back(side)' and 'front' are *-nùng* and *-ingnò*, see (102).

(102) *-nùng* 'back' and *-ingnò* 'front'
anung anatpen ketheklong <ma> kosonma angno
[[a-nùng a-nát=pen] ke-theklōng <ma> kosón=ma] **[[a-ngnò**
POSS-back POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see Q how=Q **POSS-in.front**

anatpen ketheklong kosonma
a-nát=pen] ke-theklōng kosón=ma]
POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see how=Q
'from the backside, how (the houses) look, from the front, how they look, (we went to see) […]' [SiT, HF 048]

4.4.4.4. Temporal Relator Nouns

So far only one relator noun is attested that is used to express a temporal relationship without also expressing location: *-hūt* 'during'. An example is given below. Note that other temporal relator nouns have further grammaticalized to subordinators (see §4.4.4.7.1 and §9.5.2).

(103) Relator noun *-hūt* 'during'
<aphrang> ***hako adin ahut*** *so'arlosomar*
<a-phráng> [hakó a-dín **a-hūt]** [sō'arlosō-mār
POSS-first that.time POSS-day(<Asm) **POSS-during** women-PL

atumpen non adin ahut non akai
a-tūm=pen] [nón a-dín **a-hūt]** [nón a-kái
POSS-PL=with now POSS-day(<Asm) **POSS-during** now POSS-time(<Asm)

ahut so'arlosomar atum la kangdat
a-hūt] [sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm] là ke-ingdát
POSS-during women-PL POSS-PL this NMLZ-make.a.living

katelopen lahai kadokave along hedi o
ke-teló-pen [lahái kadókavē alòng] hedí o
NMLZ-EE:ingdát-NF these all LOC okay? AFF(<Asm)
'(besides) working to make a living in the case of both the women from the old days and the women nowadays, in all of these cases, right?' [KaR, SWK 061]

4.4.4.5. Causal Relator Nouns

There are three causal relator nouns: *-pōt*, *-jōk*, and *-joiné*. They all occur much more frequently as subordinators (see §4.4.4.7.1 and §9.5.2) than as relator nouns. In fact, *-jōk* does not occur as a relator noun in the corpus, but *-pōt* and *-joiné* do, as in (104) and (105).

(104) Relator noun *-pōt* 'because'
amatsi penang kedamta eduk dolo
amātsi penáng ke-dàm=tā e-dúk dō-lò
and.then a.lot NMLZ-go=ADD 1PL.INCL-hardship(<Asm) exist-RL

*<arlong> la **inglong arlok apot***
<arlōng> là **[[inglóng arlòk] a-pōt]**
stone this hill foot.of.hill **POSS-because**
'and then, as we go we have to suffer a lot because of all the up and down' [SH, CSM 023]

(105) Relator noun *-joiné* 'reason'
laso akenemphru ajoinesi han
[lasō a-ke-nemprù a-joiné=si hán
this POSS-NMLZ-have.sweet.smell POSS-reason=FOC:RL prepared.vegetables

akechome […]
a-ke-chō-mē]
POSS-NMLZ-eat-GOOD
'this fragrant smell is the reason why the curry is tasty […]' [SiH, KH 015]

4.4.4.6. Relator Nouns with Other Functions

Relator nouns that express functions other than locational, temporal, and causal notions are given in Table 69.

Table 69. Relator nouns with other functions

Form	Gloss
-lòng	'LOC'
-phān	'for; NSUBJ; PURP'
-lokòt ~ -logòt	'along.with(<Asm)'
-pár	'beyond, besides'
-tèng	'according.to'
-hín	'associated.with'

The general relator noun *-lòng* was already discussed in §4.4.4.1, and the functions of *-phān* are illustrated in §10.6.2. Examples of the other four relator nouns in this list are given below.

(106) Relator noun *-lokòt* 'along.with(<Asm)'
*anke laso asarpiburita **laso alokot** dun*
[ánke lasō a-sarpīburì=tā [lasō **a-lokòt]** dùn]
and.then this POSS-old.woman=ADD:also this **POSS-along.with(<Asm)** join
'[…] and then this old woman went along with that one' [KK, BMS 121]

(107) Relator noun *-pár* 'besides'
nephanke aker apar nangkethanke
ne-phān=ke [a-kēr **a-pár]** nang=ke-thán=ke
1EXCL-NSUBJ=TOP POSS-bad.omen **POSS-besides** 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-tell=TOP

avelo
avē-lò
not.exist-RL
'to me, this is nothing but a bad omen' [KK, BMS 021]

(108) Relator noun *-tèng* 'according.to'
*"orapondetnang!", pulo amat thik **laso***
orá-pòn-dèt-nāng pù-lò amātsi thík [[lasō
take.care-take.away-PFV-HORT say-RL because right.then this

api alam ateng *amat laso a'osomar*
a-pī a-lám] **a-tèng]** amāt [[lasō a-osō-mār]
POSS-female.animal POSS-matter **POSS-according.to** then this POSS-child-PL

Hingchong musoso aphan laso ateke jonni
[Hingchòng musosō] aphān]] lasō a-tekè jōn-ní
CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender NSUBJ this POSS-tiger CLF:animal-two

abangphu inut ing'omponkreilo
a-bangphú e-nūt ing'òm-pōn-krèi-lò
POSS-each.one one-CLF:HUM:SG keep.in.mouth-in.passing-DISTR.PL-RL

ha longku arlo chepondetlo angthor along
há longkū arlō che-pōn-dèt-lò a-ngthòr a-lòng
over.there cave inside RR-take.away-PFV-RL POSS-hole POSS-LOC
'"let's take them to take care of them!", and then, right then, according to the female's words, the two tigers took these children each one in their mouths and carried them away, inside the cave they brought them, in a hole (= the cave)' [CST, HM 034]

(109) Relator noun *-hín* 'associated.with'
nelitum Karbi Lammet Amei ahinpen lamthe
ne-li-tūm [[Karbì lammét a-méi **[a-hín=pen]** [lamthē
1EXCL-HON-PL PN literature POSS-assembly **POSS-associated.with=from** word

kimi kiri
ke-mī] ke-rì
NMLZ-be.new NMLZ-search
'on behalf of the Karbi Lammet Amei, we are looking for new (i.e., special or rare) words and expressions […]' [KaR, SWK 001]

4.4.4.7. Further Grammaticalization of Relator Nouns

4.4.4.7.1. Subordinators

The grammaticalization of relator nouns to subordinators is a common phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 1986, 1991). Since nominalization is so pervasive, relator nouns are readily available for use as subordinators of nominalized clauses. The temporal relator nouns *aphī* 'after', *aphráng* 'before', and *ahūt* 'while' (with the possessive/modified *a-* prefix frozen onto them) frequently function as subordinators, as shown in (110), (111), and (112), respectively.

(110) Subordinator *aphī* ‘after’ (grammaticalized from relator noun)
*[…] laso hem nangkachiri **aphi**, apenan abang sunjoi […]*
[[lasō hēm nang=ke-che-rī] **aphī]** a-penàn abàng sūn-jòi
this house CIS=NMLZ-RR-search **after** POSS-husband NPDL descend-quietly
‘[…] after she went back to search for it in the house, the husband quietly came down […]' [SeT, MTN 042]

(111) Subordinator *aphráng* ‘before’ (grammaticalized from relator noun)
laso kethap aphrang aphrang, <la> longle
[lasō ke-thàp aphráng aphráng] <là> [longlē
this NMLZ-put.inside before before this earth

keklo alongpen humsi, laso aketer
ke-kló alòng=pen] hūm-si] [lasō a-ke-tèr
NMLZ-fall LOC=from pick.up-NF:RL this POSS-NMLZ-be.dirty

athesere <la> longle kero'anke halaso apepensi venlo
a-theseré <là> longlē ke-rō-án=ke hálasō a-pé=pen=si vēn-lò
POSS-fruits this earth NMLZ-hit-all=TOP that POSS-cloth=with=FOC wipe-RL
'just before putting (them) into (the basket), he picks them up from having fallen onto the ground, and these dirty fruits, all the ones that were dirty with (had hit the) earth, with this cloth, he wiped them’ [SiT, PS 008]

(112) Subordinator *ahūt* ‘while’ (grammaticalized from relator noun)
elitum hako pirthe kangduk ahut inglong kedo
[e-li-tūm [[hakó pirthé ke-ingdūk] **ahūt]** [[inglóng ke-dō]
1PL.INCL-HON-PL that.time world NMLZ-immature **during** hill NMLZ-stay

ahutke sabun tangho kopine tangho la konane
ahūt=ke] [sabún tànghò kopí-nē tànghò là konát-nē
during=TOP soap(<Asm) REP what-INDEF REP this where-INDEF

asempu non'alom ke'enthapvaret,[…]
a-sempu] nón-alōm ke-ēn-tháp-varèt]
POSS-shampoo(<Eng) now-while NMLZ-take-mindlessly-for.long.time
‘when the world was immature, long ago, when we lived in the hills, (it was just like today) soap, they say, and whatever, shampoo from wherever, now (people) use (them without knowing the origins or anything of it) […]’ [SiH, CW 003]

Furthermore, some subordinators clearly look like relator nouns (i.e., they carry the *a-* prefix), while they do not require the subordinate clause to be nominalized. They thus represent an advanced stage of grammaticalization. An example is *akó* ‘before, when’, which occurs in a construction with a negated, non-nominalized verb to convey

the meaning ‘before’, as in (113). For more information on subordinators, see §4.8.3 and §9.5.

(113) Subordinator *akó* ‘before, when’
bang vangve ako eli damnangji {mm}
bàng vàng-Cē akò è-lì dàm-náng-jí mm
CLF:HUM:PL come-NEG before 1PL:INCL-HON go-must-IRR2 AFF
‘[…] we need to go before anybody gets there’ [HK, TR 142]

4.4.4.7.2. Adverbs

In addition to grammaticalizing to subordinators, relator nouns also productively occur as adverbs in Karbi. In that function, they always carry the *a-* like a frozen prefix, and do not form a syntactic unit with any other item but occur alone. Examples are (114) and (115).

(114) Relator noun *adūng* ‘near’ functioning as an adverb
adung nopak epak do {mm}
adūng nopàk e-pàk dō mm
near dao one-CLF.flat exist AFF
‘close to him he had a dao’ [HK, TR 072]

(115) Relator noun *arúm* ‘below, down’ functioning as an adverb
dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [laháí] ke-thàp]] lapèn [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC these NMLZ-put.inside and down NMLZ-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

4.4.5. Bound Noun Roots

Body part and kinship terms, and inalienably possessed nouns have in common that they are bound noun roots, i.e., they do not (typically) occur without a possessive prefix (but see below for an exception). This may be either the general possessive/modified prefix *a-* (§5.3.1) or one of the personal possessive prefixes (§4.5.1).

4.4.5.1. Body Part Terms

A lot of body part terms are monosyllabic and have clear Tibeto-Burman origins, e.g., *-mēk* 'eye', *-nò* 'ear', *-dè* 'tongue', *-só* 'tooth', *-rí* 'hand, arm', *-kèng* 'foot'. Some, however, are disyllabic, such as *-maháng* 'face' and *-nokan* 'nose'. A subset is disyllabic and has the *ing-* prefix (see §4.7.1), for example, *-ing'òm* 'cheek', *-inghò* 'mouth', *-ingphór* 'lungs', and *-ingmūm* 'beard'.

4.4.5.2. Kinship Terms

Comprehensive lists of kinship terminology are provided by Grüßner (1978: 73 ff.), who reports a total of 70 different forms including forms of reference and forms of address (some of which are, however, formed via productive suffixes such as *-pī* 'female' and *-pō* 'masculine'), as well as by Phangcho (2012), who reports 34 different forms. Besides the fact that kinship terms are bound roots (or stems) that generally require a possessive prefix (but see below), one other morphological characteristic is that certain kinship terms may take the suffix *-héi~-hái* for more formal address and reference (§12.4.3).

Note that kinship terms actually do not always have to carry a possessive prefix. Evidence is provided in (116), where *pīsō* 'wife' occurs in a non-referential, idiomatic construction: *piso (some) ke'en* 'to get married (lit. take a wife)', where *a-* is not used.

(116) *pīsō* 'wife' without possessive prefix
anke latum thelo dinglo piso some enlo tangho
ánke [la-tūm thè-lò dīng-lò] **[[pīsō** sōmē] ēn-lò] tànghò
and.then this-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL **wife** EE:pīsō take-RL REP
'and then, they grew up and they got married, so they say' [WR, BCS 003]

4.4.5.3. Other Inalienably Possessed Items

In addition to relator nouns, and body part and kinship terms, a few other nouns obligatorily have a possessive prefix. Among these are *angdēng* 'border, mark', *angkāng* 'circumference', *angpìp* 'foam', *angthíp* 'unbroken rice', *angthòr* 'hole (inhabited by an animal such as a rat)', *apāi* 'sombody's turn (in a particular procedural order)', *aphái* 'number', *asáp* 'a little bit'. This presumably has to do with these nouns only ever being used in a relational sense, i.e., as they relate to another concept.

4.4.6. Other Possible Noun Classes with Frozen Prefixes (Grüßner 1978: 44-6)

Grüßner (1978: 44-6) has sorted disyllabic lexical roots by shared first syllables. The two by far most frequent ones, *ing-* and *ar-*, are discussed below (§4.7). In addition to those two, Grüßner also offers lists of only disyllabic nouns (i.e., no verbs) that share the first syllable *kar-* (seven roots in total), those that share *ke-* as their first syllable (seven roots in total), those that share *che-* as their first syllable (fifteen roots in total), and those that share *me-* or *ma-* as their first syllable (five roots in total). Grüßner suggests that the respective first syllables are frozen prefixes, whose meaning, however, is no longer recoverable. In addition to these 'frozen prefixes' that according to Grüßner only occur with nouns, there are other ones that occur with both nominal and verbal disyllabic roots (see §4.7.3).

4.4.7. Collective Noun Roots

There are collective noun roots that indicate reference to a general group of people, such as *so'arlō* 'the women' (compare *árlosō* 'woman, girl') and *sopinsō* 'the men' (compare to *pinsō* 'married man').

4.5. Pro-Forms

The pro-forms listed below have the same distribution as noun phrases. In addition, demonstratives and interrogative pronouns have limited distributional properties of nouns as well (note that nouns may function as noun phrases), but this is not the case for personal pronouns. Evidence for this difference comes from the possessive/

modification construction, in which both demonstratives and interrogative pronouns may function as pre-head modifiers with the head marked *a-* 'possessive' (and therefore behave like other nouns), while personal pronouns have their own possessive prefixes, thus functioning differently from nouns.

4.5.1. Personal Pronouns and Personal Possessive Prefixes

Table 70 shows the forms of personal pronouns. Karbi distinguishes between first person exclusive and inclusive. The inclusive form requires pluralization via *tūm* (see below) for use as an independent pronoun, but not for use as a possessive prefix. The exclusive form is the same as the first person singular form, suggesting a shared origin.[103]

For honorific forms (see §12.4.1) *-lì* is added. Possessive forms are prefixes, which do not have a tonal specification. Honorific possessive prefixes have the same *-lì*, but are probably best analyzed as disyllabic prefixes rather than a sequence of two prefixes, which would require us to posit the existence of both a suffix *-lì* and a prefix *li-* in the Karbi lexicon, when it is clearly the same affix.

Table 70. Personal pronouns and personal possessive prefixes

Personal pronoun (honorific)	Gloss	Possessive prefixes (honorific)
nè(lì)	'1EXCL'	*ne(li)-*
e(li)-tūm (only plural)	'1INCL'	*e(li)-*
nàng(lì)	'2'	*nang(li)-*
alàng(lì)	'3'	*[alang(li)- ; a-]*

Note that the third person possessive has *alang(li)-* and *a-* both in square brackets. This is meant to indicate that there is not actually a dedicated productive third person possessive prefix in Karbi. Sometimes, *alang(li)-* is used as a third person possessive prefix, for example *Alanglimen Basapi.* 'Her name is Basapi.' (with *mén* 'name'). However, it is not generally used, and instead the *a-* 'possessive / modified' prefix is used, which receives a third person possessive interpretation from context (and is, in fact reconstructible to a Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person possessive **a-* prefix, see §5.3.1). For example, consider the possessive clause construction in (117). The possessive clause

[103] In the texts of this corpus, *nè* and *ne-* are always glossed as '1EXCL' even if the context makes it clear that there is a singular rather than a plural reference.

construction requires a possessor, a possessed item, and the existential copula (see §4.6.2.1.1). In (117), only the general possessive prefix *a-* is acceptable to index the third person possessor *ne'ik akleng* on the possessed item *osomar* 'children'.

(117) Possessive clause construction showing third person possessive marked by *a-*

[ne-ìk	*aklèng]*	*a-so-màr*	*bang-kethōm*	*dō*
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother	old.one	POSS-child-PL	CLF:HUM:PL-three	exist

'my older older brother has three children' [elicited SiT 090220]

Plural forms of personal pronouns involve the (bound) plural noun *-tūm* (see §7.6).[104] Table 71 gives the example of the first person exclusive independent pronoun *nè* and its possessive prefix counterpart *ne-* in honorific, plural, and other possessive constructions.

Table 71. Morphological structure of independent pronouns and pronominal possessive prefixes

[Pron.	(HON)	(PL / N)]	[a-N]	Gloss	Translation
nè				'1.EXCL'	'I'
nè	*-lì*			'1.EXCL-HON'	'I' (honorific)
ne-li-		*tūm*		'1.EXCL-HON-PL'	'we' (honorific, exclusive)
[ne-li-		*tūm]*	*[a-hēm]*	['1.EXCL-HON-PL'] [POSS-house]	'our house' (honorific, exclusive)
ne-		*hēm*		'1.EXCL-house'	'my house'
ne-li-		*hēm*		'1.EXCL-HON-house'	'my house (honorific)'

What is true about (possessive) pronouns directly attaching to the plural noun *-tūm* is also true about other grammatical categories marked by nouns in possessive constructions, such as the 'differential primary object' marker *-phān* (§10.6.2) and the locative *-lòng* (§10.6.3). Here, third person pronoun forms involve either *alàng(-lì)* or the demonstratives, onto which the grammatical markers attach directly, as in *alangli-tūm*, *alangli-phān*, or *(ha)la-tūm* and *(ha)la-phān* for the proximate *là* and distal *hála*.

[104] It is impossible to tease apart whether the plural pronoun forms should be phonologically analyzed as a prefixal or compound construction since all of the pronouns are low tone. Thus, both the phonological compound interpretation leads to a low-mid tone pattern, e.g., on *nè-tūm*, as does the prefix interpretation where the toneless prefix *ne-* would be realized with a low tone before a mid tone syllable (see §3.5.6).

4.5.2. Reflexive/Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by adding personal possessive prefixes to the reflexive nouns *-metháng* or, less commonly, *-mená* 'self'. Commonly, in clauses that have a reflexive pronoun, the verb is marked reflexive/reciprocal by *che-* (§6.4.3).

Co-reference between the subject and the (reflexive) possessor of another (oblique) clause participant is illustrated in (118) and (119).

(118) Co-reference between subject and possessor of clause participant
[…] inut chotiki chonghoi ***amonit amethang***
[[e-nūt cho-tikī cho-inghói] **a-monít]$_i$** **[[[a-metháng]$_i$**
one-CLF:HUM:SG AUTO.BEN-cultivate AUTO.BEN-do **POSS-man** **POSS-self**

abiri arlopen eson <athe...> thesere] kelik
a-birī] arlō=pen] e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré ke-lík
POSS-garden inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruits IPFV-pluck
'[…] [**one farmer]$_i$** from (inside) **his$_i$** (own) garden is picking a kind of fruit' [SiT, PS 002]

(119) Co-reference between subject and possessor of clause participant
latum bangkethomke ***amethang*** *atovar chedamlo,*
[[là-tūm bàng-kethòm=ke]$_i$ **[[a-metháng]$_i$** [a-továr]] che-dām-lò]
this-PL CLF:HUM:PL -three=TOP POSS-self POSS-road RR-go-RL

lapenke saikel ingdoiponbomsi,
[lapèn=ke saikél ingdōi-pōn-bōm-si
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) push-take.away-CONT-NF:RL

la aphrang kevang abang, dambomlo
[là a-aphráng ke-vàng abàng] dàm-bōm-lò]
this POSS-first NMLZ-come NPDL go-CONT-RL
'[**the three of them]$_i$** went **their$_i$** (own) way, and then pushing the bicycle, the one who first came (i.e. the one with the bicycle), he kept going' [SiT, PS 034]

Elicited examples that show coreference between A and O are (120) and (121). In (121), the A argument occurs as a zero anaphora.

(120) Coreference between A and O (third person)
[Ruplin]$_i$ *[a-metháng (a-phān)]$_i$* *che-theklōng-lò*
NAME POSS-self POSS-NSUBJ RR-see-RL
'Ruplin$_i$ saw herself$_i$' [BIK 110205]

(121) Coreference between A and O (second person)
[nang-metháng (a-phān)] che-theklōng=ma?
2:POSS-self POSS-NSUBJ RR-see=Q
'do (you) see yourself' [BIK 110205]

Reflexive pronouns are also used to emphatically refer to the subject in Karbi. In (122), the reflexive pronoun *nemethang* 'I myself' is used with the verb *thurdappranglo* 'got up early' to signal the contrast to the following clause, which states that the subject also 'woke up the children'. This contrast is further marked by the use of the additive particle *=tā* on the corresponding NPs: the subject in the first clause and the object in the second clause.[105]

(122) Reflexive pronouns used for emphatic/contrastive subject reference
lasi nemethangta thurdappranglo lang
lasì **ne-metháng**=tā thùr-dàppràng-lò lāng
therefore **1EXCL-self**=ADD:PRL wake.up-very.early-RL water

chinglu'et ajat'etlo osomar aphanta ingthurlo
chinglú-ét aját-ét-lò [osō-mār aphān=tā] ingthùr-lò
take.bath-PRF GENEX-PRF-RL child-PL NSUBJ=ADD:PRL wake.up-RL
'so I **myself** got up early in the morning and took a bath and everything and also woke up the children' [SH, CSM 003]

To add yet greater emphasis to the referent of the subject (in contrast to other referents), the reflexive pronouns *-metháng* or *-mená* may be combined with a third reflexive form *-māt* using a possessive construction, i.e., [REFL.PRO] [a-māt] (following the possessive construction: [N_{POSR}] [**a-**N_{POSD}], see §7.3), as in (123) and (124).

(123) Reflexive pronouns used for emphatic/contrastive subject reference, with added *a-māt* 'POSS-self'
lapen laso kabor'i ajokpen non inut
lapèn [lasō ke-bor'í ajōk=pen] [nón e-nūt
and.then this NMLZ-w.great.effort because=with now one-CLF:HUM:SG

[105] Note that *nemethang* in (122) is indeed an S argument here and not an O argument, as *thùr* 'wake up' is intransitive, compared to transitive *ingthùr* 'wake up' (which, actually, goes against the hypothesis that *ing-* has a detransitivizing function, see §4.7.1).

banghini atum... o nelimena amatta…
bàng-hiní a-tūm] o **ne-li-mená** **a-māt=tā**
CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-PL AFF(<Asm) **1EXCL:POSS-HON-self** **POSS-self=also**
'and then, because of this effort (they make), another few people (are able to go out to make money)..., I myself also...' [KaR, SWK 065]

(124) Reflexive pronouns used for emphatic/contrastive subject reference, with added *a-māt* 'POSS-self'
a [bisar alamke nangliphan amatta jong nangkokpo
a bisár a-lám=ke **nang-li-phān** **amāt=tā** jòng náng-kòk-pò
AFF case(<Asm) POSS-matter=TOP **2-HON-NSUBJ** **self=even** point need-firmly-IRR1
'we can even see (it in your case), you yourself..., right, for this case, we also need to point at you yourself. [KaR, SWK 066]

Furthermore note that just like the verb prefix *che-* (§6.4.3), *-metháng* not only allows a reflexive but also a reciprocal interpretation. In (125), the sense is clearly reciprocal rather than reflexive, because the people no doubt know their own languages, they just don't know each other's languages.

(125) Reciprocity expressed by *-metháng*
penke ongdung aNaka akhei hala alangtum
pèn=ke óng-dùng a-Naká a-khéi [hála alàng-tūm
and.then=TOP exist.much-exceedingly POSS-TRIBE POSS-community that 3-PL

angbong amethang alam chethekvangve pusitame halatum
angbòng] **[[a-metháng** **a-lám]** che-thēk-vàng-Cē pùsitāmē] [hála-tūm
middle **POSS-self** **POSS-language** RR-see-PL-NEG even.though that-PL

Nagamesesi kaningje common languageke Nagamese lapenke
Nagamese=si ke-ningjé] [common language=ke Nagamese] lapèn=ke
LANGUAGE=FOC:RL NMLZ-speak common language=TOP LANGUAGE and.then=TOP

officialke areng kelok alam
[official=ke] [[a-rèng ke-lòk] a-lám]
official=TOP POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white POSS-language
'and then, all the many Naga communities, even though among each other they don't understand each other's languages, they speak Nagamese, the common language is Nagamese, and then, the official language is English' [SiT, HF 041]

The etymology of *metháng* or *mená* 'self' is not known. However, there may exist a link between Karbi *metháng* and Meithei *məthən* 'himself' (or just *thən* 'self') (Chelliah 1997: 329). The fom *-māt* is likely related to *komāt* 'who' (§4.5.4).

4.5.3. Demonstratives

Table 72 gives an overview of demonstrative forms. Note that there is only a single true demonstrative root: *là*. By itself it functions as the proximal demonstrative, and in combination with *há* as the distal demonstrative. The deictic *há* also occurs individually, and may be a borrowing from Jaintia Khasi (Pnar) according to several of my language consultants. The forms followed by a tilde in brackets are contracted forms that occur in spoken Karbi as attested in the corpus.

Table 72. Demonstratives

Semantics	Form of demonstrative	May function as NP?	May function as modifier?
Proximal	*là*	YES	YES
	lasō (~ sō)	sometimes	YES
	labangsō (~ langsō)	sometimes	YES
Distal	*hála*	YES	YES
	hálasō (~ hásō)	?	YES
	hálabangsō	?	YES

All demonstrative forms in Table 72 productively function as modifiers. The forms ending in *-sō*, however, occur much less frequently as pro-NPs. Grüßner (1978: 84) does not report forms in *-sō* functioning as pro-NPs at all, but (126) shows the NP clitic *=ke* 'TOP' attaching to *lasō*, which therefore clearly is a pro-NP here.

(126) Demonstrative *lasō* functioning as pro-NP
Naka anglong ladak Naka akhei do'an kachingrumpensi
[Náká a-inglóng làdāk Náká a-khéi dō-án ke-che-ingrúm-pèn-si
TRIBE POSS-hill here TRIBE POSS-community exist-all NMLZ-RR-collect-NF-NF:RL

isi a-rong'aje do; ***lasoke****, alanglitum kipuke, areng*
isī a-róng'ajé dō] **[lasō=ke** [alang-li-tūm ke-pù=ke] [a-rèng
one POSS-festival exist **this=TOP** 3-HON-PL NMLZ-say=TOP POSS-skin

kelok alampen Hornbill-Festival, la langdunnang
ke-lòk a-lám=pen] Hornbill-Festival là làng-dūn-nāng
NMLZ-be.white POSS-word=with Naga.FESTIVAL this see-JOIN-HORT
'here, at the Naga Hills area, all of the Naga tribes get together, there is one festival. This one (i.e. the festival), they call it 'Hornbill Festival' in the language of the white people, this (festival) let's go and watch' [SiT, HF 002]

According to Grüßner, the *-sō* in the forms used perhaps more frequently as modifiers is the diminutive suffix *-sō* (§5.4.2). However, it is clear that there is no synchronic diminutive function associated with the use of *lasō* as opposed to *là*. I do not know what the *-sō* is or what it could be derived from.

The basic forms *lá* and *hála* frequently occur in place of the third person pronoun *alàng*. They follow the personal pronoun pattern of having the plural marker *tūm* and the primary object marker *phān* attach directly, as in *la-tūm* and *hála-tūm*, and *la-phān* and *hála-phān*. In addition, *là* occurs in *lahéi~lahái* for third person plural inanimate pro-NP function.

Finally, *là-bàng*, the combination of the demonstrative with the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* (§10.5), is used as a pro-form in a co-relative construction (§9.7.3.1.4) in (127), while Grüßner (1978: 84) also reports this form being used in modifier function. Grüßner furthermore reports that this form is used with the gender suffixes *-pī* and *-pō* (§5.4.1) to mean 'this woman' and 'this man'.

(127) Demonstrative pro-NP *labàng*

lasi laso ahonjeng komatma keteroiun
lasì lasō a-honjèng komāt=ma ke-teròi-ùn
therefore this POSS-thread who=Q NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able

labangke ahoklo
là-abàng=ke a-hōk=lo
this-NPDL=TOP POSS-truth-RL
'therefore, whoever can walk over this thread, that one is true' [CST, HM 096]

Table 73 offers a list of words that contain proximal *là* and/or distal *há*. The rightmost column lists the combining morpheme(s) where known. Some of the inherently deictic forms that the demonstratives combine with in this table also occur along with interrogatives (see §4.5.5).

Table 73. Words with demonstrative roots

Function		Form	Gloss	Other morpheme
Deictic	Manner	***la**són, **la**pù, **la**pusón*	'this way, like this'	*asón* 'like', ? *pù* 'say / quotative'
	Time	***ha**kó*	'(in) the old days'	*kó* 'time'
	Place	***la**pú*	'this side'	?pú
		***ha**pú*	'that side'	
		***la**dāk*	'here'	*dā*k 'here'
		***hála**dāk ~ **há**dāk*	'there'	
		***la**púnatthū (<lapú anatthū)*	'over there'	*natthu* 'direction, towards'
	Amount	***la**'án*	'this much'	*án* 'this much; all'
Discourse connector / coordinator		***la**sì*	'therefore, then'	?*si* 'focus'
		***la**pèn*	'and'	*=pen* 'with'

4.5.4. Interrogative Pronouns and Pro-Adverbs, and Positive Polarity Indefinite Construction

Table 74 gives an overview of interrogative pronouns and pro-adverbs. All forms generally consist of the bound interrogative morpheme *ko-* plus an additional element. Where this additional element is still recognizable, I provide form and meaning in the rightmost column. In *(ko)pí* 'what', the interrogative *ko-* is often left out, which also sometimes happens with other interrogative words especially in colloquial speech.[106]

Table 74. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs

Semantic field	Form	Gloss	Combination of *ko* + …
TYPE	*kolo(-sō)*	'which'	?lo
	kolobang		
PERSON	*komāt*	'who'	*(a-)māt* 'self'[107]
THING	*(ko)pí*	'what'	?pi
PLACE	*konát*	'where'	*nát* 'direction'
	kodāk		*dāk* 'here'
	kohín	'where.to'	*hín* 'side'

[106] An often asked question when meeting a familiar person on the road is *Konatlo kedam(po)?* 'Where are (you) going?', which often gets reduced to simply *Na(t)lo?*, with the /t/ typically left unpronounced (§3.7.1).

[107] For a discussion of the reflexive function of *-māt*, see §4.5.2. Also note that Daai Chin has *mat* for 'one' (So-Hartmann 2009: 128), which might be related.

REASON	*kopīsi*	'why'	?*pí* 'what' + =*si* 'FOC'
	(pí) (ka)chonghói(si)		*inghói* 'do (v.)'
	pí apōt		*apōt* 'reason'
TIME	*komantú*	'when'	
MANNER	*kosón~ kolosón*	'how'	*asón* 'like'
	kopu		*pù* 'say, quotative'
AMOUNT	*ko'án*	'how much'	*-án* 'this much; all' (§7.8.2)

The TYPE interrogative forms *kolo(-sō), kolobàng* usually occur as modifiers rather than pro-NPs. An exception is (128), in which *kolo* is used as a pro-NP.

(128) *Kolo* 'which' used nominally
*"ante **kolo** nangkeneptang, nangpaklangtha!"*
ánte **kolo** nang=ke-nèp-tāng, nang=pe-klàng-thā
OK.then **which** CIS=NMLZ-catch-finish 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-CON.IMP
'"if so, which one have you already caught? You have to show me!", […]' [HK, TR 090]

Examples of the other interrogative pronouns and adverbs in the corpus are given below, in the order of Table 74.

(129) Person interrogative *komāt* as O argument, with differential primary object marker *aphān*
*anke **komat** aphansi kepitekangpo,*
ánke **komāt** aphān=si ke-pī-tekáng-pò,
and.then **who** NSUBJ =FOC NMLZ-give-leave-IRR1
'and then, who will we give her to? […]' [SH, CSM 063]

(130) Thing interrogative *kopí* as O argument
*ne **kopilo** kevipo laho <m>*
nè **kopí**=lo ke-vì-pò là-ho
1EXCL **what**=FOC NMLZ-do-IRR1 this-EMPH:INTERACT
'what should I do?' [CST, HM 013]

(131) Place interrogative *konát*
***"konatlo?"** pu, "ha longku arlo"*
konát=lo? pu há longkū arlō
where=FOC QUOT over.there cave inside
' "where are they?", "over there inside the cave" ' [CST, HM 111]

(132) Reason interrogative *kopīsi*
*[…] "**Kopisi** nang nesopi aphan kipithima?"*
[kopīsi nàng [ne-oso-pì aphān] ke-pV-thì=ma]
why 2 1EXCL:POSS-child-female NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-die=Q
'[…] "for what possible reason did you kill my daughter?", […]' [RBT, ChM 028]

(133) Time interrogative *komantú*
***komantupo** aRongkerjike {mm}*
komantú-pò a-Ròngkèr-jí=ke mm
when-IRR1 POSS-FESTIVAL-IRR2=TOP AFF
'when will it be, the Rongker?' [HK, TR 103]

(134) Manner interrogative *kosón*
*nesomar pule **kosonsi** thengpi abeng*
ne-oso-màr pu=le **kosón**=si thengpī a-bēng
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL QUOT=FOC:IRR **how**=FOC tree/wood POSS-piece

nangketetroiroidetlo
nang=ke-tèt-ròi~rói-dèt-lò
CIS=NMLZ-exit-PL.solid.obj~DIST.PL-PFV-RL
'if they are my children, how did they come out as pieces of wood?' [CST, HM 023]

(135) Amount interrogative *ko'án*
si la hemtun isi kaboche along kachari along
sì là hēmtūn isī [ke-boché alòng] [ke-charí alòng]
therefore this good.family one NMLZ-create LOC NMLZ-rule LOC

*<so'arlosomar atum> arlosomar atum arpu **ko'an** do?*
<sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm> árlosō-mār a-tūm arpū **ko'án** dō
women-PL POSS-PL woman-PL POSS-PL responsibility **how.much** exist
'so with running a family and being in charge, how much responsibility do women have?'
[KaR, SWK 026]

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs easily function as noun modifiers, see §7.5.3.1. Further discussion of content questions in the context of other interrogative constructions is presented in §11.1.1.2.

4.5.4.1. Positive Indefinite Construction with *-nē* 'indefinite'

In positive clauses, interrogative pronouns and adverbs occur with *-nē* 'indefinite (INDEF)' as indefinite pronouns and adverbs: *komāt-nē* 'somebody, anybody', *(ko)pí-nē*

‘something, anything’, *konát-nē* ‘somewhere, anywhere’, etc. An example of *komāt-nē* ‘somebody, anybody’ in a positive clause is (136).

(136) *komāt-nē* ‘somebody, anybody’
***komatneke**... la ser kapali'et asonsi*
[**komāt-nē=ke** là sér ke-pa-lì-èt asón=si]
who-INDEF=TOP this gold NMLZ-CAUS-flow-RES:yellow like=FOC

acharpen ketheklong langmepik
[[a-chár=pen ke-theklōng] [làng-mē-pīk]]
POSS-far.away=from NMLZ-see see-be.good-very
‘as if **somebody** had colored it with gold to make it look yellow and shiny, from far away it's very nice to see […]’ [SiT, HF 021]

Indefinite *-nē* also occurs on clauses as it marks complement clauses that represent indirect questions, see §6.10.4 and §11.2.2.2. Based on that construction, *-nē* also marks main clauses in an insubordination construction (§11.4.3).

The negative indefinite construction makes use of a different set of pronominal and adverbial forms, see §4.5.6.

4.5.4.2. Interrogative Pronouns in Indirect Questions

In complement clauses functioning as indirect questions (§6.10.4 and §11.2.2.2), interrogative pronouns are often marked by *-tōng* ‘indirect interrogative pronoun (INDIR.ITROG)’, as in (137).

(137) Interrogative pronoun marked with *-tōng* ‘INDIR.ITRG’
*[komāt-**tōng** ke-vàng-nē] nè chiní-nē*
who-**INDIR.ITROG** NMLZ-come-INDEF 1EXCL know-NEG
'I don't know who came' [SiT 090224]

4.5.4.3. Co-Relative Construction

A co-relative construction consists of two clauses with corresponding elements, which in Karbi are an interrogative and a demonstrative pronoun, respectively. Interrogative pronouns carry the question clitic *=ma* (see §11.1.1.4.1) to participate in the

co-relative construction (§9.7.3.1.4), as shown in (138), (139), and (140). In (138), the *=ma* marked interrogative pronouns functions as a simple relative pronoun, whereas in (139) and (140), it functions as an indefinite or universal relative pronoun, 'whoever' and 'whatever', respectively.

(138) Relative pronoun construction with *konát* 'where' + *=ma*
*la kedambom ahut Patkai-College **konatma** kedo*
là ke-dàm-bōm ahūt Pátkái-College **konát=mà** ke-dō
this NMLZ-go-CONT during PN **where=Q** NMLZ-stay

lata nangpaklanglo
là=tā nang=pa-klàng-lò
this=ADD:also 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-RL
'while we were going, they also showed us where Patkai College is [SiT, HF 011]

(139) Indefinite relative pronoun construction with *komāt* 'who' + *=ma*
*lasi laso ahonjeng **komatma** keteroiun*
lasì lasō a-honjèng **komāt=ma** ke-teròi-ùn
therefore this POSS-thread **who=Q** NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able

labangke ahoklo
labàng=ke a-hōk=lo
this=TOP POSS-truth-RL
'therefore, whoever can walk over this thread, that one is true' [CST, HM 096]

(140) Indefinite relative pronoun construction with reduplicated *kopí* 'what' + *=ma*
***kopipima** ladak kelongdun ahormu hortar'an*
[[[kopí~pí=ma làdāk ke-lóng-dùn] a-hormú hortár-án]
what~DISTR.PL=Q here NMLZ-GET-JOIN POSS-thing EE:hormú-all

kirim kibi isi ahem do laso langdamlonglo
ke-rīm ke-bí] isī a-hēm] dō lasō làng-dām-lōng-lò
NMLZ-put.in.one.place NMLZ-keep one POSS-house exist this see-GO-GET-RL
'[…] whatever they got here [as part of the war between the British and Japan], this we got to go and see' [SiT, HF 056]

4.5.5. Parallelism between Demonstrative and Interrogative Adverbs

Table 75 gives an overview of words with corresponding demonstrative (*lá / há(la)*) and interrogative (*ko*) roots (see also Grüßner (1978: 87)).

Table 75. Corresponding demonstratives and interrogatives

Function	Demonstrative	Interrogative	Other morpheme
Manner	***la**són, **la**pù, lapusón*	***ko**són, kolosón, **ko**pù*	*asón* 'like', ? *pù* 'say / quotative"
Place	***la**dāk*	***ko**dāk*	*dāk* 'here'
	***hála**dāk ~ **há**dāk*		
	***lapú**natthū (<lapú anatthū)*[108]	***ko**nát*	*natthu* 'direction, towards'
Amount	***la**'án*	***ko**'án*	*án* 'this much; all'

4.5.6. Pronouns and Pro-Adverbs of Universal Quantification

The pronouns and adverbs of universal quantification, which are used in the negative indefinite construction ('nobody', 'nothing', etc.), are listed in Table 76 (for information on the positive indefinite construction, see §4.5.4.1). Some forms may also occur in positive clauses (i.e., as 'all', 'everything', etc.) as indicated in the table.

Table 76. Pronouns of universal quantification

Semantic field	Form of pronoun	Gloss	Origin	Positive / negative polarity
PERSON	*badu=tā*	'anybody'		negative only
	majok=tā			
	bangpak=tā		*bàng* 'somebody' + ?pak	
	kadokavē=tā	'everybody'	*?ke-dō k-avē* 'NMLZ-exist NMLZ-not.exist'	positive/negative
THING	*ajáť=tā*	'anything'	*jáť* 'type(<Ind)'	positive/negative
	tháng=tā			positive/negative
PLACE	*nahók=ta*	'anywhere'		positive/negative
TIME	*kái(ke)=ta*	'always'	*kái* 'time(<Ind)'	positive/negative

Unlike many Tibeto-Burman languages, Karbi does not use interrogative pronouns in negative indefinite constructions. Karbi is a typical Tibeto-Burman language though in employing the additive particle to indicate universal quantification (see

[108] Grüßner (1978: 87) also reports *là-nát* 'over here' and *há-nát* 'over there'.

§7.8.3.1.5). The negative indefinite construction thus consists of a pronoun or adverb of universal quantification marked by additive *=tā*, followed by a negated verb, as in (141) and (142).[109]

(141) *aját=tā* 'anything' in negative polarity clause
*[…] halake **ajatta** van'un**'e**lo, ajirpo abangke […]*
hála=ke **a-ját=tā** vàn-ūn-**Cē**-lò [a-jirpò abàng=ke]
that=TOP **POSS-type=ADD:EXH** bring-be.able-**NEG**-RL POSS-friend NPDL=TOP
'[…] that one didn't manage to carry anything, his friend […]' [HK, TR 196]

(142) *tháng=tā* 'anything' in negative polarity clause
***thangta** kali […]*
[**tháng=tā** kalī]
anything=ADD:EXH **NEG**.EQU.COP
'it's nothing […]' [SeT, MTN 016]

Examples for the positive indefinite construction are (143) and (144). Note that in (143), it is not directly the additive particle that attaches to *nahōk(=pen)*, but the longer form *setāmē*.

(143) *nahōk* 'anywhere' in positive polarity clause
*"ne **nahokpen** setame... e ne nechor*
nè **[nahōk**=pen setāmē] e nè ne-chór
1EXCL **anywhere**=from nevertheless DSM 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-spouse

chirithupo" pu anke […]
che-rī-thū-pò pu ánke
RR-search-again-IRR1 QUOT and.then
'"from anywhere, I will find a wife again" (he thought), and then […]' [CST, RO 009]

(144) *kadókavē* 'anybody' in positive polarity clause
*[…] ilitum abangke **kadokave'anta** laso ahan a'an*
[e-li-tūm abàng=ke **kadókavē**-án=**tā**] [lasō a-hán a-àn]
1INCL-HON-PL NPDL=TOP **anybody**-all=**ADD:EXH** this POSS-curry POSS-rice

ilitum chohorpensi ilitum cholongji
e-li-tūm cho-hōr-pen-si e-li-tūm chō-lōng-jí
1INCL-HON-PL AUTO.BEN/MAL-serve.food-NF-NF:RL 1INCL-HON-PL eat-GET-IRR2
'[…] we all get to serve for ourselves and eat' [SiH, CW 015]

[109] Post (2007: 618) calls this a "Dismissive" construction.

4.6. Verb Subclasses

Besides the main subclass of verbs denoting actions, states, processes, etc., the second-largest subclass of verbs are property-concept terms (§4.2). While verbs can be roughly divided into intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives, these are not salient emic categories of Karbi verbs. One way to group verbs into subclasses is to compile lists of all those that may occur with a particular predicate derivation suffix (§6.5), since many predicate derivations tend to not be fully productive. An example is the predicate derivation *-chèk* 'firmly', which occurs with the following verbs: *kòk* 'tie', *nèp* 'catch', *ót* 'touch, hold', and *thít* 'tie'. In a sense then, semantically rich predicate derivations classify verbs the same way classifiers classify nouns. There is also a sense in which less semantically rich verb morphology classifies verbs. For example, *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive' only occurs with certain verbs (while, for example, *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal' appears to occur with any verb). While these are all possible ways of subdividing the large class of verbs, I limit myself here to only one subsection on copulas.

4.6.1. Property-Concept Terms

The argument for considering property-concept terms a subclass of verbs is presented in §4.2 above.

4.6.2. Copulas

The below sections §4.6.2.1 and §4.6.2.2 discuss existential/locative copular forms and the negative equational copula, respectively. Copulas are verbs in Karbi as they can take the nominalizer *ke-* (§4.1.1).

4.6.2.1. Existential and Locative Copulas

In addition to a basic existential and locative copula, Karbi also has an additional copula *óng* with a quantifying function.

4.6.2.1.1. Positive *dō* and Negative *avē*

The positive form of the basic existential/locative copula *dō* occurs in existential constructions, as typically found at the beginning of stories, for example in (145).

(145) Existential function of *dō* for introduction of characters in story
hako ahut hedi, Bey atum korte bangkethom do tangho
[hakó ahūt hedī] [Bēy a-tūm] [kortè bàng-kethòm] dō tànghò
that.time during EMPH CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist REP
'in the old days, you know, right?, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

An example of the locative function of *dō* is (146). It is taken from a real-time narration of the pear story, where 'that man' is the same man that the video clip starts with, i.e., this use of *dō* does not have an existential sense ('there is a man high up in the tree'), but clearly a locational sense ('that man is located high up (in the tree)').

(146) Locative function of *dō*
amonit abangke angsongsi do
a-monít abàng=ke angsóng=si dō
POSS-man NPDL=TOP high.up=FOC exist
'[…] that man (who's picking the fruit) is up high (in the tree)' [SiT, PS 017]

The existential/locative copula *dō* is also the verb used in the possessive construction (see §10.2.2.3.2 and §10.2.2.4), which typically contains a topic *=ke* marked possessor, a possessed noun as S argument, and the copula, as in (147).

(147) *dō* in possessive construction
nangke nangdin dolang
nàng=ke nang-dín dō-làng
you=TOP 2:POSS-day(<Asm) exist-still
'[…] "you still have your life (to live)"' [KK, BMS 084]

Surprisingly, there are some data that suggest that *dō* may additionally function as an equational copula. One type of data is a construction that nominalizes the main verb and adds *dō* 'exist', as shown in (148) (see §9.7.1).

(148) *dō* ‘exist’ in nominalization construction
[…] kechungkreng dolo, marjeng dolo, lok'hu dolo, lokphlep dolo;
[ke-chungkrèng **dō-lò]** [marjèng **dō-lò]** [lòk'hù **dō-lò]** [lòkphlèp **dō-lò]**
NMLZ-be.thin **exist-RL** be.thin **exist-RL** be.pale **exist-RL** be.pale **exist-RL**

kithita kedothupo, kejangta
[ke-thì=tā ke-**dō**-thū-pò] [ke-jāng=tā
NMLZ-die=ADD:also:PRL NMLZ-**exist**-again-IRR1 NMLZ-hang.down= ADD:also:PRL

kedothupo
ke-**dō**-thū-pò]
NMLZ-**exist**-again-IRR1
‘[…] they became thin, they became pale, and they were about to die' [CST, RO 022]

A different example is (149), where it seems virtually impossible to analyze *dō* as anything but an equational copula that links two arguments: *so’arlo atumsi* ‘the women’ and *keklem abang* ‘the working ones’.

(149) *dō* ‘exist’ apparently functioning as an equational copula
so'arlo atumsi keklem abang dopo
[[sō'arlō a-tūm=si] [ke-klém a-bàng] dō-pò]
women:COLL POSS-PL=FOC NMLZ-do POSS-CLF:HUM:PL exist-IRR1

pinso atum abangke osomarpen chelemrong titi;
[[pinsō a-tūm abàng=ke] osō-mār=pen che-lém-ròng titī]
married.man POSS-PL NPDL=TOP child-PL=with RR-play.with.toys-instead always

lason arjulonghe
[lasón arjū-lōng=he]
that.way hear-GET=AFTERTHOUGHT
‘[…] the women would be the working ones, the men would always play with the children instead, this is actually what I've heard’ [KaR, SWK 071]

It is very unexpected to find *dō* apparently functioning as an equational copula. Combining the functions of an existential and a locative copula is very typical in Tibeto-Burman languages, but equational clauses usually have a very different structure. Often, they just consist of simple juxtaposition of the two NPs, as is the case in Karbi in most instances as well.

The lexical origin of the copula, i.e., *dō* ‘stay, reside’, is homophonous, although the grammatical difference between the two surfaces in negated forms. Whereas the

lexical verb takes the regular verbal quasi-reduplicative negative suffix (i.e., *dō-dē*), the copula has a suppletive negative form, *avē*.[110] Examples (150) and (151) show *avē* in the locative function and in the possessive construction.

(150) *avē* with locative function
thondamtilo anke halaso aKarbipi ahem
[thòn-dām-tí-lò ánke] [[hálasō a-Karbì-pī] a-hēm
drop-go-get.rid.off-RL and.then that POSS-PN-fem POSS-house

nangchevanglo ja'e along nangchelanglo asomar ave
nang=che-vāng-lò] ja'ē alòng nang=che-lāng-lò] [a-oso-màr avē]
CIS=RR-come-RL cradle LOC 1/2:NSUBJ=RR-see-RL POSS-child-PL not.exist
'(the witch) abandoned (the children there), and then the Karbi woman came home, she looked in the cradle, her children were not there' [CST, HM 015]

(151) *avē* 'not.exist' in possessive construction
[…] amat neta neri ave nekeng ave […]
amāt nè=tā ne-rí avē ne-kèng avē
and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-hand not.exist 1EXCL:POSS-foot not.exist
'[…] and then also, I don't have hands or feet, […]' [RBT, ChM 030]

Note that *dō* as an existential copula has apparent cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as *doŋ* in Boro (DeLancey and Boro in preparation), or presumably Proto-Tani **doŋ* 'lie down; exist' (Sun 1993; Post 2007). The negative form *avē* is interesting because it contains another widespread copular form in Tibeto-Burman, *ve* (from PTB **way*), presumably with a negative *a-* prefix. The perhaps geographically (and arguably genetically) closest language that also has a *ve* existential copula is Daai Chin; interestingly, Daai Chin also has a preverbal *am* negative marker (So-Hartmann 2009: 213).

In the Plains (Amri) Karbi dialect, instead of the negated form *avē*, a different form *ingjong* is used, while the positive form *dō* is the same. It is unclear what the etymology of the root, i.e., the second syllable of *ingjong* could be. What is interesting,

[110] There may be other formal/phonological differences that exist despite the surface homophony. For example, it appears that there is a stress/prominence difference between *dō-làng* meaning either 'there still is (more of something)' or 'still staying/living (somewhere)'. For the copula, the stress appears to be shifted to the suffix, whereas for the lexical verb, there is more prominence on the root, as is the case with other lexical roots when they take *-làng* 'still'. This looks like ongoing grammaticalization of the copula, but more research is required to provide clear evidence.

however, is that the first syllable is the frozen *ing-* prefix, which in the Karbi song language typically is replaced by *ma-* (see §4.7.1), and *ma* is in fact a very widespread Tibeto-Burman negative marker that has also been reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

4.6.2.1.2. Quantifying Copula *óng* 'exist much'

Karbi also has a quantifying existential copula *óng*, as shown in (152) and (153). It is not clear whether *óng* also participates in locative or possessive constructions the way *dō* and *avē* do. Note that a suffix *-óng* '(too) much, many' has grammaticalized from this copula.

(152) Quantifying existential copula *óng* 'exist much'

*ha nangkelelesi **ke'onglang** {mm}*

há	nang=ke-lè-Cē=si	ke-**óng**-làng	mm
over.there	CIS=NMLZ-reach-NEG=FOC	NMLZ-**exist.much**-yet	AFF

'there still many of them haven't reached' [HK, TR 183]

(153) Quantifying existential copula *óng* 'exist much'

*parok-jangphongke penang'an **ong***

parók-jàngphòng=ke	penáng-án	**óng**
pineapple=TOP	a.lot-that.much	**exist.much**

'there were many pineapples' [SiT, HF 015]

The *óng* copula has also grammaticalized to a verbal suffix *-óng* (6.5.5.1) with the meaning 'too much'. An apparent cognate of *óng* is Daai Chin *to:ng* 'too much' (So-Hartmann 2009:157).

4.6.2.2. Negative Equational Copula *kalī*

The negative equational copula is *kalī*. It is most frequently used when predicate nominals are negated, as in (154), or when negating nominalized verbs (although the verbal negation strategy, i.e., the onset reduplicating suffix *-Cē*, may also be used).

(154) Negative equational copula *kalī*

ai nesomarlole laho theng beng

ái	[ne-oso-màr=lo=le	laho]	[thēng	bēng
how.strange!	1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL=FOC:IRR	EXCLM	firewood	piece

kalilo *nesomarlole laho*
kalī-lò] [ne-oso-màr=lo=le laho]
NEG.EQU.COP-RL 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL=FOC:IRR EXCLAM
'how strange, they are my children, they are not pieces of wood anymore, they are my children' [CST, HM 082]

Etymologically, *kalī* likely consists of a negation morpheme represented by the first, velar-initial syllable, and a copular element represented by the second, lateral-initial syllable. Evidence for this analysis comes from a number of apparent cognates of both historical morphemes. Velar-initial negatives occur in the reconstructed Bodo-Garo negative existential copula (Wood 2008:92) and in the Daai Chin (Kuki-Chin) prohibitive (So-Hartmann 2009: 306). The lateral-initial copular element is likely represented in the Meithei progressive suffix *-li* (Chelliah 1997:239)

There is no positive equational copula. Instead, nouns typically act as predicates by themselves (see §4.3). However, what sometimes appears to act as an assertive counterpart to *kalī* is the realis marker *-lò*, as in (155).

(155) Realis *-lò* as assertive counterpart to negative equational copula *kalī*
netumke arlengpi asolone kaline
ne-tūm=ke arlēng-pī a-sō-lò-nē kalī-nē
1EXCL:POSS-PL=TOP person-female POSS-child-RL-INDEF NEG.EQU.COP-INDEF
'whether we are the children of the Karbi woman or not (we don't know)' [CST, HM 087]

4.7. Frozen Prefixes in Disyllabic Verb and Noun Roots

Karbi has a large number of disyllabic roots with either *ing-* or *ar-* as their first syllable. Among them, there are both verb and noun roots. In compounds, the *ing-* or *ar-* get dropped (see §5.2.1).

4.7.1. Frozen Prefix *ing-*

The frozen prefix *ing-* is quite clearly a reflex of a Proto-Tibeto-Burman nasal prefix **m-* (Benedict 1972; Matisoff 2003: 117 ff.). There is an abundance of cognates that show the regular correspondence between the *ing-* prefix and descendants of **m-* in

other Tibeto-Burman languages. A neat piece of evidence also comes from the Karbi song language (§1.6), which in a considerable number of cases has *ma-* instead of *ing-* (Grüßner 1978: 43).[111]

On verbs, *ing-* has been suggested to have an intransitive or medial function (Grüßner 1978: 42), which is also the proposal for the function of PTB **m-* (also including related functions such as "durative" and "reflexive") (Benedict 1972: 117 ff.; Matisoff 2003: 117 ff.).[112] Benedict furthermore suggests that **m-* on verbs is the same element as the **m-* that occurs on nouns (p.118), where the function on nouns has to do with inalienable possession, as evidenced by their occurrence on body part or kinship terms.

In modern Karbi, a number of verb and noun roots with *ing-* fit into this account: there are a number of *ing-* verb roots with intransitive[113] or medial function, and there are a number of *ing-* noun roots which represent body part and kinship terms. These are recorded in the above mentioned sources, and Grüßner additionally lists nine *ing-* roots with corresponding *ing*-less monosyllabic counterparts. Examples of *ing-* in intransitive and medial verbs include *ingląng* 'to float' (perhaps related to *lāng* 'water'), *inglók* 'to break (intransitive)' (compared to *lók* 'to break (transitive)'), and *ingplòng* 'to run (animals), gallop'. Other examples that could be added in support of the hypothesis that /ing/ in Karbi still retains a semantic association with middle voice and intransitivity are *ingthàng* 'to dawn', *ingrí* 'to get intoxicated', *ingjír* 'to dissolve', *ingjàr* 'to fly', *ingjàng* 'to look proper, well prepared', *ingchìr* 'be hungry', or *inghōn* 'to love', among others.

There are, however, plenty of other *ing-* roots that do not obviously fit in, or even have opposite functions. Nouns that are not body/kinship terms or otherwise understandable as a part of a whole include, for example, *inghàn* 'mud', *ingkī* 'silkworm', *ingkòi* 'twenty', *inglóng* 'hill', *ingnām* 'forest', *ingnàr* 'elephant', *ingrī* 'species of grass',

[111] According to Grüßner, this is only the case in verb roots. The examples he gives are *ingrèng ~ marèng* 'call (small animals)', *ingtìng ~ matìng* 'be dark', and *ingnìm ~ manìm* 'smell'.

[112] Matisoff (2003:117) further assumes that the semantics of this prefix as it goes on verbs have to do with signaling "inner-directed states or actions, including 'middle voice' notions like stativity, intransitivity, durativity, reflexivity."

[113] Note that Daai Chin (Southern Kuki-Chin) still has a productive intransitive velar nasal *ng-* prefix with reciprocal and reflexive functions (So-Hartmann 2009: 202 ff.).

ingthēk ‘sign’, *ingtí* ‘salt’, or *ingtòng* ‘big bamboo basket’. Sample *ing-* verbs that are problematic for a synchronic intransitivity account include *ingdōi* ‘push’, *inghór* ‘carry a load’, *ingpú* ‘open (something)’, *ingsìr* ‘separate’, *ingthùm* ‘go and bring’, or *ingthùr* ‘wake (somebody) up’. This last root *ingthùr* is particularly problematic, because it has a monosyllabic counterpart *thùr*, which has the intransitive sense of ‘wake up’, and thus seems like it is backward by having the root with *ing-* be transitive, and the root without *ing-* intransitive.

4.7.2. Frozen Prefix *ar-*

The frozen prefix *ar-* is the other highly frequent element besides *ing-* in Karbi. It is a reflex of a Proto-Tibeto-Burman **r-* prefix (Wolfenden 1929: 43-44; Benedict 1972: 109; Matisoff 2003: 127). Although Wolfenden suggests **r-* is a “directive” prefix, Benedict and Matisoff remain agnostic about its function. Likewise in Karbi it appears impossible to find anything all the noun and verb roots with *ar-* have in common.

Note that like *ing-*, the *ar-* prefix has a different form in the Karbi song language, where it changes to *ra-* or *ru-*, as in the pairs *arnàm* ~ *ranàm* ‘god’ and *arvè* ~ *ruvè* ‘rain’ (Grüßner 1978: 43).

4.7.3. Other Possible Frozen Prefixes in Disyllabic Noun and Verb Roots

In addition to *ing-* and *ar-*, Grüßner (1978: 43) reports *tV-*, *the-*, *pi-*, *phe-*, *se-*, and *he-* as possible frozen prefixes that occur as the first syllable in disyllabic noun and verb roots.

4.8. Minor Word Classes

Minor word classes discussed here include adverbs, numerals, as well as subordinators and coordinators. Discourse-based minor word classes such as particles, discourse connectors, and interjections are discussed in Chapter XII.

4.8.1. Adverbs

While there is not a morphosyntactically coherent word class of adverbs in Karbi, the subsections below discuss some of the common lexical items that function as adverbs.

Adverbs provide extra information to a unit of utterance. The Karbi adverbs presented in the subsections below all have clausal scope. Adverbial modification of verbs is expressed either via suffixes (predicate derivations; see §6.5), or in adverb predication constructions (§8.3).

The framing function of adverbs with clausal scope may be made more salient by using the topicalization construction, which adds the topic enclitic *=ke* while having the respective element occur clause-initially (although several elements can occur in the topicalization construction, as a consequence of which they are stacked at the beginning of the clause), see §10.7.1.

4.8.1.1. Temporal Adverbs

4.8.1.1.1. Day and Year Ordinals

A list of day ordinals with respective forms for the day as a whole, only the morning, and only the evening/night are given in Table 77.

Table 77. Day ordinals

	Whole day	Morning	Evening/Night
<3 days before today	*tumidik isī*	*tumidik isi adap*	*tumidik isi arni aningve(thu)*
<2 days before today	*tumidik*	*tumidik adap*	*tumidik aningve(thu)*
<Yesterday	*(pa)tumì*	*timidap*	*tovē, tumi (a)ningve(thu)*
Today	*pinì*	*padàp, todap*	*peningve, moningve*
>Tomorrow	*penàp*	*penapdap, moning adap*	*penap (a)ningve(thu)*
>2 days after today	*penapdik*	*penapdik adap*	*penapdik (a)ningve(thu)*
>3 days after today	*penapdik isī*	*penapdik isi adap*	*penapdik isi (a)ningve(thu)*

Note that unique expressions for 'whole day' terms are limited to today, tomorrow, and yesterday. For two days into the future or past, the suffix *-dik* is added, while further days into the future or past just add the independent numerals that count how many more days are added (*isī* for 'one'). The 'morning' terms all have the word *dáp* 'morning' in them: as compounds in terms for 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday', in a syntactic possessive construction for further days into the future or past, and only the

word for ‘this morning’ has just a prefix along with *dáp* ‘morning. The ‘evening/night’ terms pattern the same as the ‘morning’ terms except for ‘last night’, which also has a simple disyllabic stem that consists of a prefix along with the second syllable of *ningvē* ‘evening/night’ (in fact, this form is even more reduced then the form for ‘tonight’).

In order to compare the prefixes, consider Table 78, which also includes terms for year ordinals.

Table 78. Year and day ordinals

	Year	Day	Morning	Evening/Night
<1 before	***chu-****ning*	***(pa-)tu-****mì*	***ti-****mi-dap*	***to-****vē, tu-mi (a)ningve(thu)*
Present	***pe-****ning*	***pi-****nì*	***pa-****dàp,* ***to-****dap*	***pe-****ningve,* ***mo-****ningve*
>1 after	***mo-****ning*	***pe-****nàp*	***pe-****nap-dap,* ***mo-****ning adap*	*penap (a)ningve(thu)*

What is quite striking is that although we get three basic prefixes: *pV-*, *tV-*, and *mo-* (ignoring *chu-*, which only occurs in the form for ‘last year’), they do not align the way we might have expected. *pV-* occurs in all ‘present’ forms, but it additionally occurs in the elongated expression *patumi* ‘yesterday’ as well as in *penàp* ‘tomorrow’. *tV-* occurs in all ‘1 before’ forms (except for ‘last year’), but additionally also in *todap* ‘this morning’. Finally, *mo-* occurs in ‘1 after’ forms as well as in *mo-ningvē* ‘tonight’. A reasonable hypothesis to explain two of the unexpected forms, *todap* ‘this morning’ and *mo-ningvē* ‘tonight’, is that they are typically used around midday, when ‘this morning’ is in the past and ‘tonight’ in the future, which would explain the *tV-* and the *mo-* prefix if we assume they originally mark past and future, respectively. Now, this turns out to be not correct. For ‘this morning’, either *to-dap* or *pa-dap* may be used interchangeably, no matter whether it is 4:00AM and somebody talks about plans to do at 7:00AM, or if it is already 4:00PM, and they talk about something that happened at 7:00AM. The same turns out to be true for *pe-ningvē* and *mo-ningvē* for ‘tonight’, which are used irrespectively of whether the reference is to the past or the future. Nevertheless, it seems likely that this is how the forms originated.

The other unexpected forms are the forms for ‘today’, ‘tomorrow’, and ‘yesterday’, in that all three of them contain *pV-*. Here, it seems likely that *pV-* was

reinterpreted as an element that means ‘day’ rather than indicating present, past, or future, and that that is the reason why it got extended to the words ‘tomorrow’ and ‘yesterday’.

4.8.1.1.2. Other Underived Temporal Adverbs

In addition to day and year ordinals, there are a few other temporal adverbs, such as *nón* ‘now’, *thík* ‘right then’, or relator nouns that are used as adverbs like *aphráng* ‘before, earlier’ or *aphī* ‘later, afterwards’ (see §4.4.4.7.2). Deictic, interrogative, and universal quantifier temporal adverbs are listed in §4.5.3, §4.5.4, and §4.5.6, respectively.

4.8.1.1.3. Temporal Adverbs with *-váng* ‘every’

There is a subclass of adverbial temporal nouns that take the suffix *-váng* ‘every’: e.g., *aningkán-váng* ‘each year’ and *arnì-váng* ‘each day’. It is likely that this *-váng* suffix is related to the verb *vàng* ‘come’, considering functionally similar expressions in, for example, English such as ‘in the coming years’ to mean ‘in future years’. Also note the possibly related verb suffix *-vàng* ‘plural:S/A’ (§6.5.5.1).

4.8.1.1.4. Intensifier Reduplication Construction

(156) shows that the deictic temporal adverb *hákó* ‘(at) that time’ may be reduplicated as *hákó~kò* for the purpose of intensification.

(156) Reduplication

<ne hala> hakokota so'arlo atumke hem

<nè	hála>	[[hákó~kò=tā	sō'arlō	a-tūm=ke	hēm
1EXCL	that	that.time~INTENS=ADD:EXH	women:COLL	POSS-PL=TOP	house

akam kachoklem ajoine esomarpen, laso alamlo

a-kám	ke-cho-klém	a-joiné]	[e-oso-màr-pen]]	[lasō	a-lám-lò]
POSS-work	NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-do	POSS-reason	1PL.INCL-child-PL-from	this	POSS-matter-RL

‘in the old, old days, because the women had to do the house work, with the children (= afterthought), this is the matter’ [KK, CC 009]

4.8.1.2. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs include *dāk* 'here' (used with interrogative *ko-* and demonstratives *(ha)la-*, see §4.5.5), *arvī* 'left' and *ar'ē* 'right', *hín* 'this side' (also used with interrogative *ko-*), *pú* 'this side'. Locative relator nouns such as *arúm* 'down' or *angsóng* 'high up' also function as locative adverbs (see §4.4.4.7.2).

4.8.1.3. Other Adverbs

Other adverbs, i.e., those with neither temporal nor locative meaning, include *ajátnōn* 'anyway' (with the components *a-* 'POSS', *ját* 'type(<Asm), ?*nón* 'now'); *akelé* 'more' (perhaps from *a-* 'POSS', *ke-* 'NMLZ', ?*lè* 'reach'); *abesí* 'more(<Asm)', and furthermore reduplicated forms such as *ménmèn* 'suddenly' and *serhéserhé* 'in.a.hurry'. There are also several words for 'like this', such as *lasón*, *lapú*, etc. (see §4.5.5).

4.8.2. Numerals

Numerals from 'one' to 'ten' are listed in Table 79. For numerals 'one', 'two', and 'three', there exist bound forms that occur with classifiers (see §4.4.1). Note that the forms for 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are morphologically complex and are based on addition (in the case of 'seven') or subtraction ('eight' and 'nine').

Table 79. Numerals from 'one' to 'ten'

Independent form	Gloss	Bound form (if different)	Internal structure
isī	'one'	*e-*	
hiní	'two'	*-ní*	
kethòm	'three'	*-thōm ~ -thòm*	
phlī	'four'		
phō	'five'		
thrōk	'six'		
thrōksí	'seven'		*thrōk-sí* 'six-one' (addition)
nerkēp	'eight'		*ne-r-kēp* 'two-R-ten' (subtraction)
sirkēp	'nine'		*si-r-kēp* 'one-R-ten' (subtraction)
kēp	'ten'		

Particularly the forms of 'eight' and 'nine' are interesting in the Tibeto-Burman context, as this uncommon subtractive pattern also exists in Meithei. There the form for

'eight' is *nipan* and has the internal structure *ni* 'two (< *əni*)' + *pan* 'subtract', and similarly the form for 'nine' is *məpan*, which is *mə* 'one (< *əmə*)' + *pan* 'subtract' (Chelliah 1997: 85). Since this is a highly unusual pattern that so far has not been attested in other TB languages, neither genetic inheritance nor parallel innovation are likely explanations, but instead contact is the probable source. How exactly a contact scenario between Karbi and Meithei has to be modeled is, however, currently not clear (§1.3).

Table 80 gives a list of numerals over 'ten'. The interesting ones, again (and perhaps unsurprisingly so), are *throknerkep* 'eighty' and *throksirkep* 'ninety'. Their respective internal structures may be interpreted in two different ways, as done by Grüßner and Joseph. According to Grüßner, *throk* "has taken over the function of indicating the 'ten'", as a result of which the words would be parsed as *throk-nerkep* and *throk-sirkep*. This seems a bit bizarre given that *thrōk* is the word for 'six'.

Joseph offers a different account that tries to hold on to *thrōk* meaning 'six'. In order for that to be the case, he parses *throkne-r-kep* so that the *-ni* 'two' goes with *thrōk*, yielding 'six' plus 'two' times 'ten'. While this is very sensical, for *throksirkep* 'ninety', he has to pose a non-surfacing *-ni* 'two' so that things add up correctly: 'six' plus 'one' plus 'two' times 'ten'. This seems a bit speculative; an alternative is to propose that *throksirkep* was formed in analogy to *throknerkep*.

Table 80. Numerals over 'ten'

In steps of ten	Gloss	Internal structure
kré-	'-teen'	possibly a contraction of *kēp=ra* 'ten-NUM.CONN' (also suggested by Joseph (2009: 156))
ingkói	'twenty'	(< PTB **m-kul*)
thomkēp	'thirty'	*thòm* 'three' + *kēp* 'ten'
phlīkēp	'fourty'	*phlī* 'four' + *kēp* 'ten'
phōkēp	'fifty'	*phō* 'five' + *kēp* 'ten'
thrōkkēp	'sixty'	*thrōk* 'six' + *kēp* 'ten'
throksikep	'seventy'	*thrōksí* 'seven' + *kēp* 'ten'
throknerkep	'eighty'	*thrōk* 'six' + *nerkēp* 'eight' (Grüßner 1978: 64) *(thrōk* 'six' + *-ni* 'two') + R + *kēp* 'ten' (Joseph 2009: 156)
throksirkep	'ninety'	*thrōk* 'six' + *sirkēp* 'nine'(Grüßner 1978: 64) *thrōk* 'six' + *-si* 'one' [+ *-ni* 'two'] + R + *kēp* 'ten' (Joseph 2009: 156)
pharó	'hundred'	
surí	'thousand'	

For the numerals in the teens, *kré-* is prefixed onto independent numerals, i.e., *kré-isī* 'eleven', *kré-hiní* 'twelve', etc. For other double-digit forms (or for counting to even higher numbers with more than two digits), *=ra* is used as a connecting element, e.g., *ingkoi=ra isī* 'twenty-one', *ingkoi=ra hiní* 'twenty-two', etc. An example of a more complex form is given in (157).

(157) Complex numeral word
[[[pharó kré-sirkēp=ra] phlī-kēp=ra] phlī] a-ningkán
hundred teen-nine=NUM.CONN four-ten=NUM.CONN four POSS-year
'the year 1944' [SiT, HF 194]

4.8.3. Subordinators and Coordinators

Most subordinators have grammaticalized from relator nouns, as shown in Table 81; an exception is *sitā~setā* 'although'.[114]

Table 81. Subordinators grammaticalized from relator nouns

Semantic domain	Form	Gloss
Temporal	*ahūt*	'while, when'
	akó	'when'; 'before' (with NEG)
	aphī	'after'
	aphráng	'before'
Causal	*apōt*	'because'
	ajōk	

A list of coordinators that are currently attested is given in Table 82, along with an indication of whether a particular form coordinates NPs or predicates/clauses. Note that Grüßner (1978: 128) additionally lists as coordinators: *(ko-)pí-má* 'for (causal), therefore', *tháng-bák-má* 'for (causal), therefore', and *jóng(-sí)* 'if(<Asm)'.

Table 82. Coordinators

Coordination type	Form	Meaning	Syntactic unit
Conjunctive	*=pen*	'with'	NP
	lapen	'and'	NP, predicates/clauses
Disjunctive	*bá*	'or(<Asm)'	NP
	bón(si/se)tā	'but'	predicates /clauses
	màtè	'otherwise, or'	predicates /clauses

[114] *Sitā~setā* 'although' almost certainly is a combination of *-si* 'NF:RL' and *=tā* 'ADD'. See §7.8.3.1.4.

Examples of the coordinators listed in Table 82 are given below.

(158) *=pen* 'with' used as an NP coordinator
Rengsopen Onso atemo chethannang pulo […]
[Réngsō**=pen** Ónsō] a-temó che-thán-nāng pù-lò
NAME=with NAME POSS-story RR-tell-HORT say-RL
'"let's tell each other the story of Rengso and Onso"' […]' [CST, RO 002]

(159) *lapèn* 'and' coordinating clauses
dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

*arlosi lahai kethap **lapen** arum kevan*
arlō=si] [laháí] ke-thàp]] **lapèn** [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC these NMLZ-put.inside **and** down NMLZ-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

(160) *bá* 'or(<Asm)' coordinating NPs
ako ingti tharmit ba birik jokjite, jokpo
akó ingtí tharmìt bá bírík jòk-jí-tē, jòk-pò
then salt turmeric or(<Asm) chili add-IRR2-if add-IRR1
'then if you want to add salt, turmeric, or chili, add those' [PI, BPR 005]

(161) *bóntā* 'but' coordinating clauses inside same intonation unit
*lapenke... phatang along thesere thaplelo... **bonta** isi*
lapèn=ke... phatáng alòng theseré thàp-lè-lò... **bóntā** isī
and.then=TOP kd.basket LOC fruits put.inside-again-RL **but** one

aphatang along thesere chetheklongledetlo
a-phatáng alòng theseré che-thēklōng-Cē-dèt-lò
POSS-kd.basket LOC fruits RR-see-NEG-PFT-RL
'and then, he again put fruits in the baskets, but in one basket he didn't see any fruit' [SiT, PS 044]

(162) *màtè* ‘otherwise, or’ coordinating clauses

lapen latum haladak... la botor bokan areng

lapèn	là-tūm	háladāk	[la	botór	bokán	a-rèng
and.then	this-PL	there	this	climate(<Asm)	EE:botór	POSS-skin

kelok alampenke climate pulo laso

ke-lòk	a-lám=pen=ke	climate	pù-lò	lasō
NMLZ-be.white	POSS-language=with=TOP	climate(<Eng)	say-RL	this

kemesen apotlone mate la Naka

ke-mē-sén	a-pōt-lò-nē]	màtè	[là	Naká
NMLZ-be.good-INTENS	POSS-reason-RL-INDEF	otherwise	this	TRIBE

atum aphan ketheklongpen akele aning

a-tūm	aphān	ke-theklōng-pèn]	[akelé	a-nīng
POSS-PL	NSUBJ	NMLZ-see-NF	more.than.expected	POSS-mind

kangsampik apotlone

ke-ingsām-pīk]	a-pōt-lò-nē
NMLZ-be.cold-very	POSS-reason-RL-INDEF

‘and then, they... maybe the reason was that the botor bokan, climate in English, was good or the reason was seeing the Nagas, (but) everybody was exceedingly happy’ [SiT, HF 036]

CHAPTER V

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter discusses nominal word formation. There are very few morphological constructions that Karbi nouns may occur in. Cross-linguistically common categories of productive nominal morphology such as role (or case) marking and plural do not exist as such: While there are two role markers (i.e., *-phān*, §10.6.2, and *-lòng*, §10.6.3), as well as a plural marker (i.e., *-tūm*, see §7.6), these are syntactic and not morphological constructions. They represent transparent grammaticalizations that have arisen out of the possessive construction, as evidenced by their initial *a-* (i.e., the possessive/modified *a-* prefix, see §5.3.1 below as well as §7.3).

Although this chapter only lists a handful of prefixes and a handful of suffixes, there are some additional elements that may modify noun stems (e.g., *=pen* 'with, from' or *=tā* 'additive'), which are, however, best considered clitics and therefore discussed in Chapter VII 'The Noun Phrase'.

This chapter begins with an overview of the morphology of noun stems and noun words (§5.1). Next, two types of compounding are discussed in §5.2. In §5.3 and §5.4, an overview of nominal prefixes and nominal suffixes, respectively, is offered. Lastly, §5.5 briefly discusses functions of noun stem reduplicative morphology.

5.1. Overview: Noun Stems and Noun Words

Nouns are morphologically not very complex in Karbi. There are only two derivational suffix slots and one inflectional prefix slot.

Generally, a root can function as a stem without being modified and can function as a word without being modified. However, a noun stem can also be complex in that it is either a compound (§5.2) or in carrying a derivational suffix. Nominal derivational suffixes are not frequent in the corpus, but the gender/size suffixes *-pī* and *-pō* (§5.4.1)

may occur in a first suffix slot, and either the human plural suffix *-mār* (§5.4.4) or a reduplicative suffix (§5.5) may occur in a second suffix slot, as illustrated in (163).[115]

(163) (a) *sar-pī-mār*
adult-female-PL
'women'

(b) *jīr-pō~pō*
friend-male~DUAL
'(two) male friends'

Noun stems can function as noun words without additional morphology, but can also occur with one of two prefixes to function as noun words: with the general possessive/modified prefix *a-* (§5.3.1) or with one of the personal possessive prefixes (§5.3.2).

5.2. Compounding

The sections below discuss two types of compounds in Karbi. The first falls under the traditional notion of compounds, where one noun root is combined with either another noun root or a verb root into a new noun stem. The second type is more specific to the South/Southeast Asian context and is a type of 'elaborate expression' construction.

5.2.1. Simple Root Compounding

New noun stems may be formed by compounding a noun root with another root. Examples of noun-noun and noun-verb compounds are given in Table 83. For further examples of compounds, see Grüßner (1978: 54-5).

Compounds provide evidence for the fact that frozen prefixes such as *ing-* and *ar-* are peripheral to the core semantic part of disyllabic roots, as they get dropped in compounds like *mūm-dīng* (*mūm* < *ingmūm*), *an-sām* (*sām* < *ingsām*), and *me-thān* (*mè* < *armē*). For further examples of this productive process that drops frozen prefixes in compounding (as well as the first syllables of disyllabic roots in other cases), see Grüßner (1978: 35-6).

[115] It is also possible to add the honorific suffix *-lì* to nouns that have the human plural suffix *-mār*, apparently to form vocative forms, see §12.4.1.

Table 83. Noun-noun and noun-verb compounds

Type	Compound	Meaning	Root 1	Gloss	Root 2	Gloss
N-N	*noklāng*	'molasses'	*nók*	'sugarcane'	*lāng*	'water'
	lōthē	'banana (fruit)'	*lō*	'banana leaf'	*thē*	'fruit'
	hēmphū	'house owner'	*hēm*	'house'	*phù*	'grandfather'
N-V	*mūmdīng*	'long-bearded ones, muslims'	*ingmūm*	'beard'	*dīng*	'be long'
	phumèn	'elder'	*phú*	'head'	*mèn*	'be ripe'
	phulòk	'elder'	*phú*	'head'	*lòk*	'be white'
	ànsām	'cold rice'	*àn*	'rice'	*ingsām*	'be cold'
	mèthān	'dog'	*armē*	'tail'	*thàn*	'to cut'
	pìbā	'cloth to carry baby on back'	*pé*	'cloth'	*bā*	'carry baby on back'
	chainōng	'cow'	*chài*	'mithun' (Grüßner dictionary ms.)	*nōng*	'plow'

5.2.2. Higher Level Elaborate Expression Compounding

Elaborate expression constructions are characteristic of Karbi discourse. This is generally discussed in §12.2.2; for the same compounding construction in verb stem formation, see §6.1.

Example (164) shows how two compound noun stems *[[àn-bòr] [hán-bòr]]* can be treated as a yet higher-level compound. The evidence consists in the *a-* 'possessive, modified' prefix attaching only once to the left of the complex compound.

(164) *àn-bòr hán-bòr* as elaborate expression compound
anbor chipurlo, amethang la apo abang
àn-bòr che-pūr-lò a-metháng [là a-pō abàng]
rice-wrapped.bundle RR-open.unfold-RL POSS-self this POSS-father NPDL

a'anbor hanbor *tangte an kelok,*
[[a-àn-bòr] **[hán-bòr]]** tángtē [àn ke-lòk]
POSS-rice-wrapped.bundle **curry-wrapped.bundle** TOP rice NMLZ-be.white

angthip pura pura ekdom han paka
angthíp purá purá ékdóm hán paká
unbroken.rice all(<Asm) all(<Asm) EXCM(<Asm) curry very.good(<Ind)
'they opened their rice bundles, and then when the father opened his own rice and curry bundles, all of it was only the white unbroken (=the best) rice, oh so good, very good curry' [CST, RO 035]

5.3. Nominal Prefixes

The following subsections discuss the nominal prefixes of Karbi: the general possessive or 'modified' prefix *a-*, the set of four personal possessive prefixes (including their systematically derived honorific forms), and the verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-*.

5.3.1. General Possessive or 'Modified' Prefix *a-* 'POSS'

The general possessive or 'modified' prefix *a-* is the most frequent morpheme in the Karbi corpus. It occurs on nouns that are modified by pre-head elements (but not if modified by post-head elements). As such, it occurs on a head noun if that head noun is modified by a pre-head demonstrative, content question word, possessor noun, or adverbial (§7.5), by a pre-head deverbal modifier (§7.7.1), or by a pre-head classifier or numeral (§7.7.2). The *a-* prefix furthermore marks third person possession (along with *alang(li)-*, see §4.5.1). For a discussion of the diachronic significance of the possessive construction (and, hence, the *a-* prefix) in acting as a source construction for the grammaticalization of new elements, see §7.3.

An example of an *a-* marked noun modified by a preceding demonstrative is *lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke* in (165). Note that in this example, *halaso arni* does not have the *a-* on *arnì* 'day', which, however, is due to the fact that nouns beginning with *ar-* (typically) do not occur with the *a-* prefix for morphophonemic reasons (§3.9.2.1). Another instance of *a-* in this example is on *pōk* 'stomach', where it marks third person possession (in a noun incorporation-type construction, see §8.6.1).

(165) Possessive *a-* indicating preceding demonstrative
*anke halaso arni.... **laso ajangrengsoke**.... apok*
ankè hálasō arnì [lasō **a-**jangrēngsō=ke...]. a-pōk
and.then that day this **POSS-**orphan=TOP POSS-stomach

ingchirdukke mati di {mm}
ingchìr-dùk=ke matì dī mm
be.hungry-INTENS=TOP CG Q.tag AFF
'on that day, this orphan was suffering from hunger, wouldn't he have been?' [HK, TR 010]

Examples (166) and (167) show that a classifier-numeral modifier only triggers the *a-* prefix on its head noun if it precedes its head noun, as in *a-tekè* 'POSS-tiger' in (166), but not if it follows it, as in *vōpī* 'hen' in (167).

(166) *a-* marked head noun: modified by preceding classifier-numeral word
hu arni kangsam apor abangke {mm}
hú arnì ke-ingsām a-pór abàng=ke {mm}
then.later sun NMLZ-be.cold POSS-time NPDL=TOP AFF

ejon ateke *konatpenlone vanglo tangho {mm}*
[e-jōn a-tekè] konát=pen=lo-nē vàng-lò tànghò mm
one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger where=from=FOC-INDEF come-RL REP AFF
'then, at the time when the sun was becoming cold (i.e. just before sunset)...' {'Mm.'}
'...one tiger appeared out of nowhere' [HK, TR 030]

(167) Unmarked head noun: modified by following classifier-numeral word
[...] ningveke elitumta e ***vopi ejon***
ningvē=ke e-li-tūm=tā e **[vō-pī e-jōn]**
evening=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON- PL=ADD:DM DSM **chicken-female one-CLF:animal**

chothatnang pulo [...]
cho-thāt-nāng] pù-lò]
AUTO.BEN/MAL-slaughter-HORT say-RL
' "[…] let's kill us one hen tonight", he said, […]' [SeT, MTN 007]

Karbi *a-* is generally considered a reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman **a-* (Wolfenden 1929; Benedict 1972; Matisoff 2003). Note that the Karbi possessive construction [N_{POSR}] [**a-**N_{POSD}], which marks the possessed item while leaving the possessor unmarked, has parallels in Bahing (Kiranti), Lepcha, Aimol (Kuki-Chin), and in Burmese and Lahu (both Lolo-Burmese), where the identical construction [N_{POSR}] [**a-**N_{POSD}] is used (Benedict 1972: 121; Matisoff 2003: 106).[116] In addition to these languages, Meithei also has a cognate *ə-* prefix, which Chelliah (1997: 86) calls the "attributive derivational prefix"; it attaches to "verbal nouns" to derive adjectives.

Note that besides the possessive/modified and third person possessive marking functions shown above, there are other occurrences of *a-* that require a different

[116] Benedict gives the Aimol example *rul ə-rmai* 'snake POSS-tail', which is cognate in all three elements with the same NP in Karbi: *phu**rūi a-armē*** 'snake POSS-tail', and the Bahing examples "*biŋ əta-mi* 'calf' (cow its-child), *byar əpwaku* 'sugar-cane' (cane its-juice)."

explanation. One set of occurrences is exemplified by (168), where *ingnàr* ‘elephant’ is marked with *a-* without there being a modifier and without *a-* indicating third person possession. The reason why *a-* is used here is that this is a reduction of *lasō a-ngnàr* ‘this POSS-elephant’ according to my consultants, who explain that this kind of reduction occurs as part of regular colloquial speech. Remember that a noun is regularly marked possessive via *a-* if modified by a demonstrative.

(168) *a-* in *angnar* from *laso angnar*
angnarta *kangrong ajat <ku> turthap*
a-ingnàr=tā ke-ingròng aját túr-tháp
POSS-elephant=ADD:DM NMLZ-roar GENEX kick-mindlessly

turphrulo... harlong turpur
túr-phrú-lò harlōng túr-pùr
kick-EE:-tháp-RL stone kick-RES:move.over
'this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock' [RBT, ChM 025]

Another set of occurrences of *a-* is represented by *akibisi* ‘the youngest one’ in (169). I follow Grüßner (1978:52) in hypothesizing that *a-* is used here in order to mark this deverbal form more clearly as a referent (i.e., noun), rather than a modifier (which is also marked by the nominalizer *ke-*, see §4.3). In Grüßner’s terms, “due to the generally referring function [of *a-*], this prefix is used to form abstract nouns from gerunds [i.e., nominalizations via *ke-*].”

(169) *a-* in *akibisi* to perhaps indicate referentiality
latumke ***akibisi*** *atumlo, latumta*
[la-tūm=ke **a-**ke-bī-sí a-tūm-lò] la-tūm=tā
this-PL=TOP **POSS-**NMLZ-be.small-SPLT POSS-PL-RL this-PL=ADD:DM

piso some enlo potsi ahem arit dolo
pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] [pōt=si a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
‘they were (the children/descendants of) the youngest, they also had gotten married and so they had their house and property’ [WR, BCS 027]

Possibly the same type of occurrence of *a-* on property-concept terms (PCTs) is also frequently found when the PCT acts as a preposed modifier, as in (170) (for a

discussion of preposed PCT modifiers, see §7.7.1.2). The reason why this may be the same type of occurrence of *a-* is because in this case of preposed PCT modification, the underlying construction may be a possessive construction (§7.5.2), in which the preposed PCT modifier is nominalized in order to act as the (nominal) possessor or modifier.

(170) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *mī* 'be new', marked with *a-ke-* 'POSS-NMLZ-'
lasonthotsi Lindata ketheklongpen aning kerong,
[lasón-thót=si Líndá=tā ke-theklōng-pèn] [a-nīng ke-aróng]]
that.way-exactly=FOC PN=also NMLZ-see-NF POSS-mind NMLZ-be.happy

***akimi ahormulo**, amonit atum aphanta theklonglo*
[a-ke-mī a-hormú-lò] a-monít a-tūm aphān=tā theklōng-lòk-lò
POSS-NMLZ-be.new POSS-thing-RL POSS-man POSS-PL NSUBJ=ADD see-happen.to-RL
'seeing exactly this, Linda was happy, it was a new thing, she also got to see the people' [SH, CSM 035]

5.3.2. Personal Possessive Prefixes

Personal possessive prefixes are discussed along with the independent pronouns they derive from in §4.5.1; Table 84 repeats the forms (with the optional honorific marker *-lì* in parentheses). Note that first person exclusive *ne(li)-* is also used for first person singular reference.

Table 84. Personal possessive prefixes

Possessive prefixes (honorific)	Gloss
ne(li)-	'1EXCL'
e(li)-	'1INCL'
nang(li)-	'2'
[alang(li)- ; a-]	'3'

5.3.3. Verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-*

The verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-* (for the allomorphy, see §3.9.2.1) is related to (or arguably the same morpheme as) the causative *pe- ~ pa-* prefix (§6.4.2). Since nouns can function as predicates without additional marking (§4.3), the use of *pe- ~ pa-* typically has a causative, or perhaps change-of-state, implication 'make X (be) [N]'. In (171), for example, the literal meaning is 'make the backside (be) the front', i.e., 'turn around'.

(171) Verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-* on noun root *ingnò* ‘front’

[…] aphi anatsi ***chepangnophit***

a-phī a-nát=si che-**pa-**ingnò-phìt

POSS-backside POSS-direction=FOC RR-**VBLZ-**front-right.away

‘[…] (he) turned pointing back again right away’ [HI, BPh 006]

Grüßner (1978:93) provides similar examples, such as *chór* ‘pair, couple’ and *pa-chór* ‘marry off’, or *dūk* ‘dust’ (recorded as low tone by Grüßner) and *pa-dūk* ‘pulverize’. In addition, Grüßner offers examples of the prefix on a classifier-numeral word (*pa-khéi-ní* ‘VBLZ-CLF:group-two > divide into two groups’, and on onomatopoeia (*pa-ók’ók* ‘to make the sound *ok-ok*, to grunt (of pigs)’.

However, there are also examples of *pe- ~ pa-* on nouns such as in (172), where the opposite of a ‘change of state’ is indicated in *nangpa'okorjangdunlonglang* ‘still getting to remain / still be (and participate in society as) a girl’ and the equivalent *nangparisomardunlonglang*. It appears that in this example, *pa-* only functions as a verbalizer, and not a causative. We may hypothesize that some speakers prefer to use *pe- ~ pa-* as an overt verbalizer in longer, more complex predicates.

(172) Verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-* on noun roots *okorjāng* ‘unmarried.girl’ and *risō* ‘unmarried.boy’

la'an akemesen atovar kedamtheksi

[la-án a-ke-mēsén a-továr ke-dàm-thēk-si]

this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.good POSS-road NMLZ-go-know.how-NF:RL

hako amonit atumke nonpu'anta

[[hakó a-monít a-tūm=ke] nón-pu-án=tā

that.time POSS-man POSS-PL=TOP now-QUOT-all=ADD:EXH

ilitum a'ansose ***nangpa'okorjangdunlonglang***

e-li-tūm a-án-sosē nang=**pa-**okorjāng-dūn-lōng-làng

1PL.INCL-HON-PL POSS-that.much-more CIS=**VBLZ-**unmarried.girl-JOIN-GET-yet

nangparisomardunlonglang

nang=**pa-**risō-mār-dūn-lōng-làng]

CIS=**VBLZ-**unmarried.boy-PL-JOIN-GET-yet

‘they know how to go on a good road up to a high degree (metaphorically referring to knowing how to do things properly, how to keep everything clean, etc.), and, because they know how to keep everything clean and nice, those people back then up until today, get to stay even more like girls and boys (i.e., young) than we do’ [SiH, CW 017]

In (173), *pa-* occurs on *thē* 'fruit' to mean 'to bear fruit', and Grüßner also records *pa-tì* 'VBLZ-egg > to lay eggs'. These examples suggest that *pe- ~ pa-* may also function to express 'cause [N] to exist'. Further research will need to investigate the factors that determine the function of *pe- ~ pa-* on a particular noun stem (which may turn out to be largely pragmatic in nature).

(173) Verbalizer *pe- ~ pa-* on noun root *thē* 'fruit'
[…] pholo epen, ***pathepo****, ingdakpo*
[pholó è-pen] **[pa-**thē-pò] [ingdàk-pò]
cotton plant-NF **VBLZ-**fruit-IRR1 burst.open-IRR1
'[…] after having planted the cotton, (the cotton tree) carries fruit, then (the seeds) will burst open' [KST, PSu 003]

5.4. Nominal Suffixes

The discussion of nominal suffixes starts with the gender suffixes *-pī* and *-pō*, which have further functions as augmentative and modifier-deriving markers (§5.4.1). In §5.4.2, information on the diminutive *-sō* is offered, and §5.4.3 discusses the occurrence of the diminutive and the two gender and augmentative/modifier-deriving suffixes in the names of animal/plant subspecies. In §5.4.4, the plural suffix *-mār*, which occurs on nouns with human referents, is shown, and §5.4.5 offers an account of the nominal superlative suffix *-sí*.

5.4.1. Gender Suffixes *-pī* and *-pō*

Karbi has two gender suffixes, *-pī* 'female' and *-pō* 'male'. There are a number of nouns with human referents that may be specified for gender via one of the two suffixes, for example *sō-pī* 'daughter' and *sō-pō* 'son', *jīr-pī* 'female friend' and *jīr-pō* 'male friend', or *sàr-pī* 'married woman' and *sàr-pō* 'married man'.[117] 'Female' *-pī* also occurs productively with animal referents, whereas 'male' *-pō* is often replaced by *-lò* (which is

[117] Note that *sàr-pō* is often replaced by the word *sàr-burá* in colloquial speech, where the second part *burá* is a borrowing from Assamese. There is no directly analogous female form, but instead a form with both suffixes, i.e., *sàr-pī-burí*, is used in addition to *sàr-pī*. The male form *sàr-pō* is still used in ceremonial speech.

commonly used as a noun rather than a suffix, e.g., in *vō a-lò* 'chicken POSS-male > rooster'). Below I discuss each suffix separately.

5.4.1.1. Female and Augmentative *-pī*

The 'female' suffix *-pī* occurs in several places, where *-pō* is not or not typically used for the male counterpart. One example is clan names. Children carry the clan name of their father, for example *Krō* or *Tīssō*. But while the clan names of sons (or men) do not require the 'male' suffix, the clan names of the daughters (or women) do, so the daughter would be called *Krōpī* or *Tīssōpī*, but the son would be *Krō* or *Tīssō*, just like his father.

'Female' *-pī* is also used on nouns with animal referents, for example *vō-pī* 'chicken-female > hen'. The lexical noun *-pī* still exists, so it is also possible to say *vō a-pī* 'chicken POSS-female > hen' or *bī a-pī* 'goat POSS-female > female goat'. The noun *-pī* 'female (person/animal)' is likely related to *pēi* ~ *pāi* 'mother'.

While a form *-pō* for male referents, or grammaticalized as a nominalizer, exists all across Tibeto-Burman, 'female' *-pī* is not very common. Interestingly, however, Meithei also has a 'female' *-pi* suffix as in *nu-pi* 'female human' or *hənu-bi* 'old woman' (Chelliah 1997: 244). The corresponding 'male' suffix in Meithei is *-pa*. The shared *-pi* suffix may be part of a set of items that occur in both Karbi and Meithei due to language contact (§1.3).

Polysemically related to the 'female' marking function, *-pī* also has an augmentative function. Although it may be cross-linguistically more common to polysemically relate the male gender with augmentative marking, the 'female-augmentative' link has a parallel in Galo (Tani, Tibeto-Burman), where the 'female' suffix *-nə̀* also means 'big' (for example *dog-nə̀* 'large stone bead at ornament base' or *lə-nə̀* 'big toe' (Post 2007: 873)). Examples of Karbi 'female' *-pī* as an augmentative are *thói-pī* 'vast plains', *inglóng-pī* 'large mountain', or the name of a river, *Lāngpī* (lit. 'water-AUGMENT').

The 'female, augmentative' *-pī* occurs on PCT roots, arguably in its augmentative function; this is discussed below in §5.4.1.3.

5.4.1.2. Male (and Non-Productive Modifier-Deriving) *-pō*

The male suffix *-pō* is related to the lexical noun *-pō* 'father', a common root in Tibeto-Burman with the same semantics of 'male' or 'father'. Examples are *bamón-pō* 'wise old man (borrowed from Indic *Brahmin*)' (which also has a female counterpart, *bamón-pī*), or *bokolá-pō*, a character in folk stories whose stupidity results in entertaining, funny stories.

'Male' *-pō* alternates with 'female' *-pī* as augmentatives in the noun stem 'thumb', which may be either *mùn-pī* or *mùn-pō*. This appears to be an exception, however; generally, only *-pī* is used as an augmentative suffix on noun stems.

There are several occurrences that suggest that *-pō* has historically derived modifiers from PCT roots in a synchronically no longer productive way. This is interesting considering that *-pa/-po* nominalizers are found in a large number of Tibeto-Burman languages from different branches of the family (LaPolla 2008: 52). Examples are (174) and (175), which come from folk stories. (174) shows that the elephant in the story is characterized as *nothōng-pō* 'deaf', where *nothōng* is a compound of *-nò* 'ear' and *ingthòng* 'deaf'.

(174) *-pō* in modifier *nothōng-pō* 'deaf'
ingnar ***nothongpo*** *ano lutchok arkevaret*
[[ingnàr nothōng-**pō**] a-nò] lūt-chòk arkè-varèt
elephant deaf-**MODIF** POSS-ear enter-disappearing scratch-INTENS
'(the bird) got into the ears of a deaf elephant, and scratched around' [RBT, ChM 024]

It is not clear what word class affiliation *nothōng* has. There is a productive compounding process that derives noun stems from a combination of a noun root and a verb root (§5.2.1), so *nothōng* could be a noun stem, but since it doesn't occur by itself, it is impossible to know for sure. With *-pō*, however, it clearly acts as a modifier, and *-pō* does not indicate that this is a male elephant.

Additional examples are *[vō ìk-pō] [vō thè-pō]* 'big black bird' in (175). Here, *-pō* occurs on straightforward PCT roots and derives modifiers of the head noun *vō* 'bird'.

(175) *-pō* in modifiers *ìk-pō* ‘black’ and *thè-pō* ‘big’
*vo **ikpo** vo **thepo** do*
[vō ík-**pō**] [vō thè-**pō**] dō
bird be.black-**MODIF** bird be.big-**MODIF** exist
‘[…] there is a big black bird’ [SeT, MTN 018]

Further discussion of *-pō* with the (historical) function of deriving modifiers and a comparison with *-pī* is offered in the next section.

5.4.1.3. Augmentative and Modifier-Deriving *-pī* and *-pō*

Examples (176) and (177) demonstrate the equivalent uses of *-pī* and *-pō*, as they occur on the PCT root *thè* ‘be big’ to form a modifier of the preceding head noun (see also §4.2.6).

(176) *thè-pō* ‘big (< *thè* ‘be big’ and *-pō* ‘big’)’
*anke ha langso asiluka **thepota** pulelo*
ánke há [langsō a-sílukā thè-**pō**=tā] pù-lè-lò
and.then over.there this POSS-sp.tree(<Asm) **be.big-MODIF**=ADD:DM say-again-RL
‘and then, there, this big siluka tree replied (said again)’ [KK, BMS 107]

(177) *thè-pī* ‘big (< *thè* ‘be big’ and *-pī* ‘AUGMENT’)’
*la bhari talo **thepi** nangkekapji kopuloma*
là [bharí taló thè-**pī]** nang=ke-káp-jí kopú=lo=ma
this very.big(<Ind) sea be.big-**AUGMENT** CIS=NMLZ-cross.water-IRR2 how=FOC=Q
‘how will we be able to cross the huge sea?’ [KK, BMS 100]

The fact that *-pī* also appears to derive a modifier from the PCT root *thè* ‘be big’ in (177) - just like *-pō* does in (176) - is surprising. It is the only instance in the corpus of *-pī* occurring on a PCT root rather than on a noun. One possibility is to consider *taló-thè* ‘big sea’ a compound noun stem (parallel to, for example, *mūm-dīng* ‘long bearded (person)’, from *ingmūm* ‘beard’ and *dīng* ‘be long’). However, *taló-thè* does not occur without *-pī*, so this is not an appealing explanation. A perhaps better interpretation is that *-pī*, possibly in analogy with *-pō*, may also function to derive modifiers from PCT roots, with additional augmentative semantics.

5.4.2. Diminutive *-sō*

There is only one occurrence of the diminutive suffix *-sō* in the corpus, which is given in (178).

(178) Diminutive *-sō* on *phu'īk* 'earthen pot'
ansi lang dungpo, anke lasi <ka> ingsir'etlo tangte
ánsi [lāng dúng-pò] ánke [lasì <ka> ingsīr-ét-lò tángtē
then water pour-IRR1 and.then then <...> filter-PRF-RL if

pacharmatpo; chenangchitpen, phu'iksopen
pacharmát-pò] [chenáng-chìt-pèn phuˈīk-**sō**=pen
test.if.taste.is.good-IRR1 match-finally-NF earthen.pot-**DIM**=with

ilitum han tun'ikpo
e-li-tūm hán tún-īk-pò]
1PL.INCL-HON-PL vegetables cook-FRML-IRR1
'and then, we pour water and then when (the funnel) has filtered (the ashes), we test the taste, and after finding it matching, we cook the curry in a small phu-ik pot' [SiH, KH 007]

Grüßner (1978: 55) also records other occurrences of the diminutive, such as *arvó-sō* 'little leaf' or *bí-sō* 'small pond'. Another example is (179), where *-sō* occurs on a classifier. It appears that *-sō* is used productively to derive diminutive stems of nominal elements (i.e., nouns and classifiers).

(179) *a-plàng-sō-néi*
POSS-CLF:cylindrical-DIM-SPLT
'the smallest (loaf of bread)' (Grüßner 1978: 107)

5.4.3. Gender/Augmentative and Diminutive Suffixes in Names of Animal(/Plant) Subspecies

A number of proper nouns that refer to animal (and some plant) subspecies end in the gender/augmentative suffixes *-pī* or *-pō*, or the diminutive suffix *-sō*. Table 85 offers a list of examples attested in the corpus (and Grüßner provides more examples in his dictionary manuscript).

Table 85. Proper nouns with *-pī*, *-pō*, or *-sō* suffix

Proper nouns with *-pī*		Proper nouns with *-pō*		Proper nouns with *-sō*	
phàk-beléngpī	'pig.sp'	*misò-rongpō*	'ant.sp'	*chonghō-kalósō*	'frog.sp'
vō-arbípī	'bird.sp'	*methān-sibóngpō*	'dog.sp'		
		karlē-sibóngpō	'squirrel.sp'		
		vō-arkókpō	'plant.sp'		

The *-pī* and *-pō* suffixes here probably do not mark gender. Instead, *-pī* is probably the augmentative counterpart to *-sō* 'diminutive' to indicate that a particular subspecies is relatively large or small. The *-pō* suffix then is likely to be a purely structural element that derives the modifier that characterizes the particular subspecies.

5.4.4. Human Plural *-mār*

The plural suffix *-mār* only occurs on nouns with human referents, e.g., *riso-mār* 'unmarried boys', *osō-mār* 'children', *sarpī-mār* 'married women', *sarpō-mār* 'married men'. The more general plural marking strategy is a possessive construction involving the 'plural noun' *-tūm* (§7.6). As seen in (180), nouns that already carry *-mār* in addition often occur in the *-tūm* plural construction.

(180) Pleonastic plural marking via *-mār* and *atūm*

anke laso a'osomar atum nangke'otkrei atheseresi

ánke	[lasō	**a-osō-mār**	**a-tūm]**	nang=ke-ót-krèi	a-theseré=si
and.then	this	**POSS-child-PL**	**POSS-PL**	CIS=NMLZ-touch-DISTR.PL	POSS-fruits=FOC

langdunveretlo...

làng-dūn-verèt-lò...

see-JOIN-INTENS-RL

'and then, he (the old man) keeps watching the fruits that these children are each holding, […]' [SiT, PS 045]

Interestingly, (181) suggests that *-mār* functions as a derivational (rather than an inflectional) suffix, as it forms an extended noun stem *risō-mār*, which then is verbalized with *pa-*.

(181) Plural *-mār*
[…] nangparisomardunlonglang
nang=pa-risō-**mār**-dūn-lōng-làng]
CIS=VBLZ-unmarried.boy-**PL**-JOIN-GET-yet
'[…] (they) get to stay even more like [girls and] boys (i.e., young) than we do' [SiH, CW 017]

Note that the honorific suffix *-lì* occurs on *-mār* pluralized nouns. Honorific *-lì* otherwise only occurs on pronouns (and personal possessive prefixes), see §4.5.1 on pronoun forms, and §12.4.1 on honorific *-lì*.

5.4.5. Superlative *-sí*

The suffix *-sí* occurs on nominal stems with property-concept semantics to indicate a superlative degree. In (182), the suffix attaches to *a-ki-bī* 'POSS-NMLZ-be.small > young one'. While *-sí* may ultimately bear a relationship with the realis focus marker *=si* (§10.7.3), they are synchronically different elements: superlative *-sí* is a suffix that occurs on the noun stem as seen in (182), whereas focus*=si* is a clitic that attaches to an entire phrase.

(182) Superlative *-sí* on nominalized *akibī*
*latumke **akibisi** atumlo, latumta*
[la-tūm=ke a-ke-bī-**sí** a-tūm=lo] la-tūm=tā
this-PL=TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.small-**SPLT** POSS-PL-RL this-PL=ADD:DM

piso some enlo potsi ahem arit dolo
pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] [pōt=si a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'they were (the children/descendants of) the youngest, they also had gotten married and so they had their house and property' [WR, BCS 027]

(183) shows that *-sí* may also occur on adverbs - here, an adverb derived from a relator noun.[118]

[118] It might be worth double-checking that *aphī* here cannot instead be interpreted as a noun with the meaning 'the later/last one'.

(183) Superlative *-sí* on *aphī* ‘after, last’

*[…] si aphi abangke **aphisi** vanglo, mh*

sì	a-phì	abàng=ke	aphī-**sí**	vàng-lò	mh
and.then	POSS-grandmother	NPDL=TOP	afterwards-**SPLT**	come-RL	DSM

‘[…] and then, the grandmother was the last one who came’ [KK, BMS 074]

5.5. Reduplication

Reduplication occurs more frequently and has more different functions on verb stems (§6.6) than on noun stems. Nevertheless, there are some cases where reduplication of noun stems occurs. So far dual and (distributive) plural functions of reduplicated noun stems have been attested. Note that reduplication of noun and verb stems consists of the reduplication of the last syllable of the stem, with scope typically over the whole stem, but see §6.5.1.1.1 with scope differences in verbs.

5.5.1. Dual

Reduplication of the last syllable of a noun stem may indicate duality, as shown in (184), where *jīrpō~pō* refers to ‘two friends’. A plural interpretation (with a different context) is not acceptable.

(184) Reduplication with dual marking function

anke damlo adapprang halatum damlo tangho, jirpopo {mm}

ánke	dàm-lò	a-dappráng	hála-tūm	dàm-lò	tànghò	jīr-pō~pō	mm
and.then	go-RL	POSS-dawn	that-PL	go-RL	REP	friend-male~DUAL	AFF

‘and then, they went, early in the morning they went, the two friends’ [HK, TR 146]

Also note (185) from an on-line narration of the pear story (i.e., the speaker is describing what is going on as he is watching the video clip). Here, the reduplicative dual form *arlososo* from the noun *arloso* ‘woman/girl’ does not mean that there are two girls, but instead refers to the duality of the boy on the bike colliding with the girl on the bike, i.e., the duality of the girl and the boy.

(185) Reduplication with dual marking function: associative dual

<la> <saikel...> <a> <la> arlososo abangpen

<là>	<saikél...>	<là>	**[árlosō~sō**	abàng=pen]
this	bicycle(<Eng)	this	**woman~DUAL**	NPDL=with

chetongder amat aphutup klophit
che-tōng-dèr amāt a-phutūp kló-phìt
RR-collide-sound and.then POSS-hat fall-right.away
'the bicycle..., with the girl he collided and then his hat fell down' [SiT, PS 028]

Further examples of specific lexicalized instances of this dual reduplication pattern are, for example, *pēi-pō~pō* 'mother-father~DL' > 'mother and father', *sō-pī~pī* 'child-female~DL' > 'daughter and son', *pō-sō~sō* 'father-child~DL' > 'father and son' (Grüßner 1978:57).

5.5.2. (Distributive) Plural

As discussed in §6.6.2, one of the functions of reduplication of verb stems is to indicate the (sometimes distributive) plurality of an argument, typically the S or the O argument. Similarly, the inanimate plural demonstrative *(la)héi* or *(la)hái* has a reduplicated form *(la)héi~hái* (or *(la)héi~húi*, or *(la)hái~húi*), which indicates not only plurality (which is already part of the meaning of *(la)héi*), but a 'plurality of types' or distributive plurality in the sense of 'these different ones'. This is the intended meaning in (186), for example, where *laheihui* anaphorically refers to two types of plants used as soap in traditional times.

(186) Reduplication with distributive plural marking function
lapente ephu kechingthike vo'arkokpo tangho,
[lapènte e-phú ke-chingthí=ke] [vō'arkókpō tànghò]
and.then 1PL.INCL-head NMLZ-clean.thoroughly=TOP sp.plant REP

lapente plimplam abo tangho, ***laheihui*** *helo*
[lapènte plimplām a-bō tànghò] lahéi~**húi-**heló
and.then sp.sour.fruit POSS-fruit.inside REP these~**DIST.PL-**RL:EMPH
'and then, to wash our head, the things (we use) are Voarkokpo, and then the inside of the plimplam fruit, it is those different ones' [SiH, CW 008]

In (187), *heihai* with its sense of 'different ones' occurs in a general extender construction (see §12.2.1).

(187) *heihai* in general extender construction

Europe lapen kaprek kaprek adet
Europe lapèn ke-prék ke-prék a-dét
Europe(<Eng) and NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different POSS-country

America heihaipen phorena atum dopik hadak
America héihái=pen phorená a-tūm dō-pīk hádāk
America(<Eng) some=from foreigner(<Eng) POSS-PL exist-very there
'from Europe and from many different countries, (like) from America etc., there were many foreigners there' [SiT, HF 037]

Other examples of reduplication in nominal elements that indicate plurality are offered in (188) and (189).

(188) Reduplication in *pí-nē~nē* indicating plurality

hala kopinene adum pinene
[hála **[kopí-nē~nē** a-dùm] **[pí-nē~nē**
that **what-INDEF~DIST.PL** POSS-plains.fishermen.community **what-INDEF~DIST.PL**

amumding atum aphan {mm} daksi arklipo
a-ingmūm-dīng] a-tūm aphān] mm dāk=si arklì-pò
POSS-beard-be.long POSS-PL NSUBJ AFF here=FOC bewail-IRR1
here, they will sacrifice those different people from the fishermen community that live in the plain, [and] those long-bearded ones [HK, TR 112]

(189) Reduplication in *e-nūt~nūt* indicating plurality

{la monit akaprek kaprek
là monít a-ke-prék ke-prék
this man POSS-NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different

akhei inutnut} mm mm {oi}
a-khēi **e-nūt~nūt}** mm mm {ōi}
POSS-community **one-CLF:HUM:SG~DIST.PL** AFF AFF yes
'{these people from all the different communities?!}' [HK, TR 113]

CHAPTER VI

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter discusses verbal word formation. §6.1 offers a short note on compound verbs. In §6.2, an overview of approximate position classes in the Karbi verb is provided. The remainder of the chapter follows the order of position classes in the verb in discussing the respective morphemes involved in verbal word formation, see §6.2 for the organization of this chapter.

6.1. Compounding

Just like in nominal word formation (§5.2.2), compound verb stems can be formed based on elaborate expression root pairs (§12.2.2.2). For example, the two roots *tún* 'cook' and *dàng* 'put on stove' form an elaborate expression meaning 'cook' in (190).

(190) Verbal elaborate expression in compound construction

so'arlo atum adapprang ha the'ang'e

sō'arlō	a-tūm	a-dàppráng	há	the'āng-Cē
women:COLL	POSS-PL	POSS-very.early	over.there	be.bright-NEG

akopen hem kedo atum aphanta

akò=pen	hēm	ke-dō	a-tūm	a-phān=tā
before=from	house	NMLZ-stay	POSS-PL	POSS-NSUBJ=ADD

tun-dangpikang'et nangjilang

tún-dàng-pī-káng-ét	náng-jí-lāng
cook-put.on.stove-BEN/MAL-leaving-PRF	need-IRR2-still

'early in the morning, over there, the women have to cook and do all the household works from before dawn also for those who stay at home (besides food for themselves)' [KaR, SWK 074]

6.2. Overview: Position Classes in the Karbi Verb

Figure 14 lays out approximate position classes in the Karbi verb. There are four pre-root slots, and six post-root slots. Slot 6 consists of predicate derivations, more than one of which can occur in a given verb. Note that all pre- and post-root slots are entirely

optional: the bare stem (consisting of just the root) may function as the predicate all by itself.

This chapter discusses these verbal affixes including the proclitics in the order they occur in as shown in Figure 14. Specifically, this means that the next section deals with the proclitics (§6.3); followed by the prefixal derivational morphology of slot 2 as well as the scope-sensitive slots 3 and 4 (§6.4); then the large class of suffixal predicate derivations in slot 6 (§6.5); followed by functions of reduplication in slot 7 (§6.6); then the onset-reduplicative negative suffix *-Cē* in slot 8 (§6.7). Finally, the more inflectional suffixes are in the remaining four sections. Slot 9 is an 'aspect' category (§6.8), whereas slot 10 contains four different types of suffixes: mood marking suffixes (§6.9); subordinate marking suffixes (§6.10); one suffix marking aspect (§6.11); as well as non-declarative speech act suffixes (§6.12).

1	2	3+4	5	6	7	8	9	10
nang=	*ke-*	*che- pa-*	**ROOT**	*DERIV**	*RDPL*	*-Cē*	*-dèt*	*-jí*
ne=		*pa- che-*					*-pín*	*-pò*
e=		*cho- pa-*						*-lò*
		(pa- cho-)						*-si*
		cho-						*-ra*
		che-						*-pen*
		pa-						*-làng*
								-nāng
								…

1: proclitic slot
2: nominalization
3+4: argument structure influencing
5: root (/stem)
6: predicate derivations, including modals
7: reduplication
8: negation
9: aspect
10: mood, aspect, subordinate, non-declarative speech act marking

Figure 14. Position classes in the Karbi verb

The remainder of this section §6.2 contains a discussion of these topics: Following §6.2.1 on the issue of derivational versus inflectional verbal affixes, §6.2.2 discusses ordering possibilities in pre-root slots, while an overview of post-root slots is provided in §6.2.3.

6.2.1. Derivational and Inflectional Affixes, and the Verb Stem

We can draw a distinction between derivational and inflectional affixes in the following way. In Figure 14, slots 2 up to and including slot 8 with the negative suffix are derivational, and slots 9, 10, and 11 are inflectional. Doing this does a fairly good job of aligning typically derivational categories that are semantically rich, and typically inflectional categories that grammatically specify a verb for use in a particular context. The result also aligns with our typological understanding that derivational categories are closer to the root or stem, and inflectional categories are further removed from the root or stem.

Derivational prefixes then include the nominalizer (changing the part of speech) and the argument structure influencing prefixes: the causative, the auto-benefactive/malefactive, and the reflexive/reciprocal. Derivational suffixes include the large class of predicate derivations as well as reduplication and the negative suffix. Inflection is only carried out by suffixes and includes categories of aspect, mood, subordinate, and speech act marking.

As we would expect, some prima facie 'problems' remain. For example, the nominalizer *ke-* has been reanalyzed as an imperfective marker (see §9.7), as a result of which we need to consider the *ke-* 'imperfective' prefix an inflectional marker that also goes in slot 2, making slot 2 a derivational-inflectional hybrid slot. Another analytical issue is that suffixes of functionally related aspectual categories go in three different positions, i.e., slots 6, 9, and 10. Of course these are not actually problems - they are just evidence of normal diachronic change.

6.2.2. Pre-Root Slots

The elements that occur in pre-root slots are limited to the ones given in Figure 14 above, which include three proclitics (cross-referencing non-subject speech act participants and marking the cislocative), the nominalizer *ke-* (and progressive *ke-*), and two slots for argument structure influencing prefixes with scope-sensitive ordering options: *pa-* 'causative', *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal', and *cho-* 'auto-benefactive/malefactive'. Below I provide examples for the ordering possibilities between the causative prefix on the one hand, and the reflexive/reciprocal and auto-

benefactive/malefactive prefixes on the other hand; the reflexive/reciprocal and auto-benefactive/malefactive prefixes cannot co-occur on the same verb.

First, (191) offers a verb form with all prefix slots and the proclitic slot filled: *nang=* cross-referencing the first person causee (or the first/second person possessor, see §6.3.1.3), the nominalizer *ka-*, the causative *pa-*, and the reflexive/reciprocal *che-*. In this verb, the causative precedes the reflexive/reciprocal. This results in the causative having scope over the stem consisting of the reflexive/reciprocal-marked root, i.e., *pa-[che-tòng]* 'cause (somebody) [to meet (somebody)]'.

(191) Verb form with all pre-root slots filled (causative preceding reflexive/reciprocal)

*[…] "nephi aphan **nangkapachetongji** pule,*
[ne-phì aphān **[nang=]$_1$ [ke-]$_2$ [pa-]$_3$ [che-]$_4$** tòng-jí pu=le
1EXCL-grandmother NSUBJ **1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-RR-**meet-IRR2 QUOT=FOC:IRR

nangpachetongte" […]
nang=pa-che-tòng-Cē
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-RR-meet-NEG
'[…] "you said you will make/help me meet my (should be 'your') grandmother, but you didn't make/help me meet her", (said bamonpo) […]' [KK, BMS 073]

Note, however, that in this particular case, *che-tòng* 'RR-meet' has actually lexicalized and is only diachronically analyzable into a reflexive/reciprocal prefix and a root. This is evidenced by the fact that only *chetòng* is ever used, and never just *tòng*.

An example that shows that the causative prefix may also synchronically precede the reflexive/reciprocal prefix is (192).

(192) Verb form with causative preceding reflexive/reciprocal

lasi pinso arlo ba apai apota
lasì [[pinsō arlò] bá [a-pāi a-pō=tā]]
therefore married.man woman or(<Asm) POSS-mother POSS-father=ADD

pachehoman osomar aphan, laso
pe-che-homán osō-mār a-phān lasō
CAUS-RR-be.equal(<Asm) child-PL POSS-NSUBJ this

adaito che'en pute, bangbang
a-daitó che-én pu-tē bàng~bāng
POSS-responsibility(<Asm) RR-take QUOT-COND somebody~DIST.PL

akhai ason mane undunjima pusi
a-khái asón mane ùn-dūn-jí=ma pusi
POSS-community like I.mean(<Asm) be.able-JOIN-IRR2=Q QUOT.COMP

nelita kamatha
nè-lì=tā kV-mathà
1EXCL-HON=ADD NMLZ-think
'so the men and women, or the mothers and fathers, if they **make themselves equal** for the children, if they take this their own responsibility, then like other peoples' tribes we will be successful (on a par with other peoples' tribes), is what I think' [KaR, SWK 052]

In (193), the scope is reversed: the reflexive/reciprocal prefix precedes, and therefore has scope over, the causativized stem *che-[pa-ngthìr]*.

(193) Verb form with reflexive/reciprocal preceding causative
*lapente monit atum kedo kethak **kachepangthir***
lapènte monít a-tūm ke-dō ke-thák ke-**che-pa-**ingthìr
and.then man POSS-PL NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) NMLZ-**RR-CAUS-**be.clean

nangji
náng-jí
must-IRR2
'and then, people need to stay and live in a clean environment' [SiH, CW 001]

Note that in (193), the reflexive/reciprocal has middle-like semantics (§6.4.3), while the causative is part of an adverbial construction here (§8.3.2).

Finally, let us consider the ordering options between the causative prefix and the auto-benefactive/malefactive prefix. In the verb *kachopethepen* in (194), the auto-benefactive/malefactive precedes the causative, as *pe-thè* 'CAUS-be.big' means 'raise', and *cho-* adds a (weak) auto-benefactive/malefactive sense to it.

(194) Verb form with auto-benefactive/malefactive preceding causative
hako ahutke so'arlo atumke la hem arlo
[hakó a-hūt=ke] sō'arlō a-tūm=ke là hēm arlō
that.time POSS-during=TOP women:COLL POSS-PL=TOP this house inside

ketun kedang asomar
kV-tún kV-dàng a-oso-màr
NMLZ-cook NMLZ-put.on.stove POSS-child-PL

kachopethepen <abahere> angparke pirthe
kV-**cho-pe-**thē-pen <a-baheré> anpár=ke] [pirthé
NMLZ-**AUTO.BEN/MAL-CAUS-**be.big-NF:with POSS-beyond(<Asm) besides=TOP world

<a> angtanke, kachoklemdunji avarsai chinidunde
a-ingtán=ke] kV-cho-klém-dùn-jí a-varsāi chiní-dùn-Cē
POSS-outside=TOP NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-JOIN-IRR2 POSS-way know-JOIN-NEG
'in the old days, beyond doing household works and **raising** children, ways of working in the outside world, they don't understand how to get' [KaR, SWK 063]

The order of the causative preceding the auto-benefactive/malefactive does not appear to occur synchronically. There are examples such as *nangkapachobeima* in (195), which look like they contain *pa-cho-*, but *chobēi* here really has to be treated as a lexicalized root with the meaning 'lie (not telling the truth)', as *bèi* without *cho-* means 'console'.

(195) Verb form with causative preceding auto-benefactive/malefactive
[…] nephan nangpakolikma {oi} ***nangkapachobeima***
ne-phān nang=pakolík=ma ōi nang=ke-**pa-cho(-)**bēi=ma
1EXCL-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=lie=Q yes 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-**CAUS-(AUTO.BEN/MAL-)**lie=Q
'[…] "are you lying to me? are you telling me a lie?" (said the tiger)' [HK, TR 087]

6.2.3. Post-Root Slots

The structure of post-root slots is more complex than that of pre-root slots. This is already obvious from the fact that there is a hugely greater number of suffixes than prefixes.

There are co-occurrence restrictions between slots 8 and 10 that cannot be represented in a position class diagram such as Figure 14 (repeated here with the post-roots slots only, as Figure 15). They are discussed in §6.2.3.1. Further complications exist with respect to *-pín* in slot 9 (§6.2.3.2), as well as within slot 10, as *-jí* and *-làng* appear to co-occur. This is discussed in §6.2.3.3.

5	6	7	8	9	10
ROOT	*DERIV**	*RDPL*	*-Cē*	*-dèt*	*-jí*
				-pín	*-lò*
					-si
					-làng
					-nāng
					…

5: root (/stem)
6: predicate derivations, including modals
7: reduplication
8: negation
9: aspect
10: mood, aspect, subordinate, non-declarative speech act marking

Figure 15. Post-root slots of the Karbi verb

Moreover, another problematic slot is 7 'reduplication'. This is because reduplication does not frequently occur with other suffixes in the corpus. Examples (196) and (197) show, however, that reduplication (whose functions are discussed in §6.6) may occur before the quasi/onset-reduplicative negative suffix, which is why the position class diagram presented above has the two slots ordered that way.

(196) Reduplication suffix indicating (distributive) plural occurring before negative suffix

*"te mo pine**pinane**detjima,*
te mò pí-nē~**pinā-Cē**-dèt-jí=ma
and.then/therefore future what-INDEF~**DIST.PL-NEG**-PFV-IRR2=Q

ko jirpo?" pu {mm}
ko jīrpō pu mm
buddy:VOC friend QUOT AFF
'"and there won't be anything (any difficulties, problems, dangers), my friend?"' [HK, TR 140]

(197) Reduplication suffix occurring before negative suffix

*chón-rai~**rai-rē***
jump-RES:break~**DIST.PL-NEG**
'(s/he) didn't repeatedly jump and break (something)' or '(s/he) repeatedly jumped on things without breaking them' [KT 111208]

6.2.3.1. Cooccurrence Restriction between Negative *-Cē* and Irrealis *-jí* and *-pò* (Slots 8 and 10)

The negative suffix *-Cē* may only co-occur with the irrealis suffixes *-jí* and *-pò* if perfective *-dèt* intervenes. Therefore, *lūt-lē-dèt-jí=ma* 'enter-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q' (RBT, ChM 042) and *chók-chē-dèt-pò* 'be.fine-NEG-PFV-IRR1' (SH, CSM 049) are perfectly acceptable. However, **dàm-dē-jí* '*go-NEG-IRR2' and **dàm-dē-pò* '*go-NEG-IRR1' are unacceptable.

6.2.3.2. Slot 9 *-pín* 'experiential'

The experiential suffix *-pín* only occurs with *-lò* 'realis' of slot 10, but no other slot 10 suffixes. It also has mostly been found to occur in conjunction with negative *-Cē* in the sense of 'have never V-ed'. For more details, see §6.8.2.

6.2.3.3. Slot 10 *-làng* 'still' and *-jí-lāng* 'IRR2-still'

A problem for a position-class analysis is posed by *-làng* 'still'. It appears to be able to co-occur with one and only one suffix from the same slot 10: the suffix *-jí* 'irrealis2'. Specifically, it is acceptable to say *chō-jí-lāng* 'eat-IRR2-still' meaning '(s/he) is still eating (and will continue eating for awhile)'. However, **chō-pò-làng* or **chō-lò-làng* are both unacceptable. These acceptability data can be analyzed in two ways. One can either pose a slot 11 for *-làng* (and only *-làng*), or can argue that *-làng* should go in slot 10. I argue for the latter analysis. Specifically, I argue that *-jí-lāng* is undergoing grammaticalization/lexicalization, or mono-morphemization. There are phonological, morphological, and semantic reasons in favor of this analysis.

On a phonological level, note that low tone *-làng* turns into mid tone in *-jí-lāng*, and note that in hypo-articulated speech, a contraction to *-alàng* occurs (§3.7.3). That is, there is phonological evidence of *-jí-lāng* forming a close unit.

On a morphological level, note that it is possible to add *-jí-lāng* to a negated stem. It is acceptable to say *mèn-mē-jí-lāng* 'be.ripe-NEG-IRR2-still' meaning '(the fruit) won't be ripe yet', which 'violates' the principle that the irrealis suffixes cannot immediately follow the negative suffix without *-dèt* 'perfective' intervening (see above §6.2.3.1). The fact that *-jí-lāng* can immediately follow the negative suffix when *-jí* and *-pò* cannot

represents morphological evidence of *-jí-lāng* being more than just a sequence of *-jí* 'irrealis2' and *-làng* 'still'.

On a semantic level, there is no obvious reason why *-jí-lāng* is acceptable but not **-pò-làng* (or **-pò-lāng*). The two irrealis suffixes *-jí* and *-pò* overlap in their semantic range to a large degree (§6.9.2.1). Again, this semantic fact only makes sense if *-jí-lāng* somehow already is a unit.

Now, *-jí-lāng* semantically still appears compositional: it means both 'future irrealis' and 'still'. Furthermore, in a language in which most morphemes are monosyllabic (with the only quantitatively relevant exceptions being disyllables in *ing-* and *ar-*, §4.7), one may be less inclined to analyze a form with two very transparent parts as one morpheme. So the best analysis of course is that *-jí-lāng* is neither one morpheme nor two morphemes, but that it is caught in-between, as a result of grammatical change.

6.3. Proclitic Slot: Non-Subject Speech Act Participant Cross-Referencing and Cislocative Marking

The proclitic slot on the verb consists of *nang=* indexing speech act participants in non-subject roles (as well as, in some dialects, *ne=* < *nè* '1EXCL' and *e=* < *e-* '1INCL'), and cislocative *nang=* (defined as a marker of motion **towards** a reference point). Based on the different functions, we may synchronically consider the person cross-referencing *nang=* a different morpheme from the cislocative marking *nang=*. Historically, however, all the evidence suggests that there is just one *nang=* proclitic, which likely goes back to the second person pronoun *nàng*. This is further discussed in the summary §6.3.3.

6.3.1. Non-Subject Speech Act Participant Marking

This section discusses the function of *nang=* (and *ne=* and *e=*) to cross-reference non-subject speech act participants (SAPs). In §6.3.1.2, an overview is provided of the frequent cross-referencing of SAPs that function as primary objects, and §6.3.1.3 offers examples of instances where SAPs in other, non-core, roles are cross-referenced; §6.3.1.4 summarizes this section.

6.3.1.1. Introduction

The proclitic *nang*= is used to index or cross-reference speech-act participants that are not subjects in the clause, independent of the person of the subject, as shown in Table 86.

Table 86. Cross-referencing 'paradigm' of *nang*=

'non-A' / A	1	2	3
1	--	+	--
2	+	--	--
3	+	+	--

While I interchangeably use the terms 'indexing' or 'cross-referencing', what we find is non-obligatory but very common marking of speech-act participants that are not subjects in the clause. An independent pronoun referring to the same participant may or may not be present.

All of these properties of *nang*= are illustrated with examples in the following subsections.

6.3.1.2. Cross-Referencing SAP Primary Objects

In (198) and (199), *nang*= occurs on verbs that mark events in which a first person A argument acts on a second person O argument, which may be both singular as in (198), or plural as in (199). The second person O argument may occur as an independent pronoun in addition to the preverbal clitic, as in *nangphanke* in (198), or only in the form of the preverbal clitic (i.e., with the independent pronoun being a zero anaphor in the clause), as in (199).

(198) First person acting on second person (1>2)
[…] nangphanke nangkeponpo
nang-phān=ke **nang**=ke-pòn-pò
you-NSUBJ=TOP **1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-take.away-IRR1
'[…] (I) will carry you away' [HK, TR 059]

(199) First person acting on second person (1>2)
[…] nangkecharjulo, peipen po
nang=ke-che-arjū-lò pēi=pen pō
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-RR-ask-RL mother=with father
'[…] we are asking you, mother and father' [CST, HM 117]

(200) shows that *nang=* also occurs when there is a third person acting on a second person. The second part of this example also shows, however, that this cross-referencing via *nang=* is not obligatory. Although the two clauses (*[[nangphan nangkelang] inut] donangji* 'there needs to be somebody to look after you' and *[[kevan kepon] inut] donangji* 'there needs to be somebody to bring you and to take you') are parallel in their structure and in their reference to the second person, *nang=* is only used on the verb in the first clause and not the second.

(200) Third person acting on second person (3>2)
*athema nangphan **nangkelang** inut donangji*
athēma **[nàng-**phān **nang=**ke-làng e-nūt dō-náng-jí]
because **you-**NSUBJ **1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-see one-CLF:HUM:SG exist-need-IRR2

kevan kepon inut donangji […]
[ke-vàn ke-pòn e-nūt dō-náng-jí]
NMLZ-bring NMLZ-take.away one-CLF:HUM:SG exist-need-IRR2
'because there needs to be somebody to look after you, there needs to be somebody to bring you and to take you, […]' [SH, CSM 066]

In addition to second person arguments, *nang=* also cross-references first person arguments, i.e., SAPs generally, in non-subject roles. This is shown in (201) and (202), which have a third person and a second person acting on a first person, respectively. In both examples, the first person primary object is indicated by the independent pronoun marked as primary object in the form *ne-phān*, and is cross-referenced by *nang=*.

(201) Third person acting on first person (3>1)
amat Bokolapo abang "are! ladak nephan matsi
amāt Bokolā-pō abàng áré ladāk **ne-phān** māt=si
and.then NAME-male NPDL SURPRISE(<Asm) here **1EXCL-NSUBJ** who=FOC

*po pu **nang**kehang abang kedolo“ pu*
pō pu **nang=**ke-háng a-bàng ke-dō-lò pu
father QUOT **1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-call POSS-CLF:HUM:PL NMLZ-exist-RL QUOT
‘and then, Bokolapo didn't know that it was his own home, and then Bokolapo, “how strange!, who is here to call me 'father'?”’ [HI, BPh 012]

(202) Second person acting on first person (2>1)
***nephan nang**pakolikma {oi} **nang**kapachobeima {oi}*
ne-phān **nang=**pakolík=ma ōi **nang=**ke-pa-chobēi=ma ōi
1EXCL-NSUBJ 1**/2:NSUBJ=**lie=Q yes **1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-CAUS-lie=Q yes
‘[…] “are you lying to me? are you telling me a lie?” (said the tiger)’ [HK, TR 087]

(203) shows that *nang=* also cross-references the standard of comparison in the comparative construction, which is also indicated by the *-phān* ‘non-subject’ marked independent first person exclusive pronoun, *ne-phān*.

(203) Cross-referencing the standard of comparison in comparative construction
*opeija **nephanta** halasi **nang**sarlang* (both laughing)
opeija **ne-phān=**tā hála=si **nang=**sàr-làng
my.goodness! **1EXCL-NSUBJ=**ADD:even that=FOC **1/2:NSUBJ=**be.old-still
‘oh my goodness! this one is still older than me! (*both laughing*)’ [HK, TR 098]

Although *nang=* may be used to cross-reference speech act participants in general, some speakers use the forms of the first person inclusive and exclusive pronouns as proclitics to specifically cross-reference non-subject inclusive and exclusive first person arguments, as in (204) and (205).

(204) First person inclusive primary object (3>1INCL) marked with *e=* ‘1INCL:NSUBJ’
*[…] **itum** aphanke ha nampi namdur alongsi*
e-tūm aphān=ke há nāmpī nāmdūr alòng=si
1INCL-PL NSUBJ=TOP over.there big.forest EE:nampī LOC=FOC

***e**kethondamlo*
e=ke-thòn-dām-lò
1INCL:NSUBJ =NMLZ-drop-GO-RL
‘[…] (the witch) abandoned us over there in the deep forest’ [CST, HM 076]

(205) First person exclusive primary object (2>1EXCL) marked with *ne*= '1EXCL:NSUBJ'

*mh **nephan ne**chiriphetnoi*
mh **ne-phān** **ne=**che-ríp-hèt-nōi
DSM **1EXCL-NSUBJ** **1EXCL:NSUBJ=**RR-hold.firmly-firmly-INFRML.COND.IMP
'"hold (yourself) firmly onto me"' [KK, BMS 046]

Although it may be dialectal variation that underlies the preference to use *ne*= or *e*= to cross-reference first person non-subjects instead of *nang*=, there is an even more interesting sociolinguistic dimension to this, as even the same speaker, in the same text, and even in the same utterance, may switch between using *e*= or *nang*= for a first person inclusive O argument. This is shown in (206), where the beginning of the utterance, *ethapkangdetpen aphi*, is part of a tail-head linking construction (§12.1.2), which repeats the verb from the previous utterance, which in fact was *itum aphanke […] ethapkanglo*, i.e., marked with *e*= to cross-reference the argument also indicated by the primary object marked first person inclusive pronoun *itum aphanke*. After this beginning in (206), even though the O argument remains constant (while the A argument changes), the speaker switches to *itum aphan nangkelangun'e*, using *nang*= to cross-reference the first person inclusive argument.

(206) First person inclusive primary object (3>1INCL) marked with *e*= '1INCL:NSUBJ' and *nang*= '1/2:NSUBJ' in the same utterance

***e**thapkangdetpen aphi, hi'ipi abangke*
[**e=**thàp-káng-dét-pèn aphī] hī'ipī abàng=ke
1INCL:NSUBJ=put.inside-leaving-PFV-from after witch NPDL=TOP

***itum aphan nang**kelangun'e epei*
e-tūm **aphan** **nang=**ke-làng-ùn-Cē e-pēi
1PL.INCL-PL **NSUBJ** **1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-see-be.able-NEG 1PL.INCL-mother

aphan kelangun'e
aphān ke-làng-ùn-Cē
NSUBJ NMLZ-see-be.able-NEG
'after (our mother) put us in the cradle, the witch could not tolerate (< see) us, she also couldn't tolerate our mother' [CST, HM 051]

My hypothesis is that the invariable use of *nang*= to cross-reference both second and first person arguments is original, and using *ne*= and *e*= is an innovation based on a 'logical insight' that *ne*= and *e*= better correspond to *nephan* and *itum aphan*. There are

both Karbi-internal and comparative-TB reasons to believe this is actually the case. As for the Karbi-internal reasons, there is a prescriptive movement claiming that *ne*= and *e*= are more correct than *nang*=. Also, I was told that the invariable use of *nang*= is typical in the more remote villages (which will need to actually be investigated). On comparative grounds, the invariable use of *nang*= fully conforms with the SAP/cislocative syncretism in Kuki-Chin languages (see summary in §6.3.3).

6.3.1.3. Cross-Referencing SAP in Non-Core Roles

Proclitic *nang*= may also cross-reference SAPs in non-core roles. In (207) and (208), first and second person possessors are cross-referenced by *nang*=.

(207) Cross-referencing the possessor (1>2)
*[…] **nang**jat **nang**khong **nang**pavir'etji. Sala!", Therdamlo.*
nang-ját **nang-**khóng **nang=**pa-vír-èt-jí sala thér-dàm-lò
2-type **2-**tribe **1/2:NSUBJ=**CAUS-lose-all:S/O-IRR2 damn.you! threaten-GO-RL
' "[…] I will destroy your tribe and your species, damn you!", he threatened (the plantain)' [RBT, ChM 046]

(208) Cross-referencing the possessor (2>1)
*"Ai richo, **ne**pran **nang**enri **ne**mui*
ái richó **ne-**prán **nang=**ēn-rī **ne-**múi
how.bad! king **1EXCL-**life **1/2:NSUBJ=**take-NEG.IMP **1EXCL-**EE:prán(<Ind)

***nang**enri"*
nang=ēn-rī
1/2:NSUBJ=take-PROH
'"Oh no, king, don't take my life!"' [RBT, ChM 041]

We may label examples such as (208) and (207) instances of 'possessor raising', i.e., 'promoting' the possessor to a core role. However, (209) provides evidence that the use of *nang*= cannot be generalized in syntactic terms, but that semantic/pragmatic principles determine whether a SAP is ultimately affected. That is why *nang*= in (209) can cross-reference the second person argument, which, syntactically, is the subject of a relative clause that modifies the O argument of the main verb. (Note that *nàng* is indeed the subject of the relative clause rather than a possessor of the nominalized verb.)

(209) Cross-referencing a relative clause subject (1>2)
*{**nang** kedo adim ne **nang**chinike}*
{[[**nàng** ke-dō]$_{REL}$ a-dím] nè **nang=**chiní=ke}
you NMLZ-stay POSS-place 1EXCL **1/2:NSUBJ=**know=TOP
'{I know the place where you are staying}' [HK, TR 105]

6.3.1.4. Summary

Procliticized *nang=* (and, via dialectal variation, also *ne=* and *e=*) cross-references SAP in non-subject roles depending on pragmatic as well as syntactic factors. If this was a strictly syntactic construction, we would expect that we could define, and predict, which syntactic role gets cross-referenced in this way, and that that particular syntactic role gets cross-referenced every time it occurs in a clause. Example (200) above, however, shows that *nang=*, (perhaps) just like independent pronouns, may be left out as a zero anaphor. And (209) above shows that it is not just a particular syntactic role that is cross-referenced, but that it instead appears to be a non-agentive, affected SAP that is pragmatically cross-referenced via *nang=*.

Table 87 gives an overview of the person interactions that allow (but not automatically trigger) cross-referencing via *nang=* (or *ne=/e=*). Instead of the typical A>O format of such tables, I used the notation A>'non-A' to highlight that it is not just first and second person O arguments that are cross-referenced in this construction.

Table 87. Proclitic cross-referencing 'paradigm'

'non-A' / A	1	2	3
1	----	*[nang=]*	----
2	*[nang=] ~ [ne= / e=]*	----	----
3	*[nang=] ~ [ne= / e=]*	*[nang=]*	----

6.3.2. Cislocative Marking

This section gives examples of the different cislocative-related functions of *nang=*, i.e., functions related to the marking of motion **towards** a reference point. This includes purely directional marking (§6.3.2.1); associated motion in the sense of 'come

and V' (§6.3.2.2); and metaphorical extensions of the cislocative function (§6.3.2.3). A summary is offered in §6.3.2.4.

6.3.2.1. Directional

The directional cislocative function occurs on motion verbs and indicates that this motion is directed towards a reference point or deictic center. An example of a manner motion verb is in (210), where *ardòn* 'ride, straddle' occurs with *nang*= to express 'ride (a bicycle) towards (the reference point)'. This is further (i.e., redundantly) indicated here through the construction that *nangardon* occurs in. This verb is marked non-final via *-si*, and the sentence ends with the lexical cislocative verb *vàng* 'come'.

(210) 'Standard' cislocative indicating motion towards reference point
laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
lasō a-hūt amāt e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít
this POSS-during and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man

*abangke saikel **nangardonsi** vanglo... […]*
abàng=ke saikél **nang=**ardòn-si vàng-lò...
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) **CIS=**ride-NF:RL come-RL
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, […]' [SiT, PS 015]

The occurrence of *nang*= on path-encoding motion verbs is frequent in the corpus. In (211) and (212), *nang*= occurs on *sūn* 'descend' and *kló* 'fall' to indicate vertical motion towards a reference point.

(211) Cislocative *nang*= on *sūn* 'descend'
[…] amat laso arni abangke hala osomar atum mandu kecho
amāt [[lasō arnì abàng=ke] [hála osō-mār a-tūm mandú ke-chō]
and.then this day NPDL=TOP that child-PL POSS-PL field.hut NMLZ-eat

*apo abangta **nang**suntuklo […]*
[a-pō abàng=tā **nang=**sūn-tùk-lò]]
POSS-father NPDL=ADD:DM **CIS=**descend-sd.of.stepping-RL
'[…] and then that day, in order for those children to eat in the mandu (i.e., the hut in the field), the father came down (from the tree house) […]' [CST, RO 030]

(212) Cislocative *nang*= on *kló* ‘fall’
*bang hantharsi nemoi **nang**klodup,*
[bàng hanthàr=si ne-mòi **nang**=kló-dùp]
CLF:HUM:PL vegetable.sp=FOC 1EXCL-back **CIS**=fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj

neta keso kasiksaksi
[nè=tā ke-sò ke-siksāk-si]
1EXCL=ADD:DM NMLZ-hurt NMLZ-be.difficult-NF:RL
'a hanthar fruit fell on my back, so I was hurt and disturbed' [RBT, ChM 057]

In (213) and (214), *nang*= occurs with its cislocative function on *chi-rùi* ‘RR-return’ and *che-lē* ‘RR-reach’. Both stems carry the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *che-*, which here additionally emphasizes that the motion is directed back towards the starting point (also serving as the reference point). In (215), *nang*= is used with *tèt* ‘exit’ for the motion out of the womb, into the world (which acts as the reference point).

(213) Cislocative *nang*= on *chi-rùi* ‘RR-return’
*netum ako **nang**chiruithulo*
ne-tūm akó **nang**=che-rùi-thū-lò
1EXCL-PL DC(<Asm) **CIS**=RR-return-again-RL
‘after we had tea, then we again returned to Diphu’ [SH, CSM 068]

(214) Cislocative *nang*= on *che-lē* ‘RR-reach’
vangsi ajo baji nerkep aporsi netum
vàng-si a-jó bají nerkēp a-pór=si ne-tūm
come-NF:RL POSS-night o'clock(<Asm) eight POSS-time=FOC 1EXCL-PL

*hem **nang**chelelo*
hēm **nang**=che-lē-lò
house **CIS**=RR-reach-RL
‘we were coming back and at eight o'clock at night we arrived at home’ [SH, CSM 071]

(215) Cislocative *nang*= on *tèt* ‘exit’
nesomar pule kosonsi thengpi abeng
ne-oso-màr pu=le kosón=si thengpī a-bēng
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL QUOT=FOC:IRR how=FOC tree/wood POSS-piece

***nang**ketetroiroidetlo*
nang=ke-tèt-ròi~rōi-dèt-lò
CIS=NMLZ-exit-PL.solid.obj~DIST.PL-PFV-RL
‘if they are my children, how did they come out as pieces of wood?’ [CST, HM 023]

6.3.2.2. Associated Motion (‘come and V’)

Cislocative *nang*= also occurs on non-motion verbs marking associated motion, i.e., indicating that the event denoted by the verb occurs against the background of a motion event (Guillaume 2013). Specifically, in the case of *nang*=, motion towards a reference point has occurred prior to the event denoted by the verb, in the sense of ‘come and V.’ In (216) and (217), a cislocative-marked motion verb precedes a cislocative-marked non-motion verb, i.e. *nangbi* ‘come and put’ and *nangjun* ‘come and drink’.

(216) *nang=bí* ‘CIS=keep > come (to reference point) and keep/put (there)’
hala ejon ateketa vangpo laso angchin
hála e-jōn a-tekè=tā vàng-pò lasō a-ingchìn
that one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger=ADD:also come-IRR1 this POSS-iron

*a'umsi **nang**ingomnaipo anke **nang**bikok...*
a-úm=si **nang**=ing'òm-nài-pò ánke **nang**=bí-kòk
POSS-cage=FOC **CIS**=carry.in.mouth-big.solid:O-IRR1 and.then **CIS**=keep-firmly
‘this one tiger will also come, this iron cage he will keep in his mouth and he will put it in a fixed place’ [HK, TR 167]

(217) *nang=jùn* ‘CIS=drink > come (to reference point) and drink (there)’
*[…] alanglike latum ahemsi **nang**vursi sa*
alàng-lì=ke là-tūm a-hēm=si **nang**=vùr-si sá
3-HON=TOP this-PL POSS-house=FOC **CIS**=drop.in-NF:RL tea(<Ind)

*ajat **nang**junlo*
aját **nang**=jùn-lò
GENEX **CIS**=drink-RL
‘[…] it was him, at their house we stopped by and had tea and everything’ [SH, CSM 067]

(218) and (219) are further examples of *nang*= on non-motion verbs with an implied preceding motion towards a reference point. In (218), the preceding motion is indicated by ablative *=pen* ‘from’. (219) is given to demonstrate that even *dō* ‘stay’ may occur with cislocative *nang*= in this sense of ‘come and stay’.

(218) *nang=làng* ‘CIS=see > come (to reference point) and see (there)’
*det arlo angbongpen laso **nang**kelangdunta*
dét arlō angbòng=pen lasō **nang**=ke-làng-dūn=tā
country inside middle=from this **CIS**=NMLZ-see-along=ADD:also
‘from within the country they came to watch this (i.e., there were domestic tourists)’ [SiT, HF 039]

(219) *nang=dō* 'CIS=stay > come (to reference point) and stay (there)'
amatsi apenan abang pulo, "ai sarpi!
[amātsi a-penān abàng pù-lò] ai sarpī
and.then POSS-husband NPDL say-RL how.strange! old.woman

*etumta dak ritlo **nang**kedo jailo **nang**kedo!"*
e-tūm=tā dāk rītlō **nang**=ke-dō jàilò **nang**=ke-dō
1PL.INCL-PL=ADD here inhabited.field **CIS**=NMLZ-stay EE:rītlō **CIS**=NMLZ-stay
'and then, the husband said, "how bad, woman. We (have come here and) are staying here in the field (but should be staying in the village)"' [SeT, MTN 006]

6.3.2.3. Semantic Extensions

In a number of occurrences in the corpus, *nang=* 'cislocative' has to be interpreted as having undergone semantic change. This includes a type of semantic narrowing such that instead of 'motion towards a reference point', *nang=* merely indicates 'orientation towards a reference point'. In the elicited example (220) (asking for a translation from English) and the corpus example (221), the orientation of a fan hanging down from the ceiling as well as long hair worn down are both expressed with cislocative *nang=* on the respective verbs, even though no motion is involved. They both represent the default reference point for vertical orientation towards the ground (or perhaps the default direction downwards, following gravity).

(220) Cislocative *nang=* marking orientation only, without movement involved
*angsóng=pen=si phén **nang**=jāng-lìng*
up.high=from=FOC fan(<Eng) **CIS**=hang-small:S
'the fan is hanging down from up high (from the ceiling)' [Elicitation SiT 100515]

(221) Cislocative *nang=* marking orientation only, without movement involved
achu nangjirhamsi aning ke'oi e
a-chū **nang**=jìr-hàm-si a-nīng ke-ói e
POSS-hair **CIS**=climb.like.creeper-large:S/O-NF:RL POSS-mind NMLZ-be.sad DSM
'(her appearance was that) she had her hair down and she was sad' [KK, BMS 075]

In some occurrences of *nang=*, the cislocative function rooted in space has been metaphorically extended to the domain of time. The result of this is a perfect-like interpretation of events that occurred over time up until a (temporal) reference point. In

(222), *nang*= thus indicates that the 'times changing' is a process that occurred until the moment of utterance. Similarly, the verbs at the end of (223) encode duration up until the moment of utterance, as also indicated by the suffix *-làng* 'still'.

(222) Metaphorical extension of cislocative *nang*= from space to time
*non ahut abangke akai **nang**kekirlaló*
nón ahūt abàng=ke a-kái **nang**=ke-kirlá-lò
now during NPDL=TOP POSS-time(<Asm) **CIS**=NMLZ-turn.over-RL
'now, the time has changed' [KST, PSu 013]

(223) Metaphorical extension of cislocative *nang*= from space to time
la'an akemesen atovar kedamtheksi
[la-án a-ke-mēsén a-továr ke-dàm-thēk-si]
this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.good POSS-road NMLZ-go-know.how-NF:RL

hako amonit atumke nonpu'anta
[[hakó a-monít a-tūm=ke] nón-pu-án=tā
that.time POSS-man POSS-PL=TOP now-QUOT-all=ADD:EXH

*ilitum a'ansose **nang**pa'okorjangdunlonglang*
e-li-tūm a-án-sosē **nang**=pa-okorjāng-dūn-lōng-làng
1PL.INCL-HON-PL POSS-that.much-more **CIS**=VBLZ-unmarried.girl-JOIN-GET-still

***nang**parisomardunlonglang*
nang=pa-risō-mār-dūn-lōng-làng]
CIS=VBLZ-unmarried.boy-PL-JOIN-GET-still
'they know how to go on a good road up to a high degree (metaphorically referring to knowing how to do things properly, how to keep everything clean, etc.), and, because they know how to keep everything clean and nice, those people back then up until today, get to stay even more like girls and boys (i.e., young) than we do' [SiH, CW 017]

6.3.2.4. Summary: Cislocative Marking

Figure 16 summarizes what are described above as the basic and semantically extended functions of cislocative *nang*=. In the upper portion of the figure, we have the two functions of the prototypical directional and associated motion.

In the lower portion of Figure 16, the two metaphorically extended functions are included. They are represented as being extensions off of the directional cislocative function, which is defined as motion in the direction of a spatial orientation. This

representation allows for the simplest analysis since only one semantic change has to have occurred in both cases. In the case of marking 'Spatial orientation only' (examples (220) and (221) above), the original motion component has disappeared. In the case of 'Temporal orientation and 'motion'' (examples (222) and (223) above), the commonplace metaphorical extension from space to time has occurred such that the new reference point is temporal in nature ('now' rather than 'here'), and the 'motion' is time passing on, a common metaphor as well.

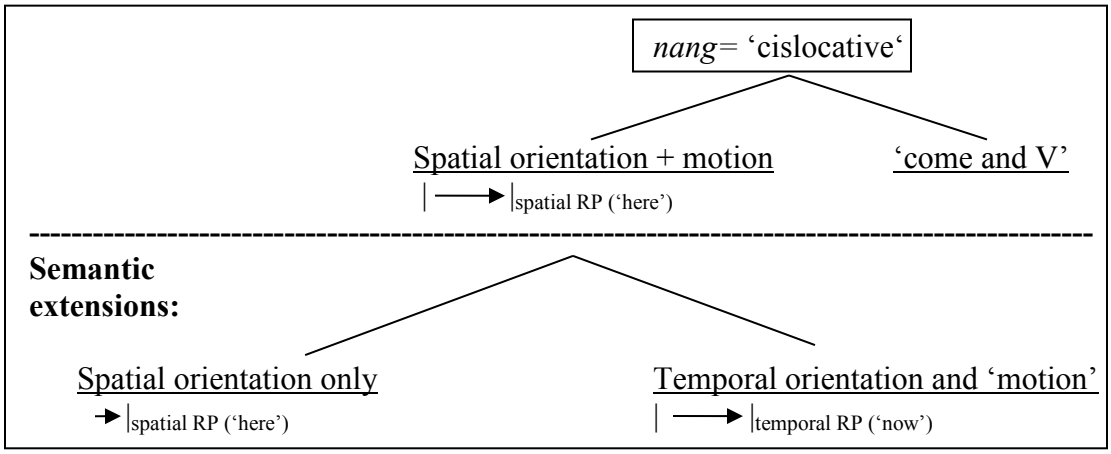

Figure 16. Overview of cislocative functions of *nang*=

6.3.3. Summary

The two functions of non-subject speech act participant marking and cislocative marking are synchronically differentiated in Karbi: The person-marking *nang*= has the variants *ne*= and *e*= for first person non-subject marking, whereas the cislocative *nang*= does not have any variants. While this evidence bears the caveat that only some speakers use the variants, the fact that the variants were able to develop (assuming that they are indeed a later development) demonstrates that the person and the cislocative marking functions are functionally individuated enough that they offer fertile ground for structural differentiation.

Independent of the synchronic difference of the two functions of *nang*=, however, there are a number of occurrences of *nang*= in which elements from both functions can be recognized, thus representing possible bridging contexts of the type that would have

given rise to the initial polysemy. Perhaps the most obvious bridging context is a clause with a motion verb whose goal or endpoint is a speech act participant. For example, in (212) above, repeated for convenience as (224), *nang*= occurs on the motion verb *kló* 'fall'. The vertical motion is thus marked as being oriented towards a reference point, which is a body part of a first person participant, *nemoi* 'my back'.

(224) *nang*= marked motion verb with speech act participant body part goal
bang hantharsi nemoi nangklodup,
[bàng hanthàr=si ne-mòi **nang**=kló-dùp]
CLF:HUM:PL vegetable.sp=FOC my-back **CIS**=fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj

neta keso kasiksaksi
[nè=tā ke-sò ke-siksāk-si]
1EXCL=ADD:DM NMLZ-hurt NMLZ-be.difficult-NF:RL
'a hanthar fruit fell on my back, so I was hurt and disturbed' [RBT, ChM 057]

Similarly, the motion verb *dùn* 'follow' takes a *-lòng* 'locative' marked 'O' argument. In (225), it is a second person argument, and the verb occurs with *nang*=.

(225) *nang*= marked motion verb with speech act participant goal
kevang akoke ne nanglong nangdunjuilo
[ke-vàng akó=ke] [nè **nang-lòng** **nang**=dùn-jùi-lò]
NMLZ-come when=TOP 1EXCL **2POSS-LOC** **CIS**=follow-away-RL

ne non chedamji abang thekthedetpo
[nè nón chV-dām-jí abàng thèk-Cē-dèt-pò]
1EXCL now RR-go-IRR2 NPDL know.how-NEG-PFV-IRR1

nangthondunnoi pulo tangho
nang=thòn-dūn-nōi pù-lò] tànghò
1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-SUGG.IMP2 say-RL REP
' "when we came, I followed you along far away, I now won't find my way back, (so) come along and drop (the bamonpi)!", (the bamonpo) said' [KK, BMS 097]

Note that in both (224) and (225), *nang*= is glossed as cislocative, because it cannot be replaced with *e*= or *ne*= for a first person goal interpretation.

The bridging context of motion verbs with SAP goals offers a link to tie the two functions historically together. Further evidence that we are in fact dealing with related

functions that are best considered as having a common historical origin comes from typological parallels.

Cross-linguistic parallels for the syncretism between non-subject SAP and cislocative marking exist in several entirely unrelated languages. For example, in the (unrelated) North American West Coast languages Nez Perce and Shasta, cislocative markers have taken on the function of indicating speech act participant objects (Mithun 1996). Likewise, in Old Babylonian, the cislocative marker is used for speech act participant objects (N. J. C. Kouwenberg 2009). As Mithun (1996: 418) notes, "it would be a short semantic step to reanalyze a verb like 'Pass it here' to 'Pass it to me'." Now, in Karbi, the form *nang*= suggests that the (second) person function, rather than the cislocative function, is primary, as *naŋ* is a second person form all across the Tibeto-Burman family.[119]

There also are interesting parallels to Karbi *nang*= inside TB, and specifically in the Kuki-Chin branch. In Sizang (or Siyin) Chin (Northern Kuki-Chin), there is a preverbal cislocative *(h)ong*, which, in fact, parallel to Karbi, also marks non-subject speech act participants (Stern 1984; DeLancey 2001:132-3).

Furthermore, in Purum (Northern Kuki-Chin), a second person prefix also marks speech act participant objects in general.

For a more detailed discussion of *nang*= in a typological context, see Konnerth (under review).

6.4. Prefixal Derivational Morphology

6.4.1. Nominalizer *ke-*

The nominalizer *ke-* (with allomorphs *ki-* and *ka-*; see §3.9.2.1) is discussed in Chapter IX.

[119] A second person form *nang* is found in Kuki-Chin languages such as Hakha Lai (Peterson 2003: 411), in the Bodo-Garo language Garo (Burling 2004: 215), and in Bodic languages such as Baram and Thangmi up in Nepal (Kansakar et al. 2011: 59). Matisoff (2003: 639) reconstructs it for Proto-Tibeto-Burman as one of two second person forms, the other one being the also very similar form *na*.

6.4.2. Causative *pe- ~ pa-*

The causative prefix *pe- ~ pa-* occurs on all verb stems including those based on prototypical verb roots and those based on property-concept term (PCT) roots, and arguably the same prefix occurs as a verbalizer on nominal stems (§5.3.3). As it attaches to PCT-based stems, it may be part of an adverb construction (§8.3.2). For the morphophonological properties of this prefix, see §3.9.1.4 and §3.9.2.1.

An example of *pe- ~ pa-* is (226), where *pe-kló* 'CAUS-fall' means 'cause (the fruit) to fall (down)'.

(226) Causative *pe- ~ pa-*
phakbelengpi amoi peklodup
phàkbeléngpī a-mòi **pe-**kló-dùp
pig.sp POSS-back **CAUS-**fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj
'it made it (the fruit) fall down unto the back of a pig' [RBT, ChM 021]

Causative *pe- ~ pa-* is also used with a permissive function (i.e., 'let somebody do something'), as shown in (227).

(227) Causative *pe- ~ pa-* with permissive function
[…] lapenke inut oso abangke, la aphrang along kedo,
lapèn=ke [[e-nūt osō abàng=ke] [là a-phráng a-lòng ke-dō]]
and.then=TOP one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL=TOP this POSS-first POSS-LOC NMLZ-exist

<a> arlong terekpiphitlo... penke padamlo
arlōng terék-pī-phìt-lò... pèn=ke **pa-**dàm-lò
stone move-BEN/MAL-away-RL and.then=TOP **CAUS-**go-RL
'[…] and then one child, the one who was in front, he moved the stone away for him, and then they (the children) **let him** (the bicycle boy) **go away** (i.e., the cleared the way for him)' [SiT, PS 033]

Note that Grüßner (1978: 93-4) reports the acceptability of a double causative, as in *pa-pe-mē* 'CAUS-CAUS-be.good > make somebody improve something', *pa-pe-thì* 'CAUS-CAUS-die > make somebody kill somebody'.

Matisoff (2003: 132) suggests that in Karbi (and in other Northeast Indian languages with similar forms, such as Dimasa (Bodo-Garo), Angami Naga, as well as Kuki-Chin languages such as Khumi and Maraa (Lakher)), causative *pe- ~ pa-* has

grammaticalized from the verb ‘give’ *pī*. While this could be the case, it would have to be a fairly old instance of grammaticalization, because more recent grammaticalizations seem to end up in suffix slots on the verb, such as the (arguably) more recent grammaticalization of *pī* ‘give’ to *-pī* ‘benefactive’ (§6.5.5.2.1).

6.4.3. Reflexive/Reciprocal *che-*

Besides marking the reflexive (in a broader than typologically expected way) and the reciprocal, *che-* also occupies part of the functional territory of a middle as defined by Kemmer (1993), and to some degree overlaps with *cho-* ‘auto-benefactive/malefactive’ (§6.4.4). For the morphophonological properties of this prefix, see §3.9.1.1 and §3.9.2.

First, for the reflexive function, see (228), where *che-* indicates the ‘standard’ reflexive that has the A and O argument of a transitive verb referring to the same participant, here *che-thāp* ‘RR-put.inside’ > ‘put oneself inside (a hole in the tree)’. Note that while there are reflexive/reciprocal pronouns (§4.5.2), their presence is not obligatory, and *che-* may be the only indicator of reflexivity/reciprocity.

(228) (Typical) reflexive marking function of *che-* (A=O)
amat la apenan abangke the'angtanglo tangte ha
[amāt [là a-penàn abàng=ke] [the'āng táng-lò tángtē] há
and.then this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP be.bright start-RL if over.there

***che**thapdamlutpo anke anbor pu ha*
che-thāp-dām-lùt-pò] ánke [àn-bòr pù há
RR-put.inside-GO-enter-IRR1 and.then rice-wrapped.bundle like.this over.there

peklobuppo bangke chotanglo juntangló
pe-kló-bùp-pò] bàng=ke chō-táng-lò jùn-táng-lò
CAUS-fall-sd.of.falling.down-IRR1 CLF:HUM:PL=TOP eat-finish-RL drink-finish-RL
‘and then, the husband, when it had gotten bright, he would **put himself** there in (the hole in the tree trunk), and then she dropped the rice bundle there (into the hole), and he ate and drank (everything)' [SeT, MTN 023]

A clause with a *che-* marked verb may, however, also have an O argument that is a different participant but is possessed by the A argument. This reflexive-marked coreferentiality between the A and the possessor of the O can be considered a form of possessor raising. Nevertheless, since an O argument may be present, reflexive *che-* does

not change the valence of a verb (but see Chapter X and specifically §10.1.2 and §10.6 on why valence as a strictly syntactic concept is generally problematic in Karbi).

In (229), the same reflexive-marked verb as above, *che-thāp* 'RR-put.inside', has to be interpreted as 'put one's (own; here: tobacco container) inside (here: a bag)'

(229) Reflexive *che-*: A = possessor of O
*anke.... duma alangpong **che**thapponthotlo*
ánke dumá a-langpóng **che-**thāp-pōn-thòt-lò
and.then tobacco POSS-small.bamboo.container **RR-**put.inside-away-into.opening-RL
'and then... he put the tobacco container inside (the bag) to carry it along' [HK, TR 021]

In (230), (231), and (232), reflexive *che-* is used with human O arguments that are possessed by the A argument. The relationships are either kinship (children or wife in the examples) or friendship.

(230) Reflexive *che-*: possessive relationship = kinship
asomar aphan chititekangroklo
[a-oso-màr aphān] che-tí-tekáng-ròk-lò
POSS-child-PL NSUBJ RR-get.rid.off-leave-completed-RL

chevarkangchorlo
che-vár-káng-chòr-lò
RR-throw.away-just-RES:away-RL
'he got rid of his children' [CST, RO 050]

(231) Reflexive *che-*: possessive relationship = kinship
*apiso along **chi**dunkri […]*
[a-pisò alòng] **che-**dūn-krì
POSS-wife LOC **RR-**follow-follow.closely
'he followed his wife closely […]' [KK, BMS 082]

(232) Reflexive *che-*: possessive relationship = friendship
ajirpo chehanglo tangho {mm}
a-jirpò **che-**háng-lò tànghò mm
POSS-friend **RR-**call-RL REP AFF
'he called his friend' [HK, TR 126]

In the ditransitive clause in (233), *che-* indicates the friendship between the referents of the R argument and the A argument.

(233) Reflexive *che-*: possessive relationship = friendship
an laso a'oso abang thesere pumni hala
án [lasō a-osō abàng] [theseré púm-ní] [hála
and.then this POSS-child NPDL fruits CLF:round-two that

*ajirpo banghini aphan **che**paklangdamlo*
a-jirpò bàng-hiní a-phān] **che-**pa-klàng-dām-lò
POSS-friend CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-NSUBJ **RR-**CAUS-appear-GO-RL
'and then, this child went to show the two fruits to those two friends of his' [SiT, PS 040]

As illustrated in (234), *che-* can also occur on motion verbs, here *dàm* 'go'. In this example, the reflexive marking on the verb cross-references *amethang atovar* 'their own road'. Similarly, *che-dām* 'RR-go' also occurs in clauses that contain *hēm* 'house, home' as the goal of the motion, as in (235).

(234) Reflexive *che-* on motion verb, cross-referencing path
*latum bangkethomke amethang atovar **che**damlo,*
[[là-tūm bàng-kethòm=ke] a-metháng a-továr **che-**dām-lò]
this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-three=TOP POSS-self POSS-road **RR-**go-RL

lapenke saikel ingdoiponbomsi,
[lapèn=ke saikél ingdōi-pōn-bōm-si
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) push-take.away-CONT-NF:RL

la aphrang kevang abang, dambomlo
[là a-aphráng ke-vàng abàng] dàm-bōm-lò]
this POSS-first NMLZ-come NPDL go-CONT-RL
'the three of them went their own way, and then pushing the bicycle, the one who first came (i.e. the one with the bicycle), he kept going' [SiT, PS 034]

(235) Reflexive *che-* on motion verb, cross-referencing goal
*"neke nepeipén nepo ahem **che**dampo"*
nè=ke [[ne-pēi=pen ne-pō] a-hēm] **che-**dām-pò
1EXCL=TOP 1EXCL-mother=with 1EXCL-father POSS-house **RR-**go-IRR1
'"I will go to my mother and father's house"' [SeT, MTN 038]

In (236), *che-* functions as a reciprocal marker: *-nīng ói* means 'be sad', and *-nīng che'ói* means 'be upset with one another'.

(236) *che-* with reciprocal function
pangri pangdonrongló anke ha aphike la Bey
pangrí pangdòn-ròng-lò ánke há aphī=ke [[là Bēy
reconcile even.out-instead-RL and.then over.there after=TOP this CLAN

Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik abangke aning
ke-èt=pen] [Bēy ke-ìk abàng=ke]] a-nīng
NMLZ-be.yellow/fair=with CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP POSS-mind

che'oitanglo
che-ói-táng-lò
RR-be.sad-finish-RL
'they got married, and then quite some time later, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black got upset with each other' [WR, BCS 017]

Reflexive/reciprocal *che-* occurs in a lot of middle contexts as defined by Kemmer (1993). Specifically, it is used with verbs of 'putting on/wearing', such as *ch-ingchói* 'put on (e.g., a shirt)' and *che-kūp* 'wear (a hat or something else that covers the head)'. It also occurs in verbs of 'grooming', such as *(lāng) ch-inglú* '(water) bathe'. Another example of the middle function of *che-* is in (237), where it occurs on *lūt* 'enter' in the context of the sun setting, i.e., entering into the horizon.

(237) 'Middle' function of *che-* 'reflexive/reciprocal'
anpenlole pulotangte adap ingthangvakpen
ánpen-lò=le pùlotángtē a-dàp ingthàng-vàk-pen
and.then-RL=FOC:IRR if POSS-morning be.dawn-RES:open-NF

*arni ka**che**lut an ajo'an*
arnì ke-**che-**lút ánke a-jó=án
sun NMLZ-**RR-**enter and.then POSS-night=up.to
'and then, according to what you have said so far, from morning until the sun enters (into the horizon), until night…' [KaR, SWK 056]

There are several pieces of evidence that *che-* is an old morpheme. First, there are phonological reasons. It is a prefix, and like other prefixes in Karbi, it is phonologically small, i.e., it only has an onset (but no coda) consonant and a weak vowel that is sometimes deleted. It also has morphophonological effects on the following root tone (§3.9.1.1). Second, there are a few verb roots whose first syllable is clearly the *che-* prefix because the semantics fit perfectly, but the portion without the *che-* is no longer

used as a root independently, for example *chetòng* ‘meet, run into’, as shown in (238), where *tòng* by itself is not a root.

(238) *che-* in lexicalized roots: *chetòng* ‘meet, run into’
jangrengso aphan chetongloklo {mm}
jangrēngsō aphān chetòng-lòk-lò mm
orphan NSUBJ meet-happen.to-RL AFF
‘he ran into that orphan’ [HK, TR 049]

Since *che-* is relatively old, there are likely to be (apparent) cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages. In fact, in Northern Kuki-Chin, a number of languages have a *ki-* reflexive/reciprocal prefix (Henderson 1965; Krishan 1980; Stern 1984; see Konnerth (2009: 120-3) and So-Hartmann (2013)). [120]

6.4.4. Auto-Benefactive/Malefactive *cho-*

Called the ‘middle’ by Grüßner (1978:94),[121] *cho-* is more specifically a marker of an auto-benefactive and, in certain contexts, an auto-malefactive. In (239), *cho-jōr* ‘AUTO.BEN/MAL-sell’ means that the selling of the bananas was supposed to result in a benefit/profit for the seller.

(239) Auto-benefactive function of *cho-*
*phinu **cho**jordamji aphan hu kulat*
phinū **cho-**jōr-dām-jí a-phān hú kulát
banana **AUTO.BEN/MAL-**sell-GO-IRR2 POSS-PURP over.there shop(<Asm)

anat damlo
a-nát dàm-lò
POSS-direction go-RL
‘in order to go and sell bananas there he went towards the shop’ [HI, BPh 005]

The much rarer case of expressing a negative effect on the subject, i.e., the auto-malefactive, is represented in (240), where *sè cho-lóng* means ‘get sick’.

[120] There also is a *kê-* prefix in Tenyidie (formerly known as Angami; belonging to the Angami-Pochuri group of Central Tibeto-Burman), which, however, combines reciprocal marking and verbalization (Kuolie 2006), so it may or may not be related to the Kuki-Chin and Karbi prefixes.

[121] Grüßner suggests the function of *cho-* is to indicate that “the doer himself carries out the action” (“dass der Täter selbst die Handlung ausführt”).

(240) Auto-malefactive function of *cho-*

sok sang hem chevan'etke Bamonpo abang
[sōk sāng hēm che-vān-ét=ke] [[Bamónpō abàng
paddy raw.rice house RR-bring-PRF=TOP PN NPDL

*apiso abangke se **cho**long aphu kesolo*
a-pisò abàng=ke] sè **cho-**lóng a-phú ke-sò-lò]
POSS-wife NPDL=TOP disease **AUTO.BEN/MAL-**get POSS-head NMLZ-hurt-RL
'after they brought home the paddy, and Bamonpo's wife got sick, and had fever' [KK, BMS 013]

The auto-benefactive/malefactive *cho-* may co-occur with the general benefactive/malefactive *-pī* (§6.5.5.2.1). The only examples of this come from elicitation, where only either the auto-malefactive and a (non-subject) benefactive go together, as in (241), or the auto-benefactive and a (non-subject) malefactive, as in (242).

(241) Auto-malefactive marked by *cho-* and (general) benefactive marked by *-pī*

*Kungri a-phān àn **cho-**tún-**pī**-lò*
NAME POSS-NSUBJ rice **AUTO.MAL-**cook-**BEN-**RL
'(I) cooked for Kungri (but shouldn't have because Kungri turned out to be ungrateful in some way)' [SiT, KT]

(242) Auto-benefactive marked by *cho-* and (general) malefactive marked by *-pī*

*phurùi **cho-**phī-**pī**-dèt*
yam **AUTO.BEN-**roast-**MAL-**PFV
'I roasted yam for myself (though it belonged to somebody else, so my roasting the yam had a negative effect on the respective other person)' [SiT, KT]

6.4.5. On the Functional Overlap between Reflexive/Reciprocal *che-* and Auto-Benefactive/Malefactive *cho-*

There is a certain degree of functional overlap between reflexive/reciprocal *che-* and auto-benefactive/malefactive *cho-*. For example, taking Grüßner's (1978:95) minimal pair *kolom ne chenamji/chonamji*, my language consultants report the meaning is actually the same, because using *che-* here also suggests an autobenefactive reading, see (243).

(243) Minimal pair between *che-* and *cho-*

kolóm	*nè*	***che-**nám-jí*	*kolóm*	*nè*	***cho-**nám-jí*
pen	1EXCL	**RR-**buy-IRR2	pen	1EXCL	**AUTO.BEN/MAL-**buy-IRR2
'I will buy myself a pen'			'id.'		

In (244) ‘teaching children’, however, the minimal pair between *che-* and *cho-* yields different meanings: With *che-* the implication is that this is about one’s own children, whereas *cho-* has the autobenefactive reading of teaching children for one’s own benefit/profit, i.e., being a teacher professionally.

(244) Minimal pair between *che-* and *cho-*

osō-mār	*a-phān*	*lō*	*ka-**che-**thán*
child-PL	POSS-NSUBJ	book	NMLZ-**RR-**tell

'I teach my own children'

osō-mār	*a-phān*	*lō*	*ka-**cho-**thán*
child-PL	POSS-NSUBJ	book	NMLZ-**AUTO.BEN/MAL-**tell

'I teach children (for a living)'

6.5. Suffixal Predicate Derivations

Predicate derivations represent a very large class of suffixes in Karbi. This is a category common to many Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India. It has also been referred to as adverbial suffixes (Burling 2004), modifying suffixes (Grüßner 1978), or a number of other labels in the descriptions of languages with these categories (see Post 2009).

In his grammar of Karbi, Grüßner (1978:105-22) lists a total of 164 suffixes, but his dictionary manuscript includes an even much larger number.[122]

6.5.1. Overview

6.5.1.1. Structural Properties

6.5.1.1.1. Scope of Negation and Reduplication

In a complex verb stem that consists of a root and a predicate derivation followed by the negative suffix, i.e. schematically: ‘V.ROOT-P.DER-NEG’, there are two options for the scope of negation. It could be either ‘[[V.ROOT-P.DER]-NEG]’ or ‘[V.ROOT-[P.DER-

[122] Note also that Bey (2010:29-42), in a booklet on suggestions for how to standardize Karbi orthography, offers a list of predicate derivations with sample host roots for the particular suffixes.

NEG]]', that is, the scope of negation could be over the complex stem as a whole, or specifically just over the predicate derivation. While the result is often ambiguity between the two scope possibilities, it appears possible to sort a subset of predicate derivations into those that attract the scope of negation such that only the predicate derivation ends up negated, and those that form such a tight bond with the verb root or stem they attach to that negation can only ever scope over the entire complex stem.

Predicate derivations that attract the scope of negation include certain highly productive derivations that quantify over the event or the O argument, such as *-ò* 'much' in (245).

(245) Scope of negation over predication derivation (quantifying derivation)
chō-ò-ē
eat-much-NEG
'(s/he) ate but not much'

Predicate derivations that are not able to be singled out under the scope of negation include some low productivity (§6.5.1.1.3) degree or extent derivation ones. An example is *-jìr*, which occurs with *ingthìr* 'be clean' to indicate a higher degree of cleanliness, 'very clean' or 'thoroughly clean'. However, if the negative suffix is added, the whole word as in (246) can only ever mean 'be not clean (at all)', and not 'be clean but not very clean'. That is, the scope of negation can only be over the whole verb stem, but not specifically over the suffix.

(246) Scope of negation over verb stem (degree/extent derivation)
ingthir-jìr-jē
be.clean-INTENS-NEG
'be not clean (at all)' [KT 111103]

Examples of result derivation, which are ambiguous when the negative suffix is added, are (247) and (248). In both examples, the scope of negation may be specifically over the result derivation, such that the action denoted by the verb root occurred but without the result denoted by the suffix. Or the scope of negation may be over the verb stem as a whole such that neither the action denoted by the root occurred nor, consequently, the result denoted by the suffix.

(247) Scope of negation ambiguous (result derivation)
túr-pùr-pē
kick-RES:fall.over-NEG
‘(s/he) kicked (it) but (it) didn’t fall over’ or ‘(s/he) didn’t kick it (and it didn’t fall over)’ [KT 111208]

(248)
ingnì-dūn-prèt-prē
sit-JOIN-RES:affecting.inflated.object-NEG
‘s/he sat down without affecting an inflated object’ or ‘(s/he) didn’t sit down (and didn’t affect an inflated object)’ [KT 111103]

In addition, (249) shows that more scope issues arise when both a reduplication suffix and the negative suffix are added. The reduplication suffix, which here indicates plurality, in combination with the negative suffix, could have scope over the entire verb stem, i.e., over the action plus the result, with both being negated; or it could similarly have scope over the entire verb stem, but with only the result negated, which then leads to the interpretation of ‘repeated jumping without breaking anything’.

(249) Scope of negation ambiguous (result derivation)
chón-rai~rai-rē
jump-RES:break~DIST.PL-NEG
‘(s/he) didn’t repeatedly jump and break (something)’ or ‘(s/he) repeatedly jumped on things without breaking them’ [KT 111208]

Finally, note that reduplication in some instances may also only have scope over the suffix, as in (250), where the reduplication functions as an intensifier for *-hòi* ‘a little bit’.

(250)
thèk-hòi~hōi
know.how-little.bit~INTENS
‘know just a tiny little bit’

6.5.1.1.2. Discontinuous Predicate Derivations

A small number of predicate derivations are expressed via a suffix pair that occurs on two subsequent repetitions of the verb stem. The three so far attested discontinuous predicate derivations are listed in Table 88, and a text example of *-thàp…-phrú* 'here and there' is provided in (251).

Table 88. Discontinuous predicate derivations

Suffix1	Suffix2	Meaning
-chò	*-hàp*	everything (negative evaluation)
-thàp~-tàp	*-phrú*	here and there
-nèk	*-nók*	doing bad unnecessarily

(251) Discontinuous predicate derivation
*amat chonghota **chonthap chonphrulo***
amāt chonghō=tā chón-**tháp** chón-**phrú-lò**
and.then frog=ADD:DM jump-**here.and.there.1/2** jump-**here.and.there.2/2-RL**

kesolo... karlesibongpo adon chonrai
ke-sò-lò karlēsibóngpō a-dón chón-rài
NMLZ-hurt-RL sp.squirrel POSS-bridge jump-RES:solid.object.breaking
'and then, the frog was jumping everywhere, (because) he was hurt, and he jumped on the ladder of the squirrel and it broke' [RBT, ChM 018]

6.5.1.1.3. Productivity

Predicate derivations (PDs) vary with respect to productivity, i.e., the flexibility to occur with different verb roots. Another way to look at that is to consider the various suffixes located on a grammatical-to-lexical continuum. While some predicate derivations have a purely grammatical function and can seemingly occur with any verb root, others are closer to the lexical end of the spectrum, and only occur with verb roots from a particular semantic field, or a subset of those, or even just a single one.

Sample PDs that are highly productive are given in Table 89. Functional categories include certain quantifying (or degree or extent indicating) ones such as *-ò* 'much'; argument structure modifying ones such as *-pī* 'benefactive/malefactive'; or aspectual ones such as *-ét* 'perfect'.

Table 89. Sample highly productive PDs

Highly productive PDs	
-ò	'much'
-pī	'BEN/MAL'
-ét	'PRF'

Table 90 shows the productive degree or extent derivation *-hòi* 'quite' vis-à-vis some other suffixes that also act as qualifiers like 'quite' but occur with specific verb roots. Note that for native speakers, the different suffixes in Table 90 clearly correspond with respect to their functions. Karbi speakers report that *-klùi* in *ardīkklùi* needs to change to *-tàng* if the verb root is *arjāng*.

Table 90. Sample PDs that mean 'quite' (productive and non-productive PDs)

PD	Host verb root
-hòi	[productive]
-hùi	*làk* 'be tired, exhausted'
-klùi	*ardīk* 'be heavy'
-tàng	*arjāng* 'be light'

Similarly, Table 91 offers a list of sample predicate derivations that act as intensifiers for a very small set of verb roots (in some case, a single one). As discussed in §3.5.4.3, the high-frequency collocation of non-productive (particularly, intensifier) predicate derivations can be exploited to differentiate tone minimal pairs. Note that the last three rows of Table 91 show PDs that uniquely identify members of the tone minimal triplet roots *thì* 'die', *thī* 'be short', and *thí* 'snatch'.

Table 91. Non-productive intensifier PDs

PD	Host verb root(s)
-sén	*mē* 'be good'
-jìr	*ingthìr* 'be clean'
-krùng	*sùng* 'be difficult'
-sót	*náng* 'need, must'
-bor	*klar* 'shine'
-klìng	*tōk* 'pound, grind'
-lòt	*thì* 'die', *mēk jáng* 'sleep'
-jòk	*thí* 'snatch'
-hèk	*thī* 'be short', *bī* 'be small', *chungkrèng* 'be thin'

6.5.1.2. Origins of Predicate Derivations

The origins of predicate derivations (perhaps with the exception of the ideophonic ones) lie in lexical items that in some cases still co-exist in the language along with the suffixes. In the majority of cases, however, no corresponding lexical items can be found (anymore). Table 92 shows some sample predicate derivations with their apparent lexical origins.

Table 92. Some predicate derivations and related lexical items

Predicate derivation	Gloss	Related lexical item
-pī	'BEN/MAL'	*pī* 'give' (V)
-lùt	'enter'	*lūt* 'enter' (V)
-lōng	'get.to'	*lóng* 'get' (V)
-chēng	'for.first.time'	*chéng* 'begin' (V)
-dùn~-dūn	'JOIN'	*dùn* 'join, follow' (V)
-mék	'in.advance'	*mēk* 'eye' (N)
-rèi~-rài	'sideways.briefly'	*-rèi~-rài* 'at.side.of' (RN)

While the tone may correspond between suffix and root, as in *-pī* 'benefactive/malefactive', it does not in other instances, such as *-chēng* 'for first time'. Furthermore, in some instances, the suffix has developed allomorphy, presumably as part of phonological reduction in the course of grammaticalization; an example is *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN'. While most of the traceable lexical origins of predicate derivations are verb roots, there are some cases, in which a noun root appears to be the source, e.g., *-mék* 'in advance', or *-rài~-rèi* 'sideways briefly' (as in *làng-rèi* 'look briefly to the side'), which has to be related to what is synchronically a relator noun: *-rài~-rèi* 'at side of' (§4.4.4.2).

The historical development of verbal suffixes from verb roots has likely arisen through serial verb constructions, a common construction in (Southeast) Asia. The source construction for noun roots would likely be a noun incorporation construction.

6.5.1.3. Functional Categories of Karbi Predicate Derivations

The main functional categories of Karbi predicate derivations include manner derivations (§6.5.2), result derivations (§6.5.3), direction, (associated) motion, and path derivations (§6.5.4), derivations that modify or highlight arguments and/or argument

structure (§6.5.5), and aspect/aktionsart and time derivations (§6.5.6). Several other derivations that do not sort neatly into one of these categories are discussed in §6.5.7.

6.5.2. Manner

6.5.2.1. Non-Ideophonic Manner

The majority of non-ideophonic manner derivations have relatively rich semantics and are not very productive (§6.5.1.1.3). Comprehensively documenting them requires extended lexical entries that offer sample sentences as well as unacceptable collocations. Several such suffixes are given in Table 93 as examples. There is a very large number of non-ideophonic manner derivations in Karbi; of the functional categories presented in this dissertation, the non-ideophonic manner category has the most member suffixes.

Table 93. Sample non-ideophonic manner predicate derivations

Form	Gloss	Examples / Sample host verbs	Translation
-bòng	'nicely arranged'	*sōk a-rōng vàng-bòng* paddy POSS-plant come-*bòng*	'the paddy plants are growing beautifully'
		a-kèng dàm-bòng POSS-foot go-*bòng*	'(a baby) is walking nicely on its feet'
		ingthān-bòng~bòng cut-*bòng*~DIST.PL	'cutting (meat) neatly into pieces
-bùp	'suddenly'	*chingkói* 'fall (humans)', *kló* 'fall', *tekáng* 'leave (behind)', *ó* 'put down', *tengnè* 'forget'; [**chō* 'eat'; **dàm* 'go']	
-chèk	'firmly'	*nèp* 'catch', *kòk* 'tie', *ót* 'touch', *thít* 'tie'	

6.5.2.2. Ideophonic Manner

Table 94 shows several sample ideophonic manner derivations, which imitate the sound of different types of movements.

Table 94. Sample ideophonic manner derivations

Form	Gloss	Sound of…	Sample host root
-sir	'sd.spinning'	spinning	*artìng* 'spin'
-dùp	'falling.sd.from.high.solid.obj'	falling (small, heavy object)	*kló* 'fall'
-chón	'sd.very.quickly'	running very quickly	*kát* 'run'

6.5.2.3. Degree or Extent

There are both productive (general, grammatical) and non-productive (specific or idiosyncratic, lexical) suffixes that indicate the degree or extent of an event. Table 95 and Table 96, repeated from §6.5.1.1.3, offer some sample suffixes that vary in productivity.

Table 95. Sample PDs that indicate a considerable degree ('quite') (productive and non-productive PDs)

PD	Sample host root
-hòi	[productive]
-hùi	*làk* 'be tired, exhausted'
-klùi	*ardīk* 'be heavy'
-tàng	*arjāng* 'be light'

Table 96. Non-productive intensifier PDs

PD	Host verb root	PD	Host verb root
-sén	*mē* 'be good'	*-lòt*	*thì* 'die', *mēk jáng* 'sleep'
-jìr	*ingthìr* 'be clean'	*-jòk*	*thí* 'snatch'
-bor	*klar* 'shine'	*-hèk*	*thī* 'be short', *bī* 'be small', *chungkrèng* 'be thin'
-klìng	*tōk* 'pound, grind'		

In addition to the non-productive intensifier derivations in Table 96, there also exists a productive, general intensifier *-(v)arèt*, which occurs with both adjectival as well as action verbs, see (252) and (253).

(252) Intensifier *-(v)arèt* with adjectival verb ('very')
anke dak chevangpó, pi apotsi nang nangbang
ánke [dāk che-vāng-pò] [pí a-pōt=si] nàng nang-bàng
and.then here RR-come-IRR1 what POSS-reason=FOC:RL you 2:POSS-body

lengvaretmati, sarbura" pu
léng-varèt=mati, sàrburá pu
be.fat.HUM-INTENS=CG old.man QUOT
'and then he would return, "why are you so fat/healthy, man? (That's very strange!)"'
[SeT, MTN 025]

(253) Intensifier *-(v)arèt* with action verb ('keep V-ing')
mathalo amatsi adappen chokang arsovaret
mathà-lò amātsi a-dàp-pèn chòkàng arsō-varèt
think-RL and.then POSS-morning-from axe sharpen-INTENS

arsovaret arsovaretlo apiso abang arjulo
arsō-varèt arsō-varèt-lò a-pisò abàng arjū-lò
sharpen-INTENS sharpen-INTENS -RL POSS-wife NPDL ask-RL
'he was thinking, and then since early in the morning, he was sharpening his axe for a long time, and his wife asked…' [SeT, MTN 014]

6.5.2.3.1. Quantification Derivations

There are several highly productive suffixes shown in Table 97 that function as argument quantifiers (§6.5.5.1) with transitive and ditransitive verbs, but indicate the degree or extent on intransitive verbs.

Table 97. PDs indicating argument quantification and degree or extent

Form	Gloss
-ò	'much'
-òng	'(too.)much'
-pìk	'a.lot'

For example, *chō* 'eat' with *-ò* 'much' becomes 'eat much', where *-ò* quantifies the O argument, but *mē* 'be good' with *-ò* 'much' becomes 'very good'. Non-adjectival intransitive verbs also occur with *-ò*, for example, *dàm-ò* 'go-much', in which case the scale is one of frequency: 'go a lot, go often'.

6.5.2.3.2. Comparative *-mū~-mūchòt* and Superlative *-néi~-nái*

Comparative *-mū~-mūchòt* and superlative *-néi~-nái* are used with adjectival as well as non-adjectival verbs, as discussed in §4.2.2. Examples of both suffixes are repeated below. (See also §10.2.2.5 on comparative constructions.)

(254) Comparative *-mū~-mūchòt*

anke ejon nangtetphlut <a> nangthemuchot
ánke e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchòt
and.then one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR
'and then, one (tiger) came out (of the jungle or some area in the Rongker ground) and he was bigger (than expected and than the previous one)' [HK, TR 172]

(255) Superlative *-néi~-nái*

akethenei akehoineilo tangho […]
a-ke-thè-néi akehoì-néi-lò tànghò
POSS-NMLZ-be.big-SPLT powerful.person-SPLT-RL REP
'he was the biggest and the most powerful one (so they say) […]' [HK, TR 033]

6.5.3. Result

Table 98 offers some sample result derivations along with verb roots the suffixes may occur with. A corpus example with *-ràk* 'RES:little.wound' is provided in (256).

Table 98. Sample result derivations

Form	Gloss	Sample host verbs
-bòp	'RES:death'	*ap* 'shoot', *thèng* 'beat', *pheré* 'fear'
-ràk	'RES:little.wound'	*arkè* 'scratch', *kòr* 'bite',
-dàk	'RES:split'	*phlàk* 'split'
-prèt	'RES:burst'	*ingnì* 'sit', *dòng* 'step'

(256) Result derivations

[…] "o bang voarbipi akam kechomathale neno
[o bàng vōarbípī a-kám ke-chomathā=le
VOC CLF:HUM:PL bird.sp POSS-work NMLZ-think.with.bad.intentions=FOC:IRR

nanglutchok nangarkerakrakdetkema?"
ne-nò nang=lūt-chòk nang=arkè-**ràk**~ràk-dèt=ke=ma]
my-ear CIS=enter-disappearing CIS=scratch-**RES:little.wound**~DISTR.PL-PFV=TOP=Q
' "O Voarbipi, what were you thinking, coming into my ears and scratching and wounding me?!"' [RBT, ChM 034]

6.5.4. Direction, (Associated) Motion, Path

Table 99 lists direction, motion, and path derivations.

Table 99. Direction, motion, and path derivations

Form	Gloss	Sample host verbs
-dùn~-dūn	'JOIN'	[productive]
-pòn~-pōn	'on.the.way'	[productive]
-dàm~-dām	'GO'	[productive]
-tekáng~-káng	'leave.behind'	[productive]
-thòt	'into.opening	*kló* 'fall'
-lùt	'enter'	*kòr* 'bite'
-jùi	'away:S'	*dàm* 'go', *dùn* 'follow',
-chòk	'disappearing'	*var* 'throw', *ingbo* ''; *lūt* 'enter', **dàm* 'go'
-chòr	'away'	*var* 'throw', *tur* 'kick', *ingjar* 'fly',

An example of *-jùi* 'away' is (257).

(257) Predicate derivation *-jùi* 'away'
[…] misorongpoke a'ik
misòrongpō=ke a-ìk a-tūm a-tepī a-tūm
ant.sp=TOP POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-elder.brother's.wife POSS-PL

atum atipi atum adappen rit damjuilo
a-dàp=pen rīt dàm-**jùi**-lò
POSS-morning=from field go-**away**-RL
'[…] the ant's older brother and his wife had gone to the jhum field in the morning'
[RBT, ChM 009]

The two suffixes *-pòn~-pōn* 'on.the.way' and *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' to some degree function in a complementary, or converse, way. First, consider *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN'. This suffix is used in situations where an event occurs against the background of something that is in motion (see also §6.5.7.1). For example, if runners are racing each other, people watching and giving the runners water can be said to *lāng pī-dūn* 'water give-JOIN' > 'give water (to the runners as they are moving along)'. If we switch perspective from the bystanders to the runners, we can say about the runners that they *lāng ēn-pōn* 'water take-on.the.way' > 'take water (as they are moving along)', here using *-pōn* indicating that the event occurs while the subject is in motion.

Let us consider other examples of *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' and *-pòn~-pōn* 'on.the.way'. Another example of *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' is (258), where the suffix indicates that the food items are being wrapped in order to be taken to the field. (Note that *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' also occurs in contexts that do not involve motion events, see §6.5.7.1.)

(258) Acting in the context of expected motion: *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN'

[…] ok paka paka han paka paka lopen
[ōk paká paká hán paká paká lō=pen
meat very.good very.good curry very.good very.good banana.leaf=with

thuidun pame pamepo
thùi-**dūn** pa-mé pa-mé-pò]
wrap-**JOIN** CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.good-IRR1
'[…] she wrapped very good meat and very good curry very nicely for him to take along (to the field)' [CST, RO 014]

Two more examples of *-pòn~-pōn* 'on.the.way' are offered in (259) and (260). First, (259) is parallel to the example of the runners: in this personal narrative, the speaker says that they stopped in a town on the way and bought some snacks and water for the trip.

(259) Acting while moving: *-pòn~-pōn* 'on.the.way'

anke thesere haihuita namponlo <kecho> tovar
ánke theseré haihúi=tā nàm-pōn-lò <ke-cho> továr
and.then fruits different.kinds=also buy-on.the.way-RL NMLZ-eat road

kecho aphan lang haihui namponlo
ke-chō a-phān lāng haihúi nàm-pōn-lò
NMLZ-eat POSS-PURP water some buy-on.the.way -RL
'and then, we also bought some fruit (to carry along), to eat on the road, and we bought some water (to carry along)' [SH, CSM 014]

The next example (260) features the suffix twice. As *-pòn~-pōn* occurs on *kló* 'fall', the idea again is that the falling is happening during ongoing motion away from the deictic center. In the first occurrence of *-pòn~-pōn* on the manner motion verb *vèk* 'steer', however, the suffix simply highlights the translocative or andative, i.e., motion away from a point of reference.

(260) Motion away or occurring during ongoing motion away: *-pòn~-pōn* 'on.the.way'

saikel vekponbom dambomlo
[saikél vèk-pòn-bōm dàm-bōm-lò]
bicycle(<Eng) steer-take.away-CONT go-CONT-RL

atheta kloponpresi tovar soding kloponbomlo
a-thē=tā kló-pòn-prè-si továr sodíng kló-pòn-bōm-lò
POSS-fruit=also fall-take.away-scattered-NF:RL road all.along fall-take.away-CONT-RL
'he is steering the bicycle away and going away, and the fruits are falling down here and there and all along the road they keep falling down' [SiT, PS 025]

Another suffix that also indicates the translocative is *-dàm~-dām* 'GO', see (261).

(261) Translocative marking with *-dàm~-dām* 'GO'

latum achitimsi klodamduplo […]
là-tūm a-chitìm=si kló-**dàm**-dùp-lò
this-PL POSS-half=FOC:RL fall-**GO**-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-RL
'he fell down right in the middle of them […]' [HK, TR 189]

While in (261) the action of falling down (specifically, off a tree) is involuntary, *-dàm~-dām* 'GO' also and more commonly marks associated motion[123] with purposive semantics that translates as 'go and V', as in (262).

(262) Associated motion 'go and V' marking with *-dàm~-dām* 'GO'

si hala bamonpopen bamonpike
[sì [hála bamón-pō=pen bamón-pī=ke]
therefore that wise.person(<Ind)-male=with wise.person(<Ind)-female=TOP

ha rit chotiki chonghoidam, <rit> inglong aritsi
há rīt cho-tikī cho-inghói-dàm] <rīt> [inglóng a-rīt=si
over.there field AUTO.BEN-cultivate AUTO.BEN-do-GO field hill POSS-field=FOC

kenongdam kisimdam sai chotikidamlo
ke-nōng-dām ke-sìm-dām] [sái cho-tikī-dām-lò
NMLZ-loosen.soil-GO NMLZ-hold-GO labor AUTO.BEN-cultivate-GO-RL
'therefore, that bamonpo and bamonpi went there to the jhum field to cultivate it, to the hill field they went to loosen the soil and to work, to work they went' [KK, BMS 009]

[123] Associated motion categories indicate that the event denoted by the verb occurs against the background of a motion event (Guillaume 2013).

Finally, *-tekáng~-káng* 'leave behind' indicates another associated motion category, which signals in a sense the opposite of *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN'. While, as pointed out above (as well as below in §6.5.7.1), *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' is about the involvement in another event, *-tekáng~-káng* 'leave behind' is about the lack of involvement in another event. The difference, however, lies in where motion comes in. In verbs marked by *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN', the motion is associated with the 'other' event and not with the subject's event (i.e., in the example above, giving water to the runners, the runners are in motion but not the giver). In verbs marked by *-tekáng~-káng* 'leave behind', it is the subject that moves and leaves the location of the event, thus signaling the lack of involvement (i.e., due to moving on). An example is (263).

(263) Associated motion derivation *-tekáng~-káng* 'leave behind'
anke komat aphansi kepitekangpo,
ánke komāt a-phān=si ke-pī-tekáng-pò,
and.then who POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL NMLZ-give-leave.behind-IRR1

inutvetpo
e-nūt-vét-pò
one-CLF:HUM:SG -only-IRR1
'and then, who would we have given her to, she would have been alone' [SH, CSM 063]

6.5.5. Argument and Argument Structure Related Functions

6.5.5.1. Argument Quantification

Argument quantification derivations indicate the quantity of one of the arguments. In most cases, the suffixes indicate universal quantification, i.e., 'all', 'everything', 'everybody'. Table 100 lists all quantification derivations attested in the corpus and gives examples for the low frequency ones.

Table 100. Argument quantification derivations

Form	Gloss	Examples
-ò	'much'	
-òng	'(too.)much'	
-pìk	'a.lot'	
-èt	'all:S/O'	

-rèp	'each:S/A'	*dorep* 'exist-each:s/a' (SH, CSM 064)
-théi~-thái	'all'	*ne'enpithai* 'have taken all (from me)' (KTa, TCS 082)
-làp	'all:S'	*damlaplo* 'everybody went' (KK, BMS 074) *klolaplo* 'everything fell out' (SiT, PS 030)
-chó…-hàp[124]	'all.neg'	*rikcho rikhaplo* 'everything is scattered' (KK, BMS 093)
-phròng	'PL:S/A'	*langphronglo* 'everybody saw him' (HK, TR 190)
-rùi	'many:S'	*thuruilo* 'many have rotten' (WR, BCS 016)
-vàng	'PL:S/A'	*chethekvangve* 'they don't know' (SiT, HF 041)

Note that it appears generally possible to determine which syntactic role a given predicate derivation quantifies over, although further study is required to confirm that this is indeed syntactically fixed and not pragmatically flexible.

Examples of both *-théi~-thái* 'all' and *-rùi* 'many:S' occur in (264). Note that *-théi* in this example occurs after a separate construction to indicate universal quantification, which is the use of *án* 'all' in *kesiktang'anta* (§7.8.2).

(264) Instances of *-théi~-thái* 'all' and *-rùi* 'many:S'

aphi alam apot kroilo, anke hala Bey Ki'ik
[a-phì a-lám apōt krōi-lò] ánke [hála Bēy ke-ìk
POSS-grandmother POSS-word because agree-RL and.then that CLAN NMLZ-be.black

ahemke piso hangdam'et jat'et, lo han sik'et jat'et
a-hēm=ke pīsō hàng-dām-ét ját-ét] [lō hán sík-ét ját-ét]
POSS-house=TOP wife call-GO-PFT type-PFT banana.leaf curry prepare-PFT type-PFT

kachepangri pangdon nangji aphan kesiktang'anta
[[[ke-che-pangrí pangdòn náng-jí aphān] ke-sík-táng-án=tā]
NMLZ-RR-reconcile even.out need-IRR2 NSUBJ NMLZ-prepare-finish-all=ADD:EXH

siktheilo,an hadak abangke lo han thuruilo […]
sík-**théi**-lò] [án hádāk abàng=ke lō hán thū-**rùi**-lò]
prepare-**all:S/O**-RL and.then there NPDL=TOP banana.leaf curry rot-**many:S**-RL
'because it was his grandmother's advice, he agreed, and so he went to Bey the Black's house to ask for a wife and do all the formalities, and prepare the banana leaves and the curry (for the wedding) and everything, they prepared all of the necessary things for the wedding, and then there all the food got rotten, […]' [WR, BCS 016]

[124] See §6.5.1.1.2.

In (265), an instance of *-vàng* ‘plural:S/A’ is shown. This suffix is interesting because it is a negative polarity item, which only occurs in combination with negative *-Cē*.

(265) Instance of negated *-vàng* ‘plural:S/A’ (negative polarity)
pisi kithurvangvedetma {mm}
pīsi ke-thùr-vàng-Cē-dèt=ma mm
why NMLZ-get.up-PL:S/A-NEG-PFV=Q AFF
'why didn't you get up?' [HK, TR 154]

Note also the the likely relationship of *-vàng* ‘plural:S/A’ with *-váng*, which occurs on temporal adverbs and means ‘each, every’, as in *arnì-váng* ‘each day’ (§4.8.1.1.3), as well as the homophony and possible relationship with *vàng* ‘come’.

6.5.5.2. Argument Structure Highlighting

The two suffixes *-pī* ‘benefactive/malefactive’ and *-ī* ‘instrumental/comitative’ are referred to as ‘argument structure highlighting’ rather than ‘argument structure changing’ or ‘applicatives’, because there is no evidence that they actually change the argument structure.

6.5.5.2.1. Benefactive/Malefactive *-pī*

Benefactive/malefactive *-pī* highlights that the event is conceptualized as having a benefactee or a malefactee. This affected argument is marked by the non-subject marker *-phān*, such as *asitin akhei aphanta* in (266).

(266) Benefactive/malefactive *-pī*
laso aphike asitin akhei aphanta
lasō aphī=ke [a-isī-tín a-khéi a-phān=tā]
this after=TOP POSS-one-each POSS-community POSS-NSUBJ=ADD:EXH

isisi ahem kikimpi do hadak governmentpen
isī~sī a-hēm ke-kìm-pī dō hádāk government=pen
one~DIST.PL POSS-house NMLZ-build-BEN exist there government=with
‘and then, there was one house for every tribe, built by the government’ [SiT, HF 045]

Although *-phān* acts as a differential O marker (§10.2.1.2), which could be taken as evidence that *-pī* is an applicative that 'promotes' an oblique benefactee to argument status, there is evidence presented in §10.2.3.2 which suggests that this 'promotion' is not marked by *-pī* but only 'highlighted' by *-pī*: The evidence consists in a sentence with a benefactee participant marked by *-phān*, without *-pī* occurring on the verb.

6.5.5.2.2. Instrumental, Comitative *-ī*

Unlike benefactee and malefactee participants, which can be marked by *-phān* 'non-subject' (see section above as well as §10.2.3.2, §10.6.2.6), there is no way to mark an instrumental or comitative participant with *-phān* 'non-subject'. Instrumental and comitative participants are only ever marked by *=pen* 'with' (§7.8.1). Nevertheless, the predicate derivation *-ī* may be used on the verb to 'highlight' that an instrumental or comitative participant is included in the conceptualization of the event. Consider (267) and (268).

(267) Instrumental *-ī*

nè	*motorsaikel**=pen**=si*	*hethí*	*ke-dàm**-ī***
1EXCL	motorcycle=**with**=FOC	market(<Asm)	NMLZ-go-**with**

'I went to the market on a motorcycle' [SiT 090223]

(268) Comitative *-ī*

kosonlo, mandu dopo, rit along sitame pinsomar

kosón=lo	mandú	dō-pò	rīt	a-lòng	setamē	[pinsō-mār
how=FOC	field.hut	stay-IRR1	field	POSS-LOC	nevertheless	married.man-PL

atum abangke hala osomarpen jui'irongpo […]

a-tūm	abàng=ke]	hála	osō-mār**=pen**	jùi-**ī**-ròng-pò
POSS-PL	NPDL=TOP	that	child-PL=**with**	play-**with**-instead-IRR1

'now how is it..., they would stay in the field hut, in the field or wherever (i.e., is true for other instances), the men, they would play with the children instead (of working in the field), […]' [KaR, SWK 071]

Instrumental/comitative *-ī* can generally be used to 'highlight' a *=pen* marked participant, even in metaphorically extended contexts as in *amenpen* 'in the name of' in (269).

(269) Instrumental, comitative *-ī* corresponding with *=pen* 'with'

[…] lapenke lammet lamchong kaboche amenpen ketok
[lapèn=ke [[[lammét lamchōng ke-boché] a-mén=pen] ke-tòk
and.then=TOP literature EE:lammét NMLZ-create POSS-name=with NMLZ-write

kacharli'icheng along neli isi ahormu […]
ke-charlì-ī-chéng alòng] nè-lì isī a-hormú
NMLZ-study-INSTR-for.first.time LOC 1EXCL-HON one POSS-thing
'[…] and then, when I first started writing in the name of creating Karbi literature, […]'
[SiT, HF 030]

6.5.5.3. Argument Classification

A set of predicate derivations classify arguments along physical dimensions also relevant for nominal classifiers that occur in numeral constructions (§4.4.1). Table 101 offers some examples.

Table 101. Sample predicate derivations that function as argument classifiers

Form	Gloss	Sample host roots	Use/meaning
-bòr	'appearing.small:S'	*tòt* 'squat', *(mek) kàr* 'burn (fire)'	appearing small but distinct and alone
-lùn	'appearing.big'	*tòt* 'squat', *ingnì* 'sit'	
-tàn	'appearing.very.big'	*tòt* 'squat', *ingnì* 'sit'	
-chòm	'together.few.close.people'	*ingnì* 'sit'	
-kìng	'some.weight:O'	*inghór* 'carry', *bū* 'carry on back', *arbàk* 'hold on lap', *parphang* 'put on shoulder', *rùng* 'lift'	e.g., an infant

Note that many argument-classifying predicate derivations are not productive, but are restricted to occurring with verbs from a particular semantic field. For example, *-bòr* 'appearing.small:S' in Table 101 occurs with *tòt* 'squat', as do *-lùn* and *-tàn*, which classify larger items. However, if we change the verb root to *ót* 'hold, touch', we can still use *-lùn* and *-tàn* for larger items, but for smaller items instead of *-bòr* we need to use *-dòng*. In order to speak about holding a flat object (e.g., paper), another classifying predicate derivation used with *ót* 'hold, touch' is *-hàm*.

6.5.5.4. Argument Structure Changing

A small number of predicate derivations change the argument structure. This includes *-mē* 'good.to', *-nō* 'bad.to', *-movē* 'nothing.to', and *-memè* 'inducing'.

In the case of *-mē* 'good.to' and *-nō* 'bad.to', the O argument of transitive verbs turns into an S argument, e.g., *chō-mē* 'eat-good.to' > 'be tasty; edible' (cf. Post (2007:491) for a discussion of the same phenomenon in Galo, which he also refers to as adjectivalization).

In the case of *-movē* 'nothing.to', detransitivization also happens, but with the former A argument turning into an S argument of a verb meaning 'have nothing to V', e.g., 'have nothing to eat or drink' in (270).

(270) Predicate derivation *-movē* 'nothing.to'
chomove junmove {mm}
chō-movē jùn-movē mm
eat-nothing.to drink-nothing.to AFF
'(he) had nothing to eat, nothing to drink' [HK, TR 009]

Finally, *-memè* 'inducing' turns a hypothetical causer into an S argument, e.g., *ingnēk-memè* 'laugh-inducing' > 'laughable, ridiculous'.

6.5.6. Aspect/Aktionsart and Time

6.5.6.1. Overview

Table 102 gives an overview of aspect/aktionsart and time derivations. I understand the label 'aktionsart' to refer to lexicalized aspect and hence the aktionsart/aspect continuum to correspond to a lexical-grammatical continuum. Thus, there are certain PDs that are more productive and grammatical (specifically, *-ét* 'perfect', *-bòm~-bōm* 'continuative', and *-táng* 'perfective2'[125]), and hence more like 'aspect'. On the other hand, *-ròk* 'completive' and *-lèt* 'perfective3' are less productive and collocate only with certain verb roots, and are hence more like 'aktionsart'.

[125] The aspect derivations *-táng* and *-lèt* are labeled 'perfective2' and 'perfective3', leaving the simple label 'perfective' for the much more frequent *-dèt*, which goes in a verb position class following the negative suffix (see §6.8.1).

Table 102. Aspect/aktionsart and time derivations

Type	Form	Gloss	Productivity
Aspect / aktionsart	*-ét*	'perfect (PRF)'	[productive]
	-bòm~-bōm	'continuative (CONT)'	[productive]
	-táng	'perfective2 (PFV2)'[126]	[productive]
	-ròk	'completive (COMPL)'	[limited]
	-lèt	'perfective3 (PFV3)'	[limited]
	-klùng	'durative (DUR)'	[limited]
Temporal	*-chéng*	'for.first.time'	[productive]
	-thū	'again'	[productive]
	-lè~-lì	'again'	[productive]

Examples of the aspect/aktionsart suffixes listed in Table 102 are given in the following subsections.

6.5.6.2. Perfect *-ét*

The perfect *-ét* is very frequently used. For example, it occurs in the common Karbi greeting question shown in (271).

(271) *àn* *chō-ét-lò=ma*
rice/food eat-PRF-RL=Q
'have you eaten?'

6.5.6.3. Continuative *-bòm~-bōm*

The continuative *-bòm~-bōm* is quite frequent. An example is (272), where the continuative aspect is additionally iconically indicated by three repetitions of the verb stem.

(272) Continuative *-bòm~-bōm*
lasonsi juibom juibom juibomlo
lasón=si jùi-bōm jùi-bōm jùi-bōm-lò
that.way=FOC:RL play-CONT play-CONT play-CONT-RL
'this way, they played and played and played' [CST, HM 058]

[126] What could be glossed as 'perfective1' is *-dèt* (§6.8.1), which is, however, glossed as simply 'perfective' because it is very frequent as well as in a different slot in the verbal position-class.

Continuative *-bòm~-bōm* is likely a reflex of a form reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman as **bam~*pam* by Benedict (1972: 125), based on, among similar forms in other languages, Meithei *pham* 'sit' and Lepcha *bam* 'remain'. In Lepcha, *bam* has futher grammaticalized as a progressive marker (Plaisier 2007:119).

6.5.6.4. Perfective2 *-tāng*

Perfective2 *-tāng* is productively used with any verb root, but it is not as frequent as *-dèt* 'perfective' (§6.8.1). An example of *-tāng* is (273), where it is used on a nominalized verb, of which there are, in fact, a number of other instances. (On the other hand, it appears that *-dèt* 'perfective' only occurs on predicates, which makes sense considering that *-tāng* can be analyzed as being derivational and *-dèt* as inflectional (§6.2.1).)

(273) Perfective2 *-tāng*
ante kolo nangkeneptang, nangpaklangtha lason
ánte ko=lo nang=ke-nèp-tāng, nang=pe-klàng-thā
OK.then ITROG=FOC CIS=NMLZ-catch-finish 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-CON.IMP
'if so, which one have you already caught? You have to show me!, […]' [HK, TR 090]

Note that perfective2 *-tāng* may, however, co-occur with *-dèt* 'perfective' as on the predicate in (274).

(274) Perfective2 *-tāng* in combination with *-dèt* 'perfective'
anta tunlonglelo an arni kethetangdetle!"
àn=tā tún-lōng-Cē-lò án arnì ke-thè-tāng-dèt=lē
rice=ADD cook-GET-NEG-RL that.much sun NMLZ-be.big-PFV2-PFV=EXCLAM
'[…] (and) this much the sun has become so big already"' [KK, CC 026]

The perfective2 suffix *-tāng* apparently originates in an independent verb root *tāng* 'finish' that may function as a complement-taking verb, as in (275).

(275) Complement-taking *tāng* 'finish'
[...] amat lang kachinglu ketangpen kevang amat richo
[amāt lāng ke-chinglú **ke-tāng-pen** ke-vàng amāt richó

and.then water NMLZ-take.bath **NMLZ-finish-NF:with** NMLZ-come and.then king

asopi aphan baplam
a-oso-pì a-phān báp-làm]
POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ press.down-RES:paste-like
'[…] and then after having finished taking her bath, she was coming (home), and then (the rock) rolled over the king's daughter' [RBT, ChM 026]

6.5.6.5. Completive *-ròk*

Completive *-ròk* occurs just nine times in the corpus. There are six occurrences with *lè* 'reach' and three occurrences with *tí* 'get rid off'. One of the occurrences with *tí* 'get rid of' is offered in (276).

(276) Completive *-ròk*
Rengsopen Onso aphanke tidamroklo chevanvedetlo
Réngsō=pen Ónsō a-phān=ke tí-dàm-**ròk**-lò che-vān-Cē-dèt-lò
NAME=with NAME POSS-NSUBJ=TOP get.rid.off-GO-**COMPL**-RL RR-bring-NEG-PFV-RL
'"I don't know at all (what to do). Go, in the future, you also become gods (praying to god)", he had gotten rid of Rengso and Onso' [CST, RO 054]

One of the occurrences with *lè* 'reach' is shown in (277), where in addition to *-ròk*, the perfective2 suffix *-tāng* is used. This is probably because the context is about reaching *Chom arong*, which is the mythological place of the dead for the Karbis, so reaching there is definite, with no possibility of returning.[127]

(277) Perfective2 *-tāng* in combination with completive *-ròk*
[…] bangke Chom Rongme Chom Rongso letangrok […]
[bàng=ke Chóm ròng-mē Chóm ròng-sō lè-**tāng-ròk**]
CLF:HUM:PL=TOP PLACE village-be.good PLACE village-small reach-**PFV2-COMPL**
'[…] and she had already reached *Chom arong*, […]' [KK, BMS 115]

[127] This particular story that (277) is taken from is actually about the impossibility of returning from the place of the dead. Somewhat resembling the Greek story of Orpheus and Eurydice, the wife dies and the husband (the *bamonpo*) in the story travels to *Chom arong* to try and get his wife to come back to the world of the living with him. But even though the *bamonpo* does not make a particular mistake like Orpheus, his wife still ends up having to go back to *Chom arong*.

6.5.6.6. Perfective3 *-lèt*

Perfective3 *-lèt* only occurs once in the corpus, with *jūt* 'finish', as shown in (278).

(278) Perfective *-lèt*
amat jutletlo
amāt jūt-lèt-lò
and.then finish-PFV3-RL
'and then, it (the story) is finished' [SiT, PS 047]

6.5.6.7. Durative *-klùng*

Like perfective3 *-lèt*, durative *-klùng* also only occurs once in the corpus, see (279).

(279) Durative *-klùng*
[….] mendu chikimra <sok nang arlu> hadak doklungnang […]
[mendú che-kīm-ra <sōk nàng arlù> hádāk dō-klùng-nāng]
field.hut RR-build-NF:IRR paddy you weed there stay-DUR-HORT
'"[…] let's build us a field hut, and stay there for a long time […]' [KTa, TCS 007]

6.5.7. Other Functions

6.5.7.1. Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN'

The involvement derivation *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' (grammaticalized from the lexical verb *dùn* 'join, follow') is mentioned as an associated motion suffix in §6.5.4, due to examples such as (280), where *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' indicates that the event is conceptualized against the background of a motion event. Here, in an example from a folk story, a frog tells an ant to pass through between his legs (as the frog is sitting in a way such that the road is blocked). As the ant is passing through, however, which is the backgrounded motion event, the frog sits down, on the ant.

(280) Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN': acting on an object in motion
[…] akengdak arum kilut ahut amat…
[a-kèng-dàk arúm ke-lūt ahūt amāt

POSS-foot-road.inbetween down NMLZ-enter during and.then

anborpenpen chongho abang ingnidunpret
àn-bòr=pén~pén chonghō abàng ingnì-dūn-prèt
rice-wrapped.bundle=with~DISTR.PL frog NPDL sit-JOIN-acting.on.inflated.object
'[…] and as (the ant) was passing through between the frog's legs, with all its rice bundles, the frog sat down (pressing down the rice bundles)' [RBT, ChM 016]

The next two examples (281) and (282) show, however, that *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' can also be used in contexts that do not necessarily involve motion. The larger and more abstract function of *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' thus has to do with indicating that the event is conceptualized as occurring in the context of (or intervening in) an already established event, which may be a motion event, but does not have to be one.

In (281), a procedural text about traditional Karbi cooking with alkaline foods by using ashes, the speaker explains that after the fire has burned down the field, it is necessary to pick up the ashes quickly. The idea is that picking up the ashes quickly intervenes in a process, which is culturally known to occur otherwise, which is that the ashes that need to be collected will become wet in the morning dew or will be blown away by the wind, or will in some other way become unavailable.

(281) Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN': acting against the background of an ongoing (natural) process

ansi laso anglong arit kepan alongsi me
ánsi lasō a-inglóng a-rīt ke-pān alòng=si mē
after.that this POSS-hill POSS-field NMLZ-clear.vegetation LOC=FOC:RL fire

kaipo lasi laso arjang aphelosi
kài-pò lasì lasō arjàng a-phelō=si
set.fire-IRR1 therefore this immature.bamboo POSS-alkaline=FOC:RL

elitum humdunji
e-li-tūm hūm-dūn-jí
1PL.INCL-HON-PL pick.up-JOIN-IRR2
'after that, on the hill fields where we have cleared the vegetation, we have to set a fire and then these ashes from the immature bamboo we have to pick up together' [SiH, KH 003]

In (282), the context of a war between England and Japan is already established. The use of *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' on verbs such as *thì* 'die' or *dán* 'fight' indicates that these events are supposed to be understood in the already established context of this war.[128]

(282) Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN': event seen in context of another event
halaso ahut kithidun Britainpen ke'ongdung
[hálasō ahūt ke-thì-**dūn** Britain=pen ke-óng-dùng
that during NMLZ-die-**JOIN** Britain=from NMLZ-exist.much-INTENS

aregiment do'ó laso aregiment kololo
a-regiment dō-ò] [lasō a-regiment kòlò~lō
POSS-regiment exist-much this POSS-regiment which~DIST.PL

amonitpenloma, koloso aregimentpensi, ladak
a-monít=pen-lò=ma] [kòlò-sō a-regiment=pen=si] ladāk
POSS-man=with-RL=Q which-DEM POSS-regiment=with=FOC:RL here

kachedandunra <kithipen> kithidunma]
ke-che-dán-**dùn**-rà <ke-thì-pèn> ke-thì-**dūn**=ma
NMLZ-RR-fight-**JOIN**-NF:IRR NMLZ-die-NF:with NMLZ-die-**JOIN**=Q
'at the time, too many from the British died, many regiments died, from which different regiments are the people (that have died), from which regiment they are, did they fight together here, and did they die together (their names have been written here on the epitaphs)' [SiT, HF 028]

Finally, (283) shows that the involvement suffix *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' can also be used with an additive function, in which case it corresponds to the occurrence of the additive particle on a noun phrase in the clause.

(283) Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' with additive function
laso ahormu abangke kadokave akheita
[[lasō a-hormú abàng=ke kadókavē a-khéi=tā
this POSS-thing NPDL=TOP all POSS-community=ADD:EXH

kacharlidunke mesen pusi neli matha
ke-charlì-**dūn**=ke mē-sén] pusi] nè-lì mathà
NMLZ-study-**JOIN**=TOP be.good-INTENS QUOT.COMP 1EXCL-HON think
'I think for this thing, it would be good for everybody from every tribe (i.e. everybody in

[128] Note that although *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' can have an additive function as in (283), the suffix here does not have an additive function in the sense of 'Japanese soldiers died and British soldiers died, too'. It would be perfectly grammatical to say 'in this war, not a single British soldier died' and use *thì-dūn-dē* 'die-JOIN-NEG' as the verb.

the world) to (also) learn it' [SiT, HF 044]

More evidence for this analysis of *-dùn~-dūn* comes from its idiomatic use with certain verbs such as *thàk* 'answer', *arjū* 'listen', and *dèng* 'accept'. The semantics of these verbs inherently imply that there is a context in which these actions are performed: answering requires prior asking, listening requires prior talking or any other existence of sound, and accepting requires prior giving.

6.5.7.2. Formal *-īk*

The suffix *-īk* is used as a marker of a formal register or style (§12.4.2). As seen in (284) and (285), *-īk* is placed closest to the root, even breaking up near-lexicalized root-suffix sequences such as *mē-sén* 'be.good-INTENS' and *arjū-lōng* 'listen-GET'. (Note that *-sén* is on the far lexical end of the lexical-grammatical continuum of predicate derivations; to my knowledge, it does not occur with any root other than *mē* 'be good'.) This very salient placement of *-īk* may be reflective of its social importance.

(284) Formal *-īk*

si aphrangsi nanglimen chethan asonte <e>
sì a-phráng-sí nang-li-mén che-thán asón-tē
therefore POSS-first-SPLT 2POSS-HON-name RR-tell like-COND

me'iksenji
mē-īk-sén-jí
be.good-FRML-INTENS-IRR2
'so first, if you could tell us your name, that would be wonderful' [KaR, SWK 004]

(285) Formal *-īk*

nangli aphrangphrang, hakoko alam sitame
nàng-lì aphráng~phràng hakó~kò a-lám sitāmē
you-HON first~DIST.PL that.time~DIST.PL POSS-matter although

arju'iklong tahailo
arjū-īk-lōng tahài-lò
listen-FRML-GET DUBIT-RL
'you most probably have heard the different matters about the old days' [KaR, SWK 059]

6.6. Reduplication

Full reduplication of the last syllable of the verb stem (either with or without vowel change, see §3.8.6.1 and §3.8.6.2) indicates a habitual reading, plurality of an argument or the iterative, or intensification, as shown in the respective sections below.

6.6.1. Habitual

In (286), reduplication of the last syllable of the verb stem *chō-dūn* 'eat-JOIN', i.e., *chō-dūn~dūn* 'eat-JOIN~HAB' indicates the habitual.

(286) Reduplication of last syllable of verb stem indicating habitual
[netumta nangtum nangpipo longle thak
[ne-tūm=tā nang-tūm nang=pī-pò longlē athàk
1EXCL-PL=ADD:also 2-PL 1/2:NSUBJ=give-IRR1 earth on.top

nangbokchom titisi] neta
nang=bók-chòm titī-si nè=tā
1/2:NSUBJ=serve.small.items-a.little habitually-NF:RL 1EXCL=ADD:also

nangkechodundun
nang=ke-chō-dūn~**dūn**
CIS=NMLZ-eat-JOIN~**HAB**
'to us you would also give us, on the ground always you would serve us (food), I also **used to** eat like that' [KK, BMS 060]

6.6.2. Argument Plurality and Iterative

In (287), the reduplication of *thè-ò* 'be.big-much' indicates the plurality of the S argument.

(287) Reduplication indicating plural of S argument
latum phelangpenta kali tinpenta
[là-tūm [[phelāng=pen=tā kalī] [tín=pen=tā
this-PL thatch=with=ADD:also:PRL NEG.EQU.COP tin(<Eng)=with=ADD:also:PRL

kali arlong achetpensi kidip aphlak

kalī]] [arlōng a-chèt=pen=si] ke-dìp] a-phlàk
NEG.EQU.COP stone POSS-piece=with=FOC NMLZ-cover POSS-split.off.pieces

the'o'a la theklonglo
thè-ò**~á** là theklōng-lò
be.big-very~**PL:S** this see-RL
'neither with thatch nor with tin, but with slabs of stone they cover (their roofs), the slabs or stone are very big, those also we got to see' [SiT, HF 050]

In (288), reduplication of the stem can be interpreted as either iterative ('kept hearing') or as plurality of the people from whom the speaker was hearing about the issue ('heard from different people/sources'), which are semantically equivalent interpretations.

(288) Reduplication indicating iterative
[...] laso abang arjulonglong hedi <a> ingnekmeme alam asonlo [...]
lasō a-bàng arjū-lōng~lōng hedī ingnēk-mémè a-lám asón-lò
this POSS-CLF:HUM:PL hear-GET~ITER okay? laugh-inducing POSS-matter like-RL
'[…] this I got to hear from different sources, it's like a laughable (funny) matter […]' [KaR, SWK 070]

In (289), the reduplication of *-phrát* indicates a repeated, iterative event of beating.

(289) Reduplication indicating iterative
chongho aphan jamir abupen sapphratphratdet
chonghō aphān [jamír a-bú=pen] sáp-phrát~phrát-dèt
frog NSUBJ grain.sp POSS-bundle=with beat.w/sth.flexible-sd.beating~ITER-PFV

amat abang pevangphrok
amāt [a-bàng pe-vàng-phròk]
and.then POSS-CLF:HUM:PL CAUS-come-bulging.out
'and with a bundle of jamir they kept beating the frog so his skin got swollen' [RBT, ChM 079]

6.6.3. Intensification

Finally, reduplication of verb stems, in particular those including a predicate derivation, may also indicate intensification, as in (290), where *-jòi~jòi* can be translated as 'very quietly or secretly'.

(290) Reduplication indicating intensification
anungpen damjoijoisi berdamphlutlo tangho
anùng-pèn dàm-jòi~**jòi**-si bér-dàm-phlùt-lò tànghò
back-from go-quietly~**INTENS**-NF:RL press.down-GO-miss/fail-RL REP

{mm} berdamphlut
{mm} bér-dàm-phlùt
AFF press.down-GO-miss/fail
'from behind he was **very** secretly approaching and tried to jump on him, but failed'
[HK, TR 052]

6.7. Negative *-Cē* (Onset Reduplication)

The onset reduplicative negative suffix represents the main verbal negation construction (for nominal negation, the negative equational copula *kalī* is used, see §4.6.2.2 and §8.1.1). For (morpho-)phonological details, see §3.8.6.3. Morphosyntactically, the negative suffix forms the 'right edge' of the derivational verbal complex or verb stem (§6.2.1). An example of the negative suffix in a complex verb is (291).

(291) Onset reduplicative negative suffix *-Cē*
*[...] adappen hadakpen nangchesikmek'et'**e**detlo*
a-dàp=pen hádāk=pen nang=che-sík-mék-èt-**Cē**-dèt-lò
POSS-morning=from there=from CIS=RR-prepare-in.advance-all:S/O-**NEG**-PFV-RL
'[…] from the morning from there we hadn't prepared it (well)' [SH, CSM 062]

6.8. Post-Stem Aspect: Exhaustive Perfective *-dèt* and Experiential *-pín*

6.8.1. Exhaustive Perfective *-dèt*

Perfective *-dèt* occurs with high frequency in the corpus (at a total of 134 occurrences). There are three semantic components to it: perfectivity, exhaustiveness, and, though much less prominently and less consistently, a stance component of a negative evaluation of the event by the speaker (in the sense of 'did X but should not have').

The perfective component is the most consistent semantic component of *-dèt*. It is particularly clear in examples such as (292), where a negated past event is expressed, i.e., something that did not happen.[129] Keep in mind that *-lò* 'realis' (which on non-negated stems typically has past implications) results in a future reading if directly attached to a negated stem (e.g., *dàm-dē-lò* 'go-NEG-RL' > 'won't go', see §6.9.1.2). Therefore, in order to express a negated past event, perfective *-dèt* is required, following which *-lò* 'realis' again has past implications even on negated stems.

(292) Exhaustive perfective *-dèt* between negative *-Cē* and realis *-lò*
[…] adappen hadakpen nangchesikmek'et'edetlo
a-dàp=pen hádāk=pen nang=che-sík-mék-èt-**Cē-dèt-lò**
POSS-morning=from there=from CIS=RR-prepare-in.advance-all:S/O-**NEG-PFV-RL**
'[…] from the morning from there we hadn't prepared it (well)' [SH, CSM 062]

Perhaps ultimately related to this perfective function, the presence of *-dèt* also allows the irrealis suffixes *-pò* and *-jí* to occur in conjunction with a negated stem, as in (293), which is otherwise not possible (§6.2.3.1).

(293) Exhaustive perfective *-dèt* between negative *-Cē* and irrealis suffix
"chokjima?" pu nephan arjulo amatsi neta
chók-jí=ma pu ne-phān arjū-lò amātsi nè=tā
be.fine-IRR2=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL and.then 1EXCL=ADD:CONV

pulo "chok; pisi chokchedetpo? Mesenloke,
pù-lò chók pīsi chók-Cē-dèt-pò mē-sén-lò=ke
say-RL be.fine why be.fine-NEG-PFV-IRR1 be.good-INTENS-RL=TOP

ennoi" pu
ēn-nōi pu
take-INFRML.COND.IMP QUOT
'"is it fine?", they asked me, and I replied, "it's fine, why would it not be fine?, it's okay, take (the interviews)"' [SH, CSM 049]

The exhaustive semantic component of *-dèt* surfaces in examples such as *chō-dèt* 'ate up'. In fact, this particular verb form was used frequently by six different Karbi

[129] Another morphosyntactic type of occurrence of *-dèt* that especially highlights its perfectivity is in subordinate clauses with subordinator *aphī* 'after'. An example is *làng-dèt aphī* 'after watching' (SH, CSM 060).

native speakers that participated in a pilot study using the Fish Film experimental protocol (Tomlin 1995), in which speakers repeatedly describe events of fish swallowing up entire other fish.

Finally, there also appears to be a stance component associated with *-dèt* that at times surfaced in elicitation (although it remained difficult to pin down), such that the use of *-dèt* suggested that the speaker evaluated the occurrence of the *-dèt* marked event in a negative way, implying that it would have been better for the event not to actually have occurred.

6.8.2. Experiential *-pín*

In the corpus and in most elicitation data, *-pín* only occurs on negated verb stems and thus appears to be a negative polarity experiental marker 'never'. An example is *keningjejepinpi* in (294), which occurs inside a relative clause that marks exclamative force here.

(294) *-pín* 'never'

mh "an akai adin ne nangkapangreng
mh [án a-kái a-dín nè nang=ke-pangrèng
DSM that.much POSS-time(<Asm) POSS-day(<Asm) 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-rear

ningke, nang keningjejepinpi amethan-sibongpole!"
nīngke] [nàng [ke-ningjé-Cē-pín-pī a-methān-sibóngpō=le]]
even you NMLZ-speak-NEG-never-truly POSS-dog.sp=FOC:IRR
'"even though all this time I have had you, you are the dog who never talked before at all!"' [KK, BMS 019]

Some further elicitation on *-pín* suggests, however, that there may be a non-polarity counterpart (but possibly with a low tone) that occurs on non-negated stems in examples such as *àn chō-dèt, birík chō-pìn* 'after eating rice, eating chili (i.e., eating chili at the improper time).

6.9. Mood: Realis and Irrealis

6.9.1. Realis *-lò*

Realis *-lò* occurs mostly on verbal predicates, in various aspectual-pragmatic contexts, as argued below; an overview of these contexts is provided in §6.9.1.1. The suffix may also occur on nominal predicates, and there is a presumably related focus marker *=lo*, as discussed in §6.9.1.7. Realis *-lò* occurs with a very high frequency in the corpus, especially in narrative texts.[130] The etymology of *-lò* is not known.[131]

6.9.1.1. Overview of Verbal Functions

Previous research has ascribed some notion of past tense to *-lò*. Jeyapaul (1987: 113) calls it a past tense marker which becomes optional in the presence of an explicit time adverbial. In other contexts, he ascribes the function of perfect aspect to it claiming that it occurs if an action starts in the past but continues up to the present (p.114). Grüßner (1978: 99) calls the category marked by this suffix the "narrative past." He states that *-lò* marks a completed action, therefore setting the stage for a new action, and thus giving rise to a clear sequence of events expressed by verbs that carry this suffix.

In the present account of the verbal suffix *-lò*, I will argue that *-lò* is not a tense marker. Certain verb forms with *-lò* clearly refer to the future. Instead, I will argue that the frequent past reference of verb forms marked with *-lò* is a consequence of the aspectual-pragmatic functions of this marker.

The most obvious interpretation for many uses of Karbi *-lò* is perfective[132], and, to a more limited extent, perfect aspect. There are several examples in which *-lò* resembles a perfective in languages that employ systematic marking of this category. Likewise, the concept of perfect marking plays a role, but in a broader sense than typically associated with this notion. However, *-lò* is used in other contexts as well.

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[130] In fact, because my main, fully annotated corpus (with a total of approximately 13,000 words) mostly contains narrative texts, there are over 1,000 occurrences of *-lò* 'realis' in it.

[131] An intriguing hypothesis is that Karbi *-lò* might possibly be related to the Daai Chin (Southern Kuki-Chin) 'inceptive aspect' and change of state marking *lo* (So-Hartmann 2009:110-1).

[132] A standard definition of perfectivity is 'the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation' (Comrie 1976:16).

Considering the morphosyntactic context of Karbi *-lò*, as it occurs in close paradigmatic opposition with the two irrealis suffixes *-pò* and *-jí* (§6.9.2), I gloss *-lò* as 'realis'. Clearly, a vague label such as 'realis' cannot explain the functional range of such a highly frequent grammatical category. The following subsections thus aim to break down this functional range into particular semantic and pragmatic contexts in which *-lò* is used. These are:

1) Event sequences in a narrative (§6.9.1.2)
2) A (temporal) change of state (either a stative verb or a negated action verb) (§6.9.1.3)
3) A (logical) cause-and-result situation (§6.9.1.4)
4) Correcting a wrong assumption (§6.9.1.5)

Examples in the following subsections are mostly taken from two stories, a personal narrative (SH, CSM) and a traditional story (HK, TK). The former was told by Sashikola Hansepi, a middle-aged woman from Diphu, and is about a trip to the Chomangkan Festival, a celebration to honor a family's relatives that have passed away. The traditional story was told by famous singer Harsing Kro, a middle-aged man from West Karbi Anglong, and is about an orphan and a tiger (hence referred to later as the Orphan and Tiger Story; see Appendix C).

6.9.1.2. Action Verbs: The Argument against 'Past Tense'

In perhaps its most frequent usage, *-lò* appears on action verbs in the narration of past event sequences.[133] For example, (295) is the beginning of a simple personal narrative.

(295) Realis *-lò* on action verbs

adapprang netum thurlo Hongkram Chomangkan dunji pu

a-dappráng	ne-tūm	thùr-lò	Hongkrām	Chomangkán	dùn-jí	pu
POSS-dawn	1EXCL:POSS-PL	get.up-RL	PN	PN	join-IRR2	QUOT

'we got up early in the morning to join the Chomangkan in Hongkram' [SH, CSM 001]

[133] This function is also the most salient one to native speakers in the sense that everybody I have talked to will say that *-lò* marks past tense - which, however, likely reflects the attempt to impose English categories on Karbi.

Almost all predicates that appear as the sequence of events in narrative texts contain *-lò*, and just hearing the sequence of verbs with *-lò* would give the listener a fairly complete picture of what happened. This is similar to the use of perfective marking for completed events, and has probably given rise to interpreting it as a past tense marker in the literature.

As we will see below, stative or adjectival verbs in narratives often occur without *-lò*, which represents evidence that *-lò* does not mark past tense as it occurs on event sequences in narratives. But also in the case of action verbs, *-lò* does not always correspond to past tense. In (296), a negated bare stem without *-lò* in (a) is contrasted with the same form with *-lò* in (b) yielding a future sense. Likewise, the statement in (297) refers to the future.

(296) (a) *phàk-ōk* *chō-chē*
pig-meat eat-NEG
'(I) don't/didn't eat pork'

(b) *phàk-ōk* *chō-chē**-lò***
pig-meat eat-NEG**-RL**
'(I) **won't** eat pork anymore'

(297) *alàng* *vàng-thū-thē**-lò***
3SG come-again-NEG**-RL**
's/he won't come again' SiT 090220

Both (296) and (297) show that *-lò* does not mark past tense. Here again, *-lò* is similar to a perfective marker, in that perfectives typically yield a future sense in combination with a present (or non-past) tense verb. Karbi *-lò* is different, however, as this is only the case with negated stems. Because Karbi does not mark tense at all, the interaction of *-lò* with tense is clearly different from traditional aspect languages such as Russian, which has different forms for past and non-past verbs.

One way we can interpret the function of *-lò* in these two examples is to consider it marking a change of state - which links it back to a perfective function, but in a different light. Of course, 'eat' and 'come' are action verbs, but since they are negated in these two examples, they resemble states more than actions. In (296), the (implied) previous state of actually eating meat or usually eating meat changes to the state of not eating meat at the time of utterance. Likewise, the state of 'him/her not coming again' in

(297) begins at the moment of utterance, and so applies to the immediate or distant future, again implying that before the moment of utterance, this statement was not true.

In both examples, we can interpret *-lò* as marking the beginning of the state of the negated action statement. This could be seen as a purely temporal relationship, in which case 'currently or usually doing something' temporally precedes 'not doing something anymore right now or in the immediate or more distant future'. However, probably more often than not, there is an (implicit or explicit) logical relationship that explains the temporal relationship. In other words, usually, 'now, (I) won't eat pork anymore' implies some reason why this statement has become true, such as 'I have eaten so much pork already' or 'I have converted to Islam.' Even more so in the case of (297), 'not coming again', we probably automatically interpret that this 'now' - the beginning of the negated action state - refers to a reason that rules out the possibility of 'him/her coming again.' Given the other contexts in which *-lò* is used (especially the ones discussed in §6.9.1.4), it makes sense to consider this implied logical relationship an important component of the function of *-lò*.

6.9.1.3. Copular and Property-Concept Term (PCT) Verbs - Change of State

We also find *-lò* on copular and property-concept term (PCT) verbs, where we could motivate its occurrence as signaling a more typical type of change of state than the negated action change of state discussed in §6.9.1.2. Example (298) contrasts two ways of expressing the fact that 'there is no meat.'

(298) (a) *ōk* *avē*
meat not.exist
'there is no meat'

(b) *ōk* ***avē-lò***
meat not.exist-**RL**
'there is no meat left/anymore'

In (a), the bare stem of the negative existential copula is used. This sentence would be used when, for example, a seller in the market does not sell meat, or a particular meal was vegetarian. The statement in (b), however, implies that meat is just sold out, or the particular meal included meat, but all the meat is already eaten up. Therefore, this function marked by *-lò* in (298) is to denote a change of state.

This change-of-state sense of *avē-lò* also explains (299), which is from the very beginning of the Orphan and Tiger Story, and is part of introducing the protagonist. The implication is that large families with a number of children are the rule in a village setting. Therefore, being all alone and not having any close relatives is likely to mean that this orphan lost not only his parents, but also brothers and sisters - as opposed to never having had any siblings.

(299) Change of state function of *-lò* 'realis'
apei avelo apo avelo....
a-pēi **avē-lò** a-pō **avē-lò....**
POSS-mother **not.exist-RL** POSS-father **not.exist-RL**

a'ik avelo ate avelo
a-ìk **avē-lò** a-tè **avē-lò**
POSS-older.brother **not.exist-RL** POSS-elder.sister **not.exist-RL**
'he didn't have a mother (anymore), he didn't have a father (anymore).... he didn't have any brothers or sisters (anymore)' [HK, TR 004]

Change of state is a typical function marked by perfectives, as perfectives typically mark a focus on the completion of an event or the results of it.

6.9.1.4. Indicating a Logical Relationship: Cause and Result

However, it is not always a focus on a change of state that is indicated by *-lò* as it occurs on stative verbs. We already noted above that a change of state situation can often be understood as an (implied) cause and result situation. In the excerpt in (300), there are two statements about the condition of a road, *henopik* 'be very bad' and *longle adukta dopiklo* 'be very dusty (< have much dust)'. The first predicate remains without *-lò*, whereas the second one obligatorily occurs with it in this sentence.

(300) Indicating a logical relationship - cause and result
bonseta Dobokapen <Hojai> Hojai adak abangke
bónsetā [Doboká=pen <hojai> Hojái a-dàk abàng=ke]
but PN=with PN PN POSS-road.inbetween NPDL=TOP

tovar henopik
továr henō-pìk
road bad-very
'but between Doboka and Hojai the road is very bad' [SH, CSM 017]

anke <tovar> tovar longle adukta dopiklo
ánke <továr> továr [lònglē a-dūk=tā] dō-pìk-**lò**
and.then road road earth POSS-dust=ADD exist-very-**RL**
'and then, there is also a lot of dust' [SH, CSM 018]

In (300), *-lò* does not occur on the first predicate, because 'being bad' is a general statement about the road. But the second predicate 'being very dusty' has to occur with *-lò*, because of the logical connection between both statements: Because the road is bad (meaning that it has many potholes), the road gets dusty (as dust accumulates in the potholes).

Note that the second statement in isolation would not be marked with *-lò*. Just remarking that the road was very dusty, the most natural thing to say would be *tovar longle aduk dopik*. If one were to say it with *-lò* in isolation (outside the context of this story), i.e., *tovar longle aduk dopiklo*, it would actually translate more as 'the road was dustier now' implying a comparison with an earlier condition of the road (which might have been more or less dusty, but in any case different from the present condition). This implication is not present in (300). Instead of marking a change of state, maybe one could say that *-lò* here marks a conditioned state, or a conditioned quality as opposed to an intrinsic quality.

Another example of *-lò* marking a conditioned state is (301), where the cause of *ening arongpiklo* '(we) were very happy' is mentioned just before (i.e., reaching just in time to see the own clan perform a certain ritual).

(301) Realis *-lò* marking a conditioned state
<Amri asor> Amri asorsi rong-ketonglo anke
<Amri a-sòr> Amrī a-sòr=si ròng-ketòng-lò ánke
PN POSS-people PN POSS-people=FOC:RL CEREMONY-RL and.then

netumta Amri asorbo anke chephodunloklo
ne-tūm=tā Amrī a-sòr-bò ánke che-phó-dùn-lòk-lò
1EXCL-PL=ADD:also PN POSS-people-also and.then RR-reach-JOIN-right.then-RL

ening arongpiklo
e-nīng aróng-pìk-**lò**
1PL.INCL-mind be.happy-very-**RL**
'it was the Amri people doing the Rongketong, and then we are also from Amri, and so

we happened to reach just in time for it, and (so) we were very happy' [SH, CSM 030]

6.9.1.5. Correcting a Wrong Assumption

Another context where *-lò* is used is in correcting a wrong assumption. Let us first consider (302), in which the storyteller mentions that the orphan had a shovel and a basket with him, as he went out to search for edible roots.[134]

(302)
chingjor epak {chingjor epak?!} hak isi do
chingjòr e-pàk chingjòr e-pàk hák isī dō
shovel one-CLF.flat shovel one-CLF.flat finely.woven.bamboo.basket one exist
'one shovel, ...' {'one shovel?!'} one basket he had' [HK, TR 016]

The storyteller also mentions that the orphan had a small tobacco container with him, which will be of importance for the story at a later point, (303).

(303)
atema ajerjer do mati ho
a-temá ajerjēr dō matí hò
POSS-tobacco.container(<Asm) small exist CG EMPH:INTERACT
he had a small tobacco container, OK? [HK, TR 018]

In both (302) and (303), *dō* 'exist' occurs without *-lò*. Along the lines of the previously discussed analysis of *-lò* on stative verbs, we would indeed not expect to find *-lò* here, because we are not dealing with a change of state or a conditioned state. So (302) and (303) are not problematic. However, the excerpt (304) contains essentially the same statements as (302) and (303), but here all instances of *dō* 'exist' occur with *-lò*.

(304) Realis *-lò* used in the context of correcting/clarifying wrong assumptions
{nopakke ponpema?}
{nopàk=ke pòn-Cē=ma
dao=TOP take.away-NEG=Q
'{he wasn't carrying a dao?}' [HK, TR 022]

[134] Note that curly brackets in examples from the HK/TR traditional story are used for utterances (usually questions, affirmative interjections, or repeated parts of previous sentences) by a Karbi native speaker who was listening to the storyteller for a more natural storytelling situation.

nopakta dolo dak {lahe} mm
nopàk-tā dō-**lò** dāk lahé mm
dao-ADD:also exist-**RL** here that.way? AFF
'he did have a dao also there.' {'is it like that?'} 'Mm.' [HK, TR 023]

nopak dolo chingjor dolo {mm} hak dolo {mm}
nopàk dō-**lò** chingjòr dō-**lò** mm hák dō-**lò** {mm}
dao exist-**RL** shovel exist-**RL** AFF finely.woven.b.basket exist-**RL** AFF
'he had a dao, he had a shovel, he had a finely woven bamboo basket' [HK, TR 024]

anke hala duma kemong athongkupta dolo {mm}
ánke hála dumá ke-mòng a-thongkūp-tā dō-**lò** mm
and.then that tobacco NMLZ-smoke POSS-tobacco.container-ADD:also exist-**RL** AFF
'and then, he also had that tobacco container so he could smoke later' [HK, TR 025]

What caused the storyteller to repeat those statements he just made was that the listener asked specifically whether the orphan did not also have a knife with him (as it is normal to carry a knife along when you leave the village and are on your own). So the storyteller needs to correct himself, or rather, clarify: Yes, the orphan had a knife, and a shovel, and a basket - and then he also had a tobacco container. It is this pragmatically marked context of clarifying or correcting wrong assumptions that is the trigger for the use of *-lò* in this case, as native speakers have expressed that *-lò* sometimes functions to emphasize statements.[135]

Similarly, consider (305), where the realis marked existential copula *dō-lò* is used in the context of denying an allegation of lying.

(305) Emphatic *ti* with declarative, positive verb
[..] nephan nangpakolikma {oi} nangkapachobeima {oi}
ne-phān nang=pakolík=ma ōi nang=ke-pa-chobēi=ma ōi
1EXCL-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=lie=Q yes 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-lie=Q yes
'[…] are you lying to me? are you telling me a lie? (says the tiger)' [HK, TR 087]

"dolo ti!" pubomlo tangho, lake, <SiT laughing> "dolo!" {mm}
dō-lò tì pù-bōm-lò tànghò là=ke dō-lò mm
exist-RL EMPH say-CONT-RL REP this=TOP exist-RL AFF
'"definitely, it's there!" this one (i.e., the orphan) kept saying, "it's there!"' [HK, TR 088]

[135] In this story, of course only the possession of a knife (and not the other items) is a clarifying or correcting statement - however, it seems reasonable that in this context the storyteller just clarifies overall what all things the orphan is carrying along.

6.9.1.6. Summary

Karbi *-lò* combines elements of perfective aspect as well as elements of a more abstract pragmatic category of contextuality. On the one hand, it resembles perfective aspect in occurring on event sequences in narratives, and on negated action verbs to yield a future sense (§6.9.1.2), as well as in occurring on adjectival and stative verbs to indicate a change of state (§6.9.1.3). On the other hand, there are a number of contexts, in which *-lò* occurs, which are not covered by the notion of perfectivity. Specifically, *-lò* occurs robustly in situations of indicating a logical relationship (§6.9.1.4), or when correcting or clarifying wrong assumptions (§6.9.1.5).

6.9.1.7. Realis *-lò* on Nominal Predicates and Focus *=lo*

While not as frequent as on verbal predicates, *-lò* 'realis' also occurs on nominal predicates. The function of adding *-lò* to nominal predicates appears to only ever be one of emphasis or (active) assertion: On nominal predicates, *-lò* only resembles verbal *-lò* where it indicates a situation of 'correcting or clarifying a wrong assumption' (§6.9.1.5). The other functions of *-lò* on stative verbs detailed in the preceding sections, i.e., change of state (§6.9.1.3), and indicating a logical relationship (§6.9.1.4), are not attested once for 'nominal' *-lò*.

An example of *-lò* on a nominal predicate is (306). This folk story is about why two subclans, the Dili and the Rongchecho, split up, which goes back to two brothers of the same names that have a falling out. In this intonation unit, this falling out is declared by one of them with the words 'you are Dili, I am Rongchecho', marking the 'you are Dili' assertion with *-lò*.

(306) Realis *-lò* on nominal predicate
"nangke Dililo, <nangke> neke Rongchetcho!" lason chepulo tangho
nàng=ke Dilí**-lò** <nàng=ke> nè=ke Rongchetchó lasón che-pū-lò tànghò
you=TOP PN**-RL** you=TOP 1EXCL=TOP PN that.way RR-say-RL REP
'"[…] you are Dili, <you..>, I am Rongchecho", like this they said to each other' [KTa, TCS 089]

The fact that verbal *-lò* and nominal *-lò* overlap to some degree but not entirely in their functional range could be taken to consider them two different morphemes. However, consider that irrealis *-pò* and *-jí* also occur on nominal predicates in examples like (307), as do other verbal affixes more generally, which is shown in §4.1.2.

(307) Irrealis *-pò* on numeral plus classifier *e-nūt* functioning as a nominal stem
anke komat aphansi kipitekangpo,
[ánke [komāt a-phān=si] ke-pī-tekáng-pò]
and.then who POSS-NSUBJ=FOC NMLZ-give-leave.behind-IRR1

inutvetpo
e-nūt-vét-**pò**
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-**IRR1**
'but who will (we) give (her) to, (she) will be alone' [SH, CSM 063]

In light of the larger word class agnosticism underlying the fact that elements from any of the larger word classes can function as predicates in Karbi (§4.3), it makes most sense to propose only one morpheme *-lò* 'realis', which occurs in both verbal and nominal predicates. (I do recognize there to be another *lo* morpheme, which does not occur on predicates, which is *=lo* 'focus', discussed below.)

A number of language consultants have suggested that there also exists a form *heló~henló*, which may be related to *-lò*. An example of this form is offered in (308). However, *heló~henló* occurs in a restricted number of contexts, almost all of which contain the demonstrative *là*. This form *heló~henló* appears to be a more formal or otherwise special variant of the simple realis. It is glossed here as 'realis:emphatic' ('RL:EMPH'). A compatible account of *heló~henló* is offered by Grüßner (1978: 132), who parses *heló* into *he* and *-lò*, with *he* analyzed as a pragmatic sentence-final type particle (see §12.3.9 on *=he*).

(308) *heló~henló*
bai pei nangingjinso'un'e nangtum aphan,
bái pēi nang=ingjínsō-ùn-Cē nang-tūm a-phān
how.mean! mother 1/2:NSUBJ=have.pity-be.able-NEG you-PL POSS-NSUBJ

o ***lahelo*** *lason chungkreng kedo marjeng*
ó la-**heló** lasón chungkrèng ke-dō marjèng

EXCLAM this-**RL:EMPH** that.way be.thin NMLZ-exist be.thin

kedo lok'hu kedo lokphlep kedo
ke-dō lòkhù ke-dō lòkphlèp ke-dō
NMLZ-exist be.pale NMLZ-exist be.pale NMLZ-exist
'how mean!, I can't tell you how much pity I feel for you, oh that's why you're so thin and so pale' [CST, RO 040]

Finally, in addition to *-lò* on predicates, there also are a few occurrences of a *lo* marker that occurs on other elements in the clause. While not being frequent, the distribution resembles the one of realis focus *=si*, which is why this *lo* is treated as a focus marker *=lo*. Specifically, *=lo* 'focus' occurs on interrogative pronouns (309), on an NP, here the O argument (with the verb formally nominalized) (310), and on the discourse connector *amāt* 'and then' (311). This is parallel to *=si* 'focus:realis', which also occurs on interrogative pronouns and specifically on focused elements in a construction that involves a (diachronically) nominalized verb (§9.7.3.1), and on discourse connectors (§10.7.3).

(309) Focus *=lo* on interrogative pronoun
ne kopilo kevipo laho <m>
nè kopí=lo ke-vì-pò là-ho
1EXCL what=FOC NMLZ-do-IRR1 this-EMPH:INTERACT
'what should I do?' [CST, HM 013]

(310) Focus *=lo* on NP (O argument)
nangphanlo nangkeponpo {mm}
nàng-phān=lo nang=ke-pòn-pò mm
you-NSUBJ=FOC 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 AFF
'it is you who we have to take' [HK, TR 063]

(311) Focus *=lo* on discourse connector *amāt* 'and then'
amatlo la kroikrelo
amāt=lo là krōi-Cē-lò
and.then=FOC this agree-NEG-RL
'and then, she disagreed' [SeT, MTN 009]

Also note (312), where a sentence involving focus realis *=si* produced by one speaker (not the main storyteller here, as indicated by the curly brackets) is repeated as a

way of confirming it by the main storyteller. Crucially, however, in repeating it, the storyteller uses *=lo* instead of *=si*, which demonstrates that the two clitics have equivalent focus-marking functions here.

(312) Focus *=lo* used to substitute focus realis *=si*

{akejoisi longdunlokpo, eli}
a-ke-jòi=**si** lóng-dùn-lòk-pò è-lì}
POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=**FOC:RL** get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON

akejoilo ili longdunpo
a-ke-jòi=**lo** ì-li lóng-dùn-pò
POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=**FOC** 1PL:INCL-HON get-JOIN-IRR1
'{we will get it without any effort}-we will get it without any effort' [HK, TR 137]

6.9.2. Irrealis Marking: *-pò* and *-jí*

There are two irrealis markers, *-pò* 'irrealis1' and *-jí* 'irrealis2', which both cover cross-linguistically typical irrealis categories associated with futurity. While *-pò* is used in the context of a more immediate, definite future/irrealis situation, *-jí* is used in more general, intentional, or indefinite future/irrealis contexts.

For example, if one says 'I will come over tomorrow', they will be more likely to use *-jí* as compared to a statement such as 'I will come over tomorrow at 2pm', in which case the use of *-pò* is more likely. That said, the suffix *-vèk* 'definitely' can be used in conjunction with *-pò* as well as with *-jí*, and it has proven difficult for my language consultants to imagine contexts in which only one of the two suffixes is truly acceptable and the other not acceptable.

An illustrative example from the corpus is (313), where a question using the more indefinite or general *-jí* 'irrealis2' is replied to using the more definite *-pò*.

(313) Irrealis2 *-jí* in question and irrealis1 *-pò* in reply

"ahokma, methan-sibongpo?, nang neponthekjima?"
a-hōk=ma methān-sibóngpō, ne=pòn-thèk-**jí**=mà
POSS-truth=Q dog.sp 1EXCL:NSUBJ=take.away-know.how-**IRR2**=Q

"o ne nangponthekpo ti, phu!
ó nè nang=pòn-thèk-**pò** ti phū

EXCM 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-know.how-**IRR1** EMPH grandfather:VOC

nangdunle nangdunnoi ho pulo tangho
nang=dùn=lè nang=dùn-nōi hò pù-lò tànghò
CIS=join=FOC:IRR CIS=join-INFRML.COND.IMP EMPH say-RL REP
'"is it true, dog, you know how to take me?"' '"I certainly know how to take you there, grandfather. Just make sure to join me", he said' [KK, BMS 034-5]

A similar example with *-jí* 'irrealis2' in the question, however the bare stem in the reply is (314).

(314) Question with *-jí* 'irrealis2' (reply with bare stem)
"chokjima?" pu nephan arjulo amatsi neta
chók-**jí**=ma pu ne-phān arjū-lò amātsi nè=tā
be.fine-**IRR2**=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL and.then 1EXCL=ADD:CONV

pulo "chok; pisi chokchedetpo? Mesenloke,[...]"
pù-lò **chók** pīsi chók-Cē-dèt-pò mē-sén-lò=ke
say-RL **be.fine** why be.fine-NEG-PFV-IRR1 be.good-INTENS-RL=TOP
'"is it fine?", they asked me, and I replied, "it's fine, why would it not be fine?, it's okay, […]"' [SH, CSM 049]

The following discussion offers examples of the various future irrealis functions of *-pò* and *-jí*. In §6.9.2.2, examples of past habitual marking, which apparently only occurs with *-pò*, are offered.

6.9.2.1. Functions Common to *-pò* and *-jí*

Future irrealis contexts in which both *-pò* and *-jí* are used include simple future (§6.9.2.1.1); habitual marking in procedural texts (§6.9.2.1.2); hypotheticals and counterfactuals (§6.9.2.1.3); epistemic contexts of expressing uncertainty (§6.9.2.1.4); deontic contexts of expressing necessity and obligation (§6.9.2.1.5); desideratives (§6.9.2.1.6); and, finally, purpose clauses (§6.9.2.1.7).

6.9.2.1.1. Future Marking

Examples (315) and (316) are from the same text and refer to the same situation, talking about the future as indicated by the time adverb *penàp* 'tomorrow'. Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, the first instance in (315) is marked by *-pò* 'irrealis1', which

generally is the more definite, immediate future irrealis marker, and the following instances in (316) are marked by *-jí* 'irrealis2', the generally more indefinite marker, including, in the last of three repetitions, *-jí* in conjunction with *-vèk* 'definitely'. Perhaps the use of *-jí* here emphasizes the intention of the speaker.

(315) Future marking function of *-pò*
penap Rongker alongsi vangpo {mm} […]
penàp Ròngkèr alòng=si vàng-**pò** mm
tomorrow FESTIVAL LOC=FOC come-**IRR1** AFF
'tomorrow we will come to the place of the Rongker, […]' [HK, TR 107]

(316) Future marking function of *-jí*
anke.... halake hangdunbomlo {mm} "penap vangji,
ankè hála=ke háng-dùn-bōm-lò mm penàp vàng-**jí**
and.then that=TOP call-JOIN-CONT-RL AFF tomorrow come-**IRR2**
penapthuke vangji, vangvekji" pu tangho […]
penàp-thū=ke vàng-**jí** vàng-vék-**jí** pu tànghò
tomorrow-again=TOP come-**IRR2** come-definitely-**IRR2** QUOT REP
'and then, he keeps shouting, "tomorrow I will come, when it's a new day again tomorrow, I will come, definitely I will come" he said […]' [HK, TR 115]

6.9.2.1.2. Habitual Marking in Procedural Texts

In the excerpt (317), three subsequent intonation units from a procedural text are offered, all of which have the final verb marked with *-pò*, as is typical.

(317) Habitual marking function of *-pò* in procedural text
ansi pholo ingdaklote hekpo
ánsi pholó ingdàk-lò-tē hèk-**pò**
after.that cotton disperse-RL-COND remove.cover-**IRR1**
'then, when the cotton gets dispersed, we open up (the seeds)' [KST, PSu 004]

lasí takiripen jengpo
lasì takirí=pen jèng-**pò**
therefore spindle(<Asm)=with spin-**IRR1**
then we spin/make (the thread) with a spindle [KST, PSu 005]

takiripen jengdette ansi thakpo
takirí=pen jèng-dét-tē ánsi thàk-**pò**
spindle(<Asm)=with spin-PFV-COND after.that weave-**IRR1**

after having spun the thread, we then weave it [KST, PSu 006]

Irrealis2 *-jí* occurs less frequently in procedural texts, but there are several instances, such as the ones offered in excerpt (318).

(318) Habitual marking function of *-jí* in procedural text
lasi pindeng sumpot aphan pusetame
[lasì [pindéng sumpót a-phān pùsetāmē]
therefore dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng POSS-NSUBJ likewise

emenasi chethakji, laso apholo epensi chethakji
e-mená=si chV-thāk-**jí** lasō a-pholó è-pen-si che-thāk-**jí**
1INCL-self=FOC RR-weave-**IRR2** this POSS-cotton plant-NF:with-NF:RL RR-weave-**IRR2**
'and so, we weave any and all of our dresses by ourselves, after planting the cotton we weave it' [KST, PSu 011]
ansi idunji non ahut abangta lapusonló
ánsi ī-dūn-**jí** nón ahūt abàng=tā làpusón-lò
after.that wear-JOIN-**IRR2** now during NPDL=ADD:also like.this-RL
'and then, we (all of us) wear (these clothes), now also the same way' [KST, PSu 012]

6.9.2.1.3. Hypothetical and Counterfactuals

The two irrealis markers are used in both (present) hypothetical situations, as well as in counterfactual situations (in which a hypothetical alternative to a past event is expressed). First, let us examine examples of *-pò*. In (319), the speaker says 'it is okay', which is a realis assertion, but then adds 'why would it not be okay?', i.e., imagining an irrealis alternative to the realis situation, which is indicated by the use of *-pò*.

(319) Hypothetical reading of *-pò*
"chokjima?" pu nephan arjulo amatsi neta pulo "chok;
chók-jí=ma pu ne-phān arjū-lò amātsi nè=tā pù-lò chók
be.fine-IRR2=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL and.then 1EXCL=ADD say-RL be.fine

pisi chokchedetpo*? Mesenloke, ennoi" pu*
pīsi chók-Cē-dèt-**pò** mē-sén-lò=ke ēn-nōi pu
why be.fine-NEG-PFV-**IRR1** be.good-INTENS-RL=TOP take-INFRML.COND.IMP QUOT
'"is it fine?", they asked me, and I replied, "it's fine, **why would it not be fine?**, it's okay, take (the interviews)"' [SH, CSM 049]

In (320), which is from the same personal narrative as (319), a text about a trip to the site of a festival, which was recorded the day after the trip, the speaker imagines a hypothetical alternative to a realis situation from the trip the day before. This is thus a counterfactual situation that is marked by *-pò*, as the hypothetical alternative is about a past event.

(320) Counterfactual reading of *-pò*

anke komat aphansi kepitekangpo,
ánke komāt aphān=si ke-pī-tekáng-pò,
and.then who NSUBJ=FOC NMLZ-give-leave.behind-IRR1

inutvetpo
e-nūt-vét-pò
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-IRR1
'and then, who would we have given her to, she would have been alone' [SH, CSM 063]

Similar to the above examples of *-pò* in (present) hypotheticals and (past) counterfactuals, (321) and (322) offer analogous examples of *-jí*.

(321) Hypothetical reading of *-jí*

e nebangle kelengledetalangma"
e ne-bàng=le ke-lèng-Cē-dèt**-jí**-làng=ma
DSM 1EXCL-body=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fat.hum-NEG-PFV**-IRR2**-still=Q
'"why would I not be fat?"' [SeT, MTN 026]

(322) Counterfactual reading of *-jí*

[mh elike kerenget atumke
mh è-lì=ke ke-rèng-èt a-tūm=ke
pause 1PL:INCL-HON=TOP NMLZ-be.alive-all:S/O POSS-PL=TOP

[thangbaksi keleduntam thekji ason]
[thàngbāk=si ke-lè-dūn-tām thèk**-jí** asón
as.if=FOC NMLZ-reach-JOIN-impossible know.how**-IRR2** like

nangpinkhattap nangpinkhatphru
nang=pinkhát-táp nang=pinkhát-phrú
1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.1/2 1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.2/2
'since we are alive, (how can) you give so many pieces of advice as if we could reach (the place where my wife has gone after she died, when in fact we cannot)' [KK, BMS 031]

6.9.2.1.4. Epistemic Reading

Expressing uncertainty, probabilities and venturing guesses is another common situation where future irrealis markers are used in Karbi, as well as cross-linguistically. In (323), *-jí* is used in conjunction with *mene mena* 'maybe' to indicate that this is an assumption.

(323) *-jí* expressing uncertainty, probability
te "damnoi!" ante "dah! nangphihai along,
tè dàm-nōi ánte dah! nang-phì-hái alòng
OK.then go-INFRML.COND.IMP OK.then go! 2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC

e, lothe lotha doji, mene mena" pu
e lothē lothā dō**-jí** menē menā pu
DSM banana EE:lothē exist**-IRR2** maybe EE:menē QUOT
'then, "go to your grandmother, she will have bananas and other fruits maybe"' [KK, CC 024]

There are a few instances in the corpus where irrealis2 *-jí* is used in questions (see also §6.9.2). Example (324) constitutes another such instance, as a native Karbi speaker (who is listening to a folk story that is being told) is jokingly making a guess as to a detail not mentioned by the storyteller in his telling of the narrative.

(324) *-jí* expressing uncertainty, probability
{armeta jarherjima} mm jarherlo <SiT laughing>
armē=tā jàr-hèr**-jí**=ma} mm jàr-hèr-lò
tail=ADD:also be.standing.up-high.up**-IRR2**=Q AFF be.standing.up-high.up-RL
'{and (the tiger's) tail might have been lifted up (as he was running off)?}-(yes, his) tail was lifted up (<SiT laughing>)' [HK, TR 117]

Preliminary elicitation suggests that *-pò* is also used to express uncertainty or for making guesses, although there are no instances in the corpus.

6.9.2.1.5. Expressing Necessity/Obligation

The deontic verb *náng* 'must, need' almost always occurs with *-jí* 'irrealis2', as in (325), and there are a few instances in the corpus where it occurs with *-pò* 'irrealis2', such as (326). Realis *-lò* cannot be directly attached to *náng*, i.e., **náng-lò* is unacceptable, but in conjunction with the intensifier *-kòk*, which also occurs in (325), it

yields an acceptable verb form, i.e., *náng-kòk-lò* (although there are only three occurrences of this form in the corpus).

(325) *-jí* on *náng* 'must'
{lang nangkokjike}
{làng náng-kòk-**jí**=ke}
see must-INTENS-**IRR2**=TOP
'{we must see! (if there is a tiger there)}' [HK, TR 086]

(326) *-pò* on *náng* 'must'
[...] pinipenke ne nangpen neke chekak nangpo [...]
[pinì=pen=ke nè nàng=pen nè=ke che-kák náng-pò]
today=from=TOP 1EXCL you=from 1EXCL=TOP RR-part must-IRR1
'[…] "from today I will need to part from you" […]' [SeT, MTN 039]

6.9.2.1.6. Expressing Desiderative

Building on the conditional *-te* (§6.10.3), a desiderative construction can be formed by using one of the irrealis suffixes. This is shown in (327) and (328).

(327) Desiderative function of *-jí*
[...] jo... to chirijite, chirinon
jó tò che-rī-**jí**-tē che-rī-nōn
see OK RR-search-**IRR2**-COND RR-search-SUGG.IMP1
'[…] "see!, okay, if you feel like finding yourself a wife, then find yourself one"' [CST, RO 009]

(328) Desiderative function of *-jí*
ako ingti tharmit ba birik jokjite, jokpo
akó ingtí tharmìt bá bírík jòk-**jí**-tē, jòk-pò
then salt turmeric or(<Asm) chili add-**IRR2**-if add-IRR1
'then if you want to add salt, turmeric, or chili, add those' [PI, BPR 005]

While these are the only two examples in the corpus, elicitation suggests that *-pò* 'irrealis1' can be used in this construction preceding *-te* 'conditional' as well.

6.9.2.1.7. Subordinate Purpose Clause Marking

Purpose clauses as in (329) are typically marked with *-jí*, although using *-pò* is sometimes possible in elicitation.

(329) Subordinate purpose clause marking with *-jí* 'irrealis2'
ethevet setame thanji pusi dak kevangló
[e-thē-vét setāmē thán-**jí** pusi] dāk ke-vàng-lò
one-CLF:word-only nevertheless tell-**IRR2** QUOT.COMP here NMLZ-come-RL
'I have come here to tell just one thing' [KK, CC 003]

This construction also occurs as a main clause insubordination construction marking the desiderative or intentionality (§11.4.2, §12.3.1.2).

6.9.2.2. Past Habitual Marking via *-pò*

One function of *-pò* seemingly not shared by *-jí* is the marking of past habitual ('used to') events, as in (330).

(330) Past habitual function of *-pò*
[netumta nangtum nangpipo longle thak
[ne-tūm=tā nang-tūm nang=pī-pò longlē athàk
1EXCL-PL=ADD:also 2-PL 1/2:NSUBJ=give-IRR1 earth on.top

nangbokchom titisi] neta
nang=bók-chòm titī-si nè=tā
1/2:NSUBJ=serve.small.items-a.little habitually-NF:RL 1EXCL=ADD:also

nangkechodundun
nang=ke-chō-dūn ~dūn
CIS=NMLZ-eat-JOIN ~HAB
'to us you would also give us, on the ground always you would serve us (food), I also used to eat like that' [KK, BMS 060]

6.9.2.3. Summary

While *-pò* 'irrealis1' is more commonly used in procedural texts and is used in past habitual contexts where *-jí* 'irrealis2' appears unacceptable, in other future irrealis functions, such as: hypotheticals and counterfactuals; expressing uncertainty and

guessing; expressing necessity and obligation; occurring in the conditional desiderative construction; and marking purpose clauses, the more common irrealis marker is *-jí*.

6.10. Subordinating Verbal Suffixes

There are three non-final suffixes in Karbi: *-si* and *-ra* (§6.10.1), and *-pen* (§6.10.2), as well as a conditional suffix *-te* (§6.10.3), and an indirect question marker *-nē* (§6.10.4).

6.10.1. Non-Final Marker: Realis *-si* and Irrealis *-ra* (Clause-Chaining)

There is a realis non-final marker *-si* and an irrealis non-final marker *-ra*, which are used in forming clause chains, see (331) and (332). Clause chaining is discussed in §11.2.1.1.

(331) Chained clauses marked with *-si* 'non-final:realis'

e anke apaita <m> pharla dam,
e [ánke a-pāi=tā <m> pharlá dàm]
DSM and.then POSS-mother=ADD:DM HESIT outside.part.Karbi.house go

*theng akhangra **okóksi**, hem **damsi**,*
[thēng a-khangrá ó-kòk-si] [hēm dàm-si]
firewood POSS-basket.for.firewood leave-in.a.fixed.place-NF:RL house go-NF:RL

*hongkup **ingnilúnsi**, mok **chepachusi**,*
[hongkūp ingnì-lùn-si] [mōk che-pa-chū-si]
entrance.area.Karbi.house sit-big:AO-NF:RL breast RR-CAUS-suck-NF:RL

"dojoinoi, po!"
[dō-jòi-nōi pō]
stay-quietly-INFRML.COND.IMP father
'and then, the mother went and unloaded the firewood in the Pharla (Veranda), then went inside the house, sat down in the Hongkup, gave the child the milk, (and said) '"be quiet, daddy"' [KK, CC 015]

(332) Clause chain with irrealis non-final *-ra* marked clauses

mo nanghem chedam ahomoike lapu chevangthurá
[mò nang-hēm chV-dām a-homói=ke] [lapú che-vāng-thū**-ra**]
future your-house RR-go POSS-time(<Asm)=TOP this.side RR-come-again-**NF:IRR**

langso atovarthot vangra lapen ladak
[langsō a-továr-thót vàng-**ra**] [la=pen ladāk

this POSS-road-exactly come-**NF:IRR** this=with here

nanghumrira nanghem chepaletu
nang=humrí-**ra**] [nang-hēm che-pa-lè-tū]
CIS=visit.friends/relatives-**NF:IRR** 2:POSS-house RR-CAUS-reach-UNCOND.IMP
'[…] and later when you go home, again come like this, come on the exact same road, and then go to the familiar place (i.e. where the dog is staying) and then go and make yourself reach your house' [KK, BMS 089]

The use of realis *-si* or irrealis *-ra* is determined by the final verb, as shown in §11.3. Generally, in a particular context, only the realis form or the irrealis form is acceptable. However, some of my language consultants found a peculiar construction acceptable (and produced it spontaneously), whereby in a series of more than one non-final clause, the non-final markers are used in alternation. An example is (333), where a declarative, non-negated (and therefore regularly realis) final verb is preceded by two non-final clauses: the first one marked by realis *-si*, as we would expect, but the second one marked by irrealis *-ra*. Peculiar as it may seem, this is robust and fully acceptable for some of my language consultants.

(333) Realis/irrealis alternation
pen pasi'idunvotsi phutup humra aphi
pèn pasi'í-dùn-vòt-**si** phutūp hūm-**ra** a-phī
and.then whistle-JOIN-INTENS-**NF:RL** hat pick.up-**NF:IRR** POSS-backside

anat chevangthulo
a-nát che-vāng-thū-lò
POSS-direction RR-come-again-RL
'and then, he whistled, picked up the hat and brought it back' [SiT, PS 036]

The form *-si* for a non-final marker occurs in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, interestingly most of which are in the northwestern branches in the Himalayas, such as Tamangic languages and also East Bodish (Kurtoep) (see Georg (1996) and Hyslop (2013)).

6.10.2. Non-Final *-pen*

In addition to (ir)realis-sensitive *-si* and *-ra*, there is a third non-final marker *-pen*, which has presumably grammaticalized from a source construction of *=pen* 'with, from'

(§7.8.1) occurring with nominalized verbs. Synchronically, *-pen* (still) frequently occurs on nominalized verbs as in (334), although there are also many instances of *-pen* on verbs not marked by *ke-* 'nominalizer', as in (335).

(334) Non-final *-pen* on nominalized verb

anke netumta lasonsi dunbomsi hadak

ánke ne-tūm=tā lasón=si dùn-bōm-si hádāk
and.then 1EXCL-PL=ADD:also that.way=FOC:RL join-CONT-NF:RL there

kelepen ahem asorta netum aphan

ke-lè-pèn a-hēm a-sòr=tā ne-tūm aphān
NMLZ-reach-NF:with POSS-house POSS-people=ADD 1EXCL-PL NSUBJ

nangkeru nangkethaita <ke>

nang=ke-rú nang=ke-thái=tā <ke>
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-serve 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-serve=ADD <ke>

kechepameso kali la'an a'arleng

ke-che-pe-mē-sō kalī là án a-arlēng
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.good-INTENS NEG.EQU.COP this that.much POSS-person

keong angbong

ke-óng angbòng
NMLZ-be.much middle

and then, that way we were joining them and reaching there, the people of the house served as really really well, amongst so many people [SH, CSM 039]

(335) Non-final *-pen* on non-nominalized verb

lasi longku arlo chepondetpen latum ok

lasì longkū arlō che-pōn-dèt-**pen** là-tūm ōk
therefore cave inside RR-take.away-PFV-**NF:with** this-PL meat

han akeme keme vanpilo

hán a-ke-mē ke-mē vàn-pī-lò
prepared.vegetables POSS-NMLZ-be.good NMLZ-be.good bring-BEN-RL

jatlo sonsi orabomlo

ját-lò lasón=si orá-bòm-lò
type(<Ind)-RL that.way=FOC take.care-CONT-RL

'and then, they carried them inside the cave, and then they brought to them all the good meat and curry (reduplication to indicate plurality, not intensification) for them and everything and that way took care of him' [CST, HM 035]

Note that *-pen* and realis non-final *-si* may co-occur, as in (336).

(336) Cooccurrence of non-final *-pen* and realis non-final *-si*
an ansi mok chepachu ajatsí, anke hala
[án ánsi mōk che-pa-chū aját-si] [ánke hála
and.then after.that breast RR-CAUS-suck GENEX-NF:RL and.then that

osota aning mepensi apai alongsi
osō=tā a-nīng mē-**pen-si** [a-pāi alòng=si
child=ADD:DM POSS-mind be.good-**NF:with-NF:RL** POSS-mother LOC=FOC:RL

chedodunlo, charbaklo, chibu cheoralo tangho
che-dō-dūn-lò] [charbàk-lò] chV-bú che-orá-lò tànghò
RR-stay-JOIN-RL hold.embraced-RL RR-carry.on.back RR-take.care-RL REP
'after that, she let the baby drink milk and then, the child was good and stayed by himself with the mother, she held him, carried him on her back, took care of him' [KK, CC 038]

For a discussion of *-pen* in the context of clause chaining constructions in Karbi, see §11.3.

6.10.3. Conditional *-te*

Conditional clauses are marked by *-te* 'conditional', as in (337). Conditional clause constructions are further discussed in §11.2.3.1.

(337) Conditional *-te*
takiripen jengdette ansi thakpo
takirí=pen jèng-dét-tē ánsi thàk-pò
spindle(<Asm)=with spin-PFV-COND after.that weave-IRR1
'after having spun the thread, we then weave it' [KST, PSu 006]

6.10.4. Marker of Complement Clauses Functioning as Indirect Questions: *-nē* 'indefinite'

Indirect questions are marked by *-nē*, as seen in (338) (§11.2.2.2).

(338) Indirect question marked by *-nē* 'indefinite' followed by *chiní* 'know'
ajatnon Kohima ko'an akethe ko'an
[ajátnōn Kóhìmà [[[ko-án a-ke-thè] [ko-án
anyway PLACE WH-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.big WH-that.much

*akibilo**ne** chinine, neli […]*
a-ke-bī-lò-**nē**]] chiní-Cē] nè-lì]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small-RL-**INDEF** know-NEG 1EXCL-HON
'anyway, I didn't know how big or small Kohima is, […]' [SiT, HF 019]

6.11. Aspect II: *-làng* 'still'

The aspectual suffix *-làng*, glossed as 'still,' occurs in the same temporal sense English 'still' has in instances such as (339). The context in this folk story is that before the speaker(s) can stay with their biological father, they still need to ask their adopted (tiger) parents.

(339) Aspect II: *-làng* 'still' in temporal sense
[…] ne nepei nepo aphan charjudamlang
nè ne-pēi ne-pō aphān che-arjū-dām-làng
1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-mother 1EXCL:POSS-father NSUBJ RR-ask-go-still
'we didn't agree, we still need to ask our mother and father' [CST, HM 116]

However, *-làng* also occurs in semantically related senses (related to additivity) that are incompatible with English 'also', such as the scalar additive sense in (340), where the closest translation into English would probably be 'just'.

(340) Aspect II: *-làng* 'still' in scalar additive sense
amat hala hi'ipi abangke ekam anta
amāt hálasō hī'ipī abàng=ke e-kām án=tā
and.then that witch NPDL=TOP one-step that.much=ADD:even

kamkelang ha herang janglut
kàm-Cē-làng há herāng jáng-lùt
step-NEG-still over.there trap.hole fall-enter
'and then, the witch couldn't even take just one single step, she fell down in the hole'
[CST, HM 105]

Finally, *-làng* is used for events that are expected to take little time or when there is a sense of the event being one step amongst several consecutive ones. For example, if there is a plan to get going to the market, but the speaker wants to go and wash her hands before leaving, she could say *rí chersām-dām-làng* 'hand wash-GO-still', with a

translation along the lines of 'I'm just gonna go wash my hands real quick (and then we can go)'.[136]

6.12. Non-Declarative Speech Act Suffixes

Table 103 offers an overview of non-declarative speech act suffixes along with references to sections in which the various constructions involving these suffixes are discussed.

Table 103. Non-declarative speech act suffixes

Speech act	Form	Function	Discussed in
Imperative/ Prohibitive	*-nōi*	informal conditioned imperative	§11.1.2.2, §11.1.2.6, §11.1.2.8
	-nōn	conditioned imperative	§11.1.2.3, §11.1.2.6, §11.1.2.8
	-thā	conative imperative	§11.1.2.4, §11.1.2.6, §11.1.2.8
	-tū	unconditioned imperative	§11.1.2.5, §11.1.2.6, §11.1.2.8
	-rī	prohibitive	§11.1.2.7, §11.1.2.8
Hortative	*-nāng*	hortative	§11.1.3.1, §11.1.3.2
	-lonāng	emphatic hortative	§11.1.3.3
	-sināng	conative hortative	

[136] In German, *noch* 'still' is used in the same way: 'Ich gehe mir nur gerade noch schnell die Hände waschen (und dann können wir los).'

CHAPTER VII

THE NOUN PHRASE

The topic of this chapter is the structure of the noun phrase in Karbi. In §7.1, the elements of the Karbi noun phrase are introduced and an overview of the noun phrase structure is offered. Evidence for the noun phrase template is provided in §7.2.

The topic of §7.3 is the diachronic significance of the possessive construction consisting of a modifying nominal preceding an *a-* 'possessive' marked head noun. This construction has been the source construction for the grammaticalization of both syntactic categories as well as grammatical markers. The *a-* marking of head nouns is further discussed in §7.4. This *a-* possessive marking of head nouns with preceding modifiers is also particularly significant as it occurs in more complex noun phrases with several modifiers. Here, the *a-* prefix contributes evidence to an analysis of either a flat or hierarchical/embedded structure of the preceding modifiers.

The following three sections discuss modifiers that always precede their head noun (§7.5), the plural *-tūm*, which always follows the head noun (§7.6), and property-concept modifiers, relative clauses, and enumeration constructions, which may occur before or after the head noun (§7.7). Finally, §7.8 discusses the clitics that may occur at the end of a noun phrase.

7.1. Elements of the Karbi Noun Phrase

7.1.1. Overview: Karbi Noun Phrase Structure

The Karbi noun phrase structure is shown in Figure 17. Evidence for this template is offered in §7.2 below.

(DEM)	(NUM)	(RC) (PCT modifier)	([NP]$_{POSR}$)	**HEAD NOUN**	(PCT modifier) (RC) (NUM)	(PL)

Figure 17. Karbi noun phrase structure

Figure 17 sorts six different types of modifiers into position classes inside the Karbi noun phrase. Of these, two only occur before the head noun: demonstratives (DEM) (§7.5.1) and possessor or modifier NPs ([NP]$_{POSR}$) (§7.5.2). (Two additional types of marginal preposed modifiers are illustrated in §7.5.3.) On the right edge of the noun phrase, there is one other modifier: the plural with *-tūm* (§7.6). Finally, modifiers that may occur on either side of the head noun include relative clauses (RC) and modifiers derived from propert-concept terms (PCT) (§7.7.1), as well as enumeration constructions (§7.7.2). Note that the order of these three modifier types is not only variable with respect to pre- vs. postposed to the head noun. In cases of a preposed enumerator and a preposed relative clause or PCT modifier, the more common ordering in the corpus is for the enumerator to occur first, but the reverse order is attested as well. Finally, note that in postposed position vis-à-vis the head noun, the occurrence of more than one modifier of the three types NUM, RC, and PCT is not attested in the corpus. There also is no attested instance of preposed RC and PCT modifiers co-occurring.

7.1.2. Occurrence of Other Elements in Head Noun Slot

While the head noun slot is typically occupied by a common noun, there are three types of coordination constructions which can go inside the head noun slot as well: a simple juxtaposition construction, and constructions involving coordinators *=pen* 'with' or *lapèn* 'and'. In addition, quotative *pu* may immediately follow the head noun.

7.1.2.1. Conjunctive Coordination Constructions

7.1.2.1.1. Juxtaposition

In the juxtaposition construction, two nouns are placed side by side without an overt coordinator, such as *nepiso neso* in (341) and *ahor ahan* in (342). This cannot be treated as an instance of root compounding, since any required morphology is repeated on both nouns, i.e., the first person exclusive possessive pronoun *ne-* in (341) and the general possessive/modified prefix *a-* in (342).

(341) NP coordination by juxtaposition: *nepiso neso* ‘my wife and my children’
e nang nepiso neso aphan
e nàng **[[[ne-pisò]** **[ne-osō]]**$_{HN}$ aphān]
DSM 2 **1EXCL:POSS-wife** **1EXCL:POSS-child** NSUBJ

la'an bondi kipi bondok kipi […]
[[là-án bondí] ke-pī] [bondòk ke-pī]
this-that.much captivity(<Ind) NMLZ-give EE:bondí NMLZ-give
‘you (witch) put my wife and my children in such bad captivity […]’ [CST, HM 094]

(342) NP coordination by juxtaposition: [DEM] - [RC] - [N N]$_{HN}$
[…] la nepei aphan keponpi ahor ahan
[là $_{DEM}$ **[ne-pēi** **aphān** **ke-pòn-pī]** $_{RC}$ **[a-hōr** **a-hán]** $_{HN}$ **]**
this **1EXCL:POSS-mother** **NSUBJ** **NMLZ-take.away-BEN** **POSS-liquor** **POSS-curry**

pachomatdakji pule kopi potsi
pa-chomāt-dàk-jí pu=le kopí pōt=si
CAUS-taste-sudden-IRR2 QUOT=FOC:IRR what reason=FOC:RL

kachekipphakma" pulo
ke-che-kīp-phàk=ma pu-lò
NMLZ-RR-pour.out-almost.completely=Q QUOT-RL
‘”[…] **this rice beer and curry that I was carrying for my mom** to let her taste it, why is almost all of it it coming out by itself?” (she was thinking)' [SeT, MTN 049]

7.1.2.1.2. With Coordinator *=pen* or *lapèn*

Examples of coordinating constructions with coordinators *=pen* ‘with’ and *lapèn* ‘and’ occurring in the head noun slot are (343) and (344).

(343) Coordination construction with *=pen* ‘with’ in head noun slot
“ponnoi jo, la ephipen
pòn-nōi jó **[là** **e-phì=pen**
take.away-INFRML.COND.IMP see **this** **1PL.INCL-grandmother=with**

***ephu** aphan!” pu*
e-phù a-phān] pu
1PL.INCL-grandfather POSS-NSUBJ QUOT
'”take them, look, (take them,) our grandmother and grandfather!”’ [KK, BMS 106]

(344) Coordination construction with *lapèn* ‘and’ in head noun slot
[…] la Bey Ke'et Bey Ronghang lapen Bey Ki'ik
[là **[[Bēy ke-èt]** **[Bēy Ronghāng]** **lapèn** **[Bēy ke-ìk]]**$_{HN}$**
this **CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow CLAN CLAN and CLAN NMLZ-be.black**

atum angjirta do pu
a-tūm] a-ingjìr=tā dō pu
POSS-PL POSS-sister=ADD:also exist QUOT
‘[…] that Bey the Fair, Bey Ronghang, and Bey the Black, they also had a sister, it is said' [WR, BCS 007]

Note that the same conjunctive coordination construction with *=pen* ‘with’ may also occur in the possessor or modifier NP slot, as in (345), as well as function to coordinate separate noun phrases, as in (346). Further research into the structural properties of coordination at the noun phrase level is required.

(345) Coordination construction with *=pen* ‘with’ in head noun slot
‘‘neke nepeipén nepo ahem chedampo"
nè=ke [[ne-pēi**=pen** ne-pō]$_{POSR}$ a-hēm]$_{HN}$ che-dām-pò
1EXCL=TOP 1EXCL:POSS-mother**=with** 1EXCL:POSS-father POSS-house RR-go-IRR1
'"I will go to my mother and father's house"' [SeT, MTN 038]

(346) NP coordination with *lapèn* ‘and’
Europe lapen kaprek kaprek adet,
[[Europe] **lapèn** [ke-prék ke-prék a-dét]
Europe(<Eng) **and** NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different POSS-country(<Ind)

America heihaipen, phorena atum dopik hadak
[America héihái=pen]] phorená a-tūm dō-pīk hádāk
America(<Eng) some=from foreigner(<Eng) POSS-PL exist-very there
‘from Europe and from many different countries, (like) from America etc., there were many foreigners there’ [SiT, HF 037]

7.1.2.2. Quotative *pu*

Quotative *pu* is used following quoted material. It may be used after sentences or words that were uttered by somebody and are then repeated (see §12.3.1 and §12.3.1.1), or in the case of names for people or things, as in (347) and (348). Note that in both these

examples, *pu* simply occurs after the head noun. However, while in (347), the head noun and name *Kache Kropi* also functions as an NP by itself, in (348), *pu* occurs after the head noun *thē* 'fruit', which, in turn, is followed by the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* (§10.5). In (348), *pu* therefore specifically occurs following the head noun, not following the NP as a whole.

(347) Quotative *pu* after a personal name
nemen abangké Kache Kropi pu
[ne-mén abàng=ke] [Kaché Krōpī **pu]**
1EXCL:POSS-name NPDL=TOP NAME CLAN **QUOT**
'my name is Kache Kropi' [KK, CC 007]

(348) Quotative *pu* after the name of a fruit, with noun phrase delimiter following
lasi la suho athe pu abangke pe ri
lasì [là sūhō a-thē **pu** abàng=ke] [[pé rī
therefore this thorny.plant.sp POSS-fruit **QUOT** NPDL=TOP cloth EE:pé

kechok aphan'iklo
ke-chòk] a-phān-īk-lò]
NMLZ-wash.clothes POSS-NSUBJ-FRML-RL
'then, the so-called 'suho fruit' is for washing clothes' [SiH, CW 007]

The position of *pu* following the head noun is also illustrated in (349), where both the plural and the noun phrase delimiter still follow. (Note that in the context of the story, it is more plausible to consider *Bey Ke'et* a name and simply a head noun, rather than a head noun with a following PCT modifier.)

(349) Quotative *pu* after a personal name, with further NP elements following
an Bey Ke'et pu atum abangke asomar
án [[[[Bēy ke-èt] pu] a-tūm] abàng=ke] a-oso-màr
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow QUOT POSS-PL NPDL=TOP POSS-child-PL

abang etpik tangho
abàng èt-pìk tànghò
NPDL be.yellow-very REP
'and then, with respect to the family of the so-called Bey the Fair, his children were very fair' [WR, BCS 010]

7.1.3. The Noun Phrase Delimiter *abàng*

The noun phrase delimiter *abàng* marks the right edge of the noun phrase. For a discussion of structural properties and functions of *abàng*, see §10.5.

7.2. Evidence for Karbi Noun Phrase Structure

As discussed in §7.4, if the head noun of a noun phrase is (seemingly) modified by two preceding modifiers, specifically by a possessor/modifier noun and one (or more than one) additional, further preceding modifier, then two analyses are possible. A schematic example of the order of relevant elements is a sequence of a demonstrative, possessor/modifier noun, and a head noun: DEM, $NP_{POSR,}$ HN.

First, a flat structure analysis may be appropriate, such that both the demonstrative and the possessor noun equally modify the head noun, i.e., [DEM] $[NP]_{POSR}$ [HN].

Second, however, a hierarchical or embedded structure analysis may be more appropriate, such that the demonstrative and the possessor noun form a new noun phrase, which then modifies the head noun: $[[DEM]\ [NP]_{POSR}]_{NP}$ [HN].[137]

While the absence of *a-* 'possessive' on the possessor noun may be taken as evidence that a flat structure analysis is more appropriate (again, see §7.4), a comprehensive modeling of the NP in Karbi as being essentially flat or hierarchical has to remain inconclusive at this point and requires further research.

7.2.1. Overview

Table 104 gives an overview of noun phrase structures found in the corpus, with respective examples offered below in §7.2.2 as listed in the table.

[137] In following binary branching analyses, a third possibility is $[DEM\ [[NP]_{POSR}\ HN]_{NP}]$. This analysis is not further discussed here, as there is currently no evidence for a tighter unit between the possessor NP and the head noun.

Table 104. NP structure (DEM=demonstrative; NUM=numeral or classifier-numeral-word; RC=relative clause; PCT=property-concept term modifier; POSR=possessor; PL=plural)

(DEM)	(PCT) (RC) (NUM)		([NP]$_{POSR}$)	**HEAD NOUN**	(PCT) (RC) (NUM)	(PL)	Example #
+	+$_{NUM}$			+			(350)
+		+$_{RC}$		+			(351)
+			+	+			(352)
+				+	+$_{NUM}$		(353)
	+$_{NUM}$	+$_{PCT}$		+			(354)
	+$_{NUM}$	+$_{RC}$		+			(355)
	+$_{RC}$	+$_{NUM}$		+			(356)
	+$_{NUM}$		+	+			(357)
	+$_{NUM}$			+	+$_{PCT}$		(358)
		+$_{RC}$	+	+			(359)
			+	+		+	(360)
				+	+$_{PCT}$	+	(361)

7.2.2. Data

Data illustrating Table 104 are given below.

(350) NP structure: DEM - NUM - HN

hula ejon ateketa vangpo […]

hú-la **e-jōn** **a-tekè=tā** vàng-pò

over.there-this **one-CLF:animal** **POSS-tiger=ADD:also** come-IRR1

'that one tiger will come […]' [HK, TR 169]

(351) NP structure: DEM - RC - HN

Lily, la nelitum aphan nangkejapon aosopi,

Lilý **[là [ne-li-tūm aphān nang=ke-já-pòn]$_{RC}$ [a-osopì]]$_{HN}$**

NAME **this 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lead-take.away POSS-lady**

elong adim dosi computer akam klemlo

e-lòng a-dím dō-si computer a-kám klém-lò]

one-CLF:place POSS-place exist-NF:RL computer(<Eng) POSS-work do-RL

'[…] Lily, the lady who took us there, she stayed in one place and did her computer work, and she said to us, <enjoy yourselves as much as you want>' [SiT, HF 034]

(352) NP structure: DEM - $[NP]_{POSR}$ - HN[138]

amat la apiso abangke la jangthu abong
amāt là a-pisò abàng=ke **là jàngthù a-bòng**
and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP **this oil POSS-bottle**

cheenlo amat khalun anung vekponlok
che-én-lò amāt khalùn anùng vēk-pōn-lòk
RR-take-RL and.then kd.big.basket back hang-take.away-not.main.action
and then, the wife took herself the bottle of oil and hung it on the back of the khalun to carry it [SeT, MTN 044]

(353) NP structure: DEM - HN - NUM

hala arleng ebeng'an *amatsi akhalun ingpuvakló […]*
hála arlèng e-bēng-án amātsi a-khalùn ingpú-vàk-lò
that slope one-CLF:half-this.much and.then POSS-kd.big.basket open-RES:open-RL
'she (had climbed) **half of the slope** and then she opened her khalun basket […]' [SeT, MTN 050]

(354) NP structure: NUM - PCT - HN

laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
lasō a-hūt amāt **[e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít**
this POSS-during and.then **one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man**

abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... […]
abàng=ke] saikél nang=ardòn-si vàng-lò...
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CIS=ride-NF:RL come-RL
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, […]' [SiT, PS 015]

(355) NP structure: NUM - RC - HN

[…] inut chotiki chonghoi amonit
[e-nūt [cho-tikī cho-inghói] a-monít]
one-CLF:HUM:SG AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-do POSS-man

amethang abiri arlopen eson <athe...> thesere] kelik
[[[a-methán**g**] a-birī] arlō=pen] e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré ke-lík
POSS-self POSS-garden inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruits IPFV-pluck
'[…] one farmer from (inside) his (own) garden is picking a kind of fruit' [SiT, PS 002]

(356) NP structure: RC - NUM - HN

[…] kopipima ladak kelongdun ahormu hortar'an
[[[kopí~pí=ma làdāk ke-lóng-dùn] a-hormú hortár=án]
what~DIST.PL=Q here NMLZ-get-JOIN POSS-thing EE:hormú=all

[138] For a discussion of preposed modifier embedding, and differential analyses of these kinds of examples as [DEM - $[NP]_{POSR}$ - HN] or [[DEM - $NP]_{POSR}$ - HN], see §7.4.

kirim kibi isi ahem do laso
ke-rīm **ke-bí]$_{RC}$** [isī]$_{NUM}$ **a-hēm]$_{HN}$** dō lasō
NMLZ-put.in.one.place **NMLZ-keep** one **POSS-house** exist this

langdamlonglo
làng-dām-lōng-lò
see-GO-GET-RL
'[…] there is one house where they put everything they got from the time of when the British were fighting against Japan, this we got to go and see' [SiT, HF 056]

(357) NP structure: NUM - [NP]$_{POSR}$ - HN
aphrang ahut... inut arong agaonbura
a-phráng ahūt **e-nūt** **a-ròng** **a-gáonburá**
POSS-front during **one-CLF:HUM:SG** **POSS-village** **POSS-village.headman(<Asm)**

ba arong asarthelo
bá a-ròng a-sarthè-lò
I.mean(<Asm) POSS-village POSS-village.headman-RL
'a long time ago, there was one village Gaonbura, I mean, one village headman' [CST, RO 003]

(358) NP structure: NUM - HN - PCT
"ba ko jirpo {mm} pinike ne
[ba ko jīrpō] mm [pinì=ke nè
SURPRISE(<Asm) buddy:VOC friend AFF today=TOP 1EXCL

eson akhobor mesen *arjulong" {mm}*
[e-sòn **a-khobór** **mē-sén]** arjū-lōng] {mm}
one-CLF:thing **POSS-news(<Ind)** **be.good-INTENS** hear-GET AFF
'"hey my friend...today I got to hear good news"' [HK, TR 132]

(359) NP structure: RC - [N]$_{POSR}$ - HN
anke ajabok along kethapthot
ánke **[[a-jabók** **alòng** **ke-thàp-thòt]**
and.then **POSS-pocket(<Asm)** **LOC** **NMLZ-put.inside-into.opening**

akriket abet ensi juiponbomlo
[a-kriket] **a-bet]]** ēn-si jùi-pòn-bōm-lò
POSS-cricket(<Eng) **POSS-bat(<Eng)** take-NF:RL play-take.away-CONT-RL
'and then, the cricket bat that he had put into his pocket he takes again and keeps playing while going away' [SiT, PS 042]

(360) NP structure: $[N]_{POSR}$ - HN - PL

[…] halabangso ahut elitum Karbi akhei atum

[hála-bàng-sō	ahūt	e-li-tūm	**Karbì**	**a-khéi**	**a-tūm**
that-CLF:HUM:PL-small	during	1PL.INCL-HON-PL	**PN**	**POSS-community**	**POSS-PL**

pindeng sumpot aphan kosonsonsi keklemma

pindéng	sumpót	a-phān	kosón~són=si	ke-klém=ma
dress.and.ornaments	EE:pindéng	POSS-NSUBJ	how~DIST.PL=FOC:RL	NMLZ-do=Q

'[…] during the old days, what are the (different) ways in which we the Karbi tribe would make/produce dresses and ornaments?, (that's what I will talk about)' [KST, PSu 002]

(361) NP structure: HN - PCT - PL

[lapusonsi lasi nonpútame pini pirthe kangtang ahut

lapusón=si	lasì	nón-pù=tāmē	pinì	pirthé	ke-ingtāng	ahūt
like.this=FOC:RL	therefore	now-QUOT=any	today	world	NMLZ-be.strong	during

setame ove kimi atum chethanlong] Bokolapo

setāmē	**ovè**	**ke-mī**	**a-tūm**	che-thán-lōng	Bokolā-pō
nevertheless	**generation**	**NMLZ-be.new**	**POSS-PL**	RR-tell-GET	NAME-male

abiha kedam pu

a-bihá	ke-dàm	pu
POSS-trade	NMLZ-go	say

'that way, even today also, as the world is mature, the new generations get to tell each other a saying, "Bokolapo is going to the market" (meaning instead of going to your destination, you're going the other way)' [HI, BPh 020]

7.3. Diachronic Significance of the Possessive Construction

The possessive construction, schematically $[N_{POSR}]$ [**a-**N_{POSD}], has given rise to the grammaticalization of a number of syntactic categories and grammatical functions.

Syntactic categories, or word classes, that have developed in the possessive constructions include relator nouns (§4.4.4), as well as, via further grammaticalization of relator nouns, a number of subordinators and adverbs (§4.4.4.7).

The grammatical markers that have grammaticalized in the possessive construction include a variety of nominal categories: the plural noun *-tūm* (§7.6), the emphatic reflexive with *-māt* (§4.5.2), as well as the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* (§10.5). Relator nouns have also further grammaticalized to role markers *-phān* (§10.6.2)

and -*lòng* (§10.6.3). Moreover, the restrictive focus marker -*nàt* (§10.7.6.3) must have grammaticalized in the same way.

Functionally, it makes sense to treat some of the categories that have emerged, such as the plural marker -*tūm* or the emphatic reflexive -*māt*, as postposed modifiers, i.e., modifiers that follow their head noun. Structurally, however, they themselves are the head noun, the same way that in English NPs like 'the crowd of the students' or 'the students' crowd', 'the crowd' is the head noun and 'the students' acts as a modifier.

This is analogous to relator nouns, where in an NP like 'the top of the table' or 'the table's top' (then grammaticalizing to 'on (top of) the table'), the head of the NP is 'the top' and not 'the table'.

A good illustration of the significance of the possessive construction in providing fertile ground for grammaticalization is offered in (362), where in a subordinate clause of seven words, the *a-* 'possessive' prefix occurs five times.

(362) Diachronic significance of the possessive construction

[…] Naka akhei atum aphan adunghétpen
[[[Naká **a-**khéi **a-**tūm] **a-**phān] **[[a-**dūng-hèt=pen
TRIBE **POSS-**community **POSS-**PL **POSS-**NSUBJ **POSS-**near-firmly=from

kethekdamlong apot ning ingsam'o, neli
ke-thèk-dām-lōng] **a-**pōt]] nīng ingsām-ò nè-lì
NMLZ-see-GO-GET **POSS-**because mind be.cold-much 1EXCL-HON
'[…] because I could see the Naga tribes from very near, I was very happy' [SiT, HF 058]

Within the NP *Naka akhei atum*, the first occurrence of *a-* on *khéi* marks the synchronic possessive construction (i.e., 'the tribes of the Nagas'); the second occurrence of *a-* is part of the plural construction with -*tūm*. The third *a-* occurs on the non-subject marker -*phān*, which marks the role of the NP *Naka akhei atum*.

The next word is the adverbial *adunghetpen* 'from very near', which carries *a-* because it has grammaticalized from relator noun -*dūng* 'near'. Finally, the conjunction that marks this is as a subordinate clause, *apōt* 'because', must also have a history of a relator noun, to explain why *a-* occurs here.

7.4. Possessive *a-* Marking of Head Nouns

Head nouns with postposed modifiers are not marked in any special way. Head nouns with preposed modifiers, however, are generally marked by *a-*. Those modifiers that may occur before or after the head noun follow this rule: if they are preposed, the head noun is marked by *a-*, if they are postposed, the head noun is not marked by *a-*.

In complex noun phrases with more than one modifier, the presence or absence of *a-* on nominal elements can help analyze the underlying (hierarchical or flat) syntactic structure.

First, consider the *a-* 'possessive' prefix in the first NP in (363), *la apiso abangke* 'the wife', which occurs on *pīsō* 'wife' due to the presence of the demonstrative *là* as a preposed modifier.

(363) NP structure: DEM - $[N]_{POSR}$ - HN

amat la apiso abangke la jangthu abong

amāt	là	a-pisò	abàng=ke	**là**	**jàngthù**	**a-bòng**
and.then	this	POSS-wife	NPDL=TOP	**this**	**oil**	**POSS-bottle**

cheenlo amat khalun anung vekponlok

che-én-lò	amāt	khalùn	anùng	vēk-pōn-lòk
RR-take-RL	and.then	kd.big.basket	back	hang-take.away-not.main.action

'and then, the wife took herself the bottle of oil and hung it on the back of the khalun to carry it' [SeT, MTN 044]

In the second NP in (363), *la jangthu abong*, there are two modifiers, the demonstrative *là* and the nominal possessor/modifier, *jàngthù* 'oil'. The question is whether the structure of this NP has to be analyzed as either flat, such that both the demonstrative and the possessor modify the head noun in a linear way: [DEM - $[N]_{POSR}$ - HN], or as hierarchical or embedded, such that the demonstrative modifies the possessor rather than the possessed head noun: [[DEM - $N]_{POSR}$ - HN].

The answer is that it has to be analyzed as a flat structure, because if the demonstrative were modifying the possessor rather than the head noun, the possessor would have to have the *a-* prefix attached to signal that it is being modified.

It appears that the alternative, hierarchical or embedded structure of a demonstrative-possessor-head noun sequence is the only correct analysis in (364). Here,

the demonstrative *laso* has to be analyzed as modifying the possessor *Karbipi* 'Karbi woman' rather than the head noun *osomar* 'children', because *Karbipi* is marked as being modified by a preposed element, i.e., *laso* 'this', via *a-*.

(364) NP structure: [DEM] [*a*-N]$_{POSR}$ [*a*-HN]
[…] laso aKarbipi asomar oso cherop… […]
[[lasō a-Karbì-pī] a-oso-màr] [osō cherōp]
this POSS-PN-fem POSS-child-PL child twin
'[…] this Karbi woman's children were twins... […]' [CST, HM 009]

However, this evidence of *a-* on the possessor in (364) is not conclusive because *a-* may also occur on a noun in the absence of a preposed modifier (see also §5.3.1 on this issue, and specifically the discussion of (168)).

To see an example of this, consider (365). Here we have a sequence of a classifier-numeral word, *inut* 'one (CLF:HUM:SG)'; a possessor or modifier, *rong* 'village'; and the head noun, *gaonbura* 'village headman (<Asm)'.

(365) NP structure: NUM - [N]$_{POSR}$ - HN
aphrang ahut... inut arong agaonbura
a-phráng ahūt **e-nūt** **a-ròng** **a-gáonburá**
POSS-front during **one-CLF:HUM:SG** **POSS-village** **POSS-village.headman(<Asm)**

ba arong asarthelo
bá a-ròng a-sarthè-lò
I.mean(<Asm) POSS-village POSS-village.headman-RL
'a long time ago, there was one village Gaonbura, I mean, one village headman' [CST, RO 003]

In this example, we know that the classifier-numeral word *inut* modifies the head noun *gaonbura* rather than the possessor, because it contains the human singular classifier *nūt*. It therefore cannot be '(the) headman of one village', but has to be 'one headman of (a) village'. Nevertheless, even though the classifier-numeral word modifies the head noun rather than the possessor *ròng* 'village', the form still occurs with the *a-* prefix, i.e., *arong*.

There are two implications of the previous discussion. First, an NP of the form [[MODIF] [N]$_{POSR}$ [*a*-HN]] has to be analyzed as [DEM - [N]$_{POSR}$ - HN], because if the

possessor or modifier noun does not carry *a-*, then it is definitely not being modified. Second, however, if the NP has the form [[MODIF] [*a-*N]$_{POSR}$ [*a-*HN]], with the possessor or modifier noun occurring with *a-*, then the underlying structure is ambiguous. It could be [[DEM - N]$_{POSR}$ - HN], or it could still just be the flat structure [DEM - [N]$_{POSR}$ - HN].

There is more evidence that *a-* sometimes occurs on a noun without a preposed modifier present. Specifically, *a-* typically occurs on preposed (but not postposed) PCT modifiers, presumably because they need to be 'more' nominalized (and/or more referential) when they occur before the head noun, essentially functioning as a nominal possessor or modifier.[139] An example of a preposed PCT modifier with *a-* is (366).

(366) NP structure: NUM - PCT - HN; preposed PCT modifier with *a-* 'possessive'
laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
lasō a-hūt amāt **[e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít**
this POSS-during and.then **one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man**

abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... […]
a-bàng=ke] saikél nang=ardòn-si vàng-lò...
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CIS=ride-NF:RL come-RL
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, […]' [SiT, PS 015]

Note also that there are some exceptions to the rule that preposed modifiers require possessive *a-* marking of the head noun. For example, in the noun phrase *hala Bey Ki'ik atumke* in (367), the head noun *Bey Ki'ik* occurs without *a-* although *hála* is a preposed modifier that would typically require the head noun to occur with *a-*. The absence of *a-* here could be hypothesized to be due to *Bey Ki'ik* being a name.

(367) Preposed demonstrative *hála* 'that' without *a-* on head noun
hala Bey Ki'ik atumke lo han
[hála Bēy ke-ìk a-tūm=ke] [lō hán
that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL=TOP banana.leaf curry

thik'etlomati […]
thík-ét-lò=mati
be.okay(<Asm)-PRF-RL=CG
'and then, Bey the Black and his family had already arranged everything, you know, […]' [WR, BCS 018]

[139] For further discussion of *a-* marked preposed PCT modifiers, see the discussion of examples (169) and (170) in §5.3.1, as well more examples of preposed PCT modifiers in §7.7.1.2.

Likewise, in (368), the same preposed demonstrative *hála* is used without adding *a-* to the head noun, although the reason here is that the head noun *arlèng* 'slope' begins with *ar-*, as a result of which morphophonological fusion occurs (§3.9.2.1).

(368) Preposed demonstrative *hála* 'that' without *a-* on *ar*-initial head noun
hala arleng ebeng'an *amatsi akhalun ingpuvakló […]*
hála arlèng e-bēng-án amātsi a-khalùn ingpú-vàk-lò
that slope one-CLF:half-this.much and.then POSS-kd.big.basket open-RES:open-RL
'she (had climbed) half of the slope and then she opened her khalun basket […]' [SeT, MTN 050]

Nevertheless, there are other examples, in which a preposed modifier is used without marking the head noun with *a-*, where no obvious explanation comes to mind, as in (369).

(369) Preposed demonstrative *lasō* 'this' without *a-* on head noun
[…] amat laso sarpita ajo mek janglo […]
[amāt **[lasō sarpī=tā]** a-jó mēk jáng-lò]
and.then **this old.woman=ADD:DM** POSS-night eye fall-RL
'[…] and then also that old woman slept at night, […]' [KK, BMS 118]

Further research is required to find an explanation for what appears to be an omission of *a-* on the head noun in these instances (however, see also the (arguably analogous) inconsistency in the occurrence of nominalizer *ke-* in nominalization constructions, §9.8).

7.5. Preposed Modifiers

Frequently occurring preposed modifiers include demonstratives (§7.5.1) and nominal modifiers in the possessive construction (§7.5.2). Occasionally, interrogative pronouns and adverbs as well as derived indefinite; (general) adverbials; or non-nominalized clausal modifiers function as preposed modifiers as well (§7.5.3).

7.5.1. Demonstratives

Demonstratives (§4.5.3) precede their head noun, which, in turn, is marked by *a-* 'possessive', as seen in (370).

(370) Possessive *a-* on head noun with preceding demonstrative modifier
*anke halaso arni.... **laso ajangrengsoke**.... apok*
ankè hálasō arnì [lasō **a-**jangrēngsō=ke...]. a-pōk
and.then that day this **POSS-**orphan=TOP POSS-stomach

ingchirdukke mati di {mm}
ingchìr-dùk=ke matì dī mm
be.hungry-INTENS=TOP CG Q.TAG AFF
'on that day, this orphan was suffering from hunger, wouldn't he have been?' [HK, TR 010]

7.5.2. Possessives

The possessive construction allows an unmarked noun ('possessor') to modify another noun, then marked by *a-* 'possessive' ('possessed'), schematically [N_{POSR}] [*a-* N_{POSD}]. An example is *rechó a-hēm* 'the king's house', where *rechó* 'king' is the possessor, and *hēm* 'house' is the possessed and marked by *a-*.

However, more complex noun phrases can also function as possessors. This includes coordination constructions such as (371); noun phrases consisting of a noun followed by a PCT modifier in (372) and (373); as well as a possessive construction in (374), thus leading to recursion.

(371) Coordination construction with *=pen* 'with' as possessor
"neke nepeipén nepo ahem chedampo"
nè=ke **[[ne-pēi=pen ne-pō]$_{POSR}$** a-hēm]$_{HN}$ che-dām-pò
1EXCL=TOP **1EXCL:POSS-mother=with 1EXCL:POSS-father** POSS-house RR-go-IRR1
'"I will go to my mother and father's house"' [SeT, MTN 038]

(372) [N - PCT]$_{NP}$ as possessor
adet kaprek amonit kevang, haladak
[[[a-dét ke-prék]$_{POSR}$ a-monít] ke-vàng háladāk
POSS-country NMLZ-be.different POSS-man NMLZ-come there

nangkelangdun do'o domestic touristta do'o
nang=ke-làng-dūn] dō-ò] domestic tourist=tā dō-ò
CIS=NMLZ-see-along exist-much domestic tourist=ADD:also exist-much
'there were many people who came from different countries to come and see, and there were also many domestic tourists' [SiT, HF 038]

(373) [N - PCT]$_{NP}$ as possessor
ingnar nothongpo ano lutchok arkevaret
[[ingnàr nothōng-pō]$_{POSR}$ a-nò] lūt-chòk arkè-varèt
elephant deaf-MODIF POSS-ear enter-disappearing scratch-INTENS
'(the bird) got into the ears of a deaf elephant, and scratched around' [RBT, ChM 024]

(374) [N_{POSR} - N_{POSD}]$_{NP}$ as possessor
[…] amatsi netum abangke ha Chomangkan ahem
amātsi ne-tūm abàng=ke **[[há Chomangkán a-hēm]$_{POSR}$**
and.then 1EXCL-PL NPDL=TOP **over.there PN POSS-house**

asor atumpen ako netum
a-sòr a-tūm=pen] akó ne-tūm
POSS-people POSS-PL=from on.the.other.hand(<Asm) 1EXCL-PL

chebidaithulo ajatlo amatke vanglo
che-bidái-thù-lò aját-lò amāt=ke vàng-lò
RR-say.goodbye(<Asm)-again-RL GENEX-RL and.then=TOP come-RL
'[…] and then we said goodbye to the people from the Chomangkan house and then came back again' [SH, CSM 066]

As illustrated in (375), the reflexive pronoun *-metháng* 'self' can function as a possessor to indicate co-reference with the subject of the clause (see also §4.5.2 on reflexives).

(375) Co-reference between subject and possessor of clause participant
[…] inut chotiki chonghoi amonit
[[e-nūt cho-tikī cho-inghói] a-monít]$_i$
one-CLF:HUM:SG AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-do POSS-man

***amethang** abiri arlopen eson <athe...> thesere] kelik*
[[[a-metháng]$_i$ a-birī] arlō=pen] e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré ke-lík
POSS-self POSS-garden inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruit IPFV-pluck
'[…] [one farmer]$_i$ from (inside) **his$_i$** (own) garden is picking a kind of fruit' [SiT, PS 002]

7.5.3. Other Preposed Modifiers

7.5.3.1. Interrogative Pronouns and Derived Indefinites

Both interrogative pronouns and indefinites derived from interrogative pronouns with *-nē* may function as nominal modifiers.

In (376) from a folk story, a squirrel is mad at a frog for destroying the ladder to its nest. Being sarcastic, it yells at the frog asking who it was who is so smart and strong and jumped and destroyed its ladder. Structurally, there are four coordinated noun phrases, all consisting of the interrogative pronoun *māt* 'who' modifying deverbal nominals marked by *a-* 'possessive'. A closer translation into English would be 'which knowledgeable person' and 'which strong person', but where English only has one general interrogative nominal modifier 'which', any interrogative pronoun or adverb regularly and systematically functions as a modifier in Karbi.

(376) *māt* 'who' functioning as nominal modifier

amat karlesibongpota... aning thilo… "mat akethek,
amāt karlēsibóngpō=tā... a-nīng thī-lò **[māt a-ke-thèk]**
and.then squirrel.sp =ADD POSS-mind be.short-RL **who POSS-NMLZ-know.how**

mat akere, mat akangtang,
[māt a-ke-rè] [māt a-ke-ingtāng] [māt
who POSS-NMLZ-be.smart who POSS-NMLZ-be.strong who

mat akangsaksi nedondon chonraima?"
a-ke-ingsàk=si] ne-dondōn chón-ràai=ma
POSS-NMLZ-EE:ingtāng=FOC:RL 1EXCL:POSS-ladder jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=Q

pu, lata
pu là=tā
QUOT this=ADD:DM
'and then, the squirrel... got mad, "who is the wise one, who is the smart one, who is the strong and mighty one, who jumped on my ladder so it broke?" it (the squirrel) (said)'
[RBT, ChM 019]

Similarly, in (377), which was spontaneously uttered in the context of seeing a truck crowded with people going to a market, the interrogative adverb *kodāk* 'where' modifies *bojár* 'market'.

(377) *kodāk* ‘where’ functioning as nominal modifier
pinì ***[kodāk*** *a-bojár=lo]*
today **where** POSS-market(<Ind)=FOC
‘today is which market (lit., a where-market)? / where is market day today?' (OH 121009.001)

Likewise, indefinites derived from interrogatives with *-nē* ‘indefinite’ function as nominal modifiers. In (378), *pine* ‘some, any’ is derived from *pī* ‘what’ and functions as a modifier of *kám* ‘work’.

(378) *pí-nē* ‘what-indefinite’ functioning as nominal modifier
pine akam doma jirpo ho {mm}
[pí-nē a-kám] dō=ma jīrpō hò mm
what-INDEF POSS-work exist=Q friend definitely AFF
'is there any work, friend?' [HK, TR 130]

In (379), *komāt-nē* ‘who-indefinite’ acts as a modifier meaning ‘some, any’ in the context of talking about people rather than things.

(379) *komāt-nē* ‘who-indefinite’ functioning as nominal modifier
komatne akurja aso vanlo, komatne
[[komāt-nē a-kurjà] a-osō] vàn-lò [[komāt-nē
who-INDEF POSS-muslim POSS-child bring-RL who-INDEF

abonggali aso ponlo, aphai dopiklo
a-bonggalí] a-osō] pòn-lò aphái dō-pìk-lò
POSS-Bengoli POSS-child carry-RL number exist-very-RL
‘he brought some young muslims, he carried some young Bengolis, he already had many of them’ [HK, TR 041]

Finally, in (380), *konát-nē* ‘where-indefinite’ modifies *sempu* ‘shampoo’ in the sense ‘any shampoo; shampoo taken/bought from anywhere’.

(380) *konát-nē* ‘where-indefinite’ functioning as nominal modifier
[…] sabun tangho, kopine tangho, la konane asempu
[sabún tànghò kopí-nē tànghò [là **konát-nē** a-sempu]
soap(<Asm) REP what-INDEF REP this **where-INDEF** POSS-shampoo(<Eng?)

non'alom ke'enthapvaret, lahai abangta chokchelo
nón-alōm ke-ēn-tháp-varèt] [lahái abàng=tā chók-Cē-lò]
now-while NMLZ-take-mindlessly-INTENS these NPDL=ADD:also be.fine-NEG-RL
'[…] soap, and whatever, shampoo from wherever, are now constantly used, and it is not okay (to use) all these things (without knowing much about them)' [SiH, CW 003]

7.5.3.2. Adverbials

Adverbials, such as *hádāk* 'there' in (381), or the more complex construction in (382), may also function as preposed nominal modifiers.

(381) Adverbial *hádāk* 'there' functioning as a preposed modifier
lapenke eson acheng do hadak achengke
[lapèn=ke e-sòn a-chēng dō] **[[[hádāk]$_{MODIF}$** a-chēng=ke]
and=TOP one-CLF:thing POSS-drum exist **there** POSS-drum=TOP

kibihek kali lake thepik thengpi
ke-bī-hèk kalī] [là=ke thè-pìk] [thengpī
NMLZ-be.small-small NEG.EQU.COP this=TOP be.big-very tree/wood

arong amatsi vandet
a-rōng amātsi vàn-dèt]
POSS-plant self bring-PFV
'and then, there was one kind of drum there, the drums there are not small, that one was very big, they had brought a tree itself' [SiT, HF 051]

(382) Complex adverbial construction functioning as a preposed modifier
anke lapu thoi asorpen hapu Rongkhang anatthu
ánke **[[lapú thói a-sòr=pen hápú Rongkháng a-nátthū]$_{MODIF}$**
and.then **this.side plains POSS-people=from that.side AREA POSS-direction**

aChomangkanke neta ketheklongchenglo aronta
a-Chomangkan=ke] nè=tā ke-theklōng-chéng-lò a-rōn=tā
POSS-PN=TOP 1EXCL=also NMLZ-see-for.first.time-RL POSS-custom=also

chinidun'o'e setame ning arongpiklo
chiní-dùn-ò-Cē setāmē nīng aróng-pìk-lò
know-JOIN-much-NEG nevertheless mind be.happy-very-RL
'and then, the Chomangkan of people from this side, from the plains, and from that side, the Ronghang side, I also see for the first time' [SH, CSM 044]

7.5.3.3. Clausal Modifiers

In (383), a formally non-nominalized subordinate purpose clause (§11.2.3.2, §6.9.2.1.7) modifies the head noun *a-lám* 'POSS-matter'.

(383) Preposed, formally non-nominalized clausal modifier
lasi netum abangke ako nangchirui Diphu chirui…
lasì ne-tūm abàng=ke akó nang=chirùi Diphú chirùi
therefore 1EXCL-PL NPDL=TOP DC(<Asm) CIS=return PN return

la hem chevangthuphitji pu alam do
[là hēm che-vàng-thū-phìt-jí pu] a-lám] dō
this house RR-come-again-right.away-IRR2 QUOT POSS-matter exist

apotsi ako netum hadakpen vanglo
apōt=si akó ne-tūm hádāk=pen vàng-lò
because=FOC DC(<Asm) 1EXCL-PL there=from come-RL
'so we got on our way back to Diphu again…, because it was a matter of returning back home right away (i.e. not spending the night), so again we left from there' [SH, CSM 061]

7.6. Postposed Modifier: Plural Marking Noun *-tūm*

Plural marking of proper nouns occurs in the possessive construction, in which, structurally, the possessor is the pluralized noun, and the possessed is the plural noun *-tūm*, as in (384). (With personal pronouns, the possessor is indicated with personal possessive prefixes (§4.5.1).)

(384) Plural marking noun *-tūm*
arlosomar atumsi akele langpik
[árlosō-mār **a-tūm**=si] akelé làng-pìk
woman-PL **POSS-PL**=FOC:RL more see-very
'the women do a lot more of looking after things' [KaR, SWK 040]

This plural construction with *-tūm* often has an associated plural reading. In (385), *Bey Ki'ik atum* refers to the family of *Bey Ki'ik*. In (386), *ne'ik atum* does not refer to a plurality of older brothers, but to the older brother and his wife.

(385) Associative plural function of *-tūm*

hala Bey Ki'ik atumke lo han

[hála Bēy ke-ìk a-tūm=ke] [lō hán

that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL=TOP banana.leaf curry

thik'etlomati […]

thík-ét-lò=mati

be.okay(<Asm)-PRF-RL=CG

'and then, Bey the Black and his family had already arranged everything, you know, […]' [WR, BCS 018]

(386) Associative plural function of *-tūm*

ne'ik atum aphan an thonji pu

ne-ìk a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí pu

1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 QUOT

'"how bad! Please do give way to me, friend. I'm supposed to drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)"' [RBT, ChM 012]

Finally, while *-tūm* cannot be used to indicate the plurality of inanimate objects, there are some contexts in which it can be used with animals. Plural *-tūm* can always be used for animals that are personified in folk stories, as in (387).

(387) Plural *-tūm* used with personified dogs in folk story

*la chonghokalosopen la misorongpo **atum** kopi*

[[[là chonghōkalósō=pen là misòrongpō] **a-tūm]** kopí

this sp.frog=with this sp.ant **POSS-PL** what

chomathalone, […]

cho-mathà-lò-nē]

AUTO.BEN/MAL-think-RL-INDEF

'the frog and the ant thinking up whatever (bad things) […]' [RBT, ChM 072]

7.7. Modifiers that Occur Preposed or Postposed

7.7.1. Deverbal Modifiers: PCT-Based Modifiers and Relative Clauses

It was previously assumed[140] that the noun modification constructions of property-concept term (PCT) roots and prototypical verb roots show a clear syntactic

[140] See Grüßner (1978) and Konnerth (2011) (which was based on data in Grüßner (1978)).

difference. While both are marked morphologically the same, i.e., nominalized via *ke-*,[141] the order of head noun and modifier appeared to mark a clear difference: PCT-based modifiers are post-head, whereas prototypical verb-based relative clauses are pre-head. Elicited PCT-based modifiers and prototypical verb-based relative clauses have shown the same pattern.

It turns out, however, that this supposedly clear distinction does not hold up against a larger body of natural data. There are instances in the corpus of pre-head PCT-based modifiers and there also is one potential instance of a post-head relative clause.

Below I will first show examples of the more typical pattern: post-head PCT-based modifiers and pre-head prototypical verb-based relative clauses (§7.7.1.1), and then discuss examples of pre-head PCT modifiers and the potential instance of a post-head relative clause (§7.7.1.2).

7.7.1.1. Post-Head PCT-Based Modifiers and Pre-Head Relative Clauses

In (388), the PCT modifier *kemē* 'good' follows its head noun *kasú* 'plate' and *harlūng* 'bowl', respectively (with the idiomatic meaning 'brass plate' and 'brass bowl').

(388) PCT root following the head noun it modifies

*methan atum'anke abangke ha **kasu keme***

[[methān	a-tūm-án=ke]	abàng=ke]	há	**[[kasú]$_{HN}$**	**[ke-mē]$_{PCT}$**
dog	POSS-PL-all=TOP	NPDL=TOP	over.there(<KhJ)	plate	NMLZ-be.good

***harlung keme**pen langta junlong anta*

[harlūng]$_{HN}$	**[ke-mē]$_{PCT}$** =pen]	[[lāng=tā	jùn-lōng]	[àn=tā
bowl	NMLZ-be.good=with	water=ADD:COORD	drink-GET	rice=ADD:COORD

cholong, pirtheta bangke, mh

chō-lōng]]	[pirthé=tā	bàng=ke]	mh
eat-GET	world=ADD:EXH	NPDL=TOP	DSM

'all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything [KK, BMS 056]

[141] See Chapter IX on deverbal property-concept term modifiers and relative clauses in the context of nominalization functions in Karbi. Also note, however, the inconsistency with which *ke-* actually occurs, as discussed in §9.8.

In (389), the relative clause *nelitum aphan nangkejapon* '(who) took us there' whose verb *nangkejapon* carries the *ke-* nominalizing prefix, precedes its head noun *a'osopi* 'lady', which is marked as being modified via *a-* 'possessive'.

(389) Relative clause verb preceding the head noun it modifies
Lily, la nelitum aphan nangkejapon aosopi,
Lilý **[là [ne-li-tūm aphān nang=ke-já-pòn]$_{RC}$ [a-osopì]]$_{HN}$**
NAME **this 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lead-take.away POSS-lady**

elong adim dosi computer akam klemlo
e-lòng a-dím dō-si computer a-kám klém-lò]
one-CLF:place POSS-place exist-NF:RL computer(<Eng) POSS-work do-RL
'[…] Lily, the lady who took us there, she stayed in one place and did her computer work, and she said to us, <enjoy yourselves as much as you want>' [SiT, HF 034]

Thus in these examples, both PCT and prototypical verb roots need to carry *ke-* 'nominalizer', but PCT-based modifiers follow their head noun, whereas prototypical verb-based modifiers precede them. In addition, however, a preceding relative clause requires its head noun to occur with *a-* 'possessive', whereas a following PCT-based modifier has an unmarked head noun. This follows the general pattern that head nouns with preceding modifiers are marked possessive (or modified) by *a-*, but head nouns with following modifiers remain unmarked (§7.4).

7.7.1.2. Pre-Head PCT-Based Modifiers (and Post-Head Relative Clauses)

There also are a number of instances in the corpus in which a PCT modifier precedes its head noun. Examples (390), (391), and (392) show pre-head PCT modifiers that themselves are marked with the *a-* 'possessive' in addition to *ke-* 'nominalizer'.

(390) Pre-head PCT-based modifiers *èr* 'be red' and *ìk* 'be black', marked with *a-ke-* 'POSS-NMLZ-'
akeer pusetame akiik pusetame
a-ke-èr pùsetāmē a-ke-ìk pùsetāmē
POSS-NMLZ-be.red likewise POSS-NMLZ-be.black likewise

***akala**r pipó*
a-kalár pī-pò
POSS-color(<Eng) give-IRR1
'red or black color we will add' [KST, PSu 009]

(391) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *mī* ‘be new’, marked with *a-ke-* ‘POSS-NMLZ-‘
lasonthotsi Lindata ketheklongpen aning kerong,
[lasón-thót=si Líndá=tā ke-theklōng-pèn] [a-nīng ke-aróng]]
that.way-exactly=FOC PN=also NMLZ-see-NF POSS-mind NMLZ-be.happy

***akimi ahormulo**, amonit atum aphanta theklonglo*
[a-ke-mī a-hormú=lo] a-monít a-tūm aphān=tā theklōng-lòk-lò
POSS-NMLZ-be.new POSS-thing-RL POSS-man POSS-PL NSUBJ=ADD see-happen.to-RL
‘seeing exactly this, Linda was happy, it was a new thing, she also got to see the people’ [SH, CSM 035]

(392) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *mē* ‘be good’, marked with *a-ke-* ‘POSS-NMLZ-‘
*la'an **akemesen atovar** kedamtheksi*
[la-án **a-ke-mēsén** **a-továr** ke-dàm-thēk-si]
this-that.much **POSS-NMLZ-be.good** **POSS-road** NMLZ-go-know.how-NF:RL

hako amonit atumke nonpu'anta ilitum
[[hakó a-monít a-tūm=ke] nón-pu-án=tā e-li-tūm
that.time POSS-man POSS-PL=TOP now-QUOT-all=ADD:EXH 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

a'ansose nangpa'okorjangdunlonglang
a-án-sosē nang=pa-okorjāng-dūn-lōng-làng
POSS-that.much-more CIS=VBLZ-girl-JOIN-GET-yet

nangparisomardunlonglang
nang=pa-risō-mār-dūn-lōng-làng]
CIS=VBLZ-young.man-PL-JOIN-GET-yet
‘they know how to go on a good road up to a high degree (metaphorically referring to knowing how to do things properly, how to keep everything clean, etc.), and, because they know how to keep everything clean and nice, those people back then up to today, get to stay even more like girls and boys (i.e. young)’ [SiH, CW 017]

In (393) and (394), we can see that pre-head PCT-based modifiers do not, however, obligatorily take *a-* ‘possessive’.

(393) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *dúk* ‘be poor’
*halata **kidukthektik amonitlo***
hála=tā **[ke-dúk-thektík** **a-monít=lo]**
that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL
‘that one also is an unimaginably poor man’ [HK, TR 128]

(394) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *prék* ‘be different’

Europe lapen ***kaprek kaprek adet,***

Europe	lapèn	[ke-prék	ke-prék	a-dét]
Europe(<Eng)	and	NMLZ-be.different	NMLZ-be.different	POSS-country(<Ind)

America heihaipen phorena atum dopik hadak

America	héihái=pen	phorená	a-tūm	dō-pīk	hádāk
America(<Eng)	some=from	foreigner(<Eng)	POSS-PL	exist-very	there

from Europe and from many different countries, (like) from America etc., there were many foreigners there [SiT, HF 037]

The conditions for the presence or absence of *a-* on pre-head PCT modifiers has to remain a topic for further research.[142] However, some implications from the difference in ordering between pre- and post-head PCT modifiers do emerge from the preceding examples: In the marked order of pre-head PCT modifiers, there is a greater focus on the property rather than the noun that is ascribed the property.[143] In (390) above, because two colors are contrasted, clearly the specific colors are what is important here. In (391), *akimi ahormulo*, the head noun is *hormú* ‘thing’, which of course has very general semantics and therefore the PCT *mī* ‘be new’ is the crucial information. In (392), the *la’an* ‘this much’ in *la’an akemesen* ‘this good (a way/manner)’ may be considered evidence that the PCT is focused. In (393), the fact that the suffix *-thektík* ‘as (much) V as it can be’ is added to the PCT root suggests that this is the semantic head. Finally, (394) has a reduplicated PCT *prék* ‘be different’ (and not a reduplicated ‘head noun’ *dét* ‘country (<Ind)’), which makes it the more prominent element.

The hypothesis that pre-head order of PCT modifiers s is indeed used to focus on the PCT semantics is supported by (395) and (396), which are subsequent lines in a folk story, in which a present Karbi native speaking listener interrupts the storyteller from time to time to ask for clarifications (indicated in the examples by curly brackets).

[142] Post-head PCT modifiers may also be marked by *a-* ‘possessive’, see §9.2.

[143] Grüßner (1978:123/4) also reports on two different ‘adjective‘ constructions, with differences in greater semantic weight on either the head noun or the ‘adjective‘ (PCT modifier). However, in Grüßner’s account, this difference is what is marked by the presence or absence of *a-* on the ‘adjective’. Grüßner does not report on ordering differences between pre- and postposed PCT modifiers.

(395) Post-head *mesen* ‘be good’
“ba ko jirpo {mm} pinike ne
[ba ko jīrpō] mm [pinì=ke nè
SURPRISE(<Asm) buddy:VOC friend AFF today=TOP 1EXCL

eson akhobor mesen *arjulong” {mm}*
[e-sòn a-khobór mē-sén] arjū-lōng] {mm}
one-CLF:thing POSS-news(<Ind) be.good-INTENS hear-GET AFF
'”hey my friend...today I got to hear good news”' [HK, TR 132]

(396) Pre-head *mesen* ‘be good’
*{“**mesen abirta**” pulohe} mm*
{**[mē-sén a-birtá]** pù-lò=he} mm
be.good-INTENS POSS-news say-RL=you.know AFF
‘{he said “good news”?!} Mm.’ [HK, TR 133]

In (395), the storyteller reports the protagonist of the story saying ‘I got to hear good news’, where ‘good news’ occurs in the standard order of the PCT-based modifier *mesen* following its head noun *khobór* ‘news(<Ind)’. In (396), the Karbi speaker listening to the storyteller wants to make sure he is following the story correctly and asks to clarify: ‘he said “good news”?!’, which likely corresponds to what in English would be stressing the word ‘good’ to put it under focus.

Leaving behind PCT-based modifiers, there also are several examples in the corpus which look like post-head relative clauses, such as (397) and (398). It is important to note, however, that there are a number of internally-headed relative clauses in the corpus (§9.3.2), and so it is not exactly clear whether we are dealing with a post-head or an internally-headed relative clause in these instances.

(397) Post-head relative clause or internally-headed relative clause
Nangso kithike inutnat, nesoke
[[nang-osō ke-thì=ke] e-nūt-nàt] [ne-osō=ke
2:POSS-child NMLZ-die=TOP one-CLF:HUM:SG-only 1EXCL:POSS-child=TOP

bangthrok phosi kithi.
[bàng-thrōk phō=si] ke-thì]
CLF:HUM:PL-six five=FOC NMLZ-die
‘only one child of yours has died, but of mine, so many (lit. five, six) have died' [RBT, ChM 043]

(398) Post-head relative clause or internally-headed relative clause

ansi phelo-bisir pu Karbi atum kabonai do

ánsi	**[[phelō-bisīr**	**pu]**	**[Karbì**	**a-tūm]**	**ke-bonái]**
then	**alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes**	**QUOT**	**PN**	**POSS-PL**	**NMLZ-make(<Asm)**

do
dō
exist

'and then, there is the so-called 'phelo bisir' (funnel-like instrument for filtering the ashes) that the Karbi people make' [SiH, KH 004]

Differences in head noun and modifier order are functionally exploited in some Tibeto-Burman languages. In Angami Naga, for example, a language spoken just east of Karbi Anglong into Nagaland, (derived) adjectives only occur post-head, whereas relative clauses may be pre- or post-head. The functional difference is an "inherent or internal" interpretation if post-head (like adjectives), or an "circumstantial or external" interpretation if pre-head (Herring 1991:58).

7.7.2. Enumeration Constructions

There are four basic enumeration constructions (§7.7.2) (not counting constructional difference in pre- vs. post-head order) based on two criteria. The first criterion is whether the construction uses bound or independent numerals (see §4.8.2). The second criterion is whether the construction actually contains both a classifying element and a head noun, which I call complex, or whether it only has one of the two, which I call simple. These four constructions based on the two criteria are shown in Table 105. The name for each construction is meant to characterize the construction with respect to classifier use.

Table 105. Enumeration constructions

Construction	Bound vs. independent numeral	Complex vs. simple
Typical classifier	bound	complex
Self-referential classifier[144]	bound	simple
Not fully grammaticalized classifier	independent	complex
Non-classifier	independent	simple

[144] I have adopted the terms 'self-referential classifier' and 'classifier-numeral word' from DeLancey and Boro (in preparation).

Table 106 shows the schematic structure of each construction and offers one example each. In the examples, we can see that the first two constructions share the bound numerals: *-ní* for 'two', as opposed to the second two constructions, which have the independent form *hiní*. The first and third 'complex' constructions both have three elements (head noun, classifier, numeral), whereas the second and fourth 'simple' constructions only have two elements (head noun/classifier, numeral).

Table 106. Examples of enumeration constructions

Construction	Schematic structure	Example	Gloss	Translation
Typical classifier	[head noun] + [CLF-bound.NUM]	*methān jōn-**ní***	dog CLF-two	'two dogs'
Self-referential classifier	[CLF.noun-bound.NUM]	*jó-**ní***	night-two	'two nights'
Not fully grammaticalized classifier	[head noun] + [CLF-indep.NUM]	*monít bàng-**hiní***	person CLF-two	'two people'
Non-classifier	[head noun] [indep.NUM]	*hák **hiní***	b.basket two	'two finely woven bamboo baskets'

7.7.2.1. Four Basic Enumeration Constructions

7.7.2.1.1. Typical Classifier Construction

The 'typical classifier' construction ([head noun] + [CLF-bound.NUM]) represents the standard classifier construction, both for Karbi as well as cross-linguistically in the Southeast Asian context. It is the most frequently used enumeration construction, although this might be in the process of changing in the younger generation (in favor of direction enumeration, see §7.7.2.1.4). This construction is the most grammaticalized and integrated construction among the four. An example is (399), where the head noun *theseré* 'fruit' is followed by the classifier-numeral word *púm-ní*. For an overview of sortal and mensural classifiers that occur in this construction, see §4.4.1.1.1 and §4.4.1.2.1.

(399) Typical classifier construction

*laphan aning ingsamsi, **thesere pumni** tekanglo*

[là-phān a-nīng ingsām-si] **[[theseré púm-ní]** tekáng-lò]

this-NSUBJ POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL

'[…] he was grateful to him and gave him **two pieces of fruit**' [SiT, PS 039]

7.7.2.1.2. Self-Referential Classifier Construction

The 'self-referential classifier' construction ([CLF.noun-bound.NUM]) consists of one of a small subset of nouns (§4.4.1.3), onto which bound numerals may directly attach in order to be enumerated. They thus function both as nouns (when not counted) and as classifiers (when counted and occurring with a bound numeral attached). An example is *jó* 'day' in (400).

(400) Self-referential classifier construction

anke cholo junlo <..> ejo joni dolo

ánke chō-lò jùn-lò **e-jó** **jó-ní** dō-lò

and.then eat-RL drink-RL **one-night** **night-two** stay-RL

'and then they ate and drank... they stayed a few nights' [KTa, TCS 039]

7.7.2.1.3. Not Fully Grammaticalized Classifier Construction

In the 'not fully grammaticalized' classifier construction ([head noun] + [CLF-indep.NUM]), there is both a head noun and a classifier-numeral word. However, unlike the typical classifier construction, the classifier in this construction occurs with independent (rather than bound) numerals, which is why this is called 'not fully grammaticalized'. An example is *korte banghini* in (401). (For a list of sortal and mensural classifiers that occur in this construction, see §4.4.1.1.2 and §4.4.1.2.2.)

(401) Not fully grammaticalized classifier construction

ke latum banghini abángke korte banghini

ke la-tūm bàng-hiní abàng=ke **[[kortè** **bàng-hiní]**

and.then this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two NPDL=TOP **brother** **CLF:HUM:PL-two**

abangke aseme dokoklohe
abàng=ke] a-semé dō-kòk-lò=he
NPDL=TOP POSS-oath exist-firmly-RL=DM
'and then, (between) the two brothers, the oath remains, you know' [WR, BCS 023]

7.7.2.1.4. Non-Classifier (Direct Enumeration) Construction

On the other end of the spectrum, the least grammaticalized or integrated construction is the 'non-classifier' or 'direct enumeration' construction ([head noun] [indep.NUM]). It looks just like a simple Western Indo-European-type enumeration construction, perhaps except for the differences in ordering possibilities, as numerals may precede or follow their head noun (§7.7.2.2). (For a list of nouns that so far are attested to occur in this enumeration construction, see §4.4.2).

There is nothing classifier-like in this construction, and there is no evidence that this construction contains anything other than a numeral and a head noun that is modified by the numeral. Consider (402), which shows that the numerals need not be directly following or preceding their head noun.

(402) Numerals *isī*, *hiní* modifying *achitchit arong* in 'non-classifier construction'
[…] laso adak isi hini achitchit arong
lasō a-dāk **[isī hiní [achítchít [a-ròng]]]**
this POSS-road.inbetween one two tiny POSS-village

kephopon do
ke-phō-pōn dō
NMLZ-reach-in.passing exist
'[…] one the road inbetween / up to there, there were one or two tiny villages that we had driven past' [SiT, HF 017]

Another example from elicitation in (403) shows that in this construction, the indepedendent numeral may be removed from its head noun. In this example, the head noun is topicalized and left-dislocated, with the numeral in the main clause functioning anaphorically.

(403) Numeral functioning anaphorically in ‘non-classifier construction’
[hák=ke isī *dō] [bóntā hoton=si avē]*
b.basket=TOP one exist but b.basket=FOC not.exist
‘as for hak bamboo baskets, there is one, but there is no hoton bamboo basket’
[Elicitation SiT 130905]

7.7.2.2. Pre- vs. Post-Head Order

The enumerator (i.e., numeral or classifier-numeral word) is placed following the head noun when the emphasis is on the counting, i.e., typically in those cases, where the referent is already known (rather than newly introduced). Conversely, pre-head placement occurs in situations when a new participant is being introduced.

In (404), the classifier-numeral word *ejon* occurs after the head noun *methan-sibongpo* because the context is one of counting: ‘one dog, his grandmother and his grandfather, all three’. At this point in the folk story, the dog is already known as one of the protagonists and not newly introduced.

(404) Postposed enumerator: counting (/adding up) people
“dah!” pu'ansi, methan-sibongpo ejon,
dáh pu-ánsi [methān-sibóngpō **e-jōn]**
go! QUOT-after.that dog.sp **one-CLF:animal**

aphipen aphu, mh bangkethom
[a-phì=pen a-phù] mh **bàng-kethòm**
POSS-grandmother=with POSS-grandfather DSM **CLF:HUM:PL-three**

vangchomchomchomchomchom
vàng-chóm~chóm~chóm~chóm~chòm
come-a.little~ITER~ITER~ITER~ITER
'”let's go!”, and then one dog, his grandmother and his grandfather, all three, went step by step by step’ [KK, BMS 099]

In (405), *bangkethom* occurs postposed to the head noun *korte* ‘brother(s)’, because here again, the emphasis is on the exact number, while the general referent ‘Bey brothers’ is already mentioned before.

(405) Postposed enumerator: specifying number after story character is introduced
hako ahut hedi Bey atum korte bangkethom do tangho
hakó ahūt hedī [Bēy a-tūm] **[kortè bàng-kethòm]** dō tànghò
that.time during DM TITLE POSS-PL **brother CLF:HUM:PL-three** exist REP
'in the old days, you know, right?, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

Finally, the pre-head placement of the enumerator *inut* in (406) is explained by the fact that a character is being newly introduced here. In fact, the use of a preposed 'one' enumerator is best understood as an indefinite article construction (§7.7.2.6.1).

(406) Preposed enumerator: newly introducing story character
laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
lasō a-ahūt amāt e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít
this POSS-during and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man

abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... laso
a-bàng=ke saikél nang=ardòn-si vàng-lo... lasō
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CIS=ride-NF:RL come-RL this

amonitta aphu along aphutup do
a-monít=tā a-phú alòng a-phutūp dō
POSS-man=also POSS-head LOC POSS-hat exist
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, this person also had a hat on his head' [SiT, PS 015]

7.7.2.3. Anaphoric Use of Classifiers

As is typical in languages of Southeast Asia, classifiers can be used anaphorically. As such, they provide more semantic information about the referent than general third person anaphors. Two examples occur in the excerpt in (407). Note that while in the first intonation unit, *ejon* has the same distribution as a noun phrase, in the second intonation unit, *ejon* is modified by the demonstrative *halá*, thus having the distributional properties of a head noun rather than a noun phrase.

(407) Anaphoric use of classifiers
anke ejon nangtetphlut <a> nangthemuchot
ánke **[e-jōn]** nang=tèt-phlùt <a> nang=thè-mūchòt
and.then **one-CLF:animal** CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O <a> COMP=be.big-COMPAR
'and then, one (tiger) came out (of the jungle or some area in the Rongker ground) and he was bigger' [HK, TR 172]

hala ejon nangtetphlut nangthemuchot {mm}
[hála **e-jōn]** nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchot mm
that **one-CLF:animal** CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR AFF
'that one came out and it was much bigger (than the previous one)' [HK, TR 173]

7.7.2.4. Juxtaposition of Two Numerals or Classifier-Numeral Words to Indicate Indefiniteness or Vagueness

Juxtaposition of two numerals or classifier-numeral words is used to indicate an indefinite (or vague) amount or number. In (408), *inut banghini* is vague about the exact number of people: 'one or two (people)'.

(408) Two juxtaposed classifier-numeral words: *inut banghini* 'one or two (people)'
[…] Boithalangso along neli inut banghini amonit
Boithalangsō a-lòng nè-lì **[[e-nūt bàng-hiní] a-monít**
TOWN POSS-LOC 1EXCL-HON **one-CLF:HUM:SG CLF-two POSS-man**

atumpen chetongji si aphrangsi nelitum
a-tūm=pen] che-tòng-jí sì a-phráng-sí ne-li-tūm
POSS-PL=with RR-meet-IRR2 therefore POSS-first-SPLT 1EXCL:POSS-HON=PL

inut <'e> abangphipen chetongiklo
e-nūt a-bàngphì=pen che-tòng-īk-lò]
one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-lady=with RR-meet-FRML-RL
'[…] in Boithalangso I will meet with a few people... So first we are meeting with this lady' [KaR, SWK 003]

In (409) and (410), the pairing of numerals or classifier-numeral words meaning 'two' and 'three' as well as 'five' and 'six' represent idiomatic constructions with similar senses to English 'a few' and 'many'.

(409) Two juxtaposed classifier-numeral words: *humni humthom* 'a few (houses)'
*laso ahem langmepik; **humni humthom** lason do*
làso a-hēm làng-mē-pīk **[hùm-ní hùm-thōm]** lasón dō
this POSS-house see-be.good-very CLF:house-two CLF:house-three that.way exist
'those houses look very nice, there are a few (lit. two, three) of that kind' [SiT, HF 049]

(410) Two juxtaposed classifier-numeral words: *bangpho bangthrok* ‘many (people)’
o nelimena amatta lapu'an bangpho
o [ne-li-mená amāt=tā lapù-án **[bàng-phō**
AFF 1EXCL:POSS-HON-self self=also like.this-up.to **CLF:HUM:PL-five**

bangthrok osomar don rap a'osomar hem isi
bàng-thrōk osō-mār] dōn ráp a-oso-mār hēm isī
CLF:HUM:PL-six child-PL relative EE:dón POSS-child-PL house whole

pacho'et pajun'et mane hem
pa-chō-ét pa-jùn-ét] mane [hēm
CAUS-eat-PRF CAUS-drink-PRF I.mean(<Asm) house

chelanakang'etpen bahera ophis
che-laná-káng-ét-pen] [[baherá ophís
RR-take.care-leaving-PRF-NF:with away.from.here(<Asm) office(<Eng)

kopine along kachongdatdun aphan
kopí-nē alòng ke-cho-ingdát-dùn a-phān]
what-INDEF LOC NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-make.a.living-JOIN POSS-PURP

nelita pining'an ningkan thomkep'an plenglo
nè-lì=tā piníng=án ningkán thòm-kēp'-án plèng-lò
1EXCL-HON=ADD this.year=up.to year three-ten-that.much be.full-RL
'I myself also after feeding many children and children's relatives, he whole family, after taking care of the children at house, away at offices and such place up to this year I've also worked for thirty years [KaR, SWK 067]

In double-digit numbers, the first digit is not repeated (411).

(411) Juxtaposition in double-digit number
kiding phut krepho-throk do […]
[ke-dīng phút **kré-phō-thrōk** dō]
NMLZ-be.long foot.measure(<Eng) **ten.and-five-six** exist
‘it was fifteen, sixteen feet long, […] [SiT, HF 052]

7.7.2.5. ‘Another’ Additive Construction

In order to express the meaning of ‘another’, *nón* ‘now’ along with a classifier-numeral word is used as in (412), and/or the verb is marked additive by suffixes such as *-làng* ‘still’ and/or *-thū* ‘again, yet’, as in (413).

(412) ‘Another’ additive construction with *nón* ‘now’
non ejon nangalang, neta {mm}
[nón e-jōn] náng-jí-lāng nè=tā mm
now one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still 1EXCL=ADD:also AFF
‘one more I need’ [HK, TR 067]

(413) ‘Another’ additive construction with additive suffixes *-làng* ‘still’ and *-thū* ‘again, yet’
isi alam dothulang
[isī a-lám] dō-**thū-làng**
one POSS-matter exist-again-yet
‘there is still one other thing’ [SiH, KH 022]

7.7.2.6. Constructions Based on ‘One’ Enumeration

7.7.2.6.1. Preposed ‘One’ Enumeration as an Indefinite Article Construction

As discussed in §7.7.2.2, the placement of an enumerator before its head noun occurs in situations when a new participant is introduced. Particularly the use of a preposed ‘one’ enumerator can thus be understood as an indefinite article construction, as in (414).

(414) Indefiniteness marking via preposed enumeration with ‘one’
erong athengpi do {mm}
e-rōng a-thengpī dō mm
one-plant POSS-tree/wood exist AFF

athengpi khaipik ingtuipik {ingtuipik mm}
a-thengpī khái-pìk ingtùi-pìk ingtùi-pìk mm
POSS-tree/wood grow-very be.high-very be.high-very AFF
‘there is one tree; the tree has a lot of leaves / is very green and is very high [HK, TR 147-8]

7.7.2.6.2. Indefinite Pronoun Construction

In (415), the classifier-numeral word *inut* functions as an indefinite pronoun that heads the relative clause *nangphan nangkelang* ‘(who) looks after you’.

(415) *e-nūt* ‘one-CLF:HUM:SG‘ as head noun ‘somebody’ of relative clause
[…] nangphan nangkelang inut do nangji […]
[nang-phān nang=ke-làng [e-nūt]] dō náng-jí
you-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-see one-CLF:HUM:SG exist need-IRR2
‘[…] there needs to be **somebody to look after you** […]’ [SH, CSM 066]

7.7.2.6.3. Postposed ‘One’ Enumeration Expressing ‘Whole’

Postposed ‘one’ enumeration can also be used to indicate universal quantification as in *hem isi* ‘the whole family’ in (416).

(416) ‘One’ expressing ‘whole’
o nelimena amatta lapu'an bangpho
o [ne-li-mená amāt=tā] [[lapù-án bàng-phō
AFF(<Asm) 1EXCL-HON-self self=ADD:also like.this-up.to CLF:HUM:PL-five

bangthrok osomar don rap a'osomar hem isi
bàng-thrōk osō-mār] [dōn ráp a-osō-mār]] **[hēm isī]**
CLF:HUM:PL-six child-PL relative EE:dón POSS-child-PL **house whole**

pacho'et pajun'et
pa-chō-ét pa-jùn-ét
CAUS-eat-PRF CAUS-drink-PRF
'I myself also after feeding this (lapu'an) many children and children's relatives, the whole family, […]’ [KaR, SWK 067]

7.7.2.6.4. Postposed ‘One’ Enumeration Expressing ‘Same’

Lastly, postposed ‘one’ enumeration can be also be used to indicate ‘the same’. In the two examples (417) and (418) from the same story, *rong isi* means ‘the same village’.

(417) Postposed ‘one’ enumeration expressing ‘same’
hala rong isi atumta anke mh ajuk
[hála ròng isī a-tūm=tā] [ánke mh a-júk
that village same POSS-PL=ADD:EXH and.then DSM POSS-era(<Asm)

kedam ahut poridunchit, amat laso
ke-dàm ahūt porí-dùn-chit] [amāt lasō
NMLZ-go during fall(<Asm)-JOIN-in.the.right.moment and.then this

sarpita ajo mek janglo, bamonpita
sarpī=tā a-jó mēk jáng-lò] [bamón-pī=tā
old.woman=ADD:DM POSS-night eye fall-RL wise.person(<Ind)-female=ADD:DM

amek jang, amat langso alokot la bamonpi
a-mēk jáng] amāt [langsō alokòt là bamón-pī
POSS-eye fall and.then this along.with(<Asm) this wise.person(<Ind)-female

abangta dunjuilo
abàng=tā dùn-jùi-lò]
NPDL=ADD:DM join-away-RL
'and then people from the same village, at the time when she died, it happened right at that moment, and then also that old woman slept at night, the bamonpi slept, and then she had gone along (with the person from the village who has died)' [KK, BMS 118]

(418) Postposed 'one' enumeration expressing 'same'
mamat bamonpi aphan pen hala rong isi <a>
mamāt [bamón-pī aphān pén hála **ròng** **isī**
and.then wise.person(<Ind)-female NSUBJ and that **village** **same**

mh a'oso lata thondamrappetlo […]
mh a-osō là=tā thòn-dām-ràp-pèt-lò]
PAUSE POSS-child this=ADD:also drop-go-together-all-RL
'and then, the bamonpi and that child from the same village (that had died), (the child) as well they went to cremate together, […]' [KK, BMS 121]

7.8. Noun Phrase Clitics

There are two slots for noun phrase clitics as shown in Figure 18. The first slot contains the comitative/instrumental/ablative clitic *=pen* (§7.8.1) and the nominal quantifier clitic *=án* (§7.8.2), whereas the second slot contains information structure clitics including additive *=tā* (§7.8.3). Note that Figure 18 only lists the NP (as described in the previous sections of this chapter), role markers, and the clitics; another element not listed here is the noun phrase delimiter (§10.5), which, however, may occur before or after the role markers and is therefore not easily represented in a linear fashion.

NP	Role markers / (Relator nouns)	**First clitic slot** *=pen* 'with; from' *=án* 'this much; all'	**Second clitic slot** *=ke* 'topic' *=tā* 'additive' *=si* 'focus:realis' *=le* 'focus:irrealis'

Figure 18. Noun phrase clitic slots

Evidence for the two slots, with *=pen* and *=án* going in first position and the information structure clitics going in second position, is provided by (419) and (420).

(419) Ablative *=pen* followed by topic *=ke*
"[…] pinipenke nangpenke ne kachekak" pu
pinì=pen=ke nàng=**pen=ke** nè ke-che-kák pu
today=from=TOP you=**from=TOP** 1EXCL NMLZ-RR-part QUOT
' "[…] from today, I am separated from you", (she said)' [SeT, MTN 035]

(420) Quantifying clitic *=án* followed by additive *=tā*
alang kepon athesere do'anta klolaplo
[[[alàng ke-pòn] a-theseré] dō=**án=tā]** kló-làp-lò
3 NMLZ-take.away POSS-fruits exist=**all=ADD** fall-completely-RL
'all of the fruit that he was taking away fell out' [SiT, PS 030]

7.8.1. Comitative, Instrumental, Ablative *=pen*

The clitic *=pen* has comitative and instrumental, as well as ablative functions. In (421) and (422), comitative participants are marked by *=pen*. In (422), this comitative participant is additionally projected by the verb being marked by *-ī* 'with' (§6.5.5.2.2). The comitative function of *=pen* also underlies its occurrence in coordination constructions (§7.1.2.1.2).

(421) Comitative NP marked by *=pen*
apot la nangpopen chorappetlongle... […]
[apōt là nang-pō=**pen** chō-ràp-pèt-lōng-Cē]
because this 2:POSS-father=**with** eat-together-all-GET-NEG
'because of that, <you don't get to / must not eat together with your father, […]' [CST, RO 019]

(422) Comitative NP marked by *=pen*; verb marked with *-ī* 'with'
[…] pinsomar atum abangke hala osomarpen jui'irongpo […]
[pinsō-mār a-tūm abàng=ke] [hála osō-mār=**pen]** jùi-**ī**-ròng-pò
married.man-PL POSS-PL NPDL=TOP that child-PL=**with** play-**with**-instead-IRR1
'[…] the men would play with always their children instead, […]' [KaR, SWK 071]

In (423), *=pen* marks an instrumental participant; here again, the instrumental participant is additionally projected by the verb being marked by *-ī* 'with'.

(423) Instrumental NP marked by *=pen*; verb marked with *-ī* ‘with’
nè *motorsaikel=**pen**=si* *hethí* *ke-dàm-ī*
1EXCL motorcycle=**with**=FOC market(<Asm) NMLZ-go-with
'I went to the market on a motorcycle' Elicitation SiT 090223

In (424), *=pen* marks a spatial ablative adverbial, ‘from here’, while in (425), *=pen* marks a participant (arguably) projected by the verb *chekak* ‘part (from somebody)’. In the same example (425), the first adverbial also occurs with *=pen*, here indicating a temporal ablative: ‘from today on’.

(424) (Spatial) ablative function of *=pen*
namdétsi ladakpen netum damlo
nàm-dèt-si làdāk=**pen** ne-tūm dàm-lò
buy-PFV-NF:RL here=**from** 1EXCL-PL go-RL
‘after buying (these things), from here we went’ [SH, CSM 015]

(425) Ablative NP marked by *=pen*
“[…] pinipenke nangpenke ne kachekak“ pu
pinì=pen=ke nàng=**pen=ke** nè ke-che-kák pu
today=from=TOP you=**from=TOP** 1EXCL NMLZ-RR-part QUOT
‘ “[…] from today, I am separated from you”, (she said)' [SeT, MTN 035]

Another occurrence of the temporal ablative function of *=pen* is in (426), where the meaning is ‘since this morning’.

(426) Temporal adverbial marked by *=pen*
mathalo amatsi adappen chokang arsovaret
mathà-lò amātsi a-dàp=**pen** chòkàng arsō-varèt
think-RL and.then POSS-morning=**from** axe sharpen-INTENS

arsovaret arsovaretlo apiso abang arjulo
arsō-varèt arsō-varèt-lò a-pisò abàng arjū-lò
sharpen-INTENS sharpen-INTENS-RL POSS-wife NPDL ask-RL
‘he was thinking, and then since early in the morning, he was sharpening his axe for a long time, and his wife asked…’ [SeT, MTN 014]

The case illustrated with (427) (of which there are other similar examples in the copus), however, is not as clearly connected semantically to the other ablative examples. The temporal adverbial *adap* ‘morning’ here refers to a point in time, rather than a time

period for which ablative notions such as ‘from … on’, or ‘since’ more readily make sense. The occurrence of *=pen* here could be explained, however, in that the point in time was in the past, hence there is still an implied time period, which would be from the moment in the past when the event happened until the present.

(427) Temporal adverbial marked by *=pen*

[…] misorongpoke a'ik

misòrongpō=ke	a-ìk	a-tūm	a-tepī	a-tūm
ant.sp=TOP	POSS-older.brother	POSS-PL	POSS-elder.brother's.wife	POSS-PL

atum atipi atum adappen rit damjuilo

a-dàp=**pen**	rīt	dàm-jùi-lò
POSS-morning=**from**	field	go-away-RL

‘[…] the ant's older brother and his wife had gone to the jhum field in the morning’ [RBT, ChM 009]

Finally, there is one instance, in (428), where *=pen* marks a right-dislocated, clause-external agentive participant, or perhaps a participant with the semantic role of a source, which is how the marking with (ablative) *=pen* could be explained. (Note that ergative markers often develop from instrumentals and ablatives, especially also in other Tibeto-Burman languages.)

(428) Right-dislocated, clause-external agent (<ablative?) marked by *=pen*

laso aphike asitin akhei aphanta

lasō	aphī=ke	a-isī-tín	a-khéi	a-phān=tā
this	after=TOP	POSS-one-each	POSS-community	POSS-NSUBJ=ADD:EXH

isisi ahem kikimpi do hadak governmentpen

isī~sī	a-hēm	ke-kìm-pī	dō	hádāk	**government=pen**
one~DIST.PL	POSS-house	NMLZ-build-BEN	exist	there	**government=from**

‘after that, there was one house for every tribe, built by the government’ [SiT, HF 045]

7.8.2. Nominal Quantifier Constructions Based on *=án* ‘this much; all’

The nominal quantifier *=án* ‘this much; all’ occurs in several different constructions. It may cliticize directly to an NP, as in (429).

(429) Quantifying clitic *=án* 'this much; all' directly following NP

methan atum'anke abangke ha kasu keme harlung

[[methān	a-tūm=**án**=ke]	abàng=ke]	há	[kasú	ke-mē	harlūng
dog	POSS-PL=**all**=TOP	NPDL=TOP	over.there	plate	NMLZ-be.good	bowl

kemepen langta

ke-mē=pen]	[lāng=tā	jùn-lōng	àn=tā	chō-lōng,]
NMLZ-be.good=with	water=ADD:COORD	drink-GET	rice=ADD:COORD	eat-GET

junlong anta cholong, pirtheta bangke mh

[pirthé=tā	bàng=ke]	mh
world=ADD:EXH	NPDL=TOP	DSM

'all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything' [KK, BMS 056]

However, it may also occur in a more complex construction, in which it attaches to the - bare or nominalized - existential copula *dō*, see (430) and (431). (This construction with *dō* has likely functioned as the source construction for grammaticalization of *=án* as a noun phrase clitic that immediately follows the NP, as in the above example.)

(430) Quantifying clitic *=án* 'this much; all' in modifier construction with *dō* 'exist'

alang kepon athesere do'anta klolaplo

[[[alàng	ke-pòn]	a-theseré]	dō=**án**=tā]	kló-làp-lò
3	NMLZ-take.away	POSS-fruits	exist=**all**=EXH	fall-completely-RL

'all of the fruit that he was taking away fell out' [SiT, PS 030]

(431) Quantifying clitic *=án* 'this much; all' in modifier construction with nominalized *dō* 'exist'

[...] khalun marjong along pe kedoan ri kedoan

[khalùn	marjòng	alòng]	[pé	ke-dō-**án**]	[rī	ke-dō-**án**]
kd.big.basket	kd.big.basket	LOC	cloth	NMLZ-exist-**all**	EE:pé	NMLZ-exist-**all**

pe kumbor pe rinchitho penke pini

[pé	kúmbór	pé	rinchithó]	pèn=ke	pinī
cloth	blanket(<Ind)	cloth	kd.cloth	and=TOP	tradt.fem.waist.cloth

vankok chesik'etlo kithurpo kedampo pu […]

vankòk	che-sík-ét-lò	ke-thùr-pò	ke-dàm-pò	pu
tradt.fem.belt	RR-prepare-PRF-RL	NMLZ-get.up-IRR1	NMLZ-go-IRR1	QUOT

'[…] in the big basket, she prepared all her different clothes, and blankets and cloths, and she also prepared all of her pini and vankok, and she was up to the point of just being about to get up and go, […]' [SeT, MTN 037]

In (432), *=án* attaches to the demonstrative *là* 'this', parallel to the interrogative amount or degree adverb *ko'an* 'how much' (§4.5.4).

(432) Quantifying clitic *=án* 'this much; all' attaching to demonstrative *là* 'this'
e nang nepiso neso aphan
e nàng [ne-pisò ne-osō aphān]
DSM 2 1EXCL-wife 1EXCL:POSS-child NSUBJ

la'an bondi kipi bondok kipi […]
[[là**-án** bondí] ke-pī] [bondòk ke-pī]]
this**-that.much** captivity(<Ind) NMLZ-give EE:bondí NMLZ-give
'you (witch) put my wife and my children in such bad captivity […]' [CST, HM 094]

7.8.3. Additive, Topic, and Focus Clitics

In this section, the non-pragmatic functions of additive *=tā* are illustrated. Information structure functions of *=tā* as well as of the topic and focus clitics are discussed in §10.7.

7.8.3.1. Additive *=tā*

7.8.3.1.1. Overview of Functions

Karbi *=tā* occurs in contexts that overlap with English 'also' or 'too', as well as in a number of other contexts. Nevertheless, from a cross-linguistic point of view, *=tā* covers an expected functional range for an additive particle. For a more detailed discussion of *=tā*, see Konnerth (forthcoming).

7.8.3.1.2. Simple Additive 'Also'

Karbi *=tā* functions like other additive particles to "express that the predication holds for at least one alternative of the expression in focus." (Krifka 1998)

In (433), *teke atumta* 'the tigers (also)' occurs with the additive particle, and the 'alternative expression' for which the predicate *Rongker pu do* 'celebrate (lit., have) the Rongker' holds as well is culturally implied, as the Rongker is a common festival among the Karbis.

(433) *=tā* meaning 'also' with topic marker *=ke* in the same clause
hako arnike… teke <pu> atumta Rongker pu do tangho
hakó arnì=ke [tekè <pu> a-tūm=tā] [Ròngkèr pu] dō tànghò
that.time day=TOP tiger QUOT POSS-PL=ADD FESTIVAL QUOT exist REP
'at that time (in the old days), **tigers also** (like humans) celebrated the Rongker [HK, TR 035]

7.8.3.1.3. Bisyndetic Coordination

Additive *=tā* also functions as a bisyndetic coordinator, as it occurs on each coordinated element (hence, bisyndetic). In (434), the three NPs *Bey Ki'ik*, *Bey Ke'et*, and *akibi abang* are coordinated by repeating the same clause three times, only replacing the coordinated NPs, marked by *=tā* (§11.5.1.3).

(434) Bisyndetic coordination
piso some enlo anke Bey Ki'ik abangta
pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] ánke [Bēy ke-ìk abàng=**tā**
wife EE:pīsō take-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=**ADD**

ahem arit dolo Bey Ke'et abangta
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy ke-èt abàng=**tā**
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL=**ADD**

ahem arit dolo Bey Ronghang abang,
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy Ronghāng abàng
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN CLAN NPDL

akibi abangta ahem arit dolo
a-ke-bī abàng=**tā** a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=**ADD** POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'they got married, and then Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property' [WR, BCS 004]

The same parallelism construction (§12.1.1) can be used to coordinate clauses as in (435) (see §11.5.1.2).

(435) Clause coordination via additive-marked NPs
[…] langta junlong anta cholong […]
[lāng=**tā** jùn-lōng àn=**tā** chō-lōng
water=**ADD** drink-GET rice=**ADD** eat-GET
'[…] they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, […]' [KK, BMS 056]

7.8.3.1.4. Scalar Additive ‘Even’

In addition to the non-scalar additive function of ‘also’, *=tā* also indicates the scalar additive function of ‘even’, as in (436).

(436) Scalar additive ‘even’
la abangke emekpen non'anta kethekdunlong […]
là abàng=ke e-mēk=pen nón=án=**tā** ke-thèk-dūn-lōng
this NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-eye=with now=up.to=**ADD** NMLZ-see-JOIN-GET
‘I have seen this myself, even nowadays (they still do this) […]’ [KaR, SWK 080]

Note that *=tā* also appears to be part of the etymology of the concessive conjunction *sitā~setā* (§11.2.3.3).

7.8.3.1.5. Universal Quantification

Additive *=tā* also occurs in contexts in which it indicates universal quantification or exhaustiveness of a set. One such context are negative indefinite constructions, in which the indefinite pronoun is marked by *=tā*, while the verb is negated, as in (437) (see also §4.5.6).

(437) Negative indefinite construction with *=tā* ‘additive’
[…] laso atangka atibuk halake ajatta van'un'elo […]
lasō a-tángká a-tibùk hála=ke a-ját=**tā** vàn-ūn-**Cē**-lò
this POSS-money POSS-earthen.pot that=TOP POSS-type=**ADD** bring-be.able-**NEG**-RL
‘[…] all the earthen pots, that friend didn't manage to carry anything, […]’ [HK, TR 196]

A related element that appears to have *=tā* as a (diachronic) component is *=tāmē* which is glossed as ‘any’ in (438) (here occurring in the general extender construction, §12.2.1).

(438) *=tāmē* ‘any’
ansi elitum pakrengdunpo, anke horpentame
ánsi e-li-tūm pa-krèng-dūn-pò ánke hōr=pen=**tāmē**
then 1PL.INCL-HON-PL CAUS-be.dry-JOIN-IRR1 and.then liquor=with=**any**

jattame ingti patippo tokklingpo
ját=tāmē ingtí patīp-pò tokklìng-pò
GENEX=any salt mix-IRR1 pound.until.tight-IRR1
'and then, we need to dry it, and then either with liquor or something else we need to mix it with salt and pound until it's tight/crushed to a paste' [SiH, KH 013]

7.8.3.1.6. Intensifier Verb Construction

Like several other clitics, *=tā* also occurs in a copy verb construction (§12.2.3.2), in which a preposed verb copy is marked with the clitic, as in (439). With *=tā*, the copy verb construction functions as an intensifier construction in declarative clauses.

(439) Intensifier copy verb construction, main verb with *-ò* 'much'
*anke.... **paprapta paprap'olo***
ánke.... **pe-pràp=tā** **pe-pràp-ò-lò**
and.then **CAUS-be.quick=ADD:INTENS** **CAUS-be.quick-much-RL**
'and then, (the tigers) did everything very quickly[…]' [HK, TR 160]

7.8.3.1.7. Discourse (Information Structure) Function

The topic-switch function of additive *=tā* is discussed in §10.7.2.

7.8.3.2. Topic and Focus Clitics

Besides additive *=tā*, information structure clitics include *=ke* 'topic' (§10.7.1), *=si* 'realis focus' (§10.7.3), and *=le* 'irrealis focus' (§10.7.4).

CHAPTER VIII

MONOCLAUSAL PREDICATE CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter discusses predicate constructions beyond the simple verbal predicate. It offers an overview of monoclausal, single-event predicate constructions. Clause-combining constructions are discussed in Chapter XI.

8.1. Overview

Most commonly, the predicate consists of at least one verb root, including both prototypical verb roots and property-concept term roots (§4.2). This chapter gives an overview of complex predicate constructions that (appear to) involve more than one word. Specifically, §8.2 offers a discussion of markers at the monoclausal endpoint of the complementation scale in Karbi, which may or may not be grouped with the heterogeneous category of predicate derivations (§6.5). In §8.3, adverbial constructions, including non-final marked constructions, are discussed. Two periphrastic constructions based on copulas are the topic of §8.4. In §8.5, a complex motion construction is mentioned, which requires further study. Finally, §8.6 outlines the various predicate constructions that involve noun-verb pairs.

The remainder of this section is dedicated to a brief note on non-verbal predicate constructions and on verbal and nominal predicate negation.

8.1.1. Non-Verbal Predicate Constructions and Verbal vs. Nominal Negation Constructions

As discussed in §4.1.2, §4.1.3, and §4.3, items from a large range of different syntactic categories can function, just as they are, as the predicate of a clause. As shown in those above sections, this includes nominal stems, adverbs, interrogative pronouns and adverbs, and interjections, and it is not clear that any particular element could not function as a predicate in Karbi.

An example of a noun phrase functioning as the predicate is (440); for further examples, see the respective sections in Chapter IV.

(440) Noun phrase functioning as predicate
halata kidukthektik amonitlo […]
[hála=tā]$_{NP}$ [ke-dúk-thektík a-monít-lò]$_{PRED(<NP)}$
that=ADD NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL
'that one also is an unimaginably poor man' [HK, TR 128]

8.1.2. Verbal and Nominal Predicate Negation

There is a verbal negation construction and a nominal negation construction in Karbi. The verbal negation construction uses the onset-reduplicative verbal suffix *-Cē* (§6.7), which repeats the onset of the last syllable of the verb stem (§3.8.6.3), as in (441).

(441) Verbal negation of verbal predicate
bojar ledunde […]
[bojár lè-dūn-**Cē**
market(<Asm) reach-JOIN-**NEG**
'he didn't reach the market […]' [HI, BPh 023]

The nominal negation construction uses the negative equational copula *kalī* (§4.6.2.2), as in (442).

(442) Nominal negation of nominal predicate
thangta kali […]
[tháng=tā **kalī]**
anything=ADD:EXH **NEG.EQU.COP**
'it's nothing. […]' [SeT, MTN 016]

The nominal negation construction can also be used to negate nominalized rather than just nominal predicates, as in (443).

(443) Nominal negation of nominalized predicate
[…] itum nangpeile kedo kalilo, […]
[i-tūm nang-pēi=le **ke-dō** **kalī-lò]**
1PL:INCL-PL 2:POSS-mother=FOC:IRR **NMLZ-exist** **NEG.EQU.COP-RL**
'[…] We don't have your mother anymore, […]' [CST, RO 008]

However, the verbal negation construction can also be used with nominal predicates, as in (444), where a derived indefinite pronoun ‘something’ is derived from interrogative *pī* ‘what’, then reduplicated, and then negated with *-Cē*.

(444) Verbal negation of nominal predicate
“te mo pinepinanedetjima,
te mò pí-nē~pinā-Cē-dèt-jí=ma
and.then/therefore future what-INDEF~EE-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q

ko jirpo?” pu {mm}
ko jīrpō pu mm
buddy:VOC friend QUOT AFF
"’and there won't be anything (any difficulties, problems, dangers), my friend?’" [HK, TR 140]

And the nominal negation can also be used with verbal predicates, as in (445).

(445) Nominal negation of verbal predicate
[…] rit mandu do hemtap do pusita hadak
rīt mandú dō hēmtāp dō pu-sitā hádāk
field field.hut exist tree.house exist QUOT-although there

totdamlunchot kali
tòt-dām-lùn-chòt **kalī**
squat-go-big:AO-only **NEG.EQU.COP**
‘[…] maybe there's a field hut or a tree house (i.e., places to rest and sit), but it's not about just sitting around there' [KaR, SWK 075]

The difference between verbal and nominal negation is therefore not a strictly syntactic one. It can instead be exploited for pragmatic purposes. While further research is required to work out the details of the pragmatic functions of these different negation strategies, it appears that nominal negation is generally more emphatic, while verbal negation is specifically non-emphatic.

Note also that the different negation constructions can be used together with differences in scope. In (446), the verbal negation construction has scope inside the participant nominalization: *kechokche* therefore means ‘the one who is not good’ or ‘the guilty one’. The nominal negation with *kalī* can then be used to negate the predicate: *kechokche kali* ‘(be) not the guilty one’.

(446) Verbal negation inside participant nominalization, nominal negation of predicate

"pot nele kechokche kali […]

pōt	[nè=le	ke-chók-**Cē**	**kalī]**
reason	1EXCL=FOC:IRR	NMLZ-be.fine-**NEG**	**NEG.EQU.COP**

therefore, I'm not the guilty one, go and ask the pig, you're the only one (who can ask and find out), he said it again [RBT, ChM 052]

8.2. Modal and Other Markers at the Monoclausal End of the Complementation Scale

8.2.1. Overview

There is a small handful of markers, mostly expressing modal categories, whose morphosyntactic status is ambiguous. While the available evidence aligns them more closely with predicate derivation suffixes (§6.5) (in the sense of being bound to the preceding, semantically rich stem), there still remains some evidence of their morphosyntactic independence. Note also that all of these, unlike most predicate derivations, have an independent verb root counterpart that may form a predicate by itself, without having to follow another verb root.

I argue that the morphosyntactic status of these elements puts them on the monoclausal endpoint of a continuum of 'clause union', on which the bi-clausal endpoint is represented by independent complement-taking verbs.

As outlined by (Givón 2001a:43ff.), the notion of 'clause union' has a functional and a structural side that iconically go hand in hand: the cognitive-semantic integration of events on the functional side, and the syntactic integration of clauses on the structural side. Based on these functional and structural parameters involved in clause union, Givón models a 'complementation scale' for a number of constructions in English that cover various increments of the continuum.

In order to provide a context for the discussion of the modal markers of interest, §8.2.2 sketches out a model of what a complementation scale in Karbi needs to look like. With this in mind, §8.2.3 gives an overview of three morphosyntactic tests that are used to provide a more detailed descriptive account of these markers. Additional

morphophonological evidence that can contribute to the problem is outlined in §8.2.4. In §8.2.5, then, the more common ones of these markers are discussed individually.

This section thus aims to highlight the morphosyntactic properties of these markers, of which especially *(-)náng* 'need, must', *(-)lōng* 'get', *(-)thēk* 'know how', and *(-)ùn* 'be able' are important modals in the language (other markers with similar properties are discussed in §8.2.5.5). The goal is to highlight their particular morphosyntactic properties vis-à-vis (non-modal) predicate derivations (as well vis-à-vis biclausal complementation constructions). Note, however, that it might ultimately be most practical to consider them part of the (already heterogeneous) category of predicate derivations.

8.2.2. Remarks on the Complementation Scale in Karbi

While the exact details of the complementation scale in Karbi are outside the scope of this dissertation, four points on this clause union continuum are illustrated in the following discussion. At the biclausal endpoint, we have a fully finite complement clause marked with the quotative complementizer *pusi*, as in (447).

(447) Quotative complementizer *pusi* marking indirect speech CC

amatsi Bokolapo abangke bojar dam'etlo pusi
amātsi [[Bokolāpō abàng=ke bojár dàm-ét-lò] **pusi]**
and.then NAME NPDL=TOP market(<Asm) go-PRF-RL **QUOT.COMP**

asomar abang mathaló
a-so-màr abàng mathà-lò
POSS-child-PL NPDL think-RL
'the children thought that he had already gone to the market' [HI, BPh 010]

Next, there is a complementation construction involving an irrealis marked nominalized complement clause followed by the purpose or goal marker *aphān*, as in *ke-thap-ji aphan* in (448).

(448) Nominalized complement clause with irrealis *-jí* and *aphān* 'PURP' (*bor'í* 'struggle')

<aphatang along'an saikel...> <a> saikel along'an
<a-phatáng alòng-án saikél...> [saikél alòng-án]
POSS-kd.basket LOC-up.to bicycle(<Eng) bicycle(<Eng) LOC-up.to

phatang abang vansi... la phatang saikel along
[phatáng abàng] vàn-si... [[là phatáng] [saikél alòng]
kd.basket NPDL bring-NF:RL this kd.basket bicycle(<Eng) LOC

kethapji aphan *bor'ilo*
ke-thàp**-jí]** **a-phān]** bor'í-lò
NMLZ-put.inside**-IRR2** **POSS-PURP** try.w.great.effort-RL
'<the bicycle to the baskets>, to the bicycle he brings the basket, the basket he is trying to put on the cycle [SiT, PS 021]

One step closer to clause union, (449) offers an example of the complement-taking verb *pangchèng* 'start'. The complement clause verb *dàm* 'go' directly precedes the main verb, but is marked dependent via nominalization with *ke-*.

(449) Nominalized complement clause of *pangchèng* 'start'
*chepaklangdampen... latum **ke**damthu pangchengló*
che-pe-klàng-dām-pen... là-tūm **[ke-**dàm-thū]$_{CC}$ pangchèng-lò
RR-CAUS-appear-go-NF:with this-PL **NMLZ-**go-again start-RL
'after going to show them, they again started walking' [SiT, PS 041]

Finally, at the mono-clausal end of the continuum, we have the markers of interest in this section. They occur under the same intonation contour as the preceding main verb stem, for example *(-)thēk* 'know how' in (450). Compared to predicate derivations such as *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN', however, which occurs both in (450) as well as in (451) below, the modal markers show some signs of morphosyntactic independence. This is discussed in the next section.

(450) Monoclausal end of complementation scale: *(-)thēk* 'know how'
bonsita hala ahemphu abangke chipudunthekthe
bónsetā hála a-hēmphū abàng=ke che-pū-dūn**-thēk**-Cē
but that POSS-house.owner.male.hon NPDL=TOP RR-say-JOIN**-know.how**-NEG
'but that old man couldn't realize' [SiT, PS 026]

(451) Involvement *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN': acting on an object in motion
[…] akengdak arum kilut ahut amat…
[a-kèng-dàk arúm ke-lūt ahūt amāt
POSS-foot-road.inbetween down NMLZ-enter during and.then

anborpenpen chongho abang ingnidunpret
àn-bòr=pén~pén chonghō abàng ingnì-**dūn**-prèt
rice-wrapped.bundle=with~DISTR.PL frog NPDL sit-**JOIN**-acting.on.inflated.object
'[…] and as (the ant) was passing through between the frog's legs, with all its rice bundles, the frog sat down (pressing down the rice bundles)' [RBT, ChM 016]

8.2.3. Morphosyntactic Tests for Structural Properties of Modals

There are three morphosyntactic tests we can use to better describe the structural properties of the modals. While the first test shows the relative degree of morphological boundedness of these markers, the other two tests provide evidence for their morphological independence.

8.2.3.1. Under Scope of Nominalization along with Main Verb Root?

First, markers such as *(-)thēk* 'know how' are under the scope of negation of the main verb, which is evidence for their morphological boundedness. In (452), the adverbial construction *kemesenpen kechothek* (see §8.3.4.1) is embedded into a nominalized adverbial clause headed by *a-joiné* 'POSS-reason' and therefore nominalized.

(452) *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* 'know how' under scope of nominalization along with main verb root
kemesenpen kechothek ajoine apotsi
[ke-mēsén-pen **ke-chō-thēk]** a-joiné a-pōt=si
NMLZ-be.good-NF:with **NMLZ-eat-know.how** POSS-reason POSS-because=FOC:RL
'it's the reason why they know how to eat nicely' [SiH, CW 022]

On the other hand, truly independent complement-taking verbs like *chèng* 'begin' are nominalized separately, as in (453).

(453) *chèng* 'begin' separately nominalized
garipen vangdét aphisi netum dakpen Hongkram
garí=pen vàng-dèt aphī=si ne-tūm dāk=pen Hongkrām
car(<Asm)=with come-PFV after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL here=from PLACE

kedam kechenglo
ke-dàm ke-chèng-lò
NMLZ-go NMLZ-begin-RL
'after the car came, we started going from here to Hongkram' [SH, CSM 008]

8.2.3.2. Follow Adverbial Construction [V] $_{\text{main verb}}$ [*pa*-V] $_{\text{adv}}$?

Part of the evidence that the modal markers of interest have some morphosyntactic independence is that they can modify complex adverbial constructions. As we can see in (454), *náng* 'need' can follow and modify the adverbial construction *kan pame* 'dance well'.

(454) *(-)náng* 'need' following an adverbial construction
[kán pa-mé] náng-jí
dance CAUS-be.good need-IRR2
'(s/he) needs to dance well' [SiT 140127]

This is different from predicate derivations such as benefactive *-pī*, which has to occur on the main verb *tún* 'cook' inside the adverbial construction in (455), and is thus more closely bound to the verb root.

(455) *-pī* 'benefactive' on main verb inside adverbial construction
[...] apot padap abangke, tunpi peme
[apōt padāp abàng=ke [[tún-**pī** pe-mé]
because this.morning NPDL=TOP cook-BEN CAUS-be.good

dangpi pemenoi! [...]
[dàng-**pī** pe-mé-nōi]]
put.on.stove-BEN CAUS-be.good-INFRML.COND.IMP
'[…] "so this morning, cook and prepare them nicely for me […]"'' [SeT, MTN 029]

8.2.3.3. Be Modified Itself by a Predicate Derivation?

Finally, there is evidence for some of the modals that, within the same predicate, they may be followed a predicate derivation suffix that modifies the modal rather than the main verb root. An example is (456), where *-bìn* 'unintentionally' modifies the 'non-control' marker *(-)lōng* 'GET' (see §8.2.5.2.1 for the functions of *(-)lōng*) rather than *ēn* 'take', and *-bìn* couldn't, in fact, occur without *(-)lōng* 'GET'.

(456) *(-)lōng* 'GET' modified by following predicate derivation *-bìn* 'unintentionally'
amat nangso doke chinilo neta chekhang'un'e
amāt nang-osō dō=ke chiní-lò nè=tā che-kháng-ùn-Cē
and.then 2POSS-child exist=TOP know-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM RR-keep-be.able-NEG

amatsi nangso apran enlongbinlo
amātsi nang-osō a-prán ēn-**lōng-bìn**-lò
and.then 2:POSS-child POSS-life take-**GET-unintentionally**-RL
'and then, I knew your child was there, but I couldn't control myself and then I unintentionally took your daughter's life.' [RBT, ChM 031]

In comparison, *-prèt* 'acting on inflated object' in (451), repeated here as (457), which follows *-dùn~-dūn* 'JOIN' does not modify *-dùn~-dūn* but the main verb root *ingnì* 'sit'. The fact that unlike predicate derivations, the modals can be further modified by a following predicate derivation within the same predicate is evidence for their relative degree of morphosyntactic independence.

(457) *-prèt* 'acting on inflated object' modifying main root *ingnì* 'sit'
[…] akengdak arum kilut ahut amat…
[a-kèng-dàk arúm ke-lūt ahūt amāt
POSS-foot-road.inbetween down NMLZ-enter during and.then

anborpenpen chongho abang ingnidunpret
àn-bòr=pén~pén chonghō abàng ingnì-**dūn**-prèt
rice-wrapped.bundle=with~DISTR.PL frog NPDL sit-**JOIN**-acting.on.inflated.object
'[…] and as (the ant) was passing through between the frog's legs, with all its rice bundles, the frog sat down (pressing down the rice bundles)' [RBT, ChM 016]

8.2.4. Morphophonological Evidence

In addition to the morphosyntactic tests, morphophonological tone changes in some of these markers are an indicator of their morphological boundedness to the main root. Specifically, in *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* 'know how', *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* 'be able', as well as *(-)hài~(-)hāi* 'dare', the low tone form of these markers only occurs following high tone verb roots, while the mid tone form of these markers occurs following low and mid tone verb roots (§3.9.1.3).[145] When occurring as an independent verb root without a preceding verb root, only the low tone forms *thèk* 'know', *ùn* 'win, conquer', and *hài* 'win, overcome, be important' occur.

[145] For example, following low and mid tone verb roots such as *dàm* 'go' and *chō* 'eat', the mid tone form *(-)thēk* occurs: *dàm-thēk* and *chō-thēk*. However, after a high tone verb root such as *sáng* '(take) rest', the low tone form *(-)thèk* occurs: *sáng-thèk*.

Similarly, the mid tone form of the modal *(-)lōng* 'GET' only occurs in conjunction with a preceding verb stem (of any tonal specification), while the high tone form of the independent verb *lóng* 'get' occurs if there is no other verb stem.

This tonal distinction between morphosyntactically independent and bound forms provides evidence that certain constructions are ambiguous: for example, in (458), *(-)lōng* 'GET' modifies an adverbial construction, and according to my language consultant, both bound, mid tone *(-)lōng* 'GET' and independent, high tone *lóng* 'get' are used here. (Interestingly, my language consultant feels that the high tone form is grammatically more correct, but that either one is acceptable.)

(458) *(-)lōng* 'GET' following an adverbial construction

àn	*[[chō*	*pa-mé]*	*lōng-lē]*	*(*or:*lóng-lē)*
rice/food	eat	CAUS-be.good	GET-NEG	get-NEG

'(s/he) doesn't/didn't get to eat well' [SiT 140127]

8.2.5. The Modals

The following discussion of the individual morphemes highlights their properties in light of the morphosyntactic tests (§8.2.3) and morphophonological evidence (§8.2.4) outlined above.

8.2.5.1. Deontic *(-)náng* 'need, must'

The deontic verb *(-)náng* 'need, must' (for argument structure properties, see §10.2.2.2) may occur under the scope of nominalization of the main verb stem as in (459), although this construction is not perfectly natural to my language consultant as indicated with the question mark. This is the case both with and without the addition of *-jí* 'irrealis2' following *(-)náng*.

(459) *(-)náng* 'need, must' under scope of nominalization along with main verb root

? [[ke-kán-náng(-jí)]	*abàng]*	*dàm-lò*	
NMLZ-dance-need-IRR2	NPDL	go-RL	

'the one who needs to dance left' [SiT 140127]

In (460) and (461), *(-)náng* modifies an adverbial construction rather than a simple main verb stem.

(460) *(-)náng* 'need' modifying an adverbial construction
[kán pa-mé] náng-jí
dance CAUS-be.good need-IRR2
'(s/he) needs to dance well' [SiT 140127]

(461) *(-)náng* 'need' following an adverbial construction
lapente monit atum kedo kethak kachepangthir
lapènte monít a-tūm [[[ke-dō ke-thák] **ke-che-pa-ingthìr]**
and.then man POSS-PL NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) **NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.clean**

nangji
náng-jí]
must-IRR2
'and then, people need to stay and live in a clean way' [SiH, CW 001]

However, note also that in (462), *(-)náng* 'need' occurs inside the adverbial construction *keklem parsik* 'do thoroughly' (which is embedded in a relative clause that precedes its head noun *kám* 'work'). Specifically, *(-)náng* occurs on the nominalized main verb. This shows that the constructions that *(-)náng* occurs in are flexible, rather than syntactically fixed.

(462) *(-)náng* 'need' occurring inside an adverbial construction
[…] laso akhai pu kachepaklangdunji aphan
[[[lasō a-khái pu] ke-che-pe-klàng-dūn-jí] a-phān]
this POSS-community QUOT NMLZ-RR-CAUS-appear-along-IRR2 POSS-PURP

*so'arlo atum **keklemnang parsik akam** dopik*
[sō'arlō a-tūm] [[ke-klém-**náng** pe-arsīk] a-kám] dō-pìk
women:COLL POSS-PL NMLZ-do-**need** CAUS-be.deep POSS-work exist-very
'[…] in order to show that this community (is okay), there is a lot of work that needs to be done thoroughly' [KaR, SWK 033]

In (463), *-kók* 'absolutely required' modifies *(-)náng* rather than *mòng* 'smoke'.

(463) *(-)náng* ‘need’ modified by following predicate derivation *-kók* ‘absolutely required’

{duma mongponbom nangkokjike} […]
dumá mòng-pōn-bōm **náng-kók**-jí=ke}
tobacco smoke-in.passing-CONT **need-absolutely.required**-IRR2=TOP
‘it's necessary to keep smoking […]’ [HK, TR 074]

Finally, *náng* ‘need, must’ functions as an independent verb root in (464).

(464) *náng* ‘need’ as independent verb root

{la monitsi kenangpo he, halatum aphanke,
là monít=si **ke-náng-pò** he hála-tum aphān=ke
this man=FOC **NMLZ-need-IRR1** DM that-PL NSUBJ=TOP

halatum aphanke bi vosi ketheklo}
hála-tūm aphān=ke bī vō=si ke-thèk-lò}
that-PL NSUBJ=TOP goat chicken=FOC NMLZ-see-RL
‘{ […] they will need human beings, right? They consider them goats and chickens (i.e. what is sacrificed)}’ [HK, TR 042]

8.2.5.2. Non-Control *(-)lōng* ‘GET’

8.2.5.2.1. Function

The ‘non-control’ marker *(-)lōng* ‘GET’ occurs in the near-lexicalized instances of *thèk-lōng* ‘know(?)-GET’ > ‘see’ and *arjū-lōng* ‘listen-GET’ > ‘hear’, where it resembles similar markers in other Asian languages (see discussions by Enfield (2003) and Jenny (2012), as well as, within Northeast India, Post (2007:491) for a discussion of the 'attainment' marker in Galo).

In addition to these near-lexicalized occurrences, *(-)lōng* ‘GET’ occurs in situations where the subject has a lack of control over an action or event. In contexts of desirable actions or events, a translation with English ‘get to V’ works. However, *(-)lōng* ‘GET’ is also used in contexts of non-desirable actions or events, as long as there is a lack of control on part of the subject.

In (465) and (466), *(-)lōng* ‘GET’ occurs in contexts of desirable actions: first, where the action could be carried out, and second, where it could not, which is frequently the case such that *(-)lōng* ‘GET’ often occurs in combination with negative *-Cē*.

(465) Non-control *(-)lōng* 'GET' in context of desirable action
methan atum'anke abangke ha kasu keme harlung
[[methān a-tūm-án=ke] abàng=ke] há [kasú ke-mē harlūng
dog POSS-PL-all=TOP NPDL=TOP over.there plate NMLZ-be.good bowl

kemepen langta
ke-mē=pen] [lāng=tā jùn-lōng àn=tā chō-lōng,]
NMLZ-be.good=with water=ADD:COORD drink-GET rice=ADD:COORD eat-GET

junlong anta cholong, pirtheta bangke mh
[pirthé=tā bàng=ke] mh
world=ADD:EXH NPDL=TOP DSM
'all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything' [KK, BMS 056]

(466) Negated non-control *(-)lōng* 'GET' in context of desirable action
<pot> tangke hala apei abang tunlongle
<pōt> tángke [[hála a-pēi abàng tún-lōng-Cē dàng-lōng-Cē-lò]
thing and.then that POSS-mother NPDL cook-GET-NEG put.on.stove-GET-NEG-RL

danglonglelo, aso kachiru ajoine, si "bai! han
[a-osō ke-chirú a-joiné] [lasì bái hán
POSS-child NMLZ-cry POSS-reason(<Ind) therefore how.mean! prepared.vegetables

anta tunlonglelo an arni kethetangdetle!"
àn=tā tún-lōng-Cē-lò án arnì ke-thè-tāng-dèt=lē
rice=ADD cook-GET-NEG-RL that.much sun NMLZ-be.big-PFV2-PFV=EXCLAM
'that mother couldn't cook, couldn't prepare (place on stove), because the child was crying, "how bad!, neither the curry nor the rice I could cook, (and) this much the sun has become so big already"' [KK, CC 026]

In (467), *-lōng* 'GET' is used in the context of an undesirable action, specifically as a rock unintentionally (also highlighted by the use of *-bìn* 'unintentionally') kills the daughter of the king in this folk story.

(467) Non-control *(-)lōng* 'GET' in context of undesirable action
amat nangso doke chinilo neta chekhang'un'e
amāt nang-osō dō=ke chiní-lò nè=tā che-kháng-ùn-Cē
and.then 2POSS-child exist=TOP know-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM RR-keep-be.able-NEG

amatsi nangso apran enlongbinlo
amātsi nang-osō a-prán ēn-**lōng**-bìn-lò
and.then 2:POSS-child POSS-life take-**GET**-unintentionally-RL
'and then, I knew your child was there, but I couldn't control myself and then I unintentionally took your daughter's life.' [RBT, ChM 031]

8.2.5.2.2. Structure and Distribution

In (468), *(-)lōng* 'GET' is under the scope of nominalization of *ke-kán* 'NMLZ-dance', rather than being individually nominalized.

(468) *(-)lōng* 'GET' under scope of nominalization along with main verb root
[[ke-kán-lōng] abàng] dàm-lò
NMLZ-dance-GET NPDL go-RL
'the one who got to dance left' [SiT 140127]

When following an adverbial construction, either mid tone *(-)lōng* 'GET' or high tone, independent *lóng* 'get' can be used, as illustrated in (469) (see §8.2.4).

(469) *(-)lōng* 'GET' following an adverbial construction
*àn [[chō pa-mé] lōng-lē] (*or:*lóng-lē)*
rice/food eat CAUS-be.good GET-NEG get-NEG
'(s/he) doesn't/didn't get to eat well' [SiT 140127]

In (470), *(-)lōng* 'GET' is modified by the following predicate derivation *-bìn* 'unintentionally'.

(470) *(-)lōng* 'GET' modified by following predicate derivation *-bìn* 'unintentionally'
amat nangso doke chinilo neta chekhang'un'e
amāt nang-osō dō=ke chiní-lò nè=tā che-kháng-ùn-Cē
and.then 2POSS-child exist=TOP know-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM RR-keep-be.able-NEG

amatsi nangso apran enlongbinlo
amātsi nang-osō a-prán ēn-**lōng-bìn**-lò
and.then 2:POSS-child POSS-life take-**GET-unintentionally**-RL
'and then, I knew your child was there, but I couldn't control myself and then I unintentionally took your daughter's life.' [RBT, ChM 031]

Finally, (471) illustrates *lóng* 'get' functioning as an independent verb root.

(471) *lóng* 'get' as independent verb root
tangka atibuk longdunvekpo ili
tángká a-tibùk **lóng**-dùn-vék-pò ì-lì
money POSS-earthen.pot **get**-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON
together we will surely get the earthen pots with money [HK, TR 136]

8.2.5.3. Skillful Ability *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’

The ‘skillful ability’ marker *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’ also does not get separately nominalized but is under the scope of negation of the preceding main verb root in (472) and (473).

(472) *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’ under scope of nominalization along with main verb root

[[ke-kán-thēk] *abàng]* *dàm-lò*
NMLZ-dance-know.how NPDL go-RL
‘the one who knows how to dance left’ [SiT 140127]

(473) *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’ under scope of nominalization along with main verb root

kemesenpen kechothek ajoine apotsi
[ke-mēsén-pen **ke-chō-thēk]** a-joiné a-pōt=si
NMLZ-be.good-NF:with **NMLZ-eat-know.how** POSS-reason POSS-because=FOC:RL
‘it's the reason why they know how to eat nicely’ [SiH, CW 022]

Example (473) also illustrates that *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* may modify an adverbial construction, which is shown in (474) as well.

(474) *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’ following an adverbial construction

lasō *a-okarjāng* *lún* *[[lún* *pa-mé]* *thèk-thē]*
this POSS-girl song sing CAUS-be.good know-NEG
'this girl doesn't know how to sing (well)' [SiT elicitation 090301]

In (475), *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* (and not the main verb *ningjé* ‘speak’) is modified by the following (reduplicated) predicate derivation *-hòi* ‘little bit’.

(475) *(-)thèk~(-)thēk* ‘know how’ modified by following predicate derivation *-hòi* ‘little.bit’

arlēng *a-lám* *ningjé-thèk-hòi~hōi*
people POSS-language speak-know.how-little.bit~INTENS
‘know how to speak Karbi a tiny little bit’ [SiT 140129]

Finally, (476) presents an instance of *thèk* functioning as an independent verb root with the meaning ‘be skilled’, ‘be knowledgeable’, or ‘be an expert’.

(476) *thèk* ‘be skilled, knowledgeable’ as an independent verb root
lasi la Hingchong musoso atomoke
[lasì là Hingchòng musosō a-tomó=ke
therefore this CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender POSS-story=TOP

lapuik helo Rongphar asangho kethekthe
lapù-īk-heló [Rongphàr a-sanghó **ke-thèk-Cē]**
like.this-FRML-RL:EMPH CLAN POSS-mister:VOC **NMLZ-be.skilled-NEG**

anke nangpekengpon'iknoi
[ánke nang=pa-kèng-pōn-īk-nōi]
and.then 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-be.straight-take.away-FRML-INFRML.COND.IMP
‘thus, they settled down and lived together until the end of their lives, and then that was the story of Hingchong musoso, Mister Rongphar, I'm **not an expert**, and then make it clear (i.e. correct it)’ [CST, HM 120]

8.2.5.4. Physical Ability *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’

The morpheme *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’ is about physical or emotional ability rather than skillful ability. An example from an on-line narration of the pear story is (477), where the boy on the bike has an accident as he is riding over a large stone.

(477) Physical ability *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’
amat laso damchet amat chekhang'un'elo isi
amāt lasō dàm-chèt amāt **che-kháng-ùn-Cē-lò** isī
and.then this go-a.bit and.then **RR-keep-be.able-NEG-RL** one

arlong along tongdér
arlōng alòng tōng-dèr
stone LOC collide-sound
‘and then he went just a bit further and then he **couldn't hold himself** anymore, he hit one stone’ [SiT, PS 029]

In (478), *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’ is shown to be under the scope of nominalization of *ke-kán* ‘NMLZ-dance’.

(478) *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’ under scope of nominalization along with main verb root
*[[ke-kán-**ùn**] abàng] dàm-lò*
NMLZ-dance-**be.able** NPDL go-RL
‘the one who can dance left’ [SiT 140127]

In (479), *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’ modifies the adverbial construction *kan pame* ‘dance well’.

(479) *(-)ùn~(-)ūn* ‘be able’ following an adverbial construction
[kán pa-mé] ***ùn-ē***
dance CAUS-be.good **be.able-NEG**
‘(s/he) can’t dance well’ [SiT 140127]

Finally, (480) offers an instance of *ùn* functioning as an independent verbal root with the sense of ‘be (physically) strong and healthy’, here negated to form an elaborate expression pair with *sò* ‘hurt, be sick’

(480) *ùn* ‘be able’ as independent verbal root
bai an adin ningke an ajo ningke
bái án a-dín nīngke án a-jó nīngke
how.mean! that.much POSS-day(<Asm) even that.much POSS-night even

nesomar... e keso kali ki'une
ne-oso-màr e [ke-sò kalī] **[ke-ùn-Cē**
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL DSM NMLZ-hurt NEG.EQU.COP **NMLZ-be.able-NEG**

kali phuso kali kengso kali
kalī] [phú-sò kalī] [kèng-sò kalī]
NEG.EQU.COP head-hurt NEG.EQU.COP foot-hurt NEG.EQU.COP
‘how mean! not even in this long time did my children get sick and they didn't have minor sicknesses’ [CST, RO 024]

8.2.5.5. Other Markers

While not as frequent as the markers discussed above, *(-)hài~(-)hāi* ‘dare’ also shares the properties of not being individually nominalized (481) and still also occurring after an adverbial construction (482).

(481) *(-)hài~(-)hāi* ‘dare’ under scope of nominalization along with main verb root
*[[ke-kán-**hài**] abàng] dàm-lò*
NMLZ-dance-**dare** NPDL go-RL
‘the one who dares to dance left’ [SiT 140127]

(482) *(-)hài~(-)hāi* ‘dare’ following an adverbial construction
àn *[[chō* *pa-mé]* ***hài-hē]***
rice/food eat CAUS-be.good **dare-NEG**
‘(s/he) didn’t dare to eat well’ [SiT 140127]

The verb *tengnè* ‘forget’, on the other hand, while also occurring under the scope of nominalization of *ke-kán* ‘NMLZ-dance’ in (483), cannot modify *an cho pame* ‘eat well’ in (484) - which may, however, be a semantic rather than morphosyntactic problem here; further research is required.

(483) *(-)tengnè* ‘forget’ under scope of nominalization along with main verb root
[[ke-kán-tengnè] *abàng] dàm-lò*
NMLZ-dance-forget NPDL go-RL
‘the one who forgot to dance left’ [SiT 140127]

(484) *(-)tengnè* ‘forget’ following *an cho pame* ‘eat well’ unacceptable
**àn* *[[chō* *pa-mé]* *tengnè-dèt]*
rice/food eat CAUS-be.good forget-PFV
‘(s/he) forgot to eat well’ [SiT 140127]

Another interesting morpheme is *(-)bor'í(-bor'á)* ‘with great effort’, where *(-)bor’á* is an elaborate expression-type extension. This morpheme also occurs in the same stem juxtaposition construction as the other markers discussed above, as seen in (485). At the same type, a morphosyntactically independent form *bor’í(-bor’á)* can take a fairly independent complement clause marked with *ke-...-jí aphān* with the meaning of ‘try to V’ (see §8.2.2, example (448)).

(485) *(-)bor'í(-bor'á)* ‘with great effort’
[...] ajirpo abangke <keso> thengpi angsongpen nangkeklosi
a-jirpò abàng=ke thengpī angsóng=pen nang=ke-kló-si
POSS-friend NPDL=TOP tree/wood high.up=from CIS=NMLZ-fall-NF:RL

{mm} thinilo {mm} bonseta nangdunbor'ibor'alo
mm thìnì-lò mm bónsetā nang=dùn-**bor'í-bor'á**-lò
AFF be.almost.dead-RL AFF but CIS=join-**w.great.effort-EE:bor'í**-RL
‘[…] that friend had fallen down from the tree and hurt himself badly, but by trying very hard came home’ [HK, TR 196]

Finally, a verb with modal semantics as well but with a higher degree of morphosyntactic independence is *ingtúng* 'desire', which may be individually nominalized as shown in (486).

(486) *ingtúng* 'wish' individually nominalized

tumi nelitum Kohima kedam alamsi jerso					
[tumì	ne-li-tūm	Kóhìmà	ke-dàm	a-lám=si]	jérsō
yesterday	1EXCL-HON-PL	TOWN	NMLZ-go	POSS-matter=FOC:RL	a.little

than kangtung
thán **ke-ingtúng**
tell **NMLZ-desire**
'I want to tell just a little bit about when we went to Kohima yesterday' [SiT, HF 001]

8.3. Adverbial Constructions

8.3.1. Overview

There are two proper adverbial constructions (ADVCs) in Karbi, as well as two non-final adverbial constructions (NF-ADVCs) that may function and be structured similarly to the proper adverbial constructions, and are therefore discussed here, too. All four constructions consist of a main verb and a derived adverbial element. In the two proper ADVCs, the adverbial element consists of a property-concept term (PCT; see §4.2) verbal stem; it always follows the main verb, as seen in Table 107.

Table 107. Proper adverbial constructions (ADVCs)

	Schematic representation		Involved affixes
Causative ADVC	[[V] main verb	[*pa*-V] **adverbial**]	*pa-* 'CAUS'
Nominalization ADVC	[[*ke*-V] main verb	[V] **adverbial**]	*ke-* 'NMLZ'

In the 'Causative ADVC', the main verb is unmarked, while the adverbial element consists of a causative *pa-* marked PCT stem. In the 'Nominalization ADVC', the main verb is nominalized with *ke-*, while the adverbial element consists of a bare stem PCT. There is no apparent functional difference between these two proper ADVCs. Both occur in elicitation when the task is to translate from English into Karbi.

In addition to these two proper ADVCs, there are also two non-final adverbial constructions (NF-ADVCs), which resemble proper ADVCs functionally and structurally. As seen in Table 108, in NF-ADVCs, there also is an adverbial element that occurs juxtaposed to the main verb and modifies it like an adverbial. However, since in NF-ADVCs, the adverbial element is a non-final marked verb, it has to precede the main verb.

Table 108. Non-final adverbial constructions (NF-ADVCs)

	Schematic representation		Involved affixes
Non-final *-pen* ADVC	[[*ke*-V-*pen*] **adverbial**	[V] main verb]	*ke-* 'NMLZ' *-pen* 'NF:with'
Non-final *-si* ADVC	[[*ke*-V-*si*] **adverbial**	[V] main verb]	*ke-* 'NMLZ' *-si* 'NF:RL'

While the NF-ADVC with *-pen* appears to be used with both PCT and prototypical (non-PCT) roots in the adverbial element, the NF-ADVC with *-si* 'non-final:realis' is so far only attested to occur with prototypical verb roots in the adverbial element.

NF-ADVCs thus resemble the proper ADVCs, but they of course also resemble clause chaining constructions (§11.2.1.1).

8.3.2. Causative Adverbial Construction [V] main verb [*pa*-V] adverbial

In the 'Causative ADVC', the main verb is unmarked, while the following adverbial element consists of a causative *pa-* marked PCT root and may take any inflectional suffixes. This is shown in (487), where the main verb *chō* 'eat' is followed by the causativized PCT root *mē* 'be good', which further has the realis suffix *-lò* attached.

(487) Causative adverbial construction
an han cho pamelo […]
àn hán **chō pa-mé-lò**
rice prepared.vegetables **eat CAUS-be.good-RL**
'we ate well […]' [SH, CSM 055]

In (488), the causative adverbial construction occurs inside an elaborate expression (EE) construction, in which the verb 'cook' is expressed by the two stems *tún* 'cook' and *dàng* 'put on stove'. The two stems both suffixing *-pī* 'benefactive' occur in a parallel fashion each followed by the adverbial element *pe-mé* 'CAUS-be.good', while

only the second EE element takes the inflectional imperative suffix *-nōi* (see §12.2.2.2 for syntactic properties of EEs).

(488) Causative adverbial construction in elaborate expression construction
[…] apot padap abangke, tunpi peme
[apōt padāp abàng=ke **[[tún-pī pe-mé]**
because this.morning NPDL=TOP **cook-BEN CAUS-be.good**

dangpi pemenoi! […]
[dàng-pī pe-mé-nōi]]
put.on.stove-BEN CAUS-be.good-INFRML.COND.IMP
'[…] "so this morning, cook and prepare them nicely for me […]"'' [SeT, MTN 029]

Finally, there are a small number of instances in the corpus in which it looks like a causativized PCT root occurs in a causative adverbial construction with an ellipsed, contextually retrievable main verb, as in (489). Here it is plausible to interpret the causativized *dér* 'be late' as the adverbial element of the ellipsed main verb *vàng* 'come' mentioned in the previous clause.

(489) Causativized PCT root without main verb?
penap vangalang… netum abang paderchotpo {mm}
[penàp vàng-jí-lāng] [[ne-tūm abàng] **pa-dér-chòt-pò]** mm
tomorrow come-IRR2-still 1EXCL-PL NPDL **CAUS-be.late-a.bit-IRR1** AFF
'tomorrow we are coming, but we will be a little bit late' [HK, TR 106]

8.3.3. Nominalization Adverbial Construction [*ke*-V]$_{\text{main verb}}$ [V]$_{\text{adverbial}}$

The nominalization adverbial construction is illustrated in (490). This construction consists of a *ke-* nominalized main verb, here *klem* 'do', followed by a PCT stem, *mesen* 'be good, be nice'.

(490) Nominalization adverbial construction
Nagalen government laso kachari atum keklem mesen
[[Nàgálén government] [lasō ke-charí a-tūm]] **[ke-klém mē-sén]**
PLACE government this NMLZ-rule POSS-PL **NMLZ-do be.good-INTENS**
'the government of Nagaland, the ruling people do a good job' [SiT, HF 024]

Another example is (491), where the nominalization adverbial construction occurs inside a nominalized adverbial clause headed by *a-joiné* 'POSS-reason' (as well as an elaborate expression construction *ēn chō* 'live' < 'take' and 'eat'). The fact that the PCT stem *ingthìr* is nominalized as well (as opposed to being under the scope of nominalization of the *ke-* on the preceding main verb) represents evidence that we are dealing with two separate grammatical verbs.

(491) Nominalization adverbial construction inside nominalized (adverbial) clause
ke'en kangthir ajoine kecho kangthir ajoine
[ke-ēn ke-ingthìr a-joiné] **[ke-chō ke-ingthír** a-joiné]
NMLZ-take NMLZ-be.clean POSS-reason **NMLZ-eat NMLZ-be.clean** POSS-reason
'because they live in a way of keeping everything clean' [SiH, CW 018]

8.3.4. Non-Final Preposed Adverbial Constructions

Non-final *-pen* and *-si* may occur on a nominalized verb in order to function as an adverbial element preceding the main verb.

8.3.4.1. Non-Final *-pen* Construction [*ke*-V-*pen*] adverbial [V] main verb

In this non-final adverbial construction, the adverbial element takes *-pen* 'non-final:with'. In (492), the adverbial element is furthermore nominalized with *ke-* (while the main verb *chō-thēk* 'know how to eat' is also nominalized due to being in a nominalized adverbial clause construction headed by *a-joiné* 'POSS-reason').

(492) Non-final *-pen* construction
kemesenpen kechothek ajoine apotsi
[ke-mēsén-pen ke-chō-thēk] a-joiné a-pōt=si
NMLZ-be.good-NF:with NMLZ-eat-know.how POSS-reason POSS-because=FOC:RL
'it's the reason why they know how to eat nicely' [SiH, CW 022]

Grüßner (1978:60-61;89) also documents this adverbial construction, although in his data, the adverbial element is not nominalized. Note that Grüßner further reports that the adverbial element in this construction can be causativized, as in the causative adverbial construction (§8.3.2). As an example, consider (493), where data from Grüßner

are quoted: In (a), this construction with the preposed adverbial element marked with *pe-* 'causative' and *-pen* 'non-final:with' is illustrated. In (b), a semantically equivalent version, the causative adverbial construction is employed (§8.3.2).

(493) Preposed adverbial construction with *pe-* 'causative' and *-pen* 'non-final:with'

(a) *pe-klár* *pe-mé-pen* *thán-lò*
CAUS-be.clear CAUS-be.good-NF:with tell-RL
'(s/he) told clearly and well'

(b) *thán* *pe-klár* *pe-mé-lò*
tell CAUS-be.clear CAUS-be.good-RL
'id.' (Grüßner (1978:89)

Finally, consider (494), in which nominalized, non-final *-pen* marked verbs do not constitute a single clause with the final verb *damlo* because of the lack of a single intonation contour as well as the intervening adverb *lason* 'this way'. Also, note that the non-final verbs here are all prototypical verbs rather than PCTs. This example also demonstrates the gradient nature of constructional categories.

(494) Clause chaining construction with non-final verbs marked with *ke-* 'NMLZ' and *-pen* 'non-final:with'

[…] amatsi netum ***chepenangpen kangnekpen***
amātsi ne-tūm che-penáng**-pen** **ke-**ingnēk**-pen**
and.then 1EXCL-PL RR-make.fun**-NF:with** **NMLZ-**laugh**-NF:with**

kachingnipen*, lasonsi damlo*
ke-che-ingnì**-pen,** làsón=sì dàm-lò
NMLZ-RR-EE:ingnēk**-NF:with** that.way=FOC:RL go-RL
'we get to join and watch the Chomangkan, and so we are happy and everything, and then teasing each other and laughing each other, that's how we go' [SH, CSM 021]

8.3.4.2. Non-PCT Root Construction [*ke*-V-*si*] adverbial [V] main verb

Lastly, prototypical verbs (i.e., non-PCT roots) can be marked non-final with *-si* 'non-final:realis' and (typically) nominalized with *ke-* in order to express a simultaneous, and sometimes specifically manner indicating, event. In (495), *ingvāi* 'choose' occurs

with nominalizer *ke-* and non-final *-si* indicating the manner in which the main event *chō* 'eat' occurred.

(495) Non-PCT root non-final adverbial construction

amat "mai pei! kaita nangtum lasonloma?" "o

amāt	mái	pēi	kái=tā	nang-tūm	lasón-lò=ma	ó
and.then	how.bad!	mother	always=ADD:EXH	you-PL	that.way-RL=Q	vocative

po! lasonlo netum khali

pō	lasón-lò	ne-tūm	khalí
father	that.way-RL	1EXCL-PL	always(<Asm)

kechongvailoksi kecho"

ke-cho-ingvāi-lók-si	**ke-chō**
NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-choose-only-NF:RL	**NMLZ-eat**

'and then, "how mean, mother, was it always for you like this?", "o father, like this we (can) always eat only what we pick and choose"' [CST, RO 037]

In (496), *dáng* 'put on stove' (here: 'cook tea') is nominalized and marked non-final with *-si*, indicating simultaneity with the main verb *tòt* 'squat'.

(496) Non-PCT root non-final simultaneity construction

[…] hongpharlasi sa

hòng-pharlá=si	sá
outside-outside.Karbi.house=FOC:RL	tea(<Ind)

kachodangsi totborlo apenan

ke-cho-dáng-si	**tòt-bòr-lò**	a-penàn
NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-put.on.stove-NF:RL	**squat-appearing.small:S-RL**	POSS-husband

abangke

abàng=ke

NPDL=TOP

'[…] outside the Karbi house, preparing himself tea, he sat there, the husband' [SeT, MTN 040]

Finally, (497) suggests that the non-final marked adverbial element does not need to be nominalized, as *ardòn* 'ride' clearly indicates the manner in which the directional motion verb *vàng* occurred, but there is no *ke-* prefix on *ardòn*. Further research is

required for a more detailed account of non-final marked clauses functioning as adverbial elements.

(497) Non-nominalized prototypical verb in non-final adverbial construction
laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
lasō a-ahūt amāt e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít
this POSS-during and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man

abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... laso
a-bàng=ke saikél **nang=ardòn-si** **vàng-lò...** lasō
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) **CIS=ride-NF:RL** **come-RL** this

amonitta aphu along aphutup do
a-monít=tā a-phú alòng a-phutūp dō
POSS-man=also POSS-head LOC POSS-hat exist
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, and this person had a hat on his head' [SiT, PS 015]

8.4. Periphrastic Constructions Based on Copulas

The simple existential and possessive constructions are discussed in §10.2.2.3. In addition to the two simple constructions, there is a progressive and an indirect argument quantification construction that are worth mentioning.

8.4.1. Progressive Construction with Non-Final Suffix *-si* plus Copula *dō*

A *-si* non-final marked main verb may be followed by the existential copula *dō* to form a construction with a progressive reading. An example is (498), which is from an on-line narration of the Pear Story. Since the speaker is telling the story as he is seeing it unfold in the video clip, there are many occurrences of progressive and imperfective constructions in this text.

(498) Progressive construction with non-final suffix *-si* plus copula *dō*
adunghet osomar banghini bangkethom do... halatumke
adūng-hét osō-mār bàng-hiní bàng-kethòm dō... hála-tūm=ke
near-INTENS child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two CLF:HUM:PL-three exist that-PL=TOP

juirekraksi do
jùi-rek~rāk-si **dō**
play-silently~DIST.PL-NF:RL **exist**
'nearby, there were a few children, they were there playing silently' [SiT, PS 031]

The beginning of the same text also serves as a good example to show the use of imperfective *ke-* (§9.7.3.2) in the same context as the *V-si dō* construction (499).[146]

(499) Progressive construction with non-final suffix *-si* plus copula *dō*
vo kiku…
vō ke-kú
chicken IPFV-crow
'a rooster crowing…' [SiT, PS 001]

vota kujengsi do... inut
vō=tā **kú-jèng-si** **dō** [e-nūt
chicken=ADD **crow-for.long.time(sound)-NF:RL** **exist** one-CLF:HUM:SG

chotiki chonghoi amonit amethang
cho-tikī cho-inghói a-monít] [a-metháng
AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-do POSS-man POSS-self

abiri arlopen eson <athe...> thesere kelik
a-birī arlō=pen] [e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré] ke-lík
POSS-garden inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruits IPFV-pluck
'there's a chicken crowing (in the background)... one cultivator (/farmer) from (inside) his own garden is picking one kind of fruit' [SiT, PS 002]

Note that the Tamangic language Thakali has an identical construction, structurally and seemingly also functionally, which, to make the match perfect, has the same form *-si* for the non-final marker (Georg 1996: 120).[147]

8.4.2. Copula Argument Quantification Construction

There are nominal constructions to express argument quantification, such as the quantifying noun phrase clitic *=án* 'this much; all' (§7.8.2), or using universally

[146] In addition to the aspectual component, there may also be a pragmatic component of a presentational or sentence focus that is part of the function of this construction. More research on a larger number of examples is needed.

[147] A non-final form *-si* occurs in a number of Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages (§6.10.1).

quantifying pronouns such as *kadókavē* ‘all, everbody’ (§4.5.6) as a modifier. But there also are verbal constructions that indirectly express argument quantification. These verbal constructions are based on argument quantification predicate derivations (PDs; §6.5.5.1). While these suffixes can attach to the main verb, there also is a nominalization-based construction: specifically, this involves an event or a participant nominalization of the main verb on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the existential copula with quantifying PDs attached to it. (In the case of an event nominalization, this then is an instance of the nominalization plus copula construction, see §9.7.1.)

An example is (500), which actually was produced by my language consultant when asked for a translation of the English sentence ‘many people came’, which suggests that this construction is pragmatically neutral.[148]

(500) Copula argument quantification construction
monít ke-vàng dō-ò
person NMLZ-come exist-much:S/O
‘many people came’ [SiT 090302]

A corpus example is (501), where the *-ò* quantification suffix on the copula has scope over the subject of the nominalized clause, *so’arlo atum* ‘the women’.[149]

(501) Corpus example of copula argument quantification construction
[…] angtan akam kachongdatdunji
[[a-ingtán a-kám] ke-cho-ingdát-dùn-jí
POSS-outside POSS-work NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-make.a.living-JOIN-IRR2

aphanta so'arlo atum kabor'i do'olo
a-phān=tā] [sō'arlō a-tūm] ke-bor'í dō-**ò**-lo
POSS-PURP=also women:COLL POSS-PL NMLZ-try exist-**much:S/O**-RL
‘[…] **many** women also try to get outside work’ [KaR, SWK 064]

[148] While it is the simpler analysis to consider *monit kevang* an event nominalization, it is technically also possible to consider it an internally headed relative clause, with *monit* as the head noun.

[149] Despite being structurally different from English due to the use of argument quantification predicate derivations, there may be a similar pragmatic function of this kind of construction in both Karbi and English, such that the nominalization construction with the existential copula serves a presentational function (i.e., the difference between ‘many women try to get a job’ and ‘there are many women trying to get a job’).

Similarly, in (502), the parsing of *nangkelelesi* suggests an interpretation of this word as a participant nominalization and therefore the *=si* as the focus marker. Another possibility is to interpret this as a non-final construction such that there is no focus marker *=si* but the realis non-final marker *-si*.

(502) Copula argument quantification construction
ha nangkelelesi ke'onglang {mm}
há nang=ke-lè-Cē=si ke-óng-làng mm
over.there CIS=NMLZ-reach-NEG=FOC:RL NMLZ-exist.much-yet AFF
'there still many of them haven't reached' [HK, TR 183]

8.5. Complex Motion Constructions

There are complex motion constructions that require further research. An example is *vekponbom dambomlo* in (503). The fact that *-bōm* 'continuative' occurs twice suggests that this is a sequence of two independent verbs, but the fact that inflectional *-lò* 'realis' only occurs once at the end suggests that we are dealing with a juxtaposition of two stems.[150]

(503) Complex translocative motion construction with verbs in juxtaposition
saikel vekponbom dambomlo, atheta
[saikél **vèk-pōn-bōm** **dàm-bōm-lò]** [a-thē=tā
bicycle(<Eng) **steer-on.the.way-CONT** **go-CONT-RL** POSS-fruit=ADD

kloponpresi tovar soding kloponbomlo
kló-pòn-prè-si továr sodíng kló-pòn-bōm-lò
fall-take.away-scattered-NF:RL road all.along fall-take.away-CONT-RL
'he is steering the bicycle away and going away, and the fruits are falling down here and there and all along the road they keep falling down' [SiT, PS 025]

It appears as though this construction might offer a way to combine the motion/directional predicate derivation *-pòn~-pōn* 'on the way' with *dàm* 'go' (or perhaps the predicate derivation *-dàm~-dām* 'GO', although the tonal distinction might be too subtle to receive a reliable answer on this matter). However, both elements are at this

[150] Note that this kind of stem juxtaposition also occurs in the parallelism type of elaborate expression construction (§12.2.2.2).

point associated with translocative motion, so further research into their exact functions is required to understand the implication of this construction that apparently conjoins the two.

While (503) above illustrated a direct juxtaposition of verb stems in the complex motion construction, (504) illustrates a case where a noun intervenes. What is furthermore different in this example, is that while *-pòn~-pōn* 'on the way' is involved here as well, it is the element that is repeated across both verb stems. Note that there is still only one final inflectional element *-làng* 'still' at the end of the second part *junpon* of this construction.

(504) Complex translocative motion construction with noun intervening

si ladakpen damlo Dimapur vurpon sa					
sì	ladāk=pen	dàm-lò	Dimápúr	**vùr-pōn**	sá
therefore	here=from	go-RL	PLACE	**drop.in-in.passing**	tea(<Ind)

junponlang
jùn-pōn-làng
drink-in.passing-still
'and then, from here we went, we stopped by in Dimapur and just had tea' [SiT, HF 009]

8.6. 'Noun plus Verb' Predicate Constructions

8.6.1. Non-Possessed Noun Incorporation

Noun incorporation constructions are predicates that require the presence of a particular noun that remains unmarked for role and not available for any kind of modification. In the construction type discussed here, the noun also remains without possessive prefixes. This is different from the construction type discussed in the next section §8.6.2, which involves obligatorily possessed nouns.

The noun in the incorporation construction typically has a particular semantic role in the event denoted by the construction, but it is not always the same semantic role across different noun-verb pairs. Table 109 offers four sample noun incorporation expressions.

Table 109. Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation expression			Incorporated noun		Semantic role of noun
arnì tè	'dry in sun'		*arnì*	'sun'	Force, Instrument
lāng chinglu	'take bath'		*lāng*	'water'	Instrument
àn ingchìr	'be hungry'[151]		*àn*	'rice; food'	?Patient
pirthé haché	'be born'[152]		*pirthé*	'world'	?Goal

Evidence that a noun inside an incorporation construction cannot be modified is offered in (505). Just changing the noun *lāng* 'water' in *lang kachinglu* 'take bath' to *lang keso* 'hot water' in (a) is not acceptable. In order to say 'take a bath with hot water', a full instrumental noun phrase needs to be added in (b): *lang kesopen(si)* 'with hot water'. Interestingly, in that case, the bare noun *lāng* from the noun incorporation construction becomes optional.

(505) Modifying the noun inside a noun incorporation construction

(a) **Klirbon [lāng ke-sò] ka-chinglú*
NAME water NMLZ-be.hot NMLZ-take.bath

(b) *Klirbon [lāng ke-sò=pen=si] (lāng) ka-chinglú*
NAME water NMLZ-be.hot=with=FOC:RL water NMLZ-take.bath
'Klirbon is taking a bath with hot water' [BIK 110205]

The optionality of *lāng* 'water' in (b) shows that this is still a somewhat loose noun incorporation construction, which is also evidenced by the fact that it is not possible to fully integrate the noun into the verb stem: it is not acceptable to say **ka-lang-chinglu* '*NMLZ-water-take.bath' or **ka-che-lang-inglu* '*NMLZ-RR-water-take.bath'.

Further evidence that these noun incorporation constructions are not entirely grammaticalized and semantically bleached comes from (506). This is from a folk story, and there are two abandoned babies that are crying because they are hungry. The storyteller first says *an kangchir* for 'be hungry', and then seemingly decides that there is

[151] In addition to *àn ingchìr* for 'be hungry', one can also say *-pōk ingchìr* with *-pōk* 'stomach' as the incorporated noun, see §8.6.2.

[152] For the expression *pirthé haché* as well, there is a possessed noun incorporation construction that can be used instead (§8.6.2). Using *pirthé* 'world' in an expression meaning 'be born' also exists in German *auf die Welt kommen* 'lit.: come onto the world > be born'.

still too much semantics associated with *àn* ‘rice, food’ that he adds the non-final marker *-si* and specifies: *mok kangchir* ‘be hungry (for breast milk)’.

(506) Noun incorporation construction: *àn kangchìr* ‘be hungry’

[…] banghini hangjolo… an kangchirsi mok				
bàng-hiní	háng-jò-lò]	àn	ke-ingchìr-si	mōk
CLF:HUM:PL-two	call-many.continuously:S-RL	rice	NMLZ-be.hungry-NF:RL	breast

kangchir
ke-ingchìr
NMLZ-be.hungry
‘[…] the two of them (i.e., babies), were crying loudly, they were hungry, they were hungry for milk' [CST, HM 027]

8.6.2. Psycho-Collocations and Possessed Noun Incorporation

Southeast and East Asian languages commonly have a construction termed ‘psycho-collocation’ by Matisoff (1986:4): “a polymorphemic expression referring as a whole to a mental process, quality, or state, one of whose constituents is a psychonoun, i.e. a noun with explicit psychological reference (translatable by English words like HEART, MIND, SPIRIT, SOUL, TEMPER, NATURE, DISPOSITION, MOOD).”[153]

Karbi also has such psycho-collocations, with the obligatorily possessed *-nīng* ‘mind, heart’ as the ‘psychonoun’,[154] and various PCT and non-PCT verb roots as the other constituent. A few sample psycho-collocations are offered in Table 110. The right-hand column in the table offers glosses for those verbs that also occur outside the psycho-collocation. Note that several verb roots only occur in the psycho-collocation construction with *-nīng* and not otherwise: *aróng* ‘be happy’, *ói* ‘be sad’, and *hāng* ‘want’.

[153] In a way, this type of construction can be seen as the converse to possessor-raising constructions: instead of generalizing to an affected possessor, the psycho-collocation (and other possessed noun incorporation with incorporated body part terms, as discussed further below in this section) specifies the ‘possessed’ locus of the impact of an event, which in psycho-collocations is *-nīng* ‘heart, mind’, but may be other body part terms.

[154] Karbi *-nīng* goes back to Proto-Tibeto-Burman **niŋ* ‘heart’ (Matisoff 2003). Apparent cognates in Meithei are *-niŋ* ‘wish to V’ and a homophonous root with the meaning ‘head/mind’ (Chelliah 1997:215;333;512).

Table 110. Sample psycho-collocations

Form		Meaning		Meaning without *-nīng*
-nīng	*aróng*	'be happy'		n/a
	ói	'be sad'		n/a
	thī	'be mad'		<'be short'
	ingsām	'be glad, be grateful'		<'be cold'
	mē	'be calm, well-tempered'		<'be good'
	siksāk	'be troubled'		< 'be difficult'
	thè	'hope'		<'be big'
	hāng	'want'		n/a
	vàng	'throw up'		<'come'

As can be seen in Table 110, psycho-collocations include emotions and inner states, as well as bodily functions such as *-nīng vàng* 'throw up'.

While Karbi native speakers agree that in careful speech *-nīng* is obligatorily possessed, there are a number of counter-examples in the corpus. In elicitation, *(nè) ne-nīng aróng* '(1EXCL) 1EXCL:POSS-mind be.happy' is typically used to translate 'I'm happy' into Karbi. In discourse, however, examples such as (507), where just *nīng* without a possessive prefix are used, are not uncommon.

(507) Psycho-collocation with no overt possessive prefix on *-nīng*
anke lapu thoi asorpen hapu Rongkhang anatthu
ánke lapú thói a-sòr=pen hápú Rongkháng a-nátthū
and.then this.side plains POSS-people=from that.side AREA POSS-direction

aChomangkanke neta ketheklongchenglo aronta
a-Chomangkan=ke **nè**=tā ke-theklōng-chéng-lò a-rōn=tā
POSS-PN=TOP **1EXCL**=also NMLZ-see-for.first.time-RL POSS-custom=also

chinidun'o'e setame ning arongpiklo
chiní-dùn-ò-Cē setāmē **nīng** **aróng-pìk-lò**
know-JOIN-much-NEG nevertheless **mind** **be.happy-very-RL**
'and then, the Chomangkan of people from this side, from the plains, and from that side, the Ronghang side, I also see for the first time' [SH, CSM 044]

While psycho-collocations generally express inner states or emotions, or at least generally only intransitive predicates, the expression *-nīng ingsām* 'be happy' is used

transitively as ‘be grateful to (somebody)’ in (508). Also, in (509), the reciprocal prefix *che-* is used with *-nīng ói* ‘be sad’ to express ‘be upset with one another’.

(508) Psycho-collocation used transitively
[…] laphan aning ingsamsi thesere pumni tekanglo
[là-phān a-nīng ingsām-si] [theseré púm-ní tekáng-lò]
this-NSUBJ POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL
‘[…] he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him (the boy who had picked up his hat for him) and gave him two pieces of fruit’ [SiT, PS 039]

(509) Psycho-collocation used with reciprocal *che-*
[…] anke ha aphike la Bey Ke'etpen
ánke há aphī=ke [là Bēy ke-èt=pen
and.then over.there after=TOP this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow/fair=with

Bey Ki'ik abangke aning che'oitanglo
Bēy ke-ìk abàng=ke] a-nīng che-ói-táng-lò
CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP POSS-mind RR-be.sad-finish-RL
‘[…], and then quite some time later, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black got upset with each other’ [WR, BCS 017]

In addition to psycho-collocations, there are a few other noun incorporation expressions which also occur with an ‘obligatorily possessed’ noun (ignoring reduction in colloquial speech). Three such expressions are attested so far, which are listed in Table 111. Note that in all three expressions, the incorporated noun refers to a body part that is saliently involved in the event.[155]

Table 111. Possessed noun incorporation expressions (non-psycho-collocations)

Noun incorporation expression			Incorporated noun	
-mēk prāng	‘wake up’		*-mēk*	‘eye’
-maháng thèk	‘be born’		*-maháng*	‘face’
-pōk ingchìr	‘be hungry’		*-pōk*	‘stomach’

Two of the possessed noun incorporation expressions are illustrated in (510) and (511).

[155] Beyond a notion of ‘salient involvement’, it is not possible to characterize the role of the referent with respect to a particular semantic role (which is generally possible with nouns in non-possessed noun incorporation expressions (§8.6.1)).

(510) Noun incorporation construction: *-mēk prāng* ‘wake up’
dunjuiló anké adap amek nangpranglo
dùn-jùi-lò ánke a-dàp **a-mēk** **nang=prāng-lò**
join-away-RL and.then POSS-morning **POSS-eye** **CIS=wake.up-RL**
she had joined him and gone away with him, and then, in the morning, they (anybody in the village;; or Bamonpo) woke up [KK, BMS 119]

(511) Noun incorporation construction: *maháng thèk* ‘be born’
hem arlo osomar amahang theklo […]
[hēm arlō] [osō-mār] **[a-maháng thèk-lò]**
house inside child-PL **POSS-face** **see-RL**
‘inside the house, the children were born, […]’ [CST, HM 009]

An analogous construction is a ‘measuring’ construction, which includes overt reference to the dimension along which the measuring takes place. In (512), the description of a person as being short includes the noun *-jōn* ‘height’.

(512) Incorporated noun as reference dimension in measuring expressions
amat amonitta ajon thihek
amāt a-monít=tā a-jōn thī-hèk
and.then POSS-man=also POSS-height be.short-small
‘and then, the person is short’ [SiT, PS 022]

Finally, an interesting example illustrating the same basic possessed noun incorporation construction is (513). Here the property of *léng* ‘be fat/healthy’ is highlighted as a physical property by including the possessed noun *-bàng* ‘body’.

(513) Reference noun construction
anke dak chevangpó, pi apotsi nang nangbang
ánke [dāk che-vāng-pò] [pí a-pōt=si] **nàng** **nang-bàng**
and.then here RR-come-IRR1 what POSS-reason=FOC:RL **you** **2:POSS-body**

lengvaretmati, sarbura" pu
léng-varèt=mati, sàrburá pu
be.fat.HUM-INTENS=CG old.man QUOT
‘and then he would return, "why are you so fat/healthy, man? (That's very strange!)"’
[SeT, MTN 025]

8.6.3. Light Verb Construction

In light verb constructions, the semantics of a predicate is provided by a noun, while the verb only offers structural 'verbiness'. In (514) and (515), the verbs *pī* 'give' and *klém* 'make, do' act as light verbs with the nouns *rón* 'fight' and *kám* 'do, make'.

(514) Light verb construction *rón ka-chi-pí* 'fight NMLZ-RR-give'
misorongpopen chongho ron kachipi atomo […]
[misòrongpō=pen chonghō **rón ke-che-pí** a-tomó]
sp.ant=with frog **fight NMLZ-RR-give** POSS-story
'[…] the story of when the ant fought with the frog, […]' [RBT, ChM 007]

(515) Light verb construction *kám klém* 'do work'
Hydro-Electric-Project alongsi kam klem'ikbom
Hydro-Electric-Project a-lòng=si **kám klém-īk-bōm**
NAME POSS-LOC=FOC **work do-FRML-CONT**
'I work for the Hydro-Electric Project' [KaR, SWK 010]

In (516), the light verb *táng*, which does not occur by itself, is used with the noun *semé* 'vow'.

(516) Light verb construction: *semé táng* 'take a vow'
anke latumta hedi seme tangdetlo
ánke la-tūm=tā he-dī **semé** **táng**-dèt-lò
and.then this-PL=ADD:also you.know-Q.tag **vow(<Khs)** **LV-**PFV-RL
'and then, they also, you know, took a vow' [WR, BCS 032]

8.6.4. Cognate Object Construction

Cognate object constructions are those in which the verb and the object noun are derived from the same etymological root. Examples in Karbi are *lún lún* 'sing a song' (517) and *dondón dón* 'place a ladder' (518).

(517) Cognate object construction: *lún lún* 'sing a song'
*lasō a-okarjāng **lún** [[**lún** pa-mé] thèk-thē]*
this POSS-girl **song** **sing** CAUS-be.good know-NEG
'this girl doesn't know how to sing (well)' [SiT elicitation 090301]

(518) Cognate object construction: *dondón dón* ‘place a ladder’
dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [lahái] ke-thàp]] lapèn [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC:RL these NMLZ-put.inside and down NMLZ-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

8.6.5. Other Constructions

The case of *sái tikì* (519) is a hybrid between a non-possessed incorporation construction and a cognate object construction. While not actually being from the same etymological root and therefore not qualifying as a cognate object construction, the noun *sái* and the verb *tikì* have the same reference. The noun *sái* is furthermore non-possessed and cannot be modified. (Note that the demonstrative *là* preceding *sái* modifies the whole nominalized adverbial clause here, not *sái* specifically.)

(519) Hybrid construction *sái tikì* ‘cultivate’
te la'an abangke la sai katiki
te là=án abàng=ke là **sái** **ke-tikì**
and.then/therefore this=up.to NPDL=TOP this **labor** **NMLZ-cultivate**

alonglo chotiki chonong alonglo […]
alòng-lò cho-tikì cho-nōng alòng-lò
LOC-RL AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-loosen.soil LOC-RL
‘and then, this much, for cultivating and loosening the soil […]’ [KaR, SWK 095]

8.7. Other Complex Predicate Constructions Discussed Elsewhere

In addition to the complex predicate constructions discussed in this chapter, there are several other constructions which serve rhetorical purposes and are therefore

discussed in Chapter XII: the general extender construction (§12.2.1); complex predicates based on elaborate expressions (§12.2.2); and copy verb constructions (§12.2.3).

CHAPTER IX

NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization is at the core of clausal grammar in Karbi as in other Tibeto-Burman languages (see Matisoff (1972); Noonan (1997); Bickel (1999); Genetti et al. (2008); DeLancey (2011); other contributions in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011); among others). In addition to being the underlying construction of subordinate clause types, nominalization is also the diachronic source construction for main clause types, including focus and imperfective constructions. This chapter lays out the various synchronic and diachronic functions of nominalization in Karbi.

In Karbi, there is only one nominalizer, which is *ke- (*with allomorphs *ki-~ka-*; see §3.9.2.1). This nominalizing velar prefix has many apparent cognates across several branches of Tibeto-Burman both inside and outside Northeast India, which suggests that it is reconstructible to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Konnerth 2009, 2012).

This chapter begins with a discussion of *ke-* deriving nouns from verbs (§9.1). Nominal modifiers derived from PCT roots are briefly discussed in §9.2, although the main discussion of this construction is in §7.7.1. The next three sections are dedicated to the three major nominalized subordinate clause types: relative clauses in §9.3; complement clauses in §9.4; and adverbial clauses in §9.5. A summary of irrealis *-jí* marked subordinate clauses from all three types is offered in §9.6. In §9.7, nominalized main clause types are discussed, which includes both synchronic and diachronic nominalization constructions. Finally, §9.8 addresses the issue of the inconsistent occurrence of *ke-* on structurally nominalized verbs or clauses.

9.1. Derivational Nominalization

In its perhaps most basic function, *ke-* derives nouns from verbs. In (520), *kú* ‘crow’ undergoes event nominalization via *ke-*, and then functions as a noun and furthermore as a noun phrase, as it takes on the role of the S argument in the clause *akiku jume’ong* ‘his crowing is very nice to hear’. In addition to *ke-*, the *a-* ‘possessive’ prefix is attached. This prefix occurs in a wide range of grammatical contexts (§5.3.1; §7.3;

§7.4). Here, it appears to mark the third person possessive, referring to the rooster as the 'possessor'.

(520) *ke-* deriving an event nominalization (with *a-* 'possessive')
"[…] hala alo abangta thatnangnelang, <piku>
[hála a-lò abàng=tā thàt-náng-Cē-làng] <pe-ku>
that POSS-male.animal NPDL=ADD:DM slaughter-need-NEG-still CAUS-crow

akiku jume'ong" pusi pukok pu
[a-ke-kú arjū-mē-óng] pusi pù-kòk pu
POSS-NMLZ-crow hear-be.good-be.much QUOT.COMP say-firmly QUOT
'"[…] let's not kill that rooster. (let it cr..,) his crowing is very nice to hear"' [SeT, MTN 010]

In (521), *ke-* functions as a participant nominalizer on the PCT root *bī* 'be small'. Here again, *a-* occurs in addition to *ke-*, but with a different function that in (520). Here, *a-* appears to be contributing to the noun-hood or referentiality of *akibisi* 'the youngest one' (see §5.3.1).

(521) *ke-* deriving a participant nominalization (with *a-* 'possessive')
*latumke **akibisi** atumlo, latumta*
[la-tūm=ke **a-**ke-bī-sí a-tūm-lò] la-tūm=tā
this-PL=TOP **POSS-**NMLZ-be.small-SPLT POSS-PL-RL this-PL=ADD:DM

piso some enlo potsi ahem arit dolo
pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] [pōt=si a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'they were (the children/descendants of) the youngest, they also had gotten married and so they had their house and property' [WR, BCS 027]

Example (522) shows that *ke-* may also occur without *a-* 'possessive' as the sole element deriving the noun *kakirla* 'change' from the verb *kirlá* 'turn over'.

(522) *ke-* deriving a participant nominalization (without *a-* 'possessive')
bonta non adin abang asapso kakirla
bóntā [nón a-dín abàng] asàp-sō ke-kirlá
but now POSS-day(<Asm) NPDL little.bit-DIM NMLZ-turn.over

dochetlo […]
dō-chèt-lò
exist-a.bit-RL
'but nowadays, there's some change, […]' [KaR, SWK 064]

Finally, (523) and (524) are instances of nominalized verbs occurring with the demonstrative *lasō* 'this', which serves as an additional indicator of the noun-hood of the event nominalizations. In (523), *kabor'i* 'struggle' is derived from *bor'í* 'try hard, make an effort' and in (524), the event nominalization is *laso kekoi abangke* 'this rubbing', also featuring the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* (§10.5).[156]

(523) *ke-* deriving an event nominalization, marked with demonstrative *lasō* 'this'
lapen laso kabor'i ajokpen non inut
lapèn [[lasō **ke-bor'í]** ajōk=pen] nón e-nūt
and.then this **NMLZ-make.great.effort** because=with now one-CLF:HUM:SG

banghini atum... o nelimena amatta
bàng-hiní a-tūm] a-thē o ne-lì-mená amāt=tā
CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-PL POSS-reason AFF 1EXCL:POSS-HON-self self=ADD
'and then, because of this effort (they make), another few people (are able to go out to make money)..., I myself also...' [KaR, SWK 065]

(524) Complement clause functioning as a topical argument
ansi ilitum lapu pe along koipó, laso kekoi
[ánsi i-li-tūm lapù [pé alòng] kòi-pò] **[[lasō ke-kòi**
after.that 1PL:incl-HON-PL like.this cloth LOC rub-IRR1 **this NMLZ-rub**

abangke mane angpip dopiklo, siri-sabun
abàng=ke] CC (>TOP) mane angpìp dō-pìk-lò] [sirí-sabún
NPDL=TOP I.mean(<Asm) foam exist-very-RL Shree.soap(<Asm)

anijom asonlo
a-nijóm asón-lò]
POSS-procedure(<Asm) like-RL
'and then, like this we rub the cloth, this rubbing, I mean.. it creates a lot of foam, like using Shree soap' [SiH, CW 006]

9.2. Property-Concept Term (PCT)-Based Noun Modification

Property-concept term (PCT) verbal roots need to be nominalized in order to function as nominal modifiers. An example is (525), where *mē* 'be good' is nominalized

[156] Interestingly, *a-* 'possessive' does not occur on *kabor'i* or *kekoi*, even though nouns modified by preceding elements such as demonstratives generally take *a-* (see §7.4 and §7.5.1). This needs to be addressed more in future research.

to modify *kasú* ‘plate’ and *harlūng* ‘bowl’. While post-head noun order is more common, pre-head noun order also occurs, as detailed in §7.7.1.

(525) PCT root following the head noun it modifies
*methan atum'anke abangke ha **kasu keme***
[[methān a-tūm-án=ke] abàng=ke] há **[[kasú]$_{HN}$ [ke-mē]$_{PCT}$**
dog POSS-PL-all=TOP NPDL=TOP over.there(<KhJ) plate NMLZ-be.good

***harlung keme**pen langta junlong anta*
[harlūng]$_{HN}$ [ke-mē]$_{PCT}$ =pen] [[lāng=tā jùn-lōng] [àn=tā
bowl NMLZ-be.good=with water=ADD:COORD drink-GET rice=ADD:COORD

cholong, pirtheta bangke, mh
chō-lōng]] [pirthé=tā bàng=ke] mh
eat-GET world=ADD:EXH NPDL=TOP DSM
‘all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything’ [KK, BMS 056]

Most PCT modifiers in the corpus are not complex and do not have any affixes in addition to nominalizer *ke-*. However, it is possible to add predicate derivation suffixes (§6.5), as in the preposed PCT modifier *kidukthektik* ‘unimaginably poor’ in (526).

(526) Pre-head PCT-based modifier *dúk* ‘be poor’
*halata **kidukthektik amonitlo***
hála=tā **[ke-dúk-thektík a-monít-lò]**
that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL
‘that one also is an unimaginably poor man’ [HK, TR 128]

As pointed out in §7.7.1.2, PCT modifiers preposed to their head noun are sometimes marked by *a-* ‘possessive’. In the corpus, this occurrence of *a-* is only found on preposed PCT modifiers but not on postposed ones. However, elicitation examples such as (527), as well as data reported by Grüßner (1978:123-4) demonstrate that PCT modifiers following their head noun may also be marked by *a-* ‘possessive’; further research is needed to determine what functional difference there may be in adding or not adding *a-* on PCT modifiers.

(527) PCT modifiers following their head noun, marked with *a-* 'possessive'

mír ***a-ke-****làng-mē*	*mír* ***a-ke-****làng-mē-mē*
flower **POSS-NMLZ-**look-be.good	flower **POSS-NMLZ-**look-be.good-NEG
'a pretty flower'	'an ugly flower' [SiT 090301]

Note that like the clausal nominalization constructions, PCT modifiers inconsistently occur with *ke-* in the corpus (§9.8).

9.3. Relativization

Relativization in Karbi as in most other Tibeto-Burman languages is based on nominalization. In Karbi, relative clauses are indeed clausal modifiers rather than forming derived noun phrases. Evidence for this analysis is that relative clause participants are normally expressed in the relative clause (rather than being possessors of the nominalized verb).

There are two relative clause constructions, which are both marked with the *ke-* prefix: standard (externally-headed) relativization (§9.3.1) and internally-headed relative clauses (§9.3.2). In the standard, externally-headed relative clause, the participant that is relativized on is gapped. In the internally-headed relative clause, all participants may be overtly expressed or left out via zero anaphora, just as in main clauses (§10.4.3). In internally-headed relative clauses, the indicators of dependency are the nominalizer as well as the position in the sentence, i.e. preceding an *a-* marked head noun.

Co-relative constructions are best analyzed as diachronic nominalization constructions similar to focus constructions, and are discussed in §9.7.3.1.4.

9.3.1. Standard (Externally-Headed, Pre-Head) Relativization

In the standard relativization construction, the head noun occurs external to the relative clause, with the relative clause preceding. The only instances in which a relative clause looks like it is following its head noun (§7.7.1.2) are instances that may instead be interpreted as being internally-headed (discussed in the next section §9.3.2).

9.3.1.1. Relativization on Different Clause Participants

In Karbi, syntactic roles such as S, A, O, R, and T are not grammatically prominent concepts in clausal organization (§10.1.2). Nevertheless, as in Chapter X, the discussion below also uses these syntactic role labels for descriptive purposes. As we can see, any syntactic or semantic type of clause participant (argument or oblique) can be relativized on. Specifically, the data below show relativization on S, A, and O arguments, on locative and instrumental participants, as well as possessors.

S argument relativization is illustrated in (528), as the head noun *a-monít* 'POSS-man' would be an S argument in the relative clause *kachingkoidup* 'who had fallen down'.

(528) S relativization

tennis <a> kapathu abol lapenke bet
[[[tennis <a> ke-pathú] a-ból lapèn=ke bét]
tennis(<Eng) POSS NMLZ-play POSS-ball(<Eng) and.then=TOP bat(<Eng)

otdong inut oso abangke... lapenke <la>
ót-dòng e-nūt osō abàng=ke]... [lapèn=ke <là>
touch-attached one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL =TOP and.then=TOP this

kachingkoidup amonit <a> aphan
[ke-chingkoí-dùp [a-monít] a-phān]
NMLZ-fall.down.HUM-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj POSS-man POSS-NSUBJ

<la> <thesere aphatang heihai thesere along>
<là> <theseré a-phatáng haihúi theseré alòng>
this fruits POSS-kd.basket these.types.of fruits LOC

aphatang along thesere thapdunlo rapdunlo laphan
a-phatáng alòng theseré thàp-dūn-lò ráp-dùn-lò là-phān
POSS-kd.basket LOC fruits put.inside-JOIN-RL help-along-RL this-NSUBJ
'a tennis ball and then a bat he's holding, one child, and then for the person who had fallen down, they put with him the fruit in the basket, they helped him' [SiT, PS 032]

Relativization of A arguments that occur in conjunction with O arguments (specifically, the O-high argument *nelitum* 'we' and the O-low argument *theseré* 'fruit', see §10.2.1.2) is illustrated in (529) and (530), respectively.

(529) A relativization (with O-high)

Lily, la nelitum aphan nangkejapon aosopi,

Lilý **[là [ne-li-tūm aphān nang=ke-já-pòn]$_{RC}$ [a-osopì]]$_{HN}$**

NAME **this 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lead-take.away POSS-lady**

elong adim dosi computer akam klemlo

e-lòng a-dím dō-si computer a-kám klém-lò]

one-CLF:place POSS-place exist-NF:RL computer(<Eng) POSS-work do-RL

'[…] Lily, the lady who took us there, she stayed in one place and did her computer work, and she said to us, <enjoy yourselves as much as you want>' [SiT, HF 034]

(530) A relativization (with O-low)

[...] nangchithurkrikrisi ***laso <la> thesere kelik amonit***

nang=chithùr-krì~krì-si] **[lasō <là> theseré ke-lík]$_{RC}$ a-monít]$_{HN}$**

CIS=drag-follow.closely~ITER-NF:RL **this this fruits NMLZ-pluck POSS-man**

adungan nanglelo

adūng=án] nang=lè-lò

near=up.to CIS=reach-RL

'[…] dragging along a female goat, close up to **this fruit picking man** he reached' [SiT, PS 010]

Two examples of O relativization are offered in (531) and (532) (specifically, O-low relativization on *theseré* 'fruit' and *jamboróng* 'bag').

(531) O-low relativization

alang kepon athesere *do'anta klolaplo*

[[alàng ke-pòn]$_{RC}$ a-theseré]$_{HN}$ dō-án=tā kló-làp-lò

3 NMLZ-take.away POSS-fruits exist-all=EXH fall-completely-RL

all of the fruit that he was taking away fell out [SiT, PS 030]

(532) O-low relativization

dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang

[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]

ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> ***pe akelokpen keroi*** *isi* ***ajamborong***

[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi]$_{RC}$ isī **a-jamboróng]$_{HN}$**

cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one **POSS-bag**

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [lahái] ke-thàp]] lapèn [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC these NMLZ-put.inside and down NMLZ-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

There are only a few ditransitive constructions in the corpus and none involving relativization. Therefore the above shown S, A, and O relativization constructions represent all attested instances of the relativization of particular syntactic roles. However, it is also possible to relativize on other types of (oblique) clause participants. For example, (533) and (534) show that it is possible to relativize on locative NPs.

In (533), *[[hala] [ka-ngni] a-dim]]* is 'that place where on sits'.

(533) Locative relativization
*lapenke hala **kangni adim** along*
lapèn=ke [[hála] **[ke-ingnì]$_{RC}$ a-dím]]$_{HN}$** alòng
and.then=TOP that **NMLZ-sit POSS-place** LOC

ingnithekthesi <a> si ingchin apum along
ingnì-thēk-Cē-si sì ingchìn a-púm alòng
sit-see-NEG-NF:RL therefore iron POSS-CLF:round LOC

ingnisi... saikel kevekponlo
ingnì-si... saikél ke-vèk-pōn-lò
sit-NF:RL bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-steer-take.away-RL
'and then, he doesn't know how to sit down on that sitting place (seat), and then on the iron bar he sits and steers the bicycle away' [SiT, PS 024]

In (534), the O-low relative clause *[[kopipima ladak ke-longdun] a-hormu hortar'an]* 'the things that (people) have collected here' is embedded into the locative relative clause *[[ki-rim ki-bi] isi a-hem]* 'one house where one keeps (the things that people have collected here)'.

(534) Locative relativization
[...] kopipima ladak kelongdun ahormu hortar'an
[[[kopí~pí=ma làdāk ke-lóng-dùn] a-hormú hortár-án]
what~DIST.PL=Q here NMLZ-get-JOIN POSS-thing EE:hormú-all

kirim kibi isi ahem do […]
ke-rīm **ke-bí]$_{RC}$** isī **a-hēm]$_{HN}$** dō
NMLZ-put.in.one.place **NMLZ-keep** one **POSS-house** exist
'[…] there is one house where they put everything they got (from the time of when the British were fighting against Japan, i.e., the War Museum), […]' [SiT, HF 056]

In (535) and (536), relativization on instrumental clause participants is illustrated. In (535), this instrumental relativization is indicated on the relative clause verb with *-ī* 'with' (§6.5.5.2.2).

(535) Instrumental relativization
[[lasō ***a-monít*** ***bī*** ***ke-thu-ī]$_{RC}$*** ***a-nopak]$_{HN}$*** *lahé-ló*
this **POSS-man** **goat** **NMLZ-slaughter-with** **POSS-knife** this-RL
'this is the knife that the man killed the goat with' [Elicitation SiT 090223]

However, marking the verb with *-ī* is not obligatory, as illustrated in (536), where *-ī* does not occur.

(536) Instrument relativization
lasi la thap ketok alengpumta
lasì [[là] **[thàp** **ke-tòk]$_{RC}$** **a-lengpūm=tā]$_{HN}$**
therefore this **cake.for.rice.beer** **NMLZ-pound** **POSS-pestle=ADD:DM**

otdunno, […]
ót-dùn-nō]
touch-JOIN-be.bad
'the pestle with which the rice beer cake is ground is bad to touch, […]' [WR, BCS 037]

Finally, (537) offers an example of possessor relativization: *[[arlong achetpen sarnung ki-dip] a-hem]* 'the houses, whose roofs (they) cover with slabs of stone'.

(537) Possessor relativization
anung anatpen ketheklong <ma> kosonma angno
anùng a-nát=pen ke-theklōng <ma> kosón=ma angnò
back POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see Q how=Q in.front

anatpen ketheklong kosonma lapenke arlong
a-nát=pen ke-theklōng kosón=ma lapèn=ke **[arlōng**
POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see how=Q and=TOP **stone**

achetpen sarnung kidip ahemta
a-chèt=pen **sarnūng** **ke-dìp]$_{RC}$** **a-hēm=tā]$_{HN}$**
POSS-small.piece=with **roof** **NMLZ-cover** **POSS-house=ADD:also**

nelitum thekdamlong
ne-li-tūm thèk-dām-lōng
1EXCL-HON-PL see-GO-GET
'from the backside, how (the houses) look, from the front, how they look, and then, we also went to see the houses, whose roofs (they) cover with slabs of stone' [SiT, HF 048]

9.3.1.2. Irrealis-Marked Relative Clauses

While the relative clause verb typically remains unmarked for aspectual or modal categories, it is possible to add *-jí* 'irrealis2' for a future or irrealis reference (see also the general discussion of irrealis-marked nominalized subordinate clauses in §9.6). For example, in (538), the speaker refers to the matter she is going to talk about as *ne kethanji alamthe*.

(538) Future relative clause
ne kethanji alamtheke jo dak rong'aje along
[[nè ke-thán**-jí]** a-lamthē=ke] [jó dāk ròng'ajé alòng
1EXCL NMLZ-tell**-IRR2** POSS-matter=TOP see here festival LOC

nangkachetongdunsi
nang=ke-chetòng-dūn-si]
CIS=NMLZ-meet-JOIN-NF:RL
'the matter that I will talk about... after meeting here at the festival' [KK, CC 002]

Only a few sentences later in (539), however, she refers to that same matter she is about to narrate as *ne kethan atomo*, without using *-jí*. This shows that the simple relative clause verb (not marked with *-jí*) has a wide range of default interpretations, including irrealis contexts, and that using *-jí* is an optional way of specifically highlighting a future or irrealis reference.

(539) Non-purpose relative clause
ta ne kethan atomo abangke
tā [[nè **ke-thán]** a-tomó abàng=ke]
but 1EXCL **NMLZ-tell** POSS-story NPDL=TOP

pachekengdamthekthedet tahai meneta
[pe-che-kèng-dàm-thèk-Cē-dèt tahài] [menē=tā
CAUS-RR-be.straight-go-know.how-NEG-PFV DUBIT maybe=ADD:even

nangthanpo
nang=thán-pò]
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1
'the story I'm telling now, maybe I can't tell it perfectly (straight), but maybe I will still tell' [KK, CC 008]

9.3.1.3. Head Noun Occurring with Personal Possessive Prefix

The noun *bé* 'habit' occurs in a construction in which it takes a relative clause but, surprisingly, is additionally marked by a personal possessive prefix rather than just the general *a-* possessive prefix. An example is (540).

(540) Head noun *bé* 'habit' occurring with personal possessive prefix
o <nang> mota nangtum kachekoi nangbe doji
o <nang> mó=tā **nang-tūm** **ke-che-kói** **nang-bé** dō-jí
DSM you future=ADD **you-PL** **NMLZ-RR-accuse** **2POSS-habit** exist-IRR2
'"o, you will (continue to) have a habit of accusing each other in the future "' [RBT, ChM 077]

Two analyses are possible based on interpreting the existential copula as being more intransitive-like ('X exists') or more transitive-like ('X has Y'). In the intransitive analysis, the example needs to be bracketed as follows: *[[[nangtum kachekoi] nangbe]$_S$ doji]* 'lit., your habit of you accusing each other will exist'. In the transitive analysis, it would instead be: *[[nangtum]$_A$ [[kachekoi] nangbe]$_O$ doji]* 'lit., you will have your/a habit of accusing each other'.

The second analysis as a more transitive-like possessive construction may be considered preferable because it follows the basic possessive construction that requires the 'O argument' to be marked possessive (§10.2.2.3.2).

9.3.2. Internally-Headed (or Post-Head) Relativization

In addition to the standard relativization construction discussed above, there is another relativization construction that involves the relative clause verb following the head noun. Almost all examples of this construction only consist of the head noun and the relative clause verb, in which case this construction is structurally ambiguous: it could represent either an internally-headed relative clause or a relative clause that follows its head noun rather than preceding it (see also §7.7.1.2). The only example that appears to offer clarification is (541), where the relative clause A argument precedes the head noun, suggesting that head noun is truly embedded in the relative clause.

(541) Internally-headed RC?

jumepik, phu, ***nang tomo kethan;***

arjū-mē-pìk	phū	**[nàng**	**[tomó]$_{HN}$**	**ke-thán]$_{RC}$**
hear-be.good-very	grandfather:VOC	**you**	**story**	**NMLZ-tell**

penapta nangthantha dei [oi to] mm

penàp=tā	nang=thán-thā	déi	[ōi	tò	mm
tomorrow=ADD:also	1/2:NSUBJ=tell-CON.IMP	right?	yes	OK	AFF

‘(this) was very nice to hear, grandfather, **the story you’ve told (or: you telling a story)**; tomorrow also you'll need to tell us a story, ok [HK, TR 200]?

However, (541) may also simply be treated as a nominalized clause functioning as the S argument of the verb *jumepik* ‘be very nice to hear’, which is why the analysis of this relativization construction as either internally-headed or post-head remains inconclusive.

This relativization construction is much less frequent than the standard relativization construction. While determining its pragmatic function requires a larger corpus with more instances, the occurrences discussed here suggest that this marked construction may be used in emphatic or dramatic discourse contexts.

There are a few examples of S argument relativization, such as (542) and (543). In (542), the relative clause verb *kithike* ‘(who) have died’ occurs after the head noun *nangso* ‘your children’. As we can see in the context of this intonation unit, the sentence with the relative clause is in contrast with the next sentence, as the speaker is comparing the death of the addressee’s child to the death of many of her own children. In this quasi-

parallelism between the two sentences, the relativized noun *nangso kithike* occurs in the same subject position as the topic *=ke* marked NP consisting of the simple possessed noun *neso* 'my children' in the following clause.

(542) Internally-headed or post-head RC: relativizing on S argument
Neso tangte avelo, nesu tangte avelo.
[ne-osō tángtē avē-lò ne-sū tángtē avē-lò]
1EXCL:POSS-child TOP not.exist-RL 1EXCL:POSS-grandchild TOP not.exist-RL

Nangso kithike enutnat, nesoke
[[[nang-osō]$_{HN}$ ke-thì=ke]$_{RC}$ e-nūt-nàt] [ne-osō=ke
2:POSS-child NMLZ-die=TOP one-CLF:HUM:SG-only 1EXCL:POSS-child=TOP

bangthrok phosi kithi.
bàng-thrōk phō=si ke-thì]
CLF:HUM:PL-six five=FOC:RL NMLZ-die
'on the other hand, I don't have any children anymore, no grandchildren anymore, only one child of yours has died, but of mine, so many have died' [RBT, ChM 043]

In (543), the construction again only consists of the head noun, i.e, the S argument that is being relativized on, and the RC verb. The S argument is *nangpiso, Karbipi asomar, aso*, where there are two appositional constructions: first, *nangpiso, Karbipi* 'your wife, the Karbi woman', and second, *asomar, aso* '(her) children, (her) child'.[157]

(543) Internally-headed or post-head RC: relativizing on S argument
"nangpiso, Karbipi asomar aso *<ke.. ke>* ***kehacheke***
[[nang-pisò Karbì-pī a-oso-màr a-osō]$_{HN}$ <ke.. ke> **ke-haché=ke]$_{RC}$**
2:POSS-wife PN-fem POSS-child-PL POSS-child <ke ke> **NMLZ-be.born=TOP**

thengpi abeng angse! jaho! Hini!"... pu anke hala
thengpī a-bēng angsé jaho hiní pu ánke hála
tree/wood POSS-piece only look.there! two QUOT and.then that

richo abangta chelangdamlo, "bai!"
richó abàng=tā che-lāng-dām-lò bái
king NPDL=ADD RR-see-go-RL how.mean!
'"your wife, the Karbipi's children that were born, they are only two pieces of wood (rather than real humans), look there at the two!", and then, that king also went himself to look, "my goodness!"' [CST, HM 022]

[157] Switching from plural *asomar* to singular *aso* may be because the fact that this is about two children is not well captured by either the plural form (which may be implying more than two) or the unmarked form (which may be implying one). Perhaps that is why further on, the speaker adds *hiní* 'two' in a grammatically odd way as it is disconnected from any NP and also without the human classifier *bàng*.

Finally, (541) above, repeated here as (544), may be analyzed as an instance of an internally-headed RC relativizing on the O argument *tomó* 'story' (keeping in mind the caveat mentioned above).

(544) Possibly internally-headed RC relativizing on O-low argument
jumepik, phu, ***nang tomo kethan;***
arjū-mē-pìk phū **[nàng tomó ke-thán]**
hear-be.good-very grandfather:VOC **you story NMLZ-tell**

penapta nangthantha dei [oi to] mm
penàp=tā nang=thán-thā déi [ōi tò mm
tomorrow=ADD:also 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-CON.IMP right? yes OK AFF
'(this) was very nice to hear, grandfather, **the story you've told (or: you telling a story)**; tomorrow also you'll need to tell us a story, ok [HK, TR 200]?

9.4. Complementation

9.4.1. Standard Complementation

Complement clauses (CCs) are typically nominalized, although there also are (formally) non-nominalized CC constructions, as discussed in §11.2.2. Also see §8.2 for a discussion of modal and other markers at the monoclausal endpoint of the complementation scale.

Examples (545) through (549) illustrate complement clauses functioning as O arguments of complement-taking verbs *pangchèng* and *chèng*, both meaning 'start'; *jūt*, *tāng*, and *ingtòn*, all meaning 'finish' or 'conclude'; and *làng-dūn* 'see-JOIN' > 'watch'.

(545) Nominalized complement clause of *pangchèng* 'start'
chepaklangdampen... latum ***kedamthu*** *pangchengló*
che-pe-klàng dām-pen... là-tūm **[ke-dàm-thū]$_{CC\ (>O)}$**[158] pangchèng-lò
RR-CAUS-appear go-NF this-PL **NMLZ-go-again** start-RL
'after going to show them, they again start walking' [SiT, PS 041]

[158] This notation indicates that this is a complement clause (CC) functioning as the O argument of the matrix verb.

(546) Nominalized complement clause of *chèng* ‘start’
garipen vangdét aphisi netum dakpen Hongkram
garí=pen vàng-dèt aphī=si ne-tūm **[dāk=pen Hongkrām**
car(<Asm)=with come-PFV after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL **here=from PLACE**

kedam kechenglo
ke-dàm] ke-chèng-lò
NMLZ-go NMLZ-begin-RL
‘after the car came, we started going from here to Hongkram’ [SH, CSM 008]

(547) Nominalized complement clause of *jūt* ‘finish’ and *tāng* ‘finish’
amatsi la apenan abangke adapprang la chokang
amātsi [là a-penàn abàng=ke a-dappráng **[là chòkàng**
and.then this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP POSS-dawn **this kd.axe**

karso kejutpen laso athengpi along
ke-arsō] ke-jūt-pèn] [lasō a-thèngpī alòng
NMLZ-sharpen NMLZ-finish-NF:with this POSS-tree/wood LOC

hongdamvaret hongdamvaret […]
hōng-dām-varèt hōng-dām-varèt
make.hole.in.tree-GO-INTS make.hole.in.tree-GO-INTS

[…] “kehong tanglobo choklobo” pulo […]
[ke-hōng] tāng-lò=bo chók-lò=bo pù-lò
NMLZ-make.hole.in.tree finish-RL=RQ be.fine-RL=RQ say-RL
‘and then early in the morning, after having finished sharpening his axe, the husband kept making a hole for a long time, […] “I’m finished making the hole, right, it's okay, right […]’ [SeT, MTN 017]

(548) Nominalized complement clause of *ingtòn* ‘conclude’
[…] atomo kethan kangtoniklo; kardom'iklo ho
[[a-tomó ke-thán] ke-ingtòn-ìk-lò] kardóm-īk-lò ho]
POSS-story NMLZ-tell NMLZ-conclude-FRML-RL GREETING-FRML-RL EMPH:INTERACT
‘[…] I'm finished telling the story, thank you’ [SeT, MTN 052]

(549) Nominalized complement clause of *làng-dūn* ‘see-JOIN’ > ‘watch’
ansi la sa jun'et ajat'et aphisi netum
ánsi là sá jùn-ét aját-ét aphī=si ne-tūm
after.that this tea(<Ind) drink-PRF GENEX-PRF after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL

*la cheng kethiplo… **cheng kethip** langdunlo*
là cheng ke-thip-lò **[chēng ke-thīp]** CC (>O) làng-dūn-lò
this drum NMLZ-beat.drum-RL **drum NMLZ-beat.drum** see-JOIN-RL
‘after we drank tea and everything they were beating drums, we… (they) were drumming… (we) watched the drum beating’ [SH, CSM 041]

The dividing line between complement clauses and derivational event nominalization is blurred in many cases, especially when the complement clause only consists of the verb. This is because both CC and event nominalization constructions are formally marked the same way, with nominalizer *ke-*, but also because of the typical absence of overt NPs referring to recoverable participants (i.e., zero anaphora, §10.4.3). Therefore, in (549) and perhaps even more so in (550), *cheng kethip langdunlo* and *kekan kilun langdunlo* could be translated both as complement clauses (i.e., 'watched them beat the drums' and 'watched them sing and dance') as well as event nominalizations (i.e., 'watched the drum beating' and 'watched the singing and dancing').

(550) Nominalized complement clause of *làng-dūn* 'see-JOIN' > 'watch'
amat Kavonpen nelitum kekan kilun langdunlo
amāt Kavón=pen ne-li-tūm **[ke-kán ke-lún]** làng-dūn-lò
and.then NAME=with 1EXCL-HON-PL **NMLZ-dance NMLZ-sing** see-JOIN-RL
'and then, with Kavon we watched the dancing and singing […]' [SiT, HF 035]

Besides representing the O argument of a complement-taking verb, CCs also function as S arguments, illustrated in (551) and (552). In both of these examples, the complement clause S arguments are followed by nominal predicates.

(551) Complement clause functioning as S argument
inutvet kedunke *pine dinghakjak amatsi*
[[e-nūt-vét ke-dùn=ke]$_{\text{CC (>S)}}$ [pí-nē dìnghakják]$_{\text{PRED}}$] amātsi
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only NMLZ-join=TOP what-INDEF odd and.then

la elitum ajirpo alangli Yu'espensi
là e-li-tūm a-jirpò aläng-lì Yu'és=pen=si
this 1PL:INCL-HON-PL POSS-friend 3-HON COUNTRY=from=FOC

kevang Kavon Kavon aphanta cheponlo
ke-vàng Kavón Kavón aphān=tā che-pōn-lò
NMLZ-come NAME NAME NSUBJ=ADD:also RR-take.away-RL
'going alone along with (Lily) is a strange thing, and so, this friend of ours, he who has come from the US, Kavon, Kavon we also took along with us' [SiT, HF 008]

(552) Complement clause functioning as S argument
neli kachoklemke Habepi ahabekongiklo
[nè-lì ke-cho-klém=ke] $_{\text{CC (>S)}}$ [Habepī a-habekóng-īk-lò] $_{\text{PRED}}$
1EXCL-HON NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-do=TOP DISTRICT POSS-main.headman-HON-RL
'what I work as is Habekong of the Habepi district (of Rongkhang)' [SeT, MTN 003]

Finally, in (553), the complement clause *laso ahormu abangke kadokave akheita kacharlidun* is marked as a topic with *=ke* and functions pragmatically as a conditional (i.e., 'it would be good if everybody learned this') (see Haiman (1978) for a discussion of the functional similarity between conditionals and topics).

(553) Topic *=ke* marked nominalized clause functioning as a conditional
laso ahormu abangke kadokave akheita
[[[lasō a-hormú abàng=ke] $_{\text{O}}$ **[kadókavē a-khéi=tā]** $_{\text{A}}$
this POSS-thing NPDL=TOP all POSS-community=ADD:EXH

kacharlidunke mesen pusi neli matha
ke-charlì-dūn=ke] $_{\text{CC}}$ [mē-sén] $_{\text{PRED}}$] pusi nè-lì mathà
NMLZ-study-JOIN=TOP be.good-INTENS QUOT.COMP 1EXCL-HON think
'I think for this thing, it would be good for everybody from every tribe (i.e. everybody in the world) to learn it' [SiT, HF 044]

9.4.2. Irrealis-Marked Complement Clauses

Complement clauses may also be marked irrealis by *-jí* and followed by one of two nominal elements: either *aphān*, glossed below as 'PURP' but (historically) the same morpheme as the non-subject marker *-phān* (§10.6.2); or the (semantically bleached) noun phrase delimiter *abàng* (§10.5). The addition of irrealis *-jí* as well as *aphān* or *abàng* is structural evidence of a lesser degree of clausal integration exhibited by this irrealis complementation construction. Following (Givón 2001a), this lesser degree of clausal integration is expected to have a functional equivalent of a lesser degree of event integration (see also §8.2.2). For a general discussion of irrealis-marked nominalized subordinate clauses, see §9.6.

9.4.2.1. Irrealis-Marked Complement Clauses with Purpose/Non-Subject Marker *-phān*

The irrealis complementation construction with *aphān* is illustrated in (554) and (555). In (554), the complement clause functions as the O argument of the complement-taking verb *bor'í* 'try (with great effort)', which occurs in this construction in several instances in the corpus.

(554) Nominalized complement clause with irrealis *-jí* and *aphān* 'PURP' (*bor'í* 'struggle')

<aphatang along'an saikel...> <a> saikel along'an
<a-phatáng a-lòng=án saikél...> [saikél a-lòng=án]
POSS-kd.basket POSS-LOC=up.to bicycle(<Eng) bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC=up.to

phatang abang vansi... la phatang saikel along
[phatáng abàng] vàn-si... [[là phatáng] [saikél a-lòng]
kd.basket NPDL bring-NF:RL this kd.basket bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC

kethapji aphan *bor'ilo*
ke-thàp-**jí]** **aphān]** bor'í-lò
NMLZ-put.inside-**IRR2** **PURP** try.w.great.effort-RL
'<the bicycle to the baskets>, to the bicycle he brings the basket, the basket he is trying to put on the bicycle' [SiT, PS 021]

In (555), the complement clause *[[pirthe along ka-cheklangdunji] aphan]* functions as the S argument of *sungkrung* 'be difficult'.

(555) Nominalized complement clause with irrealis *-jí* and *aphān* 'PURP' (*sùng* 'be difficult')

[…] isi akhai mane pirthe along
[isī a-khái mane [pirthé a-lòng
one POSS-community I.mean(<Asm) world POSS-LOC

kacheklangdunji aphan sungkrung […]
ke-che-klāng-dūn-**jí** **aphān]** sùng-krùng]
NMLZ-RR-appear-JOIN-**IRR2** **PURP** be.difficult-INTENS
'[…] for a community… I mean, to show itself to the world is difficult, […]' [KaR, SWK 051]

9.4.2.2. Irrealis-Marked Complement Clause with Noun Phrase Delimiter *abàng*

Besides *aphān*, the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* can also mark the right edge of an irrealis complement clause. While *aphān* inherently has the semantics of marking a goal, purpose, or intention and also marks adverbial clauses with that semantic range (see §9.5), *abàng* represents a structural-only, semantically empty marker of the right edge of the noun phrase (see also the discussion in §10.5).

An example is (556), where the *abàng* irrealis CC functions as the O argument of *thèk* 'know how'.

(556) Complement clause of *thèk* 'know how' marked with *abàng* 'NPDL'
"kevang akoke ne nanglong nangdunjuilo;
[ke-vàng akó=ke] [nè nang-lòng nang=dùn-jùi-lò]
NMLZ-come when=TOP 1EXCL 2-LOC CIS=join-away-RL

ne non chedamji abang thekthedetpo!"
[nè nón chV-dām-jí] abàng] thèk-Cē-dèt-pò]
1EXCL now RR-go-IRR2 NPDL know.how-NEG-PFV-IRR1
"'when we came, I followed you along far away, I wouldn't know how to find my way back now, […]'" [KK, BMS 097]

9.4.3. Functional Types of Complement-Taking Verbs

According to Givón (2001a,b), there are three functional types of complement-taking verbs: modality verbs, manipulation verbs, and perception-cognition-utterance (PCU) verbs. In the above discussion as well as the discussion in §8.2, both modality and PCU verbs are illustrated. For an example of a manipulation verb, consider (557), where *doi* 'send' takes the complement clause *lang kesok* '(to) get water', with the causee *Kungri* marked non-subject with *-phān*.

(557) Manipulation complement clause
Kungri a-phān *[lāng* ***ke-****sòk]*$_{CC}$ *doi-thā*
NAME POSS-NSUBJ water **NMLZ-**get.water send-IMP:CON
'send Kungri to get water!' [Elicitation SiT 090228]

9.5. Adverbial Subordination

The following subsections discuss nominalized adverbial subordination. For further types of adverbial clauses that are not (formally) nominalized, see §11.2.3 on non-nominalized adverbial clause types, as well as §11.2.1 on clause-chaining.

9.5.1. Nominalized Adverbial Subordination: Subordinators from Relator Nouns

The most frequent type of adverbial subordination consists of a subordinator derived from a relator noun (§4.4.4) following a nominalized clause. An example is (558), where *aphī* marks a temporal anteriority ('after') relationship of the nominalized subordinate clause to the main clause.

(558) Nominalized anteriority adverbial clause
***laso hem nangkachiri aphi**, apenan abang sunjoi*
[[lasō] [hēm] nang=**ke-**che-rī aphī] a-penàn abàng sūn-jòi
this house CIS=**NMLZ-**RR-search after POSS-husband NPDL descend-quietly
'[…] after she went back to search for it in the house, the husband quietly came down […]' [SeT, MTN 042]

From a functional perspective, *aphī* in (558) needs to be considered a subordinator (see also §4.4.4.7.1). Structurally, however, a nominalized clause followed by a (relator noun-derived) subordinator is equivalent to a noun phrase followed by a relator noun - which is, of course, how this construction developed.

However, there are also some instances in the corpus where a relator noun-derived subordinator follows a non-nominalized clause. The subordinator *aphī* occurs in this construction in (559). Since the clause is no longer nominalized in this construction, there now is structural evidence that grammaticalization has occurred and that this is a new construction that is no longer equivalent to a nominal relator noun construction. Here, *aphī* is unambiguously a subordinator with the *a-* prefix as a frozen (because non-alternating and function-less) element that can only be explained through reconstruction of *aphī* as a relator noun.

(559) Non-nominalized anteriority adverbial clause
***garipen vangdét aphisi**, netum dakpen Hongkram*
[garí=pen **vàng-dèt** aphī=si] ne-tūm dāk=pen Hongkrām
car(<Asm)=with **come-PFV** after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL here=from PLACE

kedam kechenglo
ke-dàm ke-chèng-lò
NMLZ-go NMLZ-begin-RL
'after the car came, we started going from here to Hongkram' [SH, CSM 008]

9.5.2. Semantic Types

In the following discussion of semantic types, all those constructions are included that are based on a relator noun-derived subordinator, even though in some instances, the adverbial clause verb is no longer nominalized with *ke-*, as discussed in the preceding section §9.5.1 (but see also the discussion in §9.8 on the overall inconsistent occurrence of *ke-* on nominalized subordinate clause verbs). As shown in Table 112, nominalized adverbial subordination covers a wide-range of interclausal semantic relations, including the categories of place, time, and causality, as well as several other ones. The terminology for the semantic types listed in Table 112 is from Kortmann (1996:138), except for the last type, 'topic'.

Table 112 shows the relator noun-derived subordinators used to express the particular semantic types of adverbial clause, as well as lists references for the examples that illustrate each type.

Table 112. Semantic types of nominalized adverbial subordinate clauses

Semantic Type		Subordinator		Example
Place		*alòng*	'LOC'	(560)
Time	Anteriority	*aphī*	'after'	(561)
	Posteriority	*akò*	'before'	(562)
	Simultaneity overlap	*akò* *alòng*	'when'	(563) (564)
	Simultaneity duration	*ahūt*	'while'	(565), (569)
Causality		*apōt* *ajoiné* *ajōk*	'because'	(566) (567) (568)
Other	Purpose	*aphān*	'PURP'	(569)
	Comparison/Similarity	*asón*	'like'	(570)
	Topic	*alòng* *abàng*	'regarding'	(571)

There is one subordinator, *akó* 'before', which is different from the other subordinators in that it requires the adverbial clause verb to be negated. Obligatory verbal negation in posterior adverbial clauses is typical in Tibeto-Burman; it exists in languages as diverse as Kurtoep (Hyslop 2011:633-4), Galo (Post 2007:828),[159] and Burmese (Konnerth 2008).[160]

In the following discussion, each semantic type of nominalized adverbial subordination is illustrated by an example from the corpus, as referenced in Table 112.

In (560), a (non-nominalized and negated) locative adverbial clause is marked by *alòng* 'locative'.[161]

(560) Locative adverbial clause

[…] laso aosomar Hingchong musoso atum aphan

lasō	a-oso-màr	Hingchòng	musōsō	a-tūm	a-phān
this	POSS-child-PL	CONSTELLATION	2.siblings.of.diff.gender	POSS-PL	POSS-NSUBJ

ha same sadu akrong alat,

há	samé	sadú	a-króng	a-lat
over.there	path	EE:samé	POSS-CLF.road	POSS-EE:króng

votek ingrengre voso ingrengre along

[[vōtèk	**ingrèng-Cē]**	**[vōsō**	**ingrèng-Cē]**	**alòng]$_{LOC}$**
wild.bird	**call(small.animals)-NEG**	**EE:vōtèk**	**call(small.animals)-NEG**	**LOC**

osomar ponpidam'et thondam'et

osō-mār	pòn-pī-dām-ét thòn-dām-ét
child-PL	take.away-BEN/MAL-go-PRF drop-go-PRF

'[…] these Hingchong sisters, over there, she went to carry the children to a place where the roads cross, where the birds don't sing, and went left them there' [CST, HM 014]'

[159] According to Post, there is no form in Galo that directly expresses posteriority. The form quoted here to occur with obligatory verbal negation is a "combination of subordinate clause predicate negation and achievement marking", which, however, according to Post, comes closest to expressing posteriority in Galo.

[160] There is, of course, also a clear functional motivation for negating a 'before' clause, since the inherent nature of this event type consists in not being realized (yet) in relationship to the event expressed by the main clause.

[161] The relator noun *-lòng* that this subordinator is derived from covers a wide range of semantics (§4.4.4.1), and also represents one of the two basic role markers (§10.6.3).

In (561), *aphī* ‘after’ marks an anteriority relationship to the following main clause event.[162]

(561) Nominalized anteriority adverbial clause
***laso hem nangkachiri aphi**, apenan abang sunjoi*
[[lasō] [hēm] nang=**ke-**che-rī aphī]$_{\text{ANTE}}$ a-penàn abàng sūn-jòi
this house CIS=**NMLZ-**RR-search after POSS-husband NPDL descend-quietly
‘[…] after she went back to search for it in the house, the husband quietly came down […]' [SeT, MTN 042]

As mentioned above, the verb of a posteriority marking adverbial clause is obligatorily negated, as in (562).

(562) Posteriority adverbial clause with *akò* ‘before, when’
bang vangve ako eli damnangji {mm}
[bàng vàng-Cē akò]$_{\text{POST}}$ è-lì dàm-náng-jí mm
CLF:HUM:PL come-NEG before 1PL:INCL-HON go-must-IRR2 AFF
‘[…] we need to go before anybody gets there’ [HK, TR 142]

The subordinator *akò* indicates anteriority with a negated verb as in (562), but indicates simultaneity overlap (‘before’) when occurring with a non-negated verb, as illustrated in (563).[163]

(563) Simultaneity overlap adverbial clause with *akò* ‘when’
kevang akoke ne nanglong nangdunjuilo]
[ke-vàng akò=ke]$_{\text{SIOVER}}$ [nè nang-lòng nang=dùn-jùi-lò]
NMLZ-come when=TOP 1EXCL 2POSS-LOC CIS=join-away-RL

ne non chedamji abang thekthedetpo
[nè nón chV-dām-jí abàng thèk-Cē-dèt-pò]
1EXCL now RR-go-IRR2 NPDL know.how-NEG-PFV-IRR1

[162] The relator noun *-phī* is also used in the locative sense of ‘back(side)’ (§4.4.4.3).

[163] The same root *-kò* or *-kó* for ‘time’ appears to be part of the word *hakó*, with the distal demonstrative formative *há* (§4.5.3) being the other part. This word *hakó* occurs in the folk story introductory phrase *hako ahut*, translatable as the English fairy tale introductory phrase ‘once upon a time’.

nangthondunnoi pulo tangho
nang=thòn-dūn-nōi pù-lò] tànghò
1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-INFRML.COND.IMP say-RL REP
'<when we came, I followed you along far away, I now won't find my way back, (so) come along and drop (the bamonpi)!>, (the bamonpo) said, as they say' [KK, BMS 097]

In addition to *akò*, the general locative form *alòng* can be used to indicate simultaneity overlap as well, in a common metaphorical extension from place to time. An example is (564).

(564) Simultaneity overlap adverbial clause with *alòng* 'locative'
ingparke bhari arleng dingpo karlu alongke,
ingpár=ke **[bharí arlèng dīng-pō ke-arlū alòng=ke]** SIOVER
besides=TOP **very.big(<Ind) slope be.long-big NMLZ-climb LOC=TOP**

la apenan abangke barso kedo kangtung, […]
là a-penàn abàng=ke barsō ke-dō ke-ingtúng]
this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP peeing NMLZ-exist NMLZ-desire
'and then, when she was climbing up the long slope, the husband had to pee' [SeT, MTN 048]

Simultaneity duration is marked by *ahūt* 'while', which also functions as a relator noun 'during' following noun phrases (§4.4.4.4). The use of *ahūt* is illustrated in (565).

(565) Simultaneity duration adverbial clause with *ahūt* 'during, while'
[…] halabangso kiridam ahut jangreso aphan
[hálabàngsō ke-rì-dām ahūt] SIDUR jangrēsō a-phān
that NMLZ-search-go during single.parent.child POSS-NSUBJ

chetonglok […]
che-tòng-lòk
RR-meet-happen.to
'[…] while he was looking for more, he happened to run into the orphan […]' [HK, TR 048]

Causality can be expressed by one of three subordinators: *apōt*, *ajoiné*, and *ajōk* (see also §4.4.4.5). While (566) illustrates the use of *apōt* by itself, in (567), both *ajoiné* and *apōt* are used in a sequence.

(566) Causality adverbial clause with *apōt* ‘because’

[…] thoisi kedo apot rit pine akam

[thói=si ke-dō apōt]$_{\text{CAUSE}}$ [rīt pí-nē a-kám

plains=FOC:RL NMLZ-stay because jhum.field what-INDEF POSS-work

abangke pu'an mane ebe ave […]

abàng=ke] pù=án mane e-bé avē

NPDL=TOP like.this=up.to I.mean(<Asm) 1PL.INCL-habit not.exist

‘[…] because we have been staying in the plains, we don’t have any experience in going to the jhum field […]’ [KaR, SWK 083]

(567) Causality adverbial clause, double-marked with both *ajoiné* and *apōt*

[…] ***alanglitum kecho kejun, kedo kethak kangthir***

[[alang-li-tūm ke-chō ke-jùn ke-dō ke-thák ke-ingthìr

3-HON-PL NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) NMLZ-be.clean

ajoine apotsi *nonpu'an pusetame alanglitumpen*

a-joiné apōt=si]$_{\text{CAUSE}}$ nón-pu-án pùsetamē alang-li-tūm=pen

POSS-reason because=FOC:RL now-QUOT-till even.though 3-HON-PL=with

itumke lapu do thak ekdom chingnek

e-tūm=ke lapù dō thák ékdóm chV-ingnék

1PL.INCL-PL=TOP like.this stay EE:dō(<Asm) EXCM(<Asm) RR-laugh

chingni arong alon kedo'ikraplonglo

chV-ingnì aróng alón ke-dō-īk-ràp-lōng-lò]

RR-EE:ingnēk be.happy elegance NMLZ-stay-FRML-together-GET-RL

‘[…] because everything they eat or drink and everything related to their life style is very clean, therefore up to today, we stay and we laugh and we get to happily stay together with them’ [SiH, CW 024].

An example of *ajōk* is (568). Note that the verb of the nominalized adverbial clause, *ke’ong*, is further marked with the non-final suffix *-pen*. According to my language consultants, this use of *-pen* is “not necessary”, but it appears to be constructionalized for some speakers.

(568) Causality adverbial clause marked with *ajōk*

[…] ako ahut asomar ke’ongpen ajok sarpi

[akó ahūt **[a-so-màr ke-óng-pen ajōk]**$_{\text{CAUSE}}$ sarpī

that.time during **POSS-child-PL NMLZ-exist.much-NF:with because** old.woman

sarbura atum ha ritlo vopi
sàrburá a-tūm há rītlō vō-pī
old.man POSS-PL over.there inhabited.field chicken-female

chopangrengdamlo
cho-pangrēng-dām-lò
AUTO.BEN/MAL-rear-GO-RL
'[…] once upon a time, because they had many children, the old woman and the old man went over there to the field, to rear hens' [SeT, MTN 004]

Purpose adverbial clauses are marked by *aphān*, which has the same origin as the non-subject marker *-phān* (§10.6.2). An example of *aphān* is (569), where it is embedded into a simultaneity duration adverbial clause marked by *ahūt*.

(569) Purpose adverbial clause with *aphān* 'purpose' (embedded in a simultaneity duration adverbial clause)
laso ateke pilolo kechopan aphan kevang
[[[lasō a-tekè pilolō] **ke-chopān aphān]$_{PURP}$ ke-vàng**
this POSS-tiger female.and.male.animal **NMLZ-graze PURP NMLZ-come**

ahut, haso aHingchong musoso osomar kechiru
ahūt]$_{SIDUR}$ [[hásō a-Hingchòng musosō osō-mār ke-chirú
during that POSS-CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender child-PL NMLZ-cry

banghini hangjolo […]
bàng-hiní háng-jò-lò]
CLF:HUM:PL-two call-many.continuously:S-RL
'this tiger couple had come to look for food, at that moment, the Hingcho musoso, the two of them, were crying loudly, […]' [CST, HM 027]

Adverbial clauses indicating a 'comparison' or 'similarity' relationship to the main clause are marked by *asón* 'like'. In clauses with the irrealis meaning of 'as if' as in (570), the main clause predicate is marked by *-jí* 'irrealis2'.

(570) Comparison/Similarity adverbial clause with *asón* 'like'
mh elike kerenget atumke
mh è-lì=ke ke-rèng-èt a-tūm=ke
pause 1PL:INCL-HON=TOP NMLZ-be.alive-all:S/O POSS-PL=TOP

thangbaksi keleduntam thekji ason
[thàngbāk=si ke-lè-dūn-tām thèk-jí asón] COMPAR/SIMIL
as.if=FOC:RL NMLZ-reach-JOIN-impossible know.how-IRR2 like

nangpinkhattap nangpinkhatphru
nang=pinkhát-táp nang=pinkhát-phrú
1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.1/2 1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.2/2
'since we are alive, (how can) you give so many pieces of advice as if we could reach (the place where my wife has gone after she died)' [KK, BMS 031]

Finally, *alòng* may also function as a general subordinator that marks a topical subordinate clause with a meaning like 'with respect to', as in (571).

(571) Topical adverbial clause with *alòng*
neli karjulong <a>... hako ahut abang
[nè-lì ke-arjū-lōng] <a> **[[[hakó a-hūt a-bàng**
1EXCL-HON NMLZ-hear-GET AFF **that.time POSS-during POSS-CLF:HUM:PL**

<a> rit ke'en rit kepan, chonong
rīt ke-ēn rīt ke-pān cho-nōng
field NMLZ-take field NMLZ-clear.vegetation AUTO.BEN/MAL-loosen.soil

chosim alongle pusitame pinsomar
cho-sīm alòng=le] TOP **pu-setamē]** pinsō-mār
AUTO.BEN/MAL-EE:nōng LOC=FOC:IRR QUOT-nevertheless married.man-PL

atum mute arlosomar atumsi akele klempik pu […]
a-tūm mutē árlosō-mār a-tūm=si akelé klém-pìk pu
POSS-PL compared.to woman-PL POSS-PL=FOC more do-very QUOT
'I have heard this: (I could learn this:), in the old days, while cultivating the jhum field, while working on loosening the soil and doing these kinds of works or whatever, compared to the men, it was the women who did much more, […]' [KaR, SWK 070]

Similarly, in (572), there is an adverbial clause marked by the noun phrase delimiter *abàng*. Here also, the function is that of a topical element: 'with respect to (the plan/intention of) making you meet my grandmother', where the idea of a plan or intentionality lies in the irrealis marking with *-jí*.[164]

[164] Compare this construction to complementation with the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* discussed in §9.4.2.2, as well as irrealis-marked nominalized subordinate clauses discussed more generally in §9.6.

(572) Topical adverbial clause with *abàng* 'NPDL'
lasi "to tangte nephi aphan
lasì tò tángtē **[ne-phì** **a-phān**
therefore OK if **1EXCL:POSS-grandmother** **POSS-NSUBJ**

nangkapachetongji abangke pathe'anganang"
nang=ke-pa-chetòng-jí **abàng=ke]** pa-the'āng-sināng
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-meet-IRR2 **NPDL=TOP** CAUS-be.bright-si.HORT
'and then, "okay then, in order to make you meet my grandmother, let's wait a little while until it's bright (lit., make it bright)"' [KK, BMS 062]

9.5.3. Adverbial Subordination Constructions with Additional Marking

As discussed in the previous section, several semantic types of adverbial subordination are marked by constructions that have another morphosyntactic element in addition to clausal nominalization followed by a subordinator. Specifically, temporal posteriority with *akò* 'before' requires verbal negation (without the nominalizer *ke-*); causal subordinator *ajōk* induces non-final marking with *-pen* 'NF:with' for some native speakers; and, the adverbial clause is marked irrealis with *-jí* when evoking a comparison ('as if') with *asón*, or when indicating a plan or an intention, in an adverbial clause marked with the noun phrase delimiter *abàng*.

9.6. Irrealis-Marked Nominalized Subordinate Clauses

The verbs inside nominalized subordinate clauses typically only consist only of the stem with nominalizer *ke-*. The one exception is that subordinate clauses of all three types (relative, complement, and adverbial clauses) may be marked with *-jí* 'irrealis2'. If marked irrealis, the meanings expectedly change to intentional futures, purposives, or other types of hypotheticals.

Relative clauses marked by *-jí* may indicate an intentional future event pertaining to the head noun, as in (573), where *ne kethanji alamthe* refers to 'the matter that I will talk about' or 'want to talk about'. Note that this marking is not obligatory in the case of future reference; as discussed in §9.3.1, a few intonation units later, another relative clause is produced by the same speaker about the same topic (i.e., with the same future reference), but without *-jí*.

(573) Irrealis-marked relative clause indicating intentional future
ne kethanji alamtheke jo dak rong'aje along
[nè **ke-**thán**-jí** a-lamthē=ke] [jó dāk ròng'ajé alòng
1EXCL **NMLZ-**tell**-IRR2** POSS-matter=TOP see here festival LOC

nangkachetongdunsi
nang=ke-chetòng-dūn-si]
CIS=NMLZ-meet-JOIN-NF:RL
'the matter that I will talk about... after meeting here at the festival…' [KK, CC 002]

Another situation where *-jí* may be used on a relative clause verb is in a noun complement purpose construction. In (574), *[[asaikel kapasangkokra parjaplun ki-bi-ji] a-son]* refers to 'a device to keep the bicycle parked and standing up'.

(574) Irrealis-marked relative (/nominal complement) clause indicating a purpose
<sangkok> asaikel kapasangkokra
<sáng-kòk> [[a-saikél ke-pe-sáng-kòk-rà
take.rest-firmly POSS-bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-CAUS-take.rest-firmly-NF:IRR

parjaplun kibiji a-son avedet amat
pe-arjàp-lùn **ke-**bí**-jí**] a-sòn] avē-dèt] amāt
CAUS-stand-big:AO **NMLZ-**keep**-IRR2** POSS-thing not.exist-exhaustive and.then

asaikel abang pakrepkhram
a-saikél a-bàng pe-krēp-khràm
POSS-bicycle(<Eng) POSS-CLF:HUM:PL CAUS-fall.over-with.loud.noise
'he stops the bicycle and there is no device to keep it standing up, and then he let the bicycle fall over with a loud noise' [SiT, PS 019]

Similarly, in (575), the irrealis marked clause *[aso mok ka-chepechu-ji]* '(to) breast-feed their children' represents another nominal complement purpose construction, here with the head noun *pór* 'time'.

(575) Irrealis-marked relative (/nominal complement) clause indicating a purpose
thap ketoklok jo arníta sanglongle,
[thàp ke-tòk-lók] [jó arnì=tā sáng-lōng-Cē]
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only night day=ADD:EXH take.rest-GET-NEG

thap ketoklok ketoklok, aso mok
[thàp ke-tòk-lók ke-tòk-lók] **[[[a-sō mōk**
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only IPFV-pound-only **POSS-child breast**

kachepechuji apor ave tangho
ke-che-pa-chū-jí] **a-pór]** avē tànghò]
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-suck-IRR2 **POSS-time** not.exist REP
'they just kept grinding the rice for the rice beer cake, the whole time they didn't get to take rest, they were grinding (for) the rice beer cake, they didn't even have time to breast-feed their children' [WR, BCS 030]

In nominalized complementation, *-jí* often occurs in complement clauses of *bor'í* 'try' (576), as they inherently indicate an intention.

(576) Irrealis-marked complement clause indicating an intention
angtan akam kachongdatdunji
[[a-ingtán a-kám] **ke-**cho-ingdát-dùn**-jí**
POSS-outside POSS-work **NMLZ-**AUTO.BEN/MAL-make.a.living-JOIN**-IRR2**

aphanta so'arlo atum kabor'i do'olo
aphān=tā] sō'arlō a-tūm ke-bor'í dō-ò-lò
PURP=ADD women:COLL POSS-PL NMLZ-try exist-much-RL
'[…] many women also try to get outside work' [KaR, SWK 064]

Finally, consider irrealis-marked nominalized adverbial clauses. As discussed in §9.5.2, *-jí* occurs on adverbial clauses in conjunction with subordinator *asón* 'like' to indicate an imagined comparison. Another semantic type of adverbial clause where we would expect to find robust irrealis marking is in purpose adverbial clauses. Surprisingly, though, there are a number of instances like (569) in §9.5.2, where purpose adverbial clauses are not marked irrealis. While the corpus does also contain purpose adverbial clauses that are marked with *-jí* 'irrealis2', such as (577) and (578), there is no obvious explanation as to why purpose adverbial clauses do not exhibit more consistent irrealis marking.

(577) Irrealis-marked adverbial clause indicating purpose
[...] laso akhai pu kachepaklangdunji aphan
[[[lasō a-khái pu] ke-che-pe-klàng-dūn-jí] aphān]
this POSS-community QUOT NMLZ-RR-CAUS-appear-along-IRR2 PURP

so'arlo atum keklemnang parsik akam dopik
sō'arlō a-tūm ke-klém-náng pe-arsīk a-kám dō-pìk
women:COLL POSS-PL NMLZ-do-need CAUS-be.deep POSS-work exist-very
'[…] in order to show that this community (is okay), there is a lot of (things to think) deeply about and work to do [KaR, SWK 033]

(578) Irrealis-marked adverbial clause indicating purpose
phinu chojordamji aphan hu kulat
[[phinū cho-jōr-dām-jí] a-phān] hú kulát
banana AUTO.BEN/MAL-sell-GO-IRR2 POSS-PURP over.there shop(<Asm)

anat damlo
a-nát dàm-lò
POSS-direction go-RL
'in order to go and sell bananas there he went towards the shop' [HI, BPh 005]

9.7. Main Clause Constructions

The following discussion is dedicated to constructions in which the *ke-* prefix occurs on main clause verbs. In order for the *ke-* prefix to synchronically still be the nominalizer, there has to be an element, such as a copula, that serves as the finite verb in order for the construction to overall become finite. If there is no such element, then *ke-* no longer functions as a nominalizer in that construction, and we may instead refer to that construction as a diachronic nominalization construction.

Four main clause constructions are attested that involve *ke-*. The 'nominalization plus copula' construction (§9.7.1), as the name suggests, involves a copula, specifically the existential copula *dō*, while adverbial constructions involve an adverbial element that renders the construction finite, as discussed in the previous chapter in §8.3.3 and §8.3.4 above (see §9.7.2 below). Finally, there are two diachronic nominalization construction involving *ke-* that lack an element to render them finite, meaning that reanalysis of the nominalizer *ke-* has to have occurred (§9.7.3).

9.7.1. Nominalization plus Existential Copula Construction

Instead of a simple verbal predicate, there are some instances in the corpus where speakers choose to use a nominalization construction involving the existential copula *dō*. An example is (579), where the nominalization plus copula construction is further embedded in a declarative intensifier copy verb construction of the structure '*V=ke V-suffixes*' (§12.2.3.1).

(579) Nominalization plus copula construction

Naka anglong pu bihek akopenta arjulong

Náká	a-inglóng	pu	bī-hèk	akó=pen=tā	arjū-lōng
TRIBE	POSS-hill	QUOT	be.small-small	then=from=ADD:even	listen-GET

Naka akhei puta arjulong lapenke... Naka

Náká	a-khéi	pu=tā	arjū-lōng	lapèn=ke...	Náká
TRIBE	POSS-community	QUOT=ADD:although	ask-GET	and.then=TOP	TRIBE

akhei amonit so'arlopen pusetame sopinsopen

a-khéi	a-monít	so'àrlō=pen	pùsetāmē	sopìnsō=pen
POSS-community	POSS-man	women:COLL=with	likewise	boy:COLL=with

pusetame elong longni lason kechetong doke

pùsetāmē	e-lòng	lòng-ní	lasón	**ke-chetòng**	**dō=ke**
likewise	one-CLF:place	CLF:place-two	that.way	**NMLZ-meet**	**exist=TOP**

dohe

dō=he

exist= AFTERTHOUGHT

'since my childhood, I got to hear about the Naga hills, the Naga people, but from both the women and men, (only some), like that, I got to meet in a place or two' [SiT, HF 004]

In (579), instead of *kechetong doke dohe*, a simple verbal predicate could have been used in the same copy verb construction as well: *chetongke chetonghe*. Although we would expect that the nominalization construction is somehow more emphatic than using a simple verbal predicate, the pragmatic difference is if anything very subtle, as my language consultants did not perceive a clear functional difference.

Similarly, in (580), instead of the simple verbal predicate *chungkrenglo*, a nominalization construction is used: *kechungkreng dolo*. Oddly enough, the speaker does not use *ke-* on the remaining three PCT predicates (for further discussion of this, see §9.8).

(580) Nominalization plus copula construction

[…] kechungkreng dolo, marjeng dolo, lok'hu dolo, lokphlep dolo;

[ke-chungkrèng	**dō-lò]**	[marjèng	dō-lò]	[lòk'hù	dō-lò]	[lòkphlèp	dō-lò]
NMLZ-be.thin	**exist-RL**	be.thin	exist-RL	be.pale	exist-RL	be.pale	exist-RL

kithita kedothupo, kejangta

[**ke-**thì=tā	ke-**dō**-thū-pò]	[**ke-**jāng=tā
NMLZ-die=ADD:also:PRL	NMLZ-**exist**-again-IRR1	**NMLZ-**hang.down= ADD:also:PRL

kedothupo
ke-**dō**-thū-pò]
NMLZ-**exist**-again-IRR1
'[…] they became thin, they became pale, and they were about to die' [CST, RO 022]

In the second line of the same example (580), *thì* 'die' occurs in an elaborate expression (EE) construction with *jāng*. The verb pair further occurs in a nominalization construction: *kithita kedothupo* and *kejangta kedothupo*, instead of *thipo* and *jangpo*. Here, however, it seems that the nominalization construction serves the structural purpose of allowing the speaker to coordinate the EE verb pair with the use of *=tā* 'additive' on the preposed verb copies (§11.5.1.2).

In another type of nominalization plus copula construction, there appears to be an underlying structural ambiguity. Consider (581), where under one analysis, the nominalized clause could be interpreted as a direct S argument of the existential copula, i.e., *[[laso adak isi hini achitchit arong kephopon]$_S$ do]*. Alternatively, it could be interpreted an internally-headed relative clause, with the head noun being the S argument of the existential copula: *[[[laso adak [isi hini achitchit arong]$_{HN}$ kephopon]$_{RC}$]$_S$ do]*.

(581) Nominalization plus copula construction with presentational function
penke damsi isi aporke Kohima rongsopi lelo...
[pèn=ke dàm-si isī a-pór=ke Kóhìmà róngsōpī lè-lò]
and.then=TOP go-NF:RL one POSS-time=TOP PLACE town reach-RL

laso adak isi hini achitchit arong
[[lasō a-dāk] [isī hiní achítchít a-ròng]
this POSS-road.inbetween one two tiny POSS-village

kephopon do
ke-phō-pōn **dō]**
NMLZ-reach-in.passing **exist**
'and then we went and at one o'clock, we reached Kohim Town..., one the road inbetween / up to there, there were several tiny villages that we had crossed' [SiT, HF 017]

There is a structural and a functional argument to be made in evaluating these two analyses. On the one hand, the RC analysis is more marked in that internally-headed (and/or post-head) relative clauses occur with low frequency (see §9.3.2). Structurally,

this analysis is therefore less preferable, all things being equal. On the other hand, however, the RC analysis makes sense functionally, as this appears to be a kind of presentational construction used to introduce the head noun. Consider the intonation unit following (581), which is offered as (582).

(582) Intonation unit following (581)
amen heihai nangthanpon... ta ning ave
a-mén héihái nang=thán-pòn... tā nīng avē
POSS-name some 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-in.passing but mind not.exist
'their names they had told us in passing... but I can't remember' [SiT, HF 018]

Since this following intonation unit comments on the 'several tiny villages', this suggests that the nominalization construction in (581) served the information-structural function of introducing the 'several tiny villages' to the interlocutor/listener.

For another example, consider the excerpt in (583), which contains both the intonation unit (IU) with the nominalization construction and the subsequent IU.

(583) Nominalization plus copula construction with presentational function
ansi phelo-bisir pu Karbi atum kabonai
ánsi **[phelō-bisīr** **pu]** [Karbì a-tūm **ke-**bonái]
then **alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes** **QUOT** PN POSS-PL **NMLZ-**make(<Asm)

do
dō
exist
'and then, there is the so-called 'phelo bisir' (funnel-like instrument for filtering the ashes) that the Karbi people make' [SiH, KH 004]

laso aphelo-bisir alongsi laso aphelo
[lasō a-phelō-bisīr alòng=si] [lasō a-phelō
this POSS-alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes LOC=FOC:RL this POSS-alkaline

ingkrunget humdun'etpo, ingkrunget arje'etpo
ingkrùng-èt hūm-dūn-ét-pò] ingkrùng-ét arjè-ét-pò
separate-PRF pick.up-JOIN-PRF-IRR1 strain-PRF separate-PRF-IRR1
'in this ash funnel, we sieve the ashes and pick them up, we thoroughly sieve the ashes' [SiH, KH 005]

Here again, functional considerations suggest that the relative clause analysis is more appropriate than the event nominalization analysis, as this construction serves the function of introducing the participant 'the so-called *phelo bisir*'. This function can be deduced from the next intonation unit, which comments on this participant, specifically on how this *phelo bisir* is used as a tool in the process of preparing alkaline food by using ashes.

The relative clause analysis implies an underlying structure that can be schematically represented as: *[[phelo-bisir pu]$_{HN}$ Karbi atum kabonai]$_{S}$ do]*. Note that here, the construction is again structurally ambiguous between an internally-headed or a post-head relative clause, as discussed in §9.3.2. It could be internally-headed: *[[[[phelo-bisir pu]$_{HN}$ Karbi atum kabonai]$_{RC}$]$_{S}$ do]*, or post-head relativization: *[[[phelo-bisir pu]$_{HN}$ [Karbi atum kabonai]$_{RC}$]$_{S}$ do]*.

In addition to the instances discussed here, the function of a presentational construction might also be underlying the copula argument quantification construction discussed in §8.4.2.

9.7.2. Adverbial Constructions

Several adverbial constructions (including constructions based on non-final marking) involve synchronic nominalization. This is discussed in §8.3.

9.7.3. Diachronic Nominalization Constructions in Main Clause Grammar

In diachronic nominalization constructions, the *ke-* prefix occurs on the main clause but there is no other element to render the clause finite. Therefore, the *ke-* must have been reanalyzed in those instances, and cannot synchronically be considered a nominalizer despite its historical origin (hence, diachronic nominalization). There are two types of diachronic nominalization constructions: focus constructions (with several subtypes), and an imperfective-marking construction.

9.7.3.1. Focus Constructions

There are three subtypes of focus constructions. First, there is the general argument focus construction, which may occur in all clause types including non-

declarative speech acts (§9.7.3.1.2). Second, specifically in content questions, the interrogative pronoun or adverb is typically marked as being under focus (although another element can be under focus as well, then belonging to the first type of focus construction) (§9.7.3.1.3). Third, there is a co-relative construction that is best analyzed as a focus construction as well, with the co-related elements across the two clauses being under focus (§9.7.3.1.4).

All focus constructions have two structural properties in common: First, there is an element in the clause that occurs with one of three focus clitics: mostly with *=si* if the verb is realis, or with *=le* if it is irrealis (§11.3), but in a few cases also with *=lo* (§6.9.1.7). Second, in a substantial number of occurrences (though not in all, see the next section §9.7.3.1.1), the verb is marked with *ke-* without there being a copula to render the clause finite. Since these are not imperfective constructions (see §9.7.3.2 below) (although some may be as well, see §9.7.3.3), there has to be a different historical explanation for why the verb is diachronically nominalized in the focus construction. The typologically most plausible explanation is to assume that the Karbi focus construction originates in a cleft construction. This historical development is sketched out in §9.7.3.1.5.

9.7.3.1.1. Inconsistent Occurrence of *ke-*

While we find inconsistent occurrence of *ke-* in synchronic nominalization constructions (§9.8), this is even more prominent in diachronic nominalization, specifically focus constructions. In the general argument focus construction (§9.7.3.1.2), only about a third of the clauses that contain an element marked by *=si* 'focus:realis' have *ke-* on the verb. In content questions, the proportion is higher, but it is still only about two thirds of clauses that contain a focus-marked interrogative pronoun that also occur with *ke-*. As for co-relative focus constructions, there only are very few instances in the corpus, but all of those are nominalized.

My hypothesis is that the occurrence of *ke-* is so inconsistent in these focus constructions because it is a fossilized element that no longer serves a grammatical function and is thus not a salient element in these constructions (see §9.7.3.1.5 for a historical account of the focus construction).

9.7.3.1.2. General Argument Focus Construction

In the general argument focus construction, about a third of the occurrences of focus marker *=si* are coupled with diachronic nominalization of the main verb, i.e., the presence of the *ke-* prefix. This is found in elicitation, such as the contrastive focus construction in (584), which was elicited via translation of the contrastive focus structure from English into Karbi.

(584) General argument focus construction: elicited contrastive focus construction

[nè	*phàk-ōk=**le***	***ki-**tún*	*kalī]*	*[vō-ōk=**si***
1EXCL	pig-meat=**FOC:IRR**	**NMLZ-**cook	NEG.EQU.COP	bird-meat=**FOC:RL**

***ki-**tún]*
NMLZ-cook
'I don't/won't cook pork, I (will) cook chicken' or: 'it is not me cooking meat, it is (me) cooking chicken' [Elicitation SiT 090303]

Here, the first clause is negated and the element under contrastive focus is hence marked with *=le*, while the second clause is asserted and the element under contrastive focus therefore marked with *=si*. In both clauses, the main verb is marked with *ke-*.

Corpus examples that also illustrate the co-occurrence of focus marked elements with *ke-* marked verbs follow: with realis focus marker *=si* in (585); with irrealis focus marker *=le* in (586); and with focus marker *=lo* in (587). Again, note that these examples only illustrate a subset of focus construction instances; more than half of the instances occur without *ke-* on the verb.

(585) General argument focus construction with realis focus marker *=si*

amatsi	*itum*	*aphanke*	*dak*	*habit*	*angbongsi*
amātsi	e-tūm	a-phān=ke	dāk	habít	angbòng=**si**
because	1PL.INCL-PL	POSS-NSUBJ=TOP	here	jungle	in.middle.of=**FOC**

nangkethonti
nang=**ke-**thòn-tí
1/2:NSUBJ=**NMLZ-**drop-get.rid.off
'and then, she took us here in the middle of the jungle and abandoned us' [CST, HM 052]'

(586) General argument focus construction with irrealis focus marker *=le*
[…] "itum nangpeile kedo kalilo" […]
[i-tūm nang-pēi=**le** **ke-**dō kalī-lò]
1PL:INCL-PL 2:POSS-mother=**FOC:IRR** **NMLZ-**exist NEG.EQU.COP-RL
' […] "we don't have your mother anymore" […]' [CST, RO 008]

(587) General argument focus construction with realis focus marker *=lo*
bang nekengdak arumloklo kedam
bàng ne-kèng-dàk arúm-lòk=**lo** **ke-**dàm
CLF:HUM:PL 1EXCL:POSS-foot-road.inbetween down-just=**FOC** **NMLZ-**go
'the other people simply walked through between my legs' [RBT, ChM 015]

9.7.3.1.3. Content Question Focus Construction

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs often occur with a focus clitic: mostly with *=si* but sometimes also with *=lo*. Looking at those instances of content questions in the corpus that have a focus-marked interrogative pronoun or adverb, about two thirds have verbs marked with *ke-* in the clause. Examples that illustrate this are (588) and (589). (Note that content questions may have another focus-marked element in addition to a focus-marked interrogative pronoun or adverb; see the discussion of (832) in §11.3.2).

(588) Content question focus construction with realis focus marker *=si*
nesomar pule kosonsi thengpi abeng
ne-oso-màr pu=le **kosón=si** thengpī a-bēng
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL QUOT=FOC:IRR **how=FOC:RL** tree/wood POSS-piece

nangketetroiroidetlo
nang=**ke-**tèt-ròi~rōi-dèt-lò
CIS=**NMLZ-**exit-PL.solid.obj~DIST.PL-PFV-RL
'if they are my children, how did they come out as pieces of wood?' [CST, HM 023]

(589) Content question focus construction with realis focus marker *=lo*
ne kopilo kevipo laho <m>
nè kopí=**lo** **ke-**vì-pò là-ho
1EXCL what=**FOC** **NMLZ-**do-IRR1 this-EMPH:INTERACT
'what should I do?' [CST, HM 013]

9.7.3.1.4. Co-Relative Focus Construction

The co-relative construction might have also developed as a focus construction, although the evidence is less clear, partly because this is a rare construction in the corpus.

This construction is based on corresponding interrogative pronouns or adverbs (§4.5.3) and demonstrative/deictic pronouns and adverbs (§4.5.4) across two nominalized clauses (see also §4.5.5). In this construction, the interrogative pronouns or adverbs are marked with the question particle *=ma* in order to function as indefinite or universal relative pronouns 'whoever', 'whatever', etc.

In (590), the first clause contains the derived universal relative pronoun *ko'anma* 'how(ever) much', while the second clause contains the *=lo* focus-marked demonstrative counterpart *la'anlo* 'that much'. Both clauses are nominalized, meaning that this co-relative construction has the same structural properties as the two other focus construction subtypes discussed above.

(590) Co-relative construction

ha thepai thereng longku longdang pirthe methan ko'anma

há	thepài	therēng	longkū	longdāng	pirthé	methān	**ko'án=ma**
over.there	cliff	EE:thepài	cave	crevice	world	dog	**how.much=Q**

kedam bamonpota la'anlo kidun

ke-dàm	bamón-pō=tā	**la'án=lo**	**ke-**dùn
NMLZ-go	wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD:DM	**that.much=FOC**	**NMLZ-**join

'there, over all kinds of difficult terrain, over caves and crevices, as much as the dog went, that much the bamonpo followed him' [KK, BMS 041]

9.7.3.1.5. Historical Development

It is typologically well attested that a focus construction can be diachronically based on nominalization, based on the following scenario. As sketched out in Figure 19, the historical development involves a cleft as a source construction. In this 'Stage 1', the focus marker is (still) an equational copula. That is, a sentence like *nè=si ke-dàm*, with *nè* being the first person exclusive pronoun and *dàm* being the verb root 'go' is historically interpreted as a cleft: '(it) [[is]$_{COP}$ [me]$_{NP}$] [who is going]$_{NP}$'. The structure is that of an equational copula clause, with the clefted NP ('me') occurring with the copula clause-initially because it is under focus, and with the other NP ('who is going') being a headless relative clause. Since relative clauses are nominalized with *ke-* in Karbi, this

historical scenario would explain how the two structural pieces of the focus construction, i.e., the focus clitic and the *ke-* on the verb, go together.

Stage 1: NP(=COP) [[...] *ke*-V]$_{REL}$]$_{NP}$

→ reanalysis of copula as focus marker

Stage 2: NP(=FOC) [...] *ke*-V

Figure 19. Grammaticalization scenario for =*si* 'focus' (starting as copula)

After reanalysis of the copula as a focus marker,[165] we now have a focus construction that still has the same two elements as the original cleft construction, although *ke-* can no longer synchronically be interpreted as a nominalizer, since that would leave the construction non-finite. Therefore, *ke-* has to be analyzed as a fossil in the synchronic focus construction. Note, however, that the fact that this construction is negated with the nominal negation construction (using the negative equational copula *kalī* rather than the verbal suffix *-Cē*; §8.1.2), as seen in (591), still shows the nominal character of the construction.

(591) General argument focus construction with irrealis focus marker *=le*
[...] "itum nangpeile kedo kalilo" [...]
[i-tūm nang-pēi=**le** **ke-**dō kalī-lò]
1PL:INCL-PL 2:POSS-mother=**FOC:IRR** **NMLZ-**exist NEG.EQU.COP-RL
' […] "we don't have your mother anymore" […]' [CST, RO 008]

This account for the historical development of the focus construction in Karbi is well supported by cross-linguistic case studies. Focus markers grammaticalizing from a cleft construction involving a copula are attested in many languages of the world including the Uto-Aztecan language Cora (Casad 1984); the Afro-Asiatic languages Lamang and Rendille (Heine and Reh 1984); Japanese (Harris and Campbell 1995); and

[165] The reanalysis might have been facilitated if the original copula was most commonly used in this construction. Since a simple juxtaposition construction for equational clauses might have always been an option, the copula would have only been used in pragmatically marked contexts, of which a cleft would be a prime example.

Papiamentu (S. Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995; Holm 1988); see also Heine and Kuteva (2002).

In addition to the typological support for this reconstruction, there is Tibeto-Burman internal evidence as well, in particular for the *=si* realis focus clitic. The evidence comes from Central Kuki-Chin languages, where there is a *sii* equational copula in Hakha Lai (Peterson 2003: 424), and a *si* equational copula in Falam Lai (King 2010), filling in comparative evidence for Karbi *=si* originating in an equational copula. Moreover, in Falam Lai, there also is a *si* focus marker that occurs with interrogative pronouns and adverbs the same way Karbi *=si* does (§9.7.3.1.3). Falam Lai has therefore both the reanalyzed focus marker *si* as well the copula source form *si*, providing direct evidence that this development has occurred in this language.

As for the other two, much less frequent focus clitics in Karbi, *=le* and *=lo*, the evidence is not as clear. However, it could very well be that *=le* can be historically linked to the second syllable in the negative equational copula *kalī*, since there is comparative evidence that the velar-initial first syllable can be linked to negative forms in Tibeto-Burman, and the lateral-initial second syllable to copular forms (§4.6.2.2). While the vowels do not match, this is still a strong hypothesis for functional reasons, because it can explain the irrealis-sensitivity of the focus marker *=le* with the negative polarity association of *kalī*.

An investigation into the historical origin of *=lo* will need to consider realis *-lò* (§6.9.1.7), but whether both forms ultimately reconstruct back to an equational copula is not clear at present.

9.7.3.2. Imperfective Construction

Another construction that represents an instance of diachronic nominalization is the imperfective marking of main clauses with *ke-*, i.e., the reanalyzed nominalizer (see further below for a discussion of the historical scenario). This aspectual function of *ke-*marked main clauses was also pointed out by Grüßner (1978:95), who more narrowly calls it progressive aspect. In order to include those instances where *ke-* occurs on PCT roots functioning as main clause verbs, however, I refer to it more broadly as an

imperfective construction. Examples of *ke-* occurring on PCT-based verbs are offered in (592) and (593).

(592) Diachronic nominalization: imperfective marking on PCT roots
[…] nangong adakvam ahemsi kene asopi
[nang-ōng adakvám a-hēm=si] kenē [a-oso-pì
2:POSS-maternal.uncle second.child POSS-house=LOC HESIT POSS-child-female

arje kemerintihe po nang hadak Bey
arjè **ke-**mē-rintí=he] [pō nàng hádāk Bēy
appearance **IPFV-**be.good-equally:PL:S/A=you.know father you there CLAN

Ki'ik ahemsi nang piso hangdamrong
ke-ìk a-hēm=si nàng pīsō hàng-dām-ròng]
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=LOC 2 wife call-GO-instead
'[…] at your second-born maternal uncle's house, his daughters are all equally beautiful, you know, father, you went there to the house of Bey the Black to ask for a wife instead' [WR, BCS 013]

(593) Diachronic nominalization: imperfective marking on PCT roots
"nangpran nang'en'etji" pulo... osomar ante kephere
nang-prán nang=ēn-èt-jí pù-lò osō-mār ánte **ke-**pheré
2:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-PFT-IRR2 say-RL child-PL OK.then **IPFV-**fear
'"your lives I will take", she said, so the children were scared' [CST, RO 020]

In (594) and (595), *ke-* occurs on active verbs *tòk* 'pound, grind' and *tūk* 'dig' in constructions that further highlight their imperfectivity: in (594) with the suffix *lók* 'only' that translates as 'keep V-ing (without doing anything else)', and in (595) in a construction that repeats the same verb a number of times to indicate the durative nature of the event.

(594) Diachronic nominalization: imperfective marking on non-PCT verbs
*thap **ketoklok** jo arníta sanglongle,*
[thàp **ke-tòk-lók]** [jó arnì=tā sáng-lōng-Cē]
cake.for.rice.beer **IPFV-pound-only** night day=ADD:EXH take.rest-GET-NEG

*thap **ketoklok ketoklok**, aso mok*
[thàp **ke-tòk-lók** **ke-tòk-lók]** [[[a-sō mōk
cake.for.rice.beer **IPFV-pound-only** **IPFV-pound-only** POSS-child breast

kachepechuji apor ave tangho
ke-che-pa-chū-jí] a-pór] avē tànghò]
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-suck-IRR2 POSS-time not.exist REP
'they just kept pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, the whole time they didn't get to take rest, they were pounding the rice beer cake, they didn't even have time to breast-feed their children' [WR, BCS 030]

(595) Diachronic nominalization: imperfective marking on non-PCT verbs
laso ajangrengsoke phurui kituk kituk kituk kituk...
lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke phurùi ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk
this POSS-orphan=TOP yam NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig

chelangledetlohe {mm} chelangledetlo
che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò=he mm che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò
RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL= DM AFF RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL
'this orphan, as he was digging and digging and digging... he didn't look around' [HK, TR 051]

Imperfective *ke-* occurs frequently in one particular text in the corpus, which is an on-line narration of the pear story, where the speaker is commenting on the video clip as he is watching it. Examples are (596) and (597).

(596) Progressive construction with non-final suffix *-si* plus copula *dō*
vo kiku
vō **ke-**kú
chicken **IPFV-**crow
'chicken are crowing' [SiT, PS 001]

(597) Conjunctive coordination with *lapèn* 'and'
dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [laháì] **ke-**thàp]] lapèn [arúm **ke-**vàn]]
inside=FOC these **IPFV-**put.inside and down **IPFV-**bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man is putting these (pieces of fruit) into one bag sown from white cloth and is bringing them down' [SiT, PS 003]

A typologically well-supported way to model the historical development of the imperfective construction from a nominalization construction is to assume a locational construction as the source construction. As sketched out in Figure 20, the locational construction at Stage 1 would include an S argument, a locational NP that structurally consists of a nominalized clause, and the locational copula, which is the same as the existential copula in Karbi, *dō*. This hypothesized source construction for the Karbi imperfective is structurally analogous to the source construction of the English progressive (i.e., 'S be on/at V-ing'), except that in English, a preposition 'on' or 'at' was required, where in Karbi nothing but the locational copula *dō* is required.

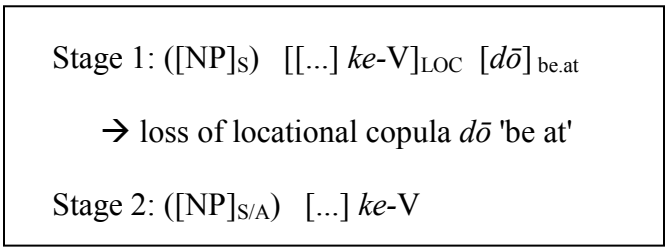

Figure 20. Possible grammaticalization pathway for the imperfective construction

In the absence of closely related languages, it is not clear what kind of comparative evidence could help put this reconstruction on a stronger footing. It appears that there is no possible evidence that could substantially contribute to strengthen or weaken this hypothesis, but the fact that this is a cross-linguistically well-attested development suggests that this is a plausible reconstruction.

9.7.3.3. Ambiguity between Focus and Imperfective Interpretation

In some instances, such as (598), there is an ambiguity as to what triggers the *ke-* prefix on the main clause verb, as this is an imperfective context but there is also a focused element *lují=si* 'mirror=FOC:RL' in the clause.

(598) Ambiguity between focus and imperfective interpretation
anke laso athongkup along lujisi

ánke	[lasō	a-thongkūp	a-lòng]	lují=**si**
and.then	this	POSS-tobacco.container	POSS-LOC	mirror=FOC:RL

kapabon
ke-pa-bōn
NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached
'and then, on this tobacco container, there was a mirror attached' [HK, TR 026]

Similarly, in (599), which is from the on-line narrated pear story (see (596) and (597) in the preceding section §9.7.3.2), the *ke-* can be interpreted as being the fossilized nominalizer from the focus construction evoked by *=si* 'focus:realis', but it can also be interpreted as marking imperfective aspect, as the speaker is commenting on the event as it is occurring in the video clip.

(599) Ambiguity between focus and imperfective interpretation
lake phatang alongsi kethap
là=ke phatáng alòng**=si** **ke-**thàp
this=TOP B.BASKET LOC**=FOC:RL** **NMLZ-**put.inside
'he is putting them in a *phatang* bamboo basket' [SiT, PS 004]

Note that in examples like these, *ke-* is glossed as 'nominalizer' because it is the more neutral label and better reflects the ambiguity between the two possible interpretations.

9.8. Inconsistent Occurrence of *ke-* 'nominalizer' in Nominalization Constructions

This section aims to draw attention to the inconsistency with which *ke-* 'nominalizer' occurs in synchronically nominalized constructions, across all types of synchronically nominalized constructions (though less so in nominalized complementation constructions, as discussed further below).

In (600) and (601), *ke-* is absent from PCT modifiers, both preposed and postposed. Note that (600) is an elicited sentence (produced when asked for a translation of the English sentence), which strongly suggests that the absence of *ke-* cannot be accounted for as being due to fast colloquial or hypo-articulated speech.

(600) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on preposed PCT modifier
là=ke ***[[làng-mē-sén]*** *a-mír]* *kalī*
this=TOP **look-GOOD-INTENS** POSS-flower NEG.EQU.COP
'this is not a pretty flower' [Elicitation SiT 090220]

(601) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on postposed PCT modifier

ba ko jirpo {mm} pinike ne

ba	ko	jīrpō	mm	pinì=ke	nè
SURPRISE(<Asm)	buddy:VOC	friend	AFF	today=TOP	1EXCL

eson akhobor mesen arjulong {mm}

[[e-sòn]	a-khobór	**[mē-sén]]**	arjū-lōng	{mm}
one-CLF:thing	POSS-news(<Ind)	**be.good-INTENS**	hear-GET	AFF

'hey my friend...'today I got to hear good news' [HK, TR 132]

In (602), there is a lack of *ke-* on a relative clause verb, and similarly, in (603), a construction that can be interpreted as a relative clause verb or a participant nominalization also occurs without *ke-*.

(602) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on relative clause verb

[…] "he matsi", hala apiso abang pulo,

he	komāt=si	hála	a-pisò	abàng	pù-lò
hey!	who=FOC	that	POSS-wife	NPDL	say-RL

"he therak thekthe apinso"

he	**[[therāk**	**thèk-Cē]**	a-pinsò]
hey!	**be.ashamed**	**know.how-NEG**	POSS-married.man

'[…] "Hey, who is that!", the wife said, "hey, you are a man who doesn't feel any shame"' [SeT, MTN 034]

(603) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on relative clause verb / participant nominalization

e kasu harlung pirthe… rim abang ave,

e	kasú	harlūng	pirthé	**[[[rīm]**	a-bàng]	avē]
DSM	plate	bowl	world	**keep.in.order**	POSS-CLF:HUM:PL	not.exist

bi abang ave… hem hormu hortar

[[[bí]	a-bàng]	avē]]	hēm	[hormú	hortár]
keep	POSS-CLF:HUM:PL	not.exist	house	thing	EE:hormú

rikcho rikhaplo pu

rík-chò	rík-hàp-lò	pu
be.scattered-everything.neg.1/2	be.scattered-everything.neg.2/2-RL	QUOT

'[…] the plates and bowl and everything (are scattered) because nobody kept them in place, everything is scattered' [KK, BMS 093]

In (604), (605), and (606), adverbial clause verbs occur without *ke-*. Note that in (606), there are three parallel nominalized, non-final marked verbs, but only the last two are marked with *ke-*.

(604) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on adverbial clause verb

phinu chojordamji aphan hu kulat

[[phinū	**cho-jōr-dām-jí]**	a-phān]	hú	kulát
banana	**AUTO.BEN/MAL-sell-GO-IRR2**	POSS-PURP	over.there	shop(<Asm)

anat damlo

a-nát	dàm-lò
POSS-direction	go-RL

'in order to go and sell bananas there he went towards the shop' [HI, BPh 005]

(605) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on PCT root functioning as an adverbial clause verb

lasi laso adakke tovarta mesen apot

lasì	[[[lasō	a-dàk=ke]	továr=tā	**mē-sén]**	apōt]
therefore	this	POSS-road.inbetween=TOP	road=ADD:DM	**be.good-INTENS**	because

leta ledappranglo Bokolia'an

lè=tā	lè-dàppràng-lò	Bokoliá-án
reach=ADD	reach-early-RL	PN-till

'so for this stretch, the road was good, and so we reached Bokolia early' [SH, CSM 012]

(606) Lack of *ke-* 'NMLZ' on adverbial clause verb

[…] amatsi netum ***chepenangpen kangnekpen***

amātsi	ne-tūm	che-penáng-pèn	**ke-**ingnēk-pèn
and.then	1EXCL-PL	RR-make.fun-NF:with	**NMLZ-**laugh-NF:with

kachingnipen*, lasonsi damlo*

ke-che-ingnì-pèn,	làsón=sì	dàm-lò
NMLZ-RR-EE:ingnēk-NF:with	that.way=FOC:RL	go-RL

we get to join and watch the Chomangkan, and so we are happy and everything, and then teasing each other and laughing each other, that's how we go [SH, CSM 021]

Finally, complement clauses have a different status, because there are a number of different complementation constructions that can be situated on a scale of clause union (§8.2.2). Therefore, the presence or absence of *ke-* may (or should) be interpreted as an actual functional difference between two constructions, which is different from the absence of *ke-* on relative and adverbial clause verb, which have to be interpreted as

being nominalized independent of whether *ke-* is actually used on the verb or not.[166] That said, there is one nominalized complementation construction that structurally resembles relative and adverbial clauses due to the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* functioning as a complementizer (which is an element structurally equivalent to the head noun of relative clauses and the subordinator of adverbial clauses). As (607) shows, however, *ke-* may also be absent in this case of a nominalized complementation construction.

(607) Complement clause of *thèk* 'know how' marked with *abàng* 'NPDL'
"kevang akoke ne nanglong nangdunjuilo;
[ke-vàng akó=ke] [nè nang-lòng nang=dùn-jùi-lò]
NMLZ-come when=TOP 1EXCL 2-LOC CIS=join-away-RL

ne non chedamji abang thekthedetpo!"
[nè nón chV-dām-jí] abàng] thèk-Cē-dèt-pò]
1EXCL now RR-go-IRR2 NPDL know.how-NEG-PFV-IRR1
"'when we came, I followed you along far away, I wouldn't know how to find my way back now, […]'" [KK, BMS 097]

It is not clear at this point what may be behind the inconsistent occurrence of *ke-* on synchronically nominalized verbs. The two most plausible reasons do not actually fully explain it: first, it does not seem to be a (purely) phonological issue, such that *ke-* does not occur if the verb stem already has a certain number of syllables, because there are instances such as (606), where the trisyllabic *chepenangpen* occurs without *ke-*, but instances such as (528), where an equally trisyllabic *chingkoidup* occurs with *ke-*. Second, it is not (only) an issue of colloquial versus careful speech, since the lack of *ke-* also occurs in elicitation as in (600) above. This issue has to be left to future study.

[166] Note, however, that it is also possible to interpret the absence of *ke-* on adverbial clause verbs as an indicator of advanced grammaticalization (and thus as a functional element), as discussed in §9.5.1.

CHAPTER X

CLAUSE PARTICIPANTS

This chapter deals with clause participants, both arguments and obliques, which are argued not to be two discrete types of participants but to exist on a continuum in Karbi. It discusses their expression and types of marking, depending on their functions and roles. Starting with brief sections on terminological and conceptual issues in §10.1, §10.2 offers an overview of what is to be said about the expression of clause participants from the perspective of the predicate. Here I discuss argument roles in typical declarative clauses as well as constructions that deviate from the typical patterns. While this chapter is focused on the discussion of clause participant structure in declarative clauses, §10.2 also surveys what can be said about grammatical relation constructions in domains other than declarative clauses.

In §10.3, an overview is provided of the ways participants are expressed and marked, which leads into the following four sections: §10.4 discusses argument expression (as lexical noun phrases, pronouns, or zero anaphora). §10.5 offers an overview of how the Karbi noun phrase delimiter marker *abàng* interacts with participant marking. In §10.6, syntactic and semantic role marking is discussed. Here, the three major types of marking participants (i.e., unmarked and marked by *-phān* 'non-subject' or *-lòng* 'locative') are discussed in a section each to demonstrate the range of contexts in which they occur. Other issues in role marking are also discussed in this section. Finally, §10.7 offers an overview of the four main information structure clitics as well as several other information structure constructions.

10.1. Preliminaries

10.1.1. Terminology

This section gives an overview of how terminology is used in this chapter. While the noun phrase is the smallest unit that is relevant in this chapter, in §10.4 I distinguish

between pronouns and lexical noun phrases, where 'lexical noun phrase' is intended to refer to a noun phrase with a lexical head noun, i.e., in opposition to a pronoun.

In order to be able to independently refer to the structural and the functional elements of relevance in this chapter, I use the following terminology. Functionally, we can distinguish between arguments, which are required, or projected, by the predicate, and obliques (also called adjuncts), which are not required by the predicate but instead offer additional information. (As labels intended to be purely functional or conceptual, their application to clause participants will naturally be controversial at times.) Structurally, we can distinguish between noun phrases, which are unmarked for local 'case' marking, and 'relator noun phrases', which are marked by a relator noun. There is also one postposition *=pen*, and noun phrases marked with this postposition I will refer to as 'postpositional phrases'.

In §10.1.2 and throughout the chapter, I argue that there is no strict divide between arguments and obliques. Nevertheless I find the syntactic primitives or macroroles (depending on the viewpoint) of S, A, O, R, and T useful labels for the description of 'argument' structure. The syntactic roles of S, A, O, R, and T define the number of arguments in a given construction, i.e., one, two, or three arguments, with (attempted) minimal reference to semantics, originally going back to Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979).[167] Within this framework, S is the single argument of an intransitive predicate; A is the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and O (or P) is the other argument of a transitive clause; and in ditransitive clauses, R is the recipient-like argument and T is the theme-like argument.

10.1.2. The Argument-Oblique Continuum and the Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics in Role Marking

The distinction between participants that are required by the predicate and those that are not, that is, the distinction between arguments and obliques, is not straightforward in Karbi.[168] First, there is a practical challenge in examining argument

[167] Note that Comrie actually used the label 'P' instead of 'O'.

[168] In fact, it is not clear how a theory that posits a strong division between core arguments and obliques would hold up to cross-linguistic examination. Croft (2001: 272 ff.) in his 'Radical Construction Grammar'

structure in Karbi (shared by, in fact, many and presumably the majority of languages across the world), which is that Karbi pervasively uses zero anaphora. The consequence is that large amounts of texts have to be considered in order to get a sense for what typical patterns are, and what patterns may be exceptional or irregular. Nevertheless, what we find after consideration of large amounts of text is that Karbi does not have clear, syntactic case marking, such that each syntactic role of S, A, O, R, and T is always marked the same way. The only one of these syntactic roles that is consistently represented is the S argument, which is always unmarked for role. However, that does not necessarily mean that there is an S argument category in Karbi. Instead, within the system as a whole, it makes sense to also interpret the consistently unmarked status of S arguments pragmatically, i.e., as being due to the fact that S arguments by definition are the only argument in a clause, hence the pragmatic principle of 'don't mark an argument if it's obvious what its role is with respect to the predicate'.

Even more broadly, it is not true that a direct relationship exists between a particular type of marking or not-marking and core versus non-core or oblique status. Unlike in English, where at least in transitive clauses the generalization holds fairly well that core arguments are unmarked while obliques occur as prepositional phrases, no such generalization works in Karbi. As shown in §10.6.1, an unmarked NP may take on any 'syntactic' or semantic role. Nevertheless, there is a sense that unmarked NPs, NPs marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', and NPs marked by *-lòng* are more likely to have, and therefore more typically have, core status in the sense of a non-semantically-specific status. It seems, however, that in Karbi, the non-semantic end of the continuum is more strongly influenced by pragmatic factors such as contextual role assignment, rather than syntactic factors such as valence.

Semantics plays a role in local marking as O-high[169] arguments (see §10.2.1.2), which are marked by *aphān*, tend to have human referents while O-low arguments, which remain unmarked, do not have human referents. Similarly, goal arguments with human referents are always marked by *alòng*, while those with non-human referents are more

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examines the distinction in English, and finds arguments in favor of a sharp distinction insufficient. He concludes that "under scrutiny, arguments and adjuncts as global syntactic roles evaporate."

[169] Karbi exhibits differential O marking. O-high arguments are those marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', while O-low arguments are those not marked by *-phān*; see §10.2.1.2 and §10.6.5.

typically unmarked (§10.2.2.1). The generalization in these cases appears to be that arguments with human referents are always marked, whereas arguments with non-human referents are typically unmarked, but may be marked if pragmatically important or salient. These issues are further discussed in §10.6.

10.2. The Predicate: Defining Argument Roles

This section discusses the generalizations we can make about how predicates defines their argument roles. §10.2.1 discusses the common mono-, bi-, and trivalent constructions in typical declarative clauses. §10.2.2 discusses other common constructions that deviate from the patterns discussed in §10.2.1, including the 'need' construction, existential and possession constructions, and motion constructions. §10.2.3 discusses predicates with derivationally changed argument structures. In §10.2.4, the only type of 'agreement' in Karbi is discussed, which is the proclitic *nang*= as a marker of non-subject speech act participants. Finally, §10.2.5 discusses (largely, the absence of) constructions in other grammatical domains whose structures vary as a function of argument structure differences.

10.2.1. Argument Roles in Typical Declarative Clauses

Following standard practice in approaching argument structure, I will start out by assuming that there are typically one, two, or three core arguments in a clause, and that the predicate defines how many argument roles exist in a given construction, i.e., how many required roles there are. This is also referred to as its valence. There may be one (S only), two (A and O), or three (A, R, and T) required argument roles, and the predicate is, respectively, monovalent or intransitive, bivalent or transitive, or trivalent or ditransitive. In each of these three cases, there is one or two default patterns of marking each role. In the monovalent construction, S is always unmarked (§10.2.1.1). In bivalent constructions, A is always unmarked, while O may be unmarked (O-low) or marked by *-phān* 'non-subject' (O-high) (§10.2.1.2). In trivalent constructions, A is also always unmarked, while R may be marked with *-phān* 'non-subject' and T unmarked (R-centered construction), or T may be marked with *-phān* 'non-subject' or unmarked, and R marked with *-lòng* 'locative' or unmarked (T-centered constructions) (§10.2.1.3). Nevertheless,

the predicate may further specify that one of these roles be marked in a way that deviates from the default pattern (§10.2.2).

10.2.1.1. Monovalent Predicate: Unmarked S Argument

Monovalent predicates require one core argument only, which never receives any kind of role marking, but may occur with *abàng* 'noun phrase delimiter' (§10.5) and/or one of the information structure clitics (§10.7). In (608), the predicate *bihek'hak'lang* based on the PCT *bī* 'be small' requires exactly one argument, which is filled by *nesomar* 'my children'.

(608) Unmarked S argument
e nesomarta bihek'hak'lang

[NP]$_S$

e **[ne-oso-màr=tā]$_S$** bī-hek~hāk-làng
DSM **1EXCL-child-PL=ADD:TS** be.small-small~DISTR.PL-yet
'o, my children are still so small' [CST, RO 006]

(609) and (610) offer examples of monovalent clauses that feature an oblique participant in addition to the S argument. In (609), the oblique is a topic, and specifically the possessor of the S argument (see §10.2.2.4), and in (610), the oblique is a topic as well, but specifically a participant to whom the proposition applies

(609) Monovalent clause with additional oblique
*[…] **halata** asomar thelo dinglo*

[NP]$_{OBL}$	[NP]$_S$

[hála=tā] [a-oso-màr] thè-lò dīng-lò
that=ADD:also POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL
'[…] and so with respect to him also, his children grew up' [WR, BCS 006]

(610) Monovalent clause with oblique
***neliphanke** ø me'ongchotlo*

[NP]$_{OBL}$	[ø]$_S$

[ne-li-phān=ke] [ø] mē-óng-chòt-lò
1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ=TOP ø be.good-be.much-very-RL
'this is very good (i.e. a very good opportunity) for me' [SiT, HF 003]

10.2.1.2. Bivalent Predicates: Marking of A and O Arguments

In bivalent predicates, which require two arguments, the A argument is always unmarked, just like the S argument, but there is a split in O argument marking. Some O arguments remain unmarked, while other O arguments are marked by *-phān* 'non-subject' (§10.6.5), with various semantic and pragmatic factors probabilistically pushing O arguments towards one or the other. Following Bickel (2010), I call one end of the emerging continuum, where O is unmarked, O-low, and the other end, where O is marked by *-phān*, O-high.

(611) and (612) offer examples of these two constructions in bivalent clauses. (611) features an O-low argument, which remains unmarked. (612) features an O-high argument, marked by *-phān*. In both examples, the respective A arguments are unmarked.

(611) Typical bivalent predicate with O-low: Both A and O unmarked
ba ko jirpo {mm} pinike ne

	[NP]$_{VOC}$				[NP]$_{A}$
ba	[ko	jīrpō]	mm	pinì=ke	nè
SURPRISE(<Asm)	buddy:VOC	friend	AFF	today=TOP	1EXCL

eson akhobor mesen arjulong {mm}

[NP]$_{O\text{-}low}$				
[e-sòn	a-khobór	mē-sén]	arjū-lōng	{mm}
one-CLF:thing	POSS-news(<Ind)	be.good-INTENS	hear-GET	AFF

'hey my friend...'today I got to hear good news' [HK, TR 132]

(612) Typical bivalent predicate with O-high: A unmarked and O marked with *aphān* 'primary object'
hala bamonpopen bamonpita

[NP]$_{A}$		
[hála	bamón-pō=pen	bamón-pī=tā]
that	wise.person(<Ind)-male=with	wise.person(<Ind)-female=ADD:EXH

la methan aphanta inghonpik

[NP *aphān*]$_{O\text{-}high}$		
[là	methān	**aphān**=tā]
this	dog	**NSUBJ**=ADD:also
		inghōn-pìk
		love-very

'that Bamonpo and Bamonpo, both of them, also loved the dog a lot' [KK, BMS 005]

Other possibilities in marking transitive A and O arguments are as follows. The 'A' argument may be marked by *-lòng* 'locative' in the possession construction (§10.2.2.3), or by *-phān* 'non-subject' in the 'need' construction (§10.2.2.2). The O argument may be marked by *-lòng* 'locative' in the motion construction, particularly if the goal is a human referent (§10.2.2.1).

10.2.1.3. Trivalent Predicates: Marking of A, R, and T Arguments

Trivalent predicates have three required arguments: the most agent-like A argument, the recipient-, location- or goal-like R argument, and the T argument, which is the one that is most easily conceptualized as being transferred or moved. While the A argument is always unmarked, there are two basic trivalent constructions, which differ in how the 'objects' R and T are marked. Depending on whether R or T is marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', I call the two basic construction types R-centered or T-centered, as shown in Table 113. Note that no ordering between T and R is implied here, as it is, in fact, unclear whether there is a 'default' or 'unmarked' order.

Table 113. Object marking in trivalent constructions

	T argument	**R argument**
R-centered	T ø	R *-phān*
T-centered	T *(-phān)*	R *(-lòng)/RNs*

10.2.1.3.1. R-Centered Trivalent Construction

In the R-centered construction, exemplified by (613), (614), and (615), the R argument is marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', while both A and T remain unmarked. In the corpus of recorded texts, this construction always has a non-human T argument and a human R argument. Verbs that occur in this construction include *pī* 'give', *paklàng* 'show' (< *pa-klàng* 'CAUS-appear'), and *thòn* 'drop; take T to R'. This last verb *thòn* also frequently occurs in the T-centered trivalent construction (§10.2.1.3.2).

(613) Trivalent predicate with *aphān*-marked R argument
e nang nepiso neso aphan

[NP]$_A$	[NP *aphān*]$_R$		
e	nàng	[[ne-pisò	ne-osō] aphān]
INTERJ	2	1EXCL-wife	1EXCL:POSS-child PAT

la'an bondi kipi bondok kipi […]

[NP]$_T$		[NP]$_T$	
[[là-án	bondí]	ke-pī]	[bondòk ke-pī]
this-that.much	captivity(<Ind)	NMLZ-give	EE:bondí NMLZ-give

'you (witch) gave my wife and my children in such bad captivity […]' [CST, HM 094]

(614) Trivalent predicate with *aphān*-marked R argument
an laso a'oso abang thesere pumni

	[NP]$_A$			[NP]$_T$	
án	[lasō	a-osō	abàng]	[theseré	púm-ní]
and.then	this	POSS-child	NPDL	fruits	CLF:round-two

hala ajirpo banghini aphan chepaklangdamlo

[NP *aphān*]$_R$				
[hála	a-jirpò	bàng-hiní	aphān]	che-pa-klàng-dām-lò
that	POSS-friend	CLF:HUM:PL-two	NSUBJ	RR-CAUS-appear-GO-RL

'and then, this child went to show the two fruits to those two friends' [SiT, PS 040]

(615) Trivalent predicate with *aphān*-marked R argument
e misorongpoke <...> a'ik aphan... an kethondam

[NP]$_A$	[NP *aphān*]$_R$	[NP]$_T$		
e	misòrongpō=ke	a-ìk	aphān	àn ke-thòn-dām
DSM	ant.sp=TOP	POSS-older.brother	NSUBJ	rice NMLZ-drop-GO

'the ant was on the way to drop off rice for his older brother' [RBT, ChM 010]

10.2.1.3.2. T-Centered Trivalent Constructions

The T-centered trivalent constructions have the T argument either unmarked or marked by *-phān*. The R argument may be unmarked or else marked by either the general locative relator noun *-lòng* (see §10.6.3 and §4.4.4.1) or a relator noun with more specific semantics. In these constructions, the R argument may only have a human referent if the T argument has a human referent as well. Otherwise, the R argument is a non-human location and the T argument is human or non-human. This construction never has the

combination of a non-human T argument and a human R argument, because this constellation occurs in the R-centered trivalent construction (§10.2.1.3.1). A recurring verb in these constructions is *thòn*, which is glossed as 'drop', but more exactly translates as 'take T to R' or 'leave T with/at R', where both T and R may or may not have human referents (although it may be a requirement that at least one of the two have a human referent). Note that this verb also occurs in the R-centered trivalent construction. Another verb that occurs in this construction is *thàp* 'put inside', where R is the location or item in which T is put.

Let us look at the data. (616) and (617) are from the same story, talking about the same event of a witch abandoning children in the forest. Therefore, in both clauses, the T argument has a human referent, while the R argument is a non-human location. The T argument is marked by *-phān* in both instances. The R argument is marked by the general locative marker *-lòng* in (616), but it is marked by the more semantically specific relator noun *-ngbòng* 'in the middle of' in (617).

(616) Trivalent predicate with *-phān* marked +human T argument and *-lòng* marked locative non-human R argument

[…] itum aphanke ha nampi namdur alongsi

[NP *aphān*]$_T$		[NP *alòng*]$_R$			
e-tūm	aphān=ke	há	nāmpī	nāmdūr	alòng=si
1PL.INCL-PL	NSUBJ=TOP	over.there	big.forest	EE:nampī	LOC=FOC

ekethondamlo
e=ke-thòn-dām-lò
1INCL:NSUBJ =NMLZ-drop-GO-RL
'[…] (the witch) abandoned us over there in the deep forest' [CST, HM 076]

(617) Trivalent predicate with *-phān*-marked +human T argument and *-ngbòng*-marked locative non-human R argument

amatsi itum aphanke dak habit angbongsi

	[NP *aphān*]$_T$		[NP *angbòng*]$_R$		
amātsi	e-tūm	aphān=ke	dāk	habít	angbòng=si
because	1INCL-PL	NSUBJ=TOP	here	jungle	in.middle.of=FOC

nangkethonti
nang=ke-thòn-tí
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-drop-get.rid.off
'and then, she took us here in the middle of the jungle and abandoned us' [CST, HM 052]'

(618) is from the same story as the previous two examples, but is from earlier in the story where the T argument is a third person instead of the first person. Interestingly, the storyteller first uses the non-subject marker *-phān* on the T argument, then mentions the locative R argument, which is rather complex and lengthy, and then again mentions the T argument, this time without *-phān*. The reason for this change in marking could be that the storyteller corrected himself and wanted to leave the T argument unmarked, perhaps because he decided to use *-pī* to indicate the mother of the children as the malefactee and hence primary non-subject argument. However, I think another explanation is that the storyteller simply wants to remind the listeners of the identity of the T referent, and leaves it unmarked for predicate role, following the pragmatic principle of 'if the role of an argument is obvious, leave it unmarked' (see §10.1.2, §10.6).

(618) Trivalent predicate with unmarked(?) T argument and *-lòng*-marked locative non-human R argument

pu amat la Karbipi langhe kedam aphi

[pu	amāt	là	Karbì-pī	lànghē	ke-dàm	aphī
QUOT	and.then	this	PN-FEM	washing.place	NMLZ-go	after

laso aosomar, Hingchong musoso atum aphan

			[NP *aphān*]$_T$			
[lasō	a-oso-màr	Hingchòng	musōsō		a-tūm	aphān]
this	POSS-child-PL	CONSTELLATION	2.siblings.of.diff.gender		POSS-PL	PAT

ha same sadu akrong alat votek

			[NP *alòng*]$_R$		
há	samé	sadú	a-króng	a-lat	vōtèk
over.there	path	EE:samé	POSS-CLF:road	POSS-EE:króng	wild.bird

ingrengre voso ingrengre along

ingrèng-Cē	vōsō	ingrèng-Cē	alòng
call(small.animals)-NEG	EE:vōtèk	call(small.animals)-NEG	LOC

osomar ponpidam'et thondam'et

[NP]$_T$		
osō-mār	pòn-pī-dām-ét	thòn-dām-ét
child-PL	take.away-BEN/MAL-GO-PRF	drop-go-PRF

'and then, after the Karbi woman has gone to the water place, these Hingchong sisters, over there, she went to carry the children to a place where the roads cross, where the birds don't sing, and left them there' [CST, HM 014]'

In (619), the verb is again *thòn* ‘drop; take T to R’, and the T argument again has a human referent while the R argument again has a non-human referent. This example demonstrates, however, that the R argument may remain unmarked, as *skúl* does here.

(619) Trivalent predicate with *aphān*-marked human T argument and unmarked non-human R argument

[…] apai abangsi mane kechengpenke

[NP]$_A$			
a-pāi	abàng=si	mane	ke-chèng=pen=ke
POSS-mother	NPDL=FOC	I.mean(<Asm)	NMLZ-begin=from=TOP

osomar aphan skul thondunnangji

[NP *aphān*]$_T$		[NP]$_R$	
[osō-mār	a-phān]	skúl	thòn-dūn-náng-jí
child-PL	POSS-NSUBJ	school(<Eng)	drop-JOIN-need-IRR2

‘[…] the mothers, from the beginning on (when the children start going to school), they have to take the children to school’ [KaR, SWK 048]

(620) and (621) show that both the T and the R argument may have non-human referents, here with the predicate based on the verb *thàp* ‘put inside’. In both instances, T remains unmarked. R is marked by the general locative *-lòng* in (620), and by the more semantically specific *arlō* ‘inside’ in (621).

(620) Trivalent predicate with unmarked non-human T argument and *alòng*-marked non-human R argument

lapenke... phatang along thesere thaplelo... […]

	[NP *alòng*]$_R$		[NP]$_T$	
lapèn=ke...	[phatáng	alòng]	theseré	thàp-lè-lò...
and.then=TOP	BASKET	LOC	fruits	put.inside-again-RL

‘and then, he again put fruits in the phatang basket […]’ [SiT, PS 044]

(621) Trivalent predicate with unmarked non-human T argument and *arlō*-marked non-human R argument

[…] anke amonit abang<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi

[NP]$_A$		[NP *arlō*]$_R$			
[ánke	[a-monít	abàng]	[[pé	a-ke-lòk=pen	ke-ròi	isī
and.then	POSS-man	NPDL	cloth	POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with	NMLZ-sew	one

ajamborong arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan

		[NP]$_T$				
a-jamboróng	arlō=si]	[lahái]	ke-thàp]]	lapèn	[arúm	ke-vàn]]
POSS-bag	inside=FOC	these	NMLZ-put.inside	and	down	NMLZ-bring

'[…] and then, the man, into a bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

Lastly, (622) is the only example in the corpus of recorded texts, in which both T and R have human referents. Although T is only overtly expressed in a preceding non-final clause, we at least can note that in this scenario, the R argument is marked by the general locative marker *-lòng*.

(622) Trivalent predicate with *-lòng*-marked locative human R argument

lasi anke tharunvirsi, aoso ha padok

			([NP]$_T$)		
lasì	ánke	tharún-vìr-si	a-osō	há	pa-dòk
therefore	and.then	rock-gently-NF:RL	POSS-child	then.much.later	CAUS-be.sweet

padoksi, aphi along thondamkoklo

	[NP *alòng*]$_R$		
pa-dòk-si	a-phì	alòng	thòn-dām-kòk-lò
CAUS-be.sweet-NF:RL	POSS-grandmother	LOC	drop-GO-in.a.fixed.place-RL

'and then, gently she was rocking the child and then consoling it, and she left (the child) with the grandmother' [KK, CC 032]

Note that one possibility is to consider T-centered constructions with non-human R arguments, which act as locations, 'transitive' motion constructions where 'R' is actually the goal argument, and 'T' is actually 'O'. Doing that would at first seem like an improvement in making the facts about Karbi look more systematic: the differential marking of T (with or without *-phān*) is really just the differential marking of O (with or without *-phān*); and motion constructions, which exist for 'intransitives' (which then have an S plus a goal argument), also exist for 'transitives' (which then have an A plus an O plus a goal argument). The problem, however, is that the same verb *thòn* 'take T to R' participates in the R-centered construction if T has a non-human referent and R has a human referent, and it participates in a T-centered construction if both T and R have human referents or if T has a human referent and R has a non-human referent. It therefore does not appear to improve the description if we specified the 'true' trivalent construction

as the R-centered construction and 'reduced' the T-centered construction to a bivalent or transitive construction with an additional goal argument. If we did this, the verb *thòn* would be problematic, because it occurs in both constructions. In the end, it seems impossible to describe Karbi with just one true trivalent construction, because with a +human R argument, both constructions occur. It is just not the case that a human R argument makes for a true trivalent construction while a non-human locative or goal argument is simply a bivalent or transitive motion construction with A, O, and a goal argument.

10.2.1.4. Alignment in Typical Declarative Clauses

Cross-linguistically, there are two types of alignment. First, alignment is about whether S aligns with A or with O, or neither in mono- and bivalent constructions. Second, it is about whether O aligns with R or with T, or neither in bi- and trivalent constructions.

By comparing the typical monovalent and bivalent declarative clause constructions, we can see that S and A are both unmarked, while there is a split in O marking such that O-low is unmarked and O-high is marked by *-phān*. Therefore, the O-high construction has O marked different from S and A, suggesting nominative alignment for S and A. However, in the O-low construction, O is equally unmarked, just like S and A, suggesting a neutral alignment system.

For the other type of alignment across bi- and trivalent constructions, the situation is even more complex, because there is not only O-high and O-low, but there are also two typical trivalent constructions. In the R-centered construction, R is marked the same as O-high via *-phān* 'non-subject', and T is unmarked like O-low. In the T-centered construction, T is marked the same as O-high via *-phān* 'non-subject', while R is either unmarked like O-low or marked locative via *-lòng* or a semantically more specific relator noun.

These issues that arise in the attempt to identify alignment in Karbi serve as evidence for the largely non-syntactic basis of participant marking in Karbi.

10.2.2. Declarative Clause Constructions with Non-Typical Role Marking of Arguments

The following subsections discuss declarative clause constructions that deviate from the typical role-marking shown above, most of them in favor of more semantically-based role marking.

10.2.2.1. Motion Constructions with Unmarked and *-lòng* Marked Goals

Motion verbs such as *dùn* 'follow; join', *dàm* 'go', *lè* 'reach', or *vùr* 'drop in; stop by', often occur with overtly expressed goal participants.

However, it depends on the particular verb, how overt goal participants are marked, or whether we may even consider them goal arguments (i.e., conceptually required participants). And overt goal participant marking also depends on the referent, particularly whether it is human or non-human. Finally, pragmatic factors also appear to play a role.

First, let's consider *dùn* 'follow; join'. (623) has a non-human referent goal, which remains unmarked, while (624) has a human referent goal, which in both clauses is marked by the general locative *-lòng*.

(623) *dùn* 'join' with unmarked non-human goal
ansi ***ha hithi*** *dunlo […]*
ánsi **[há hithí]**$_{\text{GOAL/?O}}$ dùn-lò
after.that **over.there market(<Asm)** join-RL
'and then, there they **went to the market** […]' [KK, BMS 081]

(624) *dùn* 'join' with *-lòng*-marked human goal
apiso along *chidunkri*
[[a-pisò alòng]$_{\text{GOAL/O}}$ chV-dūn-krì]
POSS-wife LOC RR-join-follow.closely

laso abamonpi along *dunkrilo*
[[lasō a-bamón-pī alòng]$_{\text{GOAL/O}}$ dùn-krì-lò]
this POSS-wife.person(<Ind)-female LOC join-follow.closely-RL
'he **followed his wife** closely, he **followed this bamonpi** closely' [KK, BMS 082]

The same pattern of leaving a non-human referent goal unmarked but marking a human referent with *-lòng* is found with *dàm* 'go' in (625) and (626).

(625) *dàm* ‘go’ with unmarked non-human goal
*amatsi “Bokolapo abangke **bojar** dam'etlo”[…]*
amātsi Bokolāpō abàng=ke **[bojár]$_{GOAL/?O}$** dàm-ét-lò
and.then NAME NPDL=TOP **market(<Asm)** go-PRF-RL
‘[the children thought that] Bokolapo had already **gone to the market**’ [HI, BPh 010]

(626) *dàm* ‘go’ with *alòng*-marked human goal
*[…] **nangphihai along** damnói dei*
[nang-phì-hái alòng]$_{GOAL/?O}$ dàm-nōi déi
2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC go-INFRML.COND.IMP OK?
‘[…] **go to your grandmother**, ok?’ [KK, CC 016]

(627) shows that with *vùr* ‘drop in, stop by’, the location where one ‘stops by’ has a non-human referent here and is also left unmarked.

(627) *vùr* ‘drop in, stop by’ with unmarked non-human goal
si ladakpen damlo Dimapur vurpon sa
sì ladāk=pen dàm-lò **[Dimápúr]$_{GOAL/?O}$** vùr-pōn sá
therefore here=from go-RL **PLACE** drop.in-in.passing tea(<Ind)

junponlang
jùn-pōn-làng
drink-in.passing-still
‘and then, from here we went, we stopped by Dimapur and just had tea’ [SiT, HF 009]

(628) and (629) once again show that with *lè* ‘reach’, we get the same pattern of marking a human referent goal with *-lòng* while leaving a non-human referent goal unmarked.

(628) *lè* ‘reach’ with *-lòng*-marked +human goal
*lapenke **la thesere kelikbom amonit along** nanglelo*
lapèn=ke **[[là [theseré ke-lík-bòm] a-monít] alòng]$_{GOAL/?O}$** nang=lè-lò
and=TOP **this fruits NMLZ-pluck-CONT POSS-man LOC** CIS=reach-RL
‘and then, he reached the (place where) the fruit picking man was’ [SiT, PS 016]

(629) *lè* ‘reach’ with unmarked non-human goal
*penke damsi isi aporke **Kohima rongsopi** lelo... […]*
pèn=ke dàm-si isī a-pór=ke **[Kóhìmà ròngsōpī]$_{GOAL/?O}$** lè-lò
and.then=TOP go-NF:RL one POSS-time=TOP **PLACE town** reach-RL
‘and then we went and at one o'clock, we reached Kohim Town… […]’ [SiT, HF 017]

However, (630) shows that a non-human referent goal may also be marked with *-lòng* ‘locative’, not just +human referent goals, here also with *lè* ‘reach’.

(630) *lè* ‘reach’ with *-lòng*-marked non-human goal
*[…] **festival aground along** lele ako abángke...*
[festival a-ground alòng]$_{\text{GOAL/?O}}$ lè-Cē akó abàng=ke...]
festival POSS-ground LOC reach-NEG before NPDL=TOP
‘[…] before we reached the festival grounds...’ [SiT, HF 026]

The same is true for the goal of *vàng* ‘come’, where non-human referent goals may also be marked with *-lòng* as in (631), or unmarked as in (632).

(631) *vàng* ‘come’ with *-lòng*-marked non-human goal
*penap **Rongker alongsi** vangpo {mm} […]*
penàp **[Ròngkèr alòng=si]**$_{\text{GOAL/?O}}$ vàng-pò mm
tomorrow **FESTIVAL LOC=FOC** come-IRR1 AFF
‘tomorrow we will come to the place of the rongker, […]’ [HK, TR 107]

(632) *vàng* ‘come’ with unmarked non-human goal
*an ansi **ahem arit** chevánglo, […]*
[án ánsi **[a-hēm a-rīt]**$_{\text{GOAL/?O}}$ che-vāng-lò]
that.much after.that **POSS-house POSS-field** RR-come-RL
‘and then they came home to their house and property, […]’ [KK, BMS 113]

It is perhaps surprising that *vàng* ‘come’ allows the same options for marking goals as more inherently goal-oriented motion verbs, considering that *vàng* is inherently more source-oriented and more frequently occurs with overtly expressed source participants in the text corpus, which, however, are then marked with ablative *=pen*. This suggests we can preliminarily generalize that goals are more important semantic roles in Karbi than sources, independent of the verb.

While the required argument status of goals for motion verbs has been argued for other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Galo (Post 2007: 417), in Karbi any motion verb takes unmarked goal participants, and even non-motion verb may take unmarked locative participants. This is further shown in §10.6.1.7.

10.2.2.2. 'Need' Construction

The verb *náng* 'need' projects two arguments: the participant who needs something, which I will refer to as the A argument, and the participant that is needed, which I will refer to as the O argument. As shown in the elicited sentence in (633), the A argument may be marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', but this is in fact optional in the sense that some speakers will mark the A argument of *náng* 'need' with *-phān*, and others will not.[170] It is an open question at this point, whether this is a dialectal difference. According to my consultants, it is 'more correct' to use *-phān* here.

(633) [NP *(aphān)*]$_A$ [NP]$_O$
ne-li(-phān) *kolóm* *náng-jí*
1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ pen need-IRR2
'I need a pen'

10.2.2.3. Existential Copula Constructions: Simple Locative and Possessive Constructions

There are several constructions indicating location and possession that involve the existential copula *dō*, with the suppletive negative form *avē* (§4.6.2.1.1). Besides the simple locative construction, there are two different possession constructions that differ in how A and O are marked, with unclear effects on the semantic or pragmatic interpretation.

10.2.2.3.1. Simple Locative Construction

The simple locative construction expresses 'X is.at Y', where 'Y' represents the location. The 'subject' X is always unmarked for role marking, while the location Y may be unmarked as well or marked by either the general locative *-lòng* or by a more

[170] There is no example of *náng* 'need' with overt A and O arguments in the corpus of recorded texts. The following example demonstrates, however, an unmarked O argument of *náng* despite having a human referent:

*[…] {e la **monitsi** kenangpohe […]}*
e là **monít=si** ke-náng-pò=he
INTERJ this **man=FOC** NMLZ-need-IRR1=AFTERTHOUGHT
'[…] {human beings they need […]' [HK, TR 042]

semantically specific relator noun. This is demonstrated with (634), where the location is marked by *-lòng*, and by (635), where the location is unmarked.

(634) Simple locative (with relator noun)
[…] richoke ***ha pharla alongsi pohui moidai along*** *doji […]*
richó=ke **[há pharlá alòng=si]$_{LOC}$ [[pohùi mòidāi] alòng]$_{LOC}$** dō-jì
king=TOP **over.there porch LOC=FOC pillow backrest LOC** exist-IRR2
'[…] the king will be over there in his pharla, on his comfortable bed, […]' [CST, HM 044]

(635) Simple locative (without relator noun)
anke <tovar> ***tovar*** *longle adukta dopiklo*
ánke <továr> **[továr]$_{LOC}$** [lònglē a-dūk=tā] dō-pìk-lò
and.then road **road** earth POSS-dust=ADD:DM exist-very-RL
'and then, there is also a lot of dust on the road' [SH, CSM 018]

Since the verb used in the simple locative construction is the existential copula, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the existential construction may be structurally identical, if a locative participant is added (although we should then conceptualize the locative participant as an oblique, i.e., as not required by the predicate). (636) and (637) show that existential clauses with added locatives are parallel to simple locatives in that the locative may also be either unmarked or marked by a locative relator noun.

(636) Existential with locative (without relator noun)
hako arni tangho {mm} ***enut arecho***
hákó arnì tànghò {mm} **[[e-nūt a-rechó]**
that.time day REP AFF **one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-king**

arong *{mm} jangreso.... do tangho {mm}*
a-ròng]$_{LOC}$ {mm} jàngrēsō.... dō tànghò {mm}
POSS-village AFF single.parent.child exist REP AFF
'in the old days (once upon a time), in a king's village, there was an orphan' [HK, TR 002]

(637) Existential with locative (with relator noun)
[…] ***aphong arong along*** *<theng> vo ikpo*
[a-phòng a-rōng alòng]$_{LOC}$ <theng> vō ík-pō
POSS-wild.jackfruit POSS-plant LOC <tre..> bird be.black-MODIF

vo thepo do
vō thè-pō dō]
bird be.big-MODIF exist
'[…] by the wild jackfruit tree, there is a <tr(ee)..> huge black bird' [SeT, MTN 018]

10.2.2.3.2. Predicational Possession Construction with Unmarked A/Possessor and Possessive-Marked O/Possessed

In one of the two predicational possession constructions, the possessor (or arguably, A argument) is unmarked, while the possessed (or arguably, O argument) is also unmarked with respect to role marking, but carries the appropriate possessive prefix. (638) through (641) offer examples of this construction. Note that (638) through (640) suggest that this construction may function to indicate inalienable possession. However, (641) apparently presents counterevidence, as houses do not generally count as inalienable possession. Elicitation furthermore showed that the same construction is used in translating the sentence 'I don't have shoes', where 'shoes' likewise would not appear to be inalienably possessed items. Nevertheless, this construction may still be associated with expressing (a culture-specific notion of) inalienable possession, or else more long-term possession, compared to the more temporary seeming possession construction discussed below in §10.2.2.3.3.

(638) Possession construction with unmarked A, 2nd person possessive-marked O
"nangdun nangne" puta, kroikredetlo,
[nang-dùn náng-Cē pu=tā] [krōi-Cē-dèt-lò]
CIS-join need-NEG QUOT=ADD:although agree-NEG-PFV-RL

*"**nangke nangdin** dolang"*
[nàng=ke]$_{A/POSR}$ [nang-dín]$_{O/POSD}$ dō-làng]
2=TOP 2POSS-day(<Asm) exist-still
'although she said, "you shouldn't follow me", he didn't agree, "you still have your life to live (lit. days)" (he said)' [KK, BMS 084]

(639) Possession construction with unmarked A and 1st person exclusive possessive-marked O
*[…] amat **neta neri** ave **nekeng** ave […]*
amāt **[nè=tā]$_{A/POSR}$ [ne-rí]$_{O/POSD}$** avē **[ne-kèng]$_{O/POSD}$** avē
and.then **1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-hand** not.exist **1EXCL:POSS-foot** not.exist
'[…] and then also, I don't have hands or feet […]' [RBT, ChM 030]

(640) Possession construction with unmarked A and 3rd person possessive-marked O
*[…] jongsi **phakok abang athu** do pulote…*
jóngsi **[phàk-ōk abàng]**$_{\text{A/POSR}}$ **[a-thú]**$_{\text{O/POSD}}$ dō pulote
if **pig-meat** **NPDL** **POSS-fat** exist if
'[…] if there is fat on the pork…' [PI, BPR 002]

(641) Possession construction with unmarked A and possessive-marked O
*[…] **Kuki atumta** hadak **ahem** do*
[Kùkì a-tūm=tā]$_{\text{A/POSR}}$ hádāk **[a-hēm]**$_{\text{O/POSD}}$ dō
TRIBE **POSS-PL=ADD:also.PRL** there **POSS-house** exist
'[…] the Kukis also had a house there' [SiT, HF 053]

Note that marking of O as possessed by A is a semantic, not syntactic requirement, hence examples like (642) are possible, where the A referent 'we (inclusive)' includes the O referent 'you'.

(642) Possession construction with first inclusive A and second-person-possessive O
si asomar aphan charjulo "o pei atum
[sì a-oso-màr a-phān che-arjū-lò] [ó pēi a-tūm
therefore POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ RR-ask-RL vocative mother POSS-PL

*te kopujilangma? **itum nangpeile** kedo*
tē ko-pù-jí-lāng=ma] **[[i-tūm]**$_{\text{A/POSR}}$ **[nang-pēi=le]**$_{\text{O/POSD}}$ ke-dō
if WH-like.this-IRR2-yet=Q **1PL:INCL=PL** **2:POSS-mother=FOC:IRR** NMLZ-exist

kalilo, nangpeita arnam mandamlo arni
kalī-lò] [nang-pēi=tā arnàm mán-dàm-lò arnì
NEG.EQU.COP-RL 2:POSS-mother=ADD:DM god become/happen-go-RL EE:arnàm

mandamlo apot
mán-dàm-lò apōt]
become/happen-go-RL because
'therefore, he asked his children, "O mothers, so then, what else could we do?", We don't have your mother anymore, because your mother has gone to become god' [CST, RO 008]

This possession construction is best considered a specific type of the affected possessor construction (§10.2.2.4).

10.2.2.3.3. Predicational Possession Construction with Locative-Marked A and Unmarked O Argument

Besides the possession construction discussed in §10.2.2.3.2, which appears to mark more permanent or long-term possession, possession can also be expressed in a construction that marks the possessor A as a locative and leaves the O unmarked with respect to both role marking as well as possessive marking. This construction appears to mark more temporary or current possession, as suggested by (643), compared to examples in §10.2.2.3.2.

(643) Possession construction with locative marked A and unmarked O

*te "damnoi!" ante "dah! **nangphihai along**,*

tè	dàm-nōi	ánte	dah!	**[[nang-phì-hái]**	**alòng]$_{A/POSR}$**
OK.then	go-INFRML.COND.IMP	OK.then	go!	**2POSS-grandmother-HON**	**LOC**

*e, **lothe lotha** doji, mene mena" pu*

e	**[lothē**	**lothā]$_{O/POSD}$**	dō-jí	menē	menā	pu
DSM	**banana**	**EE:lothē**	exist-IRR2	maybe	EE:menē	QUOT

then, go to your grandmother, she will have bananas and other fruits maybe [KK, CC 024]

10.2.2.4. (Affected) Possessor Construction

In one construction type, the affected possessor construction presents the possessor of a (logical) argument of the clause as the actual argument that receives role marking, while at the same time treating it as a (left-dislocated) topic (§10.7.5). In (644), the logical O argument *a-prán (a-múi)* 'her life' of the verb *ēn* 'take' does not receive non-subject marking via *-phān*, but the 'possessor' of 'her life', *nepiso* 'my wife' is marked with *-phān* instead while being left-dislocated.

(644) Affected possessor construction

*[kosonloma ne laso... <e>] [**nepiso aphan** ne*

kosón=lo=ma	nè	lasō	<e>	**ne-pisò**	**a-phān**	nè
how=FOC=Q	1EXCL	this	<e>	**1EXCL-wife**	**POSS-NSUBJ**	1EXCL

apran endet amui endetta bang
a-pŕan ēn-dèt a-múi ēn-dèt-tā bàng
POSS-life take-PFV POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) take-PFV-if CLF:HUM:PL

sankur sankamaita echethanpo]
sán-kúr sán-kamái=tā e=che-thán-pò
five(<KhJ)-clan five(<KhJ)-EE:kúr=EXH 1PL.INCL=RR-tell-IRR1
how I (should do) this...?, if I take my wife's life, everybody will criticize us [CST, RO 045]

This kind of external possessor marking construction is common in Tibeto-Burman as well as cross-linguistically (see Bickel (2001) and references therein as well as van Driem (1991)).

In another construction type, the possessor is simply a left-dislocated topic, without being treated as the actual element receiving role marking. This is shown with (645), where the verb *luksón* is intransitive and *aso* 'its children' is the S argument.

(645) Left-dislocated affected possessor, not role-marked
[…] ***lata*** *aso kaluksonlo*
[là=tā]$_{\text{POSR}}$ [a-sō]$_{\text{S}}$ ke-luksón-lò
this=ADD:TS POSS-child NMLZ-be.lost(<Asm)-RL
'[…] and so as for it (the bird), its offspring were lost' [RBT, ChM 022]

Note that in this construction type, the possessor does not necessarily have to be strongly affected. In the last line in (646), *halata* refers to 'Bey the Fair', and the following proposition is about his children: *asomar thelo dinglo* 'his children grew up'. That is, the possessor construction can also be used to keep the possessor a topic, not only if the possessor is conceptualized as being affected.

(646) Left-dislocated possessor, not affected
asomar thelo dinglo anke Bey Ke'et
a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò ánke [[Bēy ke-èt
POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

abangta lason thakthaklo piso some enlo potsi
abàng=tā] lasón thakthāk-lò] [pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] apōt=si
NPDL=ADD:also that.way same-RL wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC

halata asomar thelo dinglo
[[hála=tā]$_{POSR}$ [a-oso-màr]$_{S}$ thè-lò dīng-lò]
that=ADD POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL
'his children were growing up and then Bey the Fair also did the same and he got married and so with respect to him also, his children grew up' [WR, BCS 006]

The possession construction with unmarked A and possessive-marked O (§10.2.2.3.2) is best considered a subtype of this affected possessor construction.

10.2.2.5. Comparative Constructions

Finally, there are various comparative constructions, which should be noted. In (647) and (648), the standard of comparison is marked by *-phān* 'non-subject', while the verb may or may not be marked by *-mū~-mūchòt* 'comparative'. Note that in (647), the standard of comparison is additionally marked by *-te*, which could be the conditional *-te* (§6.10.3).

(647) Comparative *-mū~-mūchòt* with overtly mentioned standard of comparison
[methān a-phān-te] ingnàr thè-mū
dog POSS-NSUBJ-COND? elephant be.big-COMPAR
'elephants are bigger than dogs' [SiT 090221]

(648) Comparative construction without *-mū~-mūchòt*
opeija nephanta halasi nangsarlang
opeija ne-phān=tā hála=si nang=sàr-làng
my.goodness! 1EXCL-NSUBJ=ADD:even that=FOC:RL 1/2:NSUBJ=be.old-still
'my goodness! this one is still older than me!' (<both laughing>) [HK, TR 098]

Interestingly, the *-te* in *aphante* in (647) may be the same element as the second syllable in *mutē* 'compared to' in (649), which marks the standard of comparison here. The first syllable could be related to *-mū* 'comparative'.

(649) Comparative construction with *mutē* 'compared.to', *akelé* 'more', *-pìk* 'very'
[…] pinsomar atum mute arlosomar atumsi akele klempik […]
pinsō-mār a-tūm mutē árlosō-mār a-tūm=si akelé klém-pìk
married.man-PL POSS-PL compared.to woman-PL POSS-PL=FOC more do-very

pu
pu
QUOT
'[…] compared to the men, it was the women who did much more, (I heard) […]' [KaR, SWK 070]

10.2.3. Predicates with Derivationally Changed Argument Structure

Causative *pe-~pa-* and benefactive/malefactive (affective) *-pī* have an effect on argument structure as demonstrated by the examples and discussion below. These changes in argument structure that the two affixes cause make them different from instrumental/comitative *-ī*, which leaves the instrumental/comitative participant marked with *=pen* (§6.5.5.2.2).

10.2.3.1. Causative *pe-~pa-*

If the causative *pe-~pa-* occurs on monovalent verb such as *thì* 'die' in (650), the original S argument becomes the new causee, which in Karbi appears to be treated like an O argument. In (650), the causee *osōmār* is marked non-subject via *-phān*.

(650) Former S becomes *aphān*-marked O
osomar aphan pathietnangta, kopu manalangma
[NP *aphān*]$_{\text{CAUSEE / O (≤S)}}$
[[osō-mār aphān] pa-thì-èt-nangtā] kopù mán-jí-lāng=ma
child-PL NSUBJ CAUS-die-all:S/O-if.alternatively how become-IRR2-yet=Q
'also if I kill the children, how will it be? (i.e., it won't be good either)' [CST, RO 047]

As causative *pe-~pa-* occurs on bivalent verbs, the effect on argument structure varies. In (651), the causee and former A argument is marked non-subject via *-phān*, while the former O argument remains unmarked.

(651) Former A becomes *aphān*-marked ?R
si methan-sibongpo aphansi hem pahonlo […]
[NP *aphān*]$_{\text{CAUSEE / ?R (<A)}}$ [NP]$_{\text{?T(<O)}}$
[sì [methān-sibóngpō aphān=si] hēm pa-hón-lò]
therefore dog.sp NSUBJ=FOC house CAUS-look.after-RL
'therefore, they made the dog look after the house […]' [KK, BMS 011]

However, in (652), the causee and former A argument is not marked by *-phān*, but is unmarked. A caveat is that this may be due to this being a jussive construction that involves the hortative *-nāng*, though if that was actually the case, it would not be clear why.

(652) Former A becomes unmarked ?R
[…] nangpai an patunnang pu

[NP]$_{\text{CAUSEE / ?R (<A)}}$	[NP]$_{\text{?T(<O)}}$		
nang-pāi	àn	pa-tún-nāng	pu]
2-mother	rice	CAUS-cook-HORT	QUOT

'[…] "let (or let's let) your mother cook rice"' [KK, CC 018]

The text example (653) and elicitation based on this example provided in (654) show that further argument marking options exist, perhaps specifically with the verb *chetòng* 'meet' and a human referent O argument. (653) shows that the former O argument may also be marked by *-phān*, and it is unclear how the former A argument would be marked in that case. Alternatively, as shown in (654), the former O argument may be marked by *=pen* 'with' (§10.6.4.1.1), while the former A argument may receive marking via *-phān*. It is impossible, however, to mark both arguments with *-phān*.

(653) Former O becomes *aphān*-marked ?T
ne nephi aphan nangpachetongvekji […]

[NP]$_{\text{CAUSER / A}}$	[NP *aphān*]$_{\text{?T(<O)}}$		
nè	ne-phì	aphān	nang=pV-chetòng-vék-jí
1EXCL	1EXCL-grandmother	NSUBJ	1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-meet-definitely-IRR2

'I will definitely make you meet my grandmother; […]' [KK, BMS 029]

(654) Former O becomes *=pen*-marked ?T, A becomes *aphān*-marked ?R
ne nephipen nangphan nangpachetongvekji […]

[NP]$_{\text{CAUSER / A}}$	[NP=*pen*]$_{\text{?T(<O)}}$	[NP *-phān*]$_{\text{?R(<A)}}$
nè	ne-phì=pen	nang-phān
1EXCL	1EXCL-grandmother=with	2-NSUBJ

nang=pV-chetòng-vék-jí
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-meet-definitely-IRR2
'I will definitely make you meet my grandmother; […]' [Elicitation based on KK, BMS 029]

10.2.3.2. Benefactive/Malefactive (Affective) *-pī*

Adding the suffix *-pī* to the verb indicates that there is an argument that is affected by the particular event described by the predicate; the affected argument may be a benefactee or a malefactee (§6.5.5.2.1). If overtly expressed, the benefactee or malefactee is non-subject-marked with *-phān*, as shown in (655).

(655) Benefactee marked with *aphān* 'patientive'
*[…] hadaksi **kadokave la Diphu asor aphan** kecho kejun*
hádāk=si **[kadókavē là Diphú [a-sòr aphān]]**$_{\text{BEN}}$ ke-chō ke-jùn
there=FOC **all this PN POSS-people PAT** NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink

*nangsik**pi**lo hadaksi netum an cholo*
nang=sík**-pī**-lò hádāk=si ne-tūm àn chō-lò
1/2:NSUBJ=prepare**-BEN/MAL-**RL there=FOC 1EXCL-PL rice eat-RL

han cholo
hán chō-lò
prepared.vegetables eat-RL
'[…] there, they prepared meals **for all the Diphu people**, there they had prepared the meals for us, there we had our meal' [SH, CSM 054]

However, (656) shows that the affected argument may also remain unexpressed via zero anaphora (§10.4.3). We know that this is a case of zero anaphora because the verb is marked by *-pī*. Context makes it clear that here the malefactee (rather than a benefactee) is the mother of the children, *la Karbipi*, mentioned at the beginning of this intonation unit.

(656) Malefactee as zero anaphora
*pu amat **la Karbipi** langhe kedam aphi*
[pu amāt **là Karbì-pī** lànghē ke-dàm aphī
QUOT and.then **this PN-FEM** washing.place NMLZ-go after

laso aosomar Hingchong musoso atum aphan
[lasō a-oso-màr Hingchòng musōsō a-tūm aphān]
this POSS-child-PL CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender POSS-PL PAT

ha same sadu akrong alat votek
[há samé sadú a-króng a-lat vōtèk
over.there path EE:samé POSS-CLF:road POSS-EE:króng wild.bird

ingrengre voso ingrengre along
ingrèng-Cē vōsō ingrèng-Cē alòng]
call(small.animals)-NEG EE:vōtèk call(small.animals)-NEG LOC

*osomar pon**pi**dam'et thondam'et*
[osō-mār] pòn-**pī**-dām-ét thòn-dām-ét
child-PL take.away-**BEN/MAL**-GO-PRF drop-go-PRF
'and then, after the Karbi woman has gone to the water place, these Hingchong sisters, over there, she went to carry the children to a place where the roads cross, where the birds don't sing, and left them there' [CST, HM 014]'

Finally, (657) suggests that an affected argument, here the benefactee *arnám* 'god(s)', may be included and marked by *-phān* without the verb being marked by *-pī*.

(657) Benefactee marked with *-phān* 'non-subject' without benefactive marking on verb
*tangka atibuksi ronji **la arnam aphan,***
[[tángká a-tíbùk=si] **ròn-jí]** **[[là arnàm aphān]**
money POSS-earthen.pot=FOC **distribute-IRR2** **this god PAT**

***latum a'arnam aphan** {avan along} avan*
[là-tūm a-arnàm aphān]]$_{BEN}$ {[a-ván alòng]} [a-ván
this-PL POSS-god PAT POSS-share LOC POSS-share

*along tangka atibuk **nunrenpo** lasi*
alòng] [tángká a-tíbùk] **nún-rèn-pò** lasì
LOC money POSS-earthen.pot **place.container-in.a.row-IRR1** therefore
'they (i.e. the tigers) distribute/offer the money pots **for the god**, **for their gods**, {on their plates (of offerings)}, and they will put the earthen pots in one long row' [HK, TR 111]

This raises the question of whether we can actually ascribe an argument-structure-changing force to *-pī*. The example in (657) shows that the argument structure can be changed in the same way in the absence of *-pī*. Of course, there should be more examples than just this one.[171] But if this turns out to be a more productive pattern, then it represents further evidence for the ultimately semantic or pragmatic basis of argument structure constructions in Karbi.

[171] Note, however, that this example was judged grammatically unproblematic by two independent native speakers, in the course of working through the analysis of this folk story.

10.2.4. Person: Non-Subject Speech Act Participant Indexing on the Verb

The only arguments (or, actually, participants, as they are in fact not always arguments) cross-referenced on the verb are speech act participants (SAPs) in non-subject roles. The details about this phenomenon are discussed in §6.3.1.

It should also be noted that there are instances of *nang*= that follow in line with evidence presented by Bickel (2001) on different agreement relations in Tibeto-Burman. An example is (658), where the benefactee NP '(for) all of the Diphu people' is cross-referenced on the verb by *nang*=, which through context is disambiguated to be first person plural 'we'. This is similar to Bickel's 'partitional' agreement, "where the NP denotes a subset of the referents denoted by the agreement marker" (p.586), though in an inverted sense, because here, the 'agreement' *nang*= represents the subset of the referent denoted by the NP.

(658) (Inverted) 'partitional agreement' (Bickel 2001)
[…] hadaksi ***kadokave la Diphu asor aphan*** *kecho kejun*

hádāk=si	**[kadókavē**	**là**	**Diphú**	**[a-sòr**	**aphān]]$_{BEN}$**	ke-chō	ke-jùn
there=FOC	**all**	**this**	**PN**	**POSS-people**	**PAT**	NMLZ-eat	NMLZ-drink

nang*sik****pi****lo hadaksi netum an cholo*

nang=sík**-pī-**lò	hádāk=si	ne-tūm	àn	chō-lò	
1/2:NSUBJ=prepare**-BEN/MAL-**RL	there=FOC	1EXCL-PL	rice	eat-RL	

han cholo

hán	chō-lò
prepared.vegetables	eat-RL

'[…] there, they prepared meals for Diphu people, there they had prepared the meals for us, there we had our meal' [SH, CSM 054]

In (659), *nang*= cross-references the affected possessor of the O argument, which is a typical construction that *nang*= occurs in (§6.3.1.3). Interestingly, however, this example shows that the 'affected SAP possessor marking' of *nang*= 'frees up' the NP to highlight a different property of the possessor, which in this example is number information in the form of *bàng-hiní* 'two people'.

(659) *nang*= cross-referencing possessor
*[…] ne banghini aphanta nangpran **nang**en'etji*
nè **[bàng-hiní aphān=tā]**$_{\textbf{POSR}}$ [nang-prán]$_{O}$ **nang**=ēn-èt-jí
1EXCL **CLF:HUM:PL-two NSUBJ=ADD:EXH** 2:POSS-life **1/2:NSUBJ**=take-all:S/O-IRR2
'[…] I will take both of your lives' [CST, RO 019]

Note that the verbal proclitic *nang*= does not 'agree with' a particular syntactic role; the only generalization that holds (so far) is that it does not occur with subjects. It therefore does not represent a grammatical relations construction.

10.2.5. Other Grammatical Relations Constructions

Apart from the dubious status of grammatical relations marking in declarative clauses, one grammatical domain in which grammatical relations do indeed appear to matter is in the set of predicate derivations which modify an argument. Some predicate derivations modify or classify arguments that take on a particular syntactic role (§6.5.5.3). For example, *-èt* 'all:S/O' can be used with intransitive verb stems such as *hingnō* 'be bad' in (660), where it modifies the S argument.

(660) *-èt* 'all:S/O' with scope over S argument of *hingnō* 'be bad'
nehem hingnoet nerit hingnoetsi...
ne-hēm hingnō-**èt** ne-rīt hingnō-**èt**-si...
1EXCL:POSS-house bad-**all:S/O** 1EXCL:POSS-field bad-**all:S/O**-NF:RL
'"my house and everything is all destroyed and so..."' [RBT, ChM 071]

It also occurs with transitive verb stems such as *pivir* 'destroy' in (661), in which case the scope is over the O argument, i.e., the item destroyed.

(661) *-èt* 'all:S/O' with scope over O argument of *pivir* 'destroy'
nangrong nangrim nangpiviretji sala
nang-rōng nang-rīm nang-pi-vír-**èt**-jí sala
2POSS-plant 2POSS-EE:rōng 1/2:NSUBJ-CAUS-be.lost-**all:S/O**-IRR2 damn.you!
'I will destroy your stem and everything (i.e. your species), damn you!' [RBT, ChM 061]

This S/O or absolutive argument modification appears to be consistent in typical transitive construction (as discussed in §10.2.1.2). However, an example of the motion verb construction (§10.2.2.1) with *lè* 'reach' and its S (or A?) argument in (662) serves as

a reminder that the unsolved status of grammatical relations in basic declarative clauses makes it difficult to talk about grammatical relations in other grammatical domains.

(662) *-èt* 'all:S/O' with scope over ?S argument of *lè* 'reach'
ladak nangkeleke abarika.... asarthe laheiheike
ladāk nang=ke-lè=ke a-bariká a-sàrthè lahei~hei=ke
here CIS=NMLZ-reach=TOP POSS-OFFICER POSS-village.headman these~DIST.PL=TOP

nangle'etlo {oi}
nang=lè-**èt**-lò {ōi}
CIS=reach-**all:S/O**-RL yes
'the barika and the sarthe and all the other important tigers have already arrived there'
[HK, TR 186]

Nevertheless, predicate derivations are still the only clear part of the grammar where there appears to be a consistent and non-neutral alignment of arguments across both intransitive and transitive constructions (in particular, alignment of S with O).

Other grammatical domains or constructions often cited to pay attention to grammatical relations, such as agreement (§10.2.4), clause-chaining and clause coordination or pivots (§11.2.1 and §11.5), or relativization (§9.3) do not treat arguments differently based on their syntactic roles.

10.3. Overview: Clause Participant Marking

For each argument required or projected by the predicate (§10.2), choices need to be made as to whether or how it should be expressed, depending on a host of pragmatic, syntactic, and semantic factors. Figure 21 offers a representation of the options speakers have in argument expression. The arrows between slots 2 and 3, i.e., between the optional use of the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* and the role markers, indicate that either order occurs, i.e., 2 before 3 but also 3 before 2.

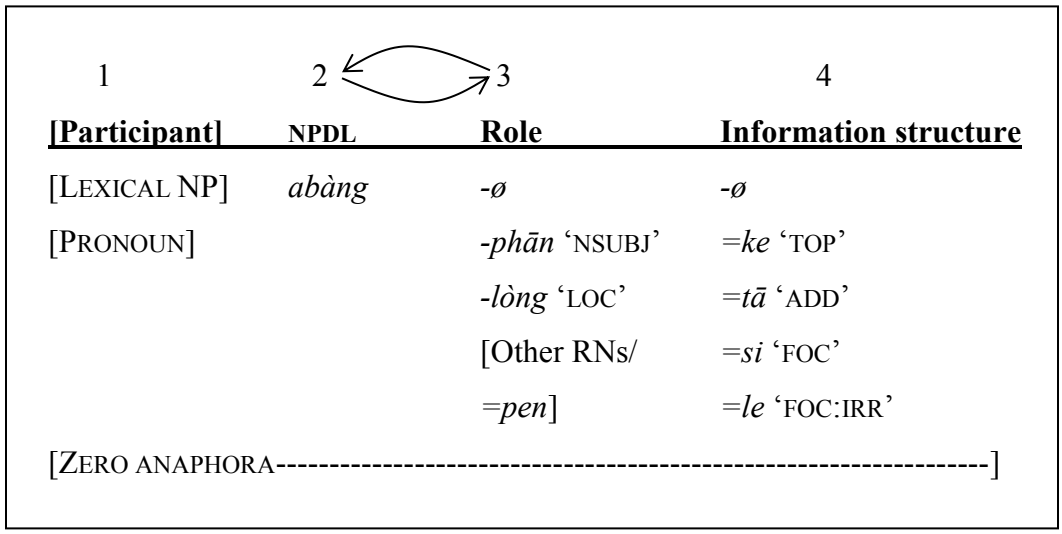

Figure 21. Schematic overview of argument expression in Karbi

The remainder of this chapter discusses the argument expression options as laid out in Figure 21. We start out with a participant in slot 1. The speaker has to decide to leave the argument unexpressed, i.e., as a zero anaphora, or to use a pronoun or a lexical noun phrase; this is discussed in §10.4. Then, Karbi has an element that may or may not be added, the 'noun phrase delimiter' *abàng*, discussed in §10.5. §10.6 discusses the options in role marking, and §10.7 discusses the options in information structure marking.

10.4. Lexical Noun Phrase versus Pronoun versus Zero Anaphora

The choice of using either a lexical noun phrase, a pronoun, or zero anaphora depends on how the speaker models the information and activation status of the argument in the addressee's mind. While this is a highly complex process, in what follows, I give text examples to demonstrate this three-way distinction in argument expression.

10.4.1. Lexical Noun Phrase

A clause participant is expressed via a lexical noun phrase if the speaker assumes the addressee cannot uniquely identify its referent. This is the case when a referent is not activated - either because it is newly introduced or reintroduced - or if it is contrasted with another referent.

The term ‘lexical noun phrase’ is underspecified as to how much information is provided. A lexical noun phrase may consist of just a noun, or it may include a combination of modifiers (see Chapter VII). I use the term ‘lexical noun phrase’ in contrast with just ‘noun phrase’ in order to exclude pronouns. In (663), two new referents are introduced, one is the oblique participant ‘in a king’s village’, the other is the S argument ‘orphan’.

(663) Two newly introduced participants: locative *inut arecho arong* and S argument *jangreso*

hako arni tangho {mm} inut arecho
hákó arnì tànghò {mm} [[e-nūt a-rechó]
that.time day REP AFF one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-king

*arong {mm} **jangreso**.... do tangho {mm}*
a-ròng]$_{OBL}$ {mm} **[jàngrēsō]$_{S}$ ....** dō tànghò {mm}
POSS-village AFF **single.parent.child** exist REP AFF
‘in the old days (once upon a time), in a king's village, there was an orphan’ [HK, TR 002]

Sometimes a speaker uses zero anaphora or a pronoun in a clause, and then, apparently as an afterthought, judges the referent not uniquely identifiable and uses a lexical noun phrase to ensure correct identification of the argument, as with *jirpopo* in (664).

(664) Postposed full NP

anke damlo adapprang halatum damlo tangho, jirpopo {mm}
ánke dàm-lò a-dappráng hála-tūm dàm-lò tànghò **jīrpō~pō** mm
and.then go-RL POSS-dawn that-PL go-RL REP **friend~DUAL** AFF
‘and then, they went, early in the morning they went, the two friends’ [HK, TR 146]

10.4.2. Pronoun

Pronouns are in a sense intermediate between a lexical noun phrase, which occurs when a participant is first introduced, and zero anaphora, which represents the absence of an overt reference to the argument. (665) starts out with a lexical noun phrase: ‘among the Bey, there were three brothers’. In the following intonation unit, this participant is

first referred to by the pronoun *latum* ‘they’, and then left out via zero anaphora in the next clause.

(665) Full NP *Bey atum* / *korte bangkethom* changing to pronoun *latum* (and to zero anaphora)

Bey atum korte bangkethom *do aklengsi abangke*
[Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō] [a-klèng-sí abàng=ke
CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP

Bey Ki'ik adakvam abangke Bey Ke'et
Bēy ke-ìk] [adakvám abàng=ke Bēy ke-èt
CLAN NMLZ-be.black second.child NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

akibi abangke Bey Ronghang
[a-ke-bī abàng=ke Bēy Ronghāng]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=TOP CLAN SUBCLAN
‘(among) the Bey, there were three brothers, the oldest one was Bey the Black, the second one was Bey the Fair, and the small one was Bey Ronghang' [WR, BCS 002]

anke ***latum*** *thelo dinglo,* ***ø*** *piso some enlo tangho*
ánke **la-tūm** thè-lò dīng-lò ***ø*** pīsō sōmē ēn-lò tànghò
and.then **this-PL** be.big-RL be.long-RL **zero.anaphora** wife EE:pīsō take-RL REP
'and then, they grew up and they got married, so they say' [WR, BCS 003]

10.4.3. Zero Anaphora

Zero anaphora, i.e., the phenomenon of leaving highly topical continuing arguments unexpressed, is very frequent in Karbi discourse. Because highly topical continuing arguments are typically subjects rather than objects, zero anaphora more commonly refers back to subjects as well. The excerpt in (666) contains two intonation units. In the first, *misòrongpō* ‘ant’ is expressed as a full NP. It was already mentioned before, but in contrast with another protagonist, i.e., *chonghōkalósō* ‘frog’, so in this first intonation unit, the full NP is repeated, but is marked as a topic via *=ke*. In the second intonation unit, the continuing topic *misòrongpō* ‘ant’ is not overtly expressed, which is indicated by a ‘ø’ symbol for zero anaphora in the position where we would otherwise expect a topic NP, i.e., clause-initially. Note that the at that point discontinued topic

chonghōkalósō ‘frog’ is mentioned again at the end of the second intonation unit, expressed via a lexical NP marked as topic via *=ke*.

(666) Full NP *misorongpo* ‘ant’ changing to zero anaphora

e	***misorongpoke***	*<...>*	*a'ik*	*aphan...*	*an*
e	**misòrongpō=ke**	<...>	a-ìk	aphān	àn
DSM	**ant.sp=TOP**	<…>	POSS-older.brother	NSUBJ	rice

kethondam
ke-thòn-dām
NMLZ-drop-GO
‘the ant was on the way to drop off rice for his older brother’ [RBT, ChM 010]

amat	***ø***	*horbong*	*anbor... inghorpontanlo*
amāt	***ø***	hōr-bōng	àn-bòr
and.then	**ZERO.ANAPHORA**	liquor-gourd	rice-wrapped.bundle

chonghokalosoke	*tovar*	*dakkrang*		
inghór-pòn-tàn-lò	**chonghōkalósō=ke**	továr	dàk-kràng	
carrying.load-take.away-S/O:big-RL	**frog.sp=TOP**	road	spread.out-VSE	

'and then, the ant was carrying heavily on the liquor gourd and the rice bundle, and the frog was spread out in the road, blocking the way' [RBT, ChM 011]

Another example is (667). Here, *harlōng* ‘stone, rock’ is a lexical NP in the first two clauses of the intonation unit (where its role changes from being an O argument to being an S argument). Then, the topic switches to the daughter of the king and the third and fourth clause of this intonation unit are only about her. Then, in the last clause, the rock again becomes the A argument but remains unexpressed via zero anaphora, although the topic had in the meantime switched to the daughter of the king. Context unambiguously identifies the A argument as the rock, making zero anaphora possible here.

(667) Full NP *harlōng* ‘stone, rock’ changing to zero anaphora

harlong	*turpurlo*	*aharlong*	*ingplonglo*	*richo*		
[harlōng	túr-pùr-lò],	[a-harlōng	ingplòng-lò],	[richó		
stone	kick-move.over-RL	POSS-stone	run.away.animal-RL	king		

asopi abang ha langhe lang kachinglu...
a-oso-pì abàng há lānghē lāng ke-chinglú]
POSS-child-female NPDL over.there washing.place water IPFV-take.bath

amat lang kachinglu ketangpen kevang amat
[amāt lāng ke-chinglú ke-tāng-pen ke-vàng amāt
and.then water NMLZ-take.bath NMLZ-finish-NF NMLZ-come and.then

***ø** richo asopi aphan baplam*
ø richó a-oso-pì a-phān báp-làm]
ZERO.ANAPHORA king POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ press.down-RES:paste-like
it kicked the stone, the stone rolled away, the daughter of the king was taking a bath there at the washing place, and then after having finished taking her bath, she was coming (home), and then it pressed down the king's daughter [RBT, ChM 026]

10.5. Noun Phrase Delimiter *abàng*

The 'noun phrase delimiter' (NPDL) *abàng* occurs very frequently in the corpus of recorded texts. There are approximately 300 instances, depending on whether some occurrences are counted as *a-bàng* 'POSS-CLF(:HUM:PL)' instead (§10.5.2), which likely is the source form of the grammaticalized *abàng*. It marks noun phrases and relator noun phrases in any clausal role and with any information status, although it most frequently occurs on noun phrases unmarked for clausal role and either unmarked for information structure status or marked with topic *=ke*; it thus appears to correlate with subject and topic to a large degree. Its function has to do with marking contrast between clausal or discourse participants. The position of the noun phrase delimiter is the right edge of an NP, either preceding or following any role markers, and always before any information structure clitics.

Examples of *abàng* are given in (668), where both an extraclausal possessor NP and the clausal S argument are marked by *abàng*.

(668) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* on extraclausal possessor NP and on possessed S argument
*an Bey Ke'et pu atum **abangke***
án [Bēy ke-èt pu a-tūm **abàng=ke]**
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow QUOT POSS-PL **NPDL=TOP**

*asomar **abang** etpik tangho*
[a-oso-màr **abàng]** èt-pìk tànghò
POSS-child-PL **NPDL** be.yellow-very REP
'and then, with respect to the so-called Bey the Fair and his family, his children were very fair' [WR, BCS 010]

In the story that (668) is taken from, *abàng* is used particularly frequently. The story is about three brothers from the Bey Clan in mythological times, and gives an account of why each brother started a subclan and how the relationships between the subclans came about, which is a common genre in Karbi oral literature (§1.6.1). What appears to trigger the frequent use of *abàng* then is that there are three protagonists, which are constantly contrasted. A further example that highlights this is (669).

(669) Parallelism based on coordination indicated by additive *=tā* (folk story)
*[…] anke Bey Ki'ik **abangta** ahem arit dolo*
ánke [[Bēy ke-ìk **abàng=tā]** a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black **NPDL=ADD:also:PRL** POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

*Bey Ke'et **abangta** ahem arit dolo*
[[Bēy ke-èt **abàng=tā]** a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow **NPDL=ADD:also:PRL** POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

*Bey Ronghang **abang**, akibi **abangta**,*
[[[Bēy Ronghāng **abàng]** [a-ke-bī **abàng=tā]]**
CLAN CLAN **NPDL** POSS-NMLZ-be.small **NPDL=ADD:also:PRL**

ahem arit dolo
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'[…] Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property' [WR, BCS 004]

10.5.1. Distribution of Noun Phrase Delimiter *abàng*

The distribution of the noun phrase delimiter *abàng* is very unrestricted as it occurs in a wide variety of semantic and pragmatic contexts, as further discussed in §10.5.3 and §10.5.4. In the corpus of recorded texts, it occurs with NPs that have singular referents as well as with NPs that have plural referents. It occurs with lexical NPs but

also with pronouns, such as *alàng* ‘he’, *netūm* ‘we (exclusive)’, and *ilitūm* ‘we (inclusive; formal)’. It also occurs with uniquely referential proper names, e.g., *Linda abangke*.

The ‘noun phrase delimiter’ most typically occurs on noun phrases, but there are some instances where *abàng* occurs on adverbs (or on (nominalized) subordinate clauses, see §10.5.2). Its occurrence on adverbs generally leads to a (nominal-like) interpretation of adverbs as referring to bounded entities, which can then be contrasted with other bounded entities. For example, (670) is about a character in the story, who takes his grandmother’s advice and changes his mind about which of his two uncles’ daughters he wants to marry. As a consequence, (670) states that at the house of the uncle that had been his original choice for marriage, referred to as *hadak abangke* ‘there’, all the food that had already been prepared for the wedding got rotten, because the wedding never took place. The expression of interest, *hadak abangke* ‘there’, clearly contrasts the original house/family with the newly chosen house/family to marry into. It appears that adding *abàng* results in the vague adverb *hádāk* ‘there’ receiving a more specific interpretation of referring to the original house/family (i.e., literally, ‘at the there one (i.e., house)’).

(670) Noun phrase delimiter on *hádāk* ‘there’

*[…] an **hadak abangke** lo han thuruilo, hala*

[án **[hádāk abàng=ke]** lō hán thū-rùi-lò] [hála
and.then **there** **NPDL=TOP** banana.leaf curry rot-many-RL that

aphi alam karju an Bey Ke'et

a-phì a-lám ke-arjū án] [Bēy ke-èt
POSS-grandmother POSS-word NMLZ-hear because CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

ahem hedi hadak asopi la Bey Ke'et

a-hēm hedī] [hádāk a-oso-pì] [là Bēy ke-èt
POSS-house NP.EMPH there POSS-child-female this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

asopi aphansi hedi piso hangdamrong hadaksi

a-oso-pì aphān=si hedī] [pīsō hàng-dām-ròng] [hádāk=si
POSS-child-female NSUBJ=FOC NP.EMPH wife call-GO-instead there=FOC

pangri pangdonrong tangho

pangrí pangdòn-ròng tànghò]
reconcile even.out-instead REP

‘[…] and then there all the food got rotten, and then he followed his grandmother's advice

and to Bey the Fair's house, you know, right?, there (that man's) daughter, to the daughter of Bey the Fair, you know, right? he went to ask for her as a wife instead, there he went to get married instead' [WR, BCS 016]

A similar use of *abàng* with an adverb is shown in (671). Here, *nón* 'now' is used with *abàng* again to restrict the vague adverb 'now' to a specific reading of 'this time'.

(671) Noun phrase delimiter on *nón* 'now'
laso kematha amatsi "o do nangnelo, non abangke"
lasō ke-mathà amātsi o dō nāng-Cē-lò **[nón abàng=ke]**
this NMLZ-think and.then INTERJ stay need-NEG-RL **now NPDL=TOP**
'we were thinking this, and "o, no need to stay this time"' [SH, CSM 065]

Finally, (672) offers an example of *abàng* with demonstratives for an added sense of referentiality (see also §4.5.3).

(672) Noun phrase delimiter on demonstratives
lasi laso ahonjeng komatma keteroiun
lasì lasō a-honjèng komāt=ma ke-teròi-ùn
therefore this POSS-thread who=Q NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able

***labangke** ahoklo*
là-abàng=ke a-hōk-lò
this-NPDL=TOP POSS-truth-RL
'therefore, whoever can walk over this thread, that one is true' [CST, HM 096]

10.5.2. Analysis as Noun Phrase Delimiter vs. Syntactic Head Noun

In a number of occurrences of *abàng*, it is synchronically unclear whether it should be analyzed as the noun phrase delimiter or as an abstract head noun *a-bàng* 'possessive-classifier', where *bàng* is not necessarily the human plural classifier (anymore) (§4.4.1.1.2) but may be a further grammaticalized "general" classifier, or semantically entirely bleached head noun.

An example is (673), where *abang* appears to head a relative clause with an indefinite reading: *[[hem/rit kehon] abang]* 'somebody to look after the house and property'. Here, we could analyze *a-bàng* as 'possessive-classifier:human.plural', or even

as ‘possessive-somebody’, because *bàng* is also used as an indefinite pronoun ‘somebody’ (see also *bang-pak* in §4.5.6).

(673) *Abang* heading a non-referential relative clause
*[…] hem kehon **abangta** ave*
hēm ke-hón **a-bàng=tā** avē
house NMLZ-look.after **POSS-somebody=ADD** not.exist

*rit kehon **abangta** ave […]*
rīt ke-hón **a-bàng=tā** avē
field NMLZ-look.after **POSS-somebody=ADD** not.exist
‘[…] there is nobody to look after my house and property […]’ [CST, RO 007]

(674) shows that *abang* can also head a referential relative clause. In this case, it is parsed and glossed as ‘possessive-classifier:human’.

(674) *Abang* heading a referential relative clause
[…] la saikel kevek abang puthot chevekponthulo […]
[là saikél ke-vèk **a-bàng]** puthōt che-vēk-pōn-thū-lò
this bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-steer **POSS-CLF:HUM:PL** again RR-steer-away-again-RL
‘[…] the one riding a bicycle again got on his way, […]’ [SiT, PS 033]

(675) shows, however, that *abàng* may also occur with action nominalizations, in which case it is clearly not a syntactic head for a relative clause.

(675) *Abang* marking an action nominalization
*[…] laso kekoi **abangke** mane angpip dopiklo,*
[[lasō ke-kòi **abàng=ke]** mane angpìp dō-pìk-lò]
this NMLZ-rub **NPDL=TOP** I.mean(<Asm) foam exist-very-RL

siri-sabun anijom asonlo
[sirí-sabún a-nijóm asón-lò]
Shree.soap(<Asm) POSS-procedure(<Asm) like-RL
‘[…] this scrubbing, I mean, it creates a lot of foam, like using Shree soap [SiH, CW 005-6]

In (676), an adverbial subordinate clause without an overt subordinator to specify its semantic relation to the main clause occurs with *abàng*. This instance of *abàng*

appears better analyzed as the noun phrase delimiter, because (677) shows that *abàng* does not fulfil a syntactic head requirement as it occurs on adverbial subordinate clauses.

(676) *Abang* 'heading' a semantically unspecified adverbial subordinate clause
lasi "to tangte nephi aphan
lasì [tò tángtē ne-phì a-phān
therefore OK if 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother POSS-NSUBJ

nangkapachetongji abangke pathe'anganang"
nang=ke-pa-chetòng-jí **abàng=ke]** pa-the'āng-sināng
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-meet-IRR2 **NPDL=TOP** CAUS-be.bright-si.HORT
'and then, "okay then, in order to make you meet my grandmother, let's wait a little while until it's bright (lit., make it bright)"' [KK, BMS 062]

(677) Semantically unspecified adverbial subordinate clause not 'headed' by *abang*
[…] nephi nangkidunjike si ne
ne-phì nang=ke-dùn-jí=ke] [sì nè
1EXCL:POSS-grandmother CIS=NMLZ-join-IRR2=TOP therefore 1EXCL

nangponpo pulo
nang=pòn-pò] pù-lò
1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1 say-RL
"'[…] (there) my grandmother will come and so I will take you there", (the dog) said [KK, BMS 064]

10.5.3. Coocurrence of *abàng* with Role Markers

Most commonly, *abàng* occurs with NPs unmarked for role (§10.6.1). It rarely occurs with 'non-subject' *-phān* marked NPs or 'locative' *-lòng* marked NPs (see §10.6.2 and §10.6.3). There are only four instances of *abàng* occurring with the non-subject marker in the corpus of recorded texts, one of which is given in (678). The typical order of *abàng* preceding the roler marker is reversed in one of these four instances, where instead of *abàng aphān* as in (678), the order is *aphān abàng*, with no clear semantic or pragmatic difference.

(678) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* occurring with 'non-subject' *-phān* marked NP
*anke la apenan **abang aphanke** aning*
[ánke là a-penān **abàng aphān=ke]** a-nīng
and.then this POSS-husband **NPDL** **NSUBJ=TOP** POSS-mind

kaparongji pupo, ok paka paka, han
ke-pa-aróng-jí pu-pò] [ōk paká paká hán
NMLZ-CAUS-be.happy-IRR2 QUOT-IRR1 meat very.good very.good curry

paka paka lopen thuidun pame pamepo
paká paká lō=pen thùi-dūn pa-mé pa-mé-pò]
very.good very.good banana.leaf=with wrap-JOIN CAUS-be.good CAUS-be.good-IRR1
'and then, in order to satisfy her husband, she wrapped very good meat and very good curry very nicely for him to take along (to the field)' [CST, RO 014]

There are only four instances of *abàng* occurring with 'locative' *-lòng*, one of which is with a nominalized adverbial clause in (679). All four instances have the same order of the role marker or subordinator *-lòng* preceding *abàng*.

(679) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* occurring with 'locative' *-lòng* marked NP
si un'an abangke elitum
[sì ùn=án abàng=ke e-li-tūm
therefore be.able=up.to NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*kachethan **along abangke**... akaprek alam abang*
ke-che-thán **alòng abàng=ke...]** [[a-ke-prék a-lám abàng]
NMLZ-RR-tell **LOC** **NPDL=TOP** POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-language NPDL

humponpera pareponpera
hūm-pōn-Cē-rà parē-pōn-Cē-rà
pick.up-on.the.way-NEG-NF:IRR use.tool-on.the.way-NEG-NF:IRR

ningjeponpera Karbi alampen un'an abangke
ningjé-pòn-Cē-rà] [Karbì a-lám=pen ùn=án abàng=ke]
speak-on.the.way-NEG-NF:IRR TRIBE POSS-language=with be.able=up.to NPDL=TOP

Karbi alampen kachethanponji aphan...
[Karbì a-lám=pen ke-che-thán-pòn-jí aphān...]
TRIBE POSS-language=with NMLZ-RR-tell-take.away-IRR2 PURP

si bor'ilonang hedi?
[sì bor'í-lonāng hedī?]]
therefore try-HORT:EMPH okay?
'so as much as we can, regarding our talking to each other, without picking up another language, without speaking another language, in Karbi as much as we can, to speak in Karbi to each other let's try, okay?' [KaR, SWK 016]

(679) above also exemplifies the use of *abàng* on (nominalized or non-nominalized) subordinate clauses without a head noun or subordinator, in *un'an abangke* 'as much as we can'. This is best analyzed as an instance of a topic-marked subordinate clause (§9.5.1).

10.5.4. Cooccurrence of *abàng* with Information Structure Clitics

The noun phrase delimiter mostly occurs with NPs unmarked for information structure and NPs marked with *=ke* 'topic', of which there were several examples in the preceding discussion because those are the most common information structure statuses *abàng* occurs with. However, *abàng* also occurs with additive *=tā* as in (680), with focus *=si* as in (681), and with irrealis focus *=le* as in (682).

(680) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* with *=tā* 'additive'
laso arni abangke hala osomar atum mandu kecho
[[lasō arnì abàng=ke] [hála osō-mār a-tūm mandú ke-chō]
this day NPDL=TOP that child-PL POSS-PL field.hut NMLZ-eat

apo abangta nangsuntuklo […]
[[a-pō **abàng=tā]** nang=sūn-tùk-lò]]
POSS-father **NPDL =ADD:DM** CIS=descend-sd.of.stepping-RL
'and then they didn't dare to join (their dad) for a meal, and then that day, in order for those children to eat in the mandu, the father came down (from the tree house) […]' [CST, RO 030]

(681) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* with *=si* 'focus'
latum <la> hi'ipi abangsi laso kethondamtilo
là-tūm <là> hī'ipī **abàng=si** lasō ke-thòn-dām-tí-lò
this-PL this witch **NPDL=FOC** this NMLZ-drop-GO-get.rid.off-RL
'nobody else than the witch abandoned them' [CST, HM 083]

(682) Noun phrase delimiter *abàng* with *=le* 'focus:irrealis'
hala alo abangle chothatnang […]
[hála a-lò **abàng=le]** cho-thāt-nāng
that POSS-male.animal **NPDL=FOC:IRR** AUTO.BEN/MAL-slaughter-HORT
"let's kill that rooster!" […]' [SeT, MTN 010]

10.6. Role Marking

I use the term 'role marking' to refer to a type of marking or non-marking that relates a participant to the verb. This term intentionally blurs the line between syntactic and semantic roles, as well as between core and oblique participants. Figure 22 shows the four basic possibilities in role marking on a continuum of the parameter of 'syntacticity' and/or, in fact, 'pragmaticity' (least semantic information and most likely to be 'core argument') and 'semanticity' (most semantic information and most likely to be 'oblique'). These four possibilities are: 1) leave the NP unmarked; 2) the 'non-subject' marker *-phān*; 3) the 'locative' marker *-lòng*; and 4) one of a set of (semantically specific) relator nouns (§4.4.4) or the comitative/instrumental/ablative *=pen*.

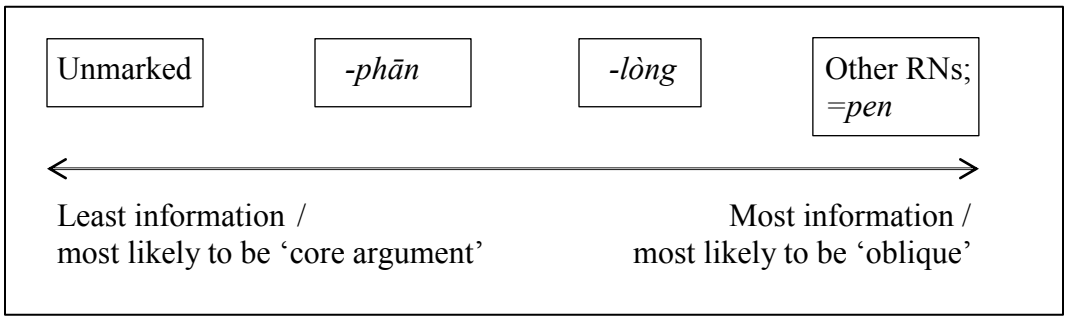

Figure 22. Role marking possibilities

Figure 22 represents these four possibilities on a continuum based on evidence that an unmarked NP can fill any semantic role (§10.6.1); while an NP marked with *-phān* 'non-subject' is somewhat more restricted in its role interpretation (§10.6.2); an NP marked with *-lòng* 'locative' is even more restricted in its role interpretation (§10.6.3); and finally, an NP marked with one of the other relator nouns or with *=pen* very specifically marks particular roles (§10.6.4). Note, however, that there is variation as to how semantically specific a member of the category on the semantic end of the continuum is. For example, *=pen* is in fact not as semantically specific because it covers comitative, instrumental, and ablative roles.

While the left end of the continuum in Figure 22 could be considered the syntactic pole, I believe there is a very strong sense that it is more of a pragmatic pole. That is, at this pole, pragmatic factors enable the language comprehender to determine the particular

role an NP has. In particular, instead of offering concrete semantic information, the use of an unmarked NP means that the speaker relies on the addressee to be able to unambiguously figure out the role of the NP. The two middle points on the continuum, *-phān* and *-lòng* may be analyzed as having some syntactic basis, because *-phān* generally never marks S/A (except for, arguably, in the semantic marking of arguments of *náng* 'need', §10.6.2.4), and *-lòng* generally never marks S/A (except for, again arguably, in the semantic marking of possessor, §10.6.3.4), and never O or T, pending the analysis of motion/goal constructions (§10.2.2.1, §10.6.3.2, §10.6.3.3).

10.6.1. Unmarked Noun Phrases

Unmarked noun phrases in a clause may fill any 'syntactic' or 'semantic role', i.e., they may fill in for 'required' core arguments as well as any type of additional 'oblique' participant. It therefore makes sense to think of them as truly unmarked, rather than 'zero-marked', i.e., leaving them without a marker is not to be understood in opposition or in a paradigm with the actual markers, but as not specified for a syntactic or semantic role. Instead, then, unmarked is best understood as a pragmatic default, which represents the assumption on part of the speaker that the addressee is able to identify the syntactic or semantic role the unmarked noun phrase takes in the clause (see also §10.1.2 and §10.6). 'Unmarked' then instructs the listener to interpret the noun phrase as the most obvious or expected syntactic or semantic role. In addition, 'unmarked' NPs predominate where the semantic role is non-salient or most typical. For example, a locative NP that could receive the general locative marker *-lòng* is more likely to remain unmarked than a locative NP whose locational properties are unexpected or salient, such as *-ngsóng* 'high up' (§10.6.1.7). Examples that demonstrate the occurrence of unmarked noun phrases in all types of syntactic and semantic roles follow.

10.6.1.1. S Argument

(683) and (684) show that NPs unmarked for role can function as S arguments both of predicates consisting of PCT roots and those consisting of active verbs.

(683) Unmarked S argument (PCT root)
jangrengso abangta *repik tangho {mm}*
jangrēngsō abàng=tā rè-pìk tànghò mm
orphan **NPDL=ADD:DM** be.smart-very REP AFF
'[but] the orphan is very smart' [HK, TR 064]

(684) Unmarked S argument
lasi ha ***nangpai*** *vanglo jaho damnoi mok*
lasì há **nang-pāi** vàng-lò jáho dàm-nōi mōk
therefore over.there **2-mother** come-RL look.there! go-INFRML.COND.IMP breast

chudamnoi dah pulo
chū-dām-nōi dáh pù-lò
suck-GO-INFRML.COND.IMP go! say-RL
'and then, "from there your mom has come, look there!, go and drink milk, go!" said (the grandmother)' [KK, CC 014]

10.6.1.2. A Argument

A arguments are always unmarked, here in a transitive clause with an O-low argument *phurùi* 'yam' in (685).

(685) Unmarked A argument
laso ajangrengsoke *phurui kituk kituk kituk kituk...*
lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke phurùi ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk
this **POSS-orphan=TOP** yam NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig

chelangledetlohe {mm}
che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò=he
RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT
'this orphan, as he was digging and digging and digging... he didn't look around' [HK, TR 051]

10.6.1.3. O-Low Argument

(686) and (687) show that O arguments both with non-human and human referents may remain unmarked. Unmarked O arguments are defined as O-low arguments

(§10.2.1.2), so per definition, only O-low arguments are unmarked, while O-high arguments are marked by *-phān* 'non-subject'.[172]

(686) Unmarked O-low argument with non-human referent
nepo ***kecho ahormu*** *vanpo*
ne-pō **[ke-chō a-hormú]** vàn-pò
1EXCL-father **NMLZ-eat POSS-thing** bring-IRR1
'our father will/might have brought something to eat' [HI, BPh 016]

(687) Unmarked O-low argument with human referent
ne nahokpen setame... e ne nechor
nè nahōk=pen setāmē e nè **ne-chór**
1EXCL anywhere=from nevertheless DSM 1EXCL **1EXCL:POSS-spouse**

chirithupo pu […]
che-rī-thū-pò pu
RR-search-again-IRR1 QUOT
'<from anywhere, I will find another wife again> (he thought by himself), […]' [CST, RO 009]

10.6.1.4. T Argument

T arguments in ditransitive constructions (both R-centered and T-centered constructions; see §10.2.1.3) often remain unmarked, as in (688).

(688) Unmarked T argument in R-centered trivalent construction
lapenke aphutup pidetlo laphan
[NP]$_T$ [NP *aphān*]$_R$
lapèn=ke **a-phutūp** pī-dèt-lò là-phān
and.then=TOP **POSS-hat** give-PFT-RL this-NSUBJ
'and then, he gave him his hat' [SiT, PS 038]

10.6.1.5. R Argument (T-Centered Trivalent Constructions)

In the T-centered trivalent constructions, the R argument may be unmarked, as in (689), where the verb *thòn* means 'take T to R'.

[172] Note that in (687), the reason why the O argument *nechor* is unmarked is not because the verb is marked reflexive by *che-*; O arguments of reflexive-marked verbs can still be O-high (see §6.4.3).

(689) Unmarked R argument in T-centered trivalent construction
[…] apai abangsi mane kechengpenke
[NP]$_A$
a-pāi abàng=si mane ke-chèng=pen=ke
POSS-mother NPDL=FOC I.mean(<Asm) NMLZ-begin=from=TOP

osomar aphan skul thondunnangji
[NP *aphān*]$_T$ **[NP]$_R$**
[osō-mār a-phān] **skúl** thòn-dūn-náng-jí
child-PL POSS-NSUBJ **school(<Eng)** drop-JOIN-need-IRR2
'[…] the mothers, from the beginning on (when the children start going to school), they have to take the children to school' [KaR, SWK 048]

10.6.1.6. Goal/Locative Argument/Participant of Motion Verbs

Both the verb *dàm* 'go' and the verb *ingnì* 'sit' in (690) take goal participants. While we may consider 'go' to be a motion goal verb and 'sit' a motion manner verb, both take equally unmarked goal/locative participants: *pharlá* 'outside part of Karbi house' and *hēm* 'house' in the case of *dàm* 'go', and *hongkūp* 'entrance area of Karbi house' in the case of *ingnì* 'sit'.

(690) Unmarked goal argument of motion verbs
e anke apaita <m> ***pharla*** *dam,*
e [ánke a-pāi=tā <m> **pharlá** dàm]
DSM and.then POSS-mother=ADD:DM HESIT **outside.part.Karbi.house** go

theng akhangra okóksi, ***hem*** *damsi,*
[thēng a-khangrá ó-kòk-si] **[hēm** dàm-si]
firewood POSS-basket.for.firewood leave-in.a.fixed.place-NF:RL **house** go-NF:RL

hongkup *ingnilúnsi, mok chepachusi,*
[hongkūp ingnì-lùn-si] [mōk che-pa-chū-si]
entrance.area.Karbi.house sit-big:AO-NF:RL breast RR-CAUS-suck-NF:RL

"dojoinoi, po!"
[dō-jòi-nōi pō]
stay-quietly-INFRML.COND.IMP father
'and then, the mother went and unloaded the firewood in the Pharla (Veranda), then went inside the house, sat down in the Hongkup, gave the child the milk, "be quiet, father"' [KK, CC 015]

10.6.1.7. ‘Oblique’ or Semantic Role

As shown in §10.6.1.6, both goals of motion goal verbs, which should therefore be considered arguments, i.e., required roles, and locatives of motion manner verbs are often unmarked. Another example of a different motion manner verb, *chón* ‘jump’, with an unmarked goal participant is offered in (691).

(691) Unmarked goal participant with manner motion verb *chón* ‘jump’
amat chonghota chonthap chonphrulo
amāt chonghō=tā chón-tháp chón-phrú-lò
and.then frog=ADD:DM jump-here.and.there.1/2 jump-here.and.there.2/2-RL

kesolo... karlesibongpo adon chonrai
ke-sò-lò **[karlēsibóng-pō a-dón]** chón-rài
NMLZ-hurt-RL **squirrel.sp-male POSS-bridge** jump-solid.obj.breaking
and then, the frog was jumping everywhere because he was hurt, and he jumped on the ladder of the squirrel and it broke [RBT, ChM 018]

Locatives may also be unmarked with predicates that we do not conceptualize as projecting a locative as a core role. This is the case in (692), where the locative *mandú* ‘(in) the field hut’ is an oblique participant of *chō* ‘eat’. In the same sentence, however, the previous conditional clause has a different oblique locative, *hemtap angsong* ‘up in the tree house’, here marked with the relator noun *-ngsóng* ‘high.up’.

(692) Unmarked (non-salient) locative NP with *chō* ‘eat’, but marked salient locative NP (*angsóng* ‘high up’)
*[…] nangpole **hemtap angsong** chote, nangtumke mandule*
[[nang-pō=le **[hēmtāp a-ngsóng]** chō-tē] nang-tūm=ke **[mandú**=le]
2-father=FOC:IRR **tree.house POSS-high.up** eat-if 2-PL=TOP **field.hut**=FOC:IRR

cho
chō]
eat
‘[…] if your father takes his meal in the hemtap, you eat in the mandu>' [CST, RO 017]

The fact that in the same sentence, the locative NP *mandú* ‘(in) the field hut’ is unmarked, but the other locative NP *hemtap angsong* ‘high up in the treehouse’, provides further evidence that ‘unmarked’ really does mean ‘unmarked’ in the sense that a role does not need to be marked if it is unambiguously and expectedly defined by context (as

judged, of course, by the speaker). Here, the unusual and salient location ‘up in the tree house’ is marked by the specifically semantic relator noun *-ngsóng*, while the ordinary and default location on the ground ‘(in) the field hut’ remains unmarked.

Finally, (693) and (694) demonstrate that NPs in unusual and typically oblique roles such as ‘instrument’ and ‘path’ may be unmarked if the speaker judges the context to satisfactorily disambiguate their roles.

(693) Unmarked instrumental NP

[...] laphanke ha <e> sirkut ingdeng krehini arlo
là-phān=ke há <e> sirkút ingdēng kré-hiní arlō
this-NSUBJ=TOP over.there HESIT room level ten.and-two inside

bengdamcheklo <ta> <e> sabi maricheklo
bèng-dām-chèk-lò <e> **[sabí]$_{\text{INSTR}}$** marí-chèk-lò
lock-GO-firmly-RL HESIT **key(<Asm)** lock(<Asm)-firmly-RL
‘[…] he locked (her) away firmly far inside the house in a room 12 levels inside, he locked it firmly with a key' [CST, HM 024]

(694) Unmarked path participant

[...] ***langso atovarthot*** *vangra lapen ladak*
[[langsō a-továr-thót]$_{\text{PATH}}$ vàng-ra] [la=pen ladāk
this POSS-road-exactly come-NF:IRR this=from here

nanghumrira nanghem chepaletu
nang=humrí-ra] [nang-hēm chV-pa-lè-tū]
CIS=visit.friends/relatives-NF:IRR 2:POSS-house RR-CAUS-reach-IMP
‘[…] come on the exact same road, and then go to the familiar place (i.e. where the dog is staying) and then go and make yourself reach your house’ [KK, BMS 089]

10.6.2. Functions of ‘Non-Subject’ *-phān*

The ‘non-subject’ marker *-phān* may occur with any roles except for S and A arguments, which is why it is glossed as ‘non-subject’. The only instance where *-phān* marks an argument that might be argued to have A-like properties is the ‘subject’ of *náng* ‘need’ (§10.6.2.4). In its more syntactic functions, *-phān* marks O arguments (§10.6.2.1); R arguments in the R-centered trivalent construction (§10.6.2.2); and T arguments in the T-centered trivalent constructions (§10.6.2.3); finally, *-phān* marks oblique participants (§10.6.2.6).

10.6.2.1. O-High Argument

O arguments are differentially marked by *-phān* (§10.6.5); if marked by *-phān*, they are referred to as O-high (§10.2.1.2). Almost all *-phān* marked O arguments in the corpus of recorded texts have human referents as in (695).

(695) *-phān* marking O argument with human(/personified) referent
*<h> **halaphansi** apei apo chitinloklo*
hála-phān=si a-pēi a-pō che-tīn-lòk-lò
that-NSUBJ=FOC POSS-mother POSS-father RR-mistake-happen.to-RL
'they mistakenly considered them (the tigers) mother and father' [CST, HM 109]

However, there are three instances of O-arguments with non-human referents, all with the same referent in the same recording: a procedural text which is mostly about how traditional clothes are made. One of these instances is in (696). The O-high argument in three different sentences is *pindeng sumpot* a collective elaborate expression that refers to 'dress and ornaments', which is the topic of the larger discourse or text, and perhaps because of that is treated as an O-high argument.

(696) *-phān* marking inanimate O argument
asumpot halabangso ahut elitum Karbi
a-sumpót] [hála-bàng-sō ahūt e-li-tūm Karbì
POSS-EE:pindéng that-NPDL-DEM during 1PL.INCL-HON-PL PN

*akhei atum **pindeng sumpot aphan***
a-khéi a-tūm **[pindéng sumpót aphān]**
POSS-community POSS-PL **dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng NSUBJ**

kosonsonsi keklemma
kosón~són=si ke-klém=ma
how~DIST.PL=FOC NMLZ-do=Q
'in the old days, the people of the Karbi tribe, the clothing and ornaments, during the old days, what are the (different) ways in which we the Karbi tribe would make/produce dresses and ornaments?, (that's what I will talk about)' [KST, PSu 002]

Finally, in another instance of O-high arguments, the apparently typically intransitive predicate *nīng ingsām* 'be glad' takes an O-high argument and is then interpreted as 'be grateful to sb' in (697).

(697) *-phān* marked participant of predicate *nīng ingsām* ‘be glad; be grateful’
lapenke la phutup <kapa..> kipidunthu apot
lapèn=ke [là phutūp ke-pī-dūn-thū apōt]
and.then=TOP this hat NMLZ-give-JOIN-again because

laphan aning ingsamsi, thesere pumni tekanglo
[là-phān a-nīng ingsām-si] [theseré púm-ní tekáng-lò]
this-NSUBJ POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL
‘and then, because he returned the hat, he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him (the hat picking boy) and gave him two pieces of fruit’ [SiT, PS 039]

10.6.2.2. R Argument (R-Centered Trivalent Construction)

R arguments are marked by *-phān*, as in (698). Note that in this example, the speaker firsts uses the plural form *asomarke* (i.e., with *-mār* ‘plural’) for the T argument, and then corrects herself and uses the singular form *asoke*.

This construction is then defined as the R-centered trivalent construction (§10.2.1.3.1).

(698) *-phān* marked R argument
asomarke asoke aphi aphan

$[ø]_A$	$[NP]_T$	$[NP]_T$	[NP *aphān*]$_R$	
ø	a-so-màr=ke	a-osō=ke	[a-phì	aphān]
ø	POSS-child-PL=TOP	POSS-child=TOP	POSS-grandmother	NSUBJ

tekangbuplo
tekáng-bùp-lò
leave.for-RES:gone-RL
‘she left her child with the grandmother’ [KK, CC 011]

10.6.2.3. T Argument (T-Centered Trivalent Constructions)

In the T-centered trivalent constructions (§10.2.1.3.2), T may be marked with *-phān*, as in (699).

(699) *-phān*-marked human T argument and *alòng*-marked locative R/goal argument
[…] itum aphanke ha nampi namdur alongsi

[NP *aphān*]$_T$		[NP *alòng*]$_R$			
e-tūm	aphān=ke	há	nāmpī	nāmdūr	alòng=si
1PL.INCL-PL	NSUBJ=TOP	over.there	big.forest	EE:nampī	LOC=FOC

ekethondamlo
e=ke-thòn-dām-lò
1INCL:NSUBJ =NMLZ-drop-GO-RL
'[…] (the witch) abandoned us over there in the deep forest' [CST, HM 076]

10.6.2.4. Semantic Marking with *náng* 'need'

As discussed in §10.2.2.2, the verb *náng* 'need' projects an A-like argument that is optionally marked by *-phān*.

10.6.2.5. Marking the Standard of Comparison

(700) shows that *-phān* often marks the standard of comparison in comparative constructions (§10.2.2.5).

(700) *-phān* marked standard of comparison
*opeija **nephanta** halasi **nang**sarlang* (both laughing)
opeija **ne-phān**=tā hála=si nang=sàr-làng
my.goodness! **1EXCL-NSUBJ**=ADD:even that=FOC 1/2:NSUBJ=be.old-still
'oh my goodness! this one is still older than me! (*both laughing*)' [HK, TR 098]

10.6.2.6. Oblique Participant

The 'non-subject' marker *-phān* also marks oblique participants in a number of instances in the corpus of recorded texts. In (701), (702), and (703), it occurs in a PCT intransitive, an equational clause, and in an existential construction, respectively, marking a topical participant to whom the stated proposition applies.

(701) *-phān* marking an oblique participant of *mē* 'be good'
***neliphanke** me'ongchotlo*
ne-li-phān=ke mē-óng-chòt-lò
1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ=TOP be.good-be.much-very-RL
'this is very good (i.e. a very good opportunity) for me' [SiT, HF 003]

(702) *-phān* marking an oblique participant in an equational clause
*isi great inspiration **neliphan,** laso hormu neli atumi*
isī great inspiration **ne-li-phān** lasō hormú nè-lì tumì
one great inspiration **1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ** this thing 1EXCL-HON yesterday

thekdamlonglokpenke ning ingsam'olo
thèk-dām-lōng-lòk-pèn=ke nīng ingsām-ò-lò
see-GO-GET-happen.to-NF=TOP mind be.cold-much-RL
'it was one great inspiration for me, that I got to see this thing yesterday I was very glad' [SiT, HF 032]

(703) *-phān* marking an oblique participant of *avē* 'not exist'
mh nephanke aker apar nangkethanke
mh **ne-phān=ke** a-kēr apár nang=ke-thán=ke
pause **1EXCL-NSUBJ=TOP** POSS-bad.omen besides 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-tell=TOP

avelo <bu>
avē-lò
not.exist-RL
'to me, this is nothing but a bad omen' [KK, BMS 021]

In (704), *-phān* marks an added benefactee, which, however, is not projected as a core role by the predicate due to the lack of the benefactive suffix *-pī* in the verb stem (see also §10.2.3.2).

(704) Benefactee marked with *-phān* 'non-subject' without benefactive *-pī* on verb
*tangka atibuksi ronji **la arnam aphan,***
[[tángká a-tíbùk=si] **ròn-jí]** **[[là arnàm aphān]**
money POSS-earthen.pot=FOC **distribute-IRR2** **this god** NSUBJ

***latum a'arnam aphan** {avan along} avan*
[là-tūm a-arnàm aphān]]$_{\text{BEN}}$ {[a-ván alòng]} [a-ván
this-PL POSS-god PAT POSS-share LOC POSS-share

*along tangka atibuk **nunrenpo** lasi*
alòng] [tángká a-tíbùk] **nún-rèn-pò** lasì
LOC money POSS-earthen.pot **place.container-in.a.row-IRR1** therefore
'they (i.e. the tigers) distribute/offer the money pots **for the god**, **for their gods**, {on their plates (of offerings)}, and they will put the earthen pots in one long row' [HK, TR 111]

Finally, it should be noted that *aphān* has grammaticalized to function as a subordinator marking nominalized adverbial clauses as in (705).

(705) *aphān* as subordinator with adverbial clause

<aphatang along'an saikel...> <a> saikel along'an

<a-phatáng	alòng-án	saikél...>	[saikél	alòng-án
POSS-kd.basket	LOC-up.to	bicycle(<Eng)	bicycle(<Eng)	LOC-up.to

phatang abang vansi... la phatang saikel along

[phatáng	abàng]	vàn-si...	[là	phatáng]	[saikél	alòng]
kd.basket	NPDL	bring-NF:RL	this	kd.basket	bicycle(<Eng)	LOC

*kethapji **aphan** bor'ilo*

ke-thàp-jí	**aphān**	bor'í-lò
NMLZ-put.inside-IRR2	**PURP**	try.w.great.effort-RL

'<the bicycle to the baskets>, to the bicycle he brings the basket, the basket he is trying to put on the cycle [SiT, PS 021]

Evidence for considering the subordinator *aphān* not (yet) a (strongly) separate morpheme from the non-subject role marker is offered by (706).[173] Here we can see that two *(a)-phān* phrases are coordinated: one an NP, the other a purpose subordinate clause, which indicates that they are treated as having the same syntactic status. The subordinator *aphān* is further discussed in §9.5.

(706) Coordination of two *-phān* marked constituents: NP and purpose clause

tun dangpikang'etsi

[tún	dàng-pī-káng-ét-si]
cook	put.on.stove-BEN/MAL-leaving-PRF-NF:RL

chinghorponkingsi rit kedo atum

[che-inghór-pòn-kìng-si]	**[[[rīt**	**ke-dō**	**a-tūm]**
RR-carry.load-on.the.way-some.weight:O-NF:RL	**field**	**NMLZ-stay**	**POSS-PL**

aphanta ba hadak keklemdamji aphan

a-phān=tā]	bá	**[[hádāk**	**ke-klém-dàm-jí]**	**a-phān]**
POSS-NSUBJ=ADD	or(<Asm)	**there**	**NMLZ-do-go-IRR2**	**POSS-PURP**

chinghorponkingsi rit dampo […]

che-inghór-pòn-kìng-si]	rīt	dàm-pò
RR-carry.load-on.the.way-some.weight-NF:RL	field	go-IRR1

'they cook for others at home, carrying the load (of food) on her own (to) the ones staying in the field or carrying it to go there and eat, thus they would go to the field, […]' [KaR, SWK 075]

[173] This example then also provides evidence for the gradient nature of categories as caused by grammaticalization (DeLancey 1997), here specifically as *-phān* being 'in between' an NP marking relator noun (with a syntacticized function) and a subordinator.

10.6.3. Functions of 'Locative' *-lòng*

10.6.3.1. Locative/Goal R Argument (T-Centered Trivalent Constructions)

'Locative' *-lòng* marks R arguments in T-centered trivalent constructions (§10.2.1.3.2). The *-lòng* marked argument may have a non-human or a human referent, as in (707) and (708), respectively.

(707) *-lòng*-marked locative non-human R argument
lapenke... phatang along thesere thaplelo... […]

	[NP *alòng*]$_{R}$		[NP]$_{T}$	
lapèn=ke...	**[phatáng**	**alòng]**	theseré	thàp-lè-lò...
and.then=TOP	**BASKET**	**LOC**	fruits	put.inside-again-RL

'and then, he again put fruits in the phatang basket […]' [SiT, PS 044]

(708) *-lòng*-marked locative human R argument
lasi anke tharunvirsi, aoso ha padok

			([NP]$_{T}$)		
lasì	ánke	tharún-vìr-si	a-osō	há	pa-dòk
therefore	and.then	rock-gently-NF:RL	POSS-child	then.much.later	CAUS-be.sweet

padoksi, aphi along thondamkoklo

	[NP *alòng*]$_{R}$		
pa-dòk-si	**a-phì**	**alòng**	thòn-dām-kòk-lò
CAUS-be.sweet-NF:RL	**POSS-grandmother**	**LOC**	drop-GO-in.a.fixed.place-RL

'and then, gently she was rocking the child and then consoling it, and she left (the child) with the grandmother' [KK, CC 032]

10.6.3.2. Locative O-like Argument

'Locative' *-lòng* marks O-like arguments of verbs *tōng* 'collide' in (709), *kòi* 'rub, scrub' in (710), and *dùn* 'follow, join' in (711).

(709) *-lòng* marked locative O-like argument of *tōng* 'collide'
amat laso damchet amat chekhang'un'elo isi arlong along

amāt	lasō	dàm-chèt	amāt	che-kháng-ùn-Cē-lò	**[isī**	**arlōng**	**alòng]**
and.then	this	go-a.bit	and.then	RR-keep-be.able-NEG-RL	**one**	**stone**	**LOC**

tongdér
tōng-dèr
collide-IDEOPHONE
'and then he went just a bit further and then he couldn't hold himself anymore, he hit one stone' [SiT, PS 029]

(710) *-lòng* marked locative O-like argument of *kòi* 'rub, scrub'
[…] laso athe phlakdakpó ansi ilitum lapu
[lasō a-thē phlàk-dàk-pò [ánsi i-li-tūm lapù
this POSS-fruit split-RES:split-IRR1 after.that 1PL:incl-HON-PL like.this

pe along koipó, laso kekoi abangke mane
[pé alòng] kòi-pò] [[lasō ke-kòi abàng=ke] mane angpìp
cloth LOC rub-IRR1 this NMLZ-rub NPDL=TOP I.mean(<Asm) foam

angpip dopiklo, siri-sabun anijom asonlo
dō-pìk-lò] [sirí-sabún a-nijóm asón-lò]
exist-very-RL Shree.soap(<Asm) POSS-procedure(<Asm) like-RL
'we split the [Vo'arkokpo] fruit, and then, like this we scrub the cloth, this scrubbing, I mean.. it creates a lot of foam, like using Shree soap [SiH, CW 005-6]

(711) *-lòng* marked locative O-like argument of *dùn* 'follow, join'
apiso along *chidunkri*
[[a-pisò alòng]$_{\text{GOAL/O}}$ chV-dūn-krì]
POSS-wife LOC RR-join-follow.closely

laso abamonpi along *dunkrilo*
[[lasō a-bamón-pī alòng]$_{\text{GOAL/O}}$ dùn-krì-lò]
this POSS-wise.person(<Ind)-female LOC join-follow.closely-RL
he **followed his wife** closely, he **followed this bamonpi** closely [KK, BMS 082]

10.6.3.3. Motion Verb Locative/Goal

While (711) in the previous section has already demonstrated that goal/O-like arguments may be marked by 'locative' *-lòng*, further examples of goals or locatives are offered below. The goal of the verb *dàm* 'go' has a human referent that is marked by *-lòng* in (712), and, similarly, the locative of the verb *dō* 'stay' has a human referent that is marked by *-lòng* in (713).

(712) *-lòng* marked goal of *dàm* ‘go’
ne han an tunpó ajatpó, chirurinoi!
[nè hán àn tún-pò aját-pò] [chirú-rī-nōi]
1EXCL curry rice cook-IRR1 GENEX-IRR1 cry-NEG.IMP-INFRML.COND.IMP

nangphihai along *damnói dei]*
[[nang-phì-hái alòng] dàm-nōi déi]
2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC go-INFRML.COND.IMP OK?
I will cook food and everything, don't cry, go to your grandmother, ok? [KK, CC 016]

(713) *-lòng* marked locative of *dō* ‘stay’
aphihai alongle *donoi*
[a-phì-hái alòng=le] dō-nōi
POSS-grandmother-HON LOC=FOC:IRR stay-INFRML.COND.IMP

chirurinói pu tangho
chirú-rī-nōi pu tànghò
cry-NEG.IMP-INFRML.COND.IMP QUOT REP
"stay with your grandmother, don't cry" [KK, CC 017]

10.6.3.4. Semantic Marking with Possessor Construction

There is one type of possessor construction, in which the ‘A’ argument is marked locative by *-lòng*. There is only one example of this construction in the corpus of recorded texts, offered in (714). This is further discussed in §10.2.2.3, and specifically also in §10.2.2.3.3.

(714) Possession construction with locative marked ‘A’ and unmarked O
te "damnoi!" ante "dah! ***nangphihai along****,*
tè dàm-nōi ánte dah! **[[nang-phì-hái]** **alòng]**$_{\text{A/POSR}}$
OK.then go-INFRML.COND.IMP OK.then go! **2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC**

e, ***lothe lotha*** *doji, mene mena" pu*
e **[lothē lothā]**$_{\text{O/POSD}}$ dō-jí menē menā pu
DSM **banana EE:lothē** exist-IRR2 maybe EE:menē QUOT
‘then, go to your grandmother, she will have bananas and other fruits maybe’ [KK, CC 024]

10.6.4. Semantically Marked Participants

In what follows, I discuss relator noun phrases (and the one postpositional phrase of Karbi, with *=pen* 'with, from') other than those with *-phān* 'non-subject' (§10.6.2) and *-lòng* 'locative (§10.6.3). These participants marked with elements other than *-phān* and *-lòng* may also occur both as core roles (§10.6.4.1 below) and as obliques (§10.6.4.2 below), in the (not easily operationalizable) sense of required or not required by the predicate. This is evidence that they are not, in fact, categorically different from *-phān* and *-lòng*, which is why the various role markers are represented as being on a continuum in §10.6. Nevertheless, there is a gradient difference between *-phān*, *-lòng* and the more semantically specific relator nouns (and *=pen*), in two interrelated senses. First, *-phān* and *-lòng* are semantically bleached, which makes them applicable in a greater variety of contexts. Second, this leads to a higher frequency with which *-phān* and, to a lesser extent, *-lòng* are used, compared to the lower frequency that each of the more semantically specific relator nouns are used. This in turn leads me to the hypothesis that to the extent that we can differentiate between core arguments and obliques, *-phān* and *-lòng* more often mark core arguments, and the more semantically specific relator nouns more often mark obliques.

10.6.4.1. Semantically Specific Marking of Functionally Core Roles

There are two constructions in which core arguments are marked by elements other than *-phān* and *-lòng*. One is with *=pen* 'comitative, instrumental, ablative', the other is with various specific locative relator nouns.

10.6.4.1.1. Comitative, Instrumental, Ablative *=pen*

The predicates in both (715) and (716) project a comitative argument: in (715) through the predicate derivation *-ràp* 'together (with)', and in (716) through the comitative/instrumental predicate derivation *-ī*. In both clauses, however, the comitative argument is marked by *=pen*.

(715) Projected comitative NP marked by *=pen*
apot "la nangpopen chorappetlongle... [...]"
[apōt là **nang-pō=pen** chō-**ràp**-pèt-lōng-Cē]
because this **2POSS-father=with** eat-**together**-all-GET-NEG
'because of that, "you don't get to / must not eat together with your father, […]"' [CST, RO 019]

(716) Projected comitative NP marked by *=pen*
[...] pinsomar atum abangke hala osomarpen jui'irongpo [...]
[pinsō-mār a-tūm abàng=ke] **[hála osō-mār=pen]** jùi-**ī**-ròng-pò
married.man-PL POSS-PL NPDL=TOP **that child-PL=with** play-**with**-instead-IRR1
'[…] the men would play with always their children instead, […]' [KaR, SWK 071]

The same, seemingly obligatory, marking with *=pen* occurs on the instrumental NP in (717), where, again the verb stem contains the predicate derivation *-ī*, which indicates the core status of the instrument role.

(717) Projected instrumental NP marked by *=pen*
nè ***motorsaikel=pen=si*** *hethí* *ke-dàm-**ī***
1EXCL **motorcycle=with=FOC** market(<Asm) NMLZ-go-**with**
'I went to the market on a motorcycle' Elicitation SiT 090223

Finally, the verb stem *chekak* 'part/separate (from)' in (718) also projects a core ablative or comitative role, which is fulfilled by the second person pronoun marked by *=pen*.

(718) Projected ablative/comitative NP marked by *=pen*
"[...] pinipenke nangpenke ne kachekak" pu
pinì=pen=ke **nàng=pen=ke** nè **ke-che-kák** pu
today=from=TOP **you=from=TOP** 1EXCL **NMLZ-RR-part** QUOT
' "[…] from today, I am separated from you", (she said)' [SeT, MTN 035]

It thus appears that while comitative, instrumental, and ablative roles may be unmarked (§10.6.1.7), if they are marked, they are always and only marked by *=pen*. Even with the 'applicative-like' (though not actually applicative) *-ī* suffix, comitatives and instrumentals are never 'promoted' to being marked by *-phān* 'non-subject'. This suggests that there is a sense in which comitative, instrumental, and ablative roles are

never afforded a syntactically high status (while they can arguably be afforded a pragmatically high status if left unmarked)

10.6.4.1.2. Goal Arguments Marked with Semantically Specific Relator Nouns

While R arguments may be unmarked (§10.6.1.5), or marked by *-phān* (§10.6.2.2), or marked by *-lòng* (§10.6.3.1), they can in fact also be marked by more semantically specific relator nouns, such as *arlō* 'inside' in (719) or *-ngbòng* 'in the middle of' in (720).

(719) Trivalent predicate with unmarked non-human T argument and *arlō*-marked non-human R argument

[…] anke amonit abang<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi

[NP]$_A$			**[NP *arlō*]$_R$**			
[ánke	[a-monít	abàng]	**[[pé**	**a-ke-lòk=pen**	**ke-ròi**	**isī**
and.then	POSS-man	NPDL	**cloth**	**POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with**	**NMLZ-sew**	**one**

ajamborong arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan

		[NP]$_T$				
a-jamboróng	arlō=si]	[laháí]	ke-thàp]]	lapèn	[arúm	ke-vàn]]
POSS-bag	inside=FOC	these	NMLZ-put.inside	and	down	NMLZ-bring

'[…] and then, the man, into a bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down [SiT, PS 003]

(720) Trivalent predicate with *-phān* marked T argument and *-ngbòng* marked locative non-human R argument

amatsi itum aphanke dak habit angbongsi

[NP *aphān*]$_T$			[NP *angbòng*]$_R$		
amātsi	e-tūm	aphān=ke	dāk	habít	angbòng=si
because	1INCL-PL	NSUBJ=TOP	here	jungle	in.middle.of=FOC

nangkethonti
nang=ke-thòn-tí
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-drop-get.rid.off
'and then, she took us here in the middle of the jungle and abandoned us' [CST, HM 052]'

10.6.4.2. Semantically Specific Relator Noun Marking of Obliques

Semantically specific relator nouns presumably most often mark obliques, i.e., roles not required or projected by the predicate. Examples of the semantically specific

roles marked by the various relator nouns are offered in §4.4.4; a sample instance of *-ngsóng* ‘high up’ marking a semantically specific location is provided in (721). In this example, the non-specific or non-salient locative role of *mandú* ‘(in) the field hut’ remains unmarked (see also §10.6.1.7).

(721) ‘Salient’ locative NP marked by *-ngsóng* ‘high up’
*[…] nangpole **hemtap angsong** chote, nangtumke*
[[nang-pō=le **[hēmtāp a-ngsóng]** chō-tē] nang-tūm=ke
2:POSS-father=FOC:IRR **tree.house POSS-high.up** eat-if 2-PL=TOP

mandule cho
[mandú=le] chō]
field.hut=FOC:IRR eat
‘[…] if your father takes his meal in the hemtap, you eat in the mandu>' [CST, RO 017]

10.6.5. Differential Marking

O arguments as well as goal arguments are differentially marked. For O arguments, this means that certain O arguments are marked by *-phān* ‘non-subject’ while others remain unmarked (§10.2.1.2). For goal arguments, this means that some are marked by *-lòng* ‘locative’ while others remain unmarked.

Both semantic and pragmatic factors underlie this differential marking, and they do so in a probabilistic way. For example, an important semantic factor is +/-human. A human referent is very likely to be marked by *-phān* or *-lòng*, while a non-human referent is very likely to remain unmarked. Nevertheless, not all O and goal arguments with human referents are marked and not all arguments with non-human referent are unmarked. Comprehensive corpus study of the interplay of semantic and pragmatic factors involved in differential argument marking in Karbi needs to be carried out in future research.

Nevertheless, just to offer a glimpse of the pragmatic aspects of differential marking, consider (722) and (723). These examples show that in the same context, within the same story and just four intonation units apart, in the same proposition ‘we still need to ask our mother and father’, the O argument ‘our mother and father’ may be unmarked or marked by *-phān* ‘non-subject’. This may have something to do with *nepei nepo* ‘our mother and father’ just having been mentioned in the preposed subordinate clause in

(722). But in any event, it clearly shows that differential O marking may be triggered solely by pragmatic factors, because these two examples are semantically identical.

(722) [NP] *charjudamlang*
'mh' "nepei nepo hadak do apot nepei
['mh' ne-pēi ne-pō hádāk dō apōt] **[[ne-pēi**
NEG.INTERJ 1EXCL-mother 1EXCL-father there stay because **1EXCL:POSS-mother**

nepo charjudamlang" pu amatsi halaso ateke along
ne-pō] che-arjū-dām-làng pu] [amātsi [hálasō a-tekè alòng]
1EXCL:POSS-father RR-hear-go-yet QUOT because that POSS-tiger LOC

ako chedamlo
akó che-dām-lò]
again(<Asm) RR-go-RL
'no! because our mother and father are there, let's still go and ask our parents, and then they went to the tigers' [CST, HM 112]

(723) [[NP] aphān] *charjudamlang*
pu netum kroikredet ne nepei
pu ne-tūm krōi-Cē-dèt nè [[ne-pēi
QUOT 1EXCL:POSS-PL agree-NEG-PFV 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-mother

nepo aphan charjudamlang
ne-pō] **aphān]** che-arjū-dām-làng
1EXCL:POSS-father **NSUBJ** RR-ask-go-still
'we didn't agree, we still need to ask our mother and father' [CST, HM 116]

10.6.6. Marking Variation: Construal Differences?

Below I discuss the constructional component in argument structure. That is, the same verb stem can, to some extent, participate in different argument structure constructions, as shown below with two different verb stems: *che(-)tòng* '(RR-)meet' and *arjū-dām* 'ask-go'.

10.6.6.1. *che-tòng* 'RR-meet'

The verb *chetòng* 'meet' can be diachronically analyzed into the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *che-* and the root *tòng*, although *tòng* does not occur by itself,

so *chetòng* is a lexicalized unit. As the following examples show, the argument structure projected by *chetòng* is not fixed, but there is variation, which we can ascribe to some degree to differences in construal. In (724), *chetòng* is used intransitively with a plural S argument, here *rát* 'the public', in the sense of 'meet' or 'gather'.

(724) Intransitive plural
rat *chetongte ako, {mm} ladak nangkeleke abarika....*
[rát che-tòng-Cē akò] {mm} [ladāk nang=ke-lè=ke a-bariká
public RR-meet-NEG before AFF here CIS=NMLZ-reach=TOP POSS-OFFICER

asarthe laheiheike nangle'etlo {oi}
a-sàrthè] [lahéi~héi=ke nang=lè-èt-lò] {ōi}
POSS-village.headman these~DIST.PL=TOP CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL yes
'before the tigers gathered, the barika and the sarthe and all the other important tigers had already arrived there' [HK, TR 185-6]

(725) and (726) show that alternatively, and more often in the corpus of recorded texts, *chetòng* is used transitively. In (725), the O argument is marked by *=pen* 'comitative', and in (726), the O argument is marked by *-phān* 'non-subject'.

(725) O argument of *chetòng* 'meet' marked with *=pen* 'comitative'
e <ne> <nang> nephipen mo
e <nè> <nàng> **ne-phì=pen** mò
DSM 1EXCL 2 **1EXCL:POSS-grandmother=with** future

chetongvekpo <ne>
chetòng-vék-pò <nè>
meet-definitely-IRR1 1EXCL
'I will definitely meet my grandmother later' [KK, BMS 028]

(726) O argument of *chetòng* 'meet' marked with *-phān* 'non-subject'
damlo anke.... halabangso kiridam ahut
dàm-lò ánke hála-bàng-sō ke-rì-dām ahūt
go-RL and.then that-NPDL-DEM NMLZ-search-go during

jangreso aphan chetonglok
[jangrēsō aphān] che-tòng-lòk
single.parent.child **NSUBJ** RR-meet-happen.to
'he (the tiger) went, and then, that one while looking for more, he happened to run into the orphan (in the text actually jangreso, i.e. single parent child)' [HK, TR 048]

10.6.6.2. *arjū-dām* ‘ask-GO’

Another instance of marking variation occurs with *arjū-dām* ‘ask-go’, and in this case it appears to be due to this being a complex stem that involves serialization of *arjū* ‘ask’ and *dàm* ‘go’ (also see §6.5.4 on the grammaticalized predicate derivation *-dàm~-dām* ‘GO’). (727) and (728) show that the ‘non-subject’ argument can be marked either by *-phān* ‘non-subject’ or *-lòng* ‘locative’, which suggests that either *arjū* ‘ask’ projects the argument structure, leading to marking by *-phān*, or *dàm* ‘go’ does, leading to marking by *-lòng*.

(727) [[NP] aphān] *arjudamlo*
matlo ante kechokcheke, o ha <ingnar
[māt=lo ánte ke-chók-Cē=ke] [ó há <ingnàr
who=FOC OK.then NMLZ-be.fine-NEG=TOP EXCM over.there elephant

nothongpole> ingnar nothongpo aphan arjudamlo
nothōng-pō=le> **[ingnàr nothōng-pō aphān]** arjū-dām-lò]
deaf- MODIF =FOC:IRR **elephant deaf- MODIF NSUBJ** ask-go-RL
'"who then is the guilty one?", o there he went to ask the deaf elephant' [RBT, ChM 032]

(728) [[NP] alòng] *arjudamlo*
ha karlesibongpo along arjudamlo... "Te
[há karlēsibóng-pō alòng] arjū-dām-lò tè
over.there squirrel.sp-male LOC ask-go-RL and.then/therefore

karlesibongpo, pisi nang hanthar athe
karlēsibóngpō pīsi nàng hanthàr a-thē
squirrel.sp why you vegetable.sp POSS-fruit

kerotpetle... phakbelengpi amoi
ke-ròt-pèt=le phàkbeléngpī a-mòi
NMLZ-cut-sd.of.resulting.event=FOC:IRR pig.sp POSS-back

peklodup athema?"
pe-kló-dùp athēma
CAUS-fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj because
'over there he went and asked the squirrel, "so then, squirrel, why did you gnaw on the Hanthar and thus made it fall down on the back of the pig?"' [RBT, ChM 066]

10.7. Information Structure Marking

The four sections below discuss each of the four information structure clitics: topic *=ke* in §10.7.1; additive *=tā*, which acts as a topic-switch marker, in §10.7.2; furthermore, (realis) focus *=si* in §10.7.3; and irrealis focus *=le* in §10.7.4. Noun phrases unmarked for any of these information structure statuses are taken to simply be unspecified with regard to the four information statuses. Note, however, that information structure marking is not restricted to these four clitics. §10.7.6 discusses several other information structure constructions including a preliminary account of constituent order (§10.7.6.1).

10.7.1. Topic *=ke*

In calling *=ke* a topic marker, I follow the traditional notion of 'topic' as 'what the sentence is about'. Since this does not serve as an operationalizable definition, this section instead offers examples to provide an overview of typical occurrences of topic *=ke*, which coincide with typical topic functions in the linguistic literature. Note that in all instances, *=ke* indicates an element at the beginning of the clause, only following any discourse connectors (or another element marked by *=ke*). NPs marked by *=ke* may be oblique participants that are not projected by the verb, or they may be core arguments that are projected by the verb. NPs marked (or unmarked) for any syntactico-semantic role (§10.6) may be marked with *=ke*. *=ke* also occurs on adverbs, as well as on entire clauses.

Topic *=ke* optionally marks the S argument of equational clauses, as it does in (729).

(729) Topic *=ke* on S argument in equational clause
kortete apoke richo
[kortetè **a-pò=ke]** [richó]
2.siblings.of.same.gender **POSS-father=TOP** king
'the father of the sisters was a king' [CST, HM 004]

Topic *=ke* marks framing elements at the beginning of clauses, which indicate the setting of the event expressed in the clause. In (730), a temporal NP is marked with *=ke*, while in (731), a temporal adverb occurs in the same construction.

(730) Topic =*ke* on framing NP
[…] laso arni abangke hala osomar atum mandu kecho […]
[[lasō arnì abàng=ke] [hála osō-mār a-tūm mandú ke-chō]
this day NPDL=TOP that child-PL POSS-PL field.hut NMLZ-eat
'[…] that day, those children were eating in the mandu, […]' [CST, RO 030]

(731) Topic =*ke* on framing adverb
'mh' o pei atum pinike itum an chorappetsinang
'mh' [ó pēi a-tūm] **[[pinì=ke]** e-tūm àn chō-ràp-pèt-sināng]
NEG vocative mother POSS-PL **today=TOP** 1INCL-PL rice eat-together-all-CON.HORT
'no, o mothers, today let's eat together now (and see what's going to happen)' [CST, RO 027]

(732) and (733) show that there may be more than one topic-marked element, in which case both topics occur at the beginning of the clause. In (732), the second person pronoun *nàng*, which is an oblique or non-core person participant of the nominal predicate '(these) are new people', represents the first topic; the locative adverb *dāk* 'here' represents the second topic.

(732) Double topic (person participant and locative adverb)
[…] "nangke dakke arleng kimi apot la siksakji" pu […]
[[[nàng=ke]$_1$ [dāk=ke]$_2$ arlēng ke-mī apōt] là siksāk-jí] pu
you=TOP here=TOP person NMLZ-be.new because this be.difficult-IRR2 QUOT
'[…] for you, here, these are new people, so it will be difficult […]' [SH, CSM 066]

In (733), the temporal postpositional phrase *laso arnipenke* 'from this day on' represents the first topic. The O argument of the verb stem *pavē* 'cause to not exist', *hala hi'ipi* 'that witch', represents the second topic, which is reactivated here after having been an important character in the story before.

(733) Double topic (temporal NP and person participant)
lasi laso arnipenke hala hi'ipi aphanke pavedetlo,
lasì **[lasō arnì=pen=ke]$_1$ [hála hī'ipī aphān=ke]$_2$** pe-avē-dèt-lò
therefore **this day=from=TOP that witch NSUBJ=TOP** CAUS-not.exist-PFV-RL

la Karbipipensi alangtum choboche chosonse, aosomarpen
là Karbì-pī=pen=si alàng-tūm choboché chosonsé a-osō-mār=pen
this PN-female=with=FOC 3-PL settle.down EE:choboché POSS-child-PL=with
'from that very day on, he killed the witch, with the Karbi woman they settled down, with the children' [CST, HM 119]

In (734) and (735), *=ke* occurs on each of two contrasting topics in two different clauses. In (734), the two clauses are constructed parallel to one another, which makes it very straightforward to see how *=ke* marks contrastive topics.

(734) Topic *=ke* in contrastive topic construction
inutke hi'ipi, inutke arlengpi, Karbipi
[e-nūt=ke hī'ipī] **[e-nūt=ke** [arlēng-pī Karbì-pī]]
one-CLF:HUM:SG=TOP witch **one-CLF:HUM:SG=TOP** person-FEM PN-FEM
'**one** is a witch, **one/the other** is a woman, a Karbi woman' [CST, HM 006]

In another example of the contrastive topic construction in (735), the clauses are not structured exactly parallel to one another, but the contrast is still very clear: '*you* have already reached', and '*we* don't know how to get there'.

(735) Topic *=ke* in contrastive topic construction
e nanghem nangritlo, nangke nangcheleroklo
[e nang-hēm nang-rīt-lò] **[nàng=ke** nang=chV-lē-ròk-lò]
DSM 2POSS-house 2POSS-field-RL **you=TOP** CIS=RR-reach-completed-RL

netumke damthekthelo, nangphípen
[ne-tūm=ke dàm-thèk-Cē-lò nang-phì=pen
1EXCL-PL=TOP go-know.how-NEG-RL 2POSS-grandmother=with

nangphuké
nang-phù=ke]
2POSS-grandfather=TOP
'it's your house and property, **you**'ve already reached, (but) **we** don't know how to go, your grandmother and your grandfather' [KK, BMS 096]

The next example is part of a story, in which a dog takes his owner to *Chom Arong* 'Chom's Village', the place in Karbi mythology where the dead people reside. In (736), the dog and its owner have reached a huge body of water on their journey. In this sentence, the dog is speaking, and *=ke* occurs on the first person pronoun subject. It appears that the function of *=ke* here is to indicate the despair of the dog over the difficulty of the task; *=ke* may thus serve to evoke a set of candidates more likely to succeed in the challenge.

(736) Topic =*ke* evoking a set of more likely candidates?
kopusi neke nangkepaparponpoma
kopù=si **nè=ke** nang=ke-pa-pár-pòn-pò=ma
how=FOC **1EXCL=TOP** 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-cross(<Asm)-take.away-IRR1=Q
'how will I (of all 'people') take you across the water?' [KK, BMS 045]

Finally, while the above examples suggest that =*ke* is only used with given and referential, or definite, participants, (737) shows that the derived indefinite pronoun *komatne* 'somebody' may also occur with =*ke*.

(737) Topic-marked indefinite pronoun
komatneke... la ser kapali'et asonsi
[komāt-nē=ke... là sér ke-pa-lì-èt asón=si]
who-INDEF=TOP this gold NMLZ-CAUS-flow-RES:yellow like=FOC

acharpen ketheklong langmepik […]
[[a-chár=pen ke-theklōng] [làng-mē-pīk]]
POSS-far.away=from NMLZ-see see-be.good-very
'as if somebody had colored it with gold to make it look yellow and shiny, from far away it's very pretty, […]' [SiT, HF 021]

Finally, a construction that 'topic' =*ke* as well as 'additive' =*tā* occur in is the (affected) possessor construction (see §10.7.5 and §10.2.2.4).

10.7.2. Additive =*tā*

Additive =*tā* fulfills a number of non-pragmatic functions (§7.8.3.1). As an information structure clitic, it occurs in two particular types of constructions, with the overarching function of marking a topic-switch. (Where =*tā* occurs with one of these functions, it is typically glossed as 'ADD:DM'.)

In one construction type, it occurs in the context of converse verb pairs, such as 'ask'-'answer', 'give'-'take', or 'throw'-'catch'. If a speaker describes an event using converse verb pairs and therefore describes an event from two perspectives, =*tā* typically occurs on the subject of the second part of the converse verb pair description. This is shown in (738) and (739), where the converse verb pairs are 'ask'-'answer' and 'take (interview)'-'give (interview)'.

(738) *=tā* signaling the perspective-switch from asking to answering (converses)
"chokjima?" pu, nephan arjulo,
[[chók-jí=mà] pù ne-phān arjū-lò]
be.fine-IRR2=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL

amatsi neta pulo, "chok"
[amātsi nè**=tā** pù-lò chók]
and.then 1EXCL**=ADD:DM** say-RL be.fine
'<is it fine?>, they asked me, and I replied, <it's fine>' [SH, CSM 049]

(739) *=tā* signaling the perspective-switch from taking to giving (converses)
*latum interview enlo, alang**ta** interview chepidunlo*
[la-tūm interview ēn-lò] [alàng**=tā** interview che-pí-dùn-lò]
DEM.PROX-PL interview take-RL 3**=ADD:DM** interview RR-give-JOIN-RL
'they took interviews (from her), and she also gave them interviews' [SH, CSM 050]

In the other construction type, *=tā* marks a reactivated topic that contrasts with the current topic. This function of *=tā* is argued to indicate discourse continuity, i.e., as telling the listener to understand the utterance as being strongly connected to the previous discourse despite the fact that the topic has changed (cf. also Kaplan's (1984: 514) explanation of obligatory English 'too' as "to emphasize the similarity between contrasting constituents"). This strong connection is typically afforded by a causal, resultative, or reactive relationship to the previous event, as demonstrated with the following examples.

In the folk story *Chongho-kaloso lapen Miso-rongpo* 'The Frog and the Ant' (see Appendix D), there are numerous instances of topic-switch *=tā* due to the structure of the story, which is built on the idea of a chain reaction of events: after a fight between an ant and a frog, the ant bites the frog, the frog is mad and jumps around and destroys a squirrel's ladder, the squirrel gets mad and gnaws a fruit off a tree, which then falls on the back of a pig, and so on. In the end, a rock kills the king's daughter, and as the king tries to find out who he can hold responsible, he traces the chain reaction back to the frog and the ant and punishes them. This story that is built on this chain reaction of events offers a number of natural topic-switch situations that are marked by *=tā*. For example, in (740), the first clause states that the frog, ellipsed via zero anaphora (§10.4.3), is in rage and jumps on the squirrels ladder, which then breaks. As a consequence, the squirrel,

marked by *=tā*, gets angry. It is this topic switch to the squirrel as it reacts to the frog's action that is marked by *=tā*.

(740) Topic-switch: *=tā* marking new topic reacting to action by previous topic
karlesibongpo adon chonrai
[karlēsibōngpō a-dón] chōn-ràai
squirrel.sp POSS-bridge jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking

amat karlesibongpota aning thilo
*amāt karlēsibōngpō**=tā*** *[a-nīng thī-lò]*
and.then squirrel.sp=**ADD:TS** POSS-mind be.short-RL
'(the frog) jumped on the ladder of the squirrel so it broke, and then the squirrel **in turn** got angry' [RBT, ChM 018-9]

In (741), Bamonpo's wife passes away, as expressed euphemistically in the first clause with the expression *Chom chevoi* 'return to Chom (i.e., the mythological village of the dead)'. As a consequence, Bamonpo, marked by *=tā*, is desperate and full of worries.

(741) Topic-switch: *=tā* indicating a consequence
so Chom chevoijuilo, ansi "mai! kopusi
[sō] [Chóm che-vói-jùi-lò] [ánsi mái kopù=si
DEM.PROX PLACE RR-return-away-RL after.that how.bad! how=FOC

*kedothek apotloma?", mh, bamonpo**ta** ningrilo*
ke-dō-thèk apōtlo=ma] [bamón-pō**=tā** ningrī-lò]
NMLZ-stay-know.how should= Q wise.person(<Ind)-male=**ADD:TS** worry-RL
'she returned to Chom, **and so Bamonpo** worried: "how bad! How should I be able to live on?"' [KK, BMS 015]

The next example is from a story about an orphan who encounters a tiger. Here, over the last few intonation units, the tiger has just threatened the orphan and said that he will take away the orphan. In (742), the storyteller switches back to the orphan protagonist. This kind of topic-switch after the end of direct speech (i.e., topic-switch to the addressee of the direct speech) is very commonly marked by *=tā* on the new topic.

(742) Topic-switch in larger context (057-063: tiger threatening orphan)
*jangrengso abang**ta** repik tangho*
[jangrengsō abàng**=tā]** rè-pìk tànghò
orphan NPDL=**ADD:TS** be.sharp-very REP
'[but] the orphan is very smart' [HK, TR 064]

As a last example, consider (743), where the topic-switch does not involve a subject-switch as has been the case in the previous examples. This is from a story where a king's children are abandoned in a jungle without the king ever knowing they existed. Here, at the end of the story, the children return and the king recognizes that they are in fact his children. In (743), the first clause is the direct speech of the king proclaiming to the children that he considers them indeed his children. In the second clause, the topic switches from the king to the children, as the action of the king taking his children home consequentially follows from the recognition that they are his children.

(743) Topic-switch: *=tā* on *-phān* marked argument

"o nangtum nesolo" pusi... laso aHingchong

[[o	nang-tūm	ne-osō-lò]	pusi]	[[lasō	a-Hingchòng
AFF	2-PL	1EXCL:POSS-child-RL	QUOT.COMP	this	POSS-PN

*musoso aphan**ta** hem chehangponlo*

musōsō]	aphān**=tā**]	hēm	che-háng-pòn-lò	
siblings.diff.gender.dual	NSUBJ**=ADD:TS**	house	RR-call-take.away-RL	

"“o, you are my children”, he said, **and so** he called **these two Hingchong siblings** home'
[CST, HM 106]

Finally, a construction that 'additive' *=tā* as well as 'topic' *=ke* occur in is the (affected) possessor construction (see §10.7.5 and §10.2.2.4).

Recent research has shown that additive particles with similar pragmatic functions to Karbi *=tā* exist in a wide range of languages all across the world. Within the Afroasiatic language family, Tosco's (2010: 330ff.) account of the Gawwada additive particle as a "topic-switching device" very strongly resembles Karbi *=tā*. Similarly and also within Afroasiatic, the Amharic *-mm* enclitic discussed by Demeke and Meyer (2008) has very clear parallels with Karbi *=tā*. Likewise, within Niger-Congo, the Avatime additive particle covers a similar pragmatic function (van Putten 2011). Outside Africa, Öpengin (2013) reports the same type of pragmatic functions for the Central Kurdish additive particle, and Diana Forker (June 2013, p.c.) for several Nakh-Daghestanian languages in the Caucasus.[174]

[174] It thus may be the case that is a cross-linguistically 'normal' that additive particles are used as topic-switch devices, and that Western Indo-European languages are cross-linguistically odd in this respect.

10.7.3. Realis Focus *=si*

Realis focus *=si* occurs in affirmative, declarative main clauses and appears to be in complementary distribution with *=le* 'irrealis focus', which occurs in a number of irrealis-type constructions (see §10.7.4 on *=le*, and see §11.3 on the notion of realis vs. irrealis in focus clitics). I call *=si* and *=le* focus markers because they both mark contrastive/corrective focus, schematically 'not X=*le*, but Y=*si*' (§10.7.5). However, *=si* also occurs in a range of other, more or less focus-like, constructions.

(744) offers an example of corrective/contrastive focus from natural text, which can be schematically represented as 'not X=ADD, not Y=ADD, but Z=*si*'.

(744) Contrastive/corrective focus with *=si* in text (with nominalizer *ke-*)

la-tūm	*[[phelāng=pen=tā*	*kalī]*	*[tín=pen=tā*	*kalī]]*
this-PL	thatch=with=ADD	NEG.EQU.COP	tin(<Eng)=with=ADD	NEG.EQU.COP

[arlōng	*a-chèt=pen=**si**]*	*ki-dìp*
stone	POSS-piece=with=**FOC**	NMLZ-cover

'neither with thatch nor with tin, but with pieces of stone they cover (their roofs)' [SiT, HF 050]

(745) offers an example of restrictive focus: the orphan 'all by himself' performed the action. For a discussion of additional and more specific restrictive focus constructions, which optionally involve *=si*, see §10.7.6.3.

(745) Restrictive focus with *=si* 'focus'

[lasō	*a-tángká-án=ke]*	*jangrēngsō=**si***	*ke-vàn-thū-lò*
this	POSS-money-all=TOP	orphan=**FOC**	NMLZ-bring-again-RL

'all this money the orphan brought back all by himself' [HK, TR 197]

In (746), which is from the same story about the orphan, *=si* occurs on *lují* 'mirror' in a clause that describes a mirror being attached to a tobacco container. This mirror ends up being instrumental in the orphan's successful lie to a tiger, which helps him reverse his role from being a victim to scaring the tiger off. The *=si* marking could thus be signaling the importance of this referent, as a way to indicate that this referent should be paid attention to.

(746) Focus =*si* to indicate an important referent?
anke laso athongkup along lujisi kapabon […]
ánke lasō a-thongkūp alòng lují**=si** ke-pa-bōn
and.then this POSS-tobacco.container LOC mirror**=FOC** NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached
'and then, on this tobacco container, there was a mirror attached […]' [HK, TR 026]

Focus =*si* frequently occurs on content question words, such as *kopù* 'how' in (747), which represents another argument to call it a focus marker; content question words are naturally under focus as they represent new or sought-for information. (For the use of realis focus =*si* as opposed to irrealis focus =*le* on content question words, see §11.3.2).

(747) Focus =*si* on content question word
kopusi neke nangkepaparponpoma
kopù**=si** nè=ke nang=ke-pa-pár-pòn-pò=ma
how**=FOC** 1EXCL=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-cross(<Asm)-take.away-IRR1=Q
'how will I take you across the water?' [KK, BMS 045]

There are a range of elements which often have =*si* attached, while the force of the focus is weak. One such type of element is discourse connectors ('and then') like *amāt* or *amātsi*, and apparently also in the forms *lasì* and *ánsi* (§12.1.3). Another type of elements are adverbs meaning 'like this', such as *lasón* in (748).

(748) Focus =*si* on *lasón* 'this way' (weak focus)
lasi Bokolapo atomo lasonsí monit atum non
lasì Bokolāpō a-tomó lasón**=si** monít a-tūm nón
therefore NAME POSS-story that.way**=FOC** man POSS-PL now

chethanbom
che-thán-bòm
RR-tell-CONT
'and so that's how people continue to tell each other the story of Bokolapo' [HI, BPh 021]

Focus =*si* also fairly frequently occurs on subordinators such as *aphī* 'after', *apōt* 'because', or *aphān* 'in order to', without a clear change in semantics or pragmatics. Marking a subordinator with =*si* does not yield a restrictive sense along the lines of 'only after' or 'only because'. In (749), *aphī* 'after' occurs with =*si* in a simple personal

narration of a sequence of activities: ‘after we drank tea, we watched the drumming’. There is clearly no sense of any special status of this sequence of events.

(749) Subordinator *aphī* ‘after’ with *=si* ‘focus’

ánsi	*là*	*sá*	*jùn-ét*	*a-ját-ét*	*aphī=**si***
after.that	this	tea(<Ind)	drink-already	POSS-type-already	after=**FOC**

ne-tūm *chēng* *ki-thīp* *làng-dūn-lò*
1EXCL-PL drum NMLZ-beat.drum see-JOIN-RL
‘after we drank tea and everything, we watched the drumming’ [SH, CSM 041]

Finally, there are also a number of instances in which *=si* occurs on locative NPs, as in (750). Future study will need to address whether these can be somehow subsumed under the general focus marking function, or whether they need to be accounted for otherwise.

(750) *=si* ‘focus’ with locative function

nè	*ke-dō*	*a-jakát*	*abàng=ke*	*hápú*	*kenē*
[1EXCL	NMLZ-exist	POSS-place(<Asm)	NPDL=TOP]	that.side	HESIT

Sochēng-Dhenta	*a-nátthū*	*Duarsalona=**si***	*ke-dō*
[TOWN	POSS-direction]	AREA=**FOC**	NMLZ-exist

‘the place where I live is that side, it's towards Socheng Dhenta, in Duarsalona’ [KK, CC 004]

Focus *=si* may have its origin in a copula, as apparent copula *si(i)* cognates exist in Kuki-Chin. This then would also explain the common occurrence of *ke-* ‘nominalizer’ on predicates in clauses that have an NP marked with *=si*. The diachronic nominalization scenario that accounts for copulas grammaticalizing to focus markers is discussed in §9.7.3.1. Another (or perhaps in the end the same) possibility for the etymology and apparent cognates of *=si* is to link it to demonstrative *si* in Meithei (Chelliah 1997: 81).

Note that there are a few instance of a *=lo* focus marker in the corpus, which must be linked historically to the realis predicate suffix *-lò*. As discussed in §6.9.1.7, judging from the few occurrences of *=lo* in the corpus, there is no functional difference to realis focus *=si*. As further research is required, however, *=lo* will not be further discussed here.

10.7.4. Irrealis Focus *=le*

Irrealis focus *=le* occurs in complementary distribution with realis focus *=si*. The irrealis contexts in which *=le* occurs include non-declarative speech acts (§11.1), subordinate clauses, deontic predicates that involve *náng* 'need', and negated predicates. For a discussion of irrealis clause types, see §11.3.

In (751), *=le* occurs in the first clause with a negated predicate and in the second clause with an imperative. The focus marking here suggests that there is a set of alternatives to the focus marked element, and that a previous false preconception is being corrected. In the first clause, the first person pronoun is focus-marked. While it is clear that there is somebody who is guilty in this context, the speaker asserts - and corrects the wrong belief - that it is not him. In the second clause of this example, the focus marking again highlights the existence of a set of alternatives. This time, one alternative is the speaker himself and that alternative is contrasted and corrected with the focus-marked participant, the Vo'arbipi bird.

(751) *=le* marking contrastive/corrective focus

"apot nele kechokche kali, richo. Hala

[apōt	**nè=le**	ke-chók-Cē	**kalī**	richó]	[[hála
because	**1EXCL=FOC:IRR**	NMLZ-be.fine-NEG	**NEG.EQU.COP**	king	that

voarbipi aphanle arjudamnoi"

vōarbí-pī	**a-phān=le]**	arjū-dām**-nōi**]
bird.sp-female	**POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR**	ask-go-**INFRML.COND.IMP**

'"therefore, I'm not the guilty one, king, go ask that Voarbipi!"' [RBT, ChM 037]

The next example shows that it is, however, not always concrete contrastive focus that corrects a misconception, which is marked by *=le*. In this story, the mother of two little children dies. In (752), the father desperately addresses his children.[175] One thing he says is *itum nangpei=le kedo kalilo* 'we don't have your mother anymore', where *=le* occurs on *nangpei* 'your mother'. It is clear that 'your mother' does not contrast with any concrete alternative here, in the sense that there was any belief that somebody else could have died. It does make sense, however, to think of the function of *=le* here as

[175] Note that it is common in Karbi to address one's children as *pēi~pāi* 'mother' and *pō* 'father'.

emphasizing how compared to the death of any person, the loss of the mother is the most difficult loss to cope with.

(752) =*le* not marking contrastive/corrective focus
si asomar aphan charjulo "o pei atum
[sì a-oso-màr a-phān che-arjū-lò] [ó pēi a-tūm
therefore POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ RR-ask-RL vocative mother POSS-PL

te kopujilangma? itum nangpeile kedo
tē ko-pù-jí-lāng=ma] [e-tūm **nang-pēi=le** ke-dō
if WH-like.this-IRR2-yet=Q 1INCL-PL **2:POSS-mother=FOC:IRR** NMLZ-exist

kalilo, nangpeita arnam mandamlo arni
kalī-lò] [nang-pēi=tā arnàm mán-dàm-lò arnì
NEG.EQU.COP-RL 2:POSS-mother=ADD:DM god become/happen-go-RL EE:arnàm

mandamlo apot
mán-dàm-lò apōt]
become/happen-go-RL because
'therefore, he asked his children, "O mothers, so then, what else could we do?", We don't have your mother anymore, because your mother has gone to become god' [CST, RO 008]

See the next section, §10.7.5, for more information on how =*le* relates to, and interacts with, the other information structure clitics.

A possibility for the etymology of =*le* is to relate it to the negative equational copula *kalī* (§4.6.2.2). As *kalī* is hypothesized to be historically parsable into two morphemes, where the first, velar onset syllable is the negative morpheme and the second, lateral-onset syllable is the copula, this second morpheme in *kalī* could very well be historically the same morpheme as =*le*. Copulas often grammaticalize to focus markers in cleft constructions, which, in fact, likely happened with =*si* as well (§9.7.3.1). The fact that it is specifically (the copula portion of) the negative equational copula that may be the grammaticalization source of =*le* would have further explanatory force given that =*le* marks focus in irrealis contexts only.

10.7.5. Relationships between Information Structure Clitics

We can start out with a preliminary generalization that both *=ke* 'topic' and *=tā* 'additive' mark topic, while *=si* 'focus' and *=le* 'irrealis focus' mark focus.

As mentioned above, both *=ke* and *=tā* occur in the (affected) possessor construction (see §10.2.2.4), as in (753) and (754).

(753) Possession construction with unmarked A, 2nd person possessive-marked O
"nangdun nangne" puta, kroikredetlo,
[nang-dùn náng-Cē pu=tā] [krōi-Cē-dèt-lò]
CIS-join need-NEG QUOT=ADD:although agree-NEG-PFV-RL

*"**nangke nangdin** dolang"*
[nàng=ke]$_{A/POSR}$ [nang-dín]$_{O/POSD}$ dō-làng]
2=TOP 2POSS-day(<Asm) exist-still
'although she said, "you shouldn't follow me", he didn't agree, "you still have your life to live (lit. days)" (he said)' [KK, BMS 084]

(754) Possession construction with unmarked A and 1st person exclusive possessive-marked O
*[...] amat **neta neri** ave **nekeng** ave [...]*
amāt **[nè=tā]$_{A/POSR}$ [ne-rí]$_{O/POSD}$** avē **[ne-kèng]$_{O/POSD}$** avē
and.then **1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-hand** not.exist **1EXCL:POSS-foot** not.exist
'[…] and then also, I don't have hands or feet […]' [RBT, ChM 030]

In a different construction, *=ke* and *=tā* can co-occur in the same clause as they mark different constituents. This is perhaps not surprising considering that *=ke* can occur on two different elements in the same clause as shown above in §10.7.1 (note, however, that topic-switch *=tā* does not occur twice in the same clause). (755) shows that within the same clause, the *-phān* 'non-subject' marked R argument may be marked by *=tā* and the unmarked A argument by *=ke*. The context of this folk story that allows this coocurrence of *=tā* and *=ke* is as follows. Bokolapo, a folk story fool character, asks his children why they are calling him their father, as Bokolapo thinks that he is in a different village. (755) directly follows Bokolapo's direct speech talking to his children, and *=tā* thus occurs after direct speech, which is typical (see §10.7.2). After this sentence, which explains how Bokolapo mistakenly talks to his children not knowing that they are his

children, the topic does indeed switch to the children. In this sentence, however, Bokolapo still is the topic, and is marked as such by *=ke*.

(755) Additive topic-switch *=tā* and *=ke* marking two arguments in the same clause
asomar aphantá Bokolapo abangké lasonsi lam
[a-so-màr aphān=**tā**] [Bokolā-pō abàng=**ke**] lasón=si lám
POSS-child-PL NSUBJ=**ADD:TS** NAME-male NPDL=**TOP** that.way=FOC word

thakdunronglo
thàk-dūn-ròng-lò
answer-JOIN-instead-RL
'that way, his (own) childred Bokolapo mistakenly answered like this' [HI, BPh 013]

Now let us look at the relationship between the two focus clitics. (756) is an elicited example that shows their complementary distribution in corrective focus statements, which schematically are: 'not X=*le*, but Y=*si*'.

(756) Contrastive/corrective with irrealis focus *=le* and realis focus *=si*
*[nè phàk-ōk=**le** ki-tún kalī] [vō-ōk=**si** **ki-**tún]*
1EXCL pig-meat=**FOC:IRR** NMLZ-cook NEG.EQU.COP bird-meat=**FOC** **NMLZ-**cook
'I don't/won't cook pork, I (will) cook chicken' [Elicitation SiT 090303]

Furthermore, *=si* and *=le* can co-occur (on different constituents) in the same clause. The construction in which this is possible is content questions. Here, the content question word is often marked by *=si*, while another element in the same clause can be marked as focus as well, then receiving irrealis focus marking via *=le* (see also §11.3.2). An example is (757).

(757) Realis focus *=si* on content question word; irrealis focus *=le* on other element
[...] nonke methan-sibongpopen banghinivetle kopusi pirthe
nón=ke methān-sibóngpō=pen bàng-hiní-vèt=**le** kopù=**si** pirthé
now=TOP dog.sp=with CLF:HUM:PL-two-only=**FOC:IRR** how=**FOC** world

mindar dodunthekpoma pulo
mindár dō-dūn-thèk-pò=ma pu-lò
world(<KhJ) stay-JOIN-know.how-IRR1=Q QUOT-RL
'[…] "now, how will I manage to stay just the two of us with the dog?" (he thought)' [KK, BMS 016]

Finally, let us examine data that document how topic and focus marking can interact. As shown in (758), both contrastive topic and contrastive focus can be marked within the same sentence. The example consists of two parallel clauses, which have the same verb *chō* 'eat', while both the A arguments and the locatives are contrasted. The contrasting A arguments are *nangpo* 'your father' and *nangtum* 'you (both)'. The contrasting locatives are *hemtap angsong* 'up in the tree house' and *mandu* '(in) the field hut'. While the two participants are marked as we would expect in the second clause, i.e., the A as topic and the locative as focus, the first clause has the A marked as focus and the locative unmarked. This may be because the speaker had not planned the whole sentence as he was producing the first clause. The second clause does give us evidence, however, of how topic and focus marking can interact in an expected pattern. Note that irrealis focus *=le* occurs in both clauses for different reasons: in the first clause because it is a (subordinate) conditional clause, in the second clause because it is an unmarked imperative.

(758) Contrastive topic and contrastive focus: *=le* 'irrealis focus' and *=ke* 'topic'
nangpole hemtap angsong chote nangtumke mandule cho
[[nang-pō=**le** hēmtāp angsóng chō-tē] nang-tūm=**ke** mandú=**le** chō]
2-father=**FOC:IRR** tree.house high.up eat-if 2-PL=**TOP** field.hut=**FOC:IRR** eat
' "[…] if your father takes his meal in the hemtap, you eat in the mandu"' [CST, RO 017]

Lastly, (759) shows that *=tā*, *=ke* and *=le* can occur within the same clause. Here, we have two topics marked by *=tā* and *=ke* as also seen above in (755), and in addition a focused adverb marked by *=le*.

(759) Interaction of additive *=tā*, topic *=ke* and irrealis focus *=le*
amat "anborta pinike nangtum hadakle an
[amāt àn-bòr=**tā** pinì=**ke** nang-tūm hádāk=**le** àn
and.then rice-wrapped.bundle=**ADD:TS** today=**TOP** you-PL there=**FOC:IRR** rice

chodunnoi! kaita dah nangtumta
chō-dūn-nōi] [kái=tā dáh nang-tūm=tā
eat-JOIN-INFRML.COND.IMP always=ADD:EXH go! you-PL=ADD:EXH

chodunnoi! […]
chō-dūn-nōi]
eat-JOIN-INFRML.COND.IMP
'and then, “the rice bundle, today, eat them there!, go, you too eat together […]”’ [CST, RO 017]

While all of the data presented above demonstrate that we can group topic markers *=ke* and *=tā*, as well as focus markers *=si* and *=le*, there is a single construction that suggests a different grouping, which is the intensifier copy verb construction. Here, the realis construction uses *=tā* (§12.2.3.2), while the irrealis construction uses *=le* (§12.2.3.3).

10.7.6. Other Information Status Constructions

10.7.6.1. Constituent Order

This section offers some evidence for the pragmatic basis of constituent order variation. Karbi is verb-final like most Tibeto-Burman languages. However, it is relatively easy to find clauses with arguments placed after the verb if they represent old or given information. The following examples demonstrate this for mono-, bi-, and trivalent clauses. In (760), the S argument occurs after the verb as it represents old information, which is evidenced by the preceding question with verb focus rather than argument focus.

(760) SV in question followed by VS in answer
“pine akam doma jirpo ho?” {mm}

[NP]$_S$	V

[pí-nē a-kám] dō=ma jīrpō hò mm
what-INDEF POSS-work exist=Q friend EMPH:INTERACT AFF
'is there any work, friend?' [HK, TR 130]

*“ave **akamke,** seta vangthahe”.... damlo {mm}*

V	**[NP]**$_S$

avē **a-kám=ke** setā vàng-thā=he.... dàm-lò mm
not.exist **POSS-work=TOP** but come-CON.IMP=EMPH go-RL AFF
'”there is no work, but come here”... and he went’ [HK, TR 131]

In (761) and (762), the A argument and the O argument, respectively, occur after the verb as they represent old information. In (761), this is evidenced by the use of the distal demonstrative *hála*, which is frequently used for discourse-old information. In (762), the evidence lies in how the speaker corrects herself after first saying 'men and women' to saying 'mothers and fathers', thereby clearly making the O argument 'children' given information, because the terms 'mothers and fathers' versus 'women and men' imply that this is about children.

(761) OVA

damchot aphi.... phutup kitirok theklongloklo

		[NP]$_O$		V
[dàm-chót	a-phī....]	[phutūp	ke-tí-ròk]	thèklōng-lòk-lò
go-a.bit	POSS-after	hat	NMLZ-leave.behind-CMPLV	see-just-RL

hala bol ke'otdong a'oso abang

		[NP]$_A$		
[hála	[ból	ke-ót-dòng]	a-osō	abàng]]
that	ball(<Eng)	NMLZ-touch-attached	POSS-child	NPDL

'and then, after going just a bit, he saw the hat that had been thrown off, that boy that was holding the ball' [SiT, PS 035]

(762) AVO

lasi pinso arlo ba apai apota

	[NP]$_A$				
lasì	[pinsō	arlò]	bá	[a-pāi	a-pō=tā]
therefore	married.man	woman	or(<Asm)	POSS-mother	POSS-father=ADD

pachehoman osomar aphan, laso

V	**[NP]$_O$**		
pe-che-homán	[osō-mār	a-phān]]	lasō
CAUS-RR-be.equal(<Asm)	child-PL	POSS-NSUBJ	this

adaito che'en pute,] [bangbang

a-daitó	che-én	pu-tē	bàng~bāng
POSS-responsibility(<Asm)	RR-take	QUOT-COND	CLF:HUM:PL-DIST.PL

akhai ason] mane undunjima pusi

a-khái	asón	mane	ùn-dūn-jí=ma	pusi
POSS-community	like	I.mean(<Asm)	be.able-JOIN-IRR2=Q	QUOT.COMP

nelita kamatha
nè-lì=tā ke-mathà
1EXCL-HON=ADD NMLZ-think
'so the men and women, or the mothers and fathers, if they make themselves equal for the children, if they take this their own responsibility, then like other peoples' tribes we will be successful (on a par with other peoples' tribes), is what I think [KaR, SWK 052]

In (763), the R argument in this trivalent clause is given information, because the T argument *aphutup* is marked possessive and the R argument is the possessor, so the T argument makes the R argument old or given information.

(763) TVR
lapenke aphutup pidetlo laphan

	[NP]$_T$	V	**[NP]$_R$**
lapèn=ke	a-phutūp	pī-dèt-lò	là-phān
and.then=TOP	POSS-hat	give-PFV-RL	this-NSUBJ

'and then, he gave him his hat' [SiT, PS 038]

Finally, although zero anaphora (§10.4.3) is very common and clauses with all arguments overtly expressed are rare in the corpus of recorded texts, the default is for A arguments to go in sentence-initial position, presumably because A arguments tend to be topics. Whether there is a default for positioning of R and T arguments in trivalent constructions is unclear (see §10.2.1.3). Due to the seeming default of sentence-initial A arguments and the verb-final structure of Karbi, however, we can say that there is a default for bivalent clauses with overtly expressed NPs to be AOV. However, there certainly are examples where that is not the case, as already shown above with A and O occurring after the verb. Another example of a bivalent clause that is not AOV is (764), where the order instead is OAV. The first two lines offer the context for the OAV clause: The king has two children, which, however, he never knew, because they were taken by a witch right after they were born. After many years, the king finally meets his children and finds out the truth. The example below starts with an exclamation by the king: 'They are indeed my children!'

(764) OAV

apot laso aricho abang mathalo, "ai!

apōt	[lasō	a-rechó	abàng]	mathà-lò	ái
because	this	POSS-king	NPDL	think-RL	how.strange!

nesomarlo laho!" pu

ne-oso-màr-lò	làho	pu
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL	EXCLAM	QUOT

'therefore, the king thought, "How strange! They are indeed my children!"' [CST, HM 084]

aosomar aphan halaso aricho abang hangpon'et

[NP]$_O$		**[NP]$_A$**			**[NP]$_V$**
[a-osō-mār	aphān]	[hálasō	a-rechó	abàng]	háng-pòn-ét
POSS-child-PL	NSUBJ	that	POSS-king	NPDL	call-take.away-PRF

'the king called his children to take them with him (told them to come)' [CST, HM 085]

The next intonation unit describes the subsequent action by the king, which is to take his children home. At this point, the king has been the topic, and the fact that the children are his children (marked possessive by *a-*) is new information. This could explain why we get OAV order here.

10.7.6.2. New Participant Marking

As discussed in more detail in §7.7.2.6.1, new participants are typically marked by an indefiniteness construction that is built on pre-head enumeration with 'one'.

10.7.6.3. Restrictive Focus Markers

There are at least six restrictive focus markers, which differ in morphological status, syntactic distribution, and semantic and pragmatic functions. Table 114 gives an overview of the forms and distributions; the abbreviation 'CLF/NUM/QUANT' stands for 'classifiers/numerals/quantifiers'. Note that all markers are glossed as 'only' in examples.

With respect to morphological status, there is one full word, *angsé*; one element that occurs as a full word *anát* when it syntactically modifies a noun or predicate but occurs as a suffix on classifiers, numerals, and quantifiers; and finally, there are four markers that only occur as suffixes. Full words occur as post-head modifiers.

Table 114. Distribution of restrictive focus markers[176]

Occurs on/with >	CLF/NUM/QUANT	Noun	Verb
angsé	-	+	+
anàt ~ *-nàt*	- +	+ -	+ -
-vèt	+	-	-
-lòk	-	+	+
-dèt	-	+	-
-chòt	?	-	+

As for their syntactic distribution, the markers differ in whether they attach to classifiers/numerals/quantifiers, nouns, predicates, or a combination of these, as shown in the Table 114. Note that *anàt~-nàt* is the only marker whose form differs depending on what type of head it modifies. Finally, note that *angsé* is the only element for which a likely historical origin still exists in the language: the verb *angsé* 'be naked'. While *anàt* looks like a relator noun, there is no homophonous lexical item in modern Karbi that could represent its grammaticalization source element. The *-dèt* suffix is homophonous with exhaustive perfective *-dèt* (§6.8.1), and the exhaustive semantic component does make a relationship between the two suffixes likely, as does the fact that restrictive focus *-dèt* does not occur on verbs.

Table 115 shows which restrictive focus marker indicate which particular function, of which four have so far been identified.

Table 115. Functions of restrictive focus markers

Function >	Exclusively	Exclusively and constantly	Does not meet numeric/measurable expectation	Does not meet semantic/pragmatic expectation ('merely')
Associated with >	entity	event	entity	entity / event
Marked on >	noun	noun / verb	CLF/NUM/QUANT	noun / verb
angsé	-	?	-	+
(a-)nàt	+	+	+	+
-vèt	-	-	+	-
-lók	-	+	-	?
-dèt	+	-	-	?
-chòt	-	+	+	+

[176] '+' means that the marker occurs with or on the particular element, '-' means it does not, and '?' means that there is currently no evidence to tell for sure.

The function described by the adverb ‘exclusively’ indicates that the referent of the noun marked as such is asserted to be the exclusive and only referent for which the proposition is correct. An elicited example with *-dèt* is (765). Here, if it ended up being the case that somebody besides or along with Kasang was bringing food, the sentence would not be truthful.

(765) *-dèt* marking ‘exclusively’ function
*Kasang**-dèt**=si* *àn* *ke-thòn-dām*
NAME**-only**=FOC rice NMLZ-drop-GO
‘only/exclusively Kasang (nobody else and nobody accompanying her) is bringing food’ [Elicitation SiT 111104]

An elicited minimal pair of (765) is (766). It illustrates the function of *-lók* to indicate the function described in Table 115 as ‘exclusively and constantly’. Specifically this means that if there was anybody besides Kasang who kept bringing food or also if Kasang only brings or brought food once, the sentence would not be truthful. Note that in both (765) and (766), the restrictive focus marked NP is additionally marked by the general focus particle *=si* (§10.7.3).

(766) *-lók* marking ‘exclusively and constantly’ function
*Kasang**-lók**=si* *àn* *ke-thòn-dām*
NAME**-only**=FOC rice NMLZ-drop-GO
‘only/exclusively Kasang keeps bringing food (nobody else)’ [Elicitation SiT 111104]

An example of this ‘exclusively and constantly’ marking function of *-lók* from the corpus of recorded texts is (767). Here the context makes it very clear that the action is going on ‘constantly’.

(767) *-lók* marking ‘exclusively and constantly’ function
thap ketoklok jo arníta sanglongle,
[thàp ke-tòk-lók] [jó arnì=tā sáng-lōng-Cē]
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only night day=ADD:EXH take.rest-GET-NEG

thap ketoklok ketoklok, aso mok
[thàp ke-tòk-lók ke-tòk-lók] [[[a-sō mōk
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only IPFV-pound-only POSS-child breast

kachepechuji apor ave tangho
ke-che-pa-chū-jí] a-pór] avē tànghò]
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-suck-IRR2 POSS-time not.exist REP
'they just kept pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, the whole time they didn't get to take rest, they were pounding the rice beer cake, they didn't even have time to breast-feed their children' [WR, BCS 030]

(768) provides a text example that shows *-vèt* occurring on classifier-numeral words. The restrictive focus here indicates that there is an expectation in this context that there should be a higher number than the one that the 'only' marker has scope over.

(768) *-vèt*: numeric/measuring only: no more than X
api jonni alo
[a-pī jōn-ní] [a-lò
POSS-female/mother CLF:animal-two POSS-male.animal

jonnivetlo jonphlivetlo
jōn-ní-**vèt**-lò] [jōn-phlī-**vét**-lò]
CLF:animal-two-**only**-RL CLF:animal-four-**only**-RL
that way, he kept eating and eating, and from the one hundred hens and one hundred roosters, two hens and two roosters only, only four (were left) [SeT, MTN 028]

Lastly, the function 'not meeting the full expectation' with respect to a referent or event presupposes a contextually defined semantic and pragmatic scale of referent and events that fulfill a particular expectation more or less. In the folk story example in (769), a witch has previously taken the Karbi woman's children and abandoned them in the jungle, while putting two pieces of firewood in the cradle, which were meant to imitate the shape of the children. In (769), the witch says to the father, the king, that the Karbi woman had given birth to 'only' or 'merely' two pieces of firewood. Pieces of firewood clearly do not fulfill the expectation of actual human babies and would be ranked lower in an intuitive scale on what a woman should give birth to.

(769) *angsé* 'merely': does not meet full expectation (semantic/pragmatic scale)
nangpiso Karbipi asomar aso <ke.. ke>
[[nang-pisò Karbì-pī a-oso-màr a-osō <ke.. ke>
2:POSS-wife PN-fem POSS-child-PL POSS-child <ke ke>

kehacheke thengpi abeng angse jaho hini... pu
ke-haché=ke thengpī a-bēng angsé jaho hiní pu
NMLZ-be.born=TOP tree/wood POSS-piece only look.there! two QUOT

anke hala richo abangta chelangdamlo bai
ánke hála richó abàng=tā che-lāng-dām-lò bái
and.then that king NPDL=DM RR-see-go-RL how.mean!
your wife, the Karbipi gave birth to only (in the sense of no real children, just wood) two pieces of wood, look there at the two, and then, that king also went himself to look, and "my goodness!' [CST, HM 022]

CHAPTER XI

CLAUSE TYPES AND CLAUSE COMBINING

This chapter offers an overview of different main and subordinate clause types. It does not discuss nominalized and historically nominalized clause types, as they are dealt with in Chapter IX. Likewise, it does not discuss declarative main clause types; intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses - or mono-, bi-, and trivalent verbs - are discussed in §10.2.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. It begins with non-declarative main clause types in §11.1: interrogatives, imperatives, and hortatives. In §11.2, subordinate clause types and constructions are discussed, again, excluding any discussion of nominalization. In §11.3, an overview of irrealis clause types is provided, which emerge as a function of irrealis-sensitive non-final and focus markers. The next section §11.4 deals with (non-nominalized) insubordination constructions, i.e., formally subordinate clauses functioning as main clauses. In §11.5, the grammatically less prominent domain of clause coordination (as compared to clause chaining and other subordination) is discussed. Finally, §11.6 offers a few remarks on the lack of a grammaticalized syntactic pivot in Karbi to determine participant role continuity across clauses.

11.1. Non-Declarative Main Clause Types

Non-declarative main clause types are at the core of a set of constructions that have a property in common referred to as 'irrealis' in this dissertation (see §11.3.2).

Non-declarative main clause types discussed here include interrogatives (§11.1.1), imperatives (§11.1.2), and hortatives (§11.1.3). Another non-declarative main clause type discussed in Chapter XII is exclamatives (§12.3.8).

11.1.1. Interrogatives

This overview of interrogatives begins with content questions in §11.1.1.2. After a terminological note on 'polar' and 'disjunctive' interrogatives in §11.1.1.3, the following four subsections discuss four (sets of) constructions that lie on a continuum

with respect to the degree of the speaker's expectation that the reply will confirm the truth of the proposition. On this continuum, polar interrogatives (§11.1.1.4) are neutral and open, while tag questions (§11.1.1.7) indicate a strong expectation towards the truth of the proposition. Inbetween we find disjunctive interrogatives (§11.1.1.5), which are closer to polar interrogatives, and interrogative assumptions (§11.1.1.6), which are closer to tag questions. The last subsection is dedicated to the feedback request construction (§11.1.1.8).

11.1.1.1. Question Particle =*ma*

The question particle =*ma* occurs mostly in polar interrogatives (§11.1.1.4.1) and disjunctive interrogatives (§11.1.1.5), as well as, in a pragmatically marked way, in content questions (§11.1.1.2.2).

A polar interrogative particle of this form *ma* is found in a large number of Tibeto-Burman languages. As pointed out by Thurgood (1983), there is a clear historical link between the interrogative *ma* and the common **ma* Sino-Tibetan preverbal negative, such that the interrogative must have developed from the negative. The reconstruction takes the common 'A-not-A' disjunctive question construction[177] as a starting point. In this construction, a polar question like 'do/did you eat?' is expressed as 'eat not-eat'. In order for the negative to be reanalyzed as a polar interrogative particle, all that has to happen is for the second repetition of the verb to be dropped.

11.1.1.2. Content Questions with Interrogative Pronouns and Adverbs

Content questions contain an interrogative pronoun or adverb, i.e., 'what', 'who', 'where', and so on (see §4.5.4). In the corpus, roughly two thirds of content questions are nominalized by having the nominalizing *ke-* prefix attached to the verb. This is best understood if we consider the content question construction to be a cleft construction, where the content question word is the element under focus. This is not only plausible in terms of content question words cross-linguistically being a very typical element under focus, but also with respect to Karbi internal evidence of =*si* 'focus' frequently occurring on content question words. For further discussion, see §9.7.3.1.

[177] See §11.1.1.5.1 for the equivalent, though structurally somewhat different, construction in Karbi.

In Karbi, there is no dedicated content question particle. The question particle *=ma*, however, which marks polar interrogatives may occur at the end of content questions.

11.1.1.2.1. Verb Occurring without *=ma*

When eliciting content questions via translation from English, the verb is not marked by the question particle *=ma*, and also in texts, it appears that not using *=ma* is pragmatically more neutral.

(770) and (771) are content questions in which the verb occurs without the question particle *=ma*. In both examples, the verb is nominalized (§9.7.3.1). In (770), the content question word *pīsi* 'why' apparently diachronically contains *=si* 'focus' (see also §11.3.2) and, presumably as a result, cannot occur with either *=si* 'focus' or *=lo* 'focus', which is otherwise common for interrogative pronouns and adverbs. In (771), *nát* 'where' is marked by *=lo* 'focus'.

(770) Content question without *=ma*;
[…] "bai! pisi nang kardikphlilo?" pu […]
bái **pīsi** nàng ke-ardīk-phlì-lò pu
how.mean! **why** you NMLZ-peep-for.awhile-RL QUOT
'[…] "how bad! Why are you looking?" […]' [SeT, MTN 034]

(771) Content question without *=ma*;
{latum natlo kedo ante?}
{là-tūm **nát=lo** ke-dō ánte}
this-PL **where=FOC** NMLZ-exist OK.then
'{where are they staying then?}' [HK, TR 162]

While most questions have the content question word in clause-initial position, this is not necessarily the case, as demonstrated in (771). Note that (771) is not an echo question that asks the addressee to reconfirm something already said, but the question asks for previously not addressed information. It is said by somebody listening to a storyteller tell this folk story (as indicated by the curly brackets), and the question is getting at the location of two protagonists of the story. It could therefore be the case,

however, that the speaker in (771) knew the answer to his question, as he might have known the plot of the folk story.

11.1.1.2.2. Verb Occurring with *=ma*

If the question particle *=ma* occurs at the end of a content question, then the question becomes rhetorical and is either not intended to elicit an answer, or at least signals that there is no 'correct answer' to the question that would satisfy the person asking. An elicited minimal pair is (772). Whereas (a) without *=ma* is pragmatically neutral and simply asks for new information, (b) may be asked in a situation where everybody had been worried about the absence of the addressee.

(772) Content question minimal pair with and without *=ma* 'question particle'

(a)	*tumì*	***konát=si***	*ke-dàm-lò?*	(b)	*tumì*	***konát=si***	*ke-dàm=**ma**?*
	yesterday	**where=FOC**	NMLZ-go-RL		yesterday	**where=FOC**	NMLZ-go=**Q**
	'where did you go yesterday?'				'where did you possibly go yesterday?'		

(Elicitation KT 111208)

Examples from the corpus show the same function of content questions with *=ma*. In (773), from a folk story, the king asks a rock why it had killed his daughter. Since it was an accident, which the king is aware of, there is of course no satisfactory answer to the question, so *=ma* is used here.

(773) Content question with *=ma*;

*[…] "**Kopisi** nang nesopi aphan kipithi**ma**?" […]*

[**kopīsi**	nàng	[ne-oso-pì	a-phān]	ke-pV-thì=**ma**]
why	2	1EXCL:POSS-child-female	POSS-NSUBJ	NMLZ-CAUS-die=**Q**

'[…] "for what possible reason did you kill my daughter?" […]' [RBT, ChM 028]

Similarly, in the folk story from which (774) is taken, the question 'why didn't you get up?' is not intended to elicit an answer, because it is followed up by a command that the addressed group of tigers should hurry up.

(774) Content question with *=ma*;

*"**Pisi** kithurvangvedetma?" {mm} "Paprapnang ho!" {mm}*

pīsi	ke-thùr-vàng-Cē-dèt=**ma**	mm	pe-pràp-nàng	hò	mm	
why	NMLZ-get.up-PL-NEG-PFV=**Q**	AFF	CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON	EMPH:INTERACT	AFF	

"'why didn't you get up? Let's try to be quick!'" [HK, TR 154-5]

11.1.1.3. Polar Interrogatives and Disjunctive Interrogatives

In the terminology used here, polar interrogatives aim to elicit agreement or rejection (§11.1.1.4), while disjunctive interrogatives present the addressee with two alternatives, of which one is expected to be agreed to and the other rejected (§11.1.1.5). While different constructions are used for polar and disjunctive interrogatives, there is also some constructional overlap. First, both types may make use of the question particle *=ma*, although *=ma* may also occur in content questions. Second, the answers to polar and disjunctive interrogatives most commonly follow the same pattern, which is to repeat (the positive or negative version of) the predicate whose proposition the addressee agrees to.

11.1.1.4. Polar Interrogatives

11.1.1.4.1. Polar Interrogatives with *=ma*

Polar interrogatives may simply be marked by adding *=ma* 'question particle' on the predicate. Examples of this type of polar interrogative along with corresponding answers, which consist in a parallel declarative clause without *=ma*, are offered in (775), where the predicate is the adverb *lasón* 'this way', and in (776), where the predicate is based on the verb *chók* 'be fine, be okay'.

(775) Polar interrogative with *=ma* and with answer

amat "mai pei! kaita nangtum lasonloma?" "o

amāt	mái	pēi	kái=tā	nang-tūm	**lasón-lò=ma**	ó
and.then	how.bad!	mother	always=ADD:EXH	you-PL	**that.way-RL=Q**	vocative

po! Lasonlo, netum khali kechongvailoksi kecho"

pō	**lasón-lò**	ne-tūm	khalí	ke-cho-ingvāi-lók-si	ke-chō
father	**that.way-RL**	1EXCL-PL	always(<Asm)	NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-choose-only-NF:RL	NMLZ-eat

'and then, "how mean, mother, was it always for you like this?", "o father, like this we (can) always eat only what we pick and choose"' [CST, RO 037]

(776) Polar interrogative with *=ma* and with answer
“chokjima?” pu, nephan arjulo,
[[chók-jí=mà] pù ne-phān arjū-lò]
be.fine-IRR2=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL

amatsi neta pulo, “chok”
[amātsi nè=tā pù-lò **chók]**
and.then 1EXCL=ADD say-RL **be.fine**
'”is it fine?”, they asked me, and I replied, “it's fine”' [SH, CSM 049]

(777) shows that this type of interrogative with *=ma* also allows the verb to be negated.

(777) Polar interrogative with *=ma* and with answer
{nopakke ponpema?}
nopàk=ke **pòn-Cē=ma**
dao=TOP **take.away-NEG=Q**
{he wasn't carrying a dao?} [HK, TR 022]

nopakta dolo dak {lahe} mm
nopàk=tā **dō-lò** dāk lahé mm
dao=ADD:also **exist-RL** here that.way? AFF
'he did have a dao also there.' {'is it like that?'} 'Mm.' [HK, TR 023]

11.1.1.4.2. Polar Interrogatives with Prosody Only

Another polar interrogative construction is formed by using a rising intonation. An example is offered in excerpt (778), which starts out with a storyteller talking about the protagonist of the story and saying that he he had no parents or siblings. As a reaction, another Karbi native speaker listening to the storyteller asks *enutvetlo?* ‘(so) he was alone?’, to which the answer by the storyteller is agreement through repeating the predicate *enutvetlo*.

(778) Prosodic polar question
apei avelo apo avelo....
a-pēi avē-lò a-pō avē-lò....
POSS-mother not.exist-RL POSS-father not.exist-RL

a'ik avelo ate avelo
a-ìk avē-lò a-tè avē-lò
POSS-older.brother not.exist-RL POSS-elder.sister not.exist-RL
'he didn't have a mother anymore, he didnt have a father anymore.... he didn't have any brothers or sisters anymore' [HK, TR 004]

{enutvetlo?}
e-nūt-vét-lò
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL
'{he was alone?}' [HK, TR 005]

enutvetlo {to}
e-nūt-vét-lò tò
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL OK
'he was alone {OK}' [HK, TR 006] [178]

Figure 23 offers the spectrogram and waveform of the question *enutvetlo?* and the answer *enutvetlo*, with the blue line representing F_0 and the yellow line representing intensity (figure made with Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013)).[179]

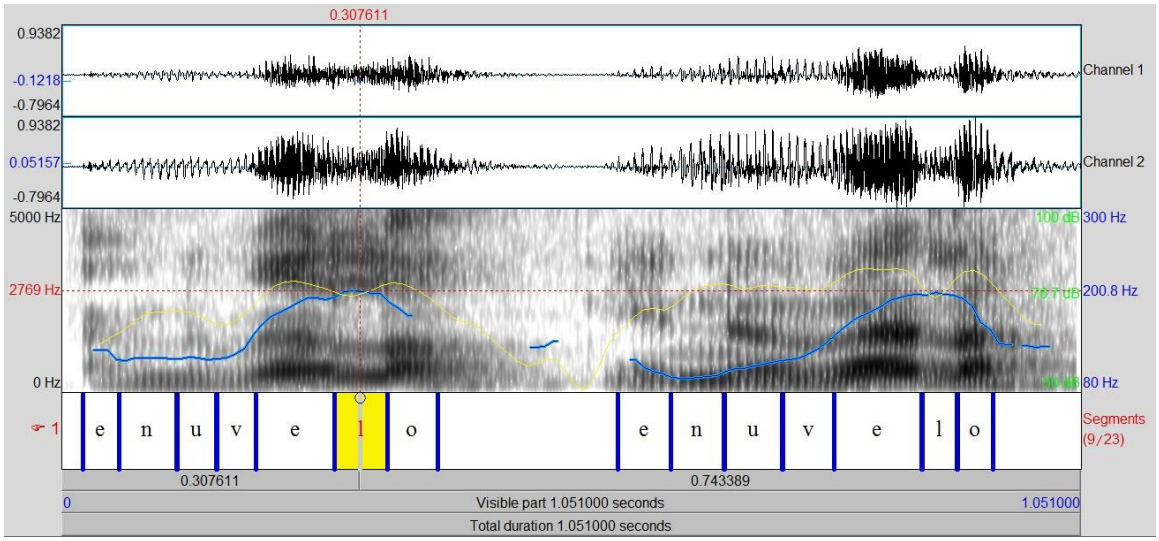

Figure 23. Waveform and spectrogram of interrogative and subsequent declarative *enutvetlo* 'he was alone' (HK, TR 005-6)

[178] The audio file for HK, TR 005-6 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3736P5Z, see Appendix B.

[179] Note that in both speakers' productions, both alveolar stops are elided as is common in hypoarticulated speech (§3.7.1). Segmentically, they therefore both produce *"enuvelo*."

While the first *enutvetlo*, which represents the question, shows the expected rise in F_0, it is perhaps surprising that the answer closely mirrors the interrogative F_0, as more clearly seen in Figure 24, which only displays F_0 over time (also produced with Praat).

As we can see in Figure 24, F_0 goes up to just over 200 Hz in the question and to just below 200 Hz in the answer, and these are both male speakers.

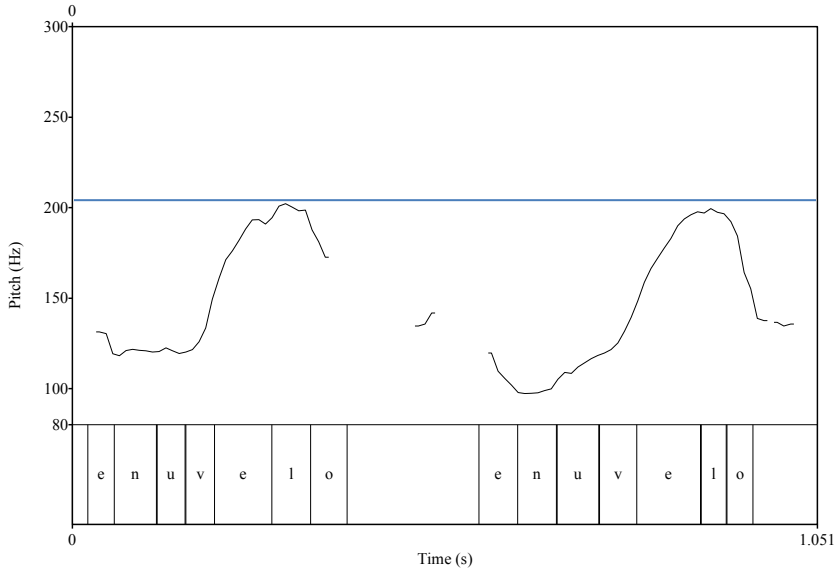

Figure 24. F_0 contour of interrogative and subsequent declarative *enutvetlo* 'he was alone' (HK, TR 005-6)

11.1.1.5. Disjunctive Interrogatives

There are four different disjunctive interrogative constructions in Karbi, as shown in Table 116.

Table 116. Disjunctive interrogative types

Type	Schematically:
1	A=*ma* A-NEG
2	A=*ma* B
3	A=*ma* B=*ma*
4	A=*ma ma* B=*ma*

11.1.1.5.1. Type 1: A=*ma* A-NEG

The type [A=*ma* A-NEG] is a typical disjunctive question construction in languages of Southeast Asia. Burling (2004:338) refers to the exact same construction in Garo as the 'balanced question' construction, whereas Li and Thompson (1981: 532) use the term 'A-not-A' for a similar construction in Mandarin Chinese.[180]

An example of the construction is shown in (779). It appears that only verbal predicates participate in this construction in Karbi.

(779) Disjunctive interrogative: A=*ma* A-NEG
sáng-jí=ma *sáng-sē*
take.rest-IRR2=Q take.rest-NEG
'should we take rest or not?' [Notebook OH 121010.004]

11.1.1.5.2. Type 2: A=*ma* B

Examples of the second type, 'A=*ma* B', are provided in (780) and (781), which both have nominal predicates.

(780) Disjunctive interrogative: A=*ma* B
{jangresoma jangrengsolo?}
jangrēsō=ma jangrēngsō-lò
single.parent.child=Q orphan-RL
'{was it an orphan with one parent left or no parents at all?}' [HK, TR 011]

jangrengsolo
jangrēngsō-lò
orphan-RL
'it was an orphan with no parents left' [HK, TR 012]

(781) Disjunctive interrogative: A=*ma* B
[hálasō *a-hūt* *abàng=ke]* *Nagaon=ma* *Karbi Anglong-lò? […]*
that POSS-during NPDL=TOP DISTRICT=Q DISTRICT-RL
'at that time, was it Nagaon or Karbi Anglong? […]' [KCT, SWK 014: SiT]

[180] However, while in Mandarin Chinese, the construction involves simply an affirmative predicate followed by its negated counterpart, both Karbi and Garo require the first affirmative predicate to be additionally marked by the question particle =*ma*, i.e., 'A=*ma* A-NEG'.

However, verbal predicates may also occur in this construction, for example *chō-mē=ma chō-nō?* 'eat-GOOD=Q eat-BAD > is it edible or not?'. It is not clear whether verbs can only occur in this construction if they denote opposites (in which case they mirror the 'A=*ma* A-NEG' construction shown above).

11.1.1.5.3. Type 3: A=*ma* B=*ma*

The third disjunctive interrogative construction consists in a simple juxtaposition of two polar questions, both marked with =*ma* clause-finally. An example is (782).

(782) Disjunctive interrogative: A=*ma* B=*ma*?

[...]	*lasō*	*a-ron*	*a-tang=pen*	*ke-dō-dē=ke*	***[rong=si***
	this	POSS-custom	POSS-EE:ron	NMLZ-stay-NEG=TOP	village=FOC

óng=ma],	***[town***	***a-lòng=si***	***óng=ma,***	*rongsopī*	*a-lòng]?*
be.much=Q	town	POSS-LOC=FOC	be.much=Q	town	POSS-LOC

'the people that don't behave well, is it mostly the village people or the town people, from the rongsopi?' [JB, SWK 174: SiT]

11.1.1.5.4. Type 4: A=*ma ma* B=*ma*

Finally, Type 4 is characterized by using an apparently further grammaticalized version of =*ma* 'question particle', which has turned into a disjunctive clause coordinator 'or' in questions only. In this construction then, both disjunctive interrogative clauses are marked by =*ma* clause-finally, and they are additionally linked via coordinator *ma*. An example of this construction is (783), reported by Grüßner (1978).

(783) Disjunctive interrogative: A=*ma ma* B=*ma*

[a-hotón	*a-béléng*	*mamát-làng=ma],*	***ma***	*[a-ki-mī*	*cho-lóng-lò=ma?]*	
POSS-basket	POSS-strainer	?self-still=Q	Q	POSS-NMLZ-be.new	AUTO.BEN/MAL-get-RL=Q	

'do you still have the same baskets and strainers, or did you get new ones?' (Grüßner 1978: 129; glosses LK)

Another, incomplete instance of the same construction occurs in (784). In this example, the speaker begins with a content question. He then presumably decides that he

has more knowledge and asks for the same information more directly, rephrasing it as a disjunctive question. He stops, however, after the coordinating *ma*, leaving the alternative of the disjunctive question unexpressed.

(784) Disjunctive interrogative: A, or?

[…] kolosō a-deng=pen=si ke-vàng-īk-lò?
which POSS-district=from=FOC NMLZ-come-FRML-RL

Kamrup a-deng=pen=ma, ma…?
DISTRICT POSS-district=from=Q Q
'which district are you from? From the Kamrup district, or…?' [JB, SWK 021: SiT]

11.1.1.6. Interrogative Assumption *=bo*

The 'interrogative assumption' clitic *=bo* marks statements whose proposition the speaker assumes is true while still eliciting a reply that is expected to confirm the truth of the proposition.

An example of a *=bo* marked interrogative assumption is (785), in which the curly brackets indicate a native Karbi speaker different from the main storyteller of this text. In this example, there are two *=bo* marked interrogative assumptions, both with a third person subject. In both cases, they are confirmed: the first question via the affirmative interjection *a*, and the second question via affirmatively repeating the predicate.

(785) Interrogative assumption *=bo*

{anke inghonghelobo?} a {kekatchon
{ánke inghòng-Cē-lò**=bo}** a {ke-kàt-chón
and.then wait-NEG-RL**=ITROG.ASSUM** AFF NMLZ-run.HUM-very.quickly

***pulobo?}** kekatchonlo*
pù-lò**=bo**} ke-kàt-chón-lò
like.this-RL**=ITROG.ASSUM** NMLZ-run.HUM-very.quickly-RL
'{and so, he is not waiting, huh? is he running away} he is running away' [HK, TR 116]

In (786), the subject of the *=bo* marked clause is second person. Here also, a full reply follows the interrogative assumption.

(786) Interrogative assumption *=bo*

*ke methan-sibongpoke "hem **chirimkangetlobo,***
kè methān-sibóngpō=ke] [hēm che-rím-káng-ét-lò**=bo**
and.then dog.sp=TOP house RR-keep.in.order-leaving-PRF-RL**=ITROG.ASSUM**

phu?" pu "hem chirim'et chibi'etlo"
phū] pu [hēm che-rím-ét che-bí-ét-lò]
grandfather:VOC QUOT house RR-keep.in.order-PRF RR-keep-PRF-RL
'and then, the dog (said), "I assume you already put everything in its place?", "yes, I've put everything in order"' [KK, BMS 039]

11.1.1.7. Tag Question *dī*

Tag questions marked by *dī* are used to seek confirmation for the truth of a proposition that the speaker strongly believes in. In (787), a tag question marked by *dī* is confirmed in a reply with the same adverbial predicate.

(787) Tag question with *dī* 'question.tag' with reply

"ba! Lasonloklo, di?", "o! Lasonloklo, po!"
[bá lasón-lók-lò **dī]** [ó lasón-lók-lò pō]
how.bad! that.way-only-RL **Q.TAG** AFF that.way-only-RL father
'"how mean, like that it's always been, right?", "yes, just like that, father"' [CST, RO 039]

11.1.1.8. Feedback Request with *déi*

Whereas *dī* 'question tag' occurs after realis clauses and elicits confirmation of the truth of a proposition, *déi* 'OK?' occurs after irrealis clauses and represents a request to the addressee to confirm their 'having taken notice.' Irrealis contexts in which *déi* is used for feedback request include imperatives (§11.3.2), as in (788), and deontic clauses with *náng* 'need' (§11.3.4), as in (789).

(788) Feedback request with *déi* following imperative clause

*[…] ladakle dotha **dei?** jattha dak lang*
ladāk=le dō-thā **déi** ját-thā dāk lāng
here=FOC:IRR stay-CON.IMP **OK?** GENEX-CON.IMP here water

chinglunoi juinoi pu amat […]
chinglú-nōi jùi-nōi pu amāt
take.bath-INFRML.COND.IMP play-INFRML.COND.IMP QUOT self
'[…] stay here, okay?, here do everything, and take your bath and play" he said, and then […]' [CST, RO 049]

(789) Feedback request with *déi* following deontic clause
lasi osomar aphan pulo adapprang thurdap nangji ***dei?***
lasì osō-mār aphān pù-lò a-dappráng thùr-dàp náng-jí **déi**
therefore child-PL NSUBJ say-RL POSS-dawn get.up-early need-IRR2 **OK?**
'so I said to the children, we need to get up early in the morning, okay?' [SH, CSM 002]

Feedback request *déi* 'OK?' is also commonly used in a formulaic expression following *dàm-pò* 'go-IRR1' > 'I'm leaving' (i.e., *dampo, dei?*), which is used as a 'good-bye' expression after being done visiting.

11.1.2. Imperatives and Prohibitives

The following subsections discuss the various imperative and prohibitive constructions, including the bare stem imperative (§11.1.2.1); the informal suggestive imperative with *-nōi* (§11.1.2.2); the (non-informal) suggestive imperative with *-nōn* (§11.1.2.3); the conative imperative *-thā* (§11.1.2.4); and the most command-like imperative with *-tū* (§11.1.2.5). §11.1.2.6 discusses the differences between *-nōn*, *-thā*, and *-tū*. Prohibitive *-rī* is discussed in §11.1.2.7, and the prohibitive construction that combines an imperative with the prohibitive suffix is shown in §11.1.2.8.

11.1.2.1. Bare Stem Imperative

The structurally simplest imperative construction is to use the bare stem, as in (790). As a prohibitive counterpart to the bare stem imperative construction, a simple negated verb may be used, e.g., *ót-ē* 'touch-NEG' > 'don't touch (it)!'[181]

[181] I have heard this used by somebody who was talking to a four-year old child.

(790) Bare stem imperative
“ako nangpole mandu cho tangte...
akó nang-pō-le mandú chō tángtē
on.the.other.hand(<Asm) 2:POSS-father-FOC:IRR field.hut eat if

*nangtumke ha hemtap angsongle **cho!**”*
nang-tūm=ke há hēmtāp angsóng=le **chō**
you-PL=TOP over.there tree.house high.up=FOC:IRR **eat**
'”on the other hand, when your father eats in the mandu, you eat up there in the hemtap”'
[CST, RO 018]

11.1.2.2. Informal Conditioned Imperative *-nōi*

Imperative *-nōi* is the more informal version of the conditioned imperative *-nōn* (§11.1.2.3). The description as ‘conditioned’ refers to the typically underlying implication of a consequence or circumstance that underlies the imperative. In written Karbi, *-nōn* is generally used instead of *-nōi*. However, Grüßner's (1978: 96) characterization of *-nōi* as an “impolite and harsh command” appears overstated; consider the folk story example (791), where *-nōi* is used in addressing the king.[182]

(791) Informal conditioned imperative *-nōi*
"apot nele kechokche kali, richo. Hala
[apōt nè=le ke-chók-Cē kalī richó] [[hála
because 1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP king that

vo’arbipi aphanle arjudamnoi"
vō’arbípī a-phān=le] arjū-dām-**nōi**]
bird.sp POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR ask-go-**INF.COND.IMP**
'"therefore, I'm not the guilty one, king, go ask that Voarbipi!"' [RBT, ChM 037]

In this part of the story, the king is looking for somebody he can hold responsible for the death of his daughter. The elephant, who is speaking here, explains why he is not responsible, and suggests the king ask the Voarbipi bird instead as somebody who would be able to provide further information. It is this implication of an expected consequence that will follow from the suggested action that is encoded in *-nōi* (and *-nōn*).

[182] It is admittedly still surprising that an informal form is used in talking to the king. Note, however, that the first person pronoun *nè* in the previous clause also occurs without the honorific suffix *-lì* (§4.5.1), which suggests that this interaction with the king is indeed occurring on a rather informal level.

Another example is (792), where the function of *-nōi* is to highlight a negative consequence if the suggested action is not performed. In the given part of this folk story, a stepmother is speaking to her stepchildren, who she has been mistreating. Here, she wants to prevent them from eating together with their father, so their father will not notice what bad food she has them eat.

(792) Informal conditioned imperative *-nōi*

amat "anborta pinike nangtum hadakle an
amāt [àn-bòr=tā pinì=ke nang-tūm hádāk=le àn
and.then rice-wrapped.bundle=ADD:DM today=TOP you-PL there=FOC:IRR rice

chodunnoi! kaita dah nangtumta
chō-dūn-**nōi**] [kái=tā dáh nang-tūm=tā
eat-JOIN-**INF.COND.IMP** always=ADD:EXH go! you-PL=ADD:EXH

chodunnoi nangpole hemtap angsong chote
chō-dūn-**nōi**] [[nang-pō=le hēmtāp angsóng chō-tē]
eat-JOIN-**INF.COND.IMP** 2:POSS-father=FOC:IRR tree.house high.up eat-if

nangtumke mandule cho
nang-tūm=ke mandú=le chō]
you-PL=TOP field.hut=FOC:IRR eat
'and then, "the rice bundle, today, eat them there!, go, you go eat together, if your father takes his meal in the hemtap, you eat in the mandu>' [CST, RO 017]

Note also in (792) that the bare stem imperative (§11.1.2.1) occurs in the last clause of this intonation unit, thus appearing functionally equivalent to *-nōi* here.

11.1.2.3. Conditioned Imperative *-nōn*

-nōn indicates an imperative that suggests (rather than commands) an action under particular circumstances. It is the more formal counterpart to *-nōi* (§11.1.2.2). In (793), children whose mother has died are saying to their father that if he wants to look for a new wife, he should go ahead.

(793) Conditioned imperative *-nōn*

[…] to chirijite, chirinon!
tò che-rī-jí-te che-rī-**nōn**
OK RR-search-IRR2-COND RR-search-**COND.IMP**
'[…] "okay, if you feel like looking for (a wife), then do it!" ' [CST, RO 009]

11.1.2.4. Conative Imperative *-thā*

Conative imperative *-thā* is used when the speaker suggests the addressee try and do something and see what happens. Compared to *-nōi* and *-nōn* (§11.1.2.2, §11.1.2.3), *-thā* is less direct or immediate, although they may be used in the same context suggesting that their functions are not very different. This can be seen in the example. In this folk story, a father desperately sees no other way to deal with a difficult situation than to abandon his children. In (794), he has taken them to a place in the jungle and tells them to try and stay there, using *-thā*; and that they should take baths and play there, using *-nōi*.

(794) Conative imperative *-thā*

bahari alongtar along ponlo amatsi... "o pei! ladakle

baharí	a-longtàr	alòng	pòn-lò	amātsi	ó	pēi	ladāk=le
very.big(<Ind)	POSS-rock	LOC	take.away-RL	and.then	VOC	mother	here=FOC:IRR

dotha dei jattha dak lang chinglunoi

dō-**thā**	déi	ját-thā	dāk	lāng	chinglú-nōi
stay-**CON.IMP**	OK?	GENEX-CON.IMP	here	water	take.bath-INF.COND.IMP

juinoi" […]

jùi-nōi

play-INF.COND.IMP

'he took them to the place of a very big rock, and then, "mothers, stay here, okay, here take your bath and play" […]' [CST, RO 049]

11.1.2.5. Unconditioned Imperative *-tū*

Imperative *-tū* is quite different from *-nōi*, *-nōn*, and *-thā*. Unlike those three imperative constructions, *-tū* has more force; i.e., while the latter three suffixes are more like suggestions that take circumstances and the context into consideration, *-tū* is more command-like and applies in general. The only occurrence of imperative *-tū* in the corpus of recorded texts is (795), which deviates from the above description that was obtained through elicitation.[183] Still, *-tū* in (795) might indicate a general instruction for how to

[183] Examples of when *-tū* rather than one of the other imperative constructions would be used centered on moral imperatives, such as '(You must) love your parents!' or '(You must) love the poor!' Using, for

reach home, which may be why this imperative construction is used here, rather than one of the other ones.

(795) Imperative *-tū*

doji ajatle dojitá] mo nanghem chedam

dō-jí	aját=le	dō-jí=tā	[mò	nang-hēm	chV-dām
stay-IRR2	GENEX=FOC:IRR	stay-IRR2=ADD	future	2:POSS-house	RR-go

ahomoike lapu chevangthurá langso atovarthot

a-homói=ke	lapú	che-vāng-thū-ra]	[langsō	a-továr-thót
POSS-time(<Asm)=TOP	this.side	RR-come-again-NF:IRR	this	POSS-road-exactly

vangra lapen ladak nanghumrira nanghem

vàng-ra]	[la=pen	ladāk	nang=humrí-ra]	[nang-hēm
come-NF:IRR	this=with	here	CIS=visit.friends/relatives-NF:IRR	2:POSS-house

chepaletu

che-pa-lè-**tū**]

RR-CAUS-reach-**UNCOND.IMP**

and then, you will stay with my grandmother one night and one day or however long, and later when you go home, again come like this, come on the exact same road, and then go to the familiar place (i.e. where the dog is staying) and then go and make yourself reach your house [KK, BMS 089]

11.1.2.6. Imperatives *-nōn*, *-thā*, and *-tū* and Grüßner's (1978) Account of Politeness Differences

Elicitation sessions conducted for this research suggest that Grüßner's (1978: 96-7) classification of imperative suffixes on a politeness continuum is a secondary (and therefore less consistent) pragmatic dimension to these constructions. The primary functional differences appear to be as follows. First, if the speaker suggests for the addressee to do something given particular circumstances and resulting consequences, then the conditioned imperative suffixes *-nōi* and *-nōn* are used. Second, if the implication is that the addressee should try to do something and see what will happen, then the conative imperative suffix *-thā* can be used instead. Third, if the addressee should do something unconditionally, the imperative suffix *-tū* is the most appropriate.

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example, the conative imperative *-thā* (§11.1.2.4) instead in this context, the meaning would be 'Love them and see what happens / what the consequences are.'

11.1.2.7. Prohibitive *-rī*

There is only one prohibitive in Karbi, which is *-rī*, as shown in (796). The prohibitive may, however, co-occur with one of the imperative suffixes (§11.1.2.8).

(796) Prohibitive *-rī*
ai nepran neenri, nemui
ái [ne-prán ne=ēn-**rī]** [ne-múi
how.bad! 1EXCL:POSS-life 1EXCL:NSUBJ=take-**NEG.IMP** 1EXCL:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

neenri, richo
ne=ēn-rī] richó
1EXCL:NSUBJ=take-PROH king
'"please, don't take my life, king"' [RBT, ChM 068]

11.1.2.8. Prohibitive Construction via Combination of Prohibitive and Imperative Suffix

One set of prohibitive constructions combine *-rī* 'prohibitive' with one of the imperative suffixes. (797) below offers an example of *-rī* combined with *-nōi* 'informal conditioned imperative', and (798) an example of *-rī* combined with *-thā* 'conative imperative.'

(797) Prohibitive construction with *-rī* 'prohibitive' and *-nōi* 'informal conditioned imperative'
richo kipu "tangte damrinoi! nangtumke
richó ke-pù tángtē dàm-**rī-nōi** nang-tūm=ke
king NMLZ-say then go-**PROH-INF.COND.IMP** 2POSS-PL=TOP

nesomarlo!"
ne-oso-màr-lò
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL
the king said, 'don't go then! you are my children' [CST, HM 115]

(798) Prohibitive construction with *-rī* 'prohibitive' and *-thā* 'conative imperative'
*vung-**rī-thā**!*
pull-**PROH-CON.IMP**
'don't pull (yet)!' (said in the context of a friend trying to open a car door from outside, which is still locked from inside) [Notebook AT 121009.005]

The form *vungritha!* in (798) is used in a context, in which the speaker asks the addressee to suspend the action just for a moment, not in general. It thus appears that combining prohibitive *-rī* with imperative suffixes serves to convey the pragmatic distinctions inherent in the different imperative markers, which are otherwise undifferentiated in the single prohibitive *-rī*.

11.1.3. Hortatives

There is one general hortative suffix, *-nāng*, in Karbi, as well as extended forms *-lonāng* and *-sināng* (§11.1.3.3); the jussive construction that serves as a third person command ('s/he should V') is formed via affixation of causative *pa-* and hortative *-nāng* (§11.1.3.2).

11.1.3.1. General Hortative *-nāng*

The general hortative marker that indicates that the speaker suggests they themselves together with the addressee, i.e., first and second person, perform an action (also cross-linguistically referred to as 'cohortative') is the suffix *-nāng*.[184] Several instances of *-nāng* 'hortative' occur in (799).

(799) Hortative *-nāng*

ne kedam aling nangdunnoi setame, chonang junnang!

[nè	ke-dàm	alíng	nang=dùn-nōi	setāmē]	[chō-**nāng**	jùn-**nāng**]
1EXCL	NMLZ-go	INDEF	CIS=join-INF.COND.IMP	nevertheless	eat-**HORT**	drink-**HORT**

hormu horton chirim chibikangvetra, dunnang,

[hormú	hortón	chV-rím	chV-bí-káng-vèt-rà]	[dùn-**nāng**
thing	EE:hormú	RR-put.in.one.place	RR-keep-give.leave-nicely-NF:IRR	join-**HORT**

ha nephi along!

há	ne-phì	alòng]
over.there	1EXCL:POSS-grandmother	LOC

'Join me, wherever I go, but let's eat and drink and let's keep everything nicely (here, i.e. put everything in order before we leave), let's go there, to my grandmother's place' [KK, BMS 033]

[184] Grüßner (1978:97) lists this suffix with a low tone. According to my language consultants, there is a low tone form of this suffix, which, however, is used to convey a conative sense, see below.

The negative hortative is formed with the verbal negative suffix *-Cē* (§6.7). An example is (800).

(800) Negated hortative *-nāng*

“ […] ningveke elitumta e vopi ejon
[[ningvē=ke e-li-tūm=tā e vō-pī e-jōn
evening=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=ADD:DM DSM chicken-female one-CLF:animal

chothatnang” pulo amat hala apiso abang pulo
cho-thāt-nāng] pù-lò] [amāt hála a-pisò abàng pù-lò
AUTO.BEN/MAL-slaughter-HORT say-RL and.then that POSS-wife NPDL say-RL

***“thatnangne ti** sarbura”*
[thàt-nāng-Cē ti sàrburá]]
slaughter-HORT-NEG EMPH old.man
‘ “[…] let's kill us a hen tonight”, he said, (but) the wife said, “let's not, old man (and I won't change my mind)”' [SeT, MTN 007]

Interestingly, the hortative can be turned into a question by adding the question particle *=ma* (§11.1.1). For example, *dàm-nāng=ma?* ‘go-HORT=Q’ means ‘should we go?’

A change in tone can be used for a change in pragmatic function. While the regular mid tone form *-nāng* carries the connotation of a more immediate ‘let’s (do) right now!’, a low tone form *-nàng* is used for a more general and/or conative interpretation, i.e., ‘let’s (in general) (do) (or try to do)’, as in (801). (See also §11.1.3.3 on the extended hortative form *-sināng*, which also carries a conative connotation.)

(801) Low tone *-nàng* with conative interpretation

paprapnang ho! {mm}
pe-pràp-nàng ho mm
CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON EMPH:INTERACT AFF
'let's try to be quick!' [HK, TR 155]

There may be a historical link between *-nāng* ‘hortative’ and deontic *náng* ‘need, must’, as was also suggested by Grüßner (1978:97). Note, however, that there is also a *-ning* hortative in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as in Hakha Lai (Kuki-Chin;

Peterson 2003:415), which may be cognate with the Karbi hortative, in which case we have to assume a much larger time depth.

11.1.3.2. Jussive Construction with Causative *pa-* and Hortative *-nāng*

The jussive construction, which is generally directed towards a third person argument with the meaning 'let him/her/them V', is formed with causative *pa-* and hortative *-nāng* (see also Grüßner (1978:98)). In (802), the meaning is 'let your mother cook (rice)!'

(802) Jussive construction with causative *pa-* and hortative *-nāng*
anke aphi abangta anke "vangnoi, po!
[ánke a-phì abàng=tā] [ánke vàng-nōi pō
and.then POSS-grandmother NPDL=ADD:DM and.then come-INFRML.COND.IMP father

nangpai an patunnang" pu
nang-pāi àn **pa-**tún**-nāng** pu]
2:POSS-mother rice **CAUS-**cook**-HORT** QUOT
and then, the grandmother, and then "come, daddy, let your mother cook (rice)" [KK, CC 018]

As (803) and (804) show, verbs marked with *pa-* 'causative' plus *-nāng* 'hortative' may also be directed towards speech act participants, as the verbs here are marked with the SAP non-subject marker *nang=* (§6.3.1). The examples also show that this construction is negated via negation of the verb stem, followed by *-nāng* 'hortative.'

(803) Hortative *-nāng* directed towards first person plural
thap toklongle mó pirthe kangtang sita la
thàp tòk-lōng-Cē mò pirthé ke-ingtāng setā là
cake.for.rice.beer pound-GET-NEG future world NMLZ-be.strong but this

netum Bey Ronghang atumke thap
ne-tūm Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke thàp
1EXCL-PL CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer

nangpatoklonglenang pu
nang=pa-tòk-lōng**-Cē-nāng** pu
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-pound-GET**-NEG-HORT** QUOT
"'we don't get to pound the rice for the rice beer, even in the future when the world is mature, we, the Bey Ronghang shouldn't be made to have to pound the rice for rice beer cake", (he) said' [WR, BCS 034]

(804) Hortative *-nāng* on negated verb stem, directed towards first person plural
mó pirthe kangtangta nang Bey Ke'etpen
mò pirthé ke-ingtāng=tā nàng Bēy ke-èt=pen
future world NMLZ-be.strong=even you CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with

Bey Ki'ikke nangpachiunenang pu tangho
Bēy ke-ìk=ke **nang=**pa-che-ūn**-Cē-nāng** pu tànghò
CLAN NMLZ-be.black=TOP **1/2:NSUBJ=**CAUS-RR-be.able**-NEG-HORT** QUOT REP
'up into the future, you (my offspring), Bey the Fair and Bey the Black, let's make us not be able to tolerate each other' [WR, BCS 022]

11.1.3.3. Extended Forms: Emphatic Hortative *-lonāng* and Conative Hortative *-sināng*

In addition to simply *-nāng*, two other, bi-morphemic appearing forms occur: *-lonāng* and *-sināng*.[185] The simplest diachronic analysis, which is to consider the *lo* the realis suffix *-lò* and the *si* the realis non-final suffix *-si*, is very plausible given the semantics of these hortative variants, which have emphatic and conative connotations, respectively. Structurally, it is less clear how the realis and non-final suffixes might have ended up fused with hortative *-nāng*.

The *-lonāng* form is glossed as 'emphatic hortative', as it typically occurs in a context where the speaker expects or confronts disagreement. This emphatic connotation in the context of a disagreement makes realis *-lò* a plausible diachronic component in *-lonāng* as *-lò* 'realis' has that use independently as well (§6.9.1.5). In (805), the addressee of the direct speech is depressed and worried, and so the emphatic hortative *-lonāng* (here shortened to *-anāng*, see §3.7.3) serves to emphatically suggest to do something that the speaker knows the addressee does not want to do.

(805) Emphatic hortative *-lonāng*
[...] "choklembom chobomanang! nephi
cho-klém-bòm chō-bōm**-lonāng** ne-phì
AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-CONT eat-CONT**-HORT:EMPH** 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother

[185] Grüßner (1978:97) additionally reports a form *-ponàng*, which is, however, not known to consultants to this research. It also needs to be noted that Grüßner spells what is here called the 'conative hortative' as *-senàng*, and suggests that its function is that of an immediate hortative rather than a conative hortative.

aphanke rira jonghe setame, theklonglelo"
a-phān=ke rí-rà jonghé setāmē theklōng-Cē-lò
POSS-NSUBJ=TOP search-NF:IRR as.much.as nevertheless see-NEG-RL
'[…] "let's keep working and eating (i.e., let's live as usual), even if we keep searching for my grandmother, we won't see her"' [KK, BMS 017]

The *-sināng* form is glossed as 'conative hortative', as it means 'let's try and V and see what is going to happen'.[186] This conative connotation of *-sināng* is also shared by the conative imperative *-thā* (§11.1.2.4). Examples from the same folk story that show the different pragmatics underlying the use of *-sināng* and *-lonāng* are (806) and (807). In (806), the negative interjection *'mh'* at the beginning of the direct speech does not (yet) indicate disagreement of the speaker (a father) with the addressee (his children), but the speaker's decision that he and his children need to have their meals together so he can find out why his children are so sickly. In (806), the speaker uses the conative *-sināng*, 'let's try and eat together (and find out what the problem is)!'

(806) Conative hortative *-sināng*
'mh' o pei atum pinike itum an
'mh' ó pēi a-tūm pinì=ke i-tūm àn
NEG.INTERJ vocative mother POSS-PL today=TOP 1INCL-PL rice

chorappetsinang
chō-ràp-pèt-**sināng**
eat-together-all-**HORT:CON**
'no, o mothers, today let's eat together now (and see what's going to happen)!' [CST, RO 027]

The children (as the addressee) disagree with this suggestion in (806), and, as a consequence, in (807), the father, now emphatically using *-lonāng*, makes an executive decision saying that they should have their meal together.

(807) Emphatic hortative *-lonāng*
to pei, pinike an chorappetanang
tò pēi pinì=ke àn chō-ràp-pèt-**lonāng**
OK mother today=TOP rice eat-together-all-**HORT:EMPH**
'"okay, mother, today, let's eat together!"' [CST, RO 033]

[186] A conative hortative is also expressed via tone change. If the low tone instead of the mid tone is used on the basic hortative *-nāng*, then it also carries a conative connotation, see §11.1.3.1 above.

11.2. Non-Nominalized Subordinate Clause Types

Subordinate clauses are often nominalized in Karbi, as discussed in Chapter IX, and specifically §§9.3, 9.4, and 9.5. However, there also exist a variety of non-nominalized types of subordinate clauses. This includes three larger functional types: non-final clauses that occur in a clause-chaining construction (§11.2.1); complement clauses (§11.2.2); and adverbial clauses (§11.2.3).

11.2.1. Non-Final Clauses in Clause Chains

11.2.1.1. Morphologically Marked Clauses: *-si* 'non-final:realis', *-ra* 'non-final:irrealis', *-pen* 'non-final:with'

There are three suffixes in Karbi that indicate the non-final status of a verb: *-si* 'non-final:realis' (§6.10.1), *-ra* 'non-final:irrealis' (§6.10.1), and *-pen* 'non-final:with' (§6.10.2). While *-si* and *-ra* are realis/irrealis-sensitive counterparts of one another (depending on the realis/irrealis specification of the final verb, §11.3), *-pen* historically originates in the postposition *=pen* 'with; from' (§7.8.1). Non-final *-pen* is younger than *-si* and still shows traces of nominal affiliation in that it very often (but not obligatorily) attaches to nominalized verbs. The most frequent non-final marker is *-si* with 104 occurrences in the corpus. Non-final *-pen* only has 73 occurrences. Irrealis non-final *-ra* only occurs 21 times.

The realis non-final marker *-si* occurs in typical clause chains that denote subsequent events. In (808), four non-final *-si* marked clauses occur in temporal sequence. Note, however, that is very rare to find such long clause chains. It is most common to only find one non-final clause marked by *-si*, followed by a final clause. Nevertheless, while both *-si* and *-ra* may, if rarely, occur in chains of several clauses, *-pen* never occurs on more than one non-final clause to denote a temporal sequence.

(808) Chained clauses marked with *-si* 'non-final:realis'
e anke apaita <m> pharla dam,

e	[ánke	a-pāi=tā	<m>	pharlá	dàm]
DSM	and.then	POSS-mother=ADD:DM	HESIT	outside.part.Karbi.house	go

*theng akhangra **okóksi**, hem **damsi**,*
[thēng a-khangrá ó-kòk-si] [hēm dàm-si]
firewood POSS-basket.for.firewood leave-in.a.fixed.place-NF:RL house go-NF:RL

*hongkup **ingnilúnsi**, mok **chepachusi**,*
[hongkūp ingnì-lùn-si] [mōk che-pa-chū-si]
entrance.area.Karbi.house sit-big:AO-NF:RL breast RR-CAUS-suck-NF:RL

"dojoinoi, po!"
[dō-jòi-nōi pō]
stay-quietly-INF.COND.IMP father
'and then, the mother went and unloaded the firewood in the Pharla (Veranda), then went inside the house, sat down in the Hongkup, gave the child the milk, (and said) '"be quiet, daddy"' [KK, CC 015]

In addition, non-final clauses may bear other semantic relationships to the final clause, besides temporal sequence. In (809), *-si* occurs on a manner motion verb *vèk* 'steer' (here: 'ride a bike'), while the final verb *vàng* 'come' indicates the deictic direction towards the reference point.

(809) Non-final clause marked with *-si*: manner adverbial clause
kidun a'oso...] halata saikel nangveksi
ke-dùn a-osō hála=tā saikél nang=vèk-si
NMLZ-join POSS-child that=also bicycle(<Eng) CIS=steer-NF:RL

vangbomlo... menmen latum chetonglok amat
vàng-bōm-lò... ménmèn la-tūm che-tòng-lòk amāt
come-CONT-RL suddenly this-PL RR-meet-just and.then
he keeps going, and then, as he's going, from that side (i.e., the opposite side), one girl, one school girl, she's also riding a bike and coming, suddenly they ran into each other [SiT, PS 027]

In (810), *-si* marks a subordinate clause that has a causal relationship to the final clause.

(810) Non-final clause marked with *-si*: causal adverbial clause
[…] laphan aning ingsamsi thesere pumni tekanglo
[là-phān a-nīng ingsām-si] [theseré púm-ní tekáng-lò]
this-NSUBJ POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL
'[…] he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him (the boy who had picked up his hat for him) and gave him two pieces of fruit' [SiT, PS 039]

The high degree of clausal integration exhibited by clause chaining with *-si* is shown in (811) and (812). Here the O argument of the final verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, thus appearing to be structurally under the scope of the non-final clause.

(811) O argument of final clause inside non-final clause
Rasinja aphanta damsi ne ingthurdamlo
[[Rasínjá aphān=tā dàm-si] nè **ingthùr-dām-lò]**
PN NSUBJ=also go-NF:RL 1EXCL **wake.up-GO-RL**
'I also went and woke up Rasinja' [SH, CSM 006]

(812) O argument of final clause inside non-final clause
laso osomar banghini aphan juja'e homtekangsi
[lasō osō-mār bàng-hiní a-phān] juja'ē hóm-tekáng**-si**
this child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-NSUBJ cradle fix.by.tying-leaving**-NF:RL**

thaptekanglo
thàp-tekáng-lò]
put.inside-leaving-RL
'so (the mother) fixed the cradle, and went to wash clothes, and then, she fixed the cradle for the two children, and put them inside' [CST, HM 010]

All three non-final markers may also occur on negated verbs. An example is with *-si* in (813), where the semantic relationship between the non-final and the final clause is one of causality.

(813) Non-final marked negated verb
anke apai abangke an tundamlo ajatlo, anke
[ánke [a-pāi abàng=ke] àn tún-dàm-lò aját-lò] ánke
and.then POSS-mother NPDL=TOP rice cook-GO-RL GENEX-RL and.then

hala aso abangke kroithekthesi chiruthuvaret
[hála a-osō abàng=ke] krōi-thēk**-Cē-si** chirú-thù-varèt]
that POSS-child NPDL=TOP agree-know.how**-NEG-NF:RL** cry-again-INTENS
'and then, the mother went and cooked food and everything, and then, that child couldn't/wasn't able to agree and kept crying a lot' [KK, CC 019]

In the excerpt in (814), *-si* marks the 'head' part of the tail-head linkage construction (§12.1.2). Both *-si* and *-pen* commonly occur in the tail-head linkage construction in this way.

(814) Non-final *-si* marked clause in tail-head linkage construction
lasi netum ha nete netepo
lasì ne-tūm há ne-tè ne-tepō
therefore 1EXCL-PL over.there 1EXCL:POSS-elder.sister 1EXCL:POSS-brother.in.law

aphanta ***ingthumponlo***
a-phān=tā **ingthùm-pōn-lò**
POSS-NSUBJ=ADD **go.and.bring-take.away-RL**
'so we went there to pick up my elder sister and brother-in-law as well' [SH, CSM 010]

ingthumponsi *netum dakpen baji throksi*
ingthùm-pōn-si ne-tūm dāk=pen bají thrōksí
go.and.bring-take.away-NF:RL 1EXCL-PL here=from o'clock(<Asm) seven

ra achitim aporlo netum dakpen barlo
rà a-chitìm a-pór=lo ne-tūm dāk=pen bár-lò
and POSS-half POSS-time=FOC 1EXCL-PL here=from start-RL
'we went to pick them up and from here... it was at seven thirty, from here we started' [SH, CSM 011]

11.2.1.2. Prosodically Marked Clauses

Unsurprisingly, the non-final status of a clause is often also marked by prosody, specifically with extra high pitch. If the non-final status is not additionally marked morphologically (i.e., by a non-final suffix), the extra high tone typically occurs on the last syllable, like on *-lò* 'realis' in (815).

(815) Prosodic extra high pitch on *-lò* 'realis' as marker of non-final status
amat la apiso abangke akhalun ***chinghortangló***
amāt [là a-pisò abàng=ke] a-khalùn che-inghór-tāng-lò
and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP POSS-kd.big.basket RR-carry.load-finish-RL

ha kedamlo
há ke-dàm-lò
over.there NMLZ-go-RL
'and then, the wife put the basket rope around her head and was just leaving to go over there (to her parents' place)' [SeT, MTN 041] [187]

[187] The audio file for SeT, MTN 041 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3639N04, see Appendix B.

The prosodic extra high tone to indicate 'non-final' is sometimes also used in addition to 'non-final' suffixes, in which case it is typically the syllable preceding the 'non-final' suffix that receives the extra high tone, specifically *-kòk* 'in a fixed place' and *-lùn* 'big:AO' in (816), and *-lòk* 'right then' in (817).

(816) Prosodic extra high pitch preceding *-si* 'non-final:realis'
e anke apaita <m> pharla dam,
e [ánke a-pāi=tā <m> pharlá dàm]
DSM and.then POSS-mother=ADD:DM HESIT outside.part.Karbi.house go

*theng akhangra **okóksi**, hem damsi,*
[thēng a-khangrá ó-kòk-si] [hēm dàm-si]
firewood POSS-basket.for.firewood leave-in.a.fixed.place-NF:RL house go-NF:RL

*hongkup **ingnilúnsi**, mok chepachusi,*
[hongkūp ingnì-lùn-si] [mōk che-pa-chū-si]
entrance.area.Karbi.house sit-big:AO-NF:RL breast RR-CAUS-suck-NF:RL

"dojoinoi, po!"
[dō-jòi-nōi pō]
stay-quietly-INF.COND.IMP father
'and then, the mother went and unloaded the firewood in the Pharla (Veranda), then went inside the house, sat down in the Hongkup, gave the child the milk, (and said) '"be quiet, daddy"' [KK, CC 015][188]

(817) Prosodic extra high pitch preceding *-pen* 'non-final:with'
*la **chetheklókpen** {mm} aharchi chethekloklo mati {mm} […]*
là che-thēk-lòk-pen mm a-harchī che-thēk-lòk-lò mati {mm}
this RR-see-right.then-NF:with AFF POSS-image RR-see-right.then-RL DM AFF
'as he was looking, he of course saw the image […]' [HK, TR 101][189]

11.2.2. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses (CCs) may be nominalizations (§9.4). In addition, there are four complement clause constructions that are not (formally) nominalized: verb juxtaposition (§11.2.2.1), CCs marked with *-nē* 'indefinite' in the case of indirect questions (§11.2.2.2), CCs marked with *=ke* 'topic' (§11.2.2.3), and CCs followed by quotative *pu* or quotative complementizer *pusi* (§11.2.2.4).

[188] The audio file for KK, CC 015 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3FN14GV, see Appendix B.

[189] The audio file for HK, TR 101 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3ZK5DXG, see Appendix B.

11.2.2.1. Verb Juxtaposition

In (818) and (819), the verb *thèk* ‘know how’ occurs in the CC juxtaposition construction. In most instances of this construction, it looks like a serialization construction, in which the root of the CC verb and the root of the CC-taking verb appear directly serialized with no other elements intervening. However, (819) shows that a more complex predicate in an adverb construction (§8.3.2) may also be followed by complement-taking *thèk* ‘know how’.

(818) Complement-taking verb *thèk* ‘know.how’ in juxtaposition construction
“ahokma, methan-sibongpo?, nang nepon thekjima?“
a-hōk=ma methān-sibóngpō, ne=pòn thèk-jí=ma
POSS-truth=Q dog.sp 1EXCL:NSUBJ=take.away know.how-IRR2=Q
'"is it true, dog, you know how to take me?"' [KK, BMS 034]

(819) Complement-taking verb *thèk* ‘know.how’ in juxtaposition construction
lasō a-okarjāng lún [[lún pa-mé] thèk-thē]
this POSS-girl song sing CAUS-be.good know-NEG
'this girl doesn't know how to sing (well)' [SiT elicitation 090301]

In (820), the verb *tengnè~tennè* ‘forget (to do something)’ is linked to its complement clause ‘carry along a bottle of oil’ by simple juxtaposition of complement clause verb and complement-taking verb.

(820) Complement-taking verb *tengnè~tennè* ‘forget’ in juxtaposition construction
[…] anke amat eson abang, jangthu abong,
ánke amāt [e-sòn abàng] jàngthù a-bòng
and.then and.then one-CLF:thing NPDL oil POSS-gourd

chepon tennedet *pu amat laso hem nangkachiri*
che-pōn tengnè-dèt pu amāt lasō hēm nang=ke-che-rī
RR-take.away forget-PFV QUOT and.then this house CIS=NMLZ-RR-search

aphi, apenan abang sunjoi […]
aphī a-penàn abàng sūn-jòi
after POSS-husband NPDL descend-quietly
‘[…] and then, one thing, a bottle of oil, she forget to carry along, and so after she went back to search for it in the house, then the husband quietly came down […]' [SeT, MTN 042]

11.2.2.2. Indirect Questions

Complement clauses functioning as indirect questions are marked by *-nē* 'indefinite (INDEF)' (see also §4.5.4.1). In (821), the complement-taking verb *chiní* 'know' takes the CC 'how big or small it is', which is an indirect disjunctive question that occurs with *-nē* 'indefinite' after its second part.

(821) Indirect question marked by *-nē* 'indefinite' followed by *chiní* 'know'
ajatnon Kohima ko'an akethe ko'an
[ajátnōn Kóhìmà [[[ko-án a-ke-thè] [ko-án
anyway PLACE WH-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.big WH-that.much

*akibilo**ne** chinine, neli […]*
a-ke-bī-lò-**nē**]] chiní-Cē] nè-lì]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small-RL-**INDEF** know-NEG 1EXCL-HON
'anyway, I didn't know how big or small Kohima is, […]' [SiT, HF 019]

In (822), three separate indirect questions are all marked with *-nē* 'indefinite' and then anaphorically picked up on in the following topic NP *laso alam* '(about) this matter'.

(822) Indirect questions marked by *-nē* 'indefinite'
[…] "[…] kolosonlone aning rongne rongrene
[[kolosón-lò-**nē**] [a-nīng aròng-nē aróng-Cē-**nē**]
how-RL-**INDEF** POSS-mind be.happy-INDEF be.happy-NEG-**INDEF**

kolosontong alang kemunthilone laso alam
[kolosón-tōng alàng ke-múnthí-lò-**nē**]] [lasō a-lám
how-INDIR.ITROG 3 NMLZ-think.deeply-RL-**INDEF** this POSS-matter

netum intervyu enji, alomso enji"
ne-tūm intervyu ēn-jí alōm-sō ēn-jí]
1EXCL-PL interview(<Eng) take-IRR2 while-small take-IRR2
'[…] "[…] how is it (for her), is she happy or not, how is she thinking about it, about this matter, we want to take interviews, for awhile (we want to) take (interviews)"' [SH, CSM 048]

Note that in the third indirect question CC *kolosontong alang kemunthilone* 'how is she thinking about it', the interrogative pronoun *kolosón* 'how' has the suffix *-tōng* 'indirect interrogative pronoun' attached to it, see §4.5.4.2.

11.2.2.3. Topic *=ke* Marked Complement Clauses

Topic *=ke* may also mark CCs, as in (823). However, this construction is very rare in the corpus.

(823) Complement clause of *chiní* 'know' marked with topic *=ke*
amat nangso doke chinilo […]
amāt [[nang-osō dō=**ke**] chiní-lò]
and.then 2POSS-child exist=**TOP** know-RL
'and then, I knew your child was there […]' [RBT, ChM 031]

11.2.2.4. Quotative *pu* and *pusi* Complementizers

Both the simple quotative *pu* and the more complex form *pusi*, which is derived from *pù-si* 'say-NF:RL',[190] function as complementizers. In (824), both *pu* and *pusi* occur within the same intonation unit, both times marking the end of direct speech. First, we have *pu* occurring after the CC *nepo kajoklu* 'our father is a fool', which represents direct speech as evidenced by the use of the first person exclusive possessive prefix *ne-* rather than the general and third person possessive prefix *a-*. Similarly, further along, we have *pusi* occurring after the direct speech CC *nepo […] bojar kidunpensi kevanglo* 'our father […] has come back after going to the market'.

(824) Examples of *pu* and *pusi* functioning as complementizers of direct speech
setame asomar abangke ***nepo kajoklu pu***
[setāmē [a-so-màr abàng=ke] [[ne-pō ke-joklū] **pu]**
nevertheless POSS-child-PL NPDL=TOP 1EXCL:POSS-father NMLZ-be.foolish **QUOT**

chininedetsí ***nepo*** *<bojar kidunpen>*
chiní-Cē-dèt-si] [[ne-pō <bojár ke-dùn-pen>
know-NEG-PFV-NF:RL 1EXCL:POSS-father market(<Asm) NMLZ-join-NF:with

bojarsi kidun apot bojar kidunpensi
bojár=si ke-dùn apōt bojár ke-dùn-pen-si
market(<Asm)=FOC NMLZ-join because market(<Asm) NMLZ-join-NF:with-NF:RL

[190] Analogous quotative complementizers derived from a non-final marked verb 'say' are found in various subbranches of Tibeto-Burman, for example, in the Tamangic language Chantyal (Noonan 2006: 4), the Tani language Galo (Post 2007: 848), and the Kuki-Chin language Daai Chin (So-Hartmann 2009: 321).

kevanglo pusi *asomar abang mathalo*
ke-vàng-lò] **pusi]** [a-so-màr abàng] mathà-lò
NMLZ-come-RL **QUOT.COMP** POSS-child-PL NPDL think-RL
'but the children didn't know at all "our father is a fool", they thought, "our father has come back after going to the market"' [HI, BPh 014]

In the same story, talking about the same event, the same construction using *pusi* is also used to indicate the end of indirect, rather than direct, speech, where instead of *nepo* 'our father', the same referent is referred to by his character name Bokolapo, see (825).

(825) Quotative complementizer *pusi* marking indirect speech CC
amatsi Bokolapo abangke bojar dam'etlo pusi
amātsi [[Bokolāpō abàng=ke bojár dàm-ét-lò] **pusi]**
and.then NAME NPDL=TOP market(<Asm) go-PRF-RL **QUOT.COMP**

asomar abang mathaló
a-so-màr abàng mathà-lò
POSS-child-PL NPDL think-RL
'the children thought that he had already gone to the market' [HI, BPh 010]

11.2.3. Adverbial Clauses

11.2.3.1. Conditional *-te*

Conditional clauses are marked by *-te* 'conditional (COND)', as in (826).

(826) Conditional clause
[…] neta dak dokokte, kosonpo?[…]
nè=tā dāk dō-kòk**-te** kosón-pò
1EXCL=ADD:DM here stay-firmly**-COND** how-IRR1
'[…] if I stay here, how will it be? […]' [SH, CSM 062]

11.2.3.2. Purpose Clauses with Quotative Complementizers

Purpose clauses may be nominalizations (§9.5), but they may also be finite clauses followed simply by quotative *pu* or by the quotative complementizer *pusi*, as in (827).[191]

(827) Purpose clause with quotative complementizer
ethevet setame thanji pusi dak kevangló
[e-thē-vét setāmē thán-jí **pusi]** dāk ke-vàng-lò
one-CLF:word-only nevertheless tell-IRR2 **QUOT.COMP** here NMLZ-come-RL
'I have come here to tell just one thing' [KK, CC 003]

11.2.3.3. Concessive *sitā~setā*

Concessive *sitā~setā* is sometimes used at the end of a finite clause to mark it as a concessive subordinate clause, as in (828). Otherwise, *sitā~setā* or variants such as *setāmē* or *bónsitā~bóntā* may be used as adversative coordinating conjunctions (§11.5.3).

(828) Concessive *setā ~ sitā* marking a subordinate clause
ok hanta thiktheilo seta, hala
[[ōk hán=tā thík-théi-lò **setā]** [hála
meat curry=ADD:also be.okay(<Asm)-all:EXH:S/O-RL **even.though** that

aphi sarpi alam karju apot, anke Bey
a-phì sarpī a-lám ke-arjū apōt] [ánke Bēy
POSS-grandmother old.woman POSS-word NMLZ-hear because and.then CLAN

Ke'et ahem chepangri chepangdonronglo
ke-èt a-hēm che-pangrí che-pangdòn-ròng-lò
NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house RR-reconcile RR-even.out-instead-RL
'[…] although they (i.e., Bey the Black's family) had prepared all the food, because [he] had followed his grandmother's advice, he had instead married into Bey the Fair's family, […]' [WR, BCS 018]

Note that *sitā~setā* is likely to be historically parsable into *-si* 'non-final:realis' and *=tā* 'additive' because the combination of the non-final marker plus the additive particle yields concessive conjunctions in other TB languages as well. An example is

[191] Unsurprisingly, using a quotative-derived complementizer in a purpose construction is found in other Tibeto-Burman languages as well, e.g., Chantyal (Noonan 2006).

lüphi ‘even though’ (< *lü* ‘non-final’ + *phi* ‘additive’) in the Southern Kuki-Chin language Daai Chin (So-Hartmann 2009: 343).

11.3. Irrealis Clause Types: Irrealis-Sensitivity in Non-Final and Focus Markers

11.3.1. Overview

In both non-final verb suffixes (*-si* ‘non-final:realis’ and *-ra* ‘non-final:irrealis’, see §6.10.1 and §11.2.1.1) and focus clitics (*=si* ‘focus:realis’, §10.7.3, and *=le* ‘focus:irrealis’, §10.7.4), a binary distinction exists between a realis version of the marker and an irrealis version of the marker. In both cases, this means that the realis version occurs if the final verb is realis, and the irrealis version occurs if the final verb is irrealis. They are thus sensitive to the (ir)realis context they occur in, similar to negative polarity items (Israel 2011).

In both grammatical domains of non-final and focus marking, irrealis is the marked context with respect to frequency: *-si* ‘non-final:realis’ occurs 104 times in the corpus, while *-ra* ‘non-final:irrealis’ occurs 21 times in the corpus; similarly, *=si* ‘focus:realis’ has 202 occurrences, while *=le* ‘focus:irrealis’ has 87 occurrences. The following subsections show what counts as ‘irrealis’ for the binary distinction in non-final and focus markers - which is in fact slightly different for the two domains.[192]

Table 117 gives an overview of the irrealis contexts in which *-ra* and *=le* occur, as evidenced by corpus examples, in the order discussed in the subsections to follow.

Note that *-ra* appears to occur in a more limited range of irrealis contexts, which, however, may also be due to its overall lower frequency compared to *=le* (87 vs. 21 occurrences).[193] Nevertheless, an interesting grammatical context is that of negation, where *=le* is undoubtedly correct and frequently used, while *-ra* is only accepted by some

[192] ‘Irrealis’ is a commonly applied descriptive label, but has also been argued not to constitute a (single) grammatical category (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994; Mithun 1995; Chafe 1995; Bybee 1998) - a claim these Karbi data certainly lend support to if we compare the irrealis categories of *-ra* and *=le* as well as *-pò* ‘irrealis1’ and *-jí* ‘irrealis2’ (§6.9.2). The best explanation for the functional overlap and differences between the irrealis ranges of the four markers no doubt lies in their differential diachronic developments, as a general principle also argued by Cristofaro (2012) and Mauri and Sansò (2012).

[193] Preliminary attempts to elicit *-ra* in deontic and conditional subordinate clauses suggest that *-ra* can be used in those contexts as well.

native speakers to be the correct form and other native speakers prefer using realis non-final *-si*.

Table 117. Irrealis contexts for *-ra* 'NF:IRR' and *=le* 'FOC:IRR'

Grammatical context		*-ra* 'NF:IRR'	*=le* 'FOC:IRR'
Non-declarative speech acts	Questions	X	X
	Imperatives	X	X
	Hortatives	X	X
Negation		(X)	X
Deontic clauses (with *náng* 'need')		-	X
Conditional subordinate clauses		-	X

11.3.2. Non-Declarative Speech Acts

Both the irrealis non-final marker and the irrealis focus marker occur in all three types of non-declarative speech acts: questions, imperatives, and hortatives. Respective examples of *-ra* are offered in (829), (830), and (831).

(829) Irrealis non-final *-ra* in question
[…] ladak kachedandunra <kithipen> kithidunma?
ladāk ke-che-dán-dùn-**ra** <ke-thì-pèn> ke-thì-dūn=ma
here NMLZ-RR-fight-JOIN-**NF:IRR** NMLZ-die-NF:with NMLZ-die-JOIN=Q
'[…] did they fight here, and did they die?' [SiT, HF 028]

(830) Irrealis non-final *-ra*; imperative-marked final verb
mo nanghem chedam ahomoike lapu
[mò nang-hēm chV-dām a-homói=ke] [lapú
future 2:POSS-house RR-go POSS-time(<Asm)=TOP this.side

chevangthurá langso atovarthot vangra lapen ladak
che-vāng-thū-**ra**] [langsō a-továr-thót vàng-**ra**] [la=pen ladāk
RR-come-again-**NF:IRR** this POSS-road-exactly come-**NF:IRR** this=with here

nanghumrira nanghem chepaletu
nang=humrí-**ra**] [nang-hēm che-pa-lè-tū]
CIS=visit.friends/relatives-**NF:IRR** 2:POSS-house RR-CAUS-reach-UNCOND.IMP
'[…] and later when you go home, again come like this, come on the exact same road, and then go to the familiar place (i.e. where the dog is staying) and then go and make yourself reach your house' [KK, BMS 089]

(831) Irrealis non-final *-ra*; hortative-marked final verb
hormu horton chirim chibikangvetra, dunnang,
hormú hortón chV-rím chV-bí-káng-vèt-rà] [dùn-nāng
thing EE:hormú RR-put.in.one.place RR-keep-give.leave-nicely-NF:IRR join-HORT

ha nephi along!
há ne-phì a-lòng]
over.there 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother POSS-LOC
'Join me, wherever I go, but let's eat and drink and let's keep everything nicely (here, i.e. put everything in order before we leave), let's go there, to my grandmother's place' [KK, BMS 033]

Examples of *=le* in all three types of non-declarative speech acts are given in (832), (833), and (834). Note that (832) is interesting, because in questions, both focus markers may occur: realis focus *=si* only ever occurs on interrogative pronouns, like *kopù* 'how' here, whereas irrealis focus *=le* may occur on an additional focused element, here *banghinivet* 'the two (of us)'.

(832) Irrealis focus *=le* in question
[...] nonke methan-sibongpopen banghinivetle kopusi pirthe
nón=ke methān-sibóngpō=pen bàng-hiní-vèt=le kopù=si pirthé
now=TOP dog.sp=with CLF:HUM:PL-two-only=FOC:IRR how=FOC world

mindar dodunthekpoma pulo
mindár dō-dūn-thèk-pò=ma pù-lò
world(<KhJ) stay-JOIN-know.how-IRR1=Q say-RL
'[…] "now, how will I manage to stay just the two of us with the dog?" (he thought)' [KK, BMS 016]

(833) Irrealis focus *=le*; imperative-marked final verb
aphihai alongle donoi [...]
a-phì-hái a-lòng**=le** dō-nōi
POSS-grandmother-HON POSS-LOC**=FOC:IRR** stay-INF.COND.IMP
'"stay with your grandmother […]"' [KK, CC 017]

(834) Irrealis focus *=le*; hortative-marked final verb
[...] temole chethanikronglonang mh
temó**=le** che-thán-īk-ròng-lonāng mh
story=**FOC:IRR** RR-tell-FRML-instead-HORT:EMPH DSM
'[…] let's tell a story instead' [CST, HM 002]

In (835), both markers co-occur: *=le* occurs on the subject NP in a non-final clause marked by *-ra*, where the final verb is a hortative form marked by *-nāng* 'hortative'.

(835) Irrealis focus *=le* and irrealis non-final *-ra*; hortative-marked final verb
"dah! etumle arveng chepachap chepachapra,
dáh e-tūm**=le** arvēng che-pa-cháp che-pa-cháp**-ra**
go! 1PL.INCL-PL**=FOC:IRR** feather RR-CAUS-pile.up RR-CAUS-pile.up**-NF:IRR**

rungponra, ha purthimi along thondamnang!"
rùng-pōn**-ra** [há purthimí alòng] thòn-dām-nāng
lift-take.away**-NF:IRR** over.there earth(<Asm) LOC drop-GO-HORT
'"let's go, let's put our wings together, and lift him up and put him there on the ground"'
[KTa, TCS 066]

11.3.3. Negation

In negative contexts, irrealis focus *=le* has to be used, as on *inglóng* 'hill' in (836). (Note that in this contrastive focus situation here, the subsequent positive clause has the alternative *thói* 'plains' marked with realis focus *=si*.)

(836) Irrealis focus *=le*; negated final verb
nelitumke bihekpenta inglongle
[ne-li-tūm=ke bī-hèk=pen=tā inglóng**=le**
1EXCL:POSS-HON-PL=TOP be.small-INTENS=from=ADD hill**=FOC:IRR**

kedoke kali non ason thoisi kedo apot […]
ke-dō=ke kalī] [nón asón thói=si ke-dō apōt]
NMLZ-stay=TOP NEG.EQU.COP now like plains=FOC NMLZ-stay because
'since my childhood we have not been living in the hills; because we have been living in the plains […]' [KaR, SWK 083]

For non-final suffixes, negative contexts are ambiguous. Some native speakers are happy to use either *-ra*, as in elicited (837), or *-si*, while others only accept *-si* and ban *-ra* entirely from negative contexts.

(837) Irrealis non-final *-ra*; negated final verb

alàng	*ōk*	*a-hán*	*tún-**ra***	*chō-ò-ē*
3	meat	POSS-curry	cook-**NF:IRR**	eat-much-NEG

'he cooked food but didn't eat much' [SiT 090302]

11.3.4. Deontic Clauses (Expressing Necessity/Obligation; with *náng* 'need, must')

In deontic clauses involving *náng* 'need', elements in focus are marked by irrealis focus *=le*, as in (838). Note that this is the only context in which the use of one of the irrealis-sensitive markers (i.e., *-ra* or *=le*) overlaps with the use of *-pò* 'irrealis1' and *-jí* 'irrealis2', see §6.9.2.1.5).

(838) Irrealis focus *=le*; deontic final verb

[…] nephi aphanle kamatha nangalang […]

[ne-phì	a-phān**=le**	ke-mathà	náng-jí-lāng
1EXCL:POSS-grandmother	POSS-NSUBJ**=FOC:IRR**	NMLZ-think	need-IRR2-yet

'[…] "you still need to think of my grandmother" […]' [KK, BMS 022]

Preliminary elicitation suggests irrealis non-final *-ra* can be used as well if the final verb is a complex predicate involving *náng* 'need, must'.

11.3.5. Conditional Subordinate Clauses

Inside a conditional subordinate clause, a focused element is also marked by irrealis *=le* rather than realis *=si*, as seen in (839). (Note that the second occurrence of *=le* in this example is due to the bare stem imperative form of the final verb.)

(839) Irrealis focus *=le* in conditional subordinate clause

"[…] nangpole hemtap angsong chote, nangtumke mandule

[[nang-pō**=le**	hēmtāp	angsóng	chō-te]	nang-tūm=ke	mandú=le
2:POSS-father**=FOC:IRR**	tree.house	high.up	eat-COND	you-PL=TOP	field.hut=FOC:IRR

cho!"
chō]
eat

' "[…] if your father takes his meal in the hemtap, you eat in the mandu!"' [CST, RO 017]

In this context as well, preliminary elicitation suggests irrealis non-final *-ra* can be used if a non-final claused is linked to a following conditional subordinate clauses (schematically, '$[V_x$-*ra*$]_{Clause.1}$ $[V_y$-COND$]_{Clause.2}$, then…').

11.4. Non-Nominalized Insubordination (Formally Non-Finite Declarative Main Clause Types)

While (historically) nominalized main clauses are discussed in §9.7, this section deals with insubordination constructions that are not based on nominalization. Following Evans (2007:367), insubordination is defined here as "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses".

11.4.1. Main Clauses Marked with *=ke* 'topic': Background Information Construction

Main clauses marked with *=ke* 'topic' provide a background against which a statement just mentioned (or about to be mentioned) is meant to be understood (see §12.3.10). Since clauses marked with *=ke* may function as subordinate clauses (§11.2.2.3), main clauses marked with *=ke* are best treated as instances of insubordination.

A *=ke* marked clause may follow or precede a main clause that it is contextually linked to, as in (840) and (841).

(840) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause following its contextually related clause

*ingsām-hòi… arvè ke-jáng=**ke***
be.cold-a.bit rain NMLZ-fall=**TOP**
'It's a bit cold… it's raining, that's why' [OH 121011: 001]

(841) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause preceding its contextually related clause

apok ingchirdukke…
a-pōk ingchìr-dùk=**ke**
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=**TOP**

anke inglong arloksi phurui chosot
ánke [inglóng arlòk=si] [phurùi chosòt]
and.then hill foot.of.hill=FOC:RL yam kd.vegetable

choridamlo tangho […]
cho-rī-dām-lò tànghò
AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-go-RL REP
'he was suffering from hunger, and so, he went here and there to look for wild vegetables […]' [HK, TR 014-5]

If the context is provided by a question, a *=ke* marked main clause may also be used in the answer, as in (842).

(842) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause in answer to question
<ha> Misorongpo arju, "Chonghoisi nang chongho
misòrongpō arjū chonghói=si nàng chonghō
sp.ant ask reason=FOC you frog

*ami korrakmati?" "**Tovar nangdangthipke"***
a-mí kòr-ràk=mati] **továr nang=dāng-thìp=ke**
POSS-buttocks bite-RES:little.wound=CG **road CIS=block-firmly=TOP**
'he asked the ant, "why did you bite the frog in the butt?", "he had come and was blocking the road… and so…"' [RBT, ChM 076]

11.4.2. Main Clauses Marked with *pu* 'quotative': Desiderative Construction

Quotative *pu* used as a sentence-final particle marks a desiderative or intention construction (see also §12.3.1.2). This main clause construction must have developed from the complementizer function of quotative *pu* occurring with complement clauses (§11.2.2.4) and subordinate purpose clauses (§11.2.3.2). Ellipsis of a following main clause would have then lead to the development of the insubordination construction. Examples of the desiderative construction are given in (843), (844), and (845). Note that in all examples, the verb preceding *pu* 'quotative' is marked irrealis with *-jí* 'irrealis2' just like in the subordinate purpose clause construction (§6.9.2.1.7), and that in (845), the quotative *pu* is additionally marked with realis *-lò* (see §12.3 for further cases of particles that take inflectional suffixes).

(843) Main clause marked with *pu* 'quotative': desiderative construction
adapprang netum thurlo Hongkram Chomangkan dunji pu
a-dappráng ne-tūm thùr-lò Hongkrām Chomangkán dùn-jí **pu**
POSS-dawn 1EXCL:POSS-PL get.up-RL PN PN join-IRR2 **QUOT**
'we got up early in the morning, we wanted to join the Chomangkan in Hongkram' [SH, CSM 001]

(844) Main clause marked with *pu* 'quotative': desiderative construction

ai tovar nangpektha ti ko jirpo,
ái továr nang-pèk-thā tì ko jīrpō,
how.bad! road 1/2:NSUBJ-give.way-IMP:CON definitely buddy:VOC friend

ne'ik atum aphan an thonji pu
ne-ìk a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí **pu**
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 **QUOT**
'"how bad! Please do give way to me. I'm supposed to drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)"' [RBT, ChM 012]

(845) Desiderative construction with *pu* 'quotative' additionally marked realis *-lò*

lasi <ling> juja'e homtekangsi halaso ape ari
[lasì juja'ē hóm-tekáng-si] hálasō a-pé a-rī
therefore cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL that POSS-cloth POSS-EE:pé

*kechechokdamji **pulo** amatsi laso osomar banghini*
[ke-che-chōk-dām-jí **pu-lò]** [amātsi [lasō osō-mār bàng-hiní
NMLZ-RR-wash.clothes-go-IRR2 **QUOT-RL** and.then this child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two

aphan juja'e homtekangsi thaptekanglo
a-phān] juja'ē hóm-tekáng-si thàp-tekáng-lò]
POSS-NSUBJ cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL put.inside-leaving-RL
'so (the mother) fixed the cradle, and went to wash clothes, and then, she fixed the cradle for the two children, and put them inside' [CST, HM 010]

11.4.3. Stand-Alone Indirect Questions

Indirect question complement clauses such as '[I do not know [whether he leaves or stays]$_{CC}$]' are discussed in §11.2.2.2. They are typically based on a disjunctive or polar question 'X or not X', or 'X or Y'. The two clauses X and Y are then marked by *-nē* 'indefinite'.

In the following two examples, indirect question complement clauses are used without a main clause, making them instances of insubordination. In (846), the function is to ask a polar question (for Karbi polar and disjunctive question structure, see §11.1.1.4 and §11.1.1.5) in an indirect way, as can be done in English with 'I wonder if you heard of this' instead of the direct 'Have you heard of this?'[194]

[194] Less direct questions are a common politeness (because face-saving) strategy; insubordination constructions cross-linguistically often serve this kind of function (Evans 2007).

(846) Using stand-alone indirect question instead of direct polar question
si nanglitumta lason arjulongne
sì nang-li-tūm=tā lasón arjū-lōng-**nē**
therefore 2POSS-HON-PL=ADD that.way hear-GET-**INDEF**

arjulonglene angko lason thakthak atomo
arjū-lōng-Cē-**nē** akó lasón thakthāk a-tomó
hear-GET-NEG-**INDEF** on.the.other.hand(<Asm) that.way same POSS-story

pine ason nanglitum karjulong doma lason
pí-nē asón nang-li-tūm ke-arjū-lōng dō=ma lasón
what-INDEF like 2POSS-HON-PL NMLZ-hear-GET exist=Q that.way
'and so, whether you have heard this or not (I wonder), is there any such story like this that you've heard, like that?' [KaR, SWK 072]

Another example is (847), where the ellipsed main clause has to be understood as 'we don't know' rather than 'I wonder'.

(847) Stand-alone indirect question with conventionalized ellipsis of main clause
'I/we don't know'
netumke arlengpi asolone kaline
ne-tūm=ke arlēng-pī a-sō-lò-**nē** kalī-**nē**
1EXCL:POSS-PL=TOP person-female POSS-child-RL-**INDEF** NEG.EQU.COP-**INDEF**
'whether we are the children of the Karbi woman or not (we don't know)' [CST, HM 087]

11.5. Clause Coordination

Clause coordination, i.e., coordinating two main clauses into one unit, is not common in Karbi, as in clause-chaining languages in general. However, there are a few strategies available, which are discussed below. Note that it is a cross-linguistic problem to define coordination as involving two truly 'equal' clauses with none showing any signs of dependency on the other (Haspelmath 2004). In Karbi, it is still up to future research to investigate this further, including, for example, the question of whether or not the constructions discussed below allow for the subject to change across coordinated clauses.

11.5.1. Conjunctive Coordination

11.5.1.1. Conjunctive Coordinator *lapèn* ‘and’

One rarely used conjunctive coordination construction consists of using *lapèn* (< *là* ‘this’ and *=pen* ‘with, from’) between the first and the second clause. An example is in the intonation unit in (848), which actually begins with the more typical clause-chaining construction, i.e., the verb *chedon* ‘place (him)self a ladder’ marked non-final with *-si*. The next two clauses, however, are both main clauses with verbs marked progressive with *ke-*, linked by *lapèn* ‘and’.

(848) Conjunctive coordination with *lapèn* ‘and’
dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [lahái] ke-thàp]] **lapèn** [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC these PROG-put.inside **and** down PROG-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man is putting these (pieces of fruit) into one bag sown from white cloth and is bringing them down’ [SiT, PS 003]

11.5.1.2. Additive Particle Clause/VP Coordination Constructions

Two other conjunctive coordination constructions, which perhaps rather than actually linking clauses may only be linking verb phrases,[195] involve the additive particle *=tā* (§7.8.3.1). In one construction, *=tā* occurs on NPs, as in (849). In this example, we have two different verbs that are linked, *jùn* ‘drink’ and *chō* ‘eat’. Note, however, that the otherwise identical construction can also be used to coordinate NPs only, with the verb remaining the same, as discussed below (§11.5.1.3).

[195] This is a matter for future research. That said, it is cross-linguistically often difficult to distinguish between clause and VP coordination, and therefore sometimes useful to group them as ‘verbal conjunction’ (Haspelmath 2004, 2005).

(849) Clause coordination via additive-marked NPs
[…] langta junlong anta cholong […]
[lāng=**tā** jùn-lōng àn=**tā** chō-lōng
water=**ADD** drink-GET rice=**ADD** eat-GET
'[…] they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, […]' [KK, BMS 056]

In the other construction, the additive particle may be used in a copy verb construction, in which a copy of the verb root occurs with *=tā*, followed by the verb root with optional addition of morphology (see also §12.2.3 for other copy verb constructions that have discourse functions). In (850), the two events 'cook much' and 'eat much' are coordinated via this construction.

(850) Clause coordination via additive-marked verb copy
ōk a-hán [tún=**tā** tún-ò] [chō=**tā** chō-ò]
meat POSS-curry cook=**ADD** cook-much eat=**ADD** eat-much
'(s/he) often cooks and often eats' [SiT 100515]

Note that conjunctive coordination via a copy verb construction with the additive particle also exists in Hakha Lai (Central Kuki-Chin) (Peterson and VanBik 2004:348).

11.5.1.3. Clausal NP Coordination

Clausal NP coordination puts every participant in a separate clause by repeating the verb each time, and connects the participants across clauses with additive *=tā*. The result is a parallelism structure (§12.1.1). A folk story example is (851), in which three clauses are structured in parallel, which are about the three protagonists of this story.

(851) Parallelism based on coordination indicated by additive *=tā* (folk story)
*[…] anke **Bey Ki'ik abangta** ahem arit dolo*
ánke **[[Bēy ke-ìk abàng=tā]** a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
and.then **CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=ADD:also:PRL** POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

***Bey Ke'et abangta** ahem arit dolo*
[[Bēy ke-èt abàng=tā] a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL=ADD:also:PRL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

Bey Ronghang abang, akibi abangta,
[[[Bēy Ronghāng abàng] [a-ke-bī abàng=tā]]
CLAN CLAN NPDL POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

ahem arit dolo
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'[…] Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property' [WR, BCS 004]

Examples from personal narratives are (852) and (853). (852) connects S arguments while repeating the verb. (853) is a more complex case involving negation, which requires translation into English as 'neither… nor…'

(852) Parallelism based on coordination (personal narrative)
Samprita dunji Rasinjata dunji Lindata
[Sàmprì=tā dùn-jí] **[Rasínjá=tā** dùn-jí] **[Líndá=tā**
PN=ADD:also:PRL join-IRR2 **PN= ADD:also:PRL** join-IRR2 **PN= ADD:also:PRL**

dunji pulo
dùn-jí] pu-lò
join-IRR2 QUOT-RL
'Sampri, Rasinja, and Linda all were going to join' [SH, CSM 004]

(853) Parallelism based on coordination (personal narrative)
*latum **phelangpenta kali tinpenta***
[là-tūm **[[phelāng=pen=tā** **kalī]** **[tín=pen=tā**
this-PL **thatch=with=ADD:also:PRL** **NEG.EQU.COP** **tin(<Eng)=with=ADD:also:PRL**

***kali**, arlong achetpensi kidip aphlak*
kalī]] [arlōng a-chèt=pen=si] ke-dìp] a-phlàk
NEG.EQU.COP stone POSS-piece=with=FOC NMLZ-cover POSS-split.off.pieces

the'o'a la theklonglo
thè-ò~á là theklōng-lò
be.big-very~DIST.PL this see-RL
neither with thatch nor with tin, but with pieces of stone they cover (their roofs), the split off pieces are quite big, those also we got to see [SiT, HF 050]

11.5.2. Disjunctive Coordination

A disjunctive indirect question has both clauses sufficiently marked by *-nē* 'indefinite', as shown in §11.2.2.2. However, if the two clauses get too long, disjunctive *màtè* 'or' may be inserted, as evidenced in (854).

(854) Disjunctive coordinator *màtè* linking two subordinate clauses
lapen latum haladak... la botor bokan areng kelok
lapèn là-tūm háladāk [la botór bokán a-rèng ke-lòk
and.then this-PL there this climate(<Asm) EE:botór POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white

alampenke climate pulo laso kemesen
a-lám=pen=ke climate pù-lò lasō ke-mē-sén
POSS-language=with=TOP climate(<Eng) say-RL this NMLZ-be.good-INTENS

apotlone mate la Naka atum aphan ketheklongpen
a-pōt-lò-nē] **màtè** [là Naká a-tūm aphān ke-theklōng-pèn]
POSS-reason-RL-INDEF **or** this TRIBE POSS-PL NSUBJ NMLZ-see-NF:with

akele aning kangsampik apotlone
[akelé a-nīng ke-ingsām-pīk] a-pōt-lò-nē
more.than.expected POSS-mind NMLZ-be.cold-very POSS-reason-RL-INDEF
'and then, they... whether the reason was that the *botor bokan*, 'climate' in English, was good or whether the reason was seeing the Nagas and because of that everybody being exceedingly happy (I don't know)' [SiT, HF 036]

11.5.3. Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination may be expressed by using the coordination conjunction *bóntā* 'but', as in (855)

(855) Adversative coordination with *bóntā* 'but'
atomo abangke neli pu'an than pajirmi
a-tomó abàng=ke nè-lì pù=án thán pa-jirmī
POSS-story NPDL=TOP 1EXCL-HON like.this=up.to tell CAUS-elaborate

thekthe bonta non akai'anta emekpen
thēk-Cē **bóntā** nón a-kái=án=tā e-mēk=pen
know.how-NEG **but** now POSS-time(<Asm)=up.to=even 1PL.INCL-eye=with

kethekdunlong ba kachinivek asonlo
ke-thèk-dūn-lōng bá ke-chiní-vék asón-lò
NMLZ-see-JOIN-GET or(<Asm) NMLZ-know-definitely like-RL
'such a story I can't tell any details about, but even up to today with eyes I could see or anyway definitely know, that's how it is' [KaR, SWK 073]

11.6. Lack of a Syntactic Pivot

There does not appear to be a grammaticalized syntactic pivot in Karbi, although further research is necessary to confirm this claim. The lack of a syntactic pivot is understood to mean that the mapping of participant roles across clauses is not determined by syntactic principles, and if clausal roles of participants change, this is not indicated by any kind of overt marking. Instead, it is left to pragmatics to solve ambiguities in cross-clausal continuity.

An example that illustrates the role of pragmatics in cross-clausal continuity of participant roles is offered in (856). There are three clauses here, and the interesting change in participant roles occurs between the first two clauses. The first clause '(X) returned the hat to (Y)' has both the A argument X and the R argument Y unexpressed via zero anaphora. In the following clause '(Y) was grateful to X', the former R argument Y becomes the new A argument, while the former A argument X becomes perhaps an R argument, or in any event the recipient of Y's gratefulness. This change in participant roles is not overtly marked.

(856) Unmarked change in participant roles across clauses

lapenke ø la phutup <kapa..> kipidunthu apot

	[ø]$_{A:X}$			[ø]$_{R:Y}$		
lapèn=ke	[ø	là	phutūp	ø	ke-pī-dūn-thū	apōt]
and.then=TOP		this	hat		NMLZ-give-JOIN-again	because

laphan aning ingsamsi, thesere pumni tekanglo

[ø]$_{A:Y}$	[NP]$_{R:X}$					
[ø	là-phān	a-nīng	ingsām-si]	[theseré	púm-ní	tekáng-lò]
	this-NSUBJ	POSS-mind	be.cold-NF:RL	fruits	CLF:round-two	leave.for-RL

'and then, because he returned the hat, he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him (the hat picking boy) and gave him two fruits' [SiT, PS 039]

CHAPTER XII

DISCOURSE CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter discusses Karbi discourse constructions as encountered in the corpus of recorded texts. Since the major text genre represented in the corpus is narratives, this chapter offers more detailed description of the constructions that occur in this particular genre.

The chapter begins with an overview of constructions that pervade the texts in the corpus and serve to structure the discourse, in §12.1. This is followed by a discussion of rhetorical constructions, which serve emphatic or intensifying purposes, in §12.2. An overview of particles is offered in §12.3, and a list of interjections is provided in §12.5. Finally, §12.6 offers text samples that show how hesitation and correction words are used.

12.1. Discourse Structuring Constructions

This section discusses discourse structuring constructions including clause parallelism in §12.1.1, tail-head linkage in §12.1.2, discourse connectors that have a function similar to English 'and then' in §12.1.3, and, finally, a description of the two discourse structuring markers *e* and *'mh* in §12.1.4.

12.1.1. Clause Parallelism

Solnit (1995: 127) defines parallelism as "the binary repetition of linguistic features for rhythmic, esthetic or other expressive effect." There are two constructions that systemtically result in this kind of parallelism in Karbi.[196] One is the elaborate expression (EE) construction (§12.2.2); the other is biclausal NP coordination (see §7.8.3.1.3 and §11.5.1.2). EE use is far more prevalent in folk stories and formulaic language like ceremonial chants; in spontaneous, colloquial language, EEs occur much less. Frequency of NP coordination at the clausal level appears to not be influenced by

[196] Acoustically, parallel structures are often accompanied by prosodic marking, which is what I understand much of Solnit's notion of "rhythmic effect" in his definition to refer to.

text genre. Below I discuss first EE parallelism and then biclausal NP coordination parallelism.

EE constructions may be built on nouns or verbs. In example (857) from a folk story, the EE *vōtèk vōsō* 'birds' is the basis for the parallelism in the relative clause *votek ingrengre voso ingrengre along*. A similar example from a personal narrative is (858), where the parallelism is based on the verbal EE *sík dáng* 'prepare', which occurs in an adverb construction (§8.3.2).

(857) Parallelism based on elaborate expression construction (folk story)

[…] hi'ipi abangke etum aphan ha ***votek ingrengre***

[hī'ipī	abàng=ke]	[e-tūm	aphan]	há	**[[vōtèk**	**ingrèng-Cē]**
witch	NPDL=TOP	1PL.INCL-PL	NSUBJ	over.there	wild.bird	call(small.animals)-NEG

voso ingrengre along *ekethondamti*

[vōsō	**ingrèng-Cē]**	**alòng]**	e=ke-thòn-dām-tí
EE:vōtèk	call(small.animals)-NEG	LOC	1PL.INCL=NMLZ-drop-GO-get.rid.off

'[…] that witch, she went and dropped us over there where the birds don't chirp' [CST, HM 062]

(858) Parallelism based on elaborate expression construction (personal narrative)

pu amat alangtum te lang keso kecho

pu	amāt	alàng-tūm	te	lāng	ke-sō	ke-chō
QUOT	and.then	3-PL	and.then/therefore	water	NMLZ-be.hot	NMLZ-eat

kejun haihui'anta nangsikpi pame

ke-jùn	haihúi-án=tā	**nang=sík-pī**	**pa-mé**
NMLZ-drink	some-all=EXH	**1/2:NSUBJ=prepare-BEN**	**CAUS-be.good**

nangdangpi pame

nang=dáng-pī	**pa-mé**
1/2:NSUBJ=put.on.stove-BEN	**CAUS-be.good**

'[…] and so they had nicely prepared and gotten ready (some) tea and food and drink' [SH, CSM 040]

The other construction that results in parallelism is clausal NP coordination. This construction expresses that a particular proposition is true for two or more participants. Instead of coordinating the NPs representing the participants inside a single clause, this construction puts each participant in a separate clause but keeps the verb constant. An

example is (859), where the coordinated *neri nekeng* ‘my hands and feet’ occur in two different clauses, both ending in the negative existential copula *avē*.

(859) Clausal NP coordination
[…] amat neta neri ave nekeng ave […]
amāt nè=tā **[[ne-rí** avē] **[ne-kèng** avē]]
and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM **1EXCL:POSS-hand** not.exist **1EXCL:POSS-foot** not.exist
‘[…] and then, I don't have hands, I don’t have feet, […]’ [RBT, ChM 030]

Another example of parallelism, which is only loosely built on clausal NP coordination, is (860). What contributes to the impression of parallelism here (as in other instances of clausal NP coordination, see §11.5.1.2), is (historically, here) the occurrence of additive *=tā* on both coordinated elements.

(860) Further occurrence of parallelism
arvi suinangta dannokso ar'e suinangta dannokso
[arvī sùi-nangtā dannoksō] [ar'ē sùi-nangtā dannoksō]
left turn-if.alternatively danger right turn-if.alternatively danger
'if I turn left, it will be dangerous, if I turn right, it will also be dangerous' [RBT, ChM 013]

12.1.2. Tail-Head Linkage

Tail-head linkage consists in the sentence-initial repeating of information from the previous sentence. This phenomenon of narrative structure was first described by Longacre (1968), and has since been reported in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Galo (Tani) (Post 2007) and Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2011), as well as a range of languages from all across the world (see overview in Guillaume (2011) and De Vries (2005)). Despite the fact that tail-head linkage is an extremely common phenomenon cross-linguistically, the actual form it takes varies. In Karbi, the typical pattern is that the last clause is repeated verbatim, including arguments and predicate. An example is (861), in which the final clause *piso some enlo* ‘(they) got married’ is repated at the beginning of the next intonation unit, where it is followed by *ánke* ‘and then’ (§12.1.3), leading into the new information.

(861) Tail-head linkage: identical repetition

*anke latum thelo dinglo **piso some enlo** tangho*

ánke la-tūm thè-lò dīng-lò **pīsō sōmē ēn-lò** tànghò

and.then this-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL **wife EE:pīsō take-RL** REP

'and then, they grew up and got married, so they say' [WR, BCS 003]

***piso some enlo** anke Bey Ki'ik abangta*

pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] ánke [Bēy ke-ìk abàng=tā

wife EE:pīsō take-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

ahem arit dolo Bey Ke'et abangta

a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy ke-èt abàng=tā

POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

ahem arit dolo Bey Ronghang abang

a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy Ronghāng abàng

POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN CLAN NPDL

akibi abangta ahem arit dolo

a-ke-bī abàng=tā a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]

POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=ADD:also:PRL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

'they got married, and then Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property' [WR, BCS 004]

The excerpt in (862) starts with a sentence that is much longer and more complex. For the tail-head linkage construction, the storyteller only repeats a simplified version of the predicate, i.e., shortening *ponpidam'et thondam'et* at the "tail" to simply *thondamtilo* at the "head", without including any NPs.

(862) Tail-head linkage: slightly modified repetition

pu amat la Karbipi langhe kedam aphi, laso

[pu amāt là Karbì-pī lànghē ke-dàm aphī] [lasō

QUOT and.then this PN-fem washing.place NMLZ-go after this

aosomar Hingchong musoso atum aphan

a-oso-màr Hingchòng musōsō a-tūm a-phān]

POSS-child-PL CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ

ha same sadu akrong alat votek

há samé sadú a-króng a-lat vōtèk

over.there path EE:samé POSS-CLF.road POSS-EE:króng wild.bird

ingrengre voso ingrengre along osomar
ingrèng-Cē vōsō ingrèng-Cē alòng osō-mār
call(small.animals)-NEG EE:vōtèk call(small.animals)-NEG LOC child-PL

ponpidam'et thondam'et
pòn-pī-dām-ét thòn-dām-ét
take.away-BEN/MAL-go-PRF drop-go-PRF
'and then, after the Karbi woman has gone to the water place, these Hingchong sisters, over there, she went to carry the children to a place where the roads cross, where the birds don't sing, and went left them there [CST, HM 014]'

thondamtilo *anke halaso aKarbipi ahem*
[thòn-dām-tí-lò ánke] [[hálasō a-Karbì-pī] a-hēm
drop-go-get.rid.off-RL and.then that POSS-PN-fem POSS-house

nangchevanglo ja'e along nangchelanglo asomar ave
nang=che-vāng-lò ja'ē alòng nang=che-lāng-lò [a-oso-màr avē]
CIS=RR-come-RL cradle LOC 1/2:NSUBJ=RR-see-RL POSS-child-PL not.exist
'(the witch) abandoned (the children there), and then the Karbi woman came home, she looked in the cradle, her children were not there' [CST, HM 015]

12.1.3. Discourse Connectors

Discourse connectors are elements that typically occur at the beginning of a new paragraph in narratives, like English 'and then'. An overview of so far attested forms in Karbi is offered in Table 118. They are sorted by being based on either *án* 'this much; all' (§7.8.2) or the demonstrative *là* (§4.5.3). Apparent combining elements are listed in the right-hand column. Glosses are not given; they all carry out equivalent functions translatable into English as 'and then'.

Table 118. Discourse connectors

Based on…	Form	Possibly combined with…
án 'this much'	*ánke*	*=ke* 'topic'
	ánsi	*=si* 'focus'
	ánte	*-te* 'conditional'
	ánpen(ke)	*=pen* 'with', *=ke* 'topic'
lá 'this'	*lasì*	*=si* 'focus'
	(la)pèn(ke)	*=pen* 'with', *=ke* 'topic'
	(la)pèn(te)	*=pen* 'with', *-te* 'conditional'

The placement of discourse connectors in narratives either at the end of a paragraph, the beginning of a new paragraph, or in a neutral position in-between two paragraphs merits further study. It appears that all types of placement occur, but it is currently not clear what functions may be associated with the differences. Another interesting aspect of discourse connector placement also in need of further investigation is that they occur in second position following the subject in several clauses in the corpus. (863) and (864) exemplify this construction.

(863) Discourse connector *ánke* occurring after subject
"to tangte" pu
tò tángtē pu
OK if QUOT
'"okay then" (said the bamonpo)' [KK, BMS 091]

*methan-sibongpota **anke** inghongdinglo*
methān-sibóngpō=tā **ánke** inghòng-dìng-lò
dog.sp=ADD **and.then** wait-steadily-RL
'and then the dog waited and waited' [KK, BMS 092]

(864) Discourse connector *ánte* occurring after subject
*"nangpran nang'en'etji" pulo... osomar **ante** kephere*
[nang-prán nang=ēn-èt-jí pù-lò] [osō-mār **ánte** ke-pheré]
2:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-all:S/O-IRR2 say-RL child-PL **thus** NMLZ-fear
'"I will take your lives", she said, so the children were scared' [CST, RO 020]

The fact that both instances of post-subject occurrence of discourse connectors are immediately following direct speech may be a coincidence. There is, however, a correlation in topic-switch often occurring after the end of direct speech, which is one of the typical instances where topic-switch is marked by additive *=tā* (§10.7.2), as is the case, in fact, in (863) in the subject *methān-sibóngpō=tā*. I suspect that discourse connectors are further markers of topic-switch as they occur following a (subject) argument.

12.1.4. Discourse Structuring Markers *e* and *'mh*

There are two markers that are particularly involved in structuring discourse. I have glossed them both as 'discourse structuring marker' or 'DSM', but I describe their

distributions and functions in more detail below. They both have unusual phonological shapes that ally them with interjections: one is *e* with a long vowel that typically hosts a salient intonation contour; the other is *'mh*, which is similar to (but shorter and with a lower voice than) the English backchanneling 'mm' - essentially a glottal stop initial, voiced /m/. The *e* is more frequent than the *'mh* in the corpus.

The *e* frequently occurs in narratives by different speakers at the beginning of direct speech, as in (865) and (866).

(865) Discourse structuring marker *e* at beginning of direct speech

*"**e** pedo'osinang" pusi kipu*

e	pe-dō-ò-sināng	pusi	ke-pù
DSM	CAUS-exist-much-CON.HORT	QUOT.COMP	NMLZ-say

'"let them remain in abundance for now", (she) said' [SeT, MTN 008]

(866) Discourse structuring marker *e* at beginning of direct speech

*"**e** epo do epoke doke do do setame*

e	[e-pō	dō]	[e-pō=ke	dō=ke	dō]	[[dō	setamē]
DSM	1INCL-father	exist	1INCL-father=TOP	exist=TOP	exist	exist	nevertheless

apiso banghini"

[a-pisò	bàng-hiní]]
POSS-wife	CLF:HUM:PL-two

'"we have a father, though we have a father, he has two wives"' [CST, HM 046]

(867) shows that *e* also occurs inside direct speech, not only at the beginning.

(867) Discourse structuring marker *e* inside direct speech

"bai! an adin ningke an ajo ningke

bái	[[án	a-dín	nīngke]	[án	a-jó	nīngke]
how.mean!	that.much	POSS-day(<Asm)	even	that.much	POSS-night	even

*nesomar... **e** keso kali ki'une*

ne-oso-màr	**e**	ke-sò	kalī	ke-ùn-Cē
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL	**DSM**	NMLZ-hurt	NEG.EQU.COP	NMLZ-be.able-NEG

kali phuso kali kengso kali

kalī	phú-sò	kalī	kèng-sò	kalī
NEG.EQU.COP	head-hurt	NEG.EQU.COP	foot-hurt	NEG.EQU.COP

'how mean! not even in this long time did my children get sick and they didn't have minor sicknesses' [CST, RO 024]

(868) further shows that while *e* most frequently occurs in direct speech, this is not exclusively the case. In this example, however, *e* also occurs at the beginning of an intonation unit, and specifically at the beginning of a narration (which follows an introduction by the speaker).

(868) Discourse structuring marker *e* at beginning of intonation unit (/narration), no direct speech

***e** ha apai abang theng endamjuiló*
e há [a-pāi abàng] thēng ēn-dām-jùi-lò
DSM over.there POSS-mother NPDL firewood take-GO-away-RL
'over there/far away, a mother went away to get firewood' [KK, CC 010]

(869) and (870) offer examples of the use of the discourse structuring marker *'mh*. In both cases, *'mh* occurs either right after or right before an important event in the storyline is told. After uttering *'mh*, the storytellers pause for effect. In (869), the *'mh* is uttered after mentioning of the Karbi woman giving birth to the two children that end up being the protagonists of the story.

(869) Discourse structuring marker *'mh* after narrating an important event

hala apenan abang mei thei kedam aphi la
hála a-penān abàng [méi théi] ke-dàm aphī] [[là
that POSS-husband NPDL assembly EE:méi NMLZ-go after this

Karbipi abangke osomar hachelo ha hem
Karbì-pī abàng=ke osō-mār haché-lò [há hēm
PN-female/mother NPDL=TOP child-PL be.born-RL over.there house

*arlo **'mh***
arlō]] **'mh**
inside **DSM**
'after her husband had gone for meetings, the Karbi woman gave birth to children there inside the house' [CST, HM 008]

In (870), the storyteller utters *'mh* and pauses after mentioning one of the protagonists as topic via *=ke*, then goes on to say that she passed away. In the course of the story, her husband will follow her and temporarily succeeds in bringing her back to the living.

(870) Discourse structuring marker *mh* in middle of sentence, before narrating an important event

amat aphu kesopen amat bamonpi
amāt a-phú ke-sò-pèn amāt bamón-pī
and.then POSS-head NMLZ-hurt-NF and.then wise.person(<Ind)-female

abangke ***'mh*** *Chom chevoijuilo*
abàng=ke **'mh** Chóm che-vói-jùi-lò
NPDL=TOP **DSM** PLACE RR-return-away-RL
'and then she had fever and so the bamonpi returned to Chom (i.e., died)' [KK, BMS 014]

12.2. Rhetorical Constructions

Rhetorical constructions add stronger force to an utterance or to a particular phrase. I discuss general extender constructions in §12.2.1, elaborate expression constructions in §12.2.2, formally parallel subtypes of copy verb constructions in §12.2.3, two constructions that involve use of the negative equational copula *kalī* in §12.2.4, and, finally, prosodic emphasis in §12.2.5.

12.2.1. General Extender Constructions

General extenders are expressions like English 'and so on', 'etcetera', 'and stuff', 'and everything', 'or anything', 'or whatever', as discussed by Overstreet (1999). Overstreet shows that the intuitive idea that general extenders in English function to indicate that there is a larger set involved is typically correct. For example, in 'apples and oranges and stuff', the general extender 'and stuff' is indeed usually interpreted to set up a natural category (e.g., 'fruit') and thus include further members of this category. However, this does not actually explain why general extenders are used. Overstreet shows that general extenders are often used because they are built on intersubjective knowledge of what else may belong to a category invoked by general extenders, which represents a politeness or in-group marking strategy. Furthermore, general extenders are also often used in particular emphatic constructions, where they may not even imply that there are further category members. For example, one such construction takes the form *X and everything, but Y* (as in, 'she is nice and everything, but I still don't like her'). Here,

the purpose of the general extender 'and everything' is to assert X to build up to the contrast with Y (Overstreet 1999: 91).

In Overstreet's study, English general extenders most frequently occur in the construction "[1 item + general extender]," for example, 'apples and stuff', although a three-parted construction [2 items + general extender] as in 'apples and oranges and stuff,' and longer expressions also occur (p.25-7). In Karbi, the construction is always binary: one noun phrase or verb plus general extender, i.e., '[NP/V] [GENEX].' The general extender is typically *aját*, but may also be *háihúi* (and dialectal variants of the same word) for NPs.

The typical general extender *aját* has grammaticalized from *ját* 'type, thing' - which also occurs as an indefinite pronoun, see §4.5.6 - and the possessive/modified *a-* prefix.[197]

In (871), the predicate occurs in the *aját* general extender construction. While the main verb *(lāng) chinglú* only takes perfect *-ét*, the general extender *aját* repeats the perfect suffix and also adds realis *-lò*. The general extender here invokes a category of grooming activities.

(871) Predicate general extender: [V-PRF] [aját-PRF-RL]
lasi nemethangta thurdappranglo lang
lasì ne-metháng=tā thùr-dàppràng-lò lāng
therefore 1EXCL-self=ADD:PRL get.up-very.early-RL water

chinglu'et ajat'etlo *osomar aphanta ingthurlo*
chinglú-ét **aját-ét-lò** osō-mār aphān=tā ingthùr-lò
take.bath-PRF **GENEX**-PRF-RL child-PL NSUBJ=ADD:PRL wake.up-RL
'so I got up early in the morning and took a bath and everything and also woke up the children' [SH, CSM 003]

In (872), the verb and general extender are marked the same, with *-pò* 'IRR1'. Here, it is not clear whether the general extender invokes a category of activities that involve cooking. There could be a category of household chores, but there is no mention in this text of anything other than cooking. The general extender may then rather serve as

[197] Galo (Tibeto-Burman; Tani) also has a general extender construction based on an indefinite marker that occurs in the negative indefinite construction, although in Galo it is the same marker as the interrogative pronoun of content 'what', *jòo* (Post 2007: 344 ff.).

an intensifier construction, which contrasts the obligation of the mother to cook with the infant's crying that prevents her from doing so.

(872) Predicate general extender: [V-IRR1] [*aját*-IRR1]
*ne han an **tunpó ajatpó**, chirurinoi! […]*
[nè hán àn **[tún-pò aját-pò]]** [chirú-rī-nōi]
1EXCL curry rice cook-IRR1 **GENEX**-IRR1 cry-NEG.IMP-IMP: SUGG2
'I will cook food and everything, don't cry! […]' [KK, CC 016]

A few intonation units further along in the same text, the speaker picks up again on the same issue, stating that the mother couldn't cook because the baby was crying. In (873), the speaker uses an elaborate expression construction (§12.2.2) instead of the general extender. Since the same content is communicated in (872) and (873), this suggests that the functions of general extender and elaborate expression constructions overlap in Karbi.

(873) Elaborate expression: [V1-GET-NEG] [V2-GET-NEG-RL]
*<pot> tangke hala apei abang **tunlongle***
<pōt> tángke [[hála a-pēi abàng **tún-lōng-Cē**
thing and.then that POSS-mother NPDL **cook-GET-NEG**

***danglonglelo**, aso kachiru ajoine […]*
dàng-lōng-Cē-lò] [a-osō ke-chirú a-joiné]
put.on.stove-GET-NEG-RL POSS-child NMLZ-cry POSS-reason(<Ind)
'that mother couldn't cook at all, because the child was crying […]' [KK, CC 026]

In (874), the verb is marked imperfective with the *ke-* prefix and *aját* is unmarked. The general extender construction here invokes a category of mad or disturbed elephant behavior, which is clear from the context, which tells us that a bird had just scratched the elephant's ears. This example shows then that categories invoked by general extenders are always context-dependent, which is also what Overstreet has found for English and has called the 'intersubjective' property of general extender constructions.

(874) Predicate general extender: [IPFV-V] [aját]
*angnarta **kangrong ajat** <ku> turthap turphrulo...*
a-ingnàr=tā **ke-ingròng aját** <ku> túr-tháp túr-phrú-lò
POSS-elephant=ADD:DM **IPFV-roar** **GENEX** <ku> kick-mindlessly kick-EE:-tháp-RL

harlong turpur
harlōng túr-pùr
stone kick-move.over
'this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock' [RBT, ChM 025]

The general extender *aját* also occurs with NPs, as in (875). In this instance, it is not clear whether the general extender implies a category of other items that caused people getting sick with a cold besides all the dust on the roads (a common cause for getting sick). The general extender construction may rather serve an intensifying function here.

(875) NP general extender: [NP=pen] [*aját=pen*]
anke osomar atumta anuttinta arep
ánke osō-mār a-tūm=tā a-nūt-tín=tā a-rēp
and.then child-PL POSS-PL=ADD:EXH POSS-CLF:HUM:PL-each=ADD:EXH POSS-waist

amoi kesolo singjam ***longle adukpen***
a-mòi ke-sò-lò singjám **[lònglē a-dūk=pen**
POSS-back NMLZ-hurt-RL have.a.cold **earth POSS-dust=from**

ajatpen *lapu amanke netum hapupen vanglo*
aját=pen] lapù mánke ne-tūm hápú=pen vàng-lò
GENEX=from like.this and.then 1EXCL-PL that.side=from come-RL
'and then, the children, each of them, had his waist and back hurt, and a cold, from the dust and everything, and like this we then came from that side' [SH, CSM 070]

Finally, (876) and (877) show that *háihúi* (and its dialectal variants) also functions as an NP general extender. In (876), this invokes a category of snacks for the road, which here likely just replaces a tedious enumeration at an irrelevant level of specificity. In (877), however, saying *America heihaipen* may be parallel to Overstreet's (1999: 83) notion of general extenders functioning to indicate "a maximum extreme", i.e., the least likely item or fact from a category. In this interpretation of (877), America is presented as the least likely country to have visitors from, among the category of countries that visiting foreigners may be from. The general extender would then have a scalar additive function translatable with 'even'.

(876) General extender construction with *háihúi;* function: invoking set of snacks
*anke **thesere haihuita** namponlo <kecho> tovar*
ánke **theseré** **hái~húi=tā** nàm-pōn-lò <ke-cho> továr
and.then **fruit** **these~PL=also** buy-take.away-RL NMLZ-eat road

*kecho aphan **lang haihui** namponlo*
ke-chō a-phān **lāng** **hái~húi** nàm-pōn-lò
NMLZ-eat POSS-PURP **water** **these~PL** buy-take.away-RL
'and then, we also bought some fruit etc. to carry along, to eat on the road, and we bought some water etc. to carry along' [SH, CSM 014]

(877) General extender construction with *héihái;* function: scalar additive?
Europe lapen kaprek kaprek adet
Europe lapèn ke-prék ke-prék a-dét
Europed(<Eng) and NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different POSS-country(<Ind)

***America heihaipen** phorena atum dopik hadak*
America **héihái=pen** phorená a-tūm dō-pīk hádāk
America(<Eng) **some=from** foreigner(<Eng) POSS-PL exist-very there
'from Europe and from many different countries, (even) from America etc., there were many foreigners there' [SiT, HF 037]

General extender constructions are frequent in the corpus of recorded texts, particularly in personal narratives. They are thus an important device in structuring discourse and balancing the level of specificity and relevance of information, and reflect on the relationship between speaker and addressee.

12.2.2. Elaborate Expression Constructions

Elaborate expressions (EEs) are a common phenomenon in Southeast Asian languages (Matisoff 1973; Goddard 2005; Peterson 2010). They represent a binary construction, in which typically one element is constant and the other changes. The patterns of formal relationships between the two elements are discussed in §12.2.2.1, and §12.2.2.2 shows how EEs are embedded into the sentence. §12.2.2.3 offers examples that demonstrate the functions of EEs.

12.2.2.1. Forms of Elaborate Expressions

In Karbi, EEs always have their head first, followed by the EE complement, as in *ingnēk ingnì* 'laugh', where *ingnēk* is the head and *ingnì* is the EE complement. The head also exists as an independent item, outside the EE construction (with so far only one exception), i.e., *ingnēk* 'laugh' is a full lexical verb by itself. Some EE complements also exist as independent items, although the majority of complements from EEs in the corpus, are items that only occur as EE complements and do not actually have a meaning by themselves. I gloss EE complements that are independent items with their existing gloss, e.g., in the EE *sáp thèng*, I gloss *sáp* as 'beat with something flexible' and *thèng* as 'beat with something solid'. Other EE complements I just gloss as 'EE:X', where X is the EE head. In some cases, the EE complement is homophonous with an independent item that has no semantic relationship with the EE head, for example in the EE *ingnēk ingnì* 'laugh', *ingnì* is homophonous with the verb 'to sit'. Since there is no apparent semantic relationship between laughing and sitting, I have glossed the EE complement *ingnì* as 'EE:ingnēk'.

Both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots participate in EEs. In EEs based on monosyllabic roots, either a prefix or suffix often occurs on both the head lexeme and the EE complement, which results in the characteristic four-syllable structure, although two-syllable structures, as in (878) occur (as well as structures with more than four syllables in total, e.g., six syllables); EEs are always symmetrical in terms of syllable structure such that the head lexeme and the EE complement always have the same amount of syllables.

(878) Elaborate expression with two syllables only: *pē rī*
lasi la suho athe pu abangke ***pe ri***
[lasì là sūhō a-thē pu abàng=ke] **[[pé rī**
therefore this sp.thorny.plant POSS-fruit QUOT NPDL=TOP **cloth EE:pé**

kechok aphan'iklo
ke-chòk] a-phān-īk-lò]
NMLZ-wash.clothes POSS-PURP-FRML-RL
'therefore, the suho fruit is for washing clothes' [SiH, CW 007]

Table 119 represents a subset of the 55 EE complements so far attested (that are not also independent items), which show the range of formal relationships between head lexeme and EE complement. It begins with monosyllabic and then lists disyllabic (and two trisyllabic) nouns and verbs, and then offers some sample items from other word (sub-)classes that also have EE complements. I represent different syllables (between head and complement) by different letters ('A' through 'E') and identical syllables by using the same letter; quasi-reduplication (e.g., using the same syllable but switching a vowel) is indicated by adding an apostrophe (e.g., A'). The right-most column 'Meaning of EE (if changed)' notes if a particular EE has a consistent semantic effect (for EE functions, see §12.2.2.3).

In the corpus, the most frequent pattern for monosyllables is A-B, and the most frequent pattern for disyllables is AB-AC, followed by AB-AB'. The other patterns are very rare, and identical syllables in AB-BC and AB-CB may, in fact, be coincidence.

Table 119. Formal patterns in elaborate expressions

Type	EE head	Gloss	EE complement	Meaning of EE (if changed)
Monosyllables (N/V)				
A-B	*rīt*	'field'	*jāi*	
	úm	'cage'	*kràng*	
	dō	'to stay'	*thák* (<Asm)	
A-A'	*àn*	'cooked rice'	*ùn*	
[A-A'	*méi*	'assembly'	*théi*]	
Disyllables (N/V)				
AB-**A**C	*arnàm*	'god'	*arnì*	
	chojūn	'CELEBRATION'	*chokú*	'celebrations' (COLL)
	hormú	'thing'	*hortár / (hortón)*	
	jutáng	'custom'	*jubát*	'customs, culture' (COLL)
	ingnēk	'to laugh'	*ingnì*	
AB-**A**B'	*bor'í*	'to try; struggle'	*bor'á*	
	lōthē	'banana'	*lōthā*	
AB-CD	*ingjìr*	'sister'	*arlò*	
	Chománg	'Khasi'	*Kechè*	
A**B-B**C	*pīsō*	'wife'	*sōmē*	
A**B-**C**B**	*rītlō*	'inhabited field'	*jàilò*	
Trisyllable (N)				
ABC-**A**DE	*theseré*	'fruit'	*thekumbōng*	
A**BC**-D**BC**	*alohí*	'guest'	*dolohí*	

Other word (sub-)classes				
Rel N (**A**B-**A**C)	*atèng*	'according.to'	*amàng*	
PCT verb (**A**B-**A**C)	*ingtāng*	'to be strong'	*ingsàk*	
Adverb (A**B**-A'**B**)	*parái*	'this.side'	*harái*	'this riverbank and that riverbank' (COLL)
Verb suffix (A-B)	*-sō*	'intensifier' (§12.2.4.1)	*-vír*	
	-tháp	'mindlessly'	*-phrú*	'here and there'
(A-A')	*-nèk*	N/A	*-nòk*	'doing bad unnecessarily'

Table 119 shows that in both monosyllables and disyllables, there are instances of quasi-reduplicated EE complements with vowel switch (§3.8.6.2), such as *àn ùn* 'rice' or *lōthē lōthā* 'banana'. This vowel switch quasi-reduplication is a frequent pattern; other quasi-reduplication are not frequent and may be coincidental, such as *méi théi* 'assembly', which I have put in square brackets due to this reason.

In the subset of forms given in Table 119, there is only one instance where the EE complement represents a borrowing, i.e., *dō thák* 'stay', but there are other forms that follow the same pattern (of using a borrowing as EE complement), which was also reported to be the case in Lahu by Matisoff (1973: 83).[198]

One item, *hormú* 'thing', occurs with two different EE complements in the corpus, *hortár* and *hortón*, although *hortár* is more typically used, according to my consultants. Curiously, the same speaker in the same text uses first *hortón* and then *hortár*. Generally, EE heads only occur with one specific EE complement.

There are a few instances, where using an EE instead of just the head by itself has a consistent semantic effect, which is recorded in the right-most column in Table 119. Specifically, there is a tendency for noun EEs to convey a collective interpretation.

The verb suffix EE *-nèk -nòk* is the only instance, in which the 'head' is not used independently outside the EE (which calls into question whether it should really be considered the 'head').

[198] One neat example of a modern borrowed EE complement that in fact goes with a borrowed EE head is *motór garí* 'car', where both *motór* and *garí* are ultimately borrowed from English, though *garí* through Assamese.

EEs may be formed with any word (sub-)class, as shown in Table 119. Text examples (879) and (880) show elaborate expressions based on a relator noun and on a verb suffix, respectively.

(879) Relator noun elaborate expression
choboche choingtung ***hako ateng hako***
[choboché cho-ingtúng **[hákó atèng]** **[hákó**
settle.down AUTO.BEN/MAL-desire that.time according.to that.time

amangle *kali setame […]*
amàng=le**]** kalī setāmē]
EE:atèng=FOC:IRR NEG.EQU.COP nevertheless
'although it is not like before when they settled down, […]' [KK, BMS 115]

(880) Verb suffix elaborate expression
angnarta kangrong ajat <ku> ***turthap turphrulo****...*
a-ingnàr=tā ke-ingròng aját <ku> túr-**tháp** túr-**phrú**-lò
POSS-elephant=ADD:DM NMLZ-roar GENEX <ku> kick-**mindlessly** kick-**EE:-tháp**-RL

harlong turpur
harlōng túr-pùr
stone kick-move.over
'this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock' [RBT, ChM 025]

12.2.2.2. Embedding into Parallelism or Compound Construction

In texts, elaborate expressions occur embedded in either a parallelism construction or a compound construction. (881) and (882) represent a minimal set on the EE *méi théi* 'assembly'. The two examples are from the same story, communicating the same proposition, first as a main clause, then in a repetition as background information. In (881), the EE occurs in a clause-level parallelism construction, *[mei kedam], [thei kedam]*. In (882), the EE occurs in an NP-level compound construction, *[[mei thei] kedam]*.

(881) Nominal elaborate expression in parallelism construction
richolo amat apoke mei kedam thei
[richó-lò] amāt a-pò=ke **[[méi** ke-dàm] **[théi**
king-RL and.then POSS-father=TOP **assembly** NMLZ-go **EE:méi**

kedam, laso arecho abang apiso banghini
ke-dàm]] [[lasō a-rechó abàng] [a-pisò bàng-hiní]]
NMLZ-go this POSS-king NPDL POSS-wife CLF:HUM:PL-two
'he is a king, so their father (often) goes to meetings, this king had two wives' [CST, HM 005]

(882) Nominal elaborate expression in compound construction
hala apenan abang mei thei kedam aphi la
hála a-penān abàng **[[méi théi]** ke-dàm aphī]] [là
that POSS-husband NPDL **assembly EE:méi** NMLZ-go after this

Karbipi abangke osomar hachelo ha hem arlo mh
Karbì-pī abàng=ke osō-mār haché-lò [há hēm arlō]] mh
PN-female/mother NPDL=TOP child-PL be.born-RL over.there house inside DSM
'after her husband had gone for meetings, the Karbi woman gave birth to children there inside the house' [CST, HM 008]

The same options are available in forming elaborate expressions off verbs. Consider the following three examples based on the elaborate expression *tún dáng* 'cook'. While in (883), the elaborate expression occurs in a parallelism construction such that the imperative suffix *-nōi* is repeated on both roots, the roots form a compound stem in (884). Note that (885) is somewhat of an intermediate type, as the derivational complex occurs on both roots, but the inflectional imperative suffix *-nói* only occurs on the second root.

(883) Verbal elaborate expression in parallelism construction
ne nephi aphan
nè ne-phì a-phān nang=pV-chetòng-vék-jí
1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother POSS-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-meet-definitely-IRR2

nangpachetongvekji e tunnoi dangnoi chonang junnang
e **tún**-nōi **dáng**-nōi chō-nāng jùn-nāng
DSM **cook**-INF.COND.IMP **put.on.stove**-INF.COND.IMP eat-HORT drink-HORT
'I will definitely make you meet my grandmother; (now) cook and prepare, let's eat and drink (so we can start our journey)' [KK, BMS 029]

(884) Verbal elaborate expression in compound construction
so'arlo atum adapprang ha the'ang'e
sō'arlō a-tūm a-dàppráng há the'āng-Cē
women:COLL POSS-PL POSS-very.early over.there be.bright-NEG

akopen hem kedo atum aphanta
akò=pen [hēm ke-dō a-tūm a-phān=tā]
before=from house NMLZ-stay POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ=also

tun-dangpikang'et nangjilang
tún-dàng-pī-káng-ét náng-jí-lāng
cook-put.on.stove-BEN/MAL-leaving-PRF need-IRR2-still
'early in the morning, over there, the women have to cook and do all the household works from before dawn also for those who stay at home (besides food for themselves)' [KaR, SWK 074]

(885) Nominal elaborate expression in intermediate parallelism/compound construction
[…] apot padap abangke,
[apōt padāp abàng=ke [**tún**-pī pe-mé]
because this.morning NPDL=TOP **cook**-BEN CAUS-be.good

tunpi peme dangpi pemenoi! […]
[**dàng**-pī pe-mé-**nōi**]]
put.on.stove-BEN CAUS-be.good-**INF.COND.IMP**
'[…] this morning, cook and prepare them nicely for me! […]' [SeT, MTN 029]

12.2.2.3. Functions of Elaborate Expressions

According to Matisoff's (1973: 82) definition, EEs do not have a semantic function but represent "[the use of] four syllables where two would have conveyed the same information." This is largely true for Karbi as well, although there are some noun EEs which apparently do have a consistent semantic effect of conveying a collective interpretation (see Table 119 above in §12.2.2.1).

Instead of being semantic, EEs are typically considered a stylistic device used by sophisticated speakers. However, Peterson (2010) demonstrates that EEs also frequently function as intensifiers in Khumi (Kuki-Chin), across the border in Bangladesh. In Karbi, EEs also have intensifying functions similar to what Peterson has pointed out for Khumi. For example, the use of EEs in a situation of "heightened emotional intensity" is shown in (886), where the speaking participant of the story threatens to kill the addressee participant.

(886) Elaborate expressions: *nangpran__nangmui; nangsapji__nangthengji*
*"[…] pinike **nangpran** damji **nangmui** damji,*
pinì=ke **nang-prán** dàm-jí **nang-múi** dàm-jí]
today=TOP **2:POSS-life** go-IRR2 **2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)** go-IRR2

<*nangsapdamji*> ***nangsapji***
<nang=sáp-dàm-jí> **nang=sáp-jí**
1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-go-IRR2 **1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-IRR2**

nangthengji!"
nang=thèng-jí
1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.solid-IRR2
'[…] today your life will definitely go, I will beat the hell out of you!" [RBT, ChM 033]

A similar level of intensity can also be argued to underlie (887), where two babies abandoned in the jungle by a witch are saved by a tiger couple. In (887), the female tiger says to the male tiger that they should not leave the two crying babies in the jungle, but that they should take them with them and take care of them. The reason why they should do that, according to the tigress, is because the babies are *monit monor* 'human beings'. The use of the EE evokes a number of (perhaps, noble) connotations, which is why the tigress can use it as a reason for why they should go through the trouble of taking care of them.

(887) Elaborate expression: *monit__monor*
*"[…] lake **monit monor** aso apot itum*
là=ke **[[monít monór]** a-osō] apōt e-tūm
this=TOP **man** **EE:monít** POSS-child because 1INCL-PL

orapondetnang"
orá-pòn-dèt-nāng
take.care-take.away-PFV-HORT
'[…] "because they are human beings, let's carry them away and take care of them"'
[CST, HM 033]

A matter for future research is the relationship between EEs and general extenders. There is a functional overlap between the two in that both may add an intensifying force to the utterance (§12.2.1). Note (888), which demonstrates that a predicate can simultaneously occur in the elaborate expression construction and in the general extender construction, such as *nangcharkok nangcharpheklo ajatlo* here.

(888) Elaborate expression and general extender used in combination
an ansi ahem arit chevánglo, ahem arit
[án ánsi a-hēm a-rīt chV-vāng-lò] [[a-hēm a-rīt
that.much after.that POSS-house POSS-field RR-come-RL POSS-house POSS-field

chevangsi bang hako ahem hako arit e
chV-vāng-si] [bàng hakó a-hēm hakó a-rīt e
RR-come-NF:RL CLF:HUM:PL that.time POSS-house that.time POSS-field DSM

***nangcharkok nangcharpheklo ajatlo**, ahem arit*
nang=chV-arkòk nang=chV-arphèk-lò aját-lò] [a-hēm a-rīt
CIS=RR-clean CIS=RR-EE:arkòk-RL GENEX-RL POSS-house POSS-field

<chevangsi> nangchotun nangchodanglo
<che-vāng-si> nang=cho-tún nang=cho-dāng-lò]
RR-come-NF:RL CIS=AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook CIS=AUTO.BEN/MAL-put.on.stove-RL
'and then they came home to their house and property, they came home, and then they cleaned their house and property and everything, and they came home and cooked there for themselves' [KK, BMS 113]

12.2.3. Copy Verb Constructions

There are a range of copy verb constructions, which consist of a preposed copy of the verb root that is marked with one of the information structure clitics (see §10.7) or the question clitic (see §11.1.1.2.2), followed by the actual main verb, which may carry derivational and inflectional morphology. Their functions have to do with adding force to the predicate, which we can consider iconic given the phonological force created through repetition of the verb.[199]

In addition to the four copy verb constructions presented in what follows below, there is another copy verb construction that has the function of coordinating clauses, as discussed in §11.5.1.2.

12.2.3.1. Assertive (with *=ke* 'topic')

The assertive copy verb construction consists of the root of the main verb marked with *=ke* 'topic', followed by the full main verb with additional suffixes if applicable, schematically '*V=ke V-suffixes*'. The function of this construction is to strongly assert a

[199] Interestingly, a similar type of copy verb construction is found in Kurtoep (Tibeto-Burman; East Bodish) (Hyslop 2011: 680-3).

proposition. As a result, the construction is often employed to set up a contrast, as in *X is indeed the case, but Y*, which is evidenced by the fact that this construction is frequently followed by a concessive conjunction.[200] An example is (889), where the assertive copy verb construction occurs in the clause *epoke doke do* 'we do have a father', which sets up a contrast to 'he has two wives' as marked by the concessive *do setame* - a contrast presumably in the sense that although there is one father, the maternal side is unusual, because there are two women.

(889) Assertive *=ke* copy verb construction followed by contrast (*do setame*)
*e epo do, epoke **doke do**, do setame,*
e [e-pō dō] [e-pō=ke **dō=ke** **dō]** [[dō setamē]
DSM 1INCL-father exist 1INCL-father=TOP **exist=TOP** **exist** exist nevertheless

apiso banghini
[a-pisò bàng-hiní]]
POSS-wife CLF:HUM:PL-two
'we have a father, though we do have a father, he has two wives' [CST, HM 046]

Similarly, in (890), there is a contrast built up by *kechetong doke dohe* '(I) have indeed met (some of them)', which follows in the next intonation, offered in (891), which unsurprisingly starts with *setā* 'but'.

(890) Assertive *=ke* copy verb construction followed by contrast in next IU (*seta*)
Naka anglong pu bihek akopenta arjulong
Náká a-inglóng pu bī-hèk akó=pen=tā arjū-lōng
TRIBE POSS-hill QUOT be.small-small then=from=ADD:even hear-GET

Naka akhei puta arjulong lapenke... Naka
Náká a-khéi pu=tā arjū-lōng lapèn=ke... Náká
TRIBE POSS-community QUOT=ADD:although ask-GET and.then=TOP TRIBE

akhei amonit so'arlopen pusetame sopinsopen
a-khéi a-monít so'àrlō=pen pùsetāmē sopìnsō=pen
POSS-community POSS-man women:COLL=with likewise boy:COLL=with

[200] While English does not have a dedicated marker for this kind of strong assertion in anticipation of a contrast, German has *zwar*, which always has to be followed by *aber* 'but'. The particle *zwar* has the telling etymology *es ist wahr* 'it is true'.

pusetame elong longni lason ***kechetong doke***
pùsetāmē e-lòng lòng-ní lasón **ke-chetòng** **dō=ke**
likewise one-CLF:place CLF:place-two that.way **NMLZ-meet** **exist=TOP**

do*he*
dō=he
exist=AFTERTHOUGHT
'since my childhood, I got to hear about the Naga hills, the Naga people, from both the women and men, in one or two places, like that, I actually have met (some of them)' [SiT, HF 004]

(891) Intonation unit after (890)
seta adunghetpen alanglitum arong alanglitum
setā adūng-hét=pen alang-li-tūm a-ròng alang-li-tūm
but near-very.near=from 3-HON-PL POSS-village 3-HON-PL

ahem alanglitum kedo kethak kosonma
a-hēm alang-li-tūm ke-dō ke-thák kosón=mà
POSS-house 3-HON-PL NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) how=Q
'but from very near, their villages, their houses, how do they stay and live?' [SiT, HF 005]

This assertive copy verb construction does not necessarily occur in a larger contrast construction. In (892), there is no contrast involved. The speaker states that she saw a particular ceremony performed in a different region that has somewhat different customs. She says she saw it for the first time and that she liked it. Then she says *prekke prekchot* 'it really is slightly different', referring to the ceremonial customs in that region. Apparently, the assertive copy verb construction is used here because the speaker just stated that she saw it for the first time and so it was perhaps a surprise to find out that the ceremony is indeed performed in a slightly different way in that part of Karbi Anglong.

(892) Assertive *=ke* copy verb construction without contrast
anke lapu thoi asorpen hapu Rongkhang anatthu
ánke lapú thói a-sòr=pen hápú Rongkháng a-nátthū
and.then this.side plains POSS-people=from that.side AREA POSS-direction

aChomangkanke neta ketheklongchenglo aronta
a-Chomangkan=ke nè=tā ke-theklōng-chéng-lò a-rōn=tā
POSS-PN=TOP 1EXCL=also NMLZ-see-for.first.time-RL POSS-custom=also

chinidun'o'e setame ning arongpiklo
chiní-dùn-ò-Cē setāmē nīng aróng-pìk-lò
know-JOIN-much-NEG nevertheless mind be.happy-very-RL

prekke prekchot *lapu anatthupen*
prék=ke **prék-chòt** lapú a-nátthū=pen
be.different=TOP **be.different-slightly** this.side POSS-direction=from
'and then, the Chomangkan of people from this side, from the plains, and from that side, the Rongkhang side, I also see for the first time, and I don't know their customs, but still I'm happy (to see it); it really is slightly different from this side' [SH, CSM 044-5]

12.2.3.2. Intensifier Declarative (with *=tā* 'additive')

The intensifier declarative copy verb construction consists of the root of the main verb marked with *=tā* 'additive', followed by the full main verb with additional suffixes if applicable, schematically '*V= tā V-suffixes*'. The function of this construction is intensification, which is evidenced by the fact that the main verb typically carries quantifying and intensifying suffixes, such as *-óng* '(too) much', *-ò* 'much, very', or *-pìk* 'very'.

In (893), the context is that one of the tigers tells the other tigers that they need to be quick in performing a ceremony and explains why that is of tremendous importance. (893) occurs after the direct speech and states that the tigers did indeed do everything very quickly.

(893) Intensifier copy verb construction, main verb with *-ò* 'much'
anke.... ***paprapta paprap'olo***
ánke.... **pe-pràp=tā** **pe-pràp-ò-lò**
and.then **CAUS-be.quick=ADD:INT** **CAUS-be.quick-much-RL**
'and then, (the tigers) did everything very quickly[…]' [HK, TR 160]

In (894), a grandmother talks to her infant grandchild and says that the child has cried too much, using the intensifier construction.

(894) Intensifier copy verb construction, main verb with *-óng* '(too) much'
chiruta chiru'ongchotlo *nang piba chevanra*
chirú=tā **chirú-óng-chòt-lò** nàng pibā che-vān-ra
cry=ADD:INT **cry-too.much-a.bit-RL** 2 baby.carrying.cloth RR-bring-NF:IRR

hong vannoi ho
hòng vàn-nōi ho
outside bring-INFRML.COND.IMP definitely
‘(you) have cried too much, bring your piba and bring it outside’ [KK, CC 022]

In (895), an evil stepmother mistreats her stepchildren, and so the storyteller says this sentence, using the intensifier construction to say just how evil the stepmother was.

(895) Intensifier copy verb construction, main verb with *-pìk* ‘very’
haita haipik
hài=tā **hài-pìk**
have.bad.character=ADD:WRT **have.bad.character-very**
‘as far as bad characters go, (she) really had a very bad character […]’ [CST, RO 016]

In (896), the speaker talks about travel by car to a place relatively far away. The first portion is the way up to Bokolia, as mentioned in this sentence. She says that because the road is good, they reached Bokolia really early, employing the intensifier construction.

(896) Intensifier copy verb construction, main verb with *-dàppràng* ‘early’
lasi laso adakke tovarta mesen apot
lasì lasō a-dàk=ke továr=tā mē-sén apōt
therefore this POSS-road.inbetween=TOP road=ADD:DM be.good-INTENS because

leta ledappranglo *Bokolia'an*
lè=tā **lè-dàppràng-lò** Bokoliá-án
reach=ADD:WRT **reach-early-RL** PN-till
‘so for this stretch, the road was good, and so we reached Bokolia very early’ [SH, CSM 012]

12.2.3.3. Intensifier Non-Declarative (with *=le* ‘focus:irrealis)

The available data on the *=le* ‘focus:irrealis’ construction suggest that it also has an intensifier function, like the copy verb construction with *=tā* (§12.2.3.2), but that it occurs specifically with non-declarative speech acts.

In (897), the construction is used to intensify an imperative ‘follow me!’, which has further emphatic marking through use of the interactive emphatic particle *ho* (§12.3.6).

(897) Intensifier copy verb construction with *=le*, imperative main verb
"o ne nangponthekpo ti, phu!
ó nè nang-pòn-thèk-pò tì phū
EXCLAM 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ-take.away-know.how-IRR1 EMPH grandfather:VOC

nangdunle nangdunnoi *ho pulo tangho*
nang=dùn=le **nang=dùn-nōi** hò pù-lò tànghò
CIS=join=FOC:IRR **CIS=join-INFRML.COND.IMP** EMPH:INTERACT say-RL REP
'"I certainly know how to take you there, grandfather. Just make sure to join me", he said'
[KK, BMS 035]

12.2.3.4. Perseverance Construction (with *=ma* 'question particle')

In addition to the above mentioned copy verb constructions that involve information structure clitics, there also is a parallel construction that instead uses the question clitic *=ma* (§11.1.1.2.2). While this construction does not occur in the corpus of recorded texts, I have collected one example through elicitation, and Grüßner (1978: 129-30) offers further examples. It appears that this construction has a durative function, indicating that the agent persevered in a particular activity. The elicited example (898) in particular suggests that this construction indicates perseverance.

(898) *[arvī che-lāng-lē] [ar'e che-lāng-lē,] [ke-tòk=ma ke-tòk]*
left RR-see-NEG right RR-see-NEG NMLZ-write=Q NMLZ-write
'without looking left or right, s/he keeps writing' [Elicitation SiT 090228]

In Grüßner's examples (899) and (900), no context is offered, but his translations suggest that the construction indicates durativity.

(899) *pé=ma* *pé-lò*
look.for.lice=Q look.for.lice-RL
'she was looking for lice for awhile' (Grüßner 1978: 130)

(900) *che-mīn=ma* *che-mīn-lò*
RR-complain=Q RR-complain-RL
'they were complaining for awhile' (Grüßner 1978: 130)

Lastly, Grüßner's example (901) shows that the second verb may be marked by additive *=tā*, i.e., 'V=*ma* V=*tā*'. Unsurprisingly, the additive marking results in a

concessive meaning that combines with the durative function to then translate as ‘despite persevering in V-ing, (something else happened)’.

(901) *[rì=ma rì=tā,] ōk lóng-lē-dèt-lò*
search=Q search=ADD meat get-NEG-PFV-RL
‘however much he was searching (for it), he didn’t get the meat’ (Grüßner 1978: 129)

12.2.4. Constructions with Negative Equational Copula *kalī*

There are two constructions that employ the negative equational copula *kalī*; the disagreement construction, which does not require a nominalized verb; and the intensifier construction, which does require nominalization of the main verb.

12.2.4.1. Disagreement Construction Based on Quasi-Reduplication and Negative Equational Copula

The disagreement construction uses the same quasi-reduplication pattern with vowel change found elsewhere in the grammar (§3.8.6.2), followed by the negative equational copula *kalī*.

(902) is from a story, and this particular intonation unit is uttered by a dog addressing a tree. Previously, the dog had told the tree that he should help the dog owner cross a large body of water. The tree does not want to do that, whereupon the dog says (902), telling the tree that whether or not he wants to do it, he has to, using the disagreement construction, which includes the vowel change in *ponpe ponpa*, followed by *kali*. Note that the main verb here is not nominalized, but only carries the negative suffix.

(902) Reduplicative copy verb construction based on *pòn-pē* ‘take.away-NEG’
*“**ponpe ponpa kalilo**, ponnoi*
[[pòn-Cē pònpā kalī-lò] [pòn-nōi]]
take.away-NEG EE:pònpē NEG.EQU.COP-RL take.away-INFRML.COND.IMP

hadak pirthe mindar ponnoi, nangta”
[[hádāk pirthé mindár pòn-nōi] nàng=tā]
there world world(<KhJ) take.away-INFRML.COND.IMP you=ADD
"”it's not about whether you want to or don't want to take them, just take them, there to the world take them, you (need to)”" [KK, BMS 109]

(903) is from a different story, where an orphan encounters a tiger. Scared to death, the orphan asks what his fault is, because according to Karbi traditional belief, only those who violate cultural norms are eaten by tigers. The tiger replies by using the disagreement construction, dismissing the orphan's question about the fault.

(903) Reduplicative copy verb construction based on *ke-dō* 'nmlz-exist'
***kedo keda kaliloke**; {e} pap **kedo keda**,*
ke-dō **ke-dā** **kalī-lò=ke** e páp **ke-dō** **ke-dā**
NMLZ-exist **NMLZ-EE:dō** **NEG.EQU.COP-RL=TOP** AFF fault **NMLZ-exist** **NMLZ-EE:dō**

nangphanke nangkeponpo {nangponpo}
nang-phān=ke nang=ke-pòn-pò {nang=pòn-pò}
2-NSUBJ=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1
'there is no matter of existence [of a sin]; there is no sin or anything, but I'll carry you away '[HK, TR 058-9]

12.2.4.2. Nominalization-based Intensifier Construction *ke*-V-*sō kalī*

This construction involves a nominalized verb with an attached *-sō* suffix, followed by the negative equational copula. The final syllable of the root (i.e., the syllable before the *-sō* suffix) is typically lengthened to further add prosodic emphasis. The function is to mark a positive, highly emphatic statement. An example is (904), where the transitive *inghōn* 'love' occurs in the construction.

(904) Nominalization-based intensifier construction with *inghōn* 'love'
methan-sibongpo ante <pini> bamonpo atum aphan
methān-sibóngpō ántè <pinì> bamón-pō a-tūm aphān
sp.dog OK.then today wise.person(<Ind)-male POSS-PL NSUBJ

kanghonso kali
ke-inghōn-sō **kalī**
NMLZ-love-INTENS **NEG.EQU.COP**
'the dog loved the bamonpo and bamonpi so much!' [KK, BMS 004]

In (905), the construction occurs with the PCT root *thè*. It is further combined with an elaborate expression construction (§12.2.2) based on the *-sō* suffix element of this construction.

(905) Nominalization-based intensifier construction with *thè* ‘be big’ (involving elaborate expression construction)

[…]langta ketheso kethevir kali, langso

lāng=tā	**ke-thè-sō**	**ke-thè-vír**	**kalī]**	[langsō
water=ADD:even	**NMLZ-be.big-INTENS**	**NMLZ-be.big-EE:-sō**	**NEG.EQU.COP**	this

atalo bhari

a-taló	bharí]
POSS-sea	very.big(<Ind)

‘[…] there was an unbelievably big water body, a huge sea’ [KK, BMS 044]

12.2.5. Prosodic Emphasis

An important matter for future study is the investigation of prosodic constructions that serve as rhetorical devices. As just mentioned in §12.2.4.2 above, there is a large amount of vowel lengthening used to convey prosodic emphasis in the nominalization-based intensifier construction, although this type of prosodic emphasis also occurs in other constructions. One such example is a full verb reduplication construction that occurs in KK, CC 012. Figure 25 shows the large amount of lengthening occurring on the last syllable of the first repetition of the predicate, i.e., *baithek<u>the:</u> baithekthe* ‘(she) just did not know how to possibly calm down (the child)’ (*bài* ‘to console, calm’; *thèk* ‘know how’; *-thē* ‘negation’).

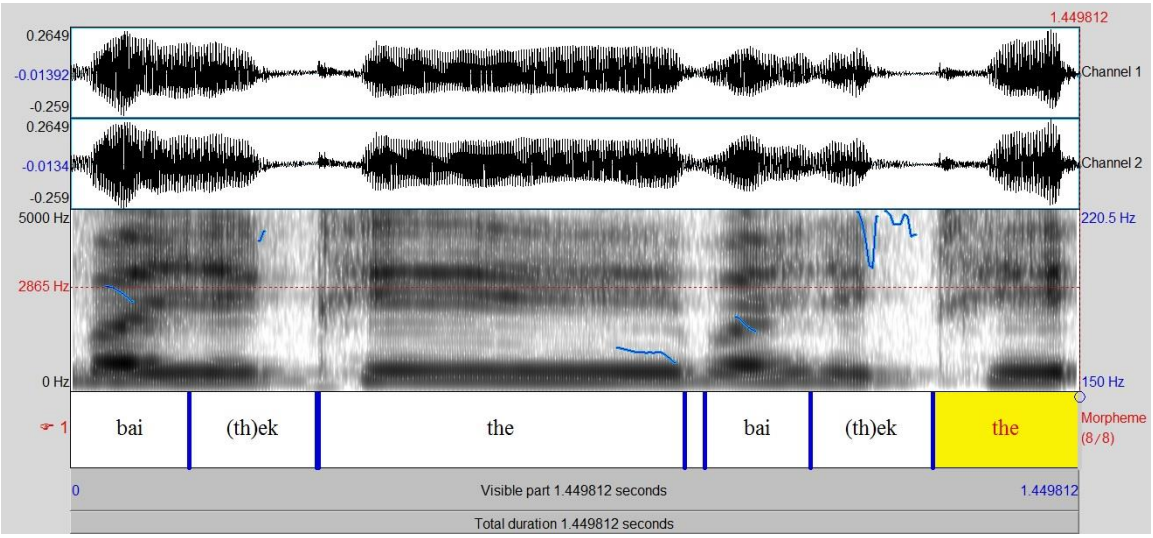

Figure 25. Prosodic emphasis in full predicate reduplication of *baithekthe* (KK, CC 012) [201]

[201] The audio file for KK, CC 012 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3KD1W5R, see Appendix B.

12.3. Particles

This section discusses the various particles attested so far. A comprehensive examination of the distributional properties of each of the particles is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, it should be noted that the majority of the particles only occur in sentence-final position, but some other ones may occur after NPs (as noted where information is available). Furthermore, a subset of these particles may actually occur in constructions with suffixes from the mood/non-final paradigm (§6.2.3), specifically with *-lò* 'realis' or *-pò* 'irrealis1', or with *-si* 'non-final:realis'. This includes the desiderative construction based on *pu* in §12.3.1.2, dubitative *tahái* in §12.3.3, and 'always' *titī* in §12.3.4.

The majority of particle constructions, however, do not appear to allow any affixes to attach to the particles: the quotative particle *pu* in its purely quotative as well as reportative functions (§12.3.1), the reportative particle *tànghò* (§12.3.2), dubitative *bón* (§12.3.3), emphatic *ti* (§12.3.5), the 'interactive emphatic' *ho* (§12.3.6), the vocative particle *ó* (§12.3.7), the exclamative construction based on the irrealis focus marker *=le* (§12.3.8), the afterthought *=he* (§12.3.9), the common ground marker *=mati* (§12.3.11), and, finally, the narrative style marker *hedī* (§12.3.12).

In the discussion of these particles, I offer my current understanding of their functions. However, my understanding of the intricate details of particle functions is limited. Future research on Karbi particles as well as further typological study of these types of discourse markers in languages across the world are required.

12.3.1. Quotative *pu*

Quotative *pu*, grammaticalized from *pù* 'say', follows after, and indicates the end of, direct speech, as in the reported exchange in the intonation unit in (906).

(906) Quotative *pu* marking the end of direct speech
“chininedetlo, po. Te mo nechenekvaretjima, po?”
[[[chiní-Cē-dèt-lò pō] [tē mò ne=chenék-varèt-jí=ma pō]
know-NEG-PFV-RL father if future 1EXCL:NSUBJ=torture-INTENS-IRR2=Q father

pu**, “nangchenekne, pei atum“ **pu
pu] [[nang=chenék-Cē pēi a-tūm] **pu]**
QUOT 1/2:NSUBJ=torture-NEG mother POSS-PL **QUOT**
'"I don't know, father, if (you take a new wife), will she keep torturing us, father"', '"she won't torture you, mothers"' [CST, RO 010]

Quotative *pu* also functions as a semantically neutral complementizer (as does the related element *pusi* ‘quotative complementizer (QUOT.COMP)’) (§11.2.2.4). In addition, quotative *pu* functions as a purpose clause conjunction (§11.2.3.2).

12.3.1.1. Reportative Function of *pu*

Quotative *pu* may also function as a reportative marker. An example is (907).

(907) Reportative function of quotative *pu*
[…] la Bey Ke'et Bey Ronghang lapen Bey Ki'ik atum
[là Bēy ke-èt Bēy Ronghāng lapèn Bēy ke-ìk a-tūm
this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow CLAN CLAN and CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL

*angjirta do **pu***
a-ingjìr=tā dō **pu**
POSS-sister=ADD:also exist **QUOT**
'and then, Bey Ronghang, the youngest, he also got married and his children grew up, and then, the oldest one, that Bey the Fair, Bey Ronghang, and Bey the Black, they also had a sister, it is said' [WR, BCS 007]

As a reportative particle, *pu* is functionally equivalent to *tànghò* (§12.3.2) and in fact, they sometimes co-occur as *pu tànghò*, as in (908).

(908) Combined use of both reportative particles *pu* and *tànghò*
nangong akleng ahemke nangong
[nang-ōng a-klèng a-hēm=ke] [nang-ōng
2:POSS-maternal.uncle POSS-old.one POSS-house=TOP 2:POSS-maternal.uncle

ahemripo ahemke la'an abang
a-hēm'rī-pō a-hēm=ke] la-án abàng
POSS-oldest.son-male POSS-house=TOP this-that.much NPDL

*ki'ikrintile **putangho***
ke-ìk-rintí=le **pu-tànghò**
NMLZ-be.black-equally:PL:S/A=FOC:IRR **QUOT-REP**
'the family of your oldest maternal uncle, the family of your uncle who is the eldest son of the family, all of them are so black (so you shouldn't take your wife from them)' [WR, BCS 014]

12.3.1.2. Desiderative Function of *pu*

The desiderative function of *pu* has presumably grammaticalized via insubordination of the purpose clause conjunction *pu* (§11.2.3.2). The verb preceding *pu* 'quotative' is marked irrealis with *-jí* 'irrealis2' (§6.9.2.1.7). An example is (909).

(909) Purpose/desiderative marking function of *pu* (main clause)
ai tovar nangpektha ti ko jirpo,
ái továr nang-pèk-thā tì ko jīrpō,
how.bad! road 1/2:NSUBJ-give.way-IMP:CON definitely buddy:VOC friend

*ne'ik atum aphan an thonji **pu***
ne-ìk a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí **pu**
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 **QUOT**
'"how bad! Please do give way to me, friend. **I want to** drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)"' [RBT, ChM 012]

(910) shows that *pu* in the desiderative construction may take *-lò* 'realis'.

(910) Purpose/desiderative marking function of *pu*; with realis *-lò*
lasi <ling> juja'e homtekangsi halaso ape ari
[lasì juja'ē hóm-tekáng-si] hálasō a-pé a-rī
therefore cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL that POSS-cloth POSS-EE:pé

*kechechokdamji **pulo** amatsi laso osomar banghini*
[ke-che-chōk-dām-jí **pu-lò]** [amātsi [lasō osō-mār bàng-hiní
NMLZ-RR-wash.clothes-go-IRR2 **QUOT-RL** and.then this child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two

aphan juja'e homtekangsi thaptekanglo
a-phān] juja'ē hóm-tekáng-si thàp-tekáng-lò]
POSS-NSUBJ cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL put.inside-leaving-RL
'so (the mother) fixed the cradle, and went to wash clothes, and then, she fixed the cradle for the two children, and put them inside' [CST, HM 010]

12.3.2. Reportative *tànghò*

The reportative particle *tànghò* typically occurs at the end of a clause. It marks information as being indirectly known, because somebody has told it to the speaker. In the corpus, *tànghò* is frequently used in folk stories. As orally transmitted texts, folk stories of course fully consist of reported information. In certain parts of the narrative, the storyteller typically adds *tànghò*; further research is required to understand where and for what purpose exactly *tànghò* is used in the narrative structure of folk stories. So far, it appears that one such part of the story that is typically marked by *tànghò* is the beginning of the story. For example, in (911), this particular text starts out by introducing the three protagonists, followed by a *tànghò* at the end of the clause.

(911) Reportative *tànghò* at the end of an utterance in a folk story
hako ahut hedi Bey atum korte bangkethom do ***tangho***
[hakó ahūt hedī] Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō **tànghò**
that.time during DM CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist **REP**
'in the old days, you know, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

In ordinary conversations, using *tànghò* at the end of an utterance marks reported information, which may have been acquired just moments earlier. For example, Speaker A can relay information of Speaker B having already eaten to Speaker C by saying *Chō-ét-lò tànghò*. 'eat-PRF-RL REP' > '[S/he] said [s/he] has already eaten,' with arguments non-overt as zero anaphoras (§10.4.3).

(912) shows that *tànghò* may also occur after an NP if the scope is intended to be particularly over that NP.

(912) Reportative *tànghò* after an NP
ansi la hepi ason ingmoipo ***hepipen thijok a'ok***
[ánsi là hepī asón ingmōi-pò] **[[[hepī=pen thijōk a-ōk]**
then this brinjal like cook.with.alkaline-IRR1 **brinjal=with deer POSS-meat**

tangho *pine lason kechongmoi*
tànghò] pí-nē lasón ke-cho-ingmōi]
REP what-INDEF that.way NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook.with.alkaline
'and then, we cook brinjal or something similar with the alkaline, we cook brinjal and deer meat, so they say, or whatever like that with baking soda' [SiH, KH 008]

The disyllabic form of *tànghò* suggests that diachronically there are two morphemes involved. In fact, there is one instance in the corpus where apparently the first syllable is used independently of the second syllable. In (913), *-tàng* is used as a verbal suffix in a predicate that is marked as a question via *=ma*. Apparently, *-tàng* here has the same function of indicating that the requested information is not directly known by the addressee, but is information that the addressee only knows if at all as reported information.

(913) Reportative *tàng*
*the'o'**otang**ma atibukta} mm*
thè-ò~ò-**tàng**=ma a-tibùk=tā} mm
be.big-much~DIST.PL-**REP**=Q POSS-earthen.pot=ADD:DM AFF
{are the earthen pots big enough?} [HK, TR 177]

It appears that *-tàng*, or *tàngma*, is more generally the interrogative counterpart of *tànghò*, because attempts to elicit the use of *-tàng* in other contexts have only yielded questions, e.g., (914).

(914) *a-rèng* *ke-lòk* *a-tūm=ke* *àn* *chō-**tàng**=ma?*
POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white POSS-PL=TOP rice eat-**REP**=Q
'are white people said to eat rice?'

In addition to *tànghò*, quotative *pu* also functions as a reportative marker (§12.3.1.1).

12.3.3. Dubitatives *bón* and *tahái*

There are two dubitative particles, *bón* and *tahái*. There are no instances of *bón* in the recorded text corpus, but (915) offers an elicited example.

(915) *jáng-jē-dèt-jí* ***bón***
fall-NEG-PFV-IRR2 **DUBIT**
'it probably won't rain' [SiT 090221]

According to Grüßner's (1978: 130-2) account of *bón*, this particle occurs at the end of quoted clauses (but before the quotative marker). In his view, this is the

distributional difference between *bón* and *=bo*, which he suggests are functionally equivalent (for information on *=bo*, see §11.1.1.6); *=bo* only occurs as a sentence-final particle. Further research is required to offer a semantic analysis of the differences between *tahái*, *bón*, and *=bo*. Note that *bón* may be the first element in *bóntā* 'but' (with the additive *=tā* as a second element; see §11.5.3).

The other dubitative particle is *tahái*. In (916), *tahái* occurs after a negated verb ('may not be able to tell it well'). The next sentence starts with the corresponding dubitative adverb *menē* 'maybe'.

(916) Dubitative *tahái*, followed in next clause by *menē* 'maybe'
ta ne kethan atomo abangke
tā [nè ke-thán a-temó abàng=ke]
but 1EXCL NMLZ-tell POSS-story NPDL=TOP

*pachekengdamthekthedet **tahai** meneta*
[pe-che-kèng-dàm-thèk-Cē-dèt **tahái]** [menē=tā
CAUS-RR-be.straight-go-know.how-NEG-PFV **DUBIT** maybe=ADD:even

nangthanpo
nang=thán-pò]
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1
'the story I'm telling now, maybe I can't tell it perfectly (straight), but maybe I will still tell' [KK, CC 008]

(917) shows that *-lò* 'realis' can be attached to *tahái*, apparently to convey a higher likelihood of the proposition. We may thus translate *tahái-lò* as 'probably' rather than 'maybe'.

(917) Dubitative *tahái* with realis *-lò*
<a> nangli aphrangphrang, hakoko alam sitame
nàng-lì [aphráng~phràng hakó~kò a-lám sitāmē]
you-HON first~DIST.PL that.time~DIST.PL POSS-matter nevertheless

*arju'iklong **tahailo***
arjū-īk-lōng **tahài-lò**
hear-FRML-GET **DUBIT-RL**
'you probably have heard the different matters about the old days' [KaR, SWK 059]

12.3.4. Always *titī*

The particle *titī* means ‘always’ or ‘habitually’. In (918), *titī* indicates that the situation described is a typical, habitual scenario: this is how it always was.

(918) ‘Always’ *titī*

so'arlo atumsi keklem abang dopo
[sō'arlō a-tūm=si [ke-klém a-bàng] dō-pò]
women:COLL POSS-PL=FOC NMLZ-do POSS-CLF:HUM:PL exist-IRR1

pinso atum abangke osomarpen chelemrong titi;
[[pinsō a-tūm abàng=ke] osō-mār=pen che-lém-ròng **titī**]
married.man POSS-PL NPDL=TOP child-PL=with RR-play.with.toys-instead **always**

lason arjulonghe
[lasón arjū-lōng=he]
that.way hear-GET=AFTERTHOUGHT
‘[…] the women would be the working ones, the men would always play with the children instead, this is actually what I've heard’ [KaR, SWK 071]

In (919), *titī* surprisingly occurs with what may be *-si* ‘NF:RL’, or possibly *=si* ‘focus’. It is currently not clear how to analyze *titisi* here, but this demonstrates that *titī* belongs to the subset of particles that may occur with morphological marking (§12.3). (Also note that there is no doubt that *titisi* is indeed *titī* plus a /si/ element, because the habitual function is additionally indicated by the following, reduplicated main verb *nangkechodundun*.)

(919) ‘Always’ *titī* with *-si* ‘non-final:realis’

netumta nangtum nangpipo longle thak
[ne-tūm=tā nang-tūm nang=pī-pò longlē athàk
1EXCL-PL=ADD:also 2-PL 1/2:NSUBJ=give-IRR1 earth on.top

*nangbokchom **titisi** neta*
nang=bók-chòm **titī-/=si**] nè=tā
1/2:NSUBJ=serve.small.items-a.little **always-NF:RL/=FOC?** 1EXCL=ADD:also

nangkechodundun
nang=ke-chō-dūn~dūn
CIS=NMLZ-eat-JOIN~HAB
‘to us you would also give us, on the ground always you would serve us (food), I also used to eat like that’ [KK, BMS 060]

The etymology of *titī* could be a reduplication of emphatic *ti* (see §12.3.5), which would make sense given that cross-linguistically, habituality often correlates with reduplicative marking.

12.3.5. Emphatic *ti*

The emphatic particle *ti* occurs at the end of a sentence and can be translated into English via lexical emphatics such as 'really' or 'definitely', or the *do*-emphatic construction. It occurs in positive and negative declarative clauses, as well as in non-declarative clauses, such as imperatives and hortatives.

In (920), the first line represents a question that expresses the lack of confidence of the person asking (i.e., the owner of the dog, or 'grandfather') that the dog might actually be able to take him (across a huge body of water). The question starts with *ahokma?* 'is it true?', and then asks *neponthekjima?* 'will you be able to take me?'. In his reply, the dog tries to reassure his owner that he will indeed be able to take him across the water, and he does that by adding *ti*. He then also uses a copy verb construction, *nangdunle nangdunnoi*, which is another type of emphatic construction (see §12.2.3.3).

(920) Emphatic *ti* with declarative, positive verb
"ahokma, methan-sibongpo?, nang neponthekjima?"
a-hōk=ma methān-sibóngpō, ne=pòn-thèk-jí=mà
POSS-truth=Q dog.sp 1EXCL:NSUBJ =take.away-know.how-IRR2=Q

"o ne ***nangponthekpo ti****, phu!*
ó nè **nang=pòn-thèk-pò** **ti** phū
EXCM 1EXCL **1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-know.how-IRR1** **EMPH** grandfather:VOC

nangdunle nangdunnoi ho pulo tangho
nang=dùn=le nang=dùn-nōi hò pù-lò tànghò
CIS=join=FOC:IRR CIS=join-INFRML.COND.IMP EMPH:INTERACT say-RL REP
'"is it true, dog, you know how to take me?"' '"I certainly know how to take you there, grandfather. Just make sure to join me", he said' [KK, BMS 034-5]

(921) offers an example of emphatic *ti* co-occurring with *ho* 'EMPH:INTERACT' (see §12.3.6), of which there are several instances in the corpus.

(921) Emphatic *ti* with declarative, positive verb (with *ho* 'EMPH:INTERACT')
*o.... neta lasi ho **kiribom ti ho***
o.... nè=tā lasì hò **ke-rì-bōm** **tì** **hò**
AFF 1EXCL=ADD thus EMPH:INTERACT **NMLZ-search-CONT** **EMPH** **EMPH:INTERACT**
'oh, I see. I also am searching for somebody, just like you' [HK, TR 065]

In (922) and (923), *ti* occurs with directives, specifically the conative imperative *-thā* and the hortative *-nāng*.

(922) Emphatic *ti* with imperative *-thā*
*ai tovar **nangpektha ti**, ko jirpo*
ái továr **nang-pèk-thā** **tì** ko jīrpō,
how.bad! road **1/2:NSUBJ-give.way-IMP:CON** **EMPH** buddy:VOC friend

ne'ik atum aphan an thonji pu
ne-ìk a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí pu
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 QUOT
'"how bad! Please do give way to me, friend. I'm supposed to drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)"' [RBT, ChM 012]

(923) Emphatic *ti* with hortative *-nāng*
[anke laso <la> kepholok abarika
[ánke lasō ke-phō-lòk a-bariká
and.then this NMLZ-reach-happen.to POSS-OFFICER

abangke ningjelemdetlo tangho
abàng=ke ningjé-lemdet-lò tànghò]
NPDL=TOP speak-repeatedly-RL REP

***paprapnang ti** komarli ho {mm}*
[pe-pràp-nāng **tì** ko-marlí hò] mm
CAUS-be.quick-HORT **EMPH** buddy:VOC-PL:VOC EMPH:INTERACT AFF
and then, that head tiger thathad encountered (the orphan) kept telling, 'let's make it quick, friends!' [HK, TR 153]

Lastly, in (924), *ti* occurs after a negated verb, here a negative hortative.

(924) Emphatic *ti* with negative hortative
" [...] ningveke elitumta e vopi ejon
[[ningvē=ke e-li-tūm=tā e vō-pī e-jōn
evening=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON- PL=ADD:DM DSM chicken-female one-CLF:animal

chothatnang" pulo amat hala apiso abang pulo
cho-thāt-nāng] pù-lò] [amāt hála a-pisò abàng pù-lò
AUTO.BEN/MAL-slaughter-HORT say-RL and.then that POSS-wife NPDL say-RL

***"thatnangne ti** sarbura"*
[thàt-nāng-Cē tì sàrburá]]
slaughter-HORT-NEG EMPH old.man
‘ "[…] let's kill us a hen tonight", he said, (but) the wife said, "let's not, old man (and I won't change my mind)"' [SeT, MTN 007]

12.3.6. Interactive Emphatic *ho*

Compared to ‘emphatic’ *ti*, ‘interactive emphatic’ *ho* is more frequent in the recorded text corpus of 13,000 words (i.e., 30 instances of *ho* versus eight instances of *ti*). While *ti* may be the only indicator of emphasis, *ho* more typically occurs in conjunction with other emphatic elements and constructions. Also, *ho* often occurs in non-declarative speech acts. In (925), it occurs with the *=le* copy verb construction (§12.2.3.3).

(925) Interactive emphatic *ho* after verb in emphatic copy verb construction
"o ne nangponthekpo ti, phu!
ó nè nang-pòn-thèk-pò tì phū
EXCM 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ-take.away-know.how-IRR1 EMPH grandfather:VOC

***nangdunle nangdunnoi ho** pulo tangho*
nang=dùn=lè nang=dùn-nōi ho pù-lò tànghò
CIS=join=FOC:IRR CIS=join-INFRML.COND.IMP EMPH:INTERACT say-RL REP
'"I certainly know how to take you there, grandfather. Just make sure to join me", he said' [KK, BMS 035]

(926) and (927) offer examples of *ho* occurring together with the feedback or back-channel requesting *déi* (§11.1.1.8).

(926) Interactive emphatic *ho* after feedback request marker *déi*
tangte osomar atum.... ne eson atomo
tángtē osō-mār a-tūm nè e-sòn a-tomó
if child-PL POSS-PL 1EXCL one-CLF:thing POSS-story

***nangthanpo dei ho** {to}*
nang=thán-pò déi ho {to}̀
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1 OK? EMPH:INTERACT OK
'if so then (as in 'you're asking me, if so - then'), (dear) children, I will tell you one story, ok? {OK.}' [HK, TR 001]

(927) Interactive emphatic *ho* after feedback request marker *déi*
jamborong along hako arnike luji pu he
jamboróng a-lòng hakó arnì=ke lují pu hè
bag POSS-LOC that.time day=TOP mirror QUOT you.know

{mm} ***dei ho***
mm **déi** **hò**
AFF **OK?** **EMPH:INTERACT**
'in the bag, in the old days, they used to keep a so-called luji, a mirror (container), you know..., right?' [HK, TR 017]

In (928), *ho* occurs along with the 'common ground' marker *mati*. This shows that *ho* may emphasize information that the speaker expects the listener to know. The use of *ho* here implies that the tobacco container will play a key role in the story, so the storyteller wants to make sure the listener pays attention to the mentioning of the tobacco container.

(928) Interactive emphatic *ho* after *mati* 'common ground'
atema ajerjer do mati ho
a-temá ajerjēr dō matí **hò**
POSS-tobacco.container(<Asm) small exist CG **EMPH:INTERACT**
'so he had this small tobacco container' [HK, TR 018]

In (929), *ho* marks information that the speaker knows will be surprising to the listener and may be taken with disbelief. In anticipation of that, *ho* emphatically asserts the information.

(929) Interactive emphatic *ho* in expecting surprise, together with *ti* 'emph'
o.... neta lasi ***ho****, kiribom ti* ***ho***
o.... [nè=tā lasì **hò]** [ke-rì-bōm tì **hò]**
AFF 1EXCL=ADD thus **EMPH:INTERACT** NMLZ-search-CONT EMPH **EMPH:INTERACT**
'oh, I see. Same with me, actually! I am also looking for somebody' [HK, TR 065]

12.3.7. Vocative *ó*

The vocative particle is used before the name or kinship term when calling for somebody. For example, somebody with the name 'Rasinza' is usually called by saying *ó*

Rasinza!, while the mother is usually called by saying *ó pēi/pāi*, where *pēi~pāi* is the lexical noun for 'mother'.

12.3.8. Exclamative Function of Irrealis Focus *=le*

The irrealis focus marker *=le* (see §10.7.4) may occur at the end of a sentence to convey exclamative force, as in (930) and (931).

(930) Irrealis focus *=le* with exclamative function
ai nesomarlole laho! thengbeng
ái [ne-oso-màr-lò=le laho] [thēng-bēng
how.strange! 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL=FOC:IRR EXCLM firewood-piece

*kalilo, nesomarlo**le** laho!*
kalī-lò] [ne-oso-màr-lò**=le** laho]
NEG.EQU.COP-RL 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL**=FOC:IRR** EXCLAM
'how strange, they are my children!, they are not pieces of wood, they are my children!'
[CST, HM 082]

(931) Irrealis focus *=le* with exclamative function
mh "an akai adin ne nangkapangreng
mh [án a-kái a-dín nè nang=ke-pangrèng
DSM that.much POSS-time(<Asm) POSS-day(<Asm) 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-rear

*ningke, nang keningjejepinpi amethan-sibongpo**le**!"*
nīngke] [nàng [ke-ningjé-Cē-pín-pī a-methān-sibóngpō**=le**]]
even you NMLZ-speak-NEG-never-truly POSS-dog.sp**=FOC:IRR**
'"even though all this time I reared you, you are the dog who never talked before at all (and now all of a sudden you start talking)!"' [KK, BMS 019]

In both (930) and (931), the exclamation is a result of surprise over a novel insight. This is probably the more common cause for exclamations. However, the surprise element is not necessary for the use of sentence-final *=le*, as shown in (932). The fact that the members of the uncle's family all have a dark skin complexion is not something the speaker just found out. The exclamation here serves the purpose of adding force to the argument that the addressee should not marry that uncle's daughter.

(932) Irrealis focus *=le* with exclamative function (not expressing a surprise)
nangong akleng ahemke nangong
[nang-ōng a-klèng a-hēm=ke] [nang-ōng
2:POSS-maternal.uncle POSS-old.one POSS-house=TOP 2:POSS-maternal.uncle

ahemripo ahemke la'an abang
a-hēm'rī-pō a-hēm=ke] la-án abàng
POSS-oldest.son-male POSS-house=TOP this-that.much NPDL

*ki'ikrinti**le** putangho*
ke-ìk-rintí=**le** pù-tànghò
NMLZ-be.black-equally:PL:S/A=**FOC:IRR** QUOT-REP
'the family of your oldest maternal uncle, the family of your uncle who is the eldest son of the family, all of them are so black (so you shouldn't take your wife from them)' [WR, BCS 014]

12.3.9. Afterthought *=he*

The afterthought marker *=he* usually occurs on right-dislocated NPs, as in several instances in (933). In the first instance, we have the NP *la Beyhem asarpihe*. This represents an afterthought to the previous clause *anke hala aphi sarpi dolang tangho* 'and then, there still was that old woman'. The storyteller decides that she needs to clarify who 'that old woman' is, and utters the afterthought NP *la Beyhem asarpihe* 'the old woman from the Bey family'. After this clarification, the storyteller picks up from where she digressed and repeats the last clause from the story line, *aphi sarpi dolang* 'the old woman was still here'.

(933) Several instances of *=he* 'AFTERTHOUGHT' on right-dislocated NPs
piso hangdamló, anke hala aphi sarpi dolang
[pīsō hàng-dām-lò] [ánke [hála a-phì sarpī dō-làng
wife call-GO-RL and.then that POSS-grandmother old.woman exist-still

*tangho, la Beyhem **asarpihe**...] aphi*
tànghò] **[là Bēy-hēm a-sarpī=he...** [a-phì
REP **this CLAN-house POSS-old.woman=AFTERTHOUGHT** POSS-grandmother

sarpi dolang, anlo aphi abang kipu tangho,
sarpī dō-làng] [ánlo a-phì abàng ke-pù tànghò]
old.woman exist-still and.then POSS-grandmother NPDL NMLZ-say REP

*hala asupo **aphanlohe,** asopi*
[hála a-su-pò aphān-lò=he] [a-oso-pì
that POSS-grandchild-male NSUBJ-RL= AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-child-female

*aso **aphanlohe** [hala a'ik*
a-osō a-phān=lo=he] [hála a-ìk
POSS-child POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT that POSS-older.brother

abangke Bey Ki'ik pu apot... anke kene
abàng=ke Bēy ke-ìk pu apōt] [ánke kenē
NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.black QUOT because and.then HESIT

aphi sarpi abang kipu tangho…
a-phì sarpī abàng ke-pù tànghò]
POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL NMLZ-say REP
'and then there was still their grandmother, the old woman. The old woman of the Bey house, you know. His grandmother, the old woman was still there. This was how it was, up to here. And then the grandmother was saying, to her grandson, you know. To her daughter's son, you know. The eldest brother, because he was called Bey the Black... The grandmother, the old woman said…' [WR, BCS 012]

The second instance of *=he* in (933) is in *hala asupo aphanlohe* '(to) the grandson', which adds or clarifies the O argument of the previous clause *anlo aphi abang kipu tangho* 'the grandmother said'. The third instance follows right after the second instance, where the storyteller clarifies which grandson it is when she says *asopi aso aphanlohe* '(to) her daughter's son'.

While *=he* more frequently occurs on NPs in the corpus, there are some instances where it occurs on full clauses that are added as an afterthought to the previous utterance. An example is (934), where the speaker makes a strong statement by adding *titī* 'always' at the end. She then apparently decides that she does not want to take responsibility for this strong claim, and adds *lason arjulonghe* 'that is (anyway) what I've heard'.

(934) 'AFTERTHOUGHT' *=he* on full clause
so'arlo atumsi keklem abang dopo
[sō'arlō a-tūm=si [ke-klém a-bàng] dō-pò]
women:COLL POSS-PL=FOC NMLZ-do POSS-CLF:HUM:PL exist-IRR1

pinso atum abangke osomarpen chelemrong titi;
[[pinsō a-tūm abàng=ke] osō-mār=pen che-lém-ròng titī]
married.man POSS-PL NPDL=TOP child-PL=with RR-play.with.toys-instead always

lason arjulonghe
[lasón arjū-lōng=he]
that.way hear-GET= AFTERTHOUGHT
'[…] the women would be the working ones, the men would always play with the children instead, this is what I've heard' [KaR, SWK 071]

Particle *=he* further occurs more broadly than just in afterthought contexts in the folk story WR, BCS (see Appendix E). In this text, *=he* appears to functionally overlap with *hedī* (§12.3.12), which in turn is best analyzed as a combination of *=he* and the tag question marker *dī* (§11.1.1.7). An example of *=he* functioning as a marker of narrative style analogous to *hedī* is (935).

(935) *=he* as a marker of narrative style
an lasi latum korte banghini alóngpén 'Bey
án lasì la-tūm kortè bàng-hiní a-lòng=pen [Bēy
and.then therefore this-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-LOC=from CLAN

Ki'ik' pu abang ahemsi angjirpi abang
ke-ìk pu abàng a-hēm=si] [a-ingjìr-pī abàng]
NMLZ-be.black QUOT NPDL POSS-house=FOC:RL POSS-sister-female NPDL

piso hangdamlohe
pīsō hàng-dām-lò**=he**
wife call-GO-RL**=EMPH**
'and then, therefore, among the two brothers, their sister went to the so-called 'Bey the Black', to his house, to ask for a wife, you know' [WR, BCS 011]

12.3.10. Background Information: *=ke* 'topic' Marked Main Clauses

Clauses marked with *=ke* 'topic' provide a background against which a statement just mentioned (or about to be mentioned) is meant to be understood. Typically, the semantic link is one of causality, with the *=ke* marked main clause commonly providing a reason. This construction is discussed as an instance of insubordination in §11.4.1.

Two examples, in which a *=ke* marked clause follows a main clause and is semantically linked to it via causality, are (936) and (937).

(936) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause following its contextually related clause
ingsām-hòi… arvè ke-jáng=ke
be.cold-a.bit rain NMLZ-fall=TOP
'It's a bit cold… it's raining, that's why' [OH 121011: 001]

(937) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause following its contextually related clause
arvè jáng-làng, ingtìng-ò-lò=ke, jó!
rain fall-still be.dark-much-RL=TOP look!
'It's still raining, (so) it's very dark, look' [AT 121011: 002]

In (938), the first clause *apok ingchirdukke* is in its own intonation unit and is thus prosodically marked as a main clause. However, since it is marked with *=ke*, it signals to the listener that this is background information providing context for an event that is more relevant to the storyline.

(938) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause preceding its contextually related clause
apok ingchirdukke…
a-pōk ingchìr-dùk**=ke**
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS**=TOP**

anke inglong arloksi phurui chosot
ánke [inglóng arlòk=si] [phurùi chosòt]
and.then hill foot.of.hill=FOC yam kd.vegetable

choridamlo tangho […]
cho-rī-dām-lò tànghò
AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL REP
'he was suffering from hunger, and so, he went here and there to look for wild vegetables […]' [HK, TR 014-5] [202]

In the excerpt in (939) and in the following intonation unit from the same text in (940), *=ke* marked main clauses are used as answers to 'why'-questions. It appears that using the background information construction rather than a direct 'because'-clause is a more indirect way of answering. This makes sense in the context here, because both the frog and ant are accused by an enraged king of ultimately being responsible for the death of his daughter.

(939) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause in answer to question
chongho aphan arjulo, "Pi chonghoisi nangke karle
[chonghō a-phān arjū-lò] [pí chonghói=si nàng=ke karlē
frog POSS-NSUBJ ask-RL what reason=FOC:RL you=TOP squirrel

[202] The audio file for HK, TR 014-5 is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N33B5XDS, see Appendix B.

adon chonraimati?" pu
a-dón chón-rài=mati] pu
POSS-bridge/ladder jump-solid.obj.breaking=as.you.know QUOT
'he asked the frog, "Why did you jump on the ladder of the squirrel?"' [RBT, ChM 074]

misorongpota nemi nangkorrakke
misòrongpō=tā ne-mí nang=kòr-ràk=ke
sp.ant=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ=bite-RES:little.wound=TOP
'the ant bit me in the butt… and so…' [RBT, ChM 075]

(940) 'Topic' *=ke* marked clause in answer to question
<ha> Misorongpo arju, "Chonghoisi nang chongho
misòrongpō arjū chonghói=si nàng chonghō
sp.ant ask reason=FOC you frog

*ami korrakmati?" "**Tovar nangdangthipke**"*
a-mí kòr-ràk=mati] **továr nang=dāng-thìp=ke**
POSS-buttocks bite-RES:little.wound=CG **road CIS=block-firmly=TOP**
'he asked the ant, "why did you bite the frog in the butt?", "he had come and was blocking the road… and so…"' [RBT, ChM 076]

Finally, in excerpt (941) from an interview, the interviewee first speaks and says that she is a Terang family member. The interviewer takes his turn and essentially repeats the information he was just given, using tag questions, which occur after main clauses marked by topic *=ke*.

(941) Tag question with *dī* 'question.tag'
neli dak Ran habe arong Terang hem asor
nè-lì dāk [Ran habē] a-ròng]] [[Teràng hēm] a-sòr]
1EXCL-HON here NAME headman POSS-village CLAN house POSS-people
'I am here at Ran Habe village, a member of the Terang family' [KaR, SWK 006: KaR]

Terang hemsi nangli kedoloke di?, Terang
[Teràng hēm=si nàng-lì ke-dō-lò**=ke** **dī?]** [Teràng
CLAN house=FOC you-HON NMLZ-stay-RL**=TOP** **Q.TAG** CLAN

hem asorloke di?
hēm a-sòr-lò**=ke** **dī?]**
house POSS-people-RL**=TOP** **Q.TAG**
'so you live in the Terang house, don't you, you're a member of the Terang family, aren't you' [KaR, SWK 007: BTi]

Here, the tag questions are clearly not intended to elicit confirmation of the truth of the proposition, as they represent a repetition of already provided information,[203] which is marked by clause-final=*ke* 'topic'.

12.3.11. Common Ground Marker =*mati*

The sentence-final particle =*mati* appears to indicate that the information conveyed in a sentence represents common ground between the speaker and the addressee either through knowledge gained from context, or universal or cultural knowledge. In (942), the storyteller had just previously asserted that Bey the Fair and Bey the Black cannot tolerate each other. In this example, she connects this new information to old information mentioned earlier in the story about this being ultimately the grandmother's fault.

(942) =*mati* indicating old information, here connected to new information

[…] Bey Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik kechiune

[Bèy	ke-èt=pen	Bēy	ke-ìk	ke-che-ūn-Cē
CLAN	NMLZ-be.yellow=with	CLAN	NMLZ-be.black	NMLZ-RR-be.able-NEG

athaike <hala piso> aphi sarpi abang

a-thái=ke]	<hála	pīsō>	a-phì	sarpī	abàng
POSS-place(<Asm)=TOP	that	wife	POSS-grandmother	old.woman	NPDL

*chokchedétlo**mati***

chók-Cē-dèt-lò=**mati**

be.fine-NEG-PFV-RL=**CG**

'[…] and the reason why Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can't tolerate each other is that <that wife…>, that grandmother made that mistake' [WR, BCS 019]

(943) tells the reason why the orphan protagonist of a story is leaving the village, which is because he is hungry and so needs to go look for vegetables. =*mati* here indicates that the orphan being hungry is not new information: because he is an orphan, of course he will be hungry because he doesn't have a family to provide for him. The use of the question tag *dī* suggests that the storyteller is making sure that the orphan being

[203] In fact, the video of this interview shows that the interviewer is not even looking to the interviewee as he is uttering the tag questions, but instead is looking down to his notes.

hungry can indeed be considered common ground, and a logical reason for the orphan to leave the village.

(943) =*mat* indicating that statement is uncontroversial
*apok ingchirdukke**mati** di {mm}*
a-pōk ingchìr-dùk=ke=**mati** dī mm
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=TOP=**CG** Q.tag AFF
'on that day, this orphan was suffering from hunger, wouldn't he have been?' [HK, TR 010]

In (944), =*mati* occurs in a question, which at first glance poses a problem for the interpretation that =*mati* marks common ground. It appears, however, that =*mati* here marks the common ground, or presupposition, that the hanthar fruit fell on the back of the pig, and the information sought by the question is only why it did that.

(944) =*mati* in a question
Ha hanthar aphan arjudamlo... "Kopisi nang
há hanthàr a-phān arjū-dām-lò kopīsi nàng
over.there vegetable.sp POSS-NSUBJ ask-go-RL why 2

*phakbelengpi amoi klodup**mati**, hanthar?"*
phàkbeléngpī a-mòi kló-dùp=**mati** hanthàr
pig.sp POSS-back fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj=**CG** vegetable.sp
'there to the hanthar he went and asked, "why did you possibly fall down on the back of the pig, Hanthar?"' [RBT, ChM 060]

12.3.12. Narrative Style *hedī*

The particle *hedī* appears to have different functions depending on the dialect. In a number of dialects, it may be used as a synonym of the question tag marker *dī* (§11.1.1.7), as in (945) or a synonym of the feedback request marker *déi* (§11.1.1.8), as in (946).

(945) *hedī* with question tag function (like *dī*)
[...] athakke aina do {mm}
athàk=ke ainá dō mm
on.top=TOP mirror(<Ind) exist AFF

*luji pu **hedi** {luji do} luji do {mm}*
lují pu **hedī** lují dō} lují dō mm
mirror QUOT **Q.TAG** mirror exist mirror exist AFF
'[…] it had an *aina* on top; it had what we call a mirror, right? - {it had a mirror?} - it had a mirror' [HK, TR 019-20]

(946) *hedī* with feedback request function (like *déi*)
*[...] si bor'ilonang, **hedi**?*
sì bor'í-lonāng **hedī**
therefore try-HORT:EMPH **okay?**
'[…] let's try, okay?' [KaR, SWK 016]

In the western Karbi Anglong Amri dialect, *hedī* is highly frequent in folk stories, where it occurs after topical noun phrases, as in (947). In that use, it apparently also functions as a feedback requesting device, but with less force. In this dialect, it has grammaticalized as a marker of narrative style.[204]

(947) *hedī* as noun phrase emphatic marker
*latumke **hedi** la Bey Ke'et kele*
la-tūm=ke **hedī** là Bēy ke-èt ke-lè
this-PL=TOP **NP.EMPH** this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NMLZ-reach

ahemlote Bey Ki'ik le'un'e pu
a-hēm-lò-te Bēy ke-ìk lè-ūn-Cē pu
POSS-house-RL-COND CLAN NMLZ-be.black reach-be.able-NEG QUOT

laso adohai dokoklo aseme dokoklo
lasō a-dohái dō-kòk-lò a-semé dō-kòk-lò
this POSS-oath(<Ind) exist-firmly-RL POSS-oath exist-firmly-RL
'and so they, you know, when there's house that (a daughter of) Bey the Fair has reached (i.e. got married there), there (a daughter of) Bey the Black can't reach (i.e. can't get married), there's a dohai, there's an oath' [WR, BCS 025]

Note that just *=he* functions quite similarly to *hedī* as a marker of narrative style in this dialect (§12.3.9).

[204] When I recorded the folk story that example (947) is taken from, I was staying in Umswai in West Karbi Anglong. After the recording was finished, then 10-year old Platinum Hanse suggested I record him telling a folk story as well, which we did. Although the folk story that (947) is taken from struck me as abounding with *hedī*, in Platinum's narration, he probably used *hedī* twice as much. He clearly knew that *hedī* was a marker of narrative style in the local dialect, and so made sure to show that he knew it and that he was telling a folk story the way folk stories are supposed to sound.

12.4. Honorific and Formality Marking

There are three markers for a honorific or formal speech style. First, there is a suffix *-lì*, which occurs on pronouns and addressing words (§12.4.1). Second, there is a verbal suffix *-īk* (§12.4.2). And lastly, there is an honorific suffix *-héi* ~ *-hái*, which occurs on kinship terms (§12.4.3).

12.4.1. Honorific *-lì* on Pronouns and Addressing Words

The honorific suffix *-lì* attaches to pronouns (and personal possessive prefixes) as shown in §4.5.1. Adding *-lì* to all pronouns (i.e., first, second, and third person) indicates the social relationship between speaker and addressee. There are clear rules on when *-lì* has to be used and when it should not be used, depending on the speaker's and addressee's clan affiliations. However, particularly in the towns, the younger generation does not follow the rules that strictly anymore.

Honorific *-lì* also occurs on *-mār* pluralized nouns (§5.4.4), apparently only in forms of address, such as *komarli*, which is used by male speakers to address their fellow men from different clans (from *ko*, which is used for singular address male-to-male address among non-relatives), or *jirpomarli* (from *jīr-pō* 'friend-male'), or *ongmarli* (from *ōng* 'maternal uncle'), etc.

12.4.2. Formal *-īk* on Predicates

The suffix *-lì* on pronouns has to be used consistently on every pronoun if required by the social relationship between speaker and addressee. This is different from the verb suffix *-īk* 'formal' ('FRML'), which is not used on every single verb, even if the relationship between speaker and addressee requires a formal register. The pattern that underlies the use of *-īk* requires further research, but the following generalizations can be made. First, *-īk* occurs with any kind of request, including indirect requests, as in (948).

(948) Formal marker *-īk* in indirect request
si aphrangsi, nanglimen chethan asonte, <e>

sì	a-phráng-sí	nang-li-mén	che-thán	asón-tē
therefore	POSS-first-SPLT	2-HON-name	RR-tell	like-COND

*me'**ik**senji*
mē-**īk**-sén-jí
be.good-**FRML**-INTENS-IRR2
'so first, if you could tell us your name, that would be wonderful' [KaR, SWK 004]

Besides requests, *-īk* also occurs commonly in simple assertive clauses. It appears as though *-īk* in assertive clauses is often used at the end of a paragraph or episode in, for example, procedural texts. The reason for this could be that the end of an episode serves as a good moment to use *-īk* as a reminder of the formal speech style. In (949), which is a procedural text about traditional washing and cleaning methods and the traditional status of cleanliness, the *-īk* is used here at the end of a short paragraph that discusses the suho fruit; in what follows (949), the speaker moves on to talk about a different fruit that is used for washing the head.

(949) Formal marker *-īk* at the end of a paragraph
lasi la suho athe pu abangke pe ri
[lasì là sūhō a-thē pu abàng=ke] [[pé rī
therefore this sp.thorny.plant POSS-fruit QUOT NPDL=TOP cloth EE:pé

*kechok aphan'**ik**lo*
ke-chòk] a-phān-**īk**-lò]
NMLZ-wash.clothes POSS-PURP-**FRML**-RL
'therefore, the suho fruit is for washing clothes' [SiH, CW 007]

In the corpus of recorded texts, *-īk* does not occur in folk stories, but it does occur in procedural texts. There is one exception, where *-īk* does, however, occur in a folk story in the corpus, which is provided in (950); this intonation unit represents the last one of this recording.

(950) Formal marker *-īk* in last sentence of folk story
*lasi choboche chosonsesi akai jang**ik**raplo*
lasì choboché chosonsé-si a-kái jáng-**īk**-rāp-lò
therefore settle.down EE:choboché-NF POSS-time(<Asm) fall-**FRML**-together-RL

lasi la Hingchong musoso atomoke
lasì là Hingchòng musosō a-tomó=ke
therefore this CONSTELLATION 2.siblings.of.diff.gender POSS-story=TOP

lapu'ik'helo Rongphar asangho kethekthe anke

lapù-īk-heló	Rongphàr	a-sanghó	ke-thèk-Cē	ánke
like.this-FRML-RL:EMPH	CLAN	POSS-mister:VOC	NMLZ-know.how-NEG	and.then

*nangpekengpon**'ik**noi*
nang=pa-kèng-pōn-**īk**-nōi
1/2.NSUBJ=CAUS-be.straight-take.away-**FRML**-INFRML.COND.IMP
'thus, they settled down and lived together until the end of their lives, and then that was the story of Hingchong musoso, Mister Rongphar, I'm not an expert, so make it clear (i.e. correct it)' [CST, HM 120]

What the use of *-īk* here suggests is that the storyteller says the last sentence of the story not as part of actually telling the story, but as a statement about the story, i.e., on a meta-level.

12.4.3. Honorific *-héi ~ -hái* on Kinship Terms

The honorific suffix *-héi ~ -hái* only occurs on kinship terms. It is used both in terms of address and in terms of reference, especially for one's spouse's relatives (e.g., *phì-hái* 'grandmother-kin:HON' and *phù-hái* 'grandfather-kin:HON', or *lok-hái* 'brother.in.law-kin:HON'). According to Grüßner (1978: 73-4), *-héi ~ -hái* has lexicalized in some cases such that the root with the suffix and the root without the suffix refer to two different kin relations; this requires further study.

12.5. Interjections

Interjections are words that represent an utterance by themselves. Table 120 presents a list of interjections collected so far. In addition to the interjections listed below, there are also conventionalized interjections used to interact with animals, such as [do^{w}.do^{w}.do^{w}] for calling dogs to feed them, or [sɯʃ] to chase away chickens. Further research is required to provide a more comprehensive list.

Table 120. Interjections

Domain	Form	Gloss	Use
Replies to questions	*kalàng*	'yes'	reply to polar interrogatives, expressing (dis-)agreement[205]
	kalī	'NEG.EQU.COP'	
	'mh' [ʔmm̊ʔ]	'no'	
	ōi	'yes'	
	tò	'yes, okay, I see'	
	o	'AFF'	backchanneling
	hói		reply when called by name
Directives	*dáh*	'(let's.)go!'	typically a hortative, literally meaning 'let's go!'; but also used when directed to addressee only, as 'go!'
	díh	'leave.me!'	when speaker is held by somebody
	jó	'look.here!'	directing addressee to look at something right in front
	jáho	'look.there!'	directing addressee to look at something further away
	ho^{w}	'here.you.go!'	when handing something to addressee
Surprise, fear, shock, etc.	*bóh*	'surprise'	expressing surprise
	ái	'how.bad!'	expressing desperation, disapproval, fear
	mái	'how.bad!'	
	lahó	'EXCLAM'	'exclamation' (only used by one particular speaker, at the end of exclamatory sentences)
	ékdóm	'EXCLAM(<Asm)'	'exclamation', used by many speakers, after the constituent that is stressed or emphasized
	lahé	'really?', 'is it so?'	reaction to (sometimes only mildly) surprising information

(951) gives an example of how exclamative *ékdóm*, a borrowing from Assamese, is used in a sentence. It is typical for *ékdóm* to occur in the middle of a sentence, where it has scope over the following item.

(951) *ékdóm* 'exclamation(<Asm)'
anke lapusi ekdom nangkangthuloklo
ánke làpù=sì ékdóm nang=kangthú-lók-lò
and.then like.this=FOC EXCM(<Asm) CIS=bounce-only-RL
and then, like this we were constantly bouncing up and down [SH, CSM 019]

[205] Note that a very typical way to reply to polar interrogatives is to repeat the verb (while, as the case may be, adding negation).

Generally, interjections do not occur embedded into a clause. In (952), however, *kalī* 'no' and *kalàng* 'yes' are embedded. Here, *kali kalang kejekthek* is an idiomatic expression, 'know what to do and what not to do'.

(952) *kalī* 'no' and *kalàng* 'yes' embedded into clause

kali kalang *kejekthek ajoine, laso*

kalī	**kalàng**	ke-jék-thèk	a-joiné	lasō
NEG.EQU.COP	**yes**	NMLZ-know.do's.and.don't's-know.how	POSS-reason	this

apotsi
apōt=si
because=FOC
'because they know what to do and what not to do' [SiH, CW 019]

12.6. Hesitation and Correction Words

This section offers description and examples of how hesitation and correction words are used in Karbi.

12.6.1. Hesitation Words *kenē* and *mane* (<Assamese)

The hesitation word *kenē* (also pronounced as *ekenē*) can be used when having difficulties in retrieving or choosing a word while wanting to avoid just pausing in silence. *Kenē* may be used by itself with no further marking, in which case it simply indicates that the speaker is thinking of the next things to say. An example of this is shown in (953), where in actually a very long intonation unit that is cut down here to just the last two clauses for presentational purposes, the speaker uses the discourse connector *ánke* and apparently then is not sure how to proceed, and rests for a short moment on the hesitation word *kenē*.

(953) *kenē* 'hesitation' not adjusted grammatically

[…] hala a'ik abangke Bey Ki'ik pu apot...

[hála	a-ìk	abàng=ke	Bēy	ke-ìk	pu	apōt]
that	POSS-older.brother	NPDL=TOP	CLAN	NMLZ-be.black	QUOT	because

*anke **kene** aphi sarpi abang kipu tangho*
[ánke **kenē** a-phì sarpī abàng ke-pù tànghò]
and.then **HESIT** POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL NMLZ-say REP
'[…] the eldest brother, because he was called Bey the Black... and then, um, he grandmother, the old woman said' [WR, BCS 012]

(954) and (955) show that *kenē* may also function as a "pro-lexeme" similar to what Post (2007: 678) has described for the Galo hesitation word *məráa*. This means that *kenē* can substitute for any noun or verb. This is evidenced by the fact that in (954), *kenē* takes the the (nominal) focus clitic *=si*, and in (955), it takes the (verbal) hortative suffix *-nāng*.

(954) *kenē* 'hesitation' with focus *=si*
la'an akarleng alongsi latum motor-gari
là-án a-ke-arlèng alòng=si la-tūm motór-garí
this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.steep LOC=FOC this-PL vehicle(<Eng)-car(<Asm)

kepasang adim do lapenke haladak... kelecheng
ke-pe-sáng a-dím dō lapèn=ke háladāk [ke-lè-chéng
NMLZ-CAUS-take.rest POSS-place exist and=TOP there NMLZ-reach-for.first.time

*nelitum, **kenesi** kelang... la kosonloma... festival aground*
ne-li-tūm] **[kenē=si** ke-làng...] [là kosón-lò=ma...] [festival a-ground
1EXCL-HON-PL **HESIT=FOC** NMLZ-see this how-RL=Q festival POSS-ground

along lele ako abángke...
alòng lè-Cē akó abàng=ke...]
LOC reach-NEG before NPDL=TOP
'on a very steep slope, there is a place for them to park cars, and then, there..., the place where we reached first, I mean, we saw... how was it, before we reached the festival grounds...' [SiT, HF 026]

(955) *kenē* 'hesitation' with *-nāng* 'hortative'
*anke pinike <the> **kenenang** bong tharve*
ánke pinì=ke <thē> **kene-nāng** bōng tharvē
and.then today=TOP fruit **HESIT-HORT** younger.sibling:VOC mango

athele endamnang tharve menpiklo
a-thē=lè ēn-dām-nāng tharvē mèn-pìk-lò
POSS-fruit=FOC:IRR take-go-HORT mango be.ready.to.eat-very-RL

pusi pu tangho tharve athe endamnang
pusi pù tànghò tharvē a-thē ēn-dām-nāng
QUOT.COMP say REP mango POSS-fruit take-GO-HORT
'and then, "today, younger brother, let's, let's go and get mangos, the mangos are very ripe", (the older brother) said, "let's go and get mangos"' [KTa, TCS 041]

Karbi has borrowed the Assamese hesitation word *mane*. An example of *mane* used in Karbi is (956). Here the speaker apparently is trying to remember the word for 'hill field' while saying *mane*, then just uses a descriptive possessive construction, then says *kopunelo* 'what do you call it?', but still does not remember and leaves it at that.

(956) Hesitation marker *mane* (<Assamese)
***mane** hu inglong aritsi elitum*
mane hú inglóng a-rīt=si e-li-tūm
I.mean(<Asm) over.there hill POSS-field=FOC 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

kopunelo la inglong arit panpó
ko-pu-nē-lò là inglóng a-rīt pān-pò
WH-QUOT-INDEF-RL this hill POSS-field clear.vegetation-IRR1
'I mean... up there on the fields on the hill, what do you call it?, we clear the vegetation from the hill fields' [SiH, KH 002]

12.6.2. Correction Words *chē* and *bá* (<Assamese)

When a speaker accidentally uses a word or misconstructs an entire phrase, the normal way to correct oneself is to use *chē* and then say what was intended. In (957), the speaker accidentally says *thàk* 'answer', then realizes that was not the intended verb of saying, so she says *chē* and then corrects herself and uses the intended *pinkhát* 'advise' with the realis suffix *-lò*.

(957) Corrective marker *chē* after using *thàk* 'answer' instead of *pinkhát* 'advise'
ne nangchethondunpo pusi methan-sibongpo
[[nè nang=che-thōn-dūn-pò] pusi methān-sibóngpō
1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=RR-drop-join-IRR1 QUOT.COMP dog.sp

*thak **che** pinkhatlo*
thàk **chē** pinkhát-lò
answer **I.mean** advise-RL
' "I will drop you home", the dog answered, I mean, advised' [KK, BMS 090]

Similarly in (958), the speaker wants to say that those people of a particular clan, who are not allowed to touch a pestle due to a type of curse but do so, will violate a cultural code and therefore be punished by the common consequence of such behavior, which is being eaten by a tiger. Instead of just saying 'tiger', however, the speaker intends to use a conventional metaphor: 'the one who does not have a headstrap' (because tigers do not carry baskets on their back). The speaker makes a mistake and makes the *avē* 'not exist' the main verb instead of nominalizing it in order for it to go inside the relative clause to qualify the tiger as the one who does not have a headstrap. She says *chē*, and then corrects herself and nominalizes *avē* and adds the correct main verb *pondetji*.

(958) Corrective marker *chē* after making a mistake in constructing the sentence *bang thap ketok alengpum otdunlote*

[bàng	thàp	ke-tòk	a-lengpūm	ót-dùn-lò-tē]
CLF:HUM:PL	cake.for.rice.beer	NMLZ-pound	POSS-pestle	touch-along-RL-cond

ekene Karbi atum kipu asingnam avedetji

ekenē	[Karbì	a-tūm	ke-pù	a-singnām	[avē-dèt-jí
HESIT	PN	POSS-PL	NMLZ-say	POSS-head.strap	not.exist-PFV-IRR2

che *asingnam kave pondetji pu ekene*

chē]	a-singnām	ke-avē	pòn-dèt-jí	pu	ekenē
I.mean	POSS-head.strap	NMLZ-not.exist	take.away-PFV-IRR2	QUOT	HESIT

teke pondetji tangho

teké	pòn-dèt-jí	tànghò
tiger	take.away-PFV-IRR2	REP

if somebody touches the pestle used for pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, then what the Karbis call the one won't have a headstrap, I mean, the one that doesn't have a head strap will take him away, (i.e.) the tiger will take him away, it is said [WR, BCS 036]

Finally, another correction word that is used is *bá*, which, like *mane*, is a borrowing from Assamese. Ironically, the speaker uses the Assamese borrowing *bá* in (959) after noticing that he used an Assamese word, *gáonburá* 'village head man' instead of the native Karbi equivalent *sarthè*.

(959) Corrective *bá* (<Assamese) after unintentional use of an Assamese borrowing
aphrang ahut... inut arong agaonbura
a-phráng ahūt e-nūt a-ròng a-gáonburá
POSS-front during one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-village POSS-village.headman(<Asm)

***ba** arong asarthelo*
bá a-ròng a-sarthè-lò
I.mean(<Asm) POSS-village POSS-village.headman-RL
a long time ago, there was one village Gaonbura, I mean, one village headman [CST, RO 003]

APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS

<Asm	from Assamese
<Eng	from English
<Ind	from Indic
<Khs	from Khasi
<KhJ	from Khasi (Jaintia)
1/2/3	first/second/third person
A	'agent-like' argument of transitive clause
ADD	additive focus (=*tā*)
ADV	adverbial
AFF	affirmative
ASSUM	assumption
CAUS	causative *(pe-~pa-)*
CC	complement clause
CG	common ground (=*mati*)
CIS	cislocative *(nang=)*
CLF	classifier
COLL	collective
COMP	complementizer
COMPAR	comparative
COMPL	completive
CON	conative
COND	conditional (-*te*)
CONT	continuative (-*bōm*)
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive *(-sō)*
DISTR	distributive
DM	discourse marker
DSM	discourse section marker
DUBIT	dubitative
EE	elaborate expression
EMPH	emphatic
EQU	equational
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamative
EXH	exhaustive
FEM	female
FOC	focus
FRML	formal
GENEX	general extender
GO	grammaticalized 'go'

HESIT	hesitation word
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDIR	indirect
INFRML	informal
INTENS	intensifier
INTERACT	interactive
INTERJ	interjection
IRR	irrealis
IRR1	irrealis1 (*-pò*)
IRR2	irrealis2 (*-jí*)
ITER	iterative
ITROG	interrogative
JOIN	grammaticalized ‘join’
LOC	locative
LV	light verb
MODIF	modifier
NEG	negative
NF	non-final
NMLZ	nominalizer
NPDL	noun phrase delimiter
NSUBJ	non-subject
NUM	numeral
O	'other' argument of transitive clause
PCT	property-concept term
PFV	perfective
PRF	perfect (*-ét*)
PL	plural
POSD	possessed
POSR	possessor
POSS	possessive
PRL	parallel
PURP	purpose
Q	question particle
Q.TAG	question tag
QUOT	quotative (*pu*)
RC	relative clause
RDL	right dislocation
REP	reportative (*tànghò*)
RL	realis (*-lò*)
RR	reflexive/reciprocal
S	single argument of intransitive clause
SG	singular
SPLT	superlative

TOP	topic
TS	topic-switch
UNCOND	unconditional
VOC	vocative

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY AUDIO FILES

Supplementary audio files for this dissertation are available at:
DOI: 10.7264/N3DN43BG
URL: https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

There are three types of supplementary audio files that are available:

1) particular text examples, whose phonological/prosodic properties are discussed in this dissertation
2) the five entire texts from Appendices C through G: HK_TR; RBT_ChM; WR_BCS; SiT_PS; and, SiH_KH
3) sample phonetic files of roots that illustrate tone minimal pairs.

APPENDIX C

TEXT: HK, TR (FOLK STORY)

This is a traditional Karbi folk story about an orphan who leaves the village to look for vegetables. He is surprised by a tiger who wants to take him along so the orphan can be sacrificed the next day during a *Rongker* celebration. The orphan, however, outsmarts the tiger. He has a tobacco container with a mirror on top that he shows to the tiger as proof that the orphan has been going around catching tigers. The tiger gets scared and runs off, while the orphan returns to his village and tells everything to his friend. The two then go to the Rongker celebration of the tigers on the next day, and get to take earthen pots filled with money from the tigers.

This story was narrated by Harsing Kro, while Sikari Tisso was listening and occasionally commenting on the story or asking questions for clarification, as well as doing a lot of back-channeling with *mm*. Speech by Sikari Tisso is indicated in the text through {curly brackets}.

The audio file for the entire text HK, TR is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N32B8W8D at https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

tangte osomar atum.... ne eson atomo
tángtē osō-mār a-tūm nè e-sòn a-tomó
if child-PL POSS-PL 1EXCL one-CLF:thing POSS-story

nangthanpo dei ho {to}
nang=thán-pò déi hò {to}̀
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1 OK? EMPH:INTERACT OK
'so, (dear) children, I will tell you a story, okay? {OK.}' [HK, TR 001]

hako arni tangho {mm} enut arecho arong {mm}
hákó arnì tànghò {mm} e-nūt a-rechó a-ròng {mm}
that.time day REP AFF one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-king POSS-village AFF

jangreso.... do tangho {mm}
jàngrēsō.... dō tànghò {mm}
single.parent.child exist REP AFF
'in the old days (once upon a time), in a king's village, there was an orphan' [HK, TR 002]

jangreso... recho donsuripen jangreso
jangrēsō rechó dón-surí=pen jangrēsō
single.parent.child king CLF:family-thousand=with single.parent.child

dodunlo enut tangho {mm}
dō-dūn-lò e-nūt tànghò mm
stay-JOIN-RL one-CLF:HUM:SG REP AFF
‘the orphan... out of the thousand households of the king's kingdom, the orphan, stayed there, too, one (orphan)’ [HK, TR 003]

apei avelo apo avelo....
a-pēi avē-lò a-pō avē-lò....
POSS-mother not.exist-RL POSS-father not.exist-RL

a'ik avelo ate avelo
a-ìk avē-lò a-tè avē-lò
POSS-older.brother not.exist-RL POSS-elder.sister not.exist-RL
‘he didn't have a mother anymore, he didnt have a father anymore.... he didn't have any brothers or sisters anymore’ [HK, TR 004]

{enutvetlo?}
e-nūt-vét-lò
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL
‘{he was alone?}’ [HK, TR 005]

enutvetlo {to}
e-nūt-vét-lò tò
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL OK
‘he was alone, {OK}’ [HK, TR 006]

anke.... dukpiklo laso ajangrengsoke
ánke dúk-pìk-lò lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke
and.then be.poor(<Asm)-very-RL this POSS-orphan=TOP
‘and then... he was very poor, this orphan’ [HK, TR 007]

{dukpik} dukpik
dúk-pìk dúk-pìk
be.poor(<Asm)-very be.poor(<Asm)-very
‘{he was very poor?!} he was very poor’ [HK, TR 008]

chomove junmove {mm}
chō-movē jùn-movē mm
eat-nothing.to drink-nothing.to AFF
‘(he) had nothing to eat, nothing to drink’ [HK, TR 009]

anke halaso arni.... laso ajangrengsoke....
ankè hálasō arnì lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke....
and.then that day this POSS-orphan=TOP

apok ingchirdukke mati di {mm}
a-pōk ingchìr-dùk=ke mati dī mm
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=TOP CG Q.tag AFF
‘on that day, this orphan was suffering from hunger, wouldn't he have been?’ [HK, TR 010]

{jangreso ma jangrengsolo?}
jangrēsō ma jangrēngsō-lò
single.parent.child Q orphan-RL
‘{was it an orphan with one parent left or no parents at all?}’ [HK, TR 011]

jangrengsolo
jangrēngsō-lò
orphan-RL
‘it was an orphan with no parents left’ [HK, TR 012]

jangrengso {mm} o
jangrēngsō mm o
orphan AFF AFF
‘an orphan with no parents left? {Mm} Oh.' [HK, TR 013]

apok ingchirdukke {mm}
a-pōk ingchìr-dùk=ke mm
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=TOP AFF
‘so he was suffering from hunger, (and then...)’ [HK, TR 014]

anke inglong arloksi phurui chosot
ánke [inglóng arlòk=si] [phurùi chosòt]
and.then hill foot.of.hill=FOC:RL yam kd.vegetable

choridamlo tangho e.... choridamlo {mm}
cho-rī-dām-lò tànghò e cho-rī-dām-lò {mm}
AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL REP DSM AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL AFF
‘and then, he went here and there to search wild vegetables, he went to search for vegetables {Mm.}’ [HK, TR 015]

chingjor epak {chingjor epak}
chingjòr e-pàk chingjòr e-pàk
shovel one-CLF.flat shovel one-CLF.flat

hak isi do {mm}
hák isī dō mm
finely.plaited.bamboo.basket one exist AFF
'one shovel, ... {one shovel?!} (and) one basket he had’ [HK, TR 016]

jamborong along hako arnike luji pu he
jamboróng a-lòng hakó arnì=ke lují pu hè
bag POSS-LOC that.time day=TOP mirror QUOT you.know

{mm} dei ho
mm déi hò
AFF OK? EMPH:INTERACT
‘in the bag, in the old days, they used to keep a so-called luji, a mirror (container), you know..., right?’ [HK, TR 017]

atema ajerjer do mati ho
a-temá ajerjēr dō matí hò
POSS-tobacco.container(<Asm) small exist CG EMPH:INTERACT
‘he had a small tobacco container, OK?’ [HK, TR 018]

{thongkup} thongkup ason {mm} athakke
thongkūp thongkūp asón mm athàk=ke
tobacco.container tobacco.container like AFF on.top=TOP

aina do {mm}
ainá dō mm
mirror(<Ind) exist AFF
'the tobacco container was of such a kind that it had a mirror on top' [HK, TR 019]

luji pu hedi {luji do} luji do {mm}
lují pù hedī lují dō} lují dō mm
mirror quotative Q.tag mirror exist mirror exist AFF
'it had what we call a mirror - {it had a mirror?!} - it had a mirror' [HK, TR 020]

anke.... duma alangpong chethapponthotlo
ánke dumá a-langpóng che-thāp-pōn-thòt-lò
and.then tobacco POSS-small.bamboo.container RR-put.inside-away-into.opening-RL
'and then... he put the tobacco container deep inside (the bag) to carry it away (to search for vegetables)' [HK, TR 021]

{nopakke ponpe ma}
{nopàk=ke pòn-Cē ma
dao=TOP take.away-NEG Q
'{he wasn't carrying a dao?}' [HK, TR 022]

nopakta dolo dak {lahe} mm
nopàk-tā dō-lò dāk lahé mm
dao-ADD:also exist-RL here that.way? AFF
'he did have a dao also there. {is it like that?} Mm.' [HK, TR 023]

nopak dolo chingjor dolo {mm} hak dolo {mm}
nopàk dō-lò chingjòr dō-lò mm hák dō-lò {mm}
dao exist-RL shovel exist-RL AFF finely.woven.b.basket exist-RL AFF
'he had a dao, he had a shovel, he had a finely woven bamboo basket' [HK, TR 024]

anke hala duma kemong athongkupta
ánke hála dumá ke-mòng a-thongkūp-tā
and.then that tobacco NMLZ-smoke POSS-tobacco.container-ADD:also

dolo {mm}
dō-lò mm
exist-RL AFF
‘and then, he also had that tobacco container so he could smoke later’ [HK, TR 025]

anke laso athongkup along lujisi kapabon
ánke lasō a-thongkūp alòng lují=si ke-pa-bōn
and.then this POSS-tobacco.container LOC mirror=FOC:RL NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached

{lujisi kapabon} mm
lují=si ke-pa-bōn mm
mirror=FOC:RL NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached AFF
‘and then, on this tobacco container, there was a mirror attached’ [HK, TR 026]

anke damlo tangho {mm}
ánke dàm-lò tànghò {mm}
and.then go-RL REP AFF
'and then he went' {'Mm.'} [HK, TR 027]

damlo phurui choridamlo {mm}
dàm-lò phurùi cho-rī-dām-lò mm
go-RL yam AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL AFF
'he went, to search yam he went' {'Mm.'} [HK, TR 028]

phurui kitukbomlo {mm} tukbomlo tukbomlo tukbomlo {mm}
phurùi ke-tūk-bōm-lò mm tūk-bōm-lò tūk-bōm-lò tūk-bōm-lò mm
yam NMLZ-dig-CONT-RL AFF dig-CONT-RL dig-CONT-RL dig-CONT-RL AFF
'he was digging for yam' {'Mm.'} 'he kept digging and digging digging' {'Mm.'} [HK, TR 029]

hu arni kangsam apor abangke {mm}
hú arnì ke-ingsām a-pór abàng=ke {mm}
then.later sun NMLZ-be.cold POSS-time NPDL=TOP AFF

ejon ateke konatpenlone vanglo tangho {mm}
e-jōn a-tekè konát=pen=lo-nē vàng-lò tànghò mm
one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger where=from=FOC-INDEF come-RL REP AFF
'then, at the time when the sun was becoming cold (i.e. just before sunset)... {mm} ...one tiger appeared out of nowhere' [HK, TR 030]

bahari ateke akesarhempi {mm}
baharí a-tekè a-ke-sàr-hempī mm
very.big(<Ind) POSS-tiger POSS-NMLZ-be.old-intensifying AFF
'a very big tiger, a very big old one' [HK, TR 031]

{sarpiklo atekeke} sarpiklo {kalangma}
sàr-pìk-lò a-tekè=ke sàr-pìk-lò kalàng ma
be.old-very-RL POSS-tiger=TOP be.old-very-RL yes Q
'{he was very old, that tiger?} he was very old?! {Ah, really?!}' [HK, TR 032]

akethenei akehoineilo tangho {esh..}
a-ke-thè-néi akehoì-néi-lò tanghò esh
POSS-NMLZ-be.big-superlative powerful.person-superlative-RL REP jeez!

vanglo {mm}
vàng-lò mm
come-RL AFF
'he was the biggest and the most powerful one (so they say) {jeez!}... he came' [HK, TR 033]

anke laso ateke atumke kopilo
ánke lasō a-tekè a-tūm=ke kopí=lo
and.then this POSS-tiger POSS-PL=TOP what=FOC
'and then what about the tigers?' [HK, TR 034]

hako arnike teke <pu> atumta Rongker pu do tangho
hakó arnì=ke tekè <pu> a-tūm=tā Ròngkèr pu dō tànghò
that.time day=TOP tiger QUOT POSS-PL=also FESTIVAL QUOT exist REP
'at that time (i.e. in the old days), the tigers also (like humans/Karbis) celebrated the *Rongker*' [HK, TR 035]

{mm monitpenta chingkisai puhe}
mm monít=pen=tā che-ingkī-sài pu=he}
AFF man=with=ADD:even RR-talk-easily QUOT=AFTERTHOUGHT

mm monitpenta chingkisai ahutlo {mm}
mm monít-pèn=tā che-ingkī-sài ahūt-lò mm
AFF man-with=ADD:even RR-talk-easily during-RL AFF
'{they could talk with humans just like that?} Mm. (The story takes place) when they could talk to people just like that.' [HK, TR 036]

{ha pirthe kangduk ahut} mm
{há pirthé ke-ingdūk ahūt mm
over.there world NMLZ-immature during AFF
'{it was when the world was immature?!} Mm.' [HK, TR 037]

{lalo anke laso ateke abangke} mm
{là-lò ánke lasō a-tekè abàng=ke} mm
this-RL and.then this POSS-tiger NPDL=TOP AFF
'{that's it, and then that tiger...} Mm.' [HK, TR 038]

hala teke Rongker pu labangso abarikalo tangho la vo
[hála tekè Rongkèr pù] làbàngsō a-bariká-lò tànghò] [là vō
that tiger FESTIVAL QUOT this POSS-OFFICER-RL REP this chicken

phak kiri abanglo tangho abanglo {kerek
phàk ke-rì a-bàng-lò tànghò] a-bàng-lò {ke-rék
pig NMLZ-search POSS-CLF:HUM.PL-RL REP POSS-CLF-RL NMLZ-ask.for

abang} kerek abanglo
a-bàng ke-rék a-bàng-lò
POSS-CLF:HUM.PL NMLZ-ask.for POSS-CLF:HUM.PL -RL
'that one is the main organizer of the Teke Rongker, the one looking for sacrifice, that one - {the collector (who asks for chicken and pig from different places)?!} - he is the collector' [HK, TR 039]

{laanke long'etlo} mm
là-án=ke lóng-èt-lò} mm
this-that.much=TOP get-all:S/O-RL AFF
'{he had already collected everything?!} Mm.' [HK, TR 040]

komatne akurja aso vanlo komatne
komāt-nē a-kurjà a-osō vàn-lò komāt-nē
who-INDEF POSS-muslim POSS-child bring-RL who-INDEF

abonggali aso ponlo aphai dopiklo
a-bonggalí a-osō pòn-lò aphái dō-pìk-lò
POSS-Bengoli POSS-child take.away-RL number exist-very-RL
'he brought some young muslims, he carried some young Bengolis, he already had many of them' [HK, TR 041]

{<eh> halatumke} mm {<eh> la monitsi kenangpohe halatum
hála-tūm=ke mm là monít=si ke-náng-pò=he hála-tum
that-PL=TOP AFF this man=FOC:RL NMLZ-need-IRR1=AFTERTHOUGHT that-PL

aphanke halatum, aphanke bi vosi ketheklo}
a-phān=ke hála-tūm aphān=ke bī vō=si ke-thèk-lò}
POSS-NSUBJ=TOP that-PL NSUBJ=TOP goat chicken=FOC:RL NMLZ-see-RL
'{they will need human beings, right? They consider them goats and chickens (i.e. sacrifice)}' [HK, TR 042]

ketheklo {lapulo} mm {mm}
ke-thèk-lò lapù=lò mm mm
NMLZ-see-RL like.this-RL AFF AFF
'he considers them as such {is it like that?} Mm. {Mm.}' [HK, TR 043]

te hala mumding akhei hala
tè hála ingmūm-dīng a-khéi hála
and.then/therefore that beard-be.long POSS-community that

kopinene {kaprek kaprek}
kopí-nē~nē ke-prék ke-prék
what-INDEF~DIST.PL NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different

akhei ponbomlo akaprek
a-khéi pòn-bōm-lò a-ke-prék
POSS-community take.away-CONT-RL POSS-NMLZ-be.different

kaprek ponbomlo {mm}
ke-prék pòn-bōm-lò mm
NMLZ-be.different take.away-CONT-RL AFF
'therefore, he (the tiger) is carrying that community of long-bearded ones (i.e. muslims), and whatever other communities, he is carrying different ones' [HK, TR 044]

ingchin aumpensi bengsi {mm keponlo}
ingchìn a-úm=pen=si bèng-si mm ke-pòn-lò
iron POSS-cage=with=FOC:RL lock-NF:RL AFF NMLZ-take.away-RL

huladak ateke akangbura ahemsi
húladāk a-tekè a-kangburá a-hēm=si
there POSS-tiger POSS-village.head.man(<Asm) POSS-house=FOC

bidamlo tangho {mm}
bí-dàm-lò tànghò mm
keep-go-RL REP AFF
'he had locked them inside an iron cage, and there he had gone and put them in the house of the village head tiger' [HK, TR 045]

bidamlo te ejon nangalang
bí-dàm-lò te e-jōn náng-jí-lāng
keep-go-RL and.then/therefore one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still

{asarthe ahem} mm ejon nangalang {mm}
{a-sarthè a-hēm mm e-jōn náng-jí-lāng mm
POSS-village.headman POSS-house AFF one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still AFF
'he had gone and put them there, and then, one more is needed' [HK, TR 046]

lalo anke.... laso ateke abarika abangsi {mm}
là-lò ánke.... lasō a-tekè a-bariká abàng=si mm
this-RL and.then this POSS-tiger POSS-OFFICER NPDL=FOC:RL AFF

adengloke mati {adenglo} damlo tangho {mm}
a-déng-lò=ke mati {a-déng-lò} dàm-lò tànghò mm
POSS-responsibility-RL=TOP DM POSS-responsibility-RL go-RL REP AFF
'that's it, and then, this tiger, this *barika* one, it was his responsibility (to collect the sacrifice) {it was his responsibility?} he went' [HK, TR 047]

damlo anke.... halabangso kiridam ahut jangreso
dàm-lò ánke hála-bàng-sō ke-rì-dām ahūt jangrēsō
go-RL and.then that-CLF:hum-small NMLZ-search-go during single.parent.child

aphan chetonglok {chetonglok jangrengso}
aphān che-tòng-lòk che-tòng-lòk jangrēngsō}
NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to RR-meet-happen.to orphan
'he (the tiger) went, and then, that one while looking for more, he happened to run into the orphan' [HK, TR 048]

jangrengso aphan chetongloklo {mm}
jangrēngsō aphān che-tòng-lòk-lò mm
orphan NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to-RL AFF
'he ran into that orphan' [HK, TR 049]

jangrengso aphan chetongloklo anke
jangrēngsō aphān che-tòng-lòk-lò ánke
orphan NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to-RL and.then
'he ran into the orphan, and then' [HK, TR 050]

laso ajangrengsoke phurui kituk kituk kituk kituk...
lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke phurùi ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk
this POSS-orphan=TOP yam NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig

chelangledetlo he {mm} chelangledetlo
che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò he mm che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò
RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL DM AFF RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL
'this orphan, as he was digging and digging and digging... he didn't look around' [HK, TR 051]

anungpen damjoijoisi berdamphlutlo tangho
anùng-pèn dàm-jòi~jòi-si bér-dàm-phlùt-lò tànghò
back-from go-quietly~INTENS-NF:RL press.down-GO-miss/fail-RL REP

{mm} berdamphlut
{mm} bér-dàm-phlùt
AFF press.down-GO-miss/fail
'from behind he was very secretly approaching and tried to jump on him, but failed' [HK, TR 052]

chelangrailo hala jangrengso abangke {mm}
che-lāng-rài-lò hála jangrēngsō abàng=ke mm
RR-see-sideways-RL that orphan NPDL=TOP AFF

anung chelangrailo.... boh
anùng che-lāng-rài-lò.... boh
back RR-see-sideways-RL SURPRISE(<Asm)
'he looked around, that orphan, he turned around and looked, wow!' [HK, TR 053]

kodak ateke sarposi kevangphlutloma {mm}
kodāk a-tekè sàr-pō-si ke-vàng-phlùt-lò=ma mm
where POSS-tiger be.old-male-FOC NMLZ-come-suddenly.big.A/O-RL=Q AFF
'from where did the big old tiger appear?' [HK, TR 054]

"piloma la nepap kedo?" lapu ajatlo {mm}
pílo ma là ne-páp ke-dō lapù a-ját-lò mm
what Q this 1EXCL:POSS-fault NMLZ-exist like.this POSS-type-RL AFF
' "what my sin is (I don't know)?" like that he was thinking {Mm}' [HK, TR 055]

hala teke abang pulo tangho {mm}
hála tekè abàng pù-lò tànghò mm
that tiger NPDL say-RL REP AFF
'that tiger said...' [HK, TR 056]

"pap alam kali, jangrengs, pinike"
páp a-lám kalī jangrēngsō pinì=ke
fault POSS-matter NEG.EQU.COP orphan today=TOP
' "today, there is no matter of sin, orphan!" ' [HK, TR 057]

"kedo keda kaliloke" {eh}
ke-dō ke-dā kalī-lò=ke eh
NMLZ-exist NMLZ-EE:dō NEG.EQU.COP-RL=TOP INTERJ
' "there is no matter of existence (of a sin)" ' [HK, TR 058]

“pap kedo keda nangphanke
páp ke-dō ke-dā nang-phān=ke
fault NMLZ-exist NMLZ-EE 2-NSUBJ=TOP

nangkeponpo” {“nangponpo”}
nang=ke-pòn-pò {nang=pòn-pò}
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1
‘ “there is no sin or anything, but I'll carry you away” ’ [HK, TR 059]

“netum penaplo Rongkerji” {o}
ne-tūm penàp=lo Ròngkèr-jí o
1EXCL-PL tomorrow=FOC FESTIVAL-IRR2 INTERJ
‘ “tomorrow we will celebrate the *Rongker*” ’ [HK, TR 060]

“etum penaplo Rongkerpo!” {mm}
e-tūm penàp=lo Ròngkèr-pò mm
1PL.INCL-PL tomorrow=FOC FESTIVAL-IRR1 AFF
‘ “tomorrow we will have to/definitely will celebrate the *Rongker*” ‘ [HK, TR 061]

“laso aRongker.... netum aphai kechokche
lasō a-Rongkèr nè-tūm aphái ke-chók-Cē
this POSS-FESTIVAL 1EXCL-PL number NMLZ-be.fine-NEG

ejonnatlo” {mm}
e-jōn-nàt-lò mm
one-CLF:animal-only-RL AFF
‘ “this Rongker festival.. our number (i.e. the number of people we have) is not OK, it's just one (that is missing)” ’ [HK, TR 062]

“nangphanlo nangkeponpo” {mm}
nang-phān=lo nang=ke-pòn-pò mm
you-NSUBJ=FOC 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 AFF
‘ “I’ll have to take you” ’ [HK, TR 063]

jangrengso abangta repik tangho {mm}
jangrēngsō abàng=tā rè-pìk tànghò mm
orphan NPDL=ADD:DM be.smart-very REP AFF
‘(but) the orphan is very smart’ [HK, TR 064]

“o.... neta lasi ho kiribom ti ho” {mm}
o.... nè=tā lasì hò ke-rì-bōm tì hò mm
AFF 1EXCL=ADD:also therefore EMPH NMLZ-search-CONT EMPH EMPH:INTERACT AFF
‘ “oh, I see. I am (actually) also searching for somebody, just like you” ’ [HK, TR 065]

“huladak ingtong kebengta dolo” {mm}
húladāk ingtòng ke-bèng=tā dō-lò mm
there big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven NMLZ-lock=ADD exist-RL AFF
‘ “there in the bamboo basket, I have (a tiger)” ’ [HK, TR 066]

“non ejon nangalang neta” {mm}
nón e-jōn náng-jí-lāng nè=tā mm
now one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still 1EXCL=ADD:also AFF
‘ “I also need one more” ’ [HK, TR 067]

phurui angtong abangke hu
phurùi a-ingtòng abàng=ke hú
yam POSS-big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven NPDL=TOP over.there

bahera bikok {mm} teke
baherá bí-kòk mm tekè
away.from.here(<Asm) put-in.a.fixed.place AFF tiger

theklonglelang hala phurui kituk alongke
theklōng-Cē-làng hála phurùi ke-tūk alòng=ke
see-NEG-yet that yam NMLZ-dig LOC=TOP
‘that yam basket, over there he set it down,... the tiger hadn't seen it yet, at that place where he was digging the yam’ [HK, TR 068]

{angtan along...}
{a-ingtán alòng...}
POSS-outside LOC
‘{outside....}’ [HK, TR 069]

ingtong ardikkluilo
ingtòng ardīk-klúi-lò
big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven be.heavy-quite-RL

cheponpedetlo he {mm}
che-pōn-Cē-dèt-lò he mm
RR-take.away-NEG-PFV-RL you.know AFF
'the bamboo basket was (/had become) quite heavy, so he hadn't carried it with him' [HK, TR 070]

jamborong la {achar bikangkok} achar
jamboróng là {achár bí tekáng-kòk achár
bag this far.away put give.leave-in.a.fixed.place far.away

bikangkoklo {mm}
bí-káng-kòk-lò mm
put-leave-in.a.fixed.place-RL AFF
'the bag.. {he kept it away}, he kept it away' [HK, TR 071]

adung nopak epak do {mm}
adūng nopàk e-pàk dō mm
near dao one-CLF:flat exist AFF
'close to him he had a dao' [HK, TR 072]

anke hala jamborong alongke.... dak laso aduma
ánke hála jamboróng alòng=ke.... dāk lasō a-dumá
and.then that bag LOC=TOP here this POSS-tobacco

thongkup dolo {dolo}
thongkūp dō-lò {dō-lò}
tobacco.container exist-RL exist-RL
'and then, in this bag...., here he had this tobacco container' [HK, TR 073]

{duma mongponbom nangkokjike}
dumá mòng-pōn-bōm náng-kók-jí=ke}
tobacco smoke-in.passing-CONT need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP

mongponbom nangkokjike
mòng-pōn-bōm náng-kók-jí=ke
smoke-in.passing-CONT need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP
‘it's necessary to keep smoking (while digging yam)’ [HK, TR 074]

anke.... hala jangrengsota pulo {mm}
ánke.... hála jangrēngsō=tā pù-lò mm
and.then that orphan=ADD:DM say-RL AFF
'and then... that orphan said {Mm}’ [HK, TR 075]

“neta lason thakthak tí ho!” {mm}
nè=tā lasón thakthāk tì hò mm
1EXCL=ADD:also that.way same EMPH EMPH:INTERACT AFF
‘ “same here (in trying to find animals for sacrifice)!” ‘ [HK, TR 076]

“muthe jo nonta lakongsi duma kemong
muthē jò nón=tā làk-óng-si dumá ke-mòng
but(<Asm) see! now=ADD be.tired-too.much-NF:RL tobacco NMLZ-smoke

akhajisi.... jo.... phuruisi chotukrongsi
a-khají=si.... jò.... phurùi=si cho-túk-ròng-si]
POSS-small.food=FOC:RL see yam=FOC:RL AUTO.BEN/MAL-dig-instead-NF:RL

chophiririsi... duma mongpo”
cho-phí-rirí-si] dumá mòng-pò]
AUTO.BEN/MAL-roast-slightly-NF:RL tobacco smoke-IRR1
‘ “see, also now I am very tired and as snacks to take along with smoking I am digging yam and roasting (the yam) just enough and later I will smoke” ’ [HK, TR 077]

“anke aro kiridamlepo pulo ho....
[ánke aró ke-rì-dām-lè-pò pù-lò hò
and.then and/again(<Asm) NMLZ-search-go-again-IRR1 say-RL EMPH:INTERACT

ejonke longetlo” {mm}
e-jōn-ke lóng-ét-lò mm
one-CLF:animal-TOP get-PRF-RL AFF
' “and then again, I am going to search for one (tiger), I already told you, OK? One I already got!” ' [HK, TR 078]

“*non ejon dolang” putangho {mm}*
nón e-jōn dō-làng pù-tànghò mm
now one-CLF:animal exist-yet QUOT-REP AFF

lata laso ajangrengsota
[là=tā lasō a-jangrēngsō=tā]
this=ADD:DM this POSS-orphan=ADD:DM
' “there is still one missing”, (says) this one also, this orphan also’ [HK, TR 079]

{“nangphantong nangkenepchektong
{nàng-phān-tōng nang=ke-nèp-chèk-tōng
you-NSUBJ-instead.of 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-catch-firmly-instead.of

kemepoma?”}
ke-mē-pò=ma}
NMLZ-be.good-IRR1=Q
‘{“is it good to just catch you (i.e. instead of keeping looking around more for another one)?”}’ [HK, TR 080]

oi lasonlo <SiT laughing>
ōi lasón-lò
yes that.way-RL
‘yes, that way’ (<SiT laughing>) [HK, TR 081]

“nang vangchitlo! meta melo!”
nàng vàng-chìt-lò mē=tā mē-lò
you come-just.right-RL be.good=ADD:INT be.good-RL

pu tangho <both laughing>
pu tànghò <both laughing>
QUOT REP
‘ “you came just right, it's very good” ‘ (<both laughing>) [HK, TR 082]

{anke} anke laso ajangrengsota.... ningjedetlokemati {ningjedetlo}
{ánke} ánke lasō a-jangrēngsō=tā.... ningjé-dèt-lò=ke=matì {ningjé-dèt-lò}
and.then and.then this POSS-orphan=ADD:DM speak-PFV-RL=TOP=CG speak-PFV-RL
‘{'and then'}-'and then, this orphan had spoken this-{he already said [that]}’ [HK, TR 083]

teketa manghutailo tangho{manghutailo}
tekè=tā manghū-tài-lò tànghò {manghū-tài-lò}
tiger=ADD:DM get.surprised-for.a.moment-RL REP get.surprised-for.a.moment-RL

“kolo ante nang keneptangke....? dolo?”
kó=lo antè nàng ke-nèp-táng=ke....? dō-lò
ITROG=FOC OK.then 2 NMLZ-catch-PFV=TOP exist-RL
‘the tiger was surprised, “which one have you already caught? is it there?” ' [HK, TR 084]

{“ahokma nahokmake?”} “ahokma nahokma mane hala?”
{a-hōk=ma nahōk=ma=ke} a-hōk=ma nahōk=ma mane hála
POSS-truth=Q lie=Q=TOP POSS-truth=Q lie=Q I.mean(<Asm) that
‘{“is it true or not? (i.e. that there is a tiger in the bag)”} (yes,) “is it true or not, I mean ... ?” ‘ [HK, TR 085]

{lang nangkokjike}
{làng náng-kòk-jí=ke}
see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP
‘{(we) must see! (if there is a tiger there)}’ [HK, TR 086]

e lang nangkokjike mati {asat
e làng náng-kòk-jí=ke=mati {a-sát
INTERJ see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP=CG POSS-proof

lang nangkokjima} “nephan
làng náng-kòk-jí=ma} ne-phān
see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=Q 1EXCL-NSUBJ

nangpakolikma? {oi} nangkapachobeima?” {oi}
nang=pakolík=ma ōi nang=ke-pa-chobēi=ma ōi
1/2:NSUBJ=lie=Q yes 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-lie=Q yes
‘we must see! {we must see the proof!} “are you lying to me? are you telling me a lie?” (says the tiger)’ [HK, TR 087]

“dolo ti” pubomlo tangho lake <SiT laughing> “dolo” {mm}
dō-lò tì pù-bōm-lò tànghò là=ke dō-lò mm
exist-RL EMPH say-CONT-RL REP this=TOP exist-RL AFF
' “definitely, there’s one here!”' this one (i.e. the orphan) kept saying, (<SiTlaughing>) “it's there” ' [HK, TR 088]

“*kali nang lam ningjebomte, neke*
kalī nàng lám ningjé-bōm-te nè=ke
NEG.EQU.COP 2 word speak-CONT-if 1EXCL=TOP

nangkebengpo!” {“nangkebengpo”}
nang=ke-bèng-pò {nang=ke-bèng-pò}
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lock-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lock-IRR1
‘ “on the other hand, if you keep speaking like this, I will lock you in” {“will lock you in”} ’ [HK, TR 089]

„ante kolo nangkeneptang? Nangpaklangtha!” lason
ánte ko=lo nang=ke-nèp-tāng, nang=pe-klàng-thā lasón
OK.then ITROG=FOC CIS=NMLZ-catch-finish 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-CON.IMP that.way

ajat abanglo he {mm}
a-ját abàng-lò hè {mm}
POSS-type NPDL-RL you.know AFF
' “if so, which one have you already caught? You have to show me!”, that’s how it was’ [HK, TR 090]

alangtum akhei mene laso... (ajat
alàng-tūm a-khéi menē lasō a-ját
3-PL POSS-clan maybe this POSS-type

abanglo he) {oi}
abàng-lò hè) ōi
NPDL-RL you.know yes
‘maybe he (the tiger that was caught) is from their community (the tiger's community)’ [HK, TR 091]

lalo anke “o nang bisasse bo?“
là-lò ánke o nàng bisás-Cē bo
this-RL and.then AFF(<Asm) you believe(<Asm)-NEG ITROG.ASSUM
‘and then, “o, you don't believe it, right?” (said the orphan to the tiger)’ [HK, TR 092]

jamborong chipur serheserhesi laso aduma
jamboróng che-pùr serhéserhé-si lasō a-dumá
bag RR-open.unfold in.a.hurry-NF:RL this POSS-tobacco

thongkup ulaiphlutlo
thongkūp ulái-phlùt-lò
tobacco.container take.out(<Asm)-suddenly.big.A/O-RL
'he opened his bag and took the big tobacco container out in a hurry' [HK, TR 093]

{hala luji paklanglo} luji dokokloke {e} ladak
hála lují pa-klàng-lò lují dō-kòk-lò=ke e ladāk
that mirror CAUS-appear-RL mirror exist-firmly-RL=TOP INTERJ here
'{he showed him that mirror?} that mirror has been there... here' [HK, TR 094]

luji do athak "jo, chelangtha!" {mm}
lují dō athàk jo che-lāng-thā mm
mirror exist on.top see RR-see-CON.IMP AFF
'the mirror is on it, "see, look yourself!" ' [HK, TR 095]

"daklo ne kebeng adim {mm} nang
dāk=lo nè ke-bèng a-dím mm nàng
here=FOC 1EXCL NMLZ-lock POSS-place AFF you

ansose dakke" pu
án-sosē dāk=ke pu
that.much-more here=TOP QUOT
' "here is the place where I locked him, this one (tiger) here is more (i.e. bigger, stronger) than you" ' [HK, TR 096]

halake pu langlo jo teke abangke
hála=ke pú làng-lò jò tekè abàng=ke
that=TOP this.side see-RL see! tiger NPDL=TOP

ardiklo {mm} aharchi chethekloklo
ardīk-lò mm a-harchī che-thēk-lòk-lò
peep-RL AFF POSS-image RR-see-happen.to-RL

{chethekloklo}
{che-thēk-lòk-lò}
RR-see-happen.to-RL
'that one (the tiger) looked this side, see, that tiger peeped, and got to see his image' [HK, TR 097]

“*opeija nephanta halasi nangsarlang!”* <both laughing>
opeija ne-phān=tā hála=si nang=sàr-làng
my.goodness! 1EXCL-NSUBJ=ADD:even that=FOC:RL 1/2:NSUBJ=be.old-still
‘ “my goodness! this one is still older than me!” ’ (*both laughing*) [HK, TR 098]

“cheplangple!” <both laughing>
che-pláng-Cē
RR-become-NEG
' “any effort will be useless!” ' (says the tiger) (*both laughing*) [HK, TR 099]

ingplongphitlo {ingplongphitlo}
ingplòng-phìt-lò ingplòng-phìt-lò
run.away.animal-right.away-RL run.away.animal-right.away-RL

ingplongphitlo lake {mm}
ingplòng-phìt-lò là=ke mm
run.away.animal-right.away-RL this=TOP AFF
‘he ran away-{he ran away}-he ran away, this one {Mm.}’ [HK, TR 100]

la chetheklókpen {mm} aharchi chethekloklo mati {mm}
là che-thēk-lòk=pen mm a-harchī che-thēk-lòk-lò=mati {mm}
this RR-see-right.then=from AFF POSS-image RR-see-right.then-RL=CG AFF

ingplongphitlo {mm}
ingplòng-phìt-lò mm
run.away.animal-right.away-RL AFF
‘as he was looking, he of course saw the image and he ran away’ [HK, TR 101]

ingplongphitlo anke hanglo tangho
ingplòng-phìt-lò ánke háng-lò tànghò
run.away.animal-right.away-RL and.then call-RL REP

{hanglang} la jangrengsoke {o}
háng-làng là jangrēngsō=ke {ó}
call-yet this orphan=TOP EXCM
‘he ran away and, and then, he shouted, the orphan did’ [HK, TR 102]

“*komantupo aRongkerjike?” {mm}*
komantú-pò a-Ròngkèr-jí=ke mm
when-IRR1 POSS-FESTIVAL-IRR2=TOP AFF
‘ “when will it be, the *Rongker*?” ‘ [HK, TR 103]

“penap ne vangalang!” pu tangho (both laughing) *“vangalang”*
penàp nè vàng-jí-lāng pu tànghò <both laughing> vàng-jí-lāng
tomorrow 1EXCL come-IRR2-still QUOT REP come-IRR2-still
‘ “tomorrow I will come!” (*both laughing*), “I will come” ‘ [HK, TR 104]

{“nang kedo adim ne nangchinike!“}
{nàng ke-dō a-dím nè nang=chiní=ke}
you NMLZ-stay POSS-place 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=know=TOP

nangchinike {mm}
nang=chiní=ke mm
1/2:NSUBJ=know=TOP AFF
‘{“I know the place where you stay!”}’ [HK, TR 105]

“penap vangalang netum abang paderchotpo” {mm}
penàp vàng-jí-lāng ne-tūm abàng pa-dér-chòt-pò mm
tomorrow come-IRR2-still 1EXCL-PL NPDL CAUS-be.late-a.bit-IRR1 AFF
' “tomorrow we are coming, but we will be a little bit late” ' [HK, TR 106]

“penap Rongker alongsi vangpo {mm}
penàp Ròngkèr alòng=si vàng-pò mm
tomorrow FESTIVAL LOC=FOC:RL come-IRR1 AFF

hadakpenlo neta kapadorji
hádak=pen=lo nè=tā ke-pa-dòr-jí
there=from=FOC 1EXCL=ADD:also NMLZ-CAUS-be.enough-IRR2

ejonbak {mm} jonnibakke”
e-jōn-bāk mm jōn-ní-bāk=ke
one-CLF:animal-about AFF CLF:animal-two-about=TOP
‘ “tomorrow we will come to the place of the rongker, from there I will also make it enough, about one or two (more are needed)” ‘ [HK, TR 107]

{“nangkokjike”}
náng-kòk-jí=ke
need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP

“nangkokjike” pulo tangho {mm} (both laughing)
náng-kòk-jí=ke pù-lò tànghò {mm} <both laughing>
need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP say-RL REP AFF
'{[we] need [them]} “we need them” (*both laughing*)' [HK, TR 108]

te hala atarikke hot'etlo {mm}
te hála a-taríkke hót-ét-lò mm
and.then/therefore that POSS-date=TOP fix-PRF-RL AFF

la teke atumke {oi}
là tekè a-tūm=ke ōi
this tiger POSS-PL=TOP yes
‘then, they had fixed that date (of the *Rongker*), the tigers’ [HK, TR 109]

mane halaso arni abang.... teke Rongker
mane hálasō arnì abàng.... tekè Ròngkèr
I.mean(<Asm) that day NPDL tiger FESTIVAL

pulotangte rup atangka {mm} tangka atibuk
pùlotángtē rúp a-tángká mm tángká a-tíbùk
if silver POSS-money AFF money POSS-earthen.pot

do tangho {o} mm
dō tànghò o mm
exist REP SURPRISE AFF
‘uhm.. that day, if (i.e. because) it's a Teke Rongker, there are silver coins, there are earthen pots full of money‘ [HK, TR 110]

tangka atibuksi ronji la arnam aphan
tángká a-tíbùk=si ròn-jí là arnàm aphān
money POSS-earthen.pot=FOC:RL distribute-IRR2 this god NSUBJ

latum a'arnam aphan {avan along} avan
là-tūm a-arnàm aphān {a-ván alòng} a-ván
this-PL POSS-god NSUBJ POSS-share LOC POSS-share

along tangka atibuk nunrenpo lasi
alòng tángká a-tíbùk nún-rèn-pò lasì
LOC money POSS-earthen.pot place.container-in.a.row-IRR1 therefore
'they (i.e. the tigers) distribute/offer the money pots for the god, for all the gods, {on their plates (of offerings)}, and they will put the earthen pots in one long row' [HK, TR 111]

hala kopinene adum pinene
hála kopí-nē~nē a-dùm pí-nē~nē
that what-INDEF~DIST.PL POSS-plains.fishermen.community what-INDEF~DIST.PL

amumding atum aphan{mm} daksi arklipo
a-ingmūm-dīng a-tūm aphān mm dāk=si arklì-pò
POSS-beard-be.long POSS-PL NSUBJ AFF here=FOC:RL bewail-IRR1
'here, they will sacrifice those different people from the fishermen community that live in the plain, and those long-bearded ones' [HK, TR 112]

{la monit akaprek kaprek
là monít a-ke-prék ke-prék
this man POSS-NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different

akhei inutnut} mm mm {oi}
a-khēi e-nūt~nūt} mm mm {ōi}
POSS-community one-CLF.HUM.SG~DIST.PL AFF AFF yes
'{these people from all the different communities?!}' [HK, TR 113]

lasonlo tangho {mm} latum keklemke {mm}
lasón-lò tànghò mm la-tūm ke-klém=ke mm
that.way-RL REP AFF this-PL NMLZ-do=TOP AFF
'this way it is, (this way) they do it' [HK, TR 114]

anke.... halake hangdunbomlo {mm} "penap
ankè hála=ke háng-dùn-bōm-lò mm penàp
and.then that=TOP call-JOIN-CONT-RL AFF tomorrow

vangji penapthuke vangji vangvekji"
vàng-jí penàp-thū=ke vàng-jí vàng-vék-jí
come-IRR2 tomorrow-again=TOP come-IRR2 come-definitely-IRR2

pu tangho {mm} "vangvekji" o
pu tànghò mm vàng-vék-jí ó
QUOT REP AFF come-definitely-IRR2 DSM
'and then, he keeps shouting, "tomorrow I will come, when it's a new day again tomorrow, I will come, definitely I will come" he said, "definitely I will come" ' [HK, TR 115]

{anke inghonghelo bo} ah {kekatchon
{ánke inghòng-Cē-lò bo {ke-kàt-chón
and.then wait-NEG-RL RQ NMLZ-run.hum-very.quickly

pulo bo} kekatchonlo
pù-lò bo} ke-kàt-chón-lò
like.this-RL RQ NMLZ-run.hum-very.quickly-RL
'{and so, he is not waiting, huh? is he running away} he is running away' [HK, TR 116]

{armeta jarherjima} mm jarherlo <SiT laughing>
armē=tā jàr-hèr-jí=ma} mm jàr-hèr-lò
tail=ADD:also be.standing.up-high.up-IRR2=Q AFF be.standing.up-high.up-RL
'{and his tail might have been standing up?}-his tail was standing up' (<SiT laughing>) [HK, TR 117]

*votlo lake (*both laughing*)*
-vòt-lò là=ke
-IDEOPHONE-RL this=TOP
'quickly (he ran away) (*both laughing*)' [HK, TR 118]

anke {mm} jangrengsota kejokloke
ánke mm jangrēngsō=tā ke-jòk-lò=ke
and.then AFF orphan=ADD:DM NMLZ-get.untied-RL=TOP

mati {kejoklo} kejoklo
matì ke-jòk-lò ke-jòk-lò
DM NMLZ-get.untied-RL NMLZ-get.untied-RL
'and then, the orphan got away (lit. got untied, thought he was trapped, but managed to get out of the siutation)' [HK, TR 119]

hem nanglengphitlo lata
hēm nang=lèng-phìt-lò là=tā
house CIS=go.long.distance-right.away-RL this=ADD:DM

{nanglengphitlo} hem nanglengphit
nang=lèng-phìt-lò hēm nang=lèng-phìt
CIS=go.straight-right.away-RL house CIS=go.like.voice.or.bullet-right.away
'he (i.e. the orphan) went straight home' [HK, TR 120]

{ahokpetpenke phereduk <...>}
{a-hōk-pèt=pen=ke pheré-dùk-pò
POSS-truth-all=with=TOP fear-INTENS-IRR1
'{actually, he was quite afraid (the orphan), I assume?}' [HK, TR 121]

mm phereduklo {mm} kapherepen ajatpen he
mm pheré-dùk-lò mm ke-pheré-pèn aját-pèn he
AFF fear-quite-RL AFF NMLZ-fear-NF:with GENEX-with EMPH

hem {oi} nanglengphitlo {oi} vanglo {oi}
hēm {ōi} nang=lèng-phìt-lò {ōi} vàng-lò {ōi}
house yes CIS=go.long.distance-right.away-RL yes come-RL yes
'yeah he was quite afraid, he was afraid and tired and everything and went straight home, came there' [HK, TR 122]

vanglo aro hala ningjeduntangdetlomati {mm}
vàng-lò aró hála ningjé-dùn-táng-dèt-lò=matì mm
come-RL and/again(<Asm) that speak-JOIN-PFV-PFV-RL=DM AFF

<esonbak... alam ma> "esonbak
e-sòn-bāk a-lám ma e-sòn-bāk
one-CLF:thing-about POSS-matter Q one-CLF:thing-about

pachobeidununpo... la {mm} nephansi
pa-chobēi-dūn-ùn-pò... là {mm} ne-phān=si
CAUS-lie-JOIN-be.able-IRR1 this AFF 1EXCL-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

nangkepheresi kekatlo apot"
nang=ke-pheré-si ke-kàt-lò apōt
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-fear-NF:RL NMLZ-run.away.hum-RL because
'he came, and then, he already told the tiger (that he will come, so preparations on behalf of the orphan are necessary), "one thing... that is/I mean, I will be able to tell any lie, because he feared me and ran away" ' [HK, TR 123]

{esonbak klemdunpo} "esonbak klemdunlo tangte....
e-sòn-bāk klém-dùn-pò e-sòn-bāk klém-dùn-lò tángtē....
one-CLF:thing-about do-JOIN-IRR1 one-CLF:thing-about do-JOIN-RL if

latum esonbak ne longdunpo" {longpo}
là-tūm e-sòn-bāk nè lóng-dùn-pò lóng-pò
this-PL one-CLF:thing-about 1EXCL get-JOIN-IRR1 get-IRR1
'{he will do anything}, "if I do any thing there, I will get something" ' [HK, TR 124]

ha anongve hem leroklo {mm}
há a-nongvē hēm lè-ròk-lò mm
over.there POSS-evening house reach-COMPL-RL AFF
'at night, he reached home' [HK, TR 125]

ajirpo chehanglo tangho {mm}
a-jirpò che-háng-lò tànghò mm
POSS-friend RR-call-RL REP AFF
'he called his friend' [HK, TR 126]

"o jirpo…" {mm} "pilo ko ho?" {mm} "dak
o jīrpō mm pí=lo ko hò mm dāk
VOC friend AFF what=FOC buddy:VOC EMPH:INTERACT AFF here

vangtha ko" {mm}
vàng-thā ko mm
come-CON.IMP buddy:VOC AFF
' "o friend!", "what's up?", "come here!" '[HK, TR 127]

halata kidukthektik amonitlo
hála=tā ke-dúk-thektík a-monít-lò
that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL

{kidukthektik}
ke-dúk-thektík
NMLZ-be.poor-as.V.as.it.can.be
'that one also is an unimaginably poor man' [HK, TR 128]

“dak vangtha, ko jirpo!” {mm}
dāk vàng-thā ko jīrpō mm
here come-CON.IMP buddy:VOC friend AFF
‘ “come here, my friend!” ’ [HK, TR 129]

“pine akam doma jirpo ho?” {mm}
pí-nē a-kám dō=ma jīrpō hò mm
what-INDEF POSS-work exist=Q friend EMPH:INTERACT AFF
‘ “is there any work, friend?” “’ [HK, TR 130]

“ave akamke, seta vangtha he”.... damlo {mm}
avē a-kám=ke setā vàng-thā he.... dàm-lò mm
not.exist POSS-work=TOP but come-CON.IMP EMPH go-RL AFF
‘ “there is no work, but come here” ... and he went’ [HK, TR 131]

“ba ko jirpo {mm} pinike ne
ba ko jīrpō mm pinì=ke nè
SURPRISE(<Asm) buddy:VOC friend AFF today=TOP 1EXCL

eson akhobor mesen arjulong” {mm}
e-sòn a-khobór mē-sén arjū-lōng {mm}
one-CLF:thing POSS-news(<Ind) be.good-INTENS listen-GET AFF
‘ “hey my friend...today I got to hear good news” ' [HK, TR 132]

{mesen abirta pulohe} mm
{mē-sén a-birtá pù-lò=he} mm
be.good-INTENS POSS-news say-RL=you.know AFF
‘{he said good news?!} Mm’ [HK, TR 133]

“pi apot abirtalo ko jirpo ho?”
pí apōt a-birtá=lo ko jīrpō ho
what because POSS-news=FOC buddy:VOC friend EMPH:INTERACT
‘ “what are the news about, my friend?” ' [HK, TR 134]

“abirtake, ko, penaplo teke
a-birtá=ke ko penàp=lo tekè
POSS-news(<Khs)=TOP buddy:VOC tomorrow=FOC tiger

<rong> teke atum <a> rongkerji" {teke rongkerji} mm
<rong> tekè a-tūm ròngkèr-jí tekè ròngkèr-jí mm
village tiger POSS-PL FESTIVAL-IRR2 tiger FESTIVAL-IRR2 AFF
‘ “the news is that, my friend, tomorrow the tigers will have a *Rongker*” ‘ [HK, TR 135]

“tangka atibuk longdunvekpo, ili”
tángká a-tibùk lóng-dùn-vék-pò ì-lì
money POSS-earthen.pot get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON
‘ “together we will surely get the earthen pots with money” ‘ [HK, TR 136]

{“akejoisi longdunlokpo eli”}
a-ke-jòi=si lóng-dùn-lòk-pò è-lì}
POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC:RL get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON

“akejoilo ili longdunpo”
a-ke-jòi=lo ì-li lóng-dùn-pò
POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC 1PL:INCL-HON get-JOIN-IRR1
‘{“we will get it without any effort”}-“we will get it without any effort” ‘ [HK, TR 137]

{“chepaduk chepalak nangnelo”}
che-pa-dúk che-pa-làk náng-Cē-lò
RR-CAUS-suffer RR-CAUS-be.tired need-NEG-RL

“chepaduk chepalaknang dunnang!” {mm}
che-pa-dúk che-pa-làk-nāng dùn-nāng mm
RR-CAUS-suffer RR-CAUS-be.tired-HORT join-HORT AFF
‘{“no need to go through hardship or get tired (we'll just get it free)”}-“let’s make the effort to go there!” ’ [HK, TR 138]

“tangka atibuk eli longpo
tángká a-tibùk è-lì lóng-pò
money POSS-earthen.pot 1PL:INCL-HON get-IRR1

la'an akiduk apot” {mm}... o
là-án a-ke-dúk apōt mm ó
this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.poor because AFF EXCLAM
‘ “we will get the money, as we are so poor... oh!” ’ [HK, TR 139]

“te mo pinepinanedetjima,
te mò pí-nē~pinā-Cē-dèt-jí=ma
and.then/therefore future what-INDEF~EE-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q

ko jirpo?” pu {mm}
ko jīrpō pu mm
buddy:VOC friend QUOT AFF
‘”and there won't be anything (any difficulties, problems, dangers), my friend?”" [HK, TR 140]

“jatta manme jirpo; ne pudun'etlo”
[ját=tā mán-Cē jīrpō] nè pù-dūn-ét-lò
type=ADD:EXH become/happen-NEG friend 1EXCL say-JOIN-PRF-RL

{pudun'etlo}
pù-dūn-ét-lò
say-JOIN-PRF-RL
‘ “nothing will happen, friend, I've already done the talking (I've made the necessary preparations, taken the necessary precautions)” ‘ [HK, TR 141]

“to tangte!” {mm} ajirpo abangke dunlo, “adapprang
tò tángtē {mm} a-jirpò abàng=ke dùn-lò a-dappráng
OK if AFF POSS-friend NPDL=TOP join-RL POSS-dawn

damdappiknangji dei!” {“damdap'onangji dei”} mm
dàm-dàp-pìk-náng-jí déi dàm-dàp-ò-náng-jí déi mm
go-early-very-need-IRR2 right? go-morning-much-must-IRR2 right? AFF

“damdappiknangji bang vangve ako eli
dàm-dàp-pìk-náng-jí bàng vàng-Cē akò è-lì
go-early-very-need-IRR2 somebody come-NEG before 1PL:INCL-HON

damnangji” {mm}
dàm-náng-jí mm
go-must-IRR2 AFF
‘ “Okay, then!”, that friend followed him, “in the very early morning we need to go” {“need to go very early”} “we need to go very early, we need to go before anybody gets there” ‘ [HK, TR 142]

“damdapprangnangji” {mm} mm to
dàm-dàppràng-náng-jí mm mm tò
go-early-must-IRR2 AFF AFF OK
‘ “in the early morning we need to go” ’ [HK, TR 143]

{thurdappik tangho} hala ajirpo abangta
thùr-dàp-pìk tànghò} hála a-jirpò abàng=tā
get.up-morning-very REP that POSS-friend NPDL=ADD:also

halata kidukdetke mati {kalang}
hála=tā ke-dúk-dèt=ke=mati kalàng
that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor(<Asm)-PFV=TOP=CG yes
‘he got up very early in the morning (because) that friend is also very poor (so he doesn't want to miss out on the opportunity to get rich)’ [HK, TR 144]

jangrengso alamsi arjulo {mm} tangka atibuk
[[jangrēngsō a-lám=si arjū-lò] mm [tángká a-tibùk
orphan POSS-language=FOC:RL listen-RL AFF money POSS-earthen.pot

longpo pu abangthuke halata aning
lóng-pò pu a-bàng-thū=ke hála=tā a-nīng
get-IRR1 QUOT POSS-CLF:hum-definitely=TOP that=ADD:DM POSS-mind

<isike> arongke dolo mati {akejoisi
<isī=ke> aróng=ke dō-lò=matì]] a-ke-jòi=si
one=TOP be.happy=TOP exist-RL=CG POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC:RL

kelongdunjike mati} aning arong dokoklo
ke-lóng-dùn-jí=ke matì} a-nīng aróng dō-kòk-lò
NMLZ-get-JOIN-IRR2=TOP DM POSS-mind be.happy stay.back-RL
‘he (the friend) hears/agrees with/obeys the words of the orphan; because he will definitely get earthen pots of money, he is happy {they will get it for free} he si definitely happy’ [HK, TR 145]

anke damlo adapprang halatum damlo tangho, jirpopo {mm}
ánke dàm-lò a-dappráng hála-tūm dàm-lò tànghò jīrpō~pō mm
and.then go-RL POSS-dawn that-PL go-RL REP friend~DUAL AFF
‘and then, they went, early in the morning they went, the two friends’ [HK, TR 146]

<laso> aningkanvang <along> Rongker <adim> apirda {mm}
<lasō> a-ningkàn-váng <alòng> Ròngkèr <a-dím> a-pirdá mm
this POSS-year-every LOC FESTIVAL POSS-place POSS-place.of.worship AFF

kithirthipke mati{mm}
ke-thír-thìp=ke=matì mm
NMLZ-be.firmly.fixed/unvariable(<Asm)-firmly=TOP=CG AFF

erong athengpi do {mm}
e-rōng a-thengpī dō mm
one-CLF:plant POSS-tree/wood exist AFF
'there is one tree in the place where the Rongker always takes place every year' [HK, TR 147]

athengpi khaipik ingtuipik {ingtuipik mm}
a-thengpī khái-pìk ingtùi-pìk ingtùi-pìk mm
POSS-tree/wood grow-very be.high-very be.high-very AFF
'the tree has a lot of leaves / is very green and is very high' [HK, TR 148]

{aro dolo} aro dolo arim dolo {mm}
{a-rō dō-lò} a-rō dō-lò a-rìm dō-lò mm
POSS-branch exist-RL POSS-branch exist-RL POSS-EE:rō exist-RL AFF

paka angplum khaipiklo {angplum khaipiklo}
paka a-ingplùm khái-pìk-lò a-ingplùm khái-pìk-lò
very.good(<Ind) POSS-sprouts grow-very-RL POSS-sprouts grow-very-RL
'{it has branches}-it has branches, and it is sprouting very nicely' [HK, TR 149]

halatum teke <rongkerke> rongkerji atum abangke
hála-tūm tekè ròngkèr=ke ròngkèr-jí a-tūm abàng=ke
that-PL tiger FESTIVAL=TOP FESTIVAL-IRR2 POSS-PL NPDL=TOP

vangvelang {mm}
vàng-Cē-làng mm
come-NEG-yet AFF
'those, the ones performing the *teke rongker* have not yet come' [HK, TR 150]

latumke le'etlo {le'etlo}
là-tūm=ke lè-ét-lò {lè-ét-lò}
this-PL=TOP reach-PRF-RL reach-PRF-RL
‘these (i.e., the orphan and his friend) have already reached’ [HK, TR 151]

ha thengpi angsongsi dolo banghinita {mm}
há thengpī angsóng=sì dō-lò bàng-hiní=tā mm
over.there tree/wood high.up=FOC:RL exist-RL CLF-two=ADD:EXH AFF
‘high up there in the tree they are there, both of them’ [HK, TR 152]

anke laso <la> kepholok abarika abangke ningjelemdetlo
[ánke lasō ke-phō-lòk a-bariká abàng=ke ningjé-lemdet-lò
and.then this NMLZ-reach-happen.to POSS-OFFICER NPDL=TOP speak-repeatedly-RL

tangho, “paprapnang ti komarli ho!” {mm}
tànghò] [pe-pràp-nāng tì ko-mar-lí hò] mm
REP CAUS-be.quick-HORT EMPH buddy:VOC-HUM:PL-HON EMPH:INTERACT AFF
‘and then, that tiger that had encountered (the orphan), that is the *barika*, he kept saying, “let's make it quick, friends!”" [HK, TR 153]

“pisi kithurvangvedetma?” {mm}
pīsi ke-thùr-vàng-Cē-dèt=ma mm
why NMLZ-get.up-PL-NEG-PFV=Q AFF
‘ “why didn't you get up?” ’ [HK, TR 154]

“paprapnang ho” {mm}
pe-pràp-nàng hò mm
CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON EMPH:INTERACT AFF
‘ “let's try to be quick (with our Rongker)” ‘ [HK, TR 155]

“mo ajatjat api vanglote {mm} eli
mò a-ját~ját a-pī vàng-lò-tē mm è-lì
future POSS-type~DIST.PL POSS-animal come-RL-if AFF 1PL:INCL-HON

siksakpo”
siksāk-pò
be.difficult-IRR1
‘ “afterwards if any living being (i.e. the orphan and his friend) comes, it will be difficult for us” ’ [HK, TR 156]

“paprap nangji ho paprap nangji ho”
pe-pràp náng-jí hò pe-pràp náng-jí hò
CAUS-be.quick need-IRR2 EMPH:INTERACT CAUS-be.quick need-IRR2 EMPH:INTERACT

{o}
o
INTERJ
‘ “we have to make it quick, we have to make it quick” ‘ [HK, TR 157]

“hala arni kaprekpen kepheretanglomati” {mm}
hála arnì ke-prék=pen ke-pherè-táng-lò=mati mm
that day NMLZ-be.different=from NMLZ-fear-finish-RL=CG AFF
‘ “the other day, I already got very scared” ‘ [HK, TR 158]

“ ‘vangji netumta’ pusi <kip> kipudun tangdetlomati”
vàng-jí ne-tūm=tā pusi ke-pù-dūn táng-dèt-lò=mati
come-IRR2 1EXCL:POSS-PL=ADD:also QUOT.COMP NMLZ-say-JOIN finish-PFV-RL=CG

{nangledunrokte kopulo} o
{nang=lè-dūn-ròk-tē kopùlo} o
CIS=reach-along-completed-COND what.will.happen? AFF
‘ “ ‘we also will come’ he already said” {if they reach, what will happen?} yes’ [HK, TR 159]

anke.... paprapta paprap'olo
ánke.... pe-pràp=tā pe-pràp-ò-lò
and.then CAUS-be.quick=ADD:INT CAUS-be.quick-much-RL

dum pinene apotta
dùm pí-nē~nē a-pōt=tā
plains.fishermen.community what-INDEF~DIST.PL POSS-thing=ADD:EXH

<pi> a'um akhangrata tangka
<pí> a-úm a-khangrá=tā tángká
what POSS-cage POSS-basket.to.carry.firewood=ADD:also money

atibuk vanlo ajatlo
a-tibùk vàn-lò aját-lò
POSS-earthen.pot bring-RL GENEX-RL
'and then, they did everything very quickly, they brought the cage with the fisherman community and the others, and the baskets (with other items needed for the ceremony), and the earthen pots with money' [HK, TR 160]

hala tangka atibuk theklonglo, anke hala ajirpota
hála tángká a-tibùk thèklōng-lò ánke hála a-jirpò=tā
that money POSS-earthen.pot see-RL and.then that POSS-friend=ADD:DM

aning arong'olo tangho (whispering:) *"ei ko jirpo…"*
a-nīng aróng-ò-lò tànghò *whispering* ei ko jīrpō
POSS-mind be.happy-much-RL REP INTERJ buddy:VOC friend
'he saw those earthen pots with money, and then that friend also became very happy, *whispering*: "hey buddy…" ' [HK, TR 161]

{latum natlo kedo ante}
{là-tūm nát=lo ke-dō ánte}
this-PL where=FOC NMLZ-exist then
'{so where are they?}' [HK, TR 162]

thengpi angsongsi dolo
thengpī angsóng=si dō-lò
tree/wood high.up=FOC:RL exist-RL
'they are high up in the tree' [HK, TR 163]

{thengpi angsong arlu'etlo} arlu'etlo tangho
thengpī angsóng arlū-ét-lò} arlū-ét-lò tànghò
tree/wood high.up climb-PRF-RL climb-PRF-RL REP
'{they had climbed up high in the tree?} they had climbed up there' [HK, TR 164]

{latum vangve ako} vangve ako {mm}
{là-tūm vàng-Cē akò vàng-Cē akò {mm}
this-PL come-NEG before come-NEG before AFF
‘{before they (i.e., the tigers) came?!} - before they came’ [HK, TR 165]

chepatukliplo angsong {chepatukliplo}
che-patú-klìp-lò angsóng che-patú-klìp-lò
RR-hide-quietly-RL high.up RR-hide-quietly-RL
‘quietly they were hiding up there’ [HK, TR 166]

hala ejon ateketa vangpo laso angchin
[hála e-jōn a-tekè=tā] vàng-pò [lasō a-ingchìn
that one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger=ADD:also come-IRR1 this POSS-iron

a'umsi nanging'omnaipo anke nangbikok...
a-úm=si] nang=ing'òm-nài-pò ánke nang=bí-kòk
POSS-cage=FOC:RL CIS=cheek-big.solid:O-IRR1 and.then CIS=keep-firmly
‘this one tiger will also come, this iron cage he will keep in his mouth and he will put it in one particular place’ [HK, TR 167]

pi apotma sipute bongali a'oso penak {mm}
pí a-pōt=ma si-pu-tē bongalí a-osō penāk mm
what POSS-thing=Q therefore-QUOT-COND Bengali POSS-child actually AFF
‘what it actually is, is a Bengali boy’ [HK, TR 168]

hula ejon ateketa vangpo,
[hú-la e-jōn a-tekè=tā] vàng-pò
over.there-this one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger=ADD:also come-IRR1

nanging'omnaipo, mumding aso nangbikok
nang=ing'òm-nài-pò ingmūm-dīng a-osō nang=bí-kòk
CIS=keep.in.mouth-big.solid:O-IRR1 beard-be.long POSS-child CIS=keep-firmly
‘that one tiger will come and will keep in his mouth (the iron cage), and will put the young muslim there’ [HK, TR 169]

{ha Chomang penak Keche penak dopiklo} pine
{há chománg penāk Kechè penāk dō-pìk-lò} pí-nē
over.there Khasi actually EE:Chománg actually exist-very-RL what-INDEF

dopiklo; ajirpo tangte kaphere'ongsi pu'amatsi
dō-pìk-lò a-jirpò tángtē ke-pheré-óng-sì pu=amāt=si
exist-very-RL POSS-friend TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much-NF:RL QUOT=afterwards=FOC:RL

klemtotlo {oi}
klém-tòt-lò {ōi}
tremble-RL yes
‘{actually, there are many Khasis and plains people}- (yes,) there are ones from so many different tribes; but the friend was very scared so he was trembling’ [HK, TR 170]

{“nangtheklókte kopulo? achimi dokok”}
{nang=thèk-lòk-tē kopùlo a-chimī dō-kòk}
1/2:NSUBJ=see-happen.to-COND what.will.happen? POSS-claw exist-firmly
‘{“if they happen to see us, what will happen?, they surely have claws”}’ [HK, TR 171]

anke ejon nangtetphlut <a> nangthemuchot
ánke e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchòt
and.then one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR
‘and then, one (tiger) came out (of the jungle or some area in the Rongker ground) and he was bigger (than expected and than the previous one)’ [HK, TR 172]

hala ejon nangtetphlut nangthemuchot {mm}
hála e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchot mm
that one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR AFF
‘(another) one came out and it was much bigger (than the previous one)’ [HK, TR 173]

“bai kopuloma?“ {mm}
bái kopùlo=ma mm
how.mean! what.will.happen?=Q AFF
‘ “oh no, what will happen?” ’ [HK, TR 174]

halake kaphere'ong pu'amatlo {mm}
hála=ke ke-pheré-óng pu=amāt=lo mm
that=TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much QUOT=and.then=FOC AFF

tangka atibukta vanlo {mm}
tángká a-tibùk=tā vàn-lò mm
money POSS-earthen.pot=ADD:DM bring-RL AFF
'and that one (friend) is very scared; and they are also bringing the earthen pots with money' [HK, TR 175]

tangka atibuk nangnunrenlo
tángká a-tibùk nang=nún-rèn-lò
money POSS-earthen.pot CIS=put.container-in.a.row-RL
'they brought the earthen pots with money and put them in a row' [HK, TR 176]

{the'o'otangma, atibukta?} mm
thè-ò~ò-tàng=ma a-tibùk=tā} mm
be.big-much~DIST.PL-REP=Q POSS-earthen.pot=ADD:DM AFF
'{are the earthen pots big?}' [HK, TR 177]

tangka atibuk thepikpik tangho {mm}
tángká a-tibùk thè-pìk~pìk tànghò mm
money POSS-earthen.pot be.big-very~DIST.PL REP AFF
'the earthen pots are very big' [HK, TR 178]

ladak avantin puke laso atangka atibuk {mm}
ladāk a-ván-tín pu=ke lasō a-tángká a-tibùk mm
here POSS-CLF:share-each QUOT=TOP this POSS-money POSS-earthen.pot AFF
'here, they [put] those tangka atibuk in each share/dish' [HK, TR 179]

anke vanglo la sop chok'etlo pumatsi
ánke vàng-lò là sóp chók-ét-lò pu=māt=si
and.then come-RL this all be.fine-PRF-RL QUOT=afterwards=NF:RL

ingjonglunlanlo karhanghunglo {karhanghunglo} mm
ingjòng-lùn~làn-lò kàr-hàng~hùng-lò {kàr-hàng~hùng-lò} mm
move-big:AO~DIST.PL-RL burn-quite~DIST.PL-RL burn-quite~DIST.PL-RL AFF
'and then, they came, everything has been arranged nicely and then they looked big and were moving simultaneously and they looked like fire (because of the tiger stripes)' [HK, TR 180]

karklipo {karklipo} seta
ke-arklì-pò ke-arklì-pò [setā
NMLZ-perform.worship-IRR1 NMLZ-perform.worship-IRR1 but

ejonta pakonkelang tangho; halatum aphanta,
e-jōn=tā pa-kōn-Cē-làng tànghò hála-tūm a-phān=tā]
one-CLF:animal=ADD:even CAUS-use.up-NEG-yet REP that-PL POSS-NSUBJ=also

{mm} chok'etlo, tangka atibukke nangle'etlo
{mm} chók-èt-lò tángká a-tibùk=ke nang=lè-èt-lò
AFF be.fine-all:S/O-RL money POSS-earthen.pot=TOP CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL

{nangle'etlo}
{nang=lè-èt-lò}
CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL
'they are just going to perform the worship but they still haven't reduced the number of the men collected for even one (i.e. hadn't sacrificed anybody yet); it' s already all been arranged, the earthen pots have reached' [HK, TR 181]

vangbomlo vangbomlo {mm}
vàng-bōm-lò vàng-bōm-lò mm
come-CONT-RL come-CONT-RL AFF
'one (tiger) after the next keeps coming' [HK, TR 182]

ha nangkelelesi ke'onglang {mm}
há nang=ke-lè-Cē=si/-si ke-óng-làng mm
over.there CIS=NMLZ-reach-NEG=FOC:RL/-NF:RL NMLZ-exist.much-still AFF
'over there still many of them haven't reached' [HK, TR 183]

anke lake phereboplo {mm}
ánke là=ke pheré-bòp-lò mm
and.then this=TOP fear-to.death-RL AFF
'and then, this one (i.e., the friend) was scared to death' [HK, TR 184]

rat chetongte ako {mm}
rát che-tòng-Cē akò {mm}
public RR-meet-NEG before AFF
'before the crowd (of tigers) gathered' [HK, TR 185]

ladak nangkeleke abarika.... asarthe laheiheike
ladāk nang=ke-lè=ke a-bariká a-sàrthè lahei~hei=ke
here CIS=NMLZ-reach=TOP POSS-OFFICER POSS-village.headman these~DIST.PL=TOP

nangle'etlo {oi}
nang=lè-èt-lò {ōi}
CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL yes
'the *barika* and the *sarthe* and all the other important tigers have already arrived there' [HK, TR 186]

{memeke atumke nangle} meme <me> atumke
{méme=ke a-tūm=ke nang=lè} méme a-tūm=ke
dignitaries=TOP POSS-PL=TOP CIS=reach dignitaries POSS-PL=TOP

vang'etlohe
vàng-èt-lò=he
come-all:S/O-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT

{akesarsar atum abangke} mm vangetlo
a-ke-sàr~sār a-tūm abàng=ke} mm vàng-èt-lò
POSS-NMLZ-be.old~DIST.PL POSS-PL NPDL=TOP AFF come-all:S/O-RL
'{all the dignitaries have already arrived?!}-all the dignitaries have already arrived... the old ones have come' [HK, TR 187]

ajirpoke kaphere'ong amat laso athengpi angsongpen
a-jirpò=ke ke-pheré-óng amāt lasō a-thengpī angsóng=pen
POSS-friend=TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much and.then this POSS-tree/wood up=from

chirip thekthedetlo nangklodurlo
che-ríp thèk-Cē-dèt-lò nang=kló-dùr-lò
RR-hold.firmly know.how-NEG-PFV-RL CIS=fall-fall.down.bigger.than.expected-RL

nangklo
[nang=kló]
CIS=fall
'the friend was very scared and then from above this tree he didn't know how to hold on to it firmly and he fell down' [HK, TR 188]

latum achitimsi klodamduplo
là-tūm a-chitìm=si kló-dàm-dùp-lò
this-PL POSS-half=FOC:RL fall-go-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-RL

{mm klodamduplo} mm
mm kló-dàm-dùp-lò] mm
AFF fall-go-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-RL AFF

{nangklodurlo} mm
[nang=kló-dùr-lò] mm
CIS=fall-fall.down.bigger.than.expected-RL AFF
'right in the middle of them he fell down, yeah he fell down...he fell down...' [HK, TR 189]

hala ajirpo abangke lake hala
hála a-jirpò abàng=ke là=ke hála
that POSS-friend NPDL=TOP this=TOP that

klodúppenke teke atumta
kló-dùp-pèn=ke tekè a-tūm=tā
fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-NF:with=TOP tiger POSS-PL=ADD:DM

langphronglohe jo {mm} langphronglo
làng-phròng-lò=he hè jò mm làng-phròng-lò
see-PL:S/A-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT you.know see AFF see-PL:S-RL
'that friend, that one fell down and all the tigers saw him' [HK, TR 190]

"piloma lake?" {"piloma anhelo...?"} pu
pí=lo=ma là=ke [pí=lo=ma àn-heló...] pu
what=FOC=Q this=TOP what=FOC=Q this.much-RL:EMPH QUOT
' "what is this?" (said the tigers) {"what is this?"}' [HK, TR 191]

langphrong hala abarikake <...> "lake komarli"
làng-phròng hála a-bariká=ke là=ke ko-mar-lí
see-PL:S that POSS-OFFICER=TOP this=TOP buddy:VOC-PL:HUM-HON
'they saw them and that *barika* tiger said, "see friends!" ' [HK, TR 192]

"tumípen nangkipudun'et <tang'et> todappen
tumì=pen nang=ke-pù-dūn-ét <táng-ét> todáp=pen
yesterday=from 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-say-JOIN-PRF finish-PRF this.morning=from

ne nangpuloke, paprapnang! pu", hala ajirpo
nè nang=pù-lò=ke pa-pràp-nàng pu hála a-jirpò
1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=say-RL=TOP CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON QUOT that POSS-friend

abangke <lake> mm
abàng=ke <là=ke> mm
NPDL=TOP this=TOP AFF
' "from yesterday I've told you and from this morning I've told you, hurry up!", that friend…'[HK, TR 193]

<nangta> "la akangburapen abarika
<nàng=ta> là a-kángburá=pen a-bariká
2=also this POSS-village.head.man(<Asm)=with POSS-OFFICER

aphanle paphrangnon ko!" (laughing)
a-phān=le pe-phráng-nōn ko
POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR VBLZ-first-COND.IMP1 buddy:VOC
' "first (catch) the *kangbura* and the *barika*, buddy!" ' [HK, TR 194]

"neta <nang> kevanglo ho!" putangho
nè=tā <nàng> ke-vàng-lò ho pu-tànghò
1EXCL=ADD:also 2 NMLZ-come-RL EMPH:INTERACT QUOT-REP

amat bephlunglo anke (laughing)
amāt bè-phlùng-lò ánke
and.then chase.away-spreading-RL and.then

kat'etlo {kat'etlo} mm kat'etlo{mm}
kàt-èt-lò [kàt-èt-lò] mm kàt-èt-lò mm
run.HUM-all:S/O-RL run.HUM-all:S/O-RL AFF run.HUM-all:S/O-RL AFF
' "I'm also coming!" and then they chased them away, they ran away in all directions' [HK, TR 195]

amat la jangrengso atum abangke jirpopo laso atangka
amāt là jangrēngsō a-tūm abàng=ke jīrpō~pō lasō a-tángká
and.then this orphan POSS-PL NPDL=TOP friend~DUAL this POSS-money

atibuk halake ajatta van'un'elo ajirpo
a-tibùk hála=ke a-ját=tā vàn-ūn-Cē-lò a-jirpò
POSS-earthen.pot that=TOP POSS-type=ADD:EXH bring-be.able-NEG-RL POSS-friend

abangke <keso> thengpi angsongpen nangkeklosi {mm} thinilo
abàng=ke thengpī angsóng=pen nang=ke-kló-si mm thìnì-lò
NPDL=TOP tree/wood high.up=from CIS=NMLZ-fall-NF:RL AFF be.almost.dead-RL

{mm} bonseta nangdunbor'ibor'alo e
mm bónsetā nang=dùn-bor'í-bor'á-lò e
AFF but CIS=join-w.great.effort-EE:bor'í-RL INTERJ
'and then, the orphan and the other one, the friends carried (home) all the earthen pots, that friend didn't manage to carry anything, he had fallen down from the tree and hurt himself badly, but struggling and pushing on he made it home' [HK, TR 196]

laso atangka'anke jangrengsosi kevanthulo
lasō a-tángká-án=ke jangrengsō=si ke-vàn-thū-lò
this POSS-money-up.to=TOP orphan=FOC:RL NMLZ-bring-again-RL
'all this money the orphan brought back again all by himself' [HK, TR 197]

la jirpopo chethaksi {mm} aphike
là jīrpō~pō che-thák-si a-phī=ke
this friend~DUAL RR-divide-NF:RL POSS-after=TOP

cholongloklo {cholongloklo} to to {mm}
cho-lóng-lòk-lò [cho-lóng-lòk-lò] tò tò {mm}
AUTO.BEN/MAL-get-happen.to-RL AUTO.BEN/MAL-get-happen.to-RL OK OK AFF
'the friends divided the money and afterwards they definitely got rich' [HK, TR 198]

la'anhelo tangho
là=án=heló tànghò
this=that.much=RL:EMPH REP
'that's it' [HK, TR 199]

jumepik phu! nang tomo kethan
arjū-mē-pìk phū nàng tomó ke-thán
listen-GOOD-very grandfather:VOC you story NMLZ-tell

penapta nangthantha dei {oi to} mm
penàp=tā nang=thán-thā déi [ōi tò mm
tomorrow=ADD:also 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-CON.IMP right? yes OK AFF
‘very nice (to hear), grandfather, tomorrow you'll also need to tell us a story, okay? {okay}’ [HK, TR 200]

APPENDIX D

TEXT: RBT, CHM (FOLK STORY)

Folk story about a chain reaction of events that sets off when a frog blocks the road and sits down on an ant that in turn bites the frog; from there on, one animal suffers from being disturbed or hurt by another animal, and as a consequence accidentally disturbs or hurts another animal, and so on: the ant disturbs the frog, the frog disturbs the squirrel, the squirrel disturbs the pig, the pig disturbs the bird, the bird disturbs the elephant, the elephant kicks a rock, which then kills the daughter of the king. The king traces back the chain reaction to the frog and the ant, and punishes both of them.

The audio file for the entire text RBT, ChM is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3XK8CTJ at https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

<nelike...> nelimenke Rongbang Teron,
<nè-lì=ke...> ne-li-mén=ke Ròngbàng Terón
1EXCL-HON=TOP 1EXCL:POSS-HON-name=TOP NAME CLAN

motiyar <arpu>, kedoke Ujandongka Teron arong
motíyár <arpū> ke-dō=ke Ujándongká Terón a-ròng
OFFICER responsibility NMLZ-stay=TOP VILLAGE CLAN POSS-village
'I... my name is Rongbang Teron, I have the responsibility of a Motiyar, I live in Ujandongka, Teron Village' [RBT, ChM 002]

choklemdun habe bangphli aso; habe
[cho-klém-dùn habē bàng-phlī a-sō] [[habē
AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-JOIN headman CLF:HUM:PL-four POSS-child headman

bangphli atum alongsi, nem chodun rakom chodun
bàng-phlī a-tūm alòng=si] [ném chō-dūn] [rakóm chō-dūn]
CLF:HUM:PL-four POSS-PL LOC=FOC:RL custom eat-JOIN EE:ném eat-JOIN

ajor chodun akri chodun
[a-jòr chō-dūn] [a-krì chō-dūn]]
POSS-slice.of.meat eat-JOIN POSS-EE:jòr eat-JOIN
'working together, there are four Habe in this area (children of this area), together with the four Habe, we accept the responsibility of this post, we eat together the long slices of meat' [RBT, ChM 003]

matsi ajor akri pinchongma lake chu
[māt=si a-jòr a-krì pinchóng=ma] [là=ke chú
who=FOC:RL POSS-slice.of.meat POSS-EE:jòr create=Q this=TOP long.ago

Socheng Rengbonghompensi bang habe atum haren
Sochēng Rengbonghōm=pen=si bàng habē a-tūm harēn
VILLAGE NAME=from=FOC:RL somebody headman.assistant POSS-PL EE:habē

atum... e kethe atum kiding atum
a-tūm e ke-thè a-tūm ke-dīng a-tūm
POSS-PL DSM NMLZ-be.big POSS-PL NMLZ-be.long POSS-PL

solangdo arnam pharo atumsi bang ajor
solangdō arnàm pharó a-tūm=si bàng a-jòr
four.chieftains(<Khs) god hundred POSS-PL=FOC:RL CLF POSS-slice.of.meat

pinchongkang akri pinchongkang
pinchóng-káng a-krì pinchóng-káng
create-give.leave POSS-EE:jòr create-give.leave
'who has established these customs of Ajor Akri? It was, long ago, from the time of Socheng Rengbonghom that the Habe and Haren, the dignitaries, the four chieftains, the hundred gods established the Ajor and established the Akri' [RBT, ChM 004]

lasi ajor chodun akri chodun
lasì a-jòr chō-dūn a-krì chō-dūn
therefore POSS-slice.of.meat eat-JOIN POSS-EE:jòr eat-JOIN
that way, we eat the Ajor and eat the Akri [RBT, ChM 005]

nelilam nelitomoke lapuhelo; tomo
[ne-li-lám ne-li-tomó=ke lapù-heló] [tomó
1EXCL:POSS-HON-word 1EXCL:POSS-HON-story=TOP like.this-RL:EMPH story

thannangji pulotangte, tomoke…
thán-náng-jí pùlotángtē] [tomó=ke]
tell-need-IRR2 if story=TOP
'my word, my story is that way, if I should tell a story, this is my story' [RBT, ChM 006]

puhelo, misorongpopen chongho ron kachipi atomo:
pù-heló [misòrongpō=pen chonghō rón ke-che-pí a-tomó]
like.this-RL:EMPH ant.sp=with frog fight NMLZ-RR-give POSS-story

arnisi
[arnì-sī]
day-one
'it's like this, the story of when the ant fought with the frog, one day' [RBT, ChM 007]

<chongh..> misorongpo atum korte banghini
<chongh..> misòrongpō a-tūm kortè bàng-hiní
<fro(g)…> ant.sp POSS-PL brother CLF-two
'there were two <fro(g)>… ant brothers' [RBT, ChM 008]

chonghoke ejonvet misorongpoke a'ik
[chonghō=ke e-jōn-vét] [misòrongpō=ke a-ìk
frog=TOP one-CLF:animal-only ant.sp=TOP POSS-older.brother

atum atipi atum adappen rit damjuilo
a-tūm a-tepī a-tūm a-dàp=pen rīt dàm-jùi-lò]
POSS-PL POSS-elder.brother's.wife POSS-PL POSS-morning=from field go-away-RL
'the frog was alone, the ant's older brother and his wife had gone to the jhum field in the morning' [RBT, ChM 009]

e misorongpoke <...> a'ik aphan... an kethondam
e misòrongpō=ke a-ìk a-phān àn ke-thòn-dām
DSM ant.sp=TOP POSS-older.brother POSS-NSUBJ rice NMLZ-drop-GO
'the ant was on the way to drop off rice for his older brother' [RBT, ChM 010]

amat horbong anbor... inghorpontanlo
amāt hōr-bōng àn-bòr inghór-pòn-tàn-lò
and.then liquor-gourd rice-wrapped.bundle carrying.load-take.away-S/O:big-RL

chonghokalosoke tovar dakkrang
chonghōkalósō=ke továr dàk-kràng
frog.sp=TOP road assume.spreadout.position-VSE
'and then, the ant was carrying heavily on the liquor gourd and the rice bundle, and the frog was spread out in the road, blocking the way' [RBT, ChM 011]

ai tovar nangpektha ti ko jirpo,
ái továr nang=pèk-thā ti ko jīrpō,
how.bad! road 1/2:NSUBJ=give.way-IMP:CON EMPH buddy:VOC friend

ne'ik atum aphan an thonji pu
ne-ìk a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí pu
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 QUOT
'"how bad! Please do give way to me, friend. I'm supposed to drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)"' [RBT, ChM 012]

arvi suinangta dannokso ar'e suinangta dannokso
[arvī sùi-nangtā dannoksō] [ar'ē sùi-nangtā dannoksō]
left turn-if.alternatively danger right turn-if.alternatively danger
'if I turn left, it will be dangerous, if I turn right, it will be dangerous' [RBT, ChM 013]

la nekengdak arum lutponchoksi
[là ne-kèng-dāk arúm lūt-pōn-chòk-si
this 1EXCL:POSS-foot-road.inbetween down enter-CARRY-disappearing-NF:RL

apotlo ko mopen pu kedam
apōtlo ko] [mó=pen pú ke-dàm
should buddy:VOC while=from this.side NMLZ-go

chingkiponklung atum'anta
che-ingkī-pōn-klùng a-tūm-án=tā]
RR-talk-CARRY-echoing.sound POSS-PL-all=ADD:EXH
‘ “you should pass through between my legs, buddy, just awhile earlier, all of these people that are talking there have done the same” ‘ [RBT, ChM 014]

bang nekengdak arumloklo kedam
bàng ne-kèng-dàk arúm-lòk=lo ke-dàm
somebody 1EXCL:POSS-foot-road.inbetween down-just=FOC NMLZ-go
‘ “the other people simply passed through between my legs” ’ [RBT, ChM 015]

pulo akengdak arum kilut ahut amat…
pù-lo [a-kèng-dàk arúm ke-lūt ahūt amāt]
say-RL POSS-foot-road.inbetween down NMLZ-enter during and.then

anborpenpen chongho abang ingnidunpret
àn-bòr=pén~pén chonghō abàng ingnì-dūn-prèt
rice-wrapped.bundle=with~DISTR.PL frog NPDL sit-JOIN-acting.on.inflated.obj
'the frog said, and as the ant was passing through, with all its rice bundles, the frog sat down (pressing down the rice bundles)' [RBT, ChM 016]

amat misorongpo abang... aning siksaklo jo an
[amāt misòrongpō abàng a-nīng siksāk-lò] [jó] [àn
and.then ant.sp NPDL POSS-mind be.difficult-RL see rice

ingnipipretlo chongho ami korlut
ingnì-pī-prèt-lò] [[chonghō a-mí] kòr-lùt]
sit-BEN/MAL-acting.on.inflated.obj-RL frog POSS-buttocks bite-enter
'and then, the ant was annoyed, see!, the frog sat down on the rice bundles (to the detriment of the ant), and the ant bit the frog's butt with the teeth entering' [RBT, ChM 017]

amat chonghota chonthap chonphrulo
amāt chonghō=tā chón-tháp chón-phrú-lò
and.then frog=ADD:DM jump-here.and.there.1/2 jump-here.and.there.2/2-RL

kesolo... karlesibongpo adon chonrai
ke-sò-lò karlēsibóng-pō a-dón chón-rài
NMLZ-hurt-RL squirrel.sp-male POSS-bridge jump-solid.obj.breaking
'and then, the frog was jumping everywhere because he was hurt, and he jumped on the ladder of the squirrel and it broke' [RBT, ChM 018]

amat karlesibongpota... aning thilo: "mat
[amāt karlēsibóng-pō=tā... a-nīng thī-lò] [māt
and.then squirrel.sp-male=ADD:DM POSS-mind be.short-RL who

akethek mat akere mat akangtang
a-ke-thèk māt a-ke-rè māt a-ke-ingtāng
POSS-NMLZ-know.how who POSS-NMLZ-be.smart who POSS-NMLZ-be.strong

mat akangsaksi ne dondon chonraima?"
māt a-ke-ingsàk=si ne-dondōn chón-rài=ma]
who POSS-NMLZ-EE:ingtāng=FOC:RL 1EXCL-ladder jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=Q

pu, lata
pu là=tā
QUOT this=ADD:DM
'and then, the squirrel... got mad, "who is the wise one, who is the smart one, who is the strong and mighty one, and sat down on my ladder so it broke?" it (the squirrel) (said)' [RBT, ChM 019]

aning kithi, thengpi arongtin thengphrang
[a-nīng ke-thī] [thengpī a-rōng-tín thēngphráng
POSS-mind NMLZ-be.short tree/wood POSS-CLF:plant-each EE:thengpī

arongtin rikang asitin rotthap
a-rōng-tín rikāng a-sī-tín ròt-tháp
POSS-CLF:plant-each creeper POSS-one-each cut-here.and.there.1/2

rotphrulo, hanthar athe rotpet
ròt-phrú-lò] [hanthàr a-thē ròt-pèt]
cut-here.and.there.2/2-RL vegetable.sp POSS-fruit cut-RES:cut.off
'it was mad, and then, (the squirrel) gnawed each tree and creeper, and it gnawed the hanthar athe' [RBT, ChM 020]

phakbelengpi amoi peklodup
phàkbeléngpī a-mòi pe-kló-dùp
pig.sp POSS-back CAUS-fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj
'it made it (the fruit) fall down on the back of a pig' [RBT, ChM 021]

mat laso aphakta kathirikpenlo, lata
māt [lasō a-phàk=tā ke-thirík-pen-lò], [là=tā
and.then this POSS-pig=ADD:DM NMLZ-startle-NF:with-RL this=ADD:DM

timurthap timurphru, lobong timurphlut, vo'arbipi
timùr-tháp timùr-phrú], [lobōng timùr-phlùt] [vō'arbí-pī
root-here.and.there.1/2 root-here.and.there.2/2 plantain root-miss/fail bird.sp-female

atar saprai, an aso
a-tār sáp-ràì] [án a-sō
POSS-nest beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking that.much POSS-child

joningkoi jonthomkep kedoji, lata
jōn-ingkòi jōn-thòm-kēp ke-dō-jí [là=tā
CLF:animal-twenty CLF:animal-three-ten NMLZ-exist-IRR2 this=ADD:DM

aso kaluksonlo
a-sō ke-luksón-lò
POSS-child NMLZ-lose(<Asm)-RL
'and then, as a consequence, this pig startled and then it also was lifting up things with its snout here and there, and then it lifted and uprooted the plantain plant with its snout, (the plantain plant) beat the nest of a Voarbi and then there will be many many offspring, this one's (the bird's) offspring were also lost' [RBT, ChM 022]

amatsi voarbipita... aning chipithithudet
amātsi vōarbí-pī=tā... a-nīng che-pa-thī-thū-dét
and.then bird.sp-female=ADD:DM POSS-mind RR-CAUS-be.short-again-PFV

lutthap lutphru, arkethap arkephru amat
lūt-tháp lūt-phrú arkè-tháp arkè-phrú amāt
enter-mindlessly enter-EE:-tháp scratch-mindlessly scratch-EE:-tháp and.then
'and so the Voarbipi bird got mad, it entered in a crazy fit and scratched around here and there, and then' [RBT, ChM 023]

ingnar nothongpo ano lutchok arkevaret
[[ingnàr nothōng-pō] a-nò] lūt-chòk arkè-varèt
elephant deaf-MODIF POSS-ear enter-disappearing scratch-INTENS
'(the bird) got into the ears of a deaf elephant, and scratched around' [RBT, ChM 024]

angnarta kangrong ajat, <ku> turthap
a-ingnàr=tā ke-ingròng aját <ku> túr-tháp
POSS-elephant=ADD:DM NMLZ-roar GENEX <ku> kick-mindlessly

turphrulo... harlong turpur
túr-phrú-lò harlōng túr-pùr
kick-EE:-tháp-RL stone kick-move.over
'this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock' [RBT, ChM 025]

harlong turpurlo, aharlong ingplonglo, richo
[harlōng túr-pùr-lò], [a-harlōng ingplòng-lò], [richó
stone kick-move.over-RL POSS-stone run.away.animal-RL king

asopi abang ha langhe lang kachinglu...
a-oso-pì abàng há lānghē lāng ke-chinglú]
POSS-child-female NPDL over.there washing.place water NMLZ-take.bath

amat lang kachinglu ketangpen kevang amat richo
[amāt lāng ke-chinglú ke-tāng-pen ke-vàng amāt richó
and.then water NMLZ-take.bath NMLZ-finish-NF:with NMLZ-come and.then king

asopi aphan baplam
a-oso-pì a-phān báp-làm]
POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ press.down-RES:paste.like
‘it kicked the rock, the rock rolled away, the daughter of the king was taking a bath there at the washing place, and then after having finished taking her bath, she was coming (home), and then it flattened the king's daughter’ [RBT, ChM 026]

amat “an arni tiliphak potsi
amāt [[án arnì tilí-phák pōt=si
and.then that.much sun decline-almost.completely reason=FOC:RL

neso langhe kedam vangverekma?” pulo richo,
[ne-osō lānghē ke-dàm] vàng-Cē-rèk=ma] pù-lò richó]
1EXCL:POSS-child washing.place NMLZ-go come-NEG-late=Q say-RL king

donsuri arat chingthumdunlo...,
[dón-surí a-rát che-ingthùm-dūn-lò]
CLF:household-thousand POSS-public(<Asm) RR-go.and.bring-JOIN-RL

harlong baplam
harlōng báp-làm
stone press.down-RES:paste.like
'and then, “even though it's already past mid-day, why has my child having gone to the washing place still not come back?”, said the king and all the subjects went to bring (the king's daughter)... and she was flattened by the stone' [RBT, ChM 027]

amat harlong aphan arjulo, “Kopisi nang
[amāt harlōng a-phān arjū-lò] [kopīsi nàng
and.then stone POSS-NSUBJ ask-RL why 2

nesopi aphan kipithima?", "O, ne
ne-oso-pì a-phān ke-pV-thì=ma] [o nè
1EXCL:POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-die=Q SURPRISE 1EXCL

kali."
kalī]
NEG.EQU.COP
'and then the king asked the stone, "for what possible reason did you kill my daughter?", "o, it wasn't me" ' [RBT, ChM 028]

"komatlo tangte"
komāt=lo tángtē
who=FOC if
'"who then?"' [RBT, ChM 029]

"ingnar nothongposi bang nemi
[ingnàr nothōng-pō=si bàng] ne-mí
elephant deaf-MODIF=FOC:RL CLF 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks

netimurphit, amat neta neri
ne=timùr-phìt] [amāt nè=tā ne-rí
1EXCL:NSUBJ=root-w/sudden.movement and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-hand

nekeng ave, pulo neta ave
avē ne-kèng avē] [pù=lo nè=tā
not.exist 1EXCL:POSS-foot not.exist like.this=FOC 1EXCL=ADD:DM

vangnangkoklo"
vàng-náng-kòk-lò]
come-must-absolutely.required-RL
' "the deaf elephant lifted up my butt, and then also, I don't have hands or feet, and like this, I had to come (rolling)" ' [RBT, ChM 030]

"amat nangso doke chinilo neta chekhang'un'e
amāt nang-osō dō=ke chiní-lo nè=tā che-kháng-ùn-Cē
and.then 2POSS-child exist=TOP know-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM RR-keep-be.able-NEG

amatsi nangso apran enlongbinlo"
amātsi nang-osō a-prán ēn-lōng-bìn-lò
and.then 2:POSS-child POSS-life take-GET-unintentionally-RL

‘ “and then, I knew your child was there, but I also couldn't control myself and then I unintentionally took your daughter's life”.’ [RBT, ChM 031]

„matlo ante kechokcheke?“, <“o ha ingnar
[māt=lo ánte ke-chók-Cē=ke] [ó há <ingnàr
who=FOC OK.then NMLZ-be.fine-NEG=TOP INTERJ over.there elephant

nothongpole”> ingnar nothongpo aphan arjudamlo
nothōng-pō=le> [ingnàr nothōng-pō a-phān] arjū-dām-lò]
deaf- MODIF =FOC:IRR elephant deaf- MODIF POSS-NSUBJ ask-GO-RL
'"who then is the guilty one?", <o there the deaf elephant…>, he went to ask the deaf elephant' [RBT, ChM 032]

“pi chonghoisi nang harlongle <nang>
[pí chonghói=si nàng harlōng=le <nang>
what reason=FOC:RL you stone=FOC:IRR your

kiturnek kiturnok? Neso apran
ke-túr-nèk ke-túr-nòk] [ne-osō a-prán
NMLZ-kick-doing.bad.unnecessarily NMLZ-kick-EE:-nèk 1EXCL:POSS-child POSS-life

damjuilo, pinike nangpran damji nangmui
dàm-jùi-lò] pinì=ke nang-prán dàm-jí nang-múi
go-away-RL today=TOP 2:POSS-life go-IRR2 2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

damji, <nangsapdamji>
dàm-jí] <nang=sáp-dàm-jí>
go-IRR2 1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-go-IRR2

nangsapji nangthengji!”
nang=sáp-jí nang=thèng-jí
1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-IRR2 1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.solid-IRR2
' “what did you kick the rock for? The life of my daughter has gone. Today your life and everything will go, I will beat you, I will make you suffer!” ' [RBT, ChM 033]

pulo ingnar nothongpo chethakdunlo, "o bang
pù-lò [ingnàr nothōng-pō che-thāk-dūn-lò] [o bàng
say-RL elephant deaf- MODIF RR-answer-JOIN-RL VOC CLF

voarbipi, akam kechomathale neno
vōarbípī a-kám ke-chomathā=le ne-nò
bird.sp POSS-work NMLZ-think.with.bad.intentions=FOC:IRR 1EXCL:POSS-ear

nanglutchok nangarkerakrakdetkema?"
nang=lūt-chòk nang=arkè-ràk~ràk-dèt=ke=ma]
CIS=enter-disappearing CIS=scratch-RES:little.wound~DISTR.PL-PFV=TOP=Q
'he said and then, the deaf elephant answered, 'O Vo arbi, what were you thinking, coming into my ears and scratched there; that's why" [RBT, ChM 034]

amat "neta dothekthe sangthekthelo,
amāt [nè=tā dō-thèk-Cē sáng-thèk-Cē-lò]
and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM stay-know.how-NEG take.rest-know.how-NEG-RL

neno kangthak neno kangthong amat neta
[ne-nò ke-ingthàk ne-nò ke-ingthōng] amāt [nè=tā
1EXCL:POSS-ear NMLZ-itch 1EXCL:POSS-ear NMLZ-be.deaf and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM

turthap turphrulo, ahoklo, neke harlong
túr-tháp túr-phrú-lò] [a-hōk-lò] [nè=ke harlōng
kick-mindlessly kick-EE:-táp-RL POSS-truth-RL 1EXCL=TOP stone

turpurlo"
túr-pùr-lò]
kick-move.over-RL
'and then, "I also didn't know how to stay or how to rest, my ears were itching, my ears are deaf, and then it's true I was kicking here and there, and I kicked the rock"' [RBT, ChM 035]

ha nangso aphan rodamji marek pupe
há nang-osō a-phān rō-dām-jí marēk pu-Cē
over.there 2:POSS-child POSS-NSUBJ hit-GO-IRR2 unexpectedly QUOT-NEG
'there (the stone) went and unintentionally hit your child' [RBT, ChM 036]

"apot nele kechokche kali, richo. Hala
[apōt nè=le ke-chók-Cē kalī richó] [[hála
because 1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP king that

voarbipi aphanle arjudamnoi"
vōarbí-pī a-phān=le] arjū-dām-nōi]
bird.sp-female POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP
'"therefore, I'm not the guilty one, king, go ask that Voarbipi!"' [RBT, ChM 037]

voarbipi along richo atum damlilo
[vōarbí-pī a-lòng] [richó a-tūm] dàm-lì-lò
bird.sp-female POSS-LOC king POSS-PL go-again-RL
'the people of the king next went to the Voarbipi' [RBT, ChM 038]

"O voarbipi, nangbang doma?", pulo, "Do."
o vōarbí-pī nang-bàng dō=ma pù-lò dō
VOC bird.sp-female 2:POSS-body stay=Q say-RL stay
' “O Voarbipi, are you there?”, (the king) said, “I'm here”.' [RBT, ChM 039]

"Piloma richo?" "Richo kali! Pisi nang ingnar
[pílo=ma richó] [richó kalī] [pīsi nàng ingnàr
what=Q king king NEG.EQU.COP why you elephant

nothongpo ano lutchokmati? Nang pinike
nothōng-pō a-nò lūt-chòk=mati] [nàng pinì=ke
deaf- MODIF POSS-ear enter-disappearing=CG you today=TOP

nangpran damji nangmui damji!"
nang-prán dàm-jí nang-múi dàm-jí]
2:POSS-life go-IRR2 2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) go-IRR2
'"What's the matter, king?", "It's not about calling me the king! Why the heck did you get into the elephant's ear? Today your life will go!"' [RBT, ChM 040]

"Ai richo, nepran nangenri nemui
ái richó ne-prán nang=ēn-rī ne-múi
how.bad! king 1EXCL:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-NEG.IMP 1EXCL:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

nangenri"
nang=ēn-rī
1/2:NSUBJ=take-PROH
'"Ai, king, don't take my life!"' [RBT, ChM 041]

“pisi ne ingnar nothongpo ano lutledetjima?”
pīsi nè ingnàr nothōng-pō a-nò lūt-Cē-dèt-jí=ma
why 1EXCL elephant deaf- MODIF POSS-ear enter-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q
‘ “how could I’ve not gone into the deaf elephant's ears?” ' [RBT, ChM 042]

Neso tangte avelo, nesu tangte avelo.
[ne-osō tángtē avē-lò ne-sū tángtē avē-lò]
1EXCL:POSS-child TOP not.exist-RL 1EXCL:POSS-grandchild TOP not.exist-RL

Nangso kithike enutnat, nesoke
nang-osō ke-thì=ke e-nūt-nàt ne-osō=ke
2:POSS-child NMLZ-die=TOP one-CLF.hum.one-only 1EXCL:POSS-child=TOP

bangthrok phosi kithi.
bàng-thrōk phō=si ke-thì
CLF-six five=FOC:RL NMLZ-die
‘ “as for my children, I don't have any left, and I don’t have grandchildren either; only one child of yours has died, but of mine, so many (lit. five, six) have died” ‘ [RBT, ChM 043]

“laso alobongle netar
[lasō a-lobòng=le ne-tār
this POSS-plantain=FOC:IRR 1EXCL:POSS-nest

sapraike, jo!, lobong aphanle
sáp-rài=ke] jó [lobōng a-phān=le
beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking=TOP see! plantain POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR

arjudamnoi, richo, nangmasi!”
arjū-dām-nōi, richó] nàng-masi
ask-go-INF.COND.IMP king you-the.only.one
‘ “(it's because) this plantain destroyed my nest, see, go and ask the plantain. King, you're the only one (who can settle this issue)” ‘ [RBT, ChM 044]

mat richo atum <che> damthulelo, lobong along,
māt richó a-tūm dàm-thū-lè-lò, lobōng a-lòng,
and.then king POSS-PL go-again-again-RL plantain POSS-LOC
'and so, the king and his people went again, to the plantain' [RBT, ChM 045]

"O lobong, chonghoisi nang... voarbipi atar
o lobōng, chonghói=si nàng... vōarbí-pī a-tār
VOC plantain reason=FOC:RL 2 bird.sp-female POSS-nest

kesapraimati? Nangpran damji,
ke-sáp-ràimati nang-prán dàm-jí
NMLZ-beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking=CG 2:POSS-life go-IRR2

nangmui damji, nangjat nangkhong
nang-múi dàm-jí nang-ját nang-khóng
2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) go-IRR2 2:POSS-type 2:POSS-tribe

nangpavir'etji. Sala!", Therdamlo.
nang=pa-vír-èt-jí sala thér-dàm-lò
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-all-IRR2 damn.you! threaten-go-RL
'"O plantain, why the heck did you break the nest of the Vo Arbipi, your life will go, I will destroy your tribe and your species, damn you!", he went to threaten (the plantain)' [RBT, ChM 046]

lobong chethakdunlo
lobōng che-thāk-dūn-lò
plantain RR-answer-JOIN-RL
'the plantain answered' [RBT, ChM 047]

"Ai! Ne kali, richo"
ái nè kalī richó
how.bad! 1EXCL NEG.EQU.COP king
'"ai, it wasn't me, king!"' [RBT, ChM 048]

"phakbelengpisi nemi nangtimurphlut"
phàkbeléngpī=si ne-mí nang=timùr-phlùt
pig.sp=FOC:RL 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ=root-quickly:bad
'"the pig had quickly uprooted my butt with its snout."' [RBT, ChM 049]

"amatsi neta dothekthedetlo, neta
amātsi [nè=tā dō-thèk-Cē-dèt-lò] [nè=tā
and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM stay-know.how-NEG-PFV-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM

ingnilun anat”
ingnì-lùn a-nàt]
sit-big:AO:not.suddenly POSS-only
'"and then, I also couldn't stay still, I also just sat down big as I am"' [RBT, ChM 050]

“amat ahoklo, voarbipi atar do marek
amāt a-hōk-lò vōarbí-pī a-tār dō marēk
and.then POSS-truth-RL bird.sp-female POSS-nest exist unintentionally/unexpectedly

chinine amat neke kreprailo”
chiní-Cē amāt [nè=ke krēp-rài-lò]
know-NEG and.then 1EXCL=TOP fall.over-solid.obj.breaking-RL
‘ “and then it's the truth, I had no idea it was the Vo Arbipi's nest, and then I fell over and destroyed (the nest)” ‘ [RBT, ChM 051]

"pot nele kechokche kali. Phakbelengpi
pōt [nè=le ke-chók-Cē kalī] [phàkbeléngpī
reason 1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP pig.sp

aphanle... arjudamnoi, nangmasi!", pulelo
a-phān=le arjū-dām-nōi] nàng-masi pù-lè-lò
POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP 2-the.only.one say-again-RL
‘ “therefore, I'm not the guilty one, go and ask the pig, you're the only one (who can ask and find out)”, he said it again’ [RBT, ChM 052]

so aricho thakthak charjudamthulelo..., "O phakbelengpi"
sō a-richó thàkthāk che-arjū-dām-thū-lì-lò..., ó phàkbeléngpī
this POSS-king same RR-ask-go-again-again-RL VOC pig.sp
'so this king, all the same, again went to ask in this matter of his own, "O Phakbelengpi!"' [RBT, ChM 053]

"Pinike, nangjat nangkhong nangpivir'etji, sala!
pinì=ke nang-ját nang-khóng nang=pi-vír-èt-jí sala
today=TOP 2:POSS-type 2:POSS-tribe 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PFT-IRR2 damn.you!

Nangpithitheiji!"
nang=pi-thì-théi-jí
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-die-all:S/O-IRR2
'"today, I will destroy your tribe and kind, I will kill all of you!"' [RBT, ChM 054]

“Nangtum kopisi lobong katimurthap katimurphru? <ar>
[nang-tūm kopīsi lobōng ke-timùr-tháp ke-timùr-phrú]
2:POSS-PL why plantain NMLZ-root-mindlessly NMLZ-root-EE:-tháp

Vo'arbipi atar kesaprai athema!”
[vōarbí-pī a-tār ke-sáp-ràai athēma]
bird.sp-female POSS-nest NMLZ-beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking because
'"Why do you (pigs) go around lifiting up plantains more than you need to? that's why you destroyed the nest of the Voarbi"' [RBT, ChM 055]

"ai,... ne kali, richo"
ái nè kalī richó
how.bad! 1EXCL NEG.EQU.COP king
'"ai, it wasn't me, king!"' [RBT, ChM 056]

“bang hantharsi nemoi nangklodup,
[bàng hanthàr=si ne-mòi nang=kló-dùp]
CLF vegetable.sp=FOC:RL 1EXCL:POSS-back CIS=fall-falling.from.high:solid.obj

neta keso kasiksaksi”
[nè=tā ke-sò ke-siksāk-si]
1EXCL=ADD:DM NMLZ-hurt NMLZ-be.difficult-NF:RL
‘ “a hanthar fruit fell on my back, so I was hurt and disturbed” ’ [RBT, ChM 057]

“ahoklo neta timurthap timurphru amat
a-hōk-lò nè=tā timùr-tháp timùr-phrú amāt
POSS-truth-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM root-mindlessly root-EE:-tháp and.then

ahok, lobong timurpur”
a-hōk lobōng timùr-pùr
POSS-truth plantain root-move.over
‘ “it's the truth, I was lifting up things with my snout, and then I uprooted the plantain’ “ [RBT, ChM 058]

<...> “hanthar aphan arjudamnoi!”
hanthàr a-phān arjū-dām-nōi
vegetable.sp POSS-NSUBJ ask-go-INF.COND.IMP
' “go and ask the Hanthar” ' [RBT, ChM 059]

ha hanthar aphan arjudamlo... "Kopisi nang
há hanthàr a-phān arjū-dām-lò kopīsi nàng
over.there vegetable.sp POSS-NSUBJ ask-go-RL why 2

phakbelengpi amoi klodupmati, hanthar?"
phàkbeléngpī a-mòi kló-dùp=mati hanthàr
pig.sp POSS-back fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj=CG vegetable.sp
'there to the hanthar he went and asked, "why did you possibly fall down on the back of the pig, Hanthar?"' [RBT, ChM 060]

"nangrong nangrim nangpiviretji, sala!"
nang-rōng nang-rīm nang=pi-vír-èt-jí sala
2:POSS-plant 2:POSS-EE:rōng 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-all:S/O-IRR2 damn.you!
'I will destroy your stem and everybody (of your species), damn you!' [RBT, ChM 061]

"Ai richo, nejat nepivirri, nekhong
ái richó ne-ját ne=pi-vír-rī, ne-khóng
how.bad! king 1EXCL:POSS-type 1EXCL:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PROH 1EXCL:POSS-tribe

nepivirri!"
ne=pi-vír-rī
1EXCL:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PROH
'"ai, king, don't kill the ones of my kind, don't kill my tribe!"' [RBT, ChM 062]

"nele kechokche kali. Ne neri
[nè=le ke-chók-Cē kalī] nè ne-rí
1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-hand

ehongvetsi chiripling anat"
e-hòng-vét=si che-ríp-lìng a-nàt]
one-CLF:long.cylindrical-only=FOC:RL RR-hold.firmly-sth.small.hanging POSS-only
' "I'm not the guilty one, I was just holding myself with one hand only" ' [RBT, ChM 063]

"karlesibongpo abang neri nangrotpet amat
[karlēsibóng-pō abàng ne-rí nang=ròt-pèt] amāt
squirrel.sp-male NPDL 1EXCL:POSS-hand 1/2:NSUBJ=cut-sd.of.resulting.event and.then

neta ahoklo phakbelengpi amoi
[nè=tā a-hōk-lò phàkbeléngpī a-mòi
1EXCL=ADD:DM POSS-truth-RL pig.sp POSS-back

chonduplo”
chón-dùp-lò]
jump-falling.from.high:solid.obj-RL
' “the squirrel gnawed off my hands and then, it's true, I jumped on the pig's back” '
[RBT, ChM 064]

apot nangle arjudamnoi, ha karlesibongpo aphan
apōt nàng=le arjū-dām-nōi, há karlēsibóng-pō a-phān
because you=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP over.there squirrel.sp-male POSS-NSUBJ
'therefore, you (only you), go and ask, there, the squirrel' [RBT, ChM 065]

ha karlesibongpo along arjudamlo... "Te
há karlēsibóng-pō alòng arjū-dām-lò tè
over.there squirrel.sp-male LOC ask-go-RL and.then

karlesibongpo, pisi nang hanthar athe
karlēsibóng-pō pīsi nàng hanthàr a-thē
squirrel.sp-male why you vegetable.sp POSS-fruit

kerotpetle... phakbelengpi amoi
ke-ròt-pèt=le phàkbeléngpī a-mòi
NMLZ-cut-sd.of.resulting.event=FOC:IRR pig.sp POSS-back

peklodup athema?"
pe-kló-dùp athēma
CAUS-fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj because
'over there he went and asked the squirrel, "so then, squirrel, why did you gnaw on the Hanthar and thus made it fall down on the back of the pig?"' [RBT, ChM 066]

“apot pinike nangreng sopikji”
apōt pinì=ke nang-rèng sò-pìk-jí
reason today=TOP 2:POSS-skin hurt-very-IRR2
'therefore, today, your skin will hurt badly today' [RBT, ChM 067]

“ai nepran neenri, nemui
ái ne-prán ne=ēn-rī ne-múi
how.bad! 1EXCL:POSS-life 1EXCL:NSUBJ=take-NEG.IMP 1EXCL:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

neenri, richo!”
ne=ēn-rī richó
1EXCL:NSUBJ=take-PROH king
'"please, don't take my life, king"' [RBT, ChM 068]

“nele kechokche kali”
nè=le ke-chók-Cē kalī
1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP
' “I'm not the guilty one” ' [RBT, ChM 069]

“neta nehem ave nerit ave”
nè=tā ne-hēm avē ne-rīt avē
1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-house not.exist 1EXCL:POSS-field not.exist
'"I don't have any property"' [RBT, ChM 070]

“nehem hingnoet nerit hingnoetsi...”
ne-hēm hingnō-èt ne-rīt hingnō-èt-si...
1EXCL:POSS-house bad-all:S/O 1EXCL:POSS-field bad-all:S/O-NF:RL
'"my house and everything is all destroyed and so..."' [RBT, ChM 071]

“la chonghokalosopen la misorongpo atum kopi
[[là chonghōkalósō=pen là misòrongpō a-tūm] kopí
this frog.sp=with this ant.sp POSS-PL what

chomathalone, nedon
cho-mathà-lò-nē] [ne-dón
AUTO.BEN/MAL-think-RL-INDEF 1EXCL:POSS-ladder

chonraikemati; pot neta
chón-ràì=ke=mati] [pōt nè=tā
jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=TOP=CG therefore 1EXCL=ADD:DM

nedon kachithu”
ne-dón ke-chi-thú]
1EXCL:POSS-bridge/ladder NMLZ-RR-cut
' ‘the frog and the ant doing whatever mischief, they just jumped on my ladder and destroyed it; because of that I was just collecting the materials to (re-)build my ladder’ ' [RBT, ChM 072]

amat <chongho... aphan misorongpo arjulo pichonghoisi o>
amāt [chonghō a-phān] misòrongpō arjū-lò pí-chonghói=si
and.then frog POSS-NSUBJ ant.sp ask-RL what-reason=FOC:RL
'and then <the ant asked the frog, why…>' [RBT, ChM 073]

chongho aphan arjulo, "Pi chonghoisi nangke karle
[chonghō a-phān arjū-lò] [pí chonghói=si nàng=ke karlē
frog POSS-NSUBJ ask-RL what reason=FOC:RL you=TOP squirrel

adon chonraimati?" pu
a-dón chón-ràì=mati] pu
POSS-bridge/ladder jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=as.you.know QUOT
‘(the king) asked the frog, "Why did you jump on the ladder of the squirrel?"' [RBT, ChM 074]

“misorongpota nemi nangkorrakke”
misòrongpō=tā ne-mí nang=kòr-ràk=ke
ant.sp=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ=bite-RES:little.wound=TOP
' “the ant bit me in my butt” ' [RBT, ChM 075]

<ha> misorongpo arju, "Chonghoisi nang chongho
misòrongpō arjū chonghói-si nàng chonghō
ant.sp ask reason-FOC you frog

ami korrakmati?" "Tovar nangdangthipke"
a-mí kòr-ràk=mati] továr nang=dāng-thìp=ke
POSS-buttocks bite-RES:little.wound=CG road CIS=block-firmly=TOP
'he asked the ant, "why did you bite the frog in the butt?", "he had come and was blocking the road"' [RBT, ChM 076]

o <nang> mota nangtum kachekoi
o INTERJ <nang> you mó=tā future=ADD:EXH nang-tūm you-PL ke-che-kói NMLZ-RR-accuse

nangbe doji
nang-bé dō-jí
2:POSS-habit exist-IRR2
'"o, you will (continue to) in the future have a habit to accuse each other"' [RBT, ChM 077]

misorongpo aphan chujengpen avam kokdong
misòrongpō a-phān chūjēng=pen a-vám kòk-dòng
ant.sp POSS-NSUBJ single.hair=with POSS-waist tie-attached

pechengran
pe-chēng-ràn
CAUS-be.narrow.inbetween-delicate/about.to.break
‘(the king) took the ant on its hair and tied it up on its waist' [RBT, ChM 078]

chongho aphan jamir abupen
chonghō a-phān jamír a-bú=pen
frog POSS-NSUBJ grain.sp POSS-bundle=with

sapphratphratdet amat abang
sáp-phrát~phrát-dèt amāt a-bàng
beat.w/sth.flexible-sd.beating~DISTR.PL-PFV and.then POSS-CLF:HUM.PL

pevangphrok
pe-vàng-phròk
CAUS-come-bulging.out
‘and with a bundle of jamir they beat the frog so his skin got swollen’ [RBT, ChM 079]

ansi ingtonlo
ánsi ingtòn-lò
after.that conclude-RL
'and that's it’ [RBT, ChM 080]

APPENDIX E

TEXT: WR, BCS (FOLK STORY)

This folk story gives an account of subdivisions within the Bey clan. The first part of the folk story focuses on the two brothers *Bey Ki'ik* (Bey the Black) and *Bey Ke'et* (Bey the Fair) and their falling out over changing marriage plans as a result of the grandmother's advice. The second part of the story focuses on members of the *Bey Ronghang* clan and gives an account of why in modern times they are not allowed to grind rice for rice beer. The story's account is that in mythological times, the *Bey Ronghang* women kept grinding rice for rice beer without doing anything else, even forgetting to breast-feed their children, which subsequently died from starvation.

The audio file for the entire text WR, BCS is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3JD4V2T at https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

hako ahut hedi Bey atum korte bangkethom do tangho
hakó ahūt hedī Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō tànghò
that.time during NP.EMPH CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist REP
'in the old days, you know, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

Bey atum korte bangkethom do aklengsi abangke
[Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō] [a-klèng-sí abàng=ke
CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP

Bey Ki'ik adakvam abangke Bey Ke'et
Bēy ke-ìk] [adakvám abàng=ke Bēy ke-èt
CLAN NMLZ-be.black second.child NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

akibi abangke Bey Ronghang
[a-ke-bī abàng=ke Bēy Ronghāng]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=TOP CLAN CLAN
'there were three Bey brothers, the oldest one was Bey the Black, the second one was Bey the Fair, and the small one was Bey Ronghang' [WR, BCS 002]

anke latum thelo dinglo, piso some enlo tangho
ánke [la-tūm thè-lò dīng-lò] [pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] tànghò
and.then this-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL wife EE:pīsō take-RL REP
'and then, they grew up and they got married, so they say' [WR, BCS 003]

piso some enlo anke Bey Ki'ik abangta
[pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] ánke [Bēy ke-ìk abàng=tā
wife EE:pīsō take-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

ahem arit dolo Bey Ke'et abangta
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy ke-èt abàng=tā
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

ahem arit dolo Bey Ronghang abang,
a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy Ronghāng abàng
POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN CLAN NPDL

akibi abangta, ahem arit dolo
a-ke-bī abàng=tā a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=ADD:also:PRL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
'they got married, and then Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property' [WR, BCS 004]

anke aklengsi abangke piso some enlo apotsi,
ánke a-klèng-sí abàng=ke pīsō sōmē ēn-lò apōt=si
and.then POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC:RL

asomar thelo dinglo tangho
a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò tànghò
POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL REP
'and then, the oldest had gotten married and so his children grew up' [WR, BCS 005]

asomar thelo dinglo, anke Bey Ke'et
a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò ánke Bēy ke-èt
POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

abangta lason thakthaklo, piso some enlo; potsi
abàng=tā lasón thakthāk-lò pīsō sōmē ēn-lò apōt=si
NPDL=ADD:also that.way same-RL wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC:RL

halata asomar thelo dinglo
hála=tā a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò
that=ADD:also POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL
'his children were growing up and then Bey the Fair also did the same and he got married and so with respect to him also, his children grew up' [WR, BCS 006]

an Bey Ronghang akibisi abangta piso
án Bēy Ronghāng a-ke-bī-sí abàng=tā pīsō
and.then CLAN CLAN POSS-NMLZ-be.small-SPLT NPDL=ADD:also wife

some enpen, asomar thelo dinglo; anke
sōmē ēn-pen a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò] [ánke
EE:pīsō take-NF:with POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL and.then

aklengsi abangke... la Bey Ke'et Bey
a-klèng-sí abàng=ke... [là Bēy ke-èt Bēy
POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow CLAN

Ronghang lapen Bey Ki'ik atum, angjirta do pu
Ronghāng lapèn Bēy ke-ìk a-tūm a-ingjìr=tā dō pu
CLAN and CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL POSS-sister=ADD:also exist QUOT
'and then, Bey Ronghang, the youngest, he also got married and his children grew up, and then, the oldest one, that Bey the Fair, Bey Ronghang, and Bey the Black, they also had a sister' [WR, BCS 007]

angjirta do anke, la angjirpi abangta
a-ingjìr=tā dō ánke [là a-ingjìr-pī abàng=tā
POSS-sister=ADD:also exist and.then this POSS-sister-female NPDL=ADD:also

penan dolo; anke a'ik aklengsi along Bey
penān dō-lò] ánke [[[a-ìk a-klèng-sí alòng] [Bēy
husband stay-RL and.then POSS-older.brother POSS-old.one-SPLT LOC CLAN

Ki'ik ahemsi piso kehangdam tangho
ke-ìk a-hēm=si]] pīsō ke-hàng-dām] tànghò
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=FOC wife NMLZ-ask-GO REP
'they also had a sister, and then the sister also got married, and then to the oldest brother, to Bey the Black's house, she went to ask for a wife (for her son) [WR, BCS 008]

piso hangdamlo anke kene, ‘Bey Ki'ik‘ pu
pīsō hàng-dām-lò ánke kené Bēy ke-ìk pu
wife call-GO-RL and.then filler CLAN NMLZ-be.black QUOT

apotsi halatumke asomar abang ikpikpik
apōt=si hála-tūm=ke a-oso-màr abàng ìk-pìk~pìk
because=FOC:RL that-PL=TOP POSS-child-PL NPDL be.black-very~DIST.PL
'she went to ask for a wife, and then, ehm, because he was called ‘Bey the Black’, they, his children were all very black' [WR, BCS 009]

an ‘Bey Ke'et’ pu atum abangke asomar
án Bēy ke-èt pu a-tūm abàng=ke a-oso-màr
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow QUOT POSS-PL NPDL=TOP POSS-child-PL

abang etpik tangho
abàng èt-pìk tànghò
NPDL be.yellow-very REP
'and then, with respect to the so-called ‘Bey the Fair’ and his family, his children were very fair' [WR, BCS 010]

an lasi latum korte banghini alóngpén ‘Bey
án lasì la-tūm kortè bàng-hiní a-lòng=pen [Bēy
and.then therefore this-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-LOC=from CLAN

Ki'ik’ pu abang ahemsi angjirpi abang
ke-ìk pu abàng a-hēm=si] [a-ingjìr-pī abàng]
NMLZ-be.black QUOT NPDL POSS-house=FOC POSS-sister-female NPDL

piso hangdamlohe
pīsō hàng-dām-lò=he
wife call-GO-RL=EMPH
‘and then, therefore, among the two brothers, their sister went to the so-called ‘Bey the Black’, to his house, to ask for a wife, you know’ [WR, BCS 011]

piso hangdamló, anke hala aphi sarpi dolang
[pīsō hàng-dām-lò] [ánke [hála a-phì sarpī] dō-làng
wife call-GO-RL and.then that POSS-grandmother old.woman exist-still

tangho, la Beyhem asarpihe… aphi
tànghò] [là Bēy-hēm a-sarpī=he...] [a-phì
REP this CLAN-house POSS-old.woman=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-grandmother

sarpi dolang, anlo aphi abang kipu tangho,
sarpī dō-làng] [ánlo a-phì abàng ke-pù tànghò]
old.woman exist-still and.then POSS-grandmother NPDL NMLZ-say REP

hala asupo aphanlohe asopi
[hála a-su-pò a-phān=lo=he] [a-oso-pì
that POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-child-female

aso aphanlohe [hala a'ik
a-osō a-phān=lo=he] [hála a-ìk
POSS-child POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT that POSS-older.brother

abangke 'Bey Ki'ik' pu apot... anke kene
abàng=ke Bēy ke-ìk pu apōt] [ánke kenē
NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.black QUOT because and.then HESIT

aphi sarpi abang kipu tangho
a-phì sarpī abàng ke-pù tànghò]
POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL NMLZ-say REP
'and then there was still their grandmother (i.e. father's mother of the three brothers and one sister), the old woman. The old woman of the Bey house, you know. His grandmother, the old woman was still there. This was how it was, up to here. And then the grandmother was saying, to her grandson, you know. To her daughter's son, you know. The eldest brother, because he was called Bey the Black... The grandmother, the old woman said' [WR, BCS 012]

"hala <nang> adakvam aphanlohe... Bey
[hála <nang-> adakvám a-phān=lo=he] [Bēy
that 2POSS- second.child POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT CLAN

Ke'et abang aphanlo... nangong adakvam
ke-èt abàng a-phān=lo] [nang-ōng adakvám
NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL POSS-NSUBJ=FOC 2:POSS-maternal.uncle second.child

ahemsi kene asopi arje
a-hēm=si] kenē [a-oso-pì arjè
POSS-house=LOC HESIT POSS-child-female appearance

kemerintihe po nang hadak Bey
ke-mē-rintí=he] [pō nàng hádāk Bēy
IPFV-be.good-equally:PL:S/A=EMPH father you there CLAN

Ki'ik ahemsi nang piso hangdamrong"
ke-ìk a-hēm=si nàng pīsō hàng-dām-ròng]
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=FOC:RL 2 wife call-GO-instead
‘ "it's to your second-born (maternal uncle), you know, to Bey the Fair (that you should go and ask for a wife), at your second-born maternal uncle's house, his daughters are all equally beautiful, you know, father, you went there to the house of Bey the Black to ask for a wife instead" ‘ [WR, BCS 013]

"nangong akleng ahemke, nangong
[nang-ōng a-klèng a-hēm=ke] [nang-ōng
2:POSS-maternal.uncle POSS-old.one POSS-house=TOP 2:POSS-maternal.uncle

ahemripo ahemke, la'an abang
a-hēm'rī-pō a-hēm=ke] la=án abàng
POSS-oldest.son-male POSS-house=TOP this=that.much NPDL

ki'ikrintile putangho
ke-ìk-rintí=le pù-tànghò
IPFV-be.black-equally:PL:S/A=FOC:IRR QUOT-REP
' "the family of your oldest maternal uncle, the family of your uncle who is the eldest son of the family, all of them are so black (so you shouldn't get your wife from them)" ‘ [WR, BCS 014]

anlo aphi abangke aphi sarpi abang la
ánlo aphī abàng=ke [a-phì sarpī abàng] [là
and.then after NPDL=TOP POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL this

asopi asopo aphan pudet apot
a-oso-pì a-oso-pò a-phān pù-dèt apōt]
POSS-child-female POSS-child-male POSS-NSUBJ say-PFV because

asupo aphan hadak nangong "<Bey
[a-su-pò a-phān] [hádāk nang-ōng <Bēy
POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ there 2:POSS-maternal.uncle CLAN

Ki'ik> Bey Ke'et ahemle piso
ke-ìk> Bēy ke-èt a-hēm=le] [pīsō
NMLZ-be.black CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house=FOC:IRR wife

hangdamrongnon hadaksi abang
hàng-dām-ròng-nōn] hádāk=si a-bàng
call-GO-instead-COND.IMP there=FOC:RL POSS-somebody/people

ke'etrinti" pu apot, asupo
ke-èt-rintí pu apōt] [a-su-pò
IPFV-be.yellow-equally:PL:S/A QUOT because POSS-grandchild-male

abangta aphi alam apot kroidetlohe
abàng=tā] [[a-phì a-lám] apōt] krōi-dèt-lò=he
NPDL=ADD:DM POSS-grandmother POSS-word because agree-PFV-RL=EMPH
'it was the grandmother, the grandmother, the old woman, because she had said to the son of her daughter, to her grandson, "there to your uncle, to Bey the Fair's house go and ask for a wife. There, the people (i.e. daughters) are all equally fair", because she said that, because these were the words of his grandmother, the grandson agreed, you know' [WR, BCS 015]

aphi alam apot kroilo, anke hala Bey
[a-phì a-lám apōt krōi-lò] ánke [hála Bēy
POSS-grandmother POSS-word because agree-RL and.then that CLAN

Ki'ik ahemke piso hangdam'et jat'et
ke-ìk a-hēm=ke pīsō hàng-dām-ét ját-ét]
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=TOP wife call-GO-PFT GENEX-PFT

lo han sik'et jat'et [kachepangri
[lō hán sík-ét ját-ét] [ke-che-pangrí
banana.leaf curry prepare-PFT GENEX-PFT NMLZ-RR-reconcile

pangdonnangji aphan kesiktang'anta
pangdòn-náng-jí aphān ke-sík-táng-án=tā
even.out-need-IRR2 PURP NMLZ-prepare-finish-all=ADD:EXH

siktheilo, an hadak abangke lo han
sík-théi-lò] [án hádāk abàng=ke lō hán
prepare-all.of.a.set:S/O-RL and.then there NPDL=TOP banana.leaf curry

thuruilo, hala aphi alam karju an
thū-rùi-lò] [hála a-phì a-lám ke-arjū án
rot-many-RL that POSS-grandmother POSS-word NMLZ-listen because

Bey Ke'et ahem hedi hadak asopi
Bēy ke-èt a-hēm hedī hádāk a-oso-pì
CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house NP.EMPH there POSS-child-female

la Bey Ke'et asopi aphansi hedi
là Bēy ke-èt a-oso-pì aphān=si hedī
this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-child-female NSUBJ=FOC:RL NP.EMPH

piso hangdamrong hadaksi pangri pangdonrong tangho
pīsō hàng-dām-ròng hádāk=si pangrí pangdòn-ròng tànghò
wife call-GO-instead there=FOC:RL reconcile even.out-instead REP
‘because it was his grandmother's advice, he agreed, and so he went to Bey the Black's house to ask for a wife and do all the formalities, and prepare the banana leaves and the curry (for the wedding) and everything, they prepared all of the necessary things for the wedding, and then there all the food got rotten, (because) he had followed his grandmother's advice and had gone to Bey the Fair's house, you know; there (that man's) daughter, to the daughter of Bey the Fair, you know, he went to ask for her as a wife instead, there he went to get married instead' [WR, BCS 016]

pangri pangdonrongló anke ha aphike la Bey
pangrí pangdòn-ròng-lò ánke há aphī=ke là Bēy
reconcile even.out-instead-RL and.then over.there after=TOP this CLAN

Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik abangke aning
ke-èt=pen Bēy ke-ìk abàng=ke a-nīng
NMLZ-be.yellow/fair=with CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP POSS-mind

che'oitanglo
che-ói-táng-lò
RR-be.sad-finish-RL
‘they got married, and then after this, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black got upset with each other’ [WR, BCS 017]

hala Bey Ki'ik atumke lo han
[hála Bēy ke-ìk a-tūm=ke] [lō hán
that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL=TOP banana.leaf curry

thik'etlomati kene kecho kijunnangji,
thík-ét-lò=mati kenē [ke-chō ke-jùn-náng-ji]
be.okay(<Asm)-PFT-RL=CG HESIT NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink-need-IRR2

ok hanta thiktheilo seta, hala
[ōk hán=tā thík-théi-lò setā [hála
meat curry=ADD:also be.okay(<Asm)-all:EXH:S/O-RL but that

aphi sarpi alam karju apot, anke Bey
a-phì sarpī a-lám ke-arjū apōt] [ánke Bēy
POSS-grandmother old.woman POSS-word NMLZ-listen because and.then CLAN

Ke'et ahem chepangri chepangdonronglo; anke
ke-èt a-hēm che-pangrí che-pangdòn-ròng-lò [ánke
NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house RR-reconcile RR-even.out-instead-RL and.then

hala Bey Ki'ik akleng abangke aning ke'oilo
hála Bēy ke-ìk a-klèng abàng=ke a-nīng ke-ói-lò]
that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-old.one NPDL=TOP POSS-mind IPFV-be.sad-RL
'and then, Bey the Black and his family had already arranged everything, you know, and although they had prepared all the food and beverages, because (he) had followed that grandmother's advice, he had instead married into Bey the Fair's family, and then that Bey the Black, the oldest one, got upset' [WR, BCS 018]

lasi pini-arni'anta hedi Bey Ke'etpen Bey
lasì pinì-arnì=án=tā hedī Bēy ke-èt=pen Bēy
therefore today-day=till=ADD:even NP.EMPH CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN

Ki'ikke chi'une tangho Karbi atum, Bey
ke-ìk=ke che-ūn-Cē tànghò Karbì a-tūm [Bèy
NMLZ-be.black=TOP RR-be.able-NEG REP PN POSS-PL CLAN

Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik kechiune
ke-èt=pen Bēy ke-ìk ke-che-ūn-Cē
NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN NMLZ-be.black NMLZ-RR-be.able-NEG

athaike <hala piso> aphi sarpi abang
a-thái=ke] <hála pīsō> a-phì sarpī abàng
POSS-place(<Asm)=TOP that wife POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL

chokchedétlomati
chók-Cē-dèt-lò=mati
be.fine-NEG-PFV-RL=CG
'up to today, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can't tolerate each other (among) the Karbis, and the reason why Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can't tolerate each other is that <that wife>, grandmother made a mistake, you know' [WR, BCS 019]

asupo aphan pudundét, "nangong, Bey
[a-su-pò a-phān pù-dūn-dèt] [[nang-ōng Bēy
POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ say-JOIN-PFV 2:POSS-maternal.uncle CLAN

Ke'et ahemsí asopi arje keme"
ke-èt a-hēm=si] [a-oso-pì] [arjè ke-mē]]
NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house=LOC POSS-child-female appearance IPFV-be.good

pu pudundétpen, hadak chepangridet apot hedi;
pu pù-dūn-dèt-pen hádāk che-pangrì-dèt apōt hedī
QUOT say-JOIN-PFV-NF:with there RR-reconcile-PFV because EMPH

anke Bey Ki'ik abangke seme ketang tangho
ánke Bēy ke-ìk abàng=ke semé ke-táng tànghò
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP oath(<Khs) IPFV-LV REP
'(she) had said to the grandchild, "at the house of your maternal uncle, Bey the Fair, his daughters are very beautiful", she had said that and then because he got married there, you know, so Bey the Black took a vow' [WR, BCS 020]

Karbi atumhe adohai dokoklohe
Karbì a-tūm=he a-dohái dō-kòk-lò=he
PN POSS-PL=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-vow(<Ind) exist-firmly-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT
'among the Karbis, you know, there is a vow, you know' [WR, BCS 021]

"mó pirthe kangtangta nang Bey Ke'etpen
mò pirthé ke-ingtāng=tā nàng Bēy ke-èt=pen
future world NMLZ-be.strong=even you CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with

Bey Ki'ikke nangpachiunenang!" pu tangho
Bēy ke-ìk=ke nang=pa-che-ūn-Cē-nāng pu tànghò
CLAN NMLZ-be.black=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-RR-be.able-NEG-HORT QUOT REP
' "up into the future, you (my offspring), Bey the Fair and Bey the Black, let's make you not be able to tolerate each other" ' [WR, BCS 022]

ke latum banghini abángke korte banghini
ke la-tūm bàng-hiní abàng=ke kortè bàng-hiní
and.then this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two NPDL=TOP brother CLF:HUM:PL-two

abangke aseme dokoklohe
abàng=ke a-semé dō-kòk-lò=he
NPDL=TOP POSS-vow(<Khs) exist-firmly-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT
'and then, (between) the two brothers, the vow remains, you know' [WR, BCS 023]

lasi pini-arnita Bey Ke'etpen Bey
lasì pinì-arnì=tā Bēy ke-èt=pen Bēy
therefore today-day=ADD:even CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN

Ki'ik chi'une
ke-ìk che-ūn-Cē
NMLZ-be.black RR-be.able-NEG
‘and so up to today, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can't tolerate each other’ [WR, BCS 024]

latumke hedi la Bey Ke'et kele
la-tūm=ke hedī là Bēy ke-èt ke-lè
this-PL=TOP NP.EMPH this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NMLZ-reach

ahemlote Bey Ki'ik le'un'e pu
a-hēm-lò-te Bēy ke-ìk lè-ūn-Cē pu
POSS-house-RL-COND CLAN NMLZ-be.black reach-be.able-NEG QUOT

laso adohai dokoklo aseme dokoklo
lasō a-dohái dō-kòk-lò a-semé dō-kòk-lò
this POSS-vow(<Ind) exist-firmly-RL POSS-vow(<Khs) exist-firmly-RL
‘and so, when there's house that (a daughter of) Bey the Fair has reached (i.e. got married there), there (a daughter of) Bey the Black can't reach (i.e. can't get married), there's a dohai, there's a vow’ [WR, BCS 025]

anke ‘Bey Ronghang’ pu abangke akibi
ánke Bēy Ronghāng pu abàng=ke a-ke-bī
and.then CLAN CLAN QUOT NPDL=TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.small

atumlo tangho
a-tūm=lo tànghò
POSS-PL-RL REP
‘and then, the (children of the) so-called ‘Bey Ronghang’ were the youngest’ [WR, BCS 026]

latumke akibisi atumlo, latumta piso some
[la-tūm=ke a-ke-bī-sí a-tūm-lò] la-tūm=tā pīsō sōmē
this-PL=TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.small-SPLT POSS-PL-RL this-PL=ADD:DM wife EE:pīsō

enlo potsi ahem arit doló
ēn-lò] [pōt=si a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]
take-RL reason=FOC:RL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL
‘they were (the children/descendants of) the youngest, they also had gotten married and so they had their house and property’ [WR, BCS 027]

anke latum abangke hedi thap ketoklok tangho
ánke la-tūm abàng=ke hedī thàp ke-tòk-lók tànghò
and.then this-PL NPDL=TOP NP.EMPH cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only REP
'and then, they kept pounding the rice to prepare the cake for rice beer, it is said' [WR, BCS 028]

Karbi atum la hor ketun'i apot he
Karbì atūm là hōr ke-tún-ī apōt=he
PN PL this liquor NMLZ-cook-with because=EMPH
'because that's what Karbi prepare liquor with, you know' [WR, BCS 029]

thap ketoklok jo arníta sanglongle,
[thàp ke-tòk-lók] [jó arnì=tā sáng-lōng-Cē]
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only night day=ADD:EXH take.rest-GET-NEG

thap ketoklok ketoklok, aso mok
[thàp ke-tòk-lók ke-tòk-lók] [[[a-sō mōk
cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only IPFV-pound-only POSS-child breast

kachepechuji apor ave tangho
ke-che-pa-chū-jí] a-pór] avē tànghò]
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-suck-IRR2 POSS-time not.exist REP
'they just kept pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, the whole time they didn't get to take rest, they were pounding the rice beer cake, they didn't even have time to breastfeed their children' [WR, BCS 030]

lasi aso mok chipichulongle jatlongle,
lasì [a-sō mōk che-pa-chū-lōng-Cē ját-lōng-Cē]
therefore POSS-child breast RR-CAUS-suck-GET-NEG GENEX-GET-NEG

lasi aso hedi ja'e arlo aso thilot tangho
lasì a-sō hedī ja'ē arlō a-sō thì-lòt tànghò
therefore POSS-child NP.EMPH cradle inside POSS-child die-INTENS REP
'and so, they didn't get a chance to breastfeed their children and everything and so, you know, inside the cradles their children just died, it is said' [WR, BCS 031]

anke latumta hedi seme tangdetlo
ánke la-tūm=tā hedī semé táng-dèt-lò
and.then this-PL=ADD:also NP.EMPH vow(<Khs) LV-PFV-RL
‘and then, they also, you know, took a vow’ [WR, BCS 032]

latum abangke nohokta che'undun, la akibi
la-tūm abàng=ke nohōk=tā che-ūn-dūn, là a-ke-bī
this-PL NPDL=TOP anywhere=ADD:EXH RR-be.able-JOIN this POSS-NMLZ-be.small

atumke he... Bey Ke'et alongta che'undun
a-tūm=ke he... Bēy ke-èt alòng=tā che-ūn-dūn
POSS-PL=TOP NP.EMPH CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow LOC=ADD:also:PRL RR-get.along-JOIN

an Bey Ki'ik alongta che'undun sita, latum
án Bēy ke-ìk alòng=tā che-ūn-dūn sitā [la-tūm
then CLAN NMLZ-be.black LOC=ADD:also:PRL RR-get.along-along but this-PL

aseme <ketok> kedo abangke thap
a-semé <ke-tòk> ke-dō abàng=ke [thàp
POSS-vow(<Khs) NMLZ-pound NMLZ-exist NPDL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer

toklongle
tòk-lōng-Cē]
pound-GET-NEG
‘they can tolerate anybody (i.e. can tolerate both Bey the Black and Bey the Fair), the youngest brother's clan ones, you know, Bey the Fair's clan members they can tolerate, and Bey the Black's clan members they can tolerate, but with respect to their vow, they shouldn't pound the rice for the rice beer cake’ [WR, BCS 033]

“thap toklongle mó pirthe kangtang sita la
thàp tòk-lōng-Cē mò pirthé ke-ingtāng setā là
cake.for.rice.beer pound-GET-NEG future world NMLZ-be.strong but this

netum Bey Ronghang atumke thap
ne-tūm Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke thàp
1EXCL-PL CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer

nangpatoklonglenang” pu
nang=pa-tòk-lōng-Cē-nāng pu
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-pound-GET-NEG-HORT QUOT
' “we don't get to pound, even in the future when the world is mature, we, the Bey Ronghang shouldn't be made to have to pound the rice for rice beer cake”, (he) said' [WR, BCS 034]

lasi pini-arni'anta hedi la Bey Ronghang atumke
lasì pinì-arnì-án=tā hedī là Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke
therefore today-day-till=ADD:even NP.EMPH this CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP

bang thap ketok alengpumta otdunno
bàng thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm=tā ót-dùn-nō
people cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle=ADD:DM touch-JOIN-be.bad
'even up to today, you know, for the Bey Ronghang, the pestle (other people use) to pound the rice for the rice beer cake is bad to touch (i.e., shouldn't be touched)' [WR, BCS 035]

bang thap ketok alengpum otdunlote
[bàng thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm ót-dùn-lo-tē]
people cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle touch-JOIN-RL-COND

ekene Karbi atum kipu asingnam avedetji
ekenē [Karbì a-tūm ke-pù a-singnām [avē-dèt-jí
HESIT PN POSS-PL NMLZ-say POSS-head.strap not.exist-PFV-IRR2

che asingnam kave pondetji pu ekene
chē] a-singnām ke-avē pòn-dèt-jí pu ekenē
I.mean POSS-head.strap NMLZ-not.exist take.away-PFV-IRR2 QUOT HESIT

teke pondetji tangho
teké pòn-dèt-jí tànghò
tiger take.away-PFV-IRR2 REP
'if somebody touches the pestle used for pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, then what the Karbis call the one won't have a headstrap, I mean, the one that doesn't have a head strap will take him away, (i.e.) the tiger will take him away, it is said' [WR, BCS 036]

lasi la thap ketok alengpumta
lasì [là thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm=tā
therefore this cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle=ADD:DM

otdunno, an hor kitun ahutta hedi la
ót-dùn-nō] án [[[hōr ke-tún ahūt=tā hedī] là
touch-JOIN-be.bad and.then serve.food NMLZ-cook during=ADD EMPH this

Bey Ronghang atumke thapta lapu
Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke thàp=tā lapù
CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer=ADD like.this

kekoinangji bongpen, kotpenhe pu
ke-kòi-náng-jí] [bòng=pen kót=pen=he]] [pù
IPFV-rub-must-IRR2 bottle=with paper(<Asm)=with= AFTERTHOUGHT like.this

koisi ansi hala an along teinangji
kòi-si ánsi hála àn a-lòng téi-náng-jí]
rub-NF:RL after.that that rice POSS-LOC apply-need-IRR2
'the pestle cannot be touched, and so at the time of pounding the rice, the Bey Ronghang grind the rice like that, with a bottle, with a piece of paper (put between rice cake and bottle), they grind it and then they need to apply the powder (after grinding) with the rice (to prepare the rice beer)' [WR, BCS 037]

lapu'an anatlo atomoke
lapù=án a-nàt-lò a-tomó=ke
like.this=till POSS-only-RL POSS-story=TOP
'just like this, up to here it goes, the story' [WR, BCS 038]

APPENDIX F

TEXT: SIT, PS (PEAR STORY)

This text is an online narration of the Pear Story (Chafe 1980). The speaker was asked to describe what was happening as he was watching the video clip.

The audio file for the entire text SiT, PS is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3P55KRP at https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

vo kiku
vō ke-kú
chicken IPFV-crow
'a rooster is crowing' [SiT, PS 001]

vota kujengsi do... inut
[vō=tā kú-jèng-si dō] [e-nūt
chicken=also crow-for.long.time(sound)-NF:RL exist one-CLF:HUM:SG

chotiki chonghoi amonit amethang abiri
cho-tikī cho-inghói a-monít] [a-metháng a-birī
AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-do POSS-man POSS-self POSS-garden

arlopen eson <athe...> thesere kelik
arlō=pen] e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré ke-lík
inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruits IPFV-pluck
'there's a rooster crowing (in the background)... one cultivator (/farmer) inside his own garden is picking one kind of fruit' [SiT, PS 002]

dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang
[dondón che-dón-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]
ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong
[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròi isī a-jamboróng
cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan
arlō=si] [laháí] ke-thàp]] lapèn [arúm ke-vàn]]
inside=FOC:RL these NMLZ-put.inside and down NMLZ-bring
'he's placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down' [SiT, PS 003]

lake phatang alongsi kethap
là=ke [phatáng a-lòng=si] ke-thàp
this=TOP B.BASKET POSS-LOC=FOC NMLZ-put.inside
'he is putting them in a *phatang* bamboo basket' [SiT, PS 004]

ajahak atheke longle athak klobom lapusonta do
[[ajahák a-thē=ke] [longlē a-thàk] kló-bòm] [làpusón=tā dō]
some POSS-fruit=TOP earth POSS-on.top fall-CONT like.this=also exist
'some fruits keep falling on the ground, that's also (something that is) happening [SiT, PS 005]

so amonit achethok along peta do <aphutup
[[sō a-monít] a-chethōk a-lòng pé=tā dō] <a-phutūp
this POSS-man POSS-neck POSS-LOC cloth=ADD exist POSS-hat

alongke> aphu alongke phutupsi kachekup choi
a-lòng=ke> [a-phú a-lòng=ke phutūp=si ke-che-kúp] [chói
POSS-LOC=TOP POSS-head POSS-LOC=TOP hat=FOC:RL NMLZ-RR-cover shirt

ki'iksi kachingchoi
ke-ìk=si ke-chingchói]
NMLZ-be.black=FOC:RL NMLZ-wear
'this man also has a cloth on his neck, on his head he wears a hat, he wears a black shirt' [SiT, PS 006]

dondon do a-rongta the'o, laso athesere <e>
[[dondón dō a-rōng=tā thè-ò] lasō a-theseré
ladder exist POSS-plant=ADD be.big-much this POSS-fruits

a-rong... bita nangkangreng ase
a-rōng...] [bī=tā nang=ke-ingrèng a-sè
POSS-plant goat=even CIS=NMLZ-call(small.animals) POSS-disease

kethepar
ke-thè-pār]
NMLZ-be.big-very
‘there's a ladder, the tree is very big; this fruit tree..., the voice of a goat is also very loud’ [SiT, PS 007]

laso kethap aphrang aphrang <la> longle keklo alongpen
lasō ke-thàp aphráng~aphráng <là> longlē ke-kló alòng=pen
this NMLZ-put.inside before~INTENS this earth NMLZ-fall LOC=from

humsi laso aketer athesere <la> longle
hūm-si lasō a-ke-tèr a-theseré <là> longlē
pick.up-NF:RL this POSS-NMLZ-be.dirty POSS-fruits this earth

kero'anke halaso apepensi venlo
ke-rō=án=ke hálasō a-pé=pen=si vēn-lò
NMLZ-hit=all=TOP that POSS-cloth=with=FOC:RL wipe-RL
'just before putting them into (the basket), he picks them up from having fallen onto the ground, and these dirty fruits, all the ones that were dirty, with this cloth, he wiped them clean’ [SiT, PS 008]

anke lasonsi thapbomlo
ánke lasón=si thàp-bōm-lò
and.then that.way=FOC:RL put.inside-CONT-RL
‘and then, like this he kept putting them inside (the baskets)’ [SiT, PS 009]

ha achar tovar kengkeng inut phutup
[[há achár továr kengkèng] [e-nūt phutūp
over.there far.away road all.the.way one-CLF:HUM:SG hat

kachikupdong amonit... bi api
ke-che-kúp-dòng a-monít]... [bī a-pī]
NMLZ-RR-cover-attached POSS-man goat POSS-female

nangchithurkrikrisi laso <la> thesere
nang=chithùr-krì-krì-si] [lasō <là> theseré
CIS=drag-follow.closely-follow.closely-NF:RL this this fruits

kelik amonit adung'an nanglelo
ke-lík a-monít adūng-án] nang=lè-lò
NMLZ-pluck POSS-man near-up.to CIS=reach-RL
‘over there, far away, all the way down the road, one hat-wearing man, dragging along a female goat, close up to this fruit picking man he reached’ [SiT, PS 010]

laso amonitta... <a> lapu bi ponlo <la> abi abangke
lasō a-monít=tā... lapù bī pòn-lo <là> a-bī abàng=ke
this POSS-man=ADD like.this goat take.away-RL this POSS-goat NPDL=TOP

kedun mo
ke-dùn mō
NMLZ-join hesitate
‘this person also... like this carries the goat, this goat is hesitating to go along’ [SiT, PS 011]

ne <kechokang...> kachopanji aning
[nē <ke-chō-káng...> ke-chopān-jí a-nīng
something NMLZ-eat-just NMLZ-look.for.food-IRR2 POSS-mind

kehang ason bonsita halaso amonit chingtontesi
ke-hàng asón] bónsetā hálasō a-monít chingtòn-Cē-si
NMLZ-want like but that POSS-man stop.for.awhile-NEG-NF:RL

chithurponbomlo
chithùr-pōn-bōm-lò
drag-take.away-CONT-RL
'it's as if the goat wants to graze, but that man without stopping for awhile keeps dragging (the goat) away' [SiT, PS 012]

abi ponbomlo ha helovinglo
a-bī pòn-bōm-lò há helō-víng-lò
POSS-goat take.away-CONT-RL over.there be.far-very-RL
‘he keeps taking the goat away, over there far away’ [SiT, PS 013]

anke laso amonit abangke, la chotiki
ánke [lasō a-monít abàng=ke] [là cho-tikī
and.then this POSS-man NPDL=TOP this AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate

chonghoipen kecho amonit abangke... puthot
cho-inghói-pen ke-chō a-monít abàng=ke]... puthōt
AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-NF:with NMLZ-eat POSS-man NPDL=TOP next/again

angsong arlusi... thengpi arong arlusi athe likbomlo
angsóng arlū-si... thengpī a-rōng arlū-si a-thē lík-bòm-lò
high.up climb-NF:RL tree/wood POSS-plant climb-NF:RL POSS-fruit pluck-CONT-RL
'and then, this man, the man who lives off of (lit., eats from) cultivating, again climbed up, climbed up in the tree and kept picking the fruit' [SiT, PS 014]

laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit
[lasō a-ahūt amāt] [e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít
this POSS-during and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man

abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... laso amonitta
a-bàng=ke] saikél nang=ardòn-si vàng-lo... lasō a-monít=tā
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CIS=ride-NF:RL come-RL this POSS-man=also

aphu along aphutup do
a-phú alòng a-phutūp dō
POSS-head LOC POSS-hat exist
'in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, this person also had a hat on his head' [SiT, PS 015]

lapenke la thesere kelikbom amonit along nanglelo
lapèn=ke là theseré ke-lík-bòm a-monít a-lòng nang=lè-lò
and=TOP this fruits NMLZ-pluck-CONT POSS-man POSS-LOC CIS=reach-RL
'and then, he reached the (place where) the fruit picking man was' [SiT, PS 016]

thengpi arum nanglelo amonit abangke angsongsi do
thengpī arúm nang=lè-lo a-monít abàng=ke angsóng=si dō
tree/wood down CIS=reach-RL POSS-man NPDL=TOP high.up=FOC:RL exist
'he reached underneath the tree, that man (who's picking the fruit) is up high in the tree' [SiT, PS 017]

lapenke arum la dondon adunghet amat... <a>
lapèn=ke arúm là dondón adūng-hét amāt...
and.then=TOP down this ladder near-INTENS self

phatang hini plengchongchong... <a> thesere kiliktang
phatáng hiní plèng-chóng~chòng... theseré ke-lík-táng
kd.basket two be.full-slightly.high~INTENS fruits NMLZ-pluck-PFV

theklonglo lapenke saikel pasangkoklo
thèklōng-lò lapèn=ke saikél pa-sáng-kòk-lò
see-RL and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CAUS-take.rest-firmly-RL
'and then, underneath, in the place itself very close by the ladder, two baskets were full, he sees the fruit that had already been picked, and then he stopped the cycle' [SiT, PS 018]

<sangkok> asaikel kapasangkokra
<sáng-kòk> a-saikél ke-pe-sáng-kòk-ra
take.rest-firmly POSS-bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-CAUS-take.rest-firmly-NF:IRR

parjaplun kibiji a-son avedet amat
pe-arjàp-lùn ke-bí-jí a-sòn avē-dèt amāt
CAUS-stand-big:AO NMLZ-keep-IRR2 POSS-thing not.exist-PFV and.then

asaikel abang pakrepkhram
a-saikél abàng pe-krēp-khràm
POSS-bicycle(<Eng) NPDL CAUS-fall.over-with.loud.noise
'he stops the bicycle and there is no device to keep it standing up, and then he made the cycle fall over with a loud noise' [SiT, PS 019]

lapenke amonit kopisi keklemma, hala
lapèn=ke a-monít kopī=si ke-klém=ma hála
and.then=TOP POSS-man what=FOC:RL NMLZ-do=Q that

ahemphu abang la langrei amat
a-hēmphū abàng là làng-rèi amāt
POSS-house.owner.male.hon NPDL this see-sideways.briefly and.then
'and then, what the man is doing, that old man, he glances to the side briefly, and then' [SiT, PS 020]

<aphatang along'an saikel...> <a> saikel along'an
<a-phatáng alòng-án saikél...> saikél a-lòng=án
POSS-kd.basket LOC-up.to bicycle(<Eng) bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC=up.to

phatang abang vansi... la phatang saikel along
[phatáng abàng] vàn-si... là phatáng saikél a-lòng
kd.basket NPDL bring-NF:RL this kd.basket bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC

kethapji aphan bor'ilo
ke-thàp-jí aphān bor'í-lò
NMLZ-put.inside-IRR2 PURP try.w.great.effort-RL
'<the bicycle to the baskets>, to the bicycle he brings the basket, the basket he is trying to put on the cycle' [SiT, PS 021]

amat amonitta ajon thihek
amāt a-monít=tā a-jōn thī-hèk
and.then POSS-man=also POSS-height be.short-INTENS
'and then, the person is short' [SiT, PS 022]

lapenke saikel along aphrang anatsi
lapèn=ke saikél a-lòng a-phráng a-nát=si
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC POSS-first POSS-direction=FOC:RL

kethap
ke-thàp
NMLZ-put.inside
'and then he puts them on the bicycle in the front' [SiT, PS 023]

lapenke hala kangni adim along ingnithekthesi
lapèn=ke [hála ke-ingnì a-dím a-lòng] ingnì-thēk-Cē-si
and.then=TOP that NMLZ-sit POSS-place POSS-LOC sit-see-NEG-NF:RL

<a> si ingchin apum along ingnisi... saikel
sì ingchìn a-púm a-lòng ingnì-si... saikél
therefore iron POSS-CLF:round POSS-LOC sit-NF:RL bicycle(<Eng)

kevekponlo
ke-vèk-pōn-lò
NMLZ-steer-away-RL
'and then, he doesn't know how to sit down on that sitting place (saddle), and then on the iron bar he sits and steers the bicycle away' [SiT, PS 024]

saikel vekponbom dambomlo atheta
[saikél vèk-pòn-bōm dàm-bōm-lò] a-thē=tā
bicycle(<Eng) steer-away-CONT go-CONT-RL POSS-fruit=also

kloponpresi tovar soding kloponbomlo
kló-pòn-prè-si továr sodíng kló-pòn-bōm-lò
fall-on.the.way-scattered-NF:RL road all.along fall-on.the.way-CONT-RL
'he is steering the bicycle away and going away, and the fruit is falling out here and there and all along the road it keeps falling out' [SiT, PS 025]

bonsita hala ahemphu abangke chipudunthekthe
bónsetā hála a-hēmphū abàng=ke che-pū-dūn-thēk-Cē
but that POSS-house.owner.male.HON NPDL=TOP RR-say-JOIN-know.how-NEG
'but that old man couldn't realize' [SiT, PS 026]

<la> dambomlo... anke kedambom ahut ha
<là> dàm-bōm-lò... ánke ke-dàm-bōm ahūt há
this go-CONT-RL and.then NMLZ-go-CONT during over.there

<punu> anatthupen inut arloso oso, skul
a-nátthū=pen e-nūt árlosō osō skúl
POSS-direction=from one-CLF:HUM:SG woman child school(<Eng)

kidun a'oso... halata saikel nangveksi
ke-dùn a-osō hála=tā saikél nang=vèk-si
NMLZ-join POSS-child that=also bicycle(<Eng) CIS=steer-NF:RL

vangbomlo... menmen latum chetonglok amat
vàng-bōm-lò... ménmèn la-tūm che-tòng-lòk amāt
come-CONT-RL suddenly this-PL RR-meet-just and.then
'he keeps going, and then, as he's going, from that side (i.e., the opposite side), one girl, one school girl, she's also riding a bike and coming, suddenly they meet' [SiT, PS 027]

<la> <saikel...> <a> <la> arlososo abangpen
<là> <saikél...> <là> árlosō~sō abàng=pen
this bicycle(<Eng) this woman~DUAL NPDL=with

chetongder amat aphutup klophit
che-tōng-dèr amāt a-phutūp kló-phìt
RR-collide-IDEOPHONE and.then POSS-hat fall-right.away
'the bicycle..., with the girl he collided and then his hat fell down' [SiT, PS 028]

amat laso damchet amat chekhang'un'elo isi arlong
amāt lasō dàm-chèt amāt che-kháng-ùn-Cē-lò isī arlōng
and.then this go-a.bit and.then RR-keep-be.able-NEG-RL one stone

along tongdér
a-lòng tōng-dèr
POSS-LOC collide-IDEOPHONE
'and then he went just a bit further and then he couldn't hold himself anymore, he hit a stone' [SiT, PS 029]

alang kepon athesere do'anta klolaplo
[[alàng ke-pòn] a-theseré dō=án=tā] kló-làp-lò
3 NMLZ-take.away POSS-fruits exist=all=ADD:EXH fall-completely-RL
'all of the fruit that he was taking away fell out' [SiT, PS 030]

adunghet osomar banghini bangkethom do... halatumke
adūng-hét osō-mār bàng-hiní bàng-kethòm dō... hála-tūm=ke
near-INTENS child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two CLF:HUM:PL-three exist that-PL=TOP

juirekraksi do
jùi-rek~rāk-si dō
play-silently~DIST.PL-NF:RL exist
'nearby, there were a few children, they were playing silently' [SiT, PS 031]

tennis <a> kapathu abol lapenke bet
[tennis ke-pathú a-ból lapèn=ke bét
tennis(<Eng) NMLZ-play POSS-ball(<Eng) and.then=TOP bat(<Eng)

otdong inut oso abangke... lapenke <la>
ót-dòng e-nūt osō abàng=ke]... lapèn=ke <là>
touch-attached one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL =TOP and.then=TOP this

kachingkoidup amonit <a>
[ke-chingkoí-dùp a-monít
NMLZ-fall.down.HUM-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj POSS-man

aphan <la> <thesere aphatang heihai thesere along>
a-phān] <là> <theseré a-phatáng haihúi theseré alòng>
POSS-NSUBJ this fruits POSS-kd.basket these.types.of fruits LOC

aphatang along thesere thapdunlo rapdunlo, laphan
a-phatáng a-lòng theseré thàp-dūn-lò ráp-dùn-lò là-phān
POSS-kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits put.inside-JOIN-RL help-JOIN-RL this-NSUBJ
‘(there’s) one child who’s holding a tennis ball and a bat, and then for the person who had fallen down, they put with him the fruit in the basket, they helped him’ [SiT, PS 032]

<raptang'et aphike> rapdun'et aphike <a> la saikel
<ráp-táng-ét a-aphī=ke> ráp-dùn-ét aphī=ke [là saikél
help-PFV-PRF POSS-after=TOP help-JOIN-PRF after=TOP this bicycle(<Eng)

kevek abang puthot chevekponthulo lapenke
ke-vèk abàng] puthōt che-vēk-pōn-thū-lo lapèn=ke
NMLZ-steer NPDL next/again RR-steer-away-again-RL and.then=TOP

inut oso abangke la aphrang along kedo <a> arlong
[e-nūt osō abàng=ke] [là aphráng a-lòng ke-dō arlōng]
one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL=TOP this first POSS-LOC NMLZ-exist stone

terekpiphitlo...] penke padamlo
terék-pī-phìt-lò... pèn=ke pa-dàm-lò
move-BEN/MAL-away-RL and.then=TOP CAUS-go-RL
‘after helping, the bicycle rider again got on his way, and then one child, the one who was in front, he moved the stone away for him, and then they (the children) let him (the bicycle boy) go away’ [SiT, PS 033]

latum bangkethomke amethang atovar chedamlo,
[[là-tūm bàng-kethòm=ke] a-metháng a-továr che-dām-lò]
this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-three=TOP POSS-self POSS-road RR-go-RL

lapenke saikel ingdoiponbomsi,
[lapèn=ke saikél ingdōi-pōn-bōm-si
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) push-away-CONT-NF:RL

la aphrang kevang abang, dambomlo
[là aphráng ke-vàng abàng] dàm-bōm-lò]
this first NMLZ-come NPDL go-CONT-RL
‘the three of them went their own way, and then pushing the bicycle, the one who first came (i.e. the one with the bicycle), he kept going’ [SiT, PS 034]

damchot aphi.... phutup kitirok theklongloklo hala
dàm-chót aphī.... phutūp ke-tí-ròk thèklōng-lòk-lò [hála
go-a.bit after hat NMLZ-leave.behind-COMPL see-just-RL that

bol ke'otdong a'oso abang
ból ke-ót-dòng a-osō abàng]
ball(<Eng) NMLZ-touch-attached POSS-child NPDL
'and then, after going just a bit, he saw the hat that had been thrown off, that boy that was holding the ball' [SiT, PS 035]

pen pasi'idunvotsi phutup humra aphi
pèn pasi'í-dùn-vòt-si phutūp hūm-rà a-phī
and.then whistle-JOIN-INTENS-NF:RL hat pick.up-NF:IRR POSS-behind

anat chevangthulo
a-nát che-vàng-thū-lò
POSS-direction RR-come-again-RL
'and then, he whistled, picked up the hat and brought it back' [SiT, PS 036]

hala saikel kangdoipon abangta <a> chingtonkoklo
hála saikél ke-ingdōi-pōn abàng=tā chingtòn-kòk-lò
that bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-push-away NPDL=ADD:also stop.for.awhile-firmly-RL
'that bicycle pushing person also stopped for awhile' [SiT, PS 037]

lapenke aphutup pidetlo laphan
lapèn=ke a-phutūp pī-dèt-lò là-phān
and.then=TOP POSS-hat give-PFV-RL this-NSUBJ
'and then, he gave him his hat' [SiT, PS 038]

lapenke la phutup <kapa..> kipidunthu apot, laphan
lapèn=ke [là phutūp ke-pī-dūn-thū apōt] là-phān
and.then=TOP this hat NMLZ-give-JOIN-again because this-NSUBJ

aning ingsamsi, thesere pumni tekanglo
a-nīng ingsām-si theseré púm-ní tekáng-lò
POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL
'and then, because he returned the hat, he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him and gave him two pieces of fruit' [SiT, PS 039]

an laso a'oso abang thesere pumni hala ajirpo
án [lasō a-osō abàng] [theseré púm-ní] [hála a-jirpò
and.then this POSS-child NPDL fruits CLF:round-two that POSS-friend

banghini aphan chepaklangdamlo
bàng-hiní a-phān] che-pa-klàng-dām-lò
CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-NSUBJ RR-CAUS-appear-GO-RL
'and then, this child went to show the two pieces of fruit to those two friends' [SiT, PS 040]

chepaklangdampen... latum kedamthu pangchengló
che-pe-klàng-dām-pen... là-tūm ke-dàm-thū pangchèng-lò
RR-CAUS-appear-GO-NF:with this-PL NMLZ-go-again start-RL
'after going to show them, they again started to go' [SiT, PS 041]

anke ajabok along kethapthot
ánke [a-jabók a-lòng ke-thàp-thòt
and.then POSS-pocket(<Asm) POSS-LOC NMLZ-put.inside-into.opening

akriket abet ensi juiponbomlo
a-kriket a-bet ēn-si jùi-pòn-bōm-lò
POSS-cricket(<Eng) POSS-bat(<Eng) take-NF:RL play-on.the.way-CONT-RL
'and then, the cricket bat that he had put into his pocket he takes again and keeps playing while going away' [SiT, PS 042]

penke hala thesere <a> kelikdam amonit abangta nangsunlo
pèn=ke hála theseré ke-lík-dàm a-monít abàng=tā nang=sūn-lò
and.then=TOP that fruits NMLZ-pluck-GO POSS-man NPDL=also CIS=descend-RL
'and then, the man who had gone to pick fruits, on the other hand, has come down' [SiT, PS 043]

lapenke... phatang along thesere thaplelo... bonta isi
lapèn=ke... phatáng a-lòng theseré thàp-lè-lò... bóntā isī
and.then=TOP kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits put.inside-again-RL but one

aphatang along thesere chetheklongledetlo
a-phatáng a-lòng theseré che-thēklōng-Cē-dèt-lò
POSS-kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL
‘and then, he again put more fruit in the baskets, but in one basket he didn't see any fruit’ [SiT, PS 044]

anke laso a'osomar atum nangke'otkrei
ánke [[lasō a-osō-mār a-tūm] nang=ke-ót-krèi
and.then this POSS-child-PL POSS-PL CIS=NMLZ-touch-DISTR.PL

atheseresi langdunveretlo... anke inut
a-theseré=si] làng-dūn-verèt-lò... ánke e-nūt
POSS-fruits=FOC:RL see-JOIN-INTENS-RL and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG

abangke juiponbom thengponbomlang
abàng=ke jùi-pōn-bōm thèng-pōn-bōm-làng
NPDL=TOP play-on.the.way-CONT beat.w/sth.solid-on.the.way-CONT-still
‘and then, he (the old man) keeps watching the fruit that these children are each holding, and then one keeps playing, keeps beating still’ [SiT, PS 045]

anke la chelangdundinglo <latum aphansi
ánke là che-lāng-dūn-dìng-lò là-tūm a-phān=si
and.then this RR-see-JOIN-steadily-RL this-PL POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

<chonghupon> kanghupon>, “latumtong
cho-inghū-pòn ke-inghū-pōn là-tūm-tōng
AUTO.BEN/MAL-steal-take.away NMLZ-steal-take.away this-PL-INDIR.ITROG

kepon'etma? lajo!” pu <sontong> lapusonsi
ke-pòn-èt=ma là-jò pu <són-tōng> làpusón=si
NMLZ-take.away-all:S/O=Q this-see! QUOT like.this-instead.of like.this=FOC:RL

kamatha
ke-mathà
NMLZ-think
‘and then he kept watching them for a long time, "could they have taken them all away, look at that", like this he was thinking’ [SiT, PS 046]

amat jutletlo
amāt jūt-lèt-lò
and.then finish-PFV3-RL
‘and then, (the story) is finished’ [SiT, PS 047]

APPENDIX G

TEXT: SIH, KH (PROCEDURAL TEXT)

This procedural text discusses how alkaline food (called *kangmoi ahan*) is prepared. The procedure involves burning *jhum* fields and using the ashes. This type of food has a high significance in Karbi culture.

The audio file for the entire text SiH, KH is available under the DOI name 10.7264/N3ST7N4P at https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/13657

e elitum Karbi atum kangmoi ahan

e	[e-li-tūm	Karbì	a-tūm]	ke-ingmōi	a-hán
DSM	1PL.INCL-HON-PL	PN	POSS-PL	NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline	POSS-vegetables

kechotun aronke lason'ik'helo

ke-cho-tún	a-rōn-ke	lasón-īk-heló
NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook	POSS-custom-TOP	that.way-FRML-RL:EMPH

'the custom of our Karbi people's way of cooking ourselves vegetables with alkaline is like this' [SiH, KH 001]

mane hu inglong aritsi elitum…

mane	hú	inglóng	a-rīt=si	e-li-tūm
I.mean(<Asm)	over.there	hill	POSS-field=FOC:RL	1PL.INCL-HON-PL

kopunelo… la inglong arit panpó

ko-pu-nē=lo	là	inglóng	a-rīt	pān-pò
ITROG-QUOT-INDEF=FOC	this	hill	POSS-field	clear.vegetation-IRR1

'I mean... up there on the fields on the hill, what do you call it?, we clear the vegetation from the hill fields' [SiH, KH 002]

ansi laso anglong arit kepan alongsi me

ánsi	lasō	a-inglóng	a-rīt	ke-pān	alòng=si	mē
after.that	this	POSS-hill	POSS-field	NMLZ-clear.vegetation	LOC=FOC:RL	fire

kaipo lasi laso arjang aphelosi

kài-pò	lasì	lasō	arjàng	a-phelō=si
set.fire-IRR1	therefore	this	immature.bamboo	POSS-alkaline=FOC:RL

elitum humdunji
e-li-tūm hūm-dūn-jí
1PL.INCL-HON-PL pick.up-JOIN-IRR2
‘after that, on the hill fields where we have cleared the vegetation, we have to set a fire and then these ashes from the immature bamboo we have to pick up’ [SiH, KH 003]

ansi ‘phelo-bisir‘ pu Karbi atum kabonai
ánsi [phelō-bisīr pu] Karbì a-tūm ke-bonái
then alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes QUOT PN POSS-PL NMLZ-make(<Asm)

do
dō
exist
‘and then, there is the so-called 'phelo bisir' (funnel-like instrument for filtering the ashes) that the Karbi people make’ [SiH, KH 004]

laso aphelo-bisir alongsi laso aphelo
[lasō a-phelō-bisīr alòng=si] [lasō a-phelō
this POSS-alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes LOC=FOC:RL this POSS-alkaline

ingkrunget humdun'etpo, ingkrunget arje'etpo
ingkrùng-èt hūm-dūn-ét-pò] ingkrùng-ét arjè-ét-pò
separate-PRF pick.up-JOIN-PRF-IRR1 strain-PRF separate-PRF-IRR1
‘in this ash funnel, we sieve the ashes and pick them up, we thoroughly sieve the ashes’ [SiH, KH 005]

ingkrunget arje'etlo tangte, laso aphelosi thappó
ingkrùng-ét arjè-ét-lò tángtē lasō a-phelō=si thàp-pò
strain-PRF separate-PRF-RL if this POSS-alkaline=FOC:RL put.inside-IRR1
‘when we are finished sieving, we put these ashes inside (a container)’ [SiH, KH 006]

ansi lang dungpo, anke lasi <ka> ingsir'etlo tangte pacharmatpo;
ánsi [lāng dúng-pò] ánke [lasì ingsīr-ét-lò tángtē pacharmát-pò]
then water pour-IRR1 and.then then filter-PRF-RL if test.if.taste.is.good-IRR1

chenangchitpen, phu'iksopen elitum han
[chenáng-chìt-pèn phu'īk-sō=pen e-li-tūm hán
match-finally-NF:with earthen.pot-DIM=with 1PL.INCL-HON-PL vegetables

tun'ikpo
tún-īk-pò]
cook-FRML-IRR1
‘and then, we pour water and then when (the bisir) has filtered (the ashes), we test the taste, and after finding it matching, we cook the curry in a small earthen pot’ [SiH, KH 007]

ansi la hepi ason ingmoipo hepipen thijok a'ok
ánsi là hepī asón ingmōi-pò hepī=pen thijōk a-ōk
then this brinjal like cook.with.alkaline-IRR1 brinjal=with deer POSS-meat

tangho pine lason kechongmoi
tànghò pí-nē lasón ke-cho-ingmōi
REP what-INDEF that.way NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook.with.alkaline
‘and then, we cook brinjal or something similar with the alkaline, we cook brinjal and deer meat, so they say, or whatever like that’ [SiH, KH 008]

kechome'aretke aseng
ke-chō-mē-arèt=ke a-sèng
NMLZ-eat-GOOD-INTENS=TOP POSS-condiments

kejok'ikke lapuhelo
ke-jòk-īk=ke lapù-hélo
NMLZ-drop.into.container-FRML=TOP like.this-RL
‘to become very tasty, condiments are added like this’ [SiH, KH 009]

mane kopune aseng
mané ko-pu-nē a-sèng
HESIT(<Asm) ITROG-QUOT-INDEF POSS-condiments

kechojoknangjike nempo
ke-cho-jōk-náng-jí=ke nempō
NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-add-must-IRR2=TOP sesame
‘the condiment that we have to add is sesame’ [SiH, KH 010]

lapente menthuta ekdom langpong tok
lapènte menthū=tā ékdóm langpōng tòk
after.this dried.fish=ADD:also EXCLAM(<Asm) small.bamboo.container pound

peme
pe-mé
CAUS-be.good
‘after that, you need to pound the dried fish in the Langpong well’ [SiH, KH 011]

<arni> cham'et arni te'etpo
<arni> chàm-ét arnì tè-ét-pò
sun wash-PRF sun let.dry.by.sun-PRF-IRR1
‘and then, you need to clean it and let it dry in the sun’ [SiH, KH 012]

ansi elitum pakrengdunpo, anke horpentame
ánsi e-li-tūm pa-krèng-dūn-pò ánke hōr=pen=tāmē
then 1PL.INCL-HON-PL CAUS-be.dry-JOIN-IRR1 and.then liquor=with=any

jattame ingti patippo, tokklingpo
ját=tāmē ingtí patīp-pò tokklìng-pò
GENEX=any salt mix-IRR1 pound.until.tight-IRR1
‘and then, we need to dry it, and then either with liquor or something else we need to mix it with salt and pound until it's tight/crushed to a paste’ [SiH, KH 013]

anke nemphruphlungpo
ánke nemphrù-phlùng-pò
and.then have.sweet.smell-spreading-IRR1
‘and then it will develop a sweet smell’ [SiH, KH 014]

laso akenemphru ajoinesi han
[lasō a-ke-nemprù a-joiné=si hán
this POSS-NMLZ-have.sweet.smell POSS-reason=FOC:RL prepared.vegetables

akechome e <men> la kangmoi
a-ke-chō-mē] e <men> [là ke-ingmōi
POSS-NMLZ-eat-GOOD DSM be.ready.to.eat this NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

ahan aphule kachenang
a-hán a-phulè ke-chenáng
POSS-prepared.vegetables POSS-pot NMLZ-match

akechomeke lason kejok
a-ke-chō-mē=ke lasón ke-jòk
POSS-NMLZ-eat-GOOD=TOP that.way NMLZ-drop.into.container

aseng do'o apotlo e tiha
a-sèng dō-ò apōt-lo e tihà
POSS-condiments exist-much because-RL DSM kd.root.spice

jokpo
jòk-pò
drop.into.container-IRR1
'this fragrant smell is the reason why the curry is tasty; in order to make the dish tasty, you have to add many condiments like this, because of that you have to add *tiha*' [SiH, KH 015]

pine pine natne riho
pí-nē pí-nē nát-nē rihō
what-INDEF what-INDEF direction-INDEF fruit.of.creeper

jokprepo
jòk-prè-pò
drop.into.container-spread.all.over-IRR1
'and then add whatever, for example *riho*' [SiH, KH 016]

lapulo lasi elitum Karbi atum kangmoi
lapù=lo lasì e-li-tūm Karbì a-tūm ke-ingmōi
like.this=FOC then 1PL.INCL-HON-PL PN POSS-PL NMLZ- cook.with.alkaline

ahan kechotun kejoknangji
a-hán ke-cho-tún ke-jòk-náng-jí
POSS-curry NMLZ- AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook NMLZ-add-must-IRR2

aseng anke lapu'ik helo
a-sèng ánke lapù-īk-heló
POSS-condiments and.then like.this-FRML-RL:EMPH
like this we Karbi people cook with alkaline, cook the curry, and add the condiments, like this it is [SiH, KH 017]

lapente… isi alam dothulang
lapènte isī a-lám dō-thū-làng
after.this one POSS-matter exist-again-yet
'after this… there is still one more thing' [SiH, KH 020-2]

kene elitum Karbi atumke jat chojun
kené [e-li-tūm Karbì a-tūm=ke ját [chōjūn
HESIT 1PL.INCL-HON-PL PN POSS-PL=TOP type CELEBRATION

choku punoi ajat punoi kangmoi ahan
chokú punōi aját punōi] [ke-ingmōi a-hán]
EE:chojūn say/e.g. GENEX say/e.g. NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry

tunte pulotangte elitumke chokche
tún-tē pùlotángtē] [e-li-tūm=ke chók-Cē
cook-NEG if 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP be.fine-NEG

karkli kaphojo
ke-arklì ke-phojō]
NMLZ-bewail NMLZ-EE:arklì
'so... for us Karbi people, consider any celebration or anything, if we don't cook alkaline curry, for us, the celebration is not adequate' [SiH, KH 023]

pirthe along seta pine se-kasadi tangho kopine
pirthé a-lòng setā pí-nē sè-kasadí tànghò kopí-nē
world POSS-LOC but what-INDEF precelebration.rituals REP what-INDEF

tangho puta elitumke <kangmoi>
tànghò pù=tā e-li-tūm=ke <ke-ingmōi>
REP QUOT=ADD 1PL:INCL-HON-PL=TOP <NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline>

<a> hanmoi hanmi nangji
hanmoī hanmì náng-jí
ingmoi.curry food.taken.with.liquor need-IRR2
'everywhere, for whatever, for any kind of precelebration rituals we need the curry made with alkaline' [SiH, KH 024]

lapente chojun kasadi tangho rongker kasadi
lapènte chōjūn kasadí tànghò ròngkèr kasadí
and.then CELEBRATION CELEBRATION REP FESTIVAL CELEBRATION

tangho puta hanmoi hanmi doji
tànghò pù=tā hanmōi hanmì dō-jí
REP QUOT=ADD:EXH ingmoi.curry food.taken.with.liquor exist-IRR2
'and then, there will be the alkaline curry for the *Chojun Kasadi* and the *Rongker Kasadi* etc.' [SiH, KH 025]

chojunta hanmoi doji ajat doji, lasi
chōjūn=tā hanmōi dō-jí aját dō-jí lasì
CELEBRATION=ADD:also ingmoi.curry exist-IRR2 GENEX exist-IRR2 then

elitumke jutang jubat along'an pusetame
e-li-tūm=ke [jutáng jubát a-lòng=án pùsetāmē]
1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP custom EE:jutáng POSS-LOC=all likewise

kangmoi ahan abangke elitumke
ke-ingmōi a-hán abàng=ke e-li-tūm=ke
NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP

kenangsot
ke-náng-sót
NMLZ-need-be.required
'there is alkaline curry at the *Chojun* also, and other things also (at the *Chojun*), therefore for us, wherever there are customs performed, alkaline curry is required for us' [SiH, KH 026]

ha pirthe kangdukpen pusetame kangmoi
há pirthé ke-ingdūk=pen pùsetāmē ke-ingmōi
over.there world NMLZ-immature=since likewise NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

ahanke elitumke jat alongta ledunlo
a-hán=ke e-li-tūm=ke ját alòng=tā lè-dūn-lò
POSS-curry=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP type LOC=ADD:EXH reach-JOIN-RL
'when long ago, the world was soft, the curry cooked with alkaline, for us, reaches every type (of celebration) (i.e., is required for each celebration)' [SiH, KH 027]

<e> biya-baru alongpen chenglok chojun choku
biyá-barú alòng=pen chèng-lòk chōjūn chokú
equalize(<Asm) LOC=from begin-right.then CELEBRATION EE:chojūn

alongpen chenglok pirthe along pusetame kangmoi
alòng=pen chèng-lòk pirthé alòng pùsetāmē ke-ingmōi
LOC=from begin-right.then world LOC likewise NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

ahan abangke elitumke kenangsot
a-hán abàng=ke e-li-tūm=ke ke-náng-sót
POSS-curry NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP NMLZ-need-be.required
'starting from the wedding ceremony, starting from the *Chojun* and *Choku*, everywhere in every celebration, alkaline curry is required for us' [SiH, KH 028]

lasi kangmoi ahan kitunnangji
lasì ke-ingmōi a-hán ke-tún-náng-jí
therefore NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry NMLZ-cook-need-IRR2

kejoknangji aseng sop kutei pusetame
ke-jòk-náng-jí a-sèng sóp kutéi pùsetāmē
NMLZ-add-need-IRR2 POSS-condiments all(<Ind) all(<Asm) likewise

neli mopen nangpachiniiklo
nè-lì mò=pen nang=pa-chiní-īk-lò
1EXCL-HON while=with 1/2:NSUB=CAUS-know-FRML-RL
'and then, just awhile ago/ just now I showed/pointed out everything about cooking with alkaline, cooking the curry and adding the condiments' [SiH, KH 029]

elitum kangmoi ahan
e-li-tūm ke-ingmōi a-hán
1PL.INCL-HON-PL NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-prepared.vegetables

kitunnangji asonke lapu'an'ikvetlo
ke-tún-náng-jí asón=ke lapù-án-īk-vèt-lò
NMLZ- cook-need-IRR2 like=TOP like.this-that.much-FRML-only-RL
'like this it is all about how we need to cook the curry with alkaline' [SiH, KH 030]

APPENDIX H

METADATA

Table 121. Metadata of texts that have formed the main corpus for this dissertation

Speakers	Recording	Recording full name	Genre[206]	Date	Format[207]	Equipment[208]	hh:mm:ss	# words
CST	HM	Hingchong Musoso	FS	100331	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:10:43	1,140
CST	RO	Rengsopen Onso	FS	100331	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:06:08	649
HI	BPh	Bokolapo Phinu aBiha Choklem	FS	100402	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:03:04	226
HK, SiT	TR	Teke Rongker	FS	100410	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:11:59	1,516
KaR, BT	SWK	Status of Women in Karbi Society	I/C	111123	A/V	M4,V	00:12:19	1,128
KK	CC	Crying Child	N	100401	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:03:41	338
KK	BMS	Bamonpo lapen Methan Sibongpo	FS	100401	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:12:52	1,317
KsT	PSu	Pindeng Sumpot	PT	100402	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:01:42	131
KTa	TCS	Terang Clan Story	FS	090202	A	M1,A1	00:09:45	1,006
PI	BPR	Bamboo Pork Recipe	PT	090123	A	M1,A1	00:01:49	118
RBT	ChM	Chonghokaloso lapen Misorongpo	FS	100401	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:05:57	733
SeT	MTN	Monit Thinlangno	FS	100401	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:06:05	710
SH	CSM	Chomangkan Story Mother	PN	090226	A	M1,A1	00:08:38	827
SiH	KH	Kangmoi aHan	PT	100402	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:03:13	291
SiH	CW	Cleaning and Washing	PT	100402	A/V	M2,A2,V	00:03:53	371

[206] Genre abbreviations - PT: Procedural Text; FS: Folk Story; PN: Personal Narrative; N: Narrative; I/C: Inteview/Conversation; OEN: on-line elicited narrative

[207] Format abbreviations - A: .wav; V: .mts (for further information, see §2.2.2)

[208] Equipment abbreviations - M1 (Microphone1): Audio Technica AT3032; M2 (Microphone2): AT813a; M3 (Microphone3): Audio Technica AT8010; M4 (Microphone4): Audio-Technica AT831b; M5 (Microphone5): Shure SM10A; A1 (Audio recorder1): Marantz PMD 660 audio recorder; A2 (Audio recorder2): Zoom H4n digital audio recorder; V: Video recorder Sony Vixia HF S10

Speakers	Recording	Recording full name	Genre	Date	Format	Equipment	hh:mm:ss	# words
SiT	HF	Trip to Hornbill Festival	PN	111206	A	A2	00:08:43	852
SiT	PS	Pear Story	OEN	121205	A	M5, A2	00:05:52	502
WR	BCS	Bey Clan Story	FS	111013	A	A2	00:05:15	630
						TOTAL	02:01:38	12,485

Table 122. Brief descriptions of texts that have formed the main corpus for this dissertation

Recording full name	Topic
Hingchong Musoso	Folk story about two girl twins (*hingchong musoso*) that are born to the human wife of a king, who also has a second wife who is a witch; the witch is jealous and abandons the girls, who are subsequently brought up by tigers; after having grown up, they return to their father's kingdom and tell their story; the father learns the truth, the witch dies, and the reunited family lives happily ever after
Rengsopen Onso	Folk story about step-parenthood: the mother of two children (with the names *Rengso* and *Onso*; note *-sō* 'diminutive' suffix, §5.4.2) dies and the father marries again; the new stepmother is evil and mistreats her step-children, whereupon the father does not know what to do and both abandons his children in the jungle and kills his wife
Bokolapo Phinu aBiha Choklem	Folk story about a common fool character, who does stupid things (*bokolapo*); in this story, he wants to go to the market but by switching sides of the basket he is carrying also accidentally switches the direction in which he is walking; he ends up walking back to his own house without realizing it
Teke Rongker	Folk story about an orphan who encounters a tiger; by using a container with a mirror on top, he manages to convince the tiger that he (the orphan) has caught a large tiger in that container; the tiger is scared and the orphan ends up managing to steal gold from the tigers' *Rongker* (= the name of a festival in Karbi traditional culture) due to his trick with the mirror container
Status of Women in Karbi Society	Interview/conversation about the status of women in Karbi society; the interviewer is a man, the interviewee is a woman; the interviewee points out the ways in which women have traditionally played a very important role in Karbi society
Crying Child	Narration about the (traditional) everyday situation of a mother having a baby to take care of while having to perform other chores such as getting firewood and cooking (not considered a true folk story by language consultants)

Bamonpo lapen Methan Sibongpo	Folk story about an elderly couple with a dog; the wife dies and the dog takes the husband to *Chom arong* (i.e., the village of the dead); the wife does not want to leave, but the husband forces her; upon return to their village, soon somebody else in the village dies, and the wife has to die and go back to *Chom arong* with the other person
Pindeng Sumpot	Procedural text / non-fictional narration about traditional clothing items, weaving, and applying colors
Terang Clan Story	Folk story about the origin of the division into Terang subclans starting with two Terang brothers, the younger one, *Dili* and the older one, *Rongchetcho* (also referred to as Rongchercho); the older one causes a lot of hardship for the younger one, finally, the younger one, *Dili*, takes a vow to officially form separate subclans (with various societal implications)
Bamboo Pork Recipe	Procedural text about the recipe for pork with fermented bamboo shoots
Chonghokaloso lapen Misorongpo	Folk story about a chain reaction of events that sets off when a frog blocks the road and sits down on an ant that in return bites the frog; from there on, one animal suffers from being disturbed or hurt by another animal, and as a consequence accidentally disturbs or hurts another animal, and so on.
Monit Thinlangno	Folk story about a couple, in which the husband tricks his wife in order to get her to give him meat to eat; in the end, the wife leaves the husband
Chomangkan Story Mother	Personal narrative about a trip to the *Chomangkan* festival, narrated by the mother of the family that took the trip
Kangmoi aHan	Procedural text about cooking alkaline food by burning *jhum* fields and using the ashes
Cleaning and Washing	Procedural text / non-fictional narration about the important status of cleanliness in Karbi culture
Trip to Hornbill Festival	Personal narrative about a trip to the Hornbill festival in Nagaland
Pear Story	On-line narration / commentary of the Pear Story
Bey Clan Story	Folk story about the origin of the division into Bey subclans; *Bey Ki'ik* and *Bey Ke'et* have a falling out over changing marriage plans as a result of the grandmother's advice; members of the *Bey Ronghang* clan are not allowed to grind rice for rice beer, because in mythological times, the *Bey Ronghang* women kept grinding rice beer without doing anything else, even forgetting to breast-feed their children, which subsequently died from starvation

Table 123. Metadata of speakers of texts that have formed the main corpus for this dissertation

Speaker initials	Full name	Gender	From (near)	Living in	Other languages spoken, (if in brackets: only a little bit)	Dialect area	Age
BT	Bhudeswar Timung	M	Bamuni Karbi gaon		Assamese, English, Hindi		39
CST	Chandra Sing Teron	M			(Assamese)	Amri	~60
HI	Hem'ari Ingjai	M	Pharkong Abi		(Assamese)		~40
HK	Harsing Kro	M	Borkok (Boythalangso)		(Assamese)	Amri	~60
KaR	Kare Rongpipi	F	Ran Rongki Habe Arong		Assamese, Hindi		48
KK	Kache Kropi	F	Balijuri (Nowgong)		(Assamese)	Socheng Dhenta	~60
KsT	Kasang Teronpi	F	Dingso Terang (Dengaon)		Assamese		45
KTa	Kahan Terangpi	F		Diphu	Assamese		~75
PI	Puspa Engtipi	F	Diphu		Assamese		~50
RBT	Rongbang Teron	M	Ujandongka (Dongkamoka)		(Assamese)	Rongkhang	~50
SeT	Seng Tisso	M	Ujandongka (Dongkamoka)		(Assamese)	Rongkhang	~60
SH	Sashikola Hansepi	F	NC Hills	Diphu	Assamese, (English)	Amri	~50
SiH	Sika Hansepi	F	Men Terang (Dengaon)		(Assamese)		~45
SiT	Sikari Tisso	M	Bhoksong	Diphu	Assamese, English, Hindi, Bengali, Tiwa	Amri	52
WR	Welisbon Ronghipi	F	Umswai Model		Assamese, Tiwa	Amri	~40

APPENDIX I

CONSULTANT CONSENT FORM

The English and Karbi versions of the consultant consent form are attached below. The translation of the English version into Karbi by Mr. Dharamsing Teron is gratefully acknowledged.

Language Consultant Consent Form

I am Linda Konnerth, a graduate student in Linguistics at the University of Oregon. My research project is to write a grammatical description of the Karbi language. This will be a contribution to the field of linguistics, and is intended to serve as the basis for the development of practical school materials in the future. The information I collect will also contribute to my PhD dissertation. You are invited to help me with my research by serving as a consultant and sharing your knowledge of the language.

If you decide to participate, I will ask you questions about words and sentences in your language. Later in the project we may ask you to tell some simple stories, or to have a conversation with another speaker. I will audio-record these words, sentences, stories and conversations, and will continue to use these audio-recordings in future research about the language. Other copies of these audio-recordings may be shared with the community's language program.

In case it's OK for me to video-record your performance, please tell me which of the following you willingly agree to:

___I do not want to be video-recorded at all.

___I agree to be video-recorded for the purpose of linguistic analysis only without making the recording available to the public.

___I agree to be video-recorded and allow the recording to be available to the public (as may be helpful for the development of school materials).

If at any time you feel that I may have audio-/video-recorded anything which you would prefer that I not keep, tell me and that recording will be erased.

I intend that the results of my research will be published as a book or an article in a professional journal. If you like, I will include your name in this publication as someone who helped with the project. If you prefer to remain anonymous, then your name will not be included. Please tell me which you would prefer:

___I would like to be acknowledged by name in any publication that is a direct result of this project.

___I agree to be recorded for purposes of this project but do NOT want my name to appear in any publication that is a result of this project.

I also need to know who will be permitted access to read, listen to, and/or see your performance. Please tell me if and/or how you want to restrict access to your performance, and what type of representation of your performance you are OK with to share:

I agree to make **transcriptions** of my audio-recordings available to:

( ) nobody
( ) people authorized by the Karbi Lammet Amei
( ) public access
( )_____

I agree to make **audio-recordings** of my performance available to:

( ) nobody
( ) people authorized by the Karbi Lammet Amei
( ) public access
( )_____

I agree to make **video-recordings** of my performance available to:

( ) nobody
( ) people authorized by the Karbi Lammet Amei
( ) public access
( )_____

In signing this form you are making no commitment to this project. You are always free to withdraw from this project at any time and for any reason. If you would like to be compensated for your work on this project, the appropriate level will be determined by the KLA.

If you have any questions about this project, you can contact me by e-mail at lkonnert@uoregon.edu or by telephone at +1-541-337-2352. Please also feel free to contact my faculty advisor, Professor Scott DeLancey, who also is the Department's Human Subject representative, by email at delancey@uoregon.edu or by phone at +1-541-346-3901. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, and wish to contact someone outside of the Linguistics Department, contact the Office of Human Subjects Compliance, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, +1-541-346-2510.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies. Please request a copy of this form if you would like to keep it for your records.

This research project is funded by the **National Science Foundation**, Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant # 0951749.

Print Name_____ Signature_____

PI or co-PI's signature _____

Date _____

Language Consultant Consent Form

Nelimen ke Linda Konnerth lapen Oregon University along Linguistics ahamphang arlo charlibom enut a-'graduate'. Neli Karbi lamtasam aputhaksi tarlipbom. Laso aketarlip ajok linguistics aphan akerap dopo lapen lo kethan aphanta kenangsot akerap longponpo. Neli ketarlip pen kelong pon alamthe ke neli kecharlibom PhD aphanta akerap longponpo. Nangli ta labangso aketarlip along 'rap-bang' enut nangmandunra Karbi alam kepachan along nangcherap dunpo pusi choningri iklo.

Nangli nangcherapdunlo pulote nangliphan Karbi lamthe lapen lamseng aputhak karjupon doji. Laso aphi, Karbi atomo lapen enut hejan kachingki heihui ta bangso aketralip aphan kenangsotji. Nangli lamthe-lamseng, tomo lapen enut hejan kachingki heihui anta kepangsip si bipo lapen mo aphi aketarlip aphan ta lahai kenangsot anke enponbom po. Lahai kepangsip tang ason amung an Karbi alam kepachan along ta enpon unpo.

Jongsi nangli lam-arje kepangsip aputhak kachekroi do pulote, la aber ateng pen pachini ik tha:

___ Neli lam-arje kepangsip chekroikre.

___Karbi alam ketarlip aphan ke neli lam-arje kepangsip along neli chekroi lo bonta la rat angno paklang nangne.

___Neli lam-arje kepangsip rat aphan paklang tame (athe lake lo kethan ahut kacherap doji).

Kepangsip tang lam-arje anbong ning kephophe kopine do pulote lahai kepapraiji aphan neliphan pachini non.

Neli ning kehang ke lahai ketarliptang ason-amung an ta ardi kedo alo-athui asonsi paklangpo. Nanglining oi'e pulote, laso alo athui along nanglimen ta paklang pon po. Bonta nanglimen paklangpon nangne pulote, paklang ponpe lo. Laso aputhak nanglining kehang alam chpaklang ik tha:

___Ketarlip pen kelongpon amo an ajat akangchap alongle klangpon setame nelimen kehumripon si nelining kehang.

___Laso aketarlip apharman neli lamthe kepangsip aputhak neli kachekroikre ave bonta mo aphi kepaklangji alo-athui along nahokta nelimen paklangpon longle.

Lapen komatsi lahai ason-amung kelang, karju ajakong longji ma, la neliphan pachinimek nangji. Neliphan pachini tha jongsi lahai kelang-karju aputhak kekhang do pulote kodak lapen kopi angdeng along si lason akekhang kedoma lapen kekhang ave pulote Kodak/kopi angdeng along ma.

Neli lam kepangsip tang alamlar kelongji ke:

( ) maduta longle
( ) Karbi Lammet Amei pen kangvaitang abangphu/phi
( ) jokta long
( )_____

Neli lam kepangsip tang an karjulongji ke:

( ) maduta longle
( ) Karbi Lammet Amei pen kangvaitang abangphu/phi
( ) jokta long
( )_____

Neli lam-arje kepangsip tang an kelanglongji ke:

( ) maduta longle
( ) Karbi Lammet Amei pen kangvaitang abangphu/bang phi
( ) jokta long
( )_____

Bangso alo along nanglimen nangchipidunpen nangli bangso aketralip along thang akachechak ave. Nanglining hanglet aling ahut seta nangli bangnso aketarlip along pen nangchehekdunjok at chok. Nangli nangkacherapdun apharman kopine anam kenangji pulote lake KLA pensi cherai ponpo.

Bangso aketarlip aputhak kopine kachini kangtung dolang pulote neli e-mail lkonnert@uoregon.edu kalite lamrihing +1-541337-2353 along pachini ik tame. Lapen neli bidisar Prof. Scott DeLancey, alangli ke neli kecharli ahamphang along 'Human Subject' ahin enut abangphu lapen alangliphan ta delancey@uoregon.edu mate lamrihing +1-541-346-3901 along arju setame. Lapen anrparta bangso aketralip aputhak Linguistics ahamphang angtan ta jongsi nangli enut kacherap abangphu/phi ahinpen kopine karju nangji dothukok pulote 'Office of Human Subject Compliance, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, +1-541-346-2510 along nanglilam pale ik tame.

Nanglimen ladak nangkachethap dunke athak kepachinitang alam an nangchekroidun angthek lo, lapen nanglimethan ning kehang atengsi nangchedondunlo, lapen ajat ahut tame nanglining hanghe pulote ajat tu nangnepin pen nangche'o dun unlo, lapen laso kachekroi alo epak nangliridenge dolo, lapen nangli nangkachekroiduntang alamthe aputhak mo aphi lamcherui avelo. Laso kachekroi alo nangliphan ta ekenangsot pulote, epak nanglipharman chehang ta choklo.

Labangso a-ketarlip ke **National Science Foundation** pen kacherap Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant # 0951749 akerap pensi kepachun

Neli men _____ Signature_____

PI or co-PI's signature _____

Niphai_____

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