

71-51

ROOP, DeLagnel Haigh, 1932-
A GRAMMAR OF THE LISU LANGUAGE.

Yale University, Ph.D., 1970
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© DeLagnel Haigh Roop 1971

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A GRAMMAR OF THE LISU LANGUAGE

D. Haigh Roop

1970

A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

SUMMARY

A Grammar of the Lisu Language

D. Haigh Roop

Yale University

Lisu is a language of the Lolo subgroup in the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken by perhaps 400,000 hill tribesmen who are scattered through southwestern China and northern Burma and Thailand. Earlier descriptions of the language have dealt with the more northerly areas: China and Upper Burma, while for the southernmost Lisu - those in the southern Shan States of Burma and in northern Thailand - there have previously been only two short phonological studies. This dissertation is designed to fill that gap in the coverage of Lisu. Based on the author's two years of research in the Lisu village at Doi Musser, Tak Province, Thailand, it is a description of the Lisu dialect spoken in that community. It includes the phonology, morphology, and chapters devoted to the phrase, the clause, and the sentence, as well as a sample text with a detailed analysis.

Preface

This dissertation is based on field research carried out in Thailand from September 1965 to August 1967 under grants from the Fulbright-Hays program for the study of foreign languages, administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Thai Government agencies which were instrumental in helping me during my period of research: to the National Research Council, for its help in obtaining visa clearance and providing letters of introduction to officials in Bangkok and elsewhere; to the Hill Tribe Division of the Department of Public Welfare and its head, Khun Prasit Disiwat, for permission to live and work in the Doi Musser Hill Tribe Development Settlement, where I spent my two years; and most particularly to Khun Wanat Bhruksasri, Director of the Tribal Research Centre, Chiangmai, for first suggesting Tak as an appropriate place for my research, as well as to the entire Centre staff for their most helpful support throughout my stay in Thailand.

Among many others whose help was instrumental in the carrying out of my project, I would particularly like to thank Khun Keo Dechawatana, head of the Doi Musser Settlement at the time I began my research there, as well as the rest of the Settlement staff, for their unfailing friendliness and helpfulness; and my interpreter,

Somboon Phong Phun, without whose patient help the study could hardly have been undertaken.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Prof. William Cornyn, the director of the dissertation, as well as to Profs. Isidore Dyen, Warren Cowgill, and Hugh Stimson of Yale, and to William Smalley of the American Bible Society for their patience in commenting on earlier versions of this work.

D. H. R.

New Haven

April, 1970

Contents

Preface	II
Introduction	X
Chapter I - Phonology	1
1.0 Introduction: the syllable, the sentence, phonemes	1
1.1 Initial Consonants	2
1.2 Syllabic Resonants	9
1.3 Medials	12
1.4 Vowels	17
1.4.1 Front vowels	17
1.4.2 Central vowels	19
1.4.3 Back vowels	20
1.4.4 Diphthongs	21
1.4.5 Nasalization	22
1.5 Glottalization	22
1.6 Tone	23
1.6.1 Allophones	25
1.6.2 Morphophonemics	25
1.6.3 Neutralization	29
1.7 Falling Pitch	29
1.8 Final Consonants	31
1.9 Permitted Sequences	33

	Page
1.10 Stress	33
1.11 Intonation	38
Chapter II - Morphology	46
2.0 Introduction: free and bound forms; the word	46
2.1 Attribution	49
2.2 The Form Classes	52
2.3 Exclamations	52
2.4 Substantives	53
2.4.1 Counters	54
2.4.1.1 Numbers	54
2.4.1.2 Classifiers	60
2.4.2 Nouns	63
2.4.2.1 Simple nouns	64
2.4.2.2 Compound nouns	64
2.4.2.3 Complex nouns	67
2.4.3 Deictics	78
2.5 The Verb	81
2.5.1 Active verbs	82
2.5.1.1 Transitive verbs	83
2.5.1.2 Intransitive verbs	86
2.5.1.3 Complementary verb compounds	87
2.5.2 Adjectives	91
2.5.3 Complex verbs with noun attribute	92
2.5.4 Copular verbs	95
2.5.5 Auxiliary verbs	103

	Page
2.6 Multiple Class Membership	105
2.7 Verb Stem Extensions	110
2.8 Introductory Words	113
2.9 Particles	116
2.10 Reduplication	118
2.10.1 Reduplication with substantives	119
2.10.2 Reduplication with verbs	120
2.10.3 Complex reduplication with substantives and verbs	128
2.10.4 Distinguishing reduplication from repetition ...	129
Chapter III - The Phrase	130
3.0 Introduction: coordination; phrase types	130
3.1 The Substantive Phrase	130
3.1.1 Simple substantive phrases	131
3.1.2 Attribute substantive phrases	132
3.1.3 Coordinate substantive phrases	139
3.1.4 Combinations	145
3.2 The Verb Phrase	147
3.2.1 Simple verb phrases	148
3.2.2 Attribute verb phrases	150
3.2.3 Coordinate verb phrases	151
3.2.4 Complementary verb phrases	153
3.2.5 Combination of coordinate and complementary phrases	160

	Page
Chapter IV - The Clause	161
4.0 Introduction: simple and complex clauses	161
4.1 The Basic Clause	162
4.2 The Simple Clause	165
4.2.1 The Basic simple clause	165
4.2.1.1 The subject	165
4.2.1.2 The <u>-wā</u> -phrase	166
4.2.1.3 The goal	170
4.2.1.4 The adverb	173
4.2.1.5 The verb	175
4.2.2 The extended basic clause	177
4.2.3 Non-basic clauses	178
4.2.3.1 Isolatives	178
4.2.3.2 Topics	180
4.2.3.3 Clause order with question words	191
4.3 Substantive Particles	195
4.4 Attributive Clauses	202
4.4.1 Attributive clauses within the phrase	202
4.4.2 Complex Clauses	204
4.4.2.1 Clause subjects	205
4.4.2.2 Clause goals	206
4.4.2.3 Clause topics	209

	Page
4.5 Nominalization	213
4.5.1 The forms	213
4.5.2 The function	214
4.5.3 The environments	217
Chapter V - The Sentence	228
5.0 Introduction; sentence classification	228
5.1 Major and Minor Sentences	228
5.1.1 The Major sentence	228
5.1.2 The Minor sentence	232
5.2 Statements, Imperatives, and Questions	236
5.2.1 Statements	237
5.2.2 Imperatives	241
5.2.3 Questions	243
5.2.4 Overlapping	247
5.3 Focus	248
5.4 Verb and General Particles	250
5.4.1 Verb particles	251
5.4.1.1 Negative particles	251
5.4.1.2 Final particles	253
5.4.1.3 Secondary particles	254
5.4.2 General particles	260
5.4.2.1 Final general particles	260
5.4.2.2 Internal general particles	264
5.4.2.3 Mixed general particles	269

	Page
5.4.3 Particle combinations	272
Appendices	275
Appendix A - Sample text and translation	276
Appendix B - Analysis of the sample text	278
Bibliography	303
Index	308

Introduction

The Lisu are one of several tribes of hill dwellers, coming from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, who are scattered through southwestern China and northern Burma, Laos, and Thailand. On the basis of their language, the Lisu have been classified as belonging to the Lolo subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman family, closely related to such other hill tribe groups as the Akha and the Lahu.¹

The largest concentration of Lisu is in southwest Yünnan Province, China, particularly in the narrow watershed between the Salween and Mekong rivers. But the tribe is also found further east in Yünnan and extends west at least as far as the Nmai-Kha in Burma and south through the Burmese Shan States into the northern Provinces of Thailand. Determining the Lisu population in any of these areas, however, is extremely difficult, not only because most are remote and inaccessible, but because the Lisu, practicing a swidden agriculture which destroys the land's ability to support crops, are forced to move with considerable frequency (at an average of 6-8 years according to Young).² Thus population figures for a particular area are obsolete almost as soon as they are collected, and widely divergent figures are given for one area

-
1. See the end of the Introduction for remarks on Lisu comparative studies.
 2. Full references for works cited in the introduction are given in the Bibliography, pp. 303-7.

by sources whose data were collected only a short time apart.³ The figures, quoted in Lebar, Hickey, and Musgrave, of 317,000 in China, 30,000 in Burma, and 17,300 in Thailand are at best rough estimates, and the Lebar-Hickey-Musgrave total estimate of perhaps 400,000 Lisu is probably as good a guess as one can give with the available information.

Up to now, descriptions of the Lisu as a people have been limited for the most part to casual mention by travelers who chanced to meet some of the tribesmen, or to short outlines in ethnographic studies devoted to broader areas of Southeast Asia or its ethnic groups.⁴ A number of these sources, however, speak of three subdivisions of the Lisu: 'Black', 'White', and 'Flowery'. The first of these is said to occupy the northern section of the Salween-Mekong watershed - latitudes 26° 30' N to 27° 30' N - and to be the most independent. They are described as being fierce, aggressive, and extremely hostile to strangers, robbing, and on occasion even killing them. The 'White' and 'Flowery' Lisu, on the other hand, are said to occupy more southerly areas and to have been much more

3. Thus, for example, in 1960, Bruk (quoted in Lebar, Hickey, and Musgrave) gives a figure of 317,000 Lisu for China, based on the 1953 census; but the study of the Yünnanese Lisu dialect published in 1959 by the Chinese Academy of Sciences gives a figure of 235,000 Lisu in Yünnan, with 'several thousand' more in Szechuan Province, which appears significantly lower.

4. Some of the lengthier and more careful of these are listed in the Bibliography. The earliest I have found is Anderson (1871), while the most enjoyable is Rose and Brown (1910), whose prose style is as lush as one could wish.

The lack of ethnographic information on the Lisu should soon be at least partially remedied with the publication of researches on the Lisu in Thailand currently being carried out by two American scholars, Alain Y. Dessaint and E. Paul Durrenberger.

heavily influenced by other ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese.⁵ There appears to be a marked dialect difference between Lisu in the northern Shan States and those further south,⁶ and Jui (1948) describes a 'Hwa' (i.e. 'Flowery') Lisu dialect on the western frontier of Yünnan, so that it may be that the southernmost Lisu are the 'white' group. The classification is, however, Chinese,⁷ and the Lisu with whom I worked disclaimed any knowledge of it. My informant, when asked what subgroup of the Lisu he belonged to gave his clan surname; when pressed for a larger subgroup he said he was simply 'Lisu', then as an afterthought 'Lisu Mama', i.e. 'Genuine Lisu'.

Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of dialect differences; what is lacking is secure evidence of the distribution and points of differences of these dialects, so that it is difficult at present to say more than that they exist and that the differentiation appears to be primarily along a north-south axis.

Of the areas where Lisu are found, those in China have received the most extensive coverage, both ethnographically and linguistically, while those in northernmost Burma have received somewhat less. But

-
5. Certainly the group with which I worked was heavily sinicized.
 6. This on the basis of personal communication from a Lisu from Burma who was living in New York City in 1967, and who identified my group as living in the southern Shan States. His speech differed considerably from that I had learned and appeared less sinicized. Moreover, the tribesmen with whom I worked spoke of the strangeness of Lisu heard in radio broadcasts from Burma, although some of the older men remembered having lived near Kengtung in the southern part of the Shan States.
 7. It is apparently based on differences of costume.

in 1965, when I began my research in Thailand, there was only a small amount of ethnographic information on the southernmost Lisu,⁸ and no linguistic information at all. It was the purpose of my research to fill that gap.

At the time I began my research, the Lisu language had already been mentioned by numerous earlier authors - in fact, of all aspects of the Lisu culture, it is the language which has received the most attention - but the great majority of such references are word lists, usually quite short, taken down by travelers who had no grounding in phonetics or other linguistic techniques, much less in the Lisu language itself. Thus, these lists present great difficulty in interpreting the transcriptions used and contain much misinformation acquired through simple ignorance of the language. For example, the usefulness of an extensive comparative vocabulary of the 'Black' (BL), 'White' (WL), and 'Flowery' (FL) Lisu dialects given in Rose and Brown (1910) is vitiated by the lack of any tone markings and by such problems as the following:

'hand': BL and WL le-pé; FL la-kua

where a knowledge of the language would have enabled the authors to realize that the first means 'hand', the second 'palm of the hand' (my /lèphě/ and /lèkwā/). Or:

'ask': BL a-shih-pe; FL a-ni

in which the first is actually the question 'What (did you) say?' (/áswè bé?/), while the second is presumably related to my /nānyī/ 'ask', although the form given looks most like /ányī/ 'cow'. Other

8. E.g. Young (1961), Srisavasdi (1963), the latter largely devoted to photographs.

comparisons, however, probably represent real dialect differences, e.g.:

'fish': BL and WL wa; FL ngwa (my /ngwá/)

In short, such early linguistic evidence as is available is scanty and highly unreliable.⁹

There are, however, five outstanding exceptions which require special mention. The earliest full scale study of the Lisu language is that of J. O. Fraser of the China Inland Mission (1922). This constitutes one of the better missionary efforts at recording languages in the area, for even though Fraser evidently had little or no formal linguistic training, he had the good sense, not often shown by others at that date, to give full value to the tones of the language;¹⁰ and although his analysis of the language is highly latinate, he nevertheless gives a reasonably thorough picture of the grammar. There is also an extensive vocabulary covering almost 40 pages - comprising about one third of the book - which is particularly valuable for comparative study, as well as one of the most comprehensive descriptions of Lisu culture. This is one of the richest and most valuable sources available on the language, or indeed on any minority language of the area.

9. A detailed list is given in the bibliography, q.v.

10. Even when Fraser is in difficulty with his phonetics, he manages to give at least some impression of the sound in question, sometimes rather startlingly, e.g.: 'rgh ... a plain guttural vowel sound, difficult to describe. Approximated in involuntary retching.' Less admirable is the fact that he uses this combination not only for the high back unrounded vowel [u] (I can remember having something of a gagging sensation when I first ran into an upper back unrounded vowel when studying Mandarin Chinese), but also the voiced velar spirant [ɣ], and sometimes for a combination of the two [ɣu].

The next important study appeared in 1948, when Jui I-fu published an article giving a phonemic summary of the 'Hwa' (i.e. 'Flowery') Lisu dialect on the western frontier of Yünnan. This is the first attempt to apply modern linguistic methods to the description of Lisu, a short but careful study which not only gives an analysis of that dialect's phonology but also compares it with Fraser's transcription, noting that there are certain sounds that the latter apparently cannot represent. The article ends with a vocabulary, which, like that of Fraser, is useful for comparative purposes; one wishes only that it were far longer. Jui is another most important source on Lisu.

After another decade, in 1959, there followed an Outline of Lisu Grammar from the Chinese Academy of Sciences. This is a full scale monograph with an extensive description of the grammar of the language, including a phonemic analysis. The approach is Bloomfieldian, and the analysis is done with admirable neatness and thoroughness. It represents the first modern grammatical description of Lisu, and is a rich source of information, lacking only the extensive vocabulary list that makes Fraser so valuable.

These three works, important though they are, nevertheless cover only the northern and central parts of the Lisu geographical area. The Academy of Sciences study describes the dialect of the Salween-Mekong areas in Yünnan; that of Jui, as noted, describes a dialect of the western frontier area of Yünnan; while Fraser claims that the dialect he describes occurs in the Têngyüeh and Löngling districts (China), and Myitkyina, Bhamo and the Northern Shan

States at least.' (p. 1).

There was, however, no study of the speech of the southernmost Lisu until 1967, when Nishida Tatsuo of Kyoto University published a short article on what he calls the 'Tak dialect' of Lisu, based on research conducted in the same village where I worked. Although Nishida spent only a very short time with the Lisu, the study is detailed and carefully documented with examples. However, his results differ so widely from my own that, if we had not worked in the same village, I would assume that we had studied different dialects. Having known his informant well, I cannot say that I heard anything in his speech to justify the differences in Nishida's recordings from my own;¹¹ they appear to me to contain many inaccuracies, and the work should be used with great care.

Finally, there is an article by Edward R. Hope of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship - which I believe is now in press but not yet published - describing the phonology of the Lisu in Chiengrai Province, north Thailand and proposing a Thai orthography for the language. Hope is certainly the Westerner best acquainted with the Lisu; having worked with them for many years, he is, according to Lisu who know him, the most fluent Western speaker of Lisu they have ever met. His study is clear and concise, and not only his phonetic judgment but some of his phonemic solutions agree closely with my own. There are, however, also a number of points of disagreement; some of these are clearly minor dialect differences,

11. In fact, a younger brother and sister of Nishida's informant are prominent sources of example sentences in the body of this dissertation.

but some require further clarification. In any case, this article is a source of information on Lisu which has been prepared by a man who knows the language extremely well, and whose opinions therefore carry considerable weight.

The present study is based on research carried out in Thailand from September 1965 to August 1967. During those two years I was resident in the Thai Government's Hill Tribe Development Settlement at Doi Musser, Tak Province, near the Burma border and approximately 400 kilometers north northwest of Bangkok (ca. Lat. 16° 40' N, Long. 99° E). The principal informant for the study was Capo Lica (/kyapú lyìkyá/), headman of the Lisu village in the settlement area, but I also spent much time with the other members of the community, and most of the texts on which this analysis is based were recorded by people other than the headman. Within the village there were only very slight dialect differences, and this study can reasonably be taken as representative of the entire community. Although the Tak Lisu were universally agreed that there was no dialect variation with⁻ⁱⁿ Thailand, I had no opportunity to visit other Lisu and so cannot claim that the dialect described here applies to the whole country. In this respect, I can only follow Nishida and refer to the language of this study as the Tak dialect of Lisu.

As noted at the beginning of the Introduction, Lisu has been identified as a Tibeto-Burman language. More specifically, Shafer (1955) classes Lisu as belonging to the Central Unit of the Lolo branch, Burmish section, Burmic division of the Sino-Tibetan language family, a classification which he repeats in his Introduction to

Sino-Tibetan (1967). Indeed, most observers have long since noted the affinity of Lisu and Burmese, and the association with the Lolo subgroup is quite generally accepted. While very little detailed comparative study has been done, Burling's comparison of Lisu with Akha and Lahu (1967) is, I believe, enough to establish beyond a doubt that the traditional classification is correct.¹²

12. Excluding the early and generally unreliable word lists - collected to permit rough comparisons with neighboring languages - Burling's monograph constitutes one of a tiny number of comparative studies which make more than the most passing reference to Lisu. While there is considerable interesting and important information in the monograph, a number of its underlying assumptions are such as to vitiate seriously the value of its results, and it must be used with extreme care. (For more detailed appreciation, see Matisoff's review [Language 44:879-97 (1968)].)

Nishida claims the first real comparative effort with respect to Lisu: a 1964 article which, unfortunately, I have not seen. Two other comparative studies by Nishida, published in 1968 (see Bibliography), came to my attention too late to be evaluated here.

Chapter I

Phonology

1.0 Introduction.

In a Lisu utterance two subdivisions are phonologically determined: the syllable and the sentence.

A syllable consists of a stress and the group of elements sharing it; the beginning of a new syllable is marked by the onset of a new stress. A syllable contains a maximum of eight elements: initial consonant, including aspiration where it occurs with voiceless stops and affricates (section 1.1); medial semi-vowel (1.3); nuclear vowel or diphthong (1.4); glottalization (1.5); tone (1.6); falling pitch (1.7); final consonant (1.8); and stress (1.10). Of these elements, only stress occurs in all syllables; minimally, a syllable consists of a vowel plus weak stress.

The sentence is a sequence¹ of syllables which co-occurs with one of three intonation patterns: declarative, interrogative, or abrupt (section 1.11).

The members of the eight syllabic element classes and the intonation patterns are the phonemes of Lisu.

1.1 Initial Consonants.

The initial consonants are outlined in Chart I.1.

1. Throughout this dissertation, a sequence of X's includes, as its minimum form, a sequence of one X.

Chart I.1: Initial Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveolar /domal	Palatal ²	Velar	Glottal
Stop/Affricate ³						
Voiceless Aspirated ⁴	ph	th	*ch	[*khy]	kh	
Voiceless Unaspirated	p	t	*c	[*ky]	k	q
Voiced	b	d	*j	[*gy]	g	
Nasal	m	n		[ny]	ng ⁵	
Spirant						
Voiceless	f		s	[sy]	h	
Voiced	v		z		gh ⁵	
Lateral		l				
Semivowel	w			y		

2. The palatals, except /y/, are phonemically a cluster of initial consonant plus medial /y/. They are included here in brackets to make clear the existence of a phonetic palatal series in Lisu.

3. Affricates are marked with an asterisk.

4. The conventional digraph with h is used for convenience throughout to represent aspirated initials. The aspirates, however, are considered unit phonemes. They pattern with their voiceless unaspirated and voiced homologues (e.g. /P/ before /ö/ but not before /ɛ/, /C/ before /ɛ/ but not before /ö/), which are clearly unit phonemes. Furthermore, the distribution of aspiration is more economically described in conjunction with the initials than as a medial /h/ with distribution dependent on the initial. In the latter case it would be necessary to set up medial clusters, complicating the syllable structure, and to describe the environments of medial /h/ separately from both initial /h/ and the other initials which occur with aspiration.

5. The digraphs ng and gh are used, like the aspirate digraphs, as a matter of convenience for unit phonemes.

The initial consonants are:

1.1.1 Labial:

- /ph/ voiceless, aspirated, lenis bilabial stop:
 /phā/ [pʰa³³]⁶ 'float' (as clouds)
- /p/ voiceless, unaspirated, fortis bilabial stop:
 /pā/ [pa³³] 'exchange'
- /b/ voiced, unaspirated, lenis bilabial stop:
 /bā/ [ba³³] 'sunny'
- /m/ voiced bilabial nasal:
 /mā/ [ma³³] 'ripe'
- /f/ voiceless labio-dental spirant:
 /fā/ [fa¹¹] 'have a fever'
- /v/ voiced labio-dental spirant:
 /vāthyī/ [va⁵⁵tʰi¹¹] 'day (of the month)'
 from Thai /wan thīi/
- /w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel:⁷
 /wā/ [wa³³] 'winnow'

6. In the phonetic representations aspiration is indicated by the single raised tick [ʰ]. Tone contours are indicated by raised numbers on a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high), or, rarely, 6 under emphatic stress (section 1.10.3). Stress and intonation are marked only in example sentences; as citation forms, all other examples have strong stress and declarative intonation.

7. In initial position. For medial realizations, see section 1.3.1.

1.1.2 Alveolar:

/th/ voiceless, aspirated, lenis apico-alveolar stop:

/thā/ [tʰa³³] 'here'

/t/ voiceless, unaspirated, fortis apico-alveolar stop:

/tá/ [ta⁵⁵] 'be at (a place; of things)'

/d/ voiced, unaspirated, lenis apico-alveolar stop:

/dā/ [da³³] 'able'

/n/ voiced apico-alveolar nasal: with medial /y/,
lamino-prepalatal:

/nā/ [na³³] 'painful'

/nyā/ [ṇ_ya³⁴]⁸ 'bird'

/l/ voiced apico-alveolar lateral,⁹

/lā/ [la³³] 'come'

1.1.3 Alveolar/domal,¹⁰

/ch/ voiceless, aspirated, lenis affricate; apico-
alveolar before /ɛ̣, a, o/, slightly retracted
before /ə/, markedly retracted (apico-domal,

8. The subscript y in the phonetics represents a very short [i] glide; see section 1.3.2.1.

9. Unlike /n/, /l/ is not palatalized before medial /y/.

10. The alveolar/domal affricates are phonetically [ts ~ ṭṣ ~ ṭṣ], etc. Since, however, [s] and [z] occur as second member of a cluster only with [t] and [d], and since the articulatory position of both elements in a cluster is the same in a given syllable (i.e. both apico-alveolar, both apico-domal, etc.), they are treated as unit initials. In the phonetics, slight retraction is indicated with an arrow head under the consonant, marked retraction with a subscript dot.

but not retroflexed) before /w, u/:

/chā/ [ts'a³³] 'hot'

/chè/ [t_{>>}s'm¹¹] ¹¹ 'lead' (metal)

/chwá/ [t_>s'ua⁵⁵] 'naughty'

/c/ voiceless, unaspirated fortis affricate;
allophones distributed as for /ch/, except that
before /o/ apico-alveolar and apico-domal
allophones are in free variation:

/cā/ [tsa³³] 'boil' (water)

/cē/ [t_{>>}s'm³³] 'contend for ownership'

/cwā/ [t_>s'ua³³] 'scrape into a heap'

/có/ [tsɔ⁵⁵] ~ [t_>sɔ⁵⁵] 'reflect'

/j/ voiced, unaspirated, lenis affricate;
allophones distributed as for /ch/:

/jā/ [dza³³] 'rice'

/jèlèlè/ [d_{>>}z'm¹¹ l'm¹¹ l'm¹¹] ¹² 'grouped or
bunched parallel'

/jwā/ [d_>z'ua³³] 'help'

/s/ voiceless spirant; with medial /y/, lamino-
prepalatal; with /wí/, retracted (apico-domal);
elsewhere apico-alveolar groove spirant:

11. In the phonetics, vowel articulation differing from the cardinal position usually associated with a symbol is indicated with an arrow head below the symbol, the point of the arrow indicating the direction of deviation, with left representing the front, right the back of the mouth. Thus [ə̠] indicates a vowel raised and backed from [ə] position; [ɛ̣] indicates lowering from [ɛ] position, etc.

12. The underlining of a vowel in both phonemics and phonetics indicates that it is glottalized; see section 1.5.

/sā/ [sa³³] 'three'

/syā/ [ʃ_ya³³] 'fragrant'

/swā/ [s̥^oɰ^oa³³]¹³ 'die'

/z/ voiced apico-alveolar groove spirant;¹⁴

/zà/ [za¹¹] 'son'

1.1.4 Palatal;¹⁵

/y/ voiced high front unrounded semi-vowel;¹⁶

/yà/ [i^aa¹¹] 'correct'

1.1.5 Palatal/velar;¹⁷

13. The small raised circle in the phonetics marks lip protrusion; see section 1.3.1.1.

14. Phonemes /s/ and /z/ differ considerably in their allophonic distribution from the alveolar/domal affricates; /z/ has no retracted allophone; retracted /s/ occurs in fewer environments than the retracted affricates. The spirants are here separated from the simple alveolars because they are followed by the same allophone of /ɰ/ as the affricates, while the simple alveolars occur with the rounded and prelabialized allophone of /ɰ/ - see below, sections 1.3.1.1 and 1.3.1.3.

15. Palatals /ny/ and /sy/ have already been described (sections 1.1.2 and 1.1.3). The palatal affricate series appears in the next section.

16. In initial position. For medial realizations, see section 1.3.2.

17. The palatal affricates are treated as /Ky/ clusters to show the palatal-velar neutralization before high and mid front vowels, and to avoid making an arbitrary choice of representation for each syllable involving these elements (see below, section 1.3.2.3 and 1.4.1, particularly footnotes 31 and 32). In this environment, the palatal nasal and spirant show markedly different distributional relationships from the affricates. The palatal nasal is in complementary distribution with both alveolar [n] and velar [ŋ] before high and mid front vowels. But [n] occurs in this environment only in one morpheme: [ne³¹] 'isn't it so?', while palatal and alveolar nasals occur here frequently, palatal before [i, ü], alveolar before [e, ö]. This limitation of [n] is to be contrasted with the distribution of the alveolar stops,

/kh/ voiceless, aspirated, lenis consonant; with medial /y/, lamino-prepalatal affricate; elsewhere dorso-velar stop, except that with /yi/, velar and palatal allophones are in free variation:

/khã/ [k'a³³] 'have sexual intercourse'
(vulgar)

/khyã/ [tʃ'y a²⁴] 'crossbow'

/khyl/ [tʃ'y i¹¹ ~ k'i¹¹ ~ tʃ'y e¹¹ ~ k'e¹¹]
'feces'¹⁸

/k/ voiceless, unaspirated, fortis consonant;
allophones distributed as for /kh/:

/ká/ [ka⁵⁵] 'stab'

/kyã/ [tʃ'y a³³] 'ginger'

/kyl/ [tʃ'y i⁵⁵ ~ ki⁵⁵ ~ tʃ'y e⁵⁵ ~ ke⁵⁵]
'clear' (a field)

/g/ voiced, unaspirated, lenis consonant; allophones distributed as for /kh/:

/gã/ [ga³³] 'convex'

/gyã/ [dʒ'y a³³] 'cold'

/gyl/ [dʒ'y i³³ ~ gi³³ ~ dʒ'y e³³ ~ ge³³] 'go'

which occur with both [i] and [e], where the vowels contrast: [ti⁵⁵] 'pound; bet', [te⁵⁵] 'replace, represent'. The interrelationship of palatal and alveolar nasal is marked in the transcription by treating the former as a cluster of alveolar plus /y/. Similarly, before front vowels the palatal spirant is in complementary distribution with dental [s], which does not occur in this environment. Furthermore, palatal [ʃ] is in contrast with the glottal allophone of /h/ before medial /y/, where /hy/ is phonetic [hy]. The sequence /sy/ is therefore used for the palatal spirant.

18. The further problem of vowel contrast neutralization is dealt with under front vowels, section 1.4.1.

1.1.6 Velar:

/ng/ voiced dorso-velar nasal:

/ngā/ [ŋa³³] 'is so'

/gh/ voiced dorso-velar spirant:

/ghā/ [ɣa¹¹] 'weave' (bamboo)

1.1.7 Velar/glottal:

/h/ voiceless spirant; velar before /ə, a, u, w/,¹⁹
glottal (voiceless vowel) before /i, e, ö/ and
nasal vowels;²⁰

/hā/ [xa³³] 'good'

/hwā/ [xwa³³] 'win'

/hī/ [he¹¹] 'still, yet'

/hīn/ [hĩ³³] 'house'

/hyān/ [hĩā³³] 'hundred'

1.1.8 Glottal:

/q/ glottal stop:

/qā/ [ʔa³³] 'float'

/qīn/ [ʔĩ⁵⁵] 'put, place'

/qyān/ [ʔĩā⁵⁵] 'bounce up and down'

19. In two recent Thai loans, [h] occurs before unnasalized /ə/:

[hə⁵⁴] a sound for driving cattle

[hə²⁴hə²⁴] a sound for calling cattle

As cattle were only recently introduced by the Thai to the Lisu at Tak as part of a Government development program, I assume that these forms are not present in the speech of most Lisu elsewhere.

20. When both /w/ and a nasalized vowel follow initial /h/, the initial is represented by the glottal allophone: /hwūn/ [hyũ¹¹] 'penis' (vulgar).

/bōllō/ [b³³l³³lō³³] 'very fat' < /bōlōlō/

b) Syllabic resonants from loan words with final nasal:

/thāncē/ [t'a¹¹ŋ¹¹tsi³³]

'earthenware jar' < Chinese /tāndz/²⁵

/nāmsūsē/ [na⁵¹m¹¹so³³si²¹¹]²⁶

'orange' (fruit) < Thai /nāmsōm/
'orange juice'²⁵

25. Even when the original syllable or final nasal is not low tone, the weak-stressed reduced form is regularly low tone with the nasals, although syllabic /l/ occurs with other tones.

The first reduction is normally to /m/ whatever the form of the original syllable (in faster conversation there is assimilation, see below). The three exceptions to this rule are:

/ñcē/ 'button' < /nylcē/

and the loans:

/thāncē/ 'earthenware jar' < Chinese /tāndz/ (same)

/yīnāngkyī/ 'flavor' < Thai /nāmcīm/ 'sauce'

none of which occurs with syllabic /m/, although the last does alternate with a form lacking the nasal: /yīnākyī/.

In citing loan words, I use the Yale system of romanization for Chinese sources (as in Gardner Tewksbury, 'Speak Chinese') and the Mary Haas transcription for Thai (as in her 'Thai-English Student's Dictionary'). Although Chinese borrowings are from Kunnanese rather than Peking Mandarin, I have no record of the former, and the forms cited in Peking pronunciation provide a reasonably close approximation for the most part.

26. On the tone of the first syllable, see below.

At normal conversational speed, syllabic resonants are usually assimilated to the position of the following initial,²⁷ e.g.:

/m̩khyi/ 'stomach' > [m̩⁵¹ tʃ¹ y¹¹ ~ m̩¹ k¹ i¹¹] etc.
 /b̩amtū/ 'chin' > [ba¹¹ m̩¹ t̩³³]

When a syllabic resonant is preceded by a syllable within the word, if the tone of the latter is in high or mid range, and the resonant is low tone, the tone contour of the first syllable is altered at conversational speed to end in a fall to low pitch:

/n̩ombī/ [n̩⁵¹ m̩¹ be³³] 'earthenware jar' < /n̩oh̩bī/
 /áthà hwām̩gù/ [a⁵⁵ t̩¹ a¹¹ xua³¹ m̩¹ g̩³¹] 'knife with a hooked point' < /áthà hwām̩gù/
 /nyām̩phwū/ [n̩⁵¹ a²⁴¹ m̩¹ p̩¹ fu³³] 'hornbill' < /nyām̩phwū/
 /áilà/ [a⁵¹ ð̩¹ la¹¹] 'high, tall' < /áilà/

In rapid speech, internal syllabic resonants such as those just cited are unstressed and lose their syllabicity to become final nasals in the preceding syllable; in such cases, however, tone contour changes, if any, associated with the weak stressed form remain. Such forms thus have a variety of pronunciations depending on the speed of production.

27. There are three apparent exceptions to this rule, as opposed to 37 items in my data which assimilate. It is possible that I simply did not notice assimilation in these forms when it took place, but where it is clear for all the other items, I have no record of having heard it in:

/kh̩ám̩w̩/ [k̩¹ a²⁴¹ m̩¹ t̩¹ sw̩⁵⁵] 'pack basket'
 /m̩ám̩kyōkyà/ [ma³¹ m̩¹ t̩¹ ō³³ t̩¹ a¹¹] 'a pork and bamboo shoot dish'
 /n̩ám̩sūs̩/ [na⁵¹ m̩¹ so³ s̩¹ z̩¹¹] 'orange' (the fruit)

	Slow Speech	Normal Speech	Rapid Speech
/áthà hwāngù/	[-x _ʷ ua ³³ ɰ̣ ¹ go ²¹]	[-x _ʷ ua ³¹ ɰ̣ ¹ go ²¹]	[-x _ʷ ua ³¹ go ²¹]
'knife with a hooked blade'			
/bām̄tū/	[ba ¹¹ ɰ̣ ¹ to ³³]	[ba ¹¹ ɰ̣ ¹ to ³³]	[ba ¹¹ to ³³]
'chin'			
/nyā̄mp̄hū/	[ɰ̣ _y a ²⁴ ɰ̣ ¹ p̄'fu ³³]	[ɰ̣ _y a ²⁴¹ ɰ̣ ¹ p̄'fu ³³]	[ɰ̣ _y a ²⁴¹ p̄'fu ³³]
'hornbill'			

1.3 Medials.

Only /w/ and /y/ occur medially in Lisu. In this position their phonetic realizations differ greatly from those associated with their occurrence as initials. In many instances they are realized as components of the preceding consonant, of the following vowel, or as long components spanning both.

1.3.1 Medial /w/:

1.3.1.1 Realizations:

Medial /w/ has three types of realization: before /ɬ/ after labial or dental consonant and before /u/ it is a labio-dental spirant, voiceless after aspirated consonant, beginning voiceless but shifting to voiced after voiceless unaspirated consonant, and fully voiced after voiced consonant:

/khwū/ [k'fu³³] 'able'

/kwū/ [kyu⁵⁵]²⁸ 'hire'

/gwū/ [gvu³³] 'finish'

/nwū/ [nvu³³] 'you'

28. The y with subscript circle indicates a medial beginning voiceless but shifting to voiced.

- /ngwū/ [ŋvur³³] 'cry'
 /fwū/ [fr³³] 'bottle'
 /vwū/ [vr³³] 'size'
 /bwǎ/ [bva¹¹] 'loud'
 /mwǎ/ [mva¹¹] 'land, country, city'
 /ɣ'fʷwǎ/ [ʃi⁵⁵fʷ⁵⁵] 'foam'
 /vwǎ/ [va¹¹] 'count; read'
 /twǎ/ [tʷa⁵⁵] 'bury'
 /lwǎ/ [lva⁵⁵] 'remove (clothes)'

Before /ǎ/ after alveolar/domal affricate it is realized as lip protrusion throughout the syllable (see sections 1.3.1.2 and 1.3.1.3).

- /chwǎ/ [tʃ⁰ʷ⁰ǎ¹¹] 'borrow'
 /swǎ/ [s⁰ʷ⁰ǎ³³] 'die'

Elsewhere it is a bilabial semi-vowel:

- /khwǎ/ [k⁰ʷ⁰ǎ¹¹] 'bitter'
 /chwǎ/ [tʃ⁰ʷ⁰ǎ⁵⁵] 'naughty'

1.3.1.2 Effect on preceding consonants:

Before medial /w/, the alveolar/domal affricates occur in the retracted (apico-domal) allophone. /s/ is retracted only before /wǎ/. Both affricates and /s/ occur with marked lip protrusion before /wǎ/.

- /chwè/ [tʃ⁰ʷ⁰ǎ¹¹] 'punch'
 /chwǎ/ [tʃ⁰ʷ⁰ǎ¹¹] 'borrow'

/chwǎ/ [t̚s̚⁵⁵na⁵⁵] 'naughty'

/chwū/ [t̚s̚³³fu³³] 'burn'

/swǎ/ [s̚³³va³³] 'die'

cf. /swū/ [svu³³] 'lose' (a contest)

Elsewhere, medial /w/ does not affect the initial consonant.

1.3.1.3 Effect on following vowels:

Medial /w/ affects the allophonic choice of the vowels /u/ and /ɨ/:²⁹

Following medial /w/, the vowel /u/ is upper-high back rounded:

/gwū/ [gvu³³] 'finish'

/chwū/ [t̚s̚³³fu³³] 'burn'

/thwū/ [t³³fu³³] 'thick'

/pwù/ [pvu¹¹] 'grow fat'

Following medial /w/ after labial or dental initial, the vowel /ɨ/ is high central rounded:

/phwǎ/ [p²⁴fv²⁴] 'pile up'

/dwǎ/ [dv¹¹] 'dig'

Following medial /w/ after retracted affricate or spirant, the vowel /ɨ/ is high central unrounded (slightly lower than upper high) with marked lip protrusion:³⁰

/chwǎ/ [t̚s̚⁰⁰va¹¹] 'borrow'

29. For the full allophonic range of these vowels see sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3.

30. Protrusion differs from rounding in that it involves marked horizontal extension of the lips outward, and the resultant aperture is far larger than that characteristic of rounding.

/jwɛ/ [ɔ̄⁵⁵ɪ⁵⁵] 'cough'

/swɛ/ [s̄³³ɪ³³] 'die'

1.3.2 Medial /y/:

1.3.2.1 Realizations:

Medial /y/ has three phonetic realizations:

After /k, kh, g, n, s/, medial /y/ is realized both in palatalization of the preceding consonant and as a very short [ɪ] glide between the consonant and the following vowel. However, after /k, kh, g/ before /i/, where the velar and palatal allophones of the initial are in free variation, the [ɪ] glide is not present after the velar allophone:

/gyɛ/ [d_ɣɪ³³] 'cold'

/kyèlè/ [t_ɣɛ¹¹lɛ¹¹] 'striped'

/gyɪ/ [d_ɣɪ³³ ~ d_ɣɛ³³ ~ gɪ³³ ~ gɛ³³] 'go'

/nyɪ/ [ŋ_ɪɪ¹¹] 'two'

/syɪ/ [s_ɪɪ¹¹ ~ s_ɪɛ¹¹] 'kill'

After other initial consonants before /i/, medial /y/ is realized only in its effect on the vowel (see section 1.3.2.3).

Elsewhere, /medial /y/ is a high front unrounded semi-vowel:

/phyà/ [p¹¹ɪ¹¹] 'cut' (grass)

/myà/ [mɪ¹¹] 'much, many'

/tyáu/ [tɪ⁵⁵ɪ⁵⁵] 'hang'

1.3.2.2 Effect on preceding consonants:

Medial /y/ affects only initial /k, kh, g, n, s/, as described in the preceding section.

1.3.2.3 Effect on following vowels:

Medial /y/ affects the allophonic choice of vowels /i/ and /õ/. After medial /y/, both vowels are raised to high position, except that after /ky, khy, gy, sy/ the high and mid allophones of both are in free variation³¹ (see also Front Vowels, section 1.4.1).

/phyɪ/ [p'i¹¹] 'lose'

cf. /phɪ/ [p'e¹¹] 'smooth'

/tyɪ/ [ti⁵⁵] 'pound, beat'

cf. /tɪ/ [te⁵⁵] 'represent'

/kyɪ/ [tʃ_yi⁵⁵ ~ ki⁵⁵ ~ tʃ_ye⁵⁵ ~ ke⁵⁵] 'clear'
(a field)

/syɪ/ [ʃ_yi¹¹ ~ ʃ_ye¹¹] 'kill'

/phyõ/ [p'ü¹¹] 'become'

cf. /phõ/ [p'ö¹¹] 'swell up'

/gyõ/ [dʒ_yü³³ ~ dʒ_yö³³] 'charge, rush against'

/syõ/ [ʃ_yü³³ ~ ʃ_yö³³] 'seem, appear'

31. Thus, in a syllable such as /kyɪ/ 'clear' (a field), medial /y/ can be said to be a phonemic long component extending

only over the initial consonant: [tʃ_ye]

only over the vowel: [ki]

over both consonant and vowel: [tʃ_yi]

or over neither: [ke]

The last possibility, in which the /y/ is written but not phonetically realized even as a long component, is not a particularly satisfactory phonemicization, but its weakness may, perhaps, at least be said to reflect Lisu structure in that the realization [Ke] is far less common than [Ki], [Tʃ_yi], or [Tʃ_ye], all of which occur frequently.

1.4 Vowels:

In outline, the vowels of Lisu are:

Chart I.2: Vowels

	Front unrounded	Front rounded	Central rounded and unrounded	Back rounded
High			ɨ	
Mid	i	ö	ə	u
Low	e		a	o

1.4.1 Front vowels:

/i/ upper-mid unrounded vowel; raised to high position after /y/, except that mid and high allophones are in free variation after initial /y/ and /ky, khy, gy, sy/;³² /i/ and /yi/ are frequently (but unsystematically) in free variation after alveolar initial; raised to lower-high position as diphthong off-glide or when nasalized:

/phi/ [p'e¹¹] 'smooth'

/phy/ [p'i¹¹] 'lose'

/khy/ [tʃ_yi¹¹ ~ k'i¹¹ ~ tʃ_ye¹¹ ~ k'e¹¹] 'feces'

32. In this complicated double neutralization (of both palatal-velar contrast and high-mid front vowel contrast) some forms show a tendency toward the use of particular consonant and/or vowel allophones, but only in three cases is such a tendency carried through consistently: 1) when the initial is aspirated and the tone is mid-rising, the pronunciation [tʃ_ye²⁴] is regular. 2) When a syllable is shortened and ends in glottal stop, as with certain of the intonations, the vowel allophone [ɪ] is regular. 3) Before nasalized /i/, the palatal allophone of these initials occurs:

/khyŋkyán/ [tʃ_yɪ⁵⁵tʃ_yɛ⁵⁵] 'adoptive sibling'

Elsewhere, the variations appear almost entirely random.

/thɨ/ [t'e¹¹] ~ /thɨl/ [t'i¹¹] 'one'³³
 but { /tyɨ/ [ti⁵⁵] 'pound, beat'
 /tɨ/ [te⁵⁵] 'represent'
 /hɨn/ [hɨ̃³³] 'house'
 /pəi/ [pẽ³³] 'differ'

/ə/ low unrounded vowel:

/syə phə/ [ʃ_ya¹¹p'ə¹¹] 'suffocate'

/ö/ upper-mid rounded vowel; raised to high position
 after medial /y/, except that high and mid
 allophones are in free variation after /ky, gy, sy/;
 the lower allophone occurs after /kny/;³⁴

/phö/ [p'ö¹¹] 'swell up'

/phyö/ [p'ü¹¹] 'become'

/yö/ [iö¹¹] 'use'

/gyö/ [d_ʒö¹¹ ~ d_ʒü¹¹] 'swear' (an oath)

/khyö/ [t_ʃö¹¹] 'speak'

33. For convenience, the form /thɨ/ is used hereafter; cf. section 2.4.1.1.

34. Parallel to /i/, when a syllable with vowel /ö/ occurs shortened and ends in a glottal stop, the allophone [ü] is regular. There is also one problematic case of contrast between [ö] and [ü] after a palatal initial:

[t'e¹¹d_ʒö³³] 'one pair'

[t'e¹¹d_ʒü³³] 'one shortened stick-like thing'

(as a worn down pencil or a bamboo stalk with the top cut off). The pair is the only one in my data to show such a contrast, as opposed to over 100 forms without contrast after palatal initial. It was elicited late in my stay in Thailand, and I had no opportunity to check to see whether members of the village other than my informant had contrast here. It is a unique pair in the corpus which requires further investigation.

1.4.2 Central vowels:

/ɨ/ high central vowel:

unrounded - after alveolar affricate or spirant,
 very high with co-articulated apico-alveolar
 friction; after domal initial plus /w/, somewhat
 lower, with marked lip protrusion, but without
 friction:

/chɨ/ [ts'ɨ¹¹] 'wash'/sɨ/ [sɨ¹¹] 'choke on'/chwɨ/ [tʰɔ⁰⁰ɨ¹¹] 'borrow'/swɨ/ [s⁰⁰ɨ³³] 'die'

rounded - after labial and alveolar consonant plus
 /w/:³⁵

/phwɨ/ [p'fɨ¹¹] 'obey'/dwɨ/ [dɨ¹¹] 'dig'

/ə/ upper-mid rear-central unrounded vowel after labial
 and velar initial and glottal stop:

/jəphə/ [dzɨ³³p'ə¹¹] 'liquor'/yfkə/ [jɨ⁵⁵k'ə¹¹] 'word'/qə/ [ʔə¹¹] 'boundary'

higher and backer after alveolar or alveolar/domal
 initial:

/də/ [dɨ¹¹] 'beat'

35. /ɨ/ does not occur with the velars.

/chà/ [tʂ⁵⁵u¹¹] 'lead' (metal)

/sə/ [su⁵⁵] 'know'

/a/ low central unrounded vowel:

/phà/ [p'a¹¹] 'wet'

in atonic syllables, when word initial, raised to mid central position:

/maphà/ [mɤ⁵⁵p'a¹¹] 'not wet'

as diphthong offglide,³⁶

after /õ/, raised and fronted to mid front position:

/phõa/ [p'õ¹¹³a] 'to swell up'

after rounded allophone of /ɛ/, raised and fronted to upper-low front position:

/phwɛa/ [p'wɛ¹¹³a] 'to obey'

elsewhere, raised to mid central position:

/phɛa/ [p'ɛ¹¹³a] 'to be smooth'

/phwɛa/ [p'wɛ¹¹³a] 'to bloom'

1.4.3 Back vowels:

/u/ upper-mid rounded vowel, tending to be raised to lower-high position in high and mid range tones, except following dental affricate; upper-mid as diphthong off-glide; after medial /w/ raised to upper-high position:

36. In very slow speech (e.g. in making examples 'clear' for me) these offglides are regularly pronounced [a].

- /wǝphǎ/ [u⁵⁵p'a¹¹] 'uncle'
 /wūphǎ/ [u³³p'a¹¹] 'bear' (animal)
 /wūphyǎ/ [u¹¹p'ia¹¹] 'vegetable'
 /kǝkū/ [k⁵⁵k³³] 'older brother'
 /jū/ [d̥ɔ³³] 'have'
 /pǎ/ [p¹¹] 'open out'
 /phū/ [p'o²⁴] 'turn over'
 /kwǎ/ [k₃u⁵⁵] 'hire'
 /phwǎ/ [p'f¹¹] 'bloom'
 /yǝngǎ/ [i⁵⁵ŋ¹¹] 'language'
 /syāu/ [ʃ_ɣa³³] 'gunpowder'

/o/ low rounded vowel:

/pò/ [p¹¹] 'control'

1.4.4 Diphthongs:

In this analysis, diphthongs are vowel sequences in which the first member is more prominent than the second. Phonetic diphthongs involving initial or medial /w/ or /y/ are analyzed as a combination of consonant plus vowel. Diphthongs are written with vowel symbols only.

Three kinds of diphthong occur:³⁷

a) All mid and high range vowels plus /a/:

/tyǎ/ [ti₂⁵⁵] 'pound'

/qǎn/ [ʔ_ɪ⁵⁵] 'to put'

cf. /qyǎn/ [ʔ_ɪ⁵⁵] 'bounce up and down'

37. For the allophones of /a, i, u/ as diphthong offglides, see above, sections 1.4.1-3.

/thĩthĩjãã/ [t'e³³t'e¹¹dzi¹¹³ma³³]

'one of this kind'

/thĩliã:/ [t'e¹¹leã²⁴²] 'the same'

/gũã/ [goã¹¹³] 'to be crooked'

cf. /gwã/ [gwa³³] 'there'

/myãkhyã/ [mia³³k'iã¹¹ ~ mia³³t'iã¹¹] etc.

'small child'

b) All vowels, except /i/, plus /i/:

/kãicã/ [ka³³tsã¹¹] 'market'

/malãi:/ [mã¹la³³¹] 'not come yet'

/pãi/ [pã³³] 'differ'

/chwãi/ [tã¹'fuã¹¹] 'hammer'

/sãithã/ [sã¹¹t'a¹¹] 'house yard'

c) All vowels plus /u/:

/gwũliũ/ [gvu³³leũ³³] 'finished'

/syũ/ [ʃyãũ³³] 'gunpowder'

/chwũ/ [tã¹'sãũ¹¹] 'borrowed already'

/kũ:/ [kũ³⁸] 'brother!' (vocative)

1.4.5 Nasalization:

Vowel nasalization is represented in the transcription by syllable-final /n/; it is described under Final Consonants, section 1.8.

1.5 Glottalization.

In low and low rising tones, all vowels occur glottalized as well as plain. The glottalization begins with the first vowel onset

38. On /ʔ/ 'abrupt intonation', see section 1.11.2.

in a syllable and continues to the end of the syllable. Low level syllables are short and end in glottal stop. Glottalization is represented in the transcription by underlining the nuclear vowel.

/ph _i /	[p'e ₁]	'vomit'	cf. /ph _i /	[p'e ¹¹]	'smooth'
/ph _i a/	[p'e ₂ ¹¹³]	'to vomit'	/ph _i a/	[p'e ₂ ¹¹³]	'to be smooth'
/chw _i /	[t's ₁ ¹¹]	'suck'	/chw _i /	[t's ₁ ¹¹]	'borrow'
/chw _i a/	[t's ₂ ¹¹³]	'to suck'	/chw _i a/	[t's ₂ ¹¹³]	'to borrow'
/l _u /	[lo ₁]	'enough'	/l _u /	[lo ¹¹]	'combine'
/l _u a/	[lo ₂ ¹¹³]	'to be enough'	/l _u a/	[lo ₂ ¹¹³]	'to combine'
/sy ₁ gy ₁ /	[s ₁ ³³ d ₁ ¹¹]	etc. 'hook'			
/y ₁ sy ₂ /	[i ₁ ⁵⁵ s ₂ ¹¹]	'sound'			

1.6 Tone.

Lisu has six tones:

High level:	/˥/	[⁵⁵]:	/ph _i /	[p'e ⁵⁵]	'match' (as colors)
High falling:	/˥˨/	[⁵⁴]:	/kw ₁ pi/	[kna ³³ pe ⁵⁴]	'forcefully, energetically'
Mid level:	/˨˨/	[³³]:	/ph _i /	[p'e ³³]	'divorce'
Mid rising:	/˨˨˨/	[²⁴]:	/ph _i /	[p'e ²⁴]	'flick (with a finger)'
Low level:	/˨/	[¹¹]:	/ph _i /	[p'e ¹¹]	'smooth'
Low rising:	/˨˨/	[¹¹³]:	/ph _i a/	[p'e ₂ ¹¹³]	'to be smooth'

A high falling tone syllable is regularly short; in isolation it ends in a glottal stop. High and low level tones in isolation frequently, but not regularly, exhibit the same shortening and glottal stop final. The rising tones in isolation are longer and not stopped, with the low rising tone markedly longer than the others.

Where rising tone occurs with diphthongs, the additional length is in the vowel offglide.

Atonic syllables are not marked for tone in the transcription. They are regularly weak stressed and short. Such syllables are either the initial syllable of a word, where the pitch of the syllable is low before a low or mid tone syllable, mid before a high tone syllable:

/amyá/ [ʔ³ miá⁵⁵] 'much, many'
 /magyí/ [má¹ d₃ i³³ ~ má¹ d₃ e³³] etc. 'not go'
 /magè/ [má¹ gə¹] 'not give'

or one of the last syllables in a sentence, in which case the syllable is low tone. In this position, sequences of atonic syllables also occur, with all syllables low tone:

/dwáyíá; beghénya, 'tíhwa azu?/
 [dwa¹ iia²⁴² bə¹ yə¹ ŋ¹ z¹ 'te⁵⁵ xə¹ z¹]
 (enter-go-nom? say-to-as-for, this=emph-time we)³⁹
 'Is it going in (the tape recorder) when we
 speak this time?'

39. On the position of sentence intonation in the utterance, see sections 1.10.1, footnote 50, and 4.2.3.2, footnote 19. When example sentences are cited, a morpheme by morpheme translation is given in parentheses before the colloquial translation in single quotation marks. In the first translation, word boundaries are indicated by space, morpheme boundaries within a word by the equals sign. When more than one English word is needed to translate a single Lisu morpheme, the English words are joined by the hyphen. In these translations the following abbreviations are used:

nom = nominalizer
 partic = particularizer
 emph = emphatic

In the colloquial translations, clarifying English words which do not appear in the Lisu original are enclosed in parentheses.

1.6.1 Allophones:

High and mid range tones have allophones ending in a fall to low pitch before syllabic resonants; see section 1.2.

Other tones do not show allophonic variation.

1.6.2 Morphophonemics;⁴⁰

Morphophonemic tone alternations occur in four environments: with emphatic stress, with verbs in certain syntactic positions, with certain numerals, and with the noun /ngwã/ 'I'.

1.6.2.1 Tone morphophonemics with emphatic stress:

When a mid or low tone syllable occurs with emphatic stress, its pitch is frequently raised to high tone level.

/g'wóthinyIa - / [g'guõ⁵⁵t'e¹¹ŋ_ɿiə³³³]⁴¹

(that=emph=one=day=partic -)

'that day ...'

cf. normal stressed /gwõ/ [guõ³³] 'that'

/dwáyIa; beghenya, 'tfinwa azu?/ [... 'te⁵⁵xuõ¹¹ɿ zõ¹]

(enter=go=nom? say=to=as-for, this=emph=time we)

'Is it going in (the tape recorder) when we speak this time?'

40. The only generalized morphophonemic alternations in Lisu are the first two types described here. Otherwise, only particular morphemes show morphophonemic alternations, as in the last two subheadings in this section, which are included here to complete the picture of tonal morphophonemics. Other morphophonemic alternations are described as the morphemes with which they occur are discussed in the text.

41. The hyphen spaced out between words in both phonemics and phonetics marks 'suspensive intonation'; see section 1.11.4.

cf. normal stressed /thĩ/ [t'e³³] 'this'

Here, not only is the pitch of /thĩ/ 'this' raised, but the aspiration is lost. In this connection it is noteworthy that the increased tenseness associated with the unaspirated initial is also present with emphatic stress.

Compare also:

/ãzù 'tã'hù ngũnẽ./ [ã³³ zõ¹¹ 'tã.¹¹¹ 'xo.¹¹¹ ŋõ³³ nã³³]

(we together=emph are=emph.)

'We are really together.'

Here /tãhù/ 'together' retains its normal-stress low tone even with emphatic stress.

1.6.2.2 Tone morphophonemics with verbs:

Some Lisu verbs show an alternation of tone depending on the syntactic position within an utterance.⁴² The tone of the verb in isolation is its basic tone; the alternant tone is its final tone, which occurs only if the verb is last in its phrase.⁴³

42. The conditions are described in detail in section 4.5.

43. For illustration here, the isolated form is used for basic tone, the citation form used by the Lisu for final tone. The first is the form in which I usually cite verbs in this study, but my informant regularly cited them with final tone and/or final particle /-a/, that is nominalized. With verbs having nuclear diphthong or low vowel, no /a/ offglide occurs (cf. 1.4.4a), but the tone alternations are present as with other verbs. For full discussion of this nominalization construction and the relationship between final tone and the particle /-a/, see section 4.5.

The alternations are:

- a) Basic low-level tone alternates with final low-rising tone:

/sɿ/ [sɿ ¹¹]	'choke on'	/sɿa/ [sɿ ¹¹³]	'to choke on'
/phɿ/ [p'e ¹¹]	'smooth'	/phɿa/ [p'e ¹¹³]	'to be smooth'
/jɿ/ [dzɿ ¹¹]	'ride'	/jɿa/ [dzɿ ¹¹³]	'to ride'
/thɿ/ [t'e ¹¹]	'shallow'	/thɿa/ [t'e ¹¹³]	'to be shallow'
/pɿi/ [paɿ ¹¹]	'put'	/pɿi/ [paɿ ¹¹³]	'to put'

- b) The basic mid-level tone of some verbs alternates with final mid-rising tone:

/sɿ/ [sɿ ²³³]	'choose'	/sɿa/ [sɿ ²⁴]	'to choose'
/gyɿ/ [dʒ _y i ³³]	etc. 'go'	/gyɿa/ [dʒ _y i ²⁴]	'to go'
/chwɿ/ [tʂ'fu ³³]	'burn'	/chwɿa/ [tʂ'fu ²⁴]	'to burn'
/khɿ/ [k'a ³³]	'have inter- course' (vulgar)	/khɿ/ [k'a ²⁴]	'to have intercourse'

- c) The basic mid-level tone of some verbs alternates with final high-level tone:

/sɿ/ [sɿ ³³³]	'sew'	/sɿa/ [sɿ ⁵⁵]	'to sew'
/syɿ/ [ʃ _y i ³³]	etc. 'wide'	/syɿa/ [ʃ _y i ⁵⁵]	'to be wide'
/mō/ [mō ³³]	'groan'	/mōa/ [mō ⁵⁵]	'to groan'
/hɿ/ [xa ³³]	'good'	/hɿ/ [hɿ ⁵⁵]	'to be good'

- d) With verbs having basic high-level or mid-rising tone, basic and final tones coincide:

/sɿ/ [sɿ ⁵⁵]	'sharpen'	/sɿa/ [sɿ ⁵⁵]	'to sharpen'
/sɿ/ [sɿ ²²]	'pull (a trigger)'	/sɿa/ [sɿ ²²]	'to pull (a trigger)'

There are no verbs with basic low-rising or high-falling tone.

1.6.2.3 Tone morphophonemics with numerals:

The numerals /sā-/ 'three', /lyí-/ 'four', and /kwí-/ 'nine' have allomorphs /sà-/ , /lyī-/ , and /kwū-/ respectively in combination with following syllables in certain tones,⁴⁴ e.g.:

/sāk̀hù/ [sa³³k'o¹¹] '3 years'

but: /sāzū/ [sa¹¹zo³³] 'three individuals'

/lyīk̀hù/ [li³³k'o¹¹] 'four years'

but: /lyízü/ [li⁵⁵zo³³] 'four individuals'

/kwūk̀hù/ [kyu³³k'o¹¹] 'nine years'

but: /kwízū/ [kyu⁵⁵zo³³] 'nine individuals'

The numeral /thī-/ 'one' has an allomorph /-tyí/ after unmodified /chī-/ 'ten':

/chītyí/ 'eleven' [ts'ɛ³³ti⁵⁵]

1.6.2.4 Tone morphophonemics with /ngwā/:

The noun /ngwā/ 'I' changes to mid-rising tone in attributive position before another noun, or, frequently, in goal position in the clause,⁴⁵

/ngwā́ ámyí jūa./ [ŋwa³³ a⁵⁵ mi¹¹ dzo²⁴]

(I daughter have=nom.)

'I have a daughter'

but: /ngwā́ ámyí jūa./ [ŋwa²⁴ a⁵⁵ mi¹¹ dzo²⁴]

(my daughter have=nom.)

'My daughter has (it).'

44. The full conditions are described in section 2.4.1.1.4.

45. Attribution is discussed in section 2.1, the goal in 4.2.1.3.

/yí ngwā gəwū./ [i⁵⁵ŋ²⁴wa²⁴gə¹u³]

(he me give=did.)

'He gave (it) to me.'

1.6.3 Neutralization:

Neutralization of tone contrast occurs in atonic syllables (see section 1.6) and in conjunction with exaggerated emphatic stress (section 1.10.4).

1.7 Falling Pitch.

The phoneme of falling pitch, represented by the colon at the end of a syllable, occurs with high-level, mid-level, and mid-rising tones and causes the end of the tone so modified to fall from its normal contour to a pitch two levels lower, i.e. [55-3], [33-1], [24-2]. It is regularly accompanied by lengthening of a simple vowel; diphthongs are not lengthened.⁴⁶

/phākya:/ [p'a³³t_ɿa⁵⁵³] 'begin to cook'

/phāgya:/ [p'a³³d_ɿiə³³¹] 'about to go'

/phākya:/ [p'a³³t_ɿa²⁴²] 'just begun to dwell'

/chūpā:/ [tʃ⁰¹pa⁵⁵³] 'man'

/thūlā:/ [t⁰¹lā³³¹] 'rabbit'

/thūlā:/ [t⁰¹leə²⁴²] 'the same'

/nānā:/ [na⁵⁵na⁵⁵³] 'nearness, proximity'

46. In some instances, this phenomenon occurs as a result of contraction of a low tone syllable with a preceding syllable in a higher tone, e.g. /chūpā:/ 'man' from /chūpāzà/, /thūlā:/ 'rabbit' from /thūlāzà/, where the /-zà/ 'diminutive' is an adjectival modifier. In other cases, however, the forms are not contractions; e.g., the discontinuous morpheme /phā (+ verb + /-a/ +):/ 'to be about to; to be just beginning', as in the first three of the following examples.

/thihón:/ [t'e¹¹hɔ̃⁵⁵³] 'equal'

/'jɔ̃:jɔ̃/ [dʒɔ̃⁵⁵³dʒɔ̃³³] 'way over there'

/ɔ̃:/ is frequently associated with emphatic stress (as in the last example above), in which case a vowel is sometimes extended to two or three times its normal length. Nevertheless, the construction falls under a single stress and is therefore one syllable. These forms are distinguished from constructions in which a non-initial vowel in a word begins a new syllable, as well as from words containing a syllabic resonant. In the latter two types the presence of a separate stress is indicated by a tone sign over the vowel or resonant in question.

/malǎ'í. nwū malǎu./

[mǎ⁵¹lǎ³³·ɔ̃⁵⁵³ nwu³³mǎ⁵¹lǎ³³]

(not=come=new-situation=emph. you not=come=new-situation.)

'(You) won't come any more. You won't come again.'

Here the verb particle /-u/ 'change-of-state, new situation'⁴⁷, which normally forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel (as in the second instance above), forms a separate syllable with emphatic stress and high tone.

/nǒmbǎ/ [nǒ⁵¹mǎ¹bǎ³³] 'earthenware jar'

Shortened from /nǒhǒbǎ/, in which /nǒhǒ/ means 'earth'.

47. Discussed in section 5.4.1.2, q.v.

1.8 Final Consonants.

Only /n/ and /ng/ occur as syllable-final consonants,⁴⁸ /ng/ as phonetic [ŋ], /n/ representing nasalization of the preceding vocalic elements.

1.8.1 Final /n/:

Nasalization occurs in syllables with vowels /i, e, a, u, o/ and diphthongs in which one of these vowels is nuclear. Since nasalization extends over all vocalic elements in a syllable, n is written at the end of the syllable, even when there are two morphemes present, as in the second and next to last examples below.⁴⁹

- /qín/ [ʔɿ⁵⁵] 'put'
 /qían/ [ʔiã⁵⁵] 'to put'
 /qyán/ [ʔiã⁵⁵] 'bounce up and down'
 /kūncàn/ [kō³³tsã¹¹] 'communist'
 /hānmā/ [hã³³mã³³] 'elephant'

48. Phonemically, that is. Phonetically, all nasals and [l] occur as syllable-final, either as a result of unstressing and assimilation of syllabic resonants (section 1.2) or from assimilation of final /ng/ (section 1.8.2).

49. When final n immediately precedes an initial y or w, a hyphen is inserted in the transcription to distinguish the form from one with initial ny or nw, e.g.:

- /qòn'qõn-yà./ [ʔɿ¹¹ʔɿ³³iã²¹] 'Think of that!'
 cf. /qānyā/ [ʔã³³nyã³³] 'as for floating'
 /hīn-wā/ [hɿ³³wã³³] 'to home'
 cf. /ngwānwù/ [ŋwã³³nvu¹¹] 'we'

There is no example in my data of a nasalized syllable preceding g, but the same device would serve if such a situation occurs.

- /yfbwɛ̃ qón/ [i⁵⁵ bvw¹¹ ʔɔ⁵⁵] 'smell, stink'
 /hǎn/ [hǎ²⁴] 'hate'
 /hǎan/ [hǎ²⁴] 'to hate'
 /hǎnháin: bǎjǎ/ [hǎ³³ hǎ⁵⁵³ ba³³ dza¹¹] 'hear faintly'

1.8.2 Final /ng/:

/ng/ occurs syllable finally with extreme rarity.

Internally it occurs as the final consonant in a single morpheme /gyǐng-/ 'very, very much', an intensive prefix to a limited number of adverbial nouns with meanings involving confusion, disorder, destruction, and the like.

- /gyǐngkhǎlè/ [dʒ_yɪŋ³³ k'ɛ³³ lɛ¹¹] 'very messy'
 /gyǐnggyǐlǐ/
 [dʒ_yɪŋ³³ gi³³ le¹¹ ~ dʒ_yɪŋ³³ dʒ_y i³³ le¹¹] 'very ragged'
 /gyǐngtyǐlyì/
 [dʒ_yɪŋ³³ ti⁵⁵ li¹¹ ~ dʒ_yɪŋ³³ ti⁵⁵ li¹¹] 'very wrinkled'
 /gyǐngphwǔphwǔ/
 'many white things mixed together'
 [dʒ_yɪŋ³³ p'fɯ³³ p'fɯ³³ ~ dʒ_yɪŋ³³ p'fɯ³³ p'fɯ³³]

At normal conversational speed, this final /ng/ is assimilated to the position of the following initial (as in the second alternant of the last three examples), so that in practice final [ŋ] occurs in this morpheme only before velar initial, except in slow, careful speech.

Before pause, syllable-final /ng/ occurs in my data only in the form /bǎng/ [bǎŋ¹¹] 'sound of a dragon's tail striking the ground.'

1.9 Permitted Sequences.

The distribution charts on the following pages show the co-occurrence limitations of initials, medials, and nuclear vowels (including nasalized vowels). Diphthongs whose nuclear vowel occurs with a given initial are also permitted sequences with that initial. Initial /w/ and /y/ are listed in the lefthand column with the other initials; medial /w/ and /y/ are shown in combination with vowels across the top row.

1.10 Stress.

The syllable occurs with one of four degrees of stress: weak, normal, emphatic, or exaggerated emphatic.

1.10.1 Weak stress:

Weak stress occurs with atonic syllables and with syllabic resonants. The former are unmarked for tone, the latter include all consonants marked for tone.

/atyí/ [t̃⁵⁵ti⁵⁵] 'a little'

/magyí/ [m̃⁵⁵d̃_ɹi³³] etc. 'not go'

/nōmbī/ [nō³¹m̃¹bē³³] 'earthenware jar'

/dwāyīa; beghanya, 'tīhwa azu?/⁵⁰

[dwa¹¹ iig²⁴² ba¹ vō¹ n̄¹ ō¹ 'te⁵⁵ xa¹ ō¹ zō¹]

(enter-go=nom? say-to=as-for, this=emph-time we)

'Is it going in (the tape recorder) when we speak this time?'

50. The comma is used as a visual aid to separate isolatives (section 4.2.3.1) and topic or coordinate clauses from the main clause in a sentence (4.4.2.3 and 5.1.1). It does not represent a phonological phenomenon.

The semi-colon is written only after the main verb phrase in a sentence with a secondary topic (4.2.3.2). It marks both the location of the sentence intonation (1.11.1-3) and the start of the secondary topic. See also section 4.2.3.2, footnote 15.

Chart I.3: Permitted Sequences

	i	e	ö	ê	ə	a	u	o	yi	ye	yō	ya	yan	yo
ph	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
p	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
b	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x		
m	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
f		x				x								
v	x	x				x			x					
w	x	x				x	x							
th	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					
t	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					
d	x	x	x		x	x	x		x					
n	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
l	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x		
ch				x	x	x	x	x						
c				x	x	x	x	x						
j				x	x	x	x	x						
s				x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
z				x		x	x							
y	x		x			x	x	x						
kh					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
k		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
g					x	x	x		x		x	x		
ng	x				x	x	x	x						
h	x	x	x		x	x	x						x	
gh					x	x								
q	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					x
ø						x	x							

/yūw/

Chart I.3: Permitted Sequences (cont'd)

	wi	wi	wö	wä	wa	wu	wun	wo	in	en	an	un	on
ph				x		x							
p				x		x					x		
b				x		x							
m				x		x						x	
f	x			x		x							
v				x		x							
w											x		
th	x			x		x							
t	x			x		x							
d				x		x							
n				x		x							
l				x		x							
ch		x		x	x	x					x		
c				x	x	x					x	x	
j				x	x	x							
s	x			x	x	x					x	x	x
z					x	x							
y											x		x
kh	x	x			x	x					x		
k	x	x			x	x						x	
g			x		x	x		x					
ng	x				x	x							
h	x				x		x		x	x	x	x	x
gh													
q									x	x		x	x
∅													

With the short vowels and low tones in this sentence, compare the same morphemes under normal stress:

/bē/	[bæ ³³]	'say'
/-nyā/	[ñ, a ³³]	'general topic particle'
/th ^h hwā/	[t'e ³³ xua ²⁴]	'this time' ⁵¹
/zū/	[a ³³ zɔ ¹¹]	'we'

1.10.2 Normal Stress:

Syllables, other than syllabic resonants, which are marked for tone but not preceded by an emphatic stress marker (1.10.3-4) occur with normal stress. All monosyllabic examples in earlier sections of this chapter are under normal stress.

/ngwā né syōzǎ./

(I you=with-respect-to concerned-about=nom.)

'I'm concerned about you.'

/ngwā bābāhē - nwū bābā khwūwāngū./

(my father=contrast - you father call=get-to-is-so.)

'As for my father, you can call (him) "father".'

/lyīswū nwū kānyā thīhwā gāyī, jō phālangū sū./

(Lisu you after one=time follow-go, there
occidental=language study.)

'(If we) Lisu once go with you, (we'll) study
English there.' [i.e. in America]

1.10.3 Emphatic stress:

Emphatic stress is represented by a single raised tick preceding a syllable with which it occurs. In syllables under emphatic stress, the vowel is frequently lengthened and the pitch

51. The loss of initial aspiration under emphatic stress is discussed in section 1.6.2.1.

of the syllable raised to high tone or slightly higher. Before pause, with /./ 'declarative intonation', an emphatic stressed syllable ends with an extended fall in pitch. Emphatic stress also occurs as a determined feature of abrupt intonation (/!//), in which case the syllable affected is short and ends in glottal stop (see section 1.11.2). A syllable preceding an emphatic stressed syllable within a word is regularly shortened and frequently atonic.

/swɪ́'swɪ́a; k̄āa, dū, ngā!/? [s̄⁵⁵ɪ̄⁵⁵ s̄⁵⁵ɪ̄⁵⁵ a⁵⁵; k̄ā⁵⁵, dū⁵⁵, ngā⁵⁵!...]

(slow=slow=partic=emph put-in=nom, drink, is-so?)

'Take your time pouring and drinking, won't you?'

cf. under normal stress: /swɪ́sɪ́a:/ [s̄⁵⁵ɪ̄⁵⁵ s̄⁵⁵ɪ̄⁵⁵ a⁵⁵].

/a'tyí k̄āa./ [a⁵⁵ t̄⁵⁵ í⁵⁵ k̄ā⁵⁵.]

(a-little=emph put-in=nom.)

'(I'll) only put in a tiny bit.'

cf. under normal stress /atyí/ [a⁵⁵ t̄⁵⁵ í⁵⁵]. The reduction of the main verb to atonic status is a unique example in my data.

/'gwóthinyíá - / [ḡ⁵⁵w̄⁵⁵ ó⁵⁵ t̄⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ i⁵⁵ n̄⁵⁵ yí⁵⁵ á⁵⁵ - / [ḡ⁵⁵w̄⁵⁵ ó⁵⁵ t̄⁵⁵ e⁵⁵ l̄⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ i⁵⁵ e⁵⁵ a⁵⁵ - /

(that=emph=one=day=partic -)

'That day ...'

cf. under normal stress: /gwó/ [ḡ⁵⁵w̄⁵⁵ ó⁵⁵].

/āzù 'tā'hū ngūnē./ [a⁵⁵ z̄⁵⁵ ū⁵⁵ 'tā⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ ū⁵⁵ ngū⁵⁵ n̄⁵⁵ ē⁵⁵.]

(we together=emph are=emph.)

'We are really together.'

cf. under normal stress: /tāhū/ [tā⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ ū⁵⁵].

/khyí! / [k̄⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ yí⁵⁵ !] (flee=emph!)

'Get out of here!' 'Scram!'

cf. under normal stress: /khyí/ [k̄⁵⁵ h̄⁵⁵ yí⁵⁵].

1.10.4 Exaggerated emphatic stress:

exaggerated emphatic stress is indicated with a double raised tick immediately preceding a syllable with which it occurs. It differs from emphatic stress in that vowel lengthening is extreme, and the raising of pitch level is extended to the point of using falsetto voice.⁵²

/ā⁵⁵li yī manā, kē nā; ngwanwuhə./

[a³³*le⁵⁵··↑ii³³mā⁵⁵na³³kə³³na³³ŋu⁵⁵nvū⁵⁵xə⁵⁵]

(how=emph do not=can, put-in can. we=contrast)

'There was nothing we could do but put (some more liquor) in (our cups).'

cf. under normal stress: /ālī/ [a³³le³³].

/zānō, āsyā *tukyā./

[za¹¹nō³³a¹¹∫, a¹¹*to⁵⁵··↑t∫, a²⁴]

(children, sound quiet=emph=remain.)

'Children, be absolutely quiet.'

cf. under normal stress: /tū/ [to⁵⁵].

1.11 Intonation.

Lisu has four intonation patterns: declarative, interrogative, abrupt, and suspensive. The first three occur with the main verb phrase in an utterance,⁵³ the first two before pause and/or secondary

52. It should be noted that the emphatic stresses are deliberate affective elements of the language; that is, they are used deliberately by a speaker in otherwise normal, non-emphatic speech, and indicate a degree of emphasis only slightly stronger than normal stress. Strong emotional stress, as in anger, is indicated by vocal qualifiers such as increased loudness and tenseness, overall raising of the pitch spectrum, etc. Emphatic stresses do not occur when a speaker is under emotional strain.

53. See section 5.1.1.

topic,⁵⁴ the third before pause only. An utterance with declarative, interrogative, or abrupt intonation is a sentence; these are the sentence intonations. Suspensive intonation occurs with any word in a sentence except that last; an utterance which ends with suspensive intonation is not a sentence.

1.11.1 Declarative intonation: /o/

The phonetic realization of declarative intonation is determined by the grammatical construction of the predicate and the degree of stress with which it occurs.

1.11.1.1 Positive statements and imperatives:

The intonation of positive statements and imperatives is characterized by a lowering of pitch and weakening of stress with the final syllables of an utterance, in some cases to the point of reduction to atonic status. If the last syllable of a word under sentence intonation is a substantive or a verb, only that syllable is affected by the intonation, but syllables following the last substantive or verb are also affected.⁵⁵

54. See section 4.2.3.2.

55. The word and the form classes (substantive, verb, etc.) are described in the following chapter.

When a secondary topic is present, the sentence intonation still occurs with the main verb phrase, while the following topic is marked as such by overall weakening of stress and lowering of the pitch spectrum, sometimes with reduction of the entire topic to atonic syllables with low tone (see section 1.6). Such topics regularly end with a short syllable on a level pitch, but without glottal stop.

Thus:

/ngwā swāa:, nwū já./ [... nvu³³ dzɿ⁵⁶]

(I die=nom, you help.)

'If I die, you'll help out.'

/nwū zānō ngwā zānō./ [nvu³³ za¹¹ nō³³ nua²⁴ za¹¹ nō³³]

(your children my children.)

'Your children (are) my children.'

But:

/lā tōnyāngūnega./ [la³³ tō²⁴ ŋ, iə⁵⁵ ŋɔ³³ nā¹ gɔ²¹]

(come look-at=nom-is-so=emph=mild.)

'(They) did come to look.'

The last syllable of an utterance before /./ is short, regularly ending in glottal stop if it is a single morpheme in level tone.

/ngwā swāa:, nwū já./ [... nvu³³ dzɿ⁵⁶]

(I die=nom, you help.)

'If I die, you'll help out.'

/thihwā maycūa./ [... mɿ¹ iɿ¹¹ tɿɔ²⁹]

(one=time not=drunk=has-experienced.)

'(He) has never been drunk.'

/amí dū. swāswāa: dū./ both: [dɔ²³]

(quickly drink. slow=slow=partic drink.)

'Drink up. Take your time drinking.'

56. The arrow head pointing down from a tone numeral indicates slight lowering of the pitch.

/atyia: gə./ [ʔ³ti⁵⁵³gə⁷]

(a-little give.)

'Give (him) only a little.'

/kyāhi./ [t_ya²⁴hə⁷]

(remain=still. or remain=further.)

'(He) is still (here).' or 'Stay (a while) longer.'

Rising tone syllables and those which are bi-morphemic (generally verb plus non-syllabic particle) frequently end in glottal stop, but sometimes do not, although the syllable remains short.

/thā lā./ [t'a³³lā³⁴]

(here come=nom.)

'Come here.'

/hīn yīgyū./ [hī³³iī¹¹d_yyo²³]

(house return=go=new-situation.)

'(I'm) going home now.'

/kwānkhyīlēhūa./ [kwā³³t_ye³³lə¹¹xə²³]

(take-care-of=mutually=nom.)

'(We'll) take care of each other.'

/ngwā né syōzā./ [... ŋ_yö⁵⁵zā¹²]

(I you=as-for concerned-about=nom.)

'I'm concerned about you.'

In conjunction with emphatic stress, however, the vowel of a sentence-final syllable before /./ is lengthened and there is an extended fall in pitch.

/kfu./ [kʊ·õ⁵⁵³]

(older-brother=vocative=emph.)

'Brother.' (calling from a distance)

/jūa'lf./ [dzõ²⁴·lõ⁵⁵³]

(have=nom=emph=emph.)

'There certainly is.'

/'gwō./ [gwõ³³¹]

(there=emph.)

'Over there.'; '(Look) there.'

1.11.1.2 Negative statements and imperatives:

The intonation of negative statements or imperatives differs from that of the positives in that final glottal stop is regularly present. Negative sentences are distinguished from positive by the presence of one of the negative verb particles /m̃-/ 'not' or /th̃-/ 'don't' (See section 5.4.1.1).

/ə'swē gwū mad̃./ [... gvu³³ m̃²¹ d̃²³]⁵⁷

(whatever=emph finish not=can.)

'There's more than (we) can possibly finish.'

/ngwā āyīa magyīu./ [... m̃²¹ d̃²³ lõ²³]

(I field=to not=go=new-situation.)

'I won't go to the fields now.'

/th̃ayī./ [t'a¹¹ ĩ²³]

(don't=do.)

'Don't do (that).'; 'Don't fool around.'

57. /m̃-/ 'not', in actual occurrence, is almost always atonic.

1.11.1.3 Hortatory sentences:

With the hortatory particle /-mə/ 'polite urging' (see 5.4.1.3), final glottal stop is regularly absent.

/amí dūmə./ [... dɔ³³ mə¹¹]

(quickly drink=urging.)

'Drink up.'

/kyāhimə./ [tʃ_y a²⁴ hɛ¹¹ mə¹¹]

(remain=further=urging.)

'Stay (a while) longer.'

/thāgyimə./ [t²¹ a¹¹ dʒ_i i³³ mə¹¹]

(don't=go=urging.)

'Don't go (yet).'

cf. the less polite /amí dū/ 'drink up' and /kyāhi/ 'stay longer' in 1.11.1.1 above.

Thus there are four basic types of realization for declarative intonation, ranging from the least to the most emphatic type:

- I) With /-mə/ 'polite urging', /./ = weakening of stress, no glottal stop.
- II) In normal positive statement or imperative, /./ = short syllable, weakened stress, slight fall in pitch, glottal stop regular with single morpheme in level tone, but facultative with rising tone or bi-morphemic syllables.
- III) In normal negative statement or imperative, /./ = short syllable, little or no pitch fall, glottal stop.
- IV) With emphatic stress, /' - ./ = long syllable, extended pitch fall, no glottal stop.

1.11.2 Abrupt intonation: /!/

Abrupt intonation occurs only with emphatic stressed syllables. Unlike such syllables with declarative intonation, however, those which occur with abrupt intonation are short and end in glottal stop. A high- or mid-tone syllable with diphthong under abrupt intonation ends with a short fall in pitch; syllables with simple vowel and rising tone syllables have no such fall in pitch.

/kɔu!/ [ˈkɔ̃ʊʔ⁵⁴]

(older-brother=vocative=emph!)

'Brother!' (attracting his attention when
he is present)

cf. above /ˈkɔu./ with declarative intonation.

/khyɪ!/ [ˈtʃʏ̃yɪʔ³⁴]

(flee=emph!)

'Get out of here!'; 'Scram!'

/thâyɪ!/ [tʰa¹¹ɪ̃ɪʔ³]

(don't=do=emph!)

'Cut that out!'

cf. above the milder /thâyɪ./.

1.11.3 Interrogative intonation: /?/

A syllable with interrogative intonation is marked by lengthening of the nuclear vowel and by falling pitch on the last part of the vowel or on the offglide of a diphthong. With verbs, interrogative intonation regularly occurs with final tone (cf. sections 1.6.2.2 and 4.5). In negative interrogative utterances,

interrogative rather than declarative intonation occurs.

/jəphə thīmā - nwū mīlylká kī bəʔ/ [... a³³le³³bə⁵⁶³]

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?)

'What do you Americans call this stuff liquor?'

/anydʒə jūaʔ/ [... dzo²⁴²]

(many=kinds have=nom?)

'Are there many kinds?'

/gwō sūdānyāʔ/ [gŋō³³so³³dz³³ŋ_ya³³¹]

(there soda=as-for?)

'How about that stuff soda?' (i.e. what do you call it?)

/nwū majǎʔ/ [nvu³³mǎ¹dza¹³¹]

(you not=eat=nom?)

'Aren't you going to eat?'

1.11.4 Suspensive intonation: / - /

A syllable with suspensive intonation shows marked lengthening of the vowel, or of the offglide of a diphthong, and has no fall in pitch. It is regularly followed by pause.

/ngwā bābāhē - nwū bābā khwāwāngū./ [... ba²⁴ba¹¹xə³³³...]

(my father=contrast - you father call=get-te=is-se.)

'As for my father, you can call him "father".'

/'gwóthinyā - ngwānwū thā yí ányimé chǎzà chūa nyā - /

both: [... ŋ_yiə³³³]

(that=emph=one=day=partic - we here his adoptive-daughter string tie=nom day=partic -)

'That day, the day we tied the string on his adoptive daughter ...' [a part of the adoption ceremony]

Chapter II

Morphology

2.0 The Word.

A morpheme which occurs in isolation, i.e. in the absence of other morphemes, is a free form.¹ A morpheme which occurs only in the presence of other morphemes is a bound form.² A word in Lisu consists of a free form alone or reduplicated,³ or of a sequence of morphemes in construction at least one of whose immediate constituents is a bound morpheme.

Examples of free form words are:

Free forms alone:

/mɛ̃/ 'land, country'	/jã/ 'eat'
/jõ/ 'there'	/syõ/ 'resemble'
/ãnyácɛ̃/ 'cat'	/fãsyɪ/ 'trust, have confidence in'

-
1. I exclude from this definition bound or submorphemic elements which might occur in isolation as specialized citation forms, e.g. in answer to such a question as 'What was the last syllable of that word?' or 'What was that last sound?' In fact, such isolation of otherwise bound elements occurs nowhere in my experience with Lisu; clarification of an expression is made with words, not parts of words.
 2. However, some morphemes occur free in some functions, bound in others, as, for example, free nouns and verbs which occur as classifiers. Since a classifier occurs only in the presence of a preceding number, all classifiers are bound forms. In classifier position, therefore, a free noun or verb functions as a bound form (see section 2.4.1.2). Other examples of bound functions of free forms will be found in sections 2.4.2.3.1.1, 2.5.1.3, and 3.1.2.1.
 3. The structure and function of reduplication are discussed in detail in section 2.10.

/yīghāli/ 'having done' < /yī/ 'do'
 /-ghō/ 'actuality'
 /-li/ 'change of state'

The active verb /yī/ is followed by the verb stem extension /-ghō/ and the auxiliary verb /-li/.

Combinations of bound forms:

/chāngwāzū/ '15 individuals' < /chī-/ 'ten'
 /ngwà-/ 'five'
 /-zū/ 'individual'

The numerals /chī-/ and /ngwà-/ combine to form the word /chāngwà/ '15', which in turn combines with the classifier for people /-zū/.

/hyànchū/ 'adulterer' < /-hyàn/ 'night'
 /-chū/ 'person'

Both elements are bound nouns.

Words are simple, compound, or complex. A simple word consists of a free form alone; a compound word is a combination of free and/or bound members of one form class; a complex word is a combination involving elements of different form classes.

In the examples above, the first six plus /āmyī/ 'field', /lyīswū/ 'Lisu', /hā/ 'good', and /yī/ 'do' are simple words. /jōjō/ 'way over there', /syōsyō/ 'resemblance', /lyīswūngū/ 'Lisu language', and /hyànchū/ 'adulterer' are compound words. /āmyīwā/ 'to the field', /mahā/ 'not good', /yīghāli/ 'having done', and /chāngwāzū/ '15 individuals' are complex words.

In the transcription, a word is written without internal space; the presence of space marks word boundaries.

2.1 Attribution.

An expression is a sequence of morphemes in construction which can occur as an isolated utterance.

The head of an expression is that element which, taken by itself, fills the same grammatical function as the whole expression with respect to contextual elements. Within the expression, substantives or verbs in construction with the head are attributes modifying it.

Thus in /ávé bō kyóá/ 'sets up a pig pen', the noun /bō/ 'pen' can replace the phrase /ávé bō/ 'pig pen' as goal of the verb phrase /kyóá/ 'sets up', but /ávé kyóá/ does not occur.⁵ In /pàhwá tótó khyòghè/ 'speaks mixed up speech to', where the first two words form a phrase consisting of the noun /pàhwá/ 'speech' and the reduplicated adjective /tótó/ 'to contravene, be wrong, mixed up', /pàhwá/ can replace the entire phrase as goal of the verb phrase /khyòghè/ 'speak to', but in /tótó khyòghè/ 'speaks to incorrectly', /tótó/ is an adverbial noun: 'in a mixed up manner, wrong way round', which does not act as goal of the verb.

Similarly, in /ávé hwà já hǎ./ (pig meat eat good=nom.) 'Pork is good to eat.', the noun phrase /ávé hwà/ 'pig meat' is subject of the

5. The prohibition of this expression is semantic rather than grammatical. The sentence /ávé khyóá./ would mean either 'The pig sets up (a fence).' or '(Someone) sets up a pig.', neither of which is a common occurrence among the Lisu. The sequence of noun plus verb (with the former as either subject or goal) is, however, perfectly permissible grammatically.

The phrase and its subclasses, some of which are mentioned here for illustration, are discussed in the following chapter. Clause elements (subject, goal, etc.) are described in Chapter IV.

verb phrase in the same way as in the sentence /ávé hwà há./ 'Pork is good.' In /ávé hwà já/ 'eat pig meat', on the other hand, the noun phrase is goal of the verb.⁶ Thus /há/ 'good'⁷ is head of the verb phrase, /já/ 'eat' its attribute.

A bound substantive or verb⁸ is head of an expression if the elements with which it is in construction within a phrase cannot carry the grammatical function of the whole phrase, i.e. if omitting the bound form changes the relationship of the phrase to the rest of the utterance. For example, in /lyíswūngù khyōá/ 'speaks Lisu' the first word, consisting of the nouns /lyíswū/ 'Lisu' and /-ngù/ 'language', acts as goal of the verb phrase /khyōá/ 'speaks'. With the omission of /-ngù/, however, the resulting utterance /lyíswū khyōá/ means 'A Lisu speaks' or '(some) Lisu speak', in which the noun is subject of the verb phrase.

Substantives and/or verbs co-occurring in a single word consist of a head and one or more attributes,⁹ e.g.:

-
6. With the combination of active verb plus adjective in one phrase no goal occurs, i.e. there is no sentence */ngwā ávé hwà já há./ 'I eat pork well.', in which /ávé hwà/ acts as the goal of the verb /já/ 'eat'. Compare, however, the externally similar sentence /ávé hwà já há./ 'Eating pork is good.', in which /já/ is nominalized and acts as subject of /há/ 'good' (see sections 2.5.2 and 4.5). Here /ávé hwà/ is the goal of /já/ and a separate subject can also occur.
 7. The tonal alternation /há ~ há/ is an example of the basic-/final-tone contrast which occurs with verbs; see sections 1.6.2.2 and 4.5.
 8. Particles do not act as head of a construction: see section 2.9.
 9. In the case of a number combined with a classifier, the concept of attribution is irrelevant. Since there is no context except isolation where either element occurs without the other, neither alone can be said to fill the grammatical function of the combination with respect to contextual elements. See below section 2.4.1 ff.

/lyɿswŋgù/ 'Lisu language' < /lyɿswū/ 'Lisu'
 /-ngù/ 'language'

The noun /lyɿswū/ is attributive to the noun /-ngù/.

/ávèkhè/ 'pig farrowing place' < /ávè/ 'pig'
 /-khè/ 'nest; place
 arranged for
 bearing young'

The noun /ávè/ is attributive to the noun /-khè/.

/phwūdèphà/ 'silversmith' < /phwū/ 'silver'
 /dè/ 'beat'
 /-phà/ 'man'

The noun /phwū/ and the transitive verb /dè/ form a
 clause attributive to the noun /-phà/.¹⁰

/ángàkú/ 'wild buffalo' < /ángà/ 'water buffalo'
 /kú/ 'wild'

The adjective /kú/ is attributive to the noun /ángà/.¹¹

/nyāmphwū/ 'hornbill'
 (the bird with
 white feathers) < /nyā/ 'bird'
 /mwā/ 'feather;
 body hair'
 /phwū/ 'white'.¹²

The adjective /phwū/ modifies /-ā-/ , a reduced form of
 the noun /mwā/ (see section 1.2). The resulting complex

10. On this type of construction, see also sections 2.4.2.3.1.1 and 3.1.2.1b.

11. Simple adjectives function as bound forms when they are attributive to a preceding noun. See section 2.4.2.3.1.2.

12. On the multiple function of /phwū/ as both noun and verb, see section 2.6.2.

noun is a bound form which is attributive to the
noun /nyã/.

/jãnyĩ/ 'try eating, taste and see'	< /jã/ 'eat'
	/-nyĩ/ 'test, try'

The auxiliary verb /-nyĩ/ is attributive to the
transitive verb /jã/.

2.2 The Form Classes.

Morphemes and words in Lisu are members of one or more form classes. A form class is determined by specific elements with which its members co-occur, and by the manner of co-occurrence. For example, the form class 'verb' is defined by the co-occurrence of its members with the negative particle /mã-/ 'not' (see 2.5), while the verbal subclasses 'active' and 'adjectival' are defined in terms of their manner of attribution to noun heads (see sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2). When a word contains more than one morpheme, its form class is that of the head morpheme.

There are six major form classes in Lisu: exclamations (section 2.3), substantives (2.4), verbs (2.5), verb stem extensions (2.7), introductory words (2.8), and particles (2.9).

2.3 Exclamations.

An exclamation is a monomorphemic word which never combines with any other element to form a single word. Exclamations occur only at the beginning or end of a clause, or in isolation.

/qũn:qũn-yã./¹³ 'Look at that, will you?'; 'You don't say.'

13. On the hyphen within a word, see section 1.8.1, footnote 49.

/qú! à'swá gwū madā./

(oh=emph! Whatever=emph finish not=can.)

'Oh, there's more than (we) can possibly finish.'

/yàphyímyī yī jǎ, qú!, khàthūn./

(opium=field work eat=nom, oh, take-a-loss.)

'Earning a living by farming opium, oh! (you) take a loss.'

/yàphyímyī yīa, thikhà khwā, sākhanō nawā, 'í./

(opium=field work=nom, one=year hoe=nom, three=
one-tenth-joy=contrast not=get, oh=emph.)

'Raising opium, in one year's cultivation (you)
don't even get three tenths of a joy, oh!' ¹⁴

2.4 Substantives.

A substantive is a form which occurs with the particles /-kyī/ 'enumeration', /-wā/ 'to, at', /-lé/ 'to, for, with respect to', /-a/ 'particularization', and/or /-u/ 'vocative'.¹⁵

/nwūkyī ngwākyī gyīa./

(you=and I=and go=nom.)

'You and I are going.'

/ngwā pāwā gyīa./

(I temporary-business-place=to go=nom.)

'I'm going to the temporary stores.'

/tànwà lǎ syīangū; yīlé./

(police come kill=nom=is-so. they=as-for)

'The police would come and kill them.'

14. The 'joy' (Thai /cɔ̀ɔj/) is a standard measure of weight for opium, equivalent to 1.6 kilograms.

15. These are the substantive particles; see also sections 2.9 and 4.3.

/āmāsà thānyā masó. thinyā nyinyā gwādū majū./

(now here=as-for not=know. one=day=partic
two=days=partic sing=knowledge not=have.)

'Now here (people) don't know (songs). There
aren't (people who) know how to sing for
even one or two days.'

/ā'lfu. thā lāmā./

(#2-child=vocative=emph. here come=urging.)

'Second Daughter, come here.'

The three basic subdivisions of substantives are: counters (section 2.4.1), nouns (2.4.2) and deictics (2.4.3).

2.4.1 Counters:

A counter is a compound of a number with a following classifier.

2.4.1.1 Numbers:

A number is a sequence of numerals. There are sixteen numerals in Lisu; all are bound forms:

/thī-/ (allomorph /-tyf/) 'one'

/nyī-/ 'two'

/sā-/ (allomorph /sā-/) 'three'

/lyf-/ (allomorph /lyf-/) 'four'

/ngwā-/ 'five'

/chū-/ 'six'

/swā-/ 'seven'

/hī-/ 'eight'

/kwf-/ (allomorph /kwū-/) 'nine'

/chī-/ (allomorph /-cī/) 'ten'

/-hyān/	'hundred'
/-twū/	'thousand'
/-wán/ (Chinese /wàn/)	} 'ten thousand, tens of thousands'
/-mō/ (Thai /mŷyn/)	
/-syí/ (Thai /sĕn/)	'hundred thousand'
/-lān/ (Thai /lān/)	'million'

Numerals 1-9 are the digits.

Numerals form words in combination with other numerals and/or with a classifier.¹⁶

2.4.1.1.1 Number words:

a word consisting of numerals only is

formed with:

- a) a digit preceding a higher numeral, in which case the two are multiplied:¹⁷

/sāchĕ/ '30' (3 X 10)

/ngwāhyān/ '500' (5 X 100)

/chūwán/ or /chūmō/ '60,000' (6 X 10,000)

/swīlān/ '7,000,000' (7 X 1,000,000)

- b) 'ten' preceding a digit or 'million', in which case 'ten' and a digit are added, but 'ten' and 'million' are multiplied:

/chĕlyí/ '14' (10 + 4)

/chĕhí/ '18' (10 + 8)

/chĕlān/ '10,000,000' (10 X 1,000,000)

16. Classifiers are described in the following section.

17. All such combinations occur except /thĭ-/ 'one' before /chĕ-/ 'ten'.

c) a combination of (a) and (b):

/lyīchāngwà/ '45' ([4 X 10] + 5)

/chùchēhī/ '68' ([6 X 10] + 8)

/sāchēlán/ '30,000,000' (3 X 10 X 1,000,000)

/hīchēkwūlán/ '89,000,000' ([8 X 10] + 9) X 1,000,000)

/nyīhyānlán/ '200,000,000' (2 X 100 X 1,000,000)

Two or more number words in sequence are usually added:

/lyīhyān chùchēhī/ '468' ([4 X 100] + [(6 X 10) + 8])

/ngwàwán chùtwū/ or /ngwāmā chùtwū/ '56,000'

([5 X 10,000] + [6 X 1,000])

/chūsyī swīwán/ or /chūsyī swīmā/ '670,000'

([6 X 100,000] + [7 X 10,000])

/swīlán hīsyī/ '7,800,000'

([7 X 1,000,000] + [8 X 100,000])

But when /-lán/ 'million' is the last element of a sequence of number words, it is multiplied by the total of the preceding numbers:

/thùtwū nyīhyānlán/ '1,200,000,000'

([(1 X 1,000) + (2 X 100)] X 1,000,000)

/nyīhyān kwūchēslán/ '293,000,000'

([(2 X 100) + ([9 X 10] + 3)] X 1,000,000)

2.4.1.1.2 Numbers with classifiers:

All numbers have the potential of compounding with a following classifier to form a counter. When a digit or 'ten' is not compounded with another numeral, a classifier is regularly present:

/thimā/ 'one item'
 /ngwàzū/ 'five individuals'
 /chēkhwū/ 'ten places'
 /ngwàhyān thimā/ '501 items'
 /thitwū ngwàbà/ '1005 baht'¹⁸

But when a number consists entirely of words, the presence of a classifier is facultative in sequential enumeration and in isolation. Elsewhere a classifier is regularly present.

/chīnyī/ '12'	/chēnyīhwā/ '12 times'
/thīhyān/ '100'	/thīhyānkhà/ '100 words'
/ngwàtwū/ '5,000'	/ngwàtwūbà/ '5,000 baht'
/thitwū ngwàhyān/ '1,500'	/thitwū ngwàhyānzū/ '1,500 individuals'

2.4.1.1.3 The alternative construction:

A sequence of two or more consecutive digits in combination with a higher numeral and/or a classifier means 'either ... or ...'. If no numeral higher than a digit is present, there is regularly a classifier either after each digit, in which case the result is a sequence of words, or only after the last, in which case the whole is one word:

/nyīsàzā/ 'two or three individuals'
 /swāhīnyī/ 'seven or eight days'
 /thīnyīsāmā/ 'one, two, or three items'
 /nyīzū sàzū/ 'two or three people'

In the expression 'nine or ten', the classifier regularly follows each numeral:

18. The baht is the basic unit of Thai currency, worth about \$.05.

/kwáǎ chǎǎ/ 'nine or ten items'¹⁹

When higher numerals are involved in an alternative expression, they occur in the same way as the classifiers, i.e. following each digit or only the last. As the numbers involved in such expressions are words, the presence of a classifier is facultative in isolation. When a classifier is present, it, in turn, follows either each occurrence of a repeated numeral or only the last.

/thínylhyǎnzū/ 'one or two hundred individuals'

/thíhyǎn nyíhyǎnzū/ (same)

/thíhyǎnzū nyíhyǎnzū/ (same)

2.4.1.1.4 Allomorphic variation:

The allomorphic variants of 'one', 'three', 'four', 'nine', and 'ten' occur as follows:

- a) /-tyí/, allomorph of {thí-} 'one', occurs in addition with /chǎ-/ 'ten', when the latter is not multiplied:

/chǎtyí/ '11'

but /ngwǎchǎthí/ '51'

- b) /-cǎ/, allomorph of {chǎ-} 'ten', occurs in multiplication with /nyí-/ 'two':

/nyícǎ/ '20'

/nyícǎngwǎ/ '25'

- c) /kwǎ-/ , allomorph of {kwǎ-} 'nine', occurs before syllables with other than mid tone with which it forms a word. Before mid-tone syllables or pause, /kwǎ-/ occurs:

19. As result of this limitation there is no confusion between 'nine or ten items' and the expression /kwǎchǎǎ/ '90 items'.

{ /kwākhwá/ 'nine boards'
 /kwūhwā/ 'nine times'
 /kwūjǎ/ 'nine kinds'
 { /kwāmā/ 'nine items'
 /chǎkwá/ '19'

- d) /lyī-/ , allomorph of {lyī=} 'four', occurs before syllables with other than mid tone with which it forms a word, plus the mid-tone numerals /chǎ-/ 'ten' and /-hyān/ 'hundred'. Before other mid-tone syllables and before pause, /lyī-/ occurs:

{ /lyīkhwá/ 'four boards'
 /lyīhwā/ 'four times'
 /lyījǎ/ 'four kinds'
 /lyīchǎ/ '40'
 /lyīhyān/ '400'
 { /lyīzū/ 'four individuals'
 /lyītwū/ '4,000'
 /chǎlyī/ '14'

- e) /sǎ-/ , allomorph of {sǎ=} 'three', occurs in the same environments as /lyī-/ except that it also occurs before the mid-tone classifier /-mā/ 'unit, item'. Elsewhere /sǎ-/ occurs:

{ /sǎkhwá/ 'three boards'
 /sǎhwā/ 'three times'
 /sǎjǎ/ 'three kinds'
 { /sǎmā/ 'three items'
 /sǎchǎ/ '30'
 /sǎhyān/ '300'

{ /sàzū/ 'three individuals'
 /sàtwū/ '3,000'
 /chāsà/ '13'

When {sà-} 'three' or {lyí-} 'four' occurs as the first of two digits in the alternative construction, the allomorph that appears depends on the classifier in the word, not on the following digit.²⁰

/lyíngwàzū/ 'four or five individuals'

cf. /lyíjǎ/ 'four kinds' with mid-tone allomorph before low-tone syllable, and /lyízū/ 'four individuals'

/sǎlyíjǎ/ 'three or four kinds'

cf. /sàzū/ 'three individuals' with low-tone allomorph before mid-tone syllable, and /sǎjǎ/ 'three kinds'

2.4.1.2 Classifiers:

A classifier is a bound form which follows a numeral and forms a word with it. Classifiers are of three kinds: those which occur only as classifiers, those which are derived from nouns, and those which are derived from verbs.

2.4.1.2.1 Forms which are only classifiers:

/-zū/ 'individual' (classifier for people):

/sàzū/ 'three individuals'

/nylchǎhízū/ '28 individuals'

/-thǎ/ 'stick-like thing':

/nylthǎ/ 'two stick-like things'

/thihyǎnthǎ/ '100 stick-like things'

20. As noted in section 2.4.1.1.3, this situation does not arise in connection with /kwǎ-/ 'nine'.

/-gyō/ 'truncated stick-like thing' (pencil stub, branch with one end cut off, etc.):

/lyīgyō/ 'four truncated stick-like things'

/-bà/ 'baht' (Thai/bàad/):

/ngwàbà/ 'five baht'

/thítwā nyīhyānbà/ '1200 baht'

2.4.1.2.2 Classifiers derived from nouns:

Many nouns, both bound and free, occur as classifiers. With the exception of /-mī/ 'unit, item' (see below in this section and in sections 2.4.2.3.1 and 3.1.2.1b), the bound forms are either monosyllabic allomorphs of morphemes which elsewhere constitute polysyllabic words, or form words with the proclitic particle /yī-/ (see section 2.4.2.3.3a).

Free nouns as classifier:

/hīn/ 'house':

/lyīhīn/ 'four houses'

/chīswāhīn/ '17 houses'

/cūmā/ 'hour' (Thai /chuamōn/):

/chūcūmā/ 'six hours; six o'clock'

/nyīcīlyīcūmā/ '24 hours'

/fwū/ 'bottle':

/thīfwū/ 'one bottle' (of something)

/chātyīfwū/ '11 bottles (of)'

/lākó/ 'cup':

/kwīlākó/ 'nine cups (of)'

/ngwālākó/ 'five cups (of)'

Bound allomorphs of larger monomorphemes:

/-kó/ 'cup'; from /lākó/ 'cup':

/nylókó/ 'two cups'

/sāchēkó/ '30 cups'

/-cái/ 'village'; from /cáicī/ 'village':

/thīcái/ 'one village'

/chēcái/ 'ten villages'

Bound forms which occur with proclitic particle /yí-/:

/-khwū/ 'hole'; /yíkhwū/ 'hole':

/sākhwū/ 'three holes'

/cācīcīkhwū/ '16 holes'

/-khù/ 'year'; /yíkhù/ 'year':

/sālyíkhù/ 'three or four years'

/swāchēhikhù/ '78 years'

/-sì/ 'round or spherical thing'; /yísì/ 'fruit, globe'

/nyísì/ 'two round things'

/thīhyān ngwāchēsì/ '150 balls'

/-hū/ 'spool'; /yínhū/ 'spool':

/hínhū/ 'eight spools'

Classifier /-mā/:

/-mā/ 'unit, item' is the classifier of most general use.

It occurs as classifier for nearly all nouns in the language, even where a noun is commonly counted with a classifier of more specialized nature (see examples under the discussion of counter phrases, section 3.1.3.2d). /-mā/ has a suppletive allomorph /-lō̄/ which occurs after the numeral /lyī-/ 'four'.

/thimā/ 'one item'	/chētīyīmā/ '11 items'
/nyīmā/ 'two items'	/sāchēnyīmā/ '32 items'
/sāmā/ 'three items'	/lyīchēsāmā/ '43 items'
/lyllyō/ 'four items'	/ngwāchēlyllyō/ '54 items'
/ngwāmā/ 'five items'	/chūchēngwāmā/ '65 items'

2.4.1.2.3 Classifiers derived from verbs:

Certain free verbs occur as classifiers;

bound verbs do not occur as classifiers.

/-pō/ 'wrapped thing, package'; as a verb: /pō/ 'wrap'

/chūpō/ 'six packages'

/-phwā/ 'stack, pile, heap'; as a verb: /phwā/ 'pile up' (transitive)

/swāphwā/ 'seven piles'

/-kyō/ 'line, seam, scratch'; as a verb: /kyō/ 'make a line, etc.'

/hīkyō/ 'eight lines'

/-kwā/ 'fork, intersection (in a road)'; as a verb: /kwā/

'separate' (intransitive)

/nyīkwā/ 'fork (in a road)'

/lyīkwā/ 'crossroads'

2.4.2 Nouns:

A noun is a substantive which occurs in appositive phrase constructions with a following counter,²¹ e.g.:

/āvè thīmā/ (pig one=item) 'one pig'

/nyāsī nyīsī/ (eye two=round-things) 'two eyes'

21. For the discussion of the counter phrase, with the relationship between a counted noun and the classifier, see section 3.1.3.2d.

/lyɪswū thɪjù/ (Lisu one=kind) 'The Lisu tribe'

/nwúnwúli thɪjù/ (soft=soft=manner one=kind)²²

'in a gentle manner'

Nouns are simple, compound, or complex.

2.4.2.1 Simple nouns:

The majority of simple nouns are monosyllabic, although dissyllabic simple forms are also very common. Polysyllabic simple nouns are very rare.

/mwɛ́/ 'land, country, city'	/byɪ/ 'taro'
/fwū/ 'snake'	/jɛ́/ 'rice'
/lèkhyō̃/ 'tongue'	/jɛ́phə́/ 'liquor'
/mèkhwū/ 'tobacco'	/sūdɛ́/ 'soda (water)'
/ámà/ 'horse'	/áyá ~ ághá/ 'chicken'
/áswɛ́/ 'what?'	/amɛ́/ 'who?'
/ányáçɛ́/ 'cat'	/milyɪkɛ́/ 'America, American'

2.4.2.2 Compound nouns:

Compound nouns are formed either entirely of nouns, of a counter preceding a bound noun, or by the reduplication of a verb.

2.4.2.2.1 Noun compounds:

Compounds composed entirely of nouns consist of a bound head preceded by one or more attributes (either free or bound forms), or of a free noun reduplicated.

a) Free noun plus bound nouns

22. On the form of the noun /nwúnwúli/ see section 2.4.2.3.1.2b.

/lyɿswūngə/ 'Lisu language'	<	/lyɿswū/ 'Lisu'
		/-ngù/ 'language'
/phyɿwɿdwū/ 'mirror'	<	/phyɿwɿ/ 'face'
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/ámùns/ 'horse's tail'	<	/ámù/ 'horse'
		/-ns/ 'tail'
/mwɿsɿ/ 'globe, world'	<	/mwɿ/ 'land, country, city'
		/-sɿ/ 'sphere; fruit'
/sɿjɿ/ 'tree'	<	/sɿ/ 'wood'
		/-jɿ/ 'trunk, stem'
/mákhwáphyà/ 'bamboo leaf'	<	/mákhwá/ 'bamboo'
		/-phyà/ 'leaf, sheet (of paper)'
/anā hīnmā/ 'whose houses?' (one by one)	<	(/anā/ 'who?')
		/hīn/ 'house'
		/-nā/ 'unit, item'

b) Bound nouns only:

/hyànchū/ 'adulterer'	<	/-hyàn/ 'night'
		/-chū/ 'person'
/nānsūsɿ/ 'orange' (fruit)	<	/nānsū-/ 'orange'
		(Thai /nāsôm/ ^m 'orange juice')
		/-sɿ/ 'sphere; fruit'

c) Reduplicated nouns:²³

Simple reduplication of a free noun forms a dissyllabic noun

23. Reduplication, its forms and functions, are discussed in detail in section 2.10. Rapid mention is made here to complete the picture of compound nouns.

in which the reduplication has an intensifying force. The intensification is frequently increased by association with emphatic stress. Simple noun reduplication occurs with only a few forms in the language, but some of these are very frequent in discourse.

/ʼjɔ̌jɔ̌/ 'way over there' < /jɔ̌/ 'there'
 /bâibâi/ 'in the afternoon' < Thai /bâaj/ 'afternoon'

2.4.2.2.2 Counter plus bound noun:

The bound nouns /-mā/ 'unit, item' and /-lī/ 'fashion, manner' combine with a preceding counter to form a compound noun. The numeral in the counter is regularly /thiə/ 'one', and the nouns have a generalizing force: 'each one, every one'.

/thihīnmā yīnyō̃ ngū./

(one=house=unit non-named is.)

'It's the name of each household.'²⁴

/lácī āmēsà thikyflūmā chēbādū; lácīdāmā./

(peppers now one=kilo=unit ten=baht=emph. peppers=big)

'Peppers are now ten baht per kilo, big peppers that is.'

/thinylī/ (one=day=fashion) 'every day'

/thi'mālī/ (one=unit=emph=fashion) 'every one'

2.4.2.2.3 Reduplicated verbs:

Reduplication of a verb regularly forms a compound noun.

24. When the counter is attributive to /-mā/ the whole expression acts as a noun, attributive to a following noun. Compare, however, the normal counter construction with a preceding noun in apposition (see also section 3.1.3.2d):

/yīnyō̃ thīmā/ (name one=item) 'a name'

/syósyó/ 'resemblance' < /syó/ 'resemble'
 /mámá/ 'certainty' < /má/ 'sure, certain'

/lyíswū bābà nánā thī'ná:mā syósyó: kālīswāngu./

(Lisu father mother one=unit=emph=unit resemblance
 become=emph=is-so.)

'(You've) become something like a Lisu parent.'

/náhwūn thūahfā, dù phyó nánái: dāu./

(mouth insert=related-focus, poison happen
 being-near=continuous-state remain=new-situation.)

'If (you) put (your fingers) in (your) mouth, it
 will be almost like (eating) poison.'
 [said to a child with very dirty hands]

2.4.2.3 Complex nouns:

Complex nouns are those formed with active and
 adjectival verb attributes²⁵ and those formed with the proclitic
 particles.

2.4.2.3.1 Complex nouns with verb attribute:

2.4.2.3.1.1 Nouns with active verb attribute:

An active verb attribute regularly
 precedes a noun head. A complex word is formed only when the head
 is a bound form, e.g.:

/nyítágwū/ 'place to sit'	<	/nyítá/ 'sit, sit down'
		/-gwū/ 'place'
/wasyōngù/ 'joke, kidding'	<	/wasyō/ 'laugh'
		/-ngù/ 'language'

cf., with free noun heads:

25. Active and adjectival verbs are described in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2.

/lǎgà zà/ 'bastard'	<	/lǎgà/ 'commit adultery'
		/zà/ 'son'
/mámǎ áthà/ 'magical knife' (which cuts without touching an object)	<	/mámǎ/ 'not strike'
		/áthà/ 'knife'

When the attribute is not a verb alone but a clause,²⁶ the verb compounds with a bound head, but a preceding noun usually does not,

e.g.:

/thùghè búdwū/ 'writing implement'	<	/thùghè/ 'paper, book, letter'
		/bū/ 'write' ²⁷
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/yíkū khyì kōdwū/ 'ashtray'	<	/yíkū/ 'cigarette'
		/khyì/ 'feces, waste'
		/kō/ 'put in'
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/yàphyí chwǎmǎ/ 'opium smoker' (one who sucks opium)	<	/yàphyí/ 'opium'
		/chwǎ/ 'suck'
		/-mǎ/ 'unit, item'
/nwū yìgyíathè/ 'when you return'	<	/nwū/ 'you'
		/yì-/ 'return'
		/gyí/ 'go'
		/-a/ 'nominalization'
		/-thè/ 'time when'

26. The clause is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

27. On the tone of verbs in attribution to a following noun, see section 4.5.

/thùghà sùswā/ 'student' < /thùghà/ 'book,
paper, letter'
/sā/ 'study'
/-swā/ 'one who
(does something)'

In some cases, however, the combination of verb plus bound noun is itself a bound form, and the preceding noun combines with it. Thus, in /phwūdèphā/ 'silversmith', the verb /dè/ 'beat' combines with the bound noun /-phā/ 'man', but the combination /-dèphā/ does not occur as a free form, and the preceding noun /phwū/ 'silver' compounds with it to form a word.

2.4.2.3.1.2 Nouns with adjectival attribute:

There are three types of adjectival attribution to a head noun: simple adjective attributive to a preceding noun, simple or reduplicated adjective attributive to a following bound noun, and reduplicated adjective attributive to a preceding noun. The first two form complex words and are discussed in this section; the last forms phrases and is discussed in the following chapter, section 3.1.2.3.

a) Simple adjectives attributive to a preceding noun:

As head of a clause, a verb occurs in construction with phrases in an utterance (e.g. substantive phrases acting as subject, goal, etc.) and with a large group of particles.²⁸ Active verbs which are attributive to a noun retain their function as head of a clause, e.g. in /sākē jūa hīn/ (three~~room~~ have~~room~~ house) 'three-room house', /jū/ 'have' is head of a clause which contains /sākē/ 'three

28. These verb functions are discussed in detail in Chapter IV, as are the clause elements 'subject', 'goal', etc.

rooms' as goal. When a simple adjective is attributive to a preceding noun, however, its function as head of a clause is lost; it does not occur in construction with other phrases or with verb particles.

Further, the combination of noun plus simple adjective attribute occurs attributive to a following noun, while a simple adjective appears alone in this position only before a limited number of bound nouns (see below, paragraph b) For example, /ángàkú/ (water-buffalo= wild) 'wild buffalo' occurs attributive to the bound noun /-phà/ 'man' in /ángàkúphà/ 'Wild Buffalo Man' (a proper name); /kúphà/, however, does not occur alone and combines with the preceding noun. Similarly, /áíkhyí/ (#2-child=short) 'second child who is short' occurs with the bound noun /-mā/ 'woman, girl' in /áíkhyímā/ 'Second-Daughter-Who-Is-Short' (also a proper name), while /khyímā/ does not occur alone.²⁹

Following such examples of an attributive adjective necessarily forming a word with a preceding noun head - at least in some contexts - and to mark the adjective's loss of free verb function in this position, simple adjectives attributive to a preceding noun head are considered bound forms.³⁰

29. That is, not with /-mā/ 'woman, girl'; but cf. paragraph b on the homonymous /-mā/ 'unit, item'. Compare also /khyíkhyímā/ (short=short=girl) 'Miss Shorty', in which the reduplicated adjective occurs independently of /áí/ '#2 child'; see section 3.1.2.3.

30. This solution has the further practical advantage of distinguishing an attributive adjective, e.g. /ángàkú/ 'wild buffalo', from one with full verb function, e.g. /ángà kú/ 'the buffalo is wild'. Compare also the bound functions of other verbs in sections 2.4.1.2.3 and 2.5.1.3.

Other examples of this type of attribution are:

/sɛnwù/ 'soft wood'	<	/sɛ/ 'wood'
		/nwù/ 'soft'
/ánàchwɛ́/ 'rotten dog; a blue-green color'	<	/ánà/ 'dog'
		/chwɛ́/ 'rotten'
/bɛ́chwɛ́nyɛ́chwɛ́/ 'green dress'	<	/bɛ́chwɛ́/ 'dress'
		/nyɛ́chwɛ́/ 'green'
/mɛ́chɛ́fálà/ 'sky-blue trousers'	<	/mɛ́chɛ́/ 'trousers'
		/fálà/ 'sky blue'
/lànɔ́/ 'black panther'	<	/là-/ 'big cat, tiger'
		/nɔ́/ 'black'
/chūmà/ 'old person'	<	/-chū/ 'person'
		/mà/ 'old' (of animates)

In such combinations, the meaning is often specialized, as in /ánàchwɛ́/ 'rotten dog', used for a color said to be that of rotted dog flesh, or /ángàkú/ 'wild buffalo', which is used of a particular species of animal, rather than of any buffalo which has gone wild. The head noun in such constructions is frequently a bound allomorph of a larger dissyllabic or polysyllabic morpheme, e.g. in the examples above:

/là-/ 'tiger, big cat'	<	/lànm̄/ (same)
/-chū/ 'person'	<	/làchū/ (same)

b) Adjectives attributive to a following bound noun:

An adjective most commonly follows a noun to which it is attributive, but with a small group of bound nouns an adjectival attribute precedes.

/háswǎ thǎ lǎ, mahǎswǎ thǎ lǎ; lù jǎgwǎwǎ./

(good=nom=type here come, not=good=type here come.
vehicle path=at)

'Good types (of things) come here, bad types come here, along the road.'

In /háswǎ/ 'good kinds' and /mahǎswǎ/ 'bad kinds', the adjective /hǎ/ 'good' modifies the bound noun /-swǎ/ 'type, kind'.

/yǎsyǎ nwǎlǎ yǎ kwǎa./

(sound soft=manner do know-how=nom.)

'(He) can use (his) voice softly.' [in singing]

In /nwǎlǎ/ 'softly', the adjective /nwǎ/ 'soft' modifies the bound noun /-lǎ/ 'fashion, manner'.

Parallel to active verb attributes (2.4.2.3.1.1), a simple adjective in this position can act as the verb of a preceding clause.

/yǎsyǎ akhǎ háwǎ gwǎ kwǎa./

(sound very good=nom=item sing know-how=nom.)

'(I) can sing with a very good voice.'

/akhǎ há/ 'very good' is a clause modifying the bound noun /-wǎ/ 'unit, item'.

/zǎwǎ akhǎ mabyǎwǎ yǎsyǎ mahǎ./³¹

(woman very not=pretty=unit sound not=good.)

'To a woman who isn't very pretty, (one's) voice need not be good.'

31. On this type of appositive phrase with /-wǎ/, see sections 3.1.3.2b-c and 4.4.1.

/akhé mabyí/ 'not very pretty' is a clause modifying the bound noun
/-mā/ 'unit, item'.

However, since reduplication forms nouns from verbs (section
1.10.2), the attribution of a reduplicated adjective to a following
bound noun is parallel to ordinary noun attribution.

/māfāfāí/ 'soft manner, softly' < /māí/ 'soft'

/-lí/ 'fashion, manner'

(slightly more emphatic than /māí/ above)

/hāhāswā/ 'good type; well' < /hā/ 'good'

/-swā/ 'type, kind'

/khyōkhyōswā/ 'lengthwise' < /khyō/ 'long and thin,
rectangular,
cylindrical'

/-swā/ 'direction,
dimension'

cf. the compound nouns:

/lyíswāngù/ 'Lisu language' < /lyíswā/ 'Lisu'

/-ngù/ 'language'

/mākwāphyā/ 'bamboo leaf' < /mākwā/ 'bamboo'

/-phyā/ 'leaf'

2.4.2.3.2 Longer combinations:

Words also occur in which an already complex
noun compounds with a preceding or following head, or is further
modified by verbal elements. With the former type, the attributive
noun sometimes follows its head; this order occurs within a word
only when the attribute is a complex noun.³²

³². But compare the similar order in phrases with nominalized
attributive adjective, section 3.1.2.3.

a) Complex noun as attribute:

with preceding head:

/nyāmphwā/ 'hornbill' (the bird with white feathers)	< /nyā/ 'bird'
	/-h-/ reduced form of /mā/ 'feather, body hair'
	/phwā/ 'white'
/áthāhwāngū/ 'knife with a hooked blade'	< /áthā/ 'knife'
	/hwāh-/ reduced form of /hwāmè-/ ?'blade'? (occurs only in this word)
	/gū/ 'crooked'

with following head:

/sāfwūjē/ 'hardwood tree'	< /sē/ 'wood'
	/fwū/ 'hard'
	/-jē/ 'trunk, stem'
/ālfkhyimā/ 'Second-Daughter- Who-Is-Short'	< /ālf/ '2nd child' (proper name)
	/khyf/ 'short' (in stature)
	/-mā/ 'girl, woman'

b) Complex noun further modified by verbs:

/ángākúphā/ 'male wild buffalo'

Here the noun /ángā/ 'water buffalo' is first modified by the adjective /ká/ 'wild' to form the complex noun /ángákí/ 'wild buffalo'. This is then further modified by the bound adjective /-phā/ 'male'.³³

33. On the double function of /-phā/ as both noun and adjective, see section 2.6.2.

/chūmphāmì/ 'old man'

In this word, the bound noun /-chū/ 'person' (< /lāchū/ 'person') is first modified by the adjective /mù/ 'old' to form the free noun /chūmì/ 'old person'. This, with the reduction of /mù/ to /m̄/, then modifies the bound noun /-phā/ 'man', and the whole is further modified with a repetition of the adjective /m̄/ 'old'.

2.4.2.3.3 Complex nouns with proclitic particles;³⁴

Proclitic particles regularly occur in complex nouns which they derive from verbs or from other free or bound nouns.

There are three proclitic particles:

a) Proclitic /yí-/:

/yí-/ has three functions: it derives nouns from verbs, it combines with bound nouns to form free nouns, and it combines with free nouns with a particularizing force. In comparison with the other proclitics, /yí-/ is far more common and is, in modern Lisu, a productive form, while the others are not.

/yí-/ with free nouns (particularizing):

/yíwúdwǎ/ 'the top, tip'	<	/wúdwǎ/ 'head, top'
/yíkúkū yínyǐzǎ/ 'the brothers'	<	/kúkū/ 'elder brother'
		/nyǐzǎ/ 'younger brother'

/yí-/ with bound nouns (forming free nouns):

/yíngù/ 'language'	<	/-ngù/ 'language'
/yíkhà/ 'outside. side'	<	/-khà/ 'exterior. side'
/yísǎ/ 'fruit'	<	/-sǎ/ 'fruit; sphere'

34. See also section 2.9.

/yíphyà/ 'leaf'	< /-phyà/ 'leaf, sheet (of paper)'
/yíwà/ 'king'	< /-wà/ 'king; individual' (Chinese: /wáng/ 'king')
/yíbwū/ 'writing implement'	< /bū/ 'write' / -dwū/ 'mechanism'

/yī-/ with verbs:

/yī-/ derives abstract or class nouns from verbs.

Active verbs in such words are simple, adjectives are either simple or reduplicated.

With active verbs:

/yíkyō/ 'line, scratch'	< /kyō/ 'make a line, scratch'
/yífwū/ 'egg'	< /fwū/ 'lay (eggs)'
/yíswǎ/ 'seed'	< /swǎ/ 'sow'

With adjectives:

/yímyō/ 'name'	< /myō/ 'be named'
/yíswǎ/ 'new thing'	< /swǎ/ 'new'
/yíbī/ 'old thing'	< /bī/ 'old' (of inanimates)
/yíphwūphwū/ 'white thing; the color white'	< /phwū/ 'white'
/yíhwāhwā/ 'stripes'	< /hwā/ 'striped'
/yítōtō/ 'straightly'	< /tō/ 'straight'
/yípnà/ 'male one'	< /-phà/ 'male'
/yídāmā/ 'big thing'	< /-dāmā/ 'big'

b) Proclitic /a-/:

The proclitic /a-/ derives nouns from adjectival verbs. In this it functions like /yí-/ , except in being non-productive.³⁵

/atyí ~ atyítyí/	'a little'	<	/tyí/	'few'
/amyá/	'much, many'	<	/myá/	'much, many' ³⁶
/amúwú/	'high'	<	/mú/	'high'
/amí ~ amíwí/	'quickly'	<	/mí/	'fast, quick'
/aché ~ achéché/	'really'	<	/ché/	'real, genuine'
/atótó/	'straightly'	<	/tó/	'straight'

(cf. /yítótó/ above)

c) Proclitic {ā-}:

The proclitic {ā-}, with its other allomorphs /á-/ and /a-/, forms interrogative nouns from following verbs and nouns:

/ātá/	'where?'	<	/tá/	'be at (a place)' [active verb]
/ālā/	'where to?'	<	/lā/	'come' [active verb]

35. The phoneme /a/ also occurs very commonly as initial syllable of nouns which are unanalyzable - with particular frequency in animal names. As these forms are now monomorphemic, it is a moot point whether the /a/'s represent a related particle from an earlier stage of the language, although the fact that most occurrences in unanalyzable forms are tonic may be an indication against such a theory. Examples are:

/ánà/	'dog'	/ángà/	'water buffalo'
/ávè/	'pig'	/áyá ~ ághá/	'chicken'
/ányácí/	'cat'	/ákhè/	'door'
/átú/	'fire'	/ágyá/	'water'
/álfphà/	'second son' (name)	/ásámá/	'fourth daughter' (name)

36. On the tone variations, see section 4.5.

/āli/ 'how?; which?'	< /-li/ 'manner, way' [noun]
/āswā/ 'what?'	< /-swā/ 'type, kind' [noun]
/āthā/ 'when?'	< /-thā/ 'time when' [noun]
/amā/ 'who?'	< /-mā/ 'unit, item' [noun]
/amyā/ 'how much?; how many?'	< /myā/ 'much, many' [adjective]

Proclitic {ā-} occurs only in these seven words.

2.4.3 Deictics:

A deictic is a substantive which occurs in close juncture with a following counter to which it is attributive.

There are three deictics:

{thī} 'this'; allomorph: /'tī-/

{gwō} 'that'; allomorph: /gū-/

/nō/ 'yonder'

The deictics occur not only in the defining position with counters, but also compounded with a following bound noun and as free forms.

2.4.3.1 Compounding with counters:

In specifying the position of a noun, the normal construction involves the presence of a deictic following the noun and compounded with a following counter.³⁷ In this position the basic allomorph of a deictic occurs:

37. The counter phrase is discussed in section 3.1.3.2d.

/jɛ̀phə̀ thɪ̀thɪ̀jɛ̀/ (liquor this=one=kind)

'this kind of liquor'

/nɑ̀s̄us̄ɛ̀ gw̄õnyɪ̀s̄ɛ̀/ (orange those=two=spheres)

'those two oranges'

/lyɪ̀sw̄ n̄õs̄az̄ù/ (Lisu yonder=three=individuals)

'those three Lisu over there'

2.4.3.2 Compounding with bound substantives:

Deictics also directly precede certain bound substantives, including classifiers, forming words with them. In these constructions, the choice of allomorph of /gw̄õ/ depends on the substantive in a given expression, e.g.:

/thɪ̀m̄/ 'this one' /gw̄õm̄/ 'that one' (cf. below)

/thɪ̀sw̄ɛ̀/ 'this type' /gw̄õsw̄ɛ̀/ 'that type'

/thɪ̀lɪ̀/ 'this way' but: /ḡulɪ̀/ 'that way'

/thɪ̀hw̄ɛ̀/ 'this time'³⁸ /ḡuhw̄ɛ̀/ 'that time'³⁸

/ḡum̄/ 'that one' (cf. above)

/n̄õm̄/ 'that one over there'

/n̄õb̄ɛ̀/ 'that side over there'

With certain bound nouns which also act as classifiers, these forms alternate with longer forms which contain a complete counter, e.g.:

/thɪ̀thɪ̀m̄/ (this=one=item) 'this one'

38. /thɪ̀/ and /gw̄õ/ refer to both temporal and spatial distance.
/n̄õ/ only to spatial distance.

When {thī-} occurs with emphatic stress in a compound, the allomorph /tī-/ alternates with /thī-/:

/tīnwā/ ~ /thīnwā/ 'this time'

/tīswā/ ~ /thīswā/ 'this type'

2.4.3.3 As free forms:

As free forms, /gwō/ and /nō/ act only as place words, while /thī/ acts as an ordinary noun. The first two occur as free forms only in isolation, i.e. not as part of a larger clause:

/ālitōwā./ /gwō./ 'jójō./

(which=place=at.) (there. there=emph=there.)

'Where?' 'There. Way off there.'

/nō./ (yonder.)

'(It's) over there.'

As an ordinary noun, /thī/ means 'this thing, this one':

/thīkā./ (this is-like=nom.)

'That's the way it is.'

/thī amūmwā sēphèkwūwā kōa, dá ngā?/

(this high=at dish=inside=at put-in=nom,
can=nom is-so?)

'(We) can put this up high in the dish, can't we?'

As a free form, /thī/ also occurs with emphatic stress as an exclamation,³⁹

39. On exclamations, see section 2.3.

/ʰhí./ 'Look here.'; 'Here it is.'

'That's just what I said.'; 'I told you so.'⁴⁰

2.5 The Verb.

A free form which is immediately preceded by the negative particle /má-/ 'not', or a bound form, other than a particle or verb stem extension,⁴¹ which occurs regularly with such free forms, is a verb.

/gè/ 'give'	/magè/ 'not give'
/gyī/ 'go'	/magyī/ 'not go'
/sɔ́/ 'know'	/masɔ́/ 'not know'
/kyā/ 'dwell'	/makyā/ 'not dwell'
/hā/ 'good'	/mahā/ 'not good'
/ngā/ 'is, is so'	/mangā/ 'isn't, isn't so'

40. With the deictics, compare the place words:

/thā/ 'here'
 /gwā/ 'there'
 /nō/ 'yonder'
 /jō/ 'there' (farther than /gwā/)

All of these occur as free forms, e.g.:

/thā lānā./ (here come=urging.)

'Come here.'

/nō, gūbā kyā./ (yonder, that=side dwell=nom.)

'(He) lives over there, on that side.'

/ābānɔ́ ʰjo gyī, mānā; nwu./

(adoptive-father there=emph go, not=see. you)

'(When your) adoptive father goes way away (home),
 you won't see (him any more).'

But the first two also compound with certain bound substantives:

/thābā/ 'this side here' (cf. /gūbā/ 'that side')

/gwāmā/ 'the one over there'

(cf. /gwōmā/, /gwōthīmā/ 'that one')

41. See sections 2.9 and 2.7.

/-yī/ 'motion away from the speaker'

in: /dūyī/ 'go out' /madūyī/ 'not go out'

/gàyī/ 'follow away' /magàyī/ 'not follow away'

/vwūyī/ 'go to buy' /mavwūyī/ 'not go to buy'

etc.

Verbs are active (section 2.5.1), adjectival (2.5.2), copular (2.5.4), or auxiliary (2.5.5).

2.5.1 Active verbs:

An active verb is one which occurs unreduplicated before a noun which it modifies.⁴²

/nyītágwū/ (sit-down=place)

'seat, place to sit'

/phwūdèphà/ (silver=beat=man)

'silversmith'

/thùghè búdwū/ (letter write=implement)

'writing implement'

/jēphè dū mègwā/ (liquor drink song)

'drinking song'

/sākē jūa hīn/ (three=room have=nom house)

'three-room house'

/kyāmyō kyāgwūwā gyī jāgwū/ (monkey dwell=place=to go path)

'the way to where the monkeys live'

Active verbs are transitive or intransitive.

42. Elsewhere such a construction occurs only with adjectives before certain bound nouns; see section 2.4.2.3.1.2.

2.5.1.1 Transitive verbs:

An active verb which occurs with a goal is transitive.⁴³ Transitive verbs are of two types: those which have only substantive goal (ordinary transitives), and those which have both substantive and verb goals.

2.5.1.1.1 Ordinary transitive verbs:

Most ordinary transitives have only one goal in a given clause:

/yí thùghè búá./ (he letters write=nom.)⁴⁴

'He is writing.'

/nwā nyò jūá./ (you work have=nom.)

'You have work (to do).'

/lyíswāngà amyákhè majūlō./

(Lisu=language many=words not=have=emph.)

'There are many words which Lisu doesn't have.'

/ngwā yàphyí sákhá nawā./

(I opium three=one-tenth=joys not=get.)

'I won't get (even) three tenths of a joy of opium.'

/nwā 'thá wàjwāwā lyíswāngà sūá:, phwū amyá: gèwáíō./

(you here=emph hills=at Lisu=language study=nom,
silver much give=get-to=emph.)

'When you study Lisu here in the hills, (they)
can give (you) a lot of money.'

43. On the clause and its elements, such as goal, see Chapter IV.

44. The goals are underlined.

/chɛnyɪ yəphyɪphwɛ mawɛ./

(this-year opium=price not=get.)

'This year (I) won't make any money from opium.'

/sáǵē nwū ɛnyɪ jūwáhi, ngwɛ zà zwū madɛ./

(in-future you daughter have=get-to=further,
my son take not=can.)

'In the future, if you have a daughter, my son
can't marry (her).'

/nwū lyɪswǵngù chɛnyɪ ɛbɛ chùmɛ sǵghɛa, sū gwǵlɪa?/

(you Lisu=language this-year months six=units study=
actual-nom, study finish=change-of-state-nom?)

'After you've studied Lisu for (another) six months
this year, will you finish studying (it completely)?'

/ɛnyɪ amyá: khwáwáhi, yəphyɪ thɪkhá nyɪkhá mawɛ./

(field much hoe=get-to=further, opium one=tenth-joy
two-tenths-joy not=get.)

'And (even) if (you) hoe the fields a lot, (you)
don't get even one or two tenths of a joy
of opium.'

/lécáwá mǵgwá akhó sɛa./

(Lɛtsa=at songs very-much know-nom.)

'At Lɛtsa (they) really know songs.'

The presence of a goal is not, however, required in every utterance
with a transitive verb, e.g.:

/nwū jūa?/ /gwá jūangū./

(you have-nom?) (there have-nom-is-so.)

'Do you have (any)?' 'Sure (I) do, over there.'

Some ordinary transitives have two goals in a single clause. In such cases, if neither goal is marked with a particle, the preceding one is the indirect goal, the following one the direct goal.

/ngwānwū thā yí ányímé chāzà chūa nyīama - /⁴⁵

(we here his adoptive-daughter string tie=nom
day=partic=unit -)

'That day when we tied string on his adoptive daughter here ...'

/ngwānwūnyā yí jā gè jà thāgwā:./

(we=as-for her rice give eat one=finish=partic.)

'As for us, (we) give her rice to eat, that's all.'

/nwū yí bābāhē bābā khwū, yí māmā māmā khwūwángū./

(you his father=contrast father call, his mother
mother call=get-to-is-so.)

'You can call his father "father" and his mother "mother".'

However, the indirect goal is sometimes marked with the substantive particle /-lé/ 'to, for, with respect to'⁴⁶ in which case it either precedes or follows the direct goal.

/né sūdā atyí káa./⁴⁷

(you=for soda a-little put-in=nom.)

'(I'll) put a little soda in (your cup) for you.'

45. The form /ngwānwū/ 'we' is perhaps a compound of /ngwā/ 'I' and an allomorph with low tone of /nwū/ 'you'. In any case, /-nwū/ appears only in this environment and would thus constitute a bound allomorph of /nwū/.

46. See section 4.3.2.

47. /né/ is a contraction of /nwū/ 'you' and /-lé/.

/yí né pùhwá tótó khyòghè./

(he you=to speech backwards=backwards speak=to.)

'He's telling you wrong way round.'

/ngwá thùghè yflé gè tōnyá./

(I book he=to give look-at=nom.)

'I showed the book to him.'

2.5.1.1.2 Transitives with verb goal:

One subclass of transitive verbs occurs with clause as well as substantive goals, e.g.:

/álfíí búghā: vwènyá./

(which=fashion write=actual=nom read=see=nom.)

'Try reading out what's written down.'

/láchū anyāzū jūa masá?/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not-know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/yísyà há mahā ngwá nānānyá./

(sound good=nom not=good I listen=see=nom.)

'I'll listen and see if (your) voice is good or not.'

For a full discussion, see Chapter IV, The Clause, section 4.4.2.2.

2.5.1.2 Intransitive verbs:

An intransitive verb does not occur with a goal.

These are principally verbs of motion and position.

/yí ānyīwā gyā./ (he field=to go=nom.)

'He's going to the fields.'

/khákhyã gyí kyá, ʔsfu!/ (porch go stay, #4=vocative!)

'Go and stay on the porch, Fourth Daughter.'

/thá nyítámá./ (here sit-down=urging.)

'Sit down here.'

/nwú 'thá wájwáj dē, lyíswūngà sū./

(you here=emph hills=to climb, Lisu=language study.)

'You've come up here in the hills to study Lisu.'

/hán yí thá kyá, ngwá bēghāa./ (if he here dwell, I tell=to=nom.)

'If he were here, I would tell him.'

/nwú yígyíghāa, ʔbā thínyímá thá yílámá./

(you return-go=actual=nom, month one=two=units here
return=come=urging.)

'After you go back (home), come back here in a
month or two.'

/ʔsū yí thá táláthè, ngwá yílé bēghāa./

(just-now he here run=come=nom=when, I he=to tell=to=nom.)

'When he ran up here just now, I told him.'

2.5.1.3 Complementary verb compounds:

Within the verb phrase (see 3.2), two or more active verbs, each of which bears grammatical relationships not shared by the other(s) to certain phrase-external elements in the utterance are complementary. That is, each such verb is head of the phrase with respect to particular phrase-external elements. For example, in /yílé mēgwá gwákyí/ (he=with-respect-to song sing=cause) 'make him sing a song', /yílé/ 'him' is goal of /-kyí/

'cause, make (do)', but /mègwā/ 'song' is goal of /gwā/ 'sing'.⁴⁸

Thus each verb is head of the phrase with respect to a particular goal in the preceding predicate; the two are complements.

Certain bound verbs occur as last[#] member of such constructions; these form complementary verb compounds.

/-yí/ 'cause, make' (someone do something)

/yílé mēgwā thihwā gwākyí; lálwùlé./

(he=with-respect-to song one=time sing=cause.
#6-child=with-respect-to)

'Make him sing a song once, Lalu I mean.'⁴⁹

/chē tyínyā, chē háthè tyíkya./

(mortar pound=as-for, mortar first pound=cause=nom.)

'As for pounding, (he) first had (them) pound
with the foot mortar.'

/-ghè/ 'to, for, for the benefit of (someone else)'

/yí lāghāa, ngwā yílé bēghāa./

(he come=actual=nom, I he=to tell=to=nom.)

'After he comes, I'll tell him.'

/nwū māghēwāngūnē; phālangū./

(you teach=to=must=is=so=emph. occidental=language)

'You really must teach (us), English that is.'

/khyīghè/ (get-between=for[-others'-]benefit)

'pacify, separate' (as people fighting)

neg: /makhyīghè/ 'not pacify'

48. Compare the construction /yílé mēgwā gwā/ (he=to song sing) 'sing a song to him', where /yílé/ is indirect goal of /gwā/; cf. section 2.5.1.1.1.

49. /lálwù/ is a nickname form for the sixth son in a family; cf. /álwūphā/, the formal name.

/-yī/ 'motion away from a location; situation coming to occur
at a location or time other than that of the utterance'

/nwū kányá gàyialē; phwū majūjū./

(you after follow=go=nom=emph. silver not=have=have)

'(we'll) go with you, since (we) don't have any
money at all.'

/yīkū vwūyīa./ (cigarettes buy=go=nom.)

'(I'm) going to buy cigarettes.'

/chūmū lā pīyīa, yīphwūphwū - thīfwū gēwū./

(person=old come=nom arrive=go=nom, nom=white=white -
one=bottle give=did.)

'When the old man came, (he) gave (us) a bottle of
home brew.' [i.e. when the point of the old
man's coming was reached]

/-lā/ 'motion towards a location; situation coming to occur
at the location or time at which the utterance occurs'

/āsū āthā pūhwá khyōa dūlā; madula./

(just-now here speech speak=nom exit=come=nom.
not=exit=come)

'Will what (we've) just said here come out (of
the tape recorder) or not?'

/āmēsà mabūlā./

(now not=full=come.)

'Now (we) can't get enough to eat.'

/yīkū mawā vwū tēlā./ (cigarettes not=get-to buy carry=come.)

'(I) didn't have a chance to buy cigarettes and
bring (them here).'

/-tá/ 'be (in a state)'

/nàtá/ (stay=be) 'be staying'

/bwátá/ (owe=be) 'be in debt'

/kyítá/ (preserve=be) 'be preserved, be handed down
(from generation to generation)'

/ǎǎǎǎ búkátá wànyíá./

(which=fashion write put-in=be read=see=nom.)

'Try reading out what's written down.'

/-kyǎ/ 'be (in the process of)'

/nwū ǎmésà swūá tōnyíkyǎngē./⁵⁰

(you now other-person=to look-at=remain=question.)

'Are you looking at someone?'

/ngwá thùghè sūkyǎ thlcfá:mǎ yí pílǎngū./

(I book study=remain one=moment=unit he
arrive=come=nom=is-so.)

'Just when I was studying, he arrived.'

/nwū ǎmésà ǎswǎ syǎkyǎ?/ (you now what make=remain=nom?)

'What are you making now?'

/gyíá bēkyǎngū./ (go=nom say=remain=nom=is-so.)

'(I) intend to go.'

The verbs /lǎ/, /tá/, and /kyǎ/ occur not only in the functions just illustrated, but also as the free verbs 'come', 'be at (a place; of inanimates)', and 'dwell, be at (a place; of animates)'. A parallel relationship exists between /-yí/ 'motion away from a

⁵⁰ The /-ǎ/ of /swūá/ is a reduced form of the substantive particle /-lé/ 'to, for, with respect to'; see section 4.3.2.

location' and /gyī/ 'go', but /-yī/ occurs only as a bound form. Since it is in complementary distribution with, and semantically similar to, /gyī/, it is considered a bound allomorph of the latter. This relationship serves as the model on which /-lā/ 'motion toward a location', /-tā/ 'be in a state', and /-kyā/ 'be in the process of' are considered bound forms of otherwise free verbs.

2.5.2 Adjectives:

An adjective (also sometimes referred to as adjectival verb) is one which compounds with a preceding noun which it modifies.

/bīchwānyīchwā/ (dress=green) 'green dress'

/fngākā/ (water=buffalo=wild) 'wild buffalo'⁵¹

Adjectives are further distinguished from active verbs in that they occur with verbal as well as substantive subject.

With substantive subject:

/thāf mwāwā āmāsā yāphyī mahā./

(Thai country=in now opium not=good.)

'In Thailand the opium isn't good now.'

/sūdā gwōthīnyīmā nā./

(soda that=one=day=item good=nom.)

'The soda the other day was good.'

/mwā mabā, ngwā magyī./

(weather not=clear, I not=go.)

'If the weather isn't clear, I won't go.'

51. For more examples and a full discussion of adjectival attribution, see section 2.4.2.3.1.2.

/kəsā tēghēi:, yīswāthīa kəsā chwīlīa./

(corn plant=actual=further, rainy-season=in corn
rot=change-of-state=nom.)

'And after (you) plant the corn, in the rainy
season the corn rots.'

/zānō akhē mabyīmā yīsyā mahī./

(woman very not=pretty=unit sound not=good.)

'To a girl who isn't very pretty, (one's) voice
(need) not be good.'

With verb subject:

/nwū swā mahāu./

(you twist=nom not=good=new-situation,)

'Your twisting (it) isn't good.'

/mācī swāwā yāphyī chwī akhē hā ngā?/

(Burma country=in opium suck very good=nom is-so?)

'In Burma opium smoking is very good, isn't it?'

/ngwā zānō né nēthwā chūa./

(my child you-as-for marry=nom bad=nom.)

'For my child to marry you (would) be bad.'

2.5.3 Complex verbs with noun attribute:

With a limited number of fixed expressions, consisting of a monosyllabic verb and a preceding monosyllabic noun subject or goal,⁵² the usual manner of negating, with the negative particle preceding the simple verb, alternates with a form in which the noun and verb combine into a single complex verb which the negative particle precedes, e.g.:

⁵². On these elements see 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.3.

a) With subject noun and adjective:

/lè lyì/ (hand heavy) 'heavy-handed' (as in spanking,
serving over-large portions of
food, etc.)

neg: /lè malyì/ ~ /malèlyì/ 'not heavy-handed'

/khè lyì/ (word heavy) 'taciturn'

neg: /khè malyì/ ~ /makhèlyì/ 'not taciturn'

/khyì lyì/ (feces heavy) '(to) need to defecate'

neg: /khyì malyì/ ~ /makhyìlyì/ 'not need to defecate'

/myā khyō̃/ (eye blind) 'blind'

neg: /myā makhyō̃/ ~ /mamyākhyō̃/ 'not blind'

b) With subject noun and intransitive:

/mwè dwē/ (earth shake) 'earthquake occurs'

neg: /mwè madwē/ ~ /mamwèdwē/ 'not having an
earthquake'

c) With goal noun and transitive verb:

/wà dì/ (strength request) 'request labor'
(for work in the fields)

neg: /wà madì/ ~ /mawàdì/ 'not request labor'

/lè mighè/ (hand wave=to) 'beckon to'

neg: /lè mamighè/ ~ /malèmighè/ 'not beckon to'

The complex negatives function as the verb in larger utterances,

e.g.:

/yí mamyākhyō̃./ (he not=eye=blind.)

'He's not blind.'

/yí mawàdì./ (he not=strength=request.)

'He didn't request help in the fields.'

/thítáwā nāmídwā./

(this=place=at not=earth=shake.)

'There was no earthquake here.'

The first two having separate subject, the third separate place word.

Compare these sentences with the positive forms and the ordinary negatives:

/yí myā khyō̃a./⁵³ 'He's blind.'

/yí myā makhyō̃./ 'He's not blind.'

These can be interpreted either as having a primary topic (4.2.3.2), about which the rest of the sentence is a statement: 'as for him, (he) is blind', or with the initial noun as attribute to /myā/ 'eye': 'his eyes are blind.'

/yí wā día./ 'He asked for help in the fields.'

/yí wā madi./ 'He didn't ask for help in the fields.'

The subject-goal-verb order in these sentences is that of the basic Lisu clause (see 4.1).

/thítáwā mḗ dīa./ 'There was an earthquake here.'

/thítáwā mḗ madwā./ 'There was no earthquake here.'

Here again, the initial word can be interpreted as a primary topic: 'as for here, there was no earthquake.'

These fixed expressions frequently contain, as free nouns, elements which are elsewhere bound forms, e.g.: /lè-/ 'hand' from /lèphē/ 'hand', /lèkwā/ 'palm of the hand', /lēmā/ 'thumb', etc., or /myā-/ 'eye' from /myāsā/ 'eye, eyeball', /myābyl/ 'tear', etc.

53. On the presence of the final particle /-a/ and the tone change, see section 4.5.

In certain other expressions, a free noun subject and a simple adjective are paralleled by a complex verb consisting of a bound allomorph of the noun combined with the adjective:

/ná bù / 'deaf'	<	/ná pù bù / (ear deaf)
neg: / <u>maná</u> bù / 'not deaf'		
/ná gù / 'having a twisted mouth'	<	/ná nwún gù / (mouth crooked)
neg: / <u>maná</u> gù / 'not having a twisted mouth'		
/ch ēgù / 'lame'	<	/ch ēphē gù / (foot crooked)
neg: / <u>mach</u> ēgù / 'not lame'		

These complex forms, like those above, act as unit verbs in larger utterances with a separate subject, but these forms occur in positive as well as negative sentences, e.g.:

/yí ná**bù**./ 'He's deaf.'

/yí ch**ēgù**./ 'He's lame.'

But unlike most other verbs, complex adjectives of this shape do not have final tone or occur with the final particle /-a/⁵⁴. Compare the longer forms with simple adjective:

/yí ná**pù** **bǎ**./ 'He's deaf.'

/yí ch**ēphē** **gǎ**./ 'His foot is twisted.'

2.5.4 Copular verbs:

A copular verb does not occur in attribution to a head noun. There are three copulas: /kǎ/ 'is like, is similar', /kǎlǐ/ 'become', and {ngǎ} 'is, is so, is a case of'. They describe the existence or some aspect of the existence of a single substantive

54. See section 4.5. Only a few other dissyllabic verbs share this peculiarity, e.g.: /lǎgǎ/ 'commit adultery', /cǎngǎ/ 'grimace'.

phrase, or they equate or compare two substantive phrases.

2.5.4.1 /kã/ 'is like, is similar'

/thī kã./ (this is-like=nom.)

'That's the way it is.'

/ãmāsà yí ãténé kã./ (now she small is-like=nom.)

'She's small now.'

/bēhé bényã, yísyà nyónyóá: kã./

(bæhæ say=nom=as-for, sound soft=soft=partic is-like=nom.)

'Speaking of bæhæ, the voice is soft.'⁵⁵

2.5.4.2 /kālī/ 'become'

/yíhã kālīa./ (cold become=new-situation.)

'(I) have caught a cold.'

/ãkhã dù twátálī kālīu./

(Akha poison smear=be=fashion become=new-situation.)

'It's as if (your hands) were smeared with Akha
poison.' [to a child with very dirty hands]⁵⁶

/yí hwà yíhwãhwã kālīgũ./

(her flesh partic=striped=striped become=finish.)

'Her flesh became striped all over.'

/bãbã mãmã thilīa: kālīu ngī?/

(father mother the-same become=new-situation is-so?)

'(You've) become the same as a parent, right?'

55. That is, bæhæ is a kind of song in which the voice is kept soft.

56. The Akha are a hill tribe group linguistically related to the Lisu.

/lyɪswū bābā māmā thɪ'ná:mā syósyó kəlɪswàngu./

(Lisu father mother one=unit=emph=unit resemble=resemble
become=emph=is-so.)

'(You've) become something like a Lisu parent.'

/áthɪnǒa: syósyó kəlɪu./

(partic=one=sibling-group=partic resemble=resemble
become new-situation.)

'(You've) become something like a sibling.'

2.5.4.3 {ngǎ} 'is, is so, is a case of'

The copula {ngǎ} is one of very few forms in the language with multiple allomorphs and one of very few verbs which does not show the basic-final tone shift (cf. p 95, footnote 54).

The forms of the verb are:

/ngǎ/ 'is, is so, is a case of'

/ngū/ (ditto)

/ngǐ?/ 'isn't it so?'

/ngō ~ ngwǎ/ 'is it so?'

Unlike the other copulas, {ngǎ} resembles adjectives in that it occurs with a verb as well as with a substantive subject (see 2.5.2), e.g.:

/nwū ámyɪ thǎ kyǎ ngǎ?/

(your daughter here dwell=nom is-so?)

'Your daughter lives here, right?'

/yɪ ʔbámé nǒa ngǐ?/

(she adoptive-father desire=nom is-so?)

'She wanted an adoptive father, right?'

Further examples are given in the discussions of the separate allomorphs, as follows:

a) /ngā/ occurs with the negative particle /mà-/ and with postverbal particles except /-nē/ 'emphasis' and /-nēgà/ 'mild emphasis'.⁵⁷ It has either a substantive or verb subject.

/mangāpnā?/ (not=is-so=probably?)

'Surely (that) is not so, is it?'

With substantive subject:

/ngwānwù ámyl̄nyā atyíá: ngāh̄i./

(our daughter=as-for a-little=partic is=still.)

'(She's) still our daughter a little bit.'

/nwū mangānyā, làchū maphyō./

(you not=be=as-for, person not=become.)

'If it weren't for you (she) wouldn't have lived.'

/āmasāh̄ kùswè ābā ngā?/

(now=related-focus year=renew month is-so?)

'Now (it's) new year's month, isn't it?'

With verb subject:

/yílé mūl̄ia ngānyā, bēgh̄āe./

(he=as-for see=change-of-state=nom is-so=as-for,
say=to=nom.)

'If (I) happen to see him, (I'll) tell (him).'

/āmyī thā dā ngā; mangā./

(field here be-nom is-so not-is-so)

'Is the field here or not?'

57. Particles mentioned throughout this section are described in detail in section 5.4.

/sánè nwū āmyīwā gyī yilā ngā; mangā./

(tomorrow you field=to go return=come=nom
is-so. not=is-so)

'Tomorrow are you going to the fields and back
or not?'

/nwū ámyi thā kyā ngā?/

(your daughter here dwell=nom is-so?)

'Your daughter lives here, right?'

/nāphyà majū ngā?/

(illness not=have is-so?)

'(She) doesn't get sick, does she?'

/mègwā gwānyī ngā?/ (song sing=try is-so?)

'Try singing a song, won't you?'

b) /ngū/ occurs in isolation or in larger utterances either without particles, or with particles /-nē/ 'emphasis', /-nēgà/ 'mild emphasis', or /-phā?/ 'uncertainty, probability' (except when negative particle /mā-/ is also present, in which case /ngā/ occurs; see the first example under paragraph (a)). In isolation or with a substantive subject, /ngū/ appears as a free form with normal stress.

/nwū ámyi thā kyā ngā?/ /ngū./

(your daughter here dwell=nom is-so?) (is-so.)

'Your daughter lives here, right?' 'Right.'

/chāswā ngūphā?/ (10+7 is=probably?)

'(It) is (the) seventeen(th), I think.'

/swāmā swāhān ngū./ (seven=units seven=month is.)

'(In) seven (months it) will be the seventh
month (of the lunar year).'

/nwū ányì ngwā ányì ngū. ngwā ányì nwū ányì ngū./

(your daughter my daughter is. my daughter your daughter is.)

'Your daughter is my daughter. My daughter is your daughter.'

/ngwā thīmā ngūnē; yísyà hāmā./

(I one=unit be=emph. voice good=nom=unit)

'I'm one (of those with) a good voice.'

But after a verb subject, /ngū/ has reduced stress and is never separated from the preceding subject by pause. In this it resembles the post-verbal particles, and it is therefore written among them as part of one word with the preceding subject verb phrase.

/ácá byà gè jǎngū./

(in-a-moment sweets give eat=nom-is-so.)

'In a moment (he'll) give (you) candy to eat.'

/nwū nǎghèwángū; phǎlàngū./

(you teach=to=must=is-so. occidental=language)

'You must teach (us), English that is.'

/ngwā nǎhngū./ (I ill=nom=yet=is-so.)

'I'm still sick.'

/gwōthinyī yī bǎngūnē./

(that=one=day he say=nom-is-so=emph.)

'He said (so) the other day.'

/gyīghāa, chwáyī, yīlǎngūnēgà./

(go=actual=nom, visit-go, return=come=nom-is-so=emph=mild.)

'After (he) goes back (home), (he'll) just visit and come right back.'

/phānā mwā nānwā cūlānā hā bēsawāngu./⁵⁸

(Burma country Chinese=country go-around=come=item
good=nom say=nom=emph=is-so.)

'(Opium) that comes from Burma and China is
good, (he) says.'

/yī mānā manānā. yī maphwāswāngu./

(his mother not=listen-to. he not=obey=emph=is-so.)

'(He) doesn't listen to his mother. He doesn't
obey (her) at all.'

With interrogative intonation, /ngū/ occurs only in isolation,
indicating surprise or disbelief: /ngū/? 'Is that so?'

c) /ngī/ occurs only with interrogative intonation. It is freely
interchangeable with /ngā/?/ when the subject is a verb and no
particles are present. With a substantive subject both appear,
but /ngā/?/ is more common (see above). When a particle is present,
/ngī/?/ does not occur.

With substantive subject:

/yīkēgwū mahāmā ngī?/

(nom=put-in=place not=good=unit is-so?)

'The place (where it's) been put isn't good, is it?'

With verb subject:

/yī bābā nōā, ābāmē nōā ngī?/

(she father desire=nom, adoptive-father desire=nom is-so?)

'She wanted a father, an adoptive father, right?'

58. After the emphatic general particle /-swā/ (see section 5.4.2.3),
/ngū/ regularly occurs atonic.

/bē makwí ngí?/ (say not=know-how is-so?)

'(We) can't say (it), can we?'

/ázù lyíswū majūnyā, yíngù khyōnyā, sǎlē ngí?/

(we Lisu not=have-as-for, language speak-as-for,
know=emph is-so?)

'Though we Lisu don't have (any money), if (we)
spoke (your) language, (we) would know
(how to get some), wouldn't we?'

/bābà māmā thlīā: kālīu ngí?/

(father mother the-same become=new-situation is-so?)

'(You've) become the same as a Lisu parent, right?'

d) /ngō/ and /ngwǎ/, following a statement, form a question.

/ngwǎ/ follows statements with secondary particle /-hǐ/ 'still, yet',

/ngō/ other statements. These forms occur only with verbal subject

and are not followed by other elements. They are regularly

accompanied by declarative intonation. Like /ngū/ with a verb

subject, they have reduced stress and are never isolated by pause.

Therefore they, too, are written as part of a word with the preceding

verb phrase subject.

/nwū ǎmyíwǎ gyfángō./

(you field=to go=nom=question.)

'Are you going to the fields?'

/lyíswūngù bütángō./

(Lisu=language write=stay=question.)

'Is (it) written in Lisu?'

/kyāhngwǎ./ (dwell=nom=still=question.)

'Is (he) still here?'

/nū nāhīngwā./ (you ill=nom=still=question.)

'Are you still sick?'

/atyf mahālhīngwā./

(a-little not=recover=change-of-state=yet=question.)

'Isn't (he) even a little better yet?'

2.5.5 Auxiliary verbs:

A bound verb which compounds with and is attributive to a preceding verb or verbs is an auxiliary verb. In some auxiliary compounds, the negative particles /mā-/ 'not' and /thā-/ 'don't' occur before the entire compound, but with others they occur either before the compound or before the auxiliary or one of its syllables. The first type are inseparable compounds, the second have movable negative.

2.5.5.1 Inseparable auxiliary compounds:

/-lī/ 'change of state, new situation'

/kēsā tēghāi:, yīswāthīā kēsā chwāliā./

(corn plant=actual=further, rainy-season=in corn
rot=change-of-state=nom.)

'And after (you) plant the corn, in the rainy
season the corn rots.'

/khyīnkyā yīghālī, thī kā./

(adoptive-sibling do=actual=change-of-state, this
is-like=nom.)

'After (one) has become an adoptive sibling, that's
the way things are.'

/swɛ́hwǎlɪu./ (die=change-of-state=new-situation.)⁵⁹

'(He) has died.'

/maswɛ́hwǎlɪhi./ (not=die=change-of-state=yet.)

'(He) hasn't died yet.'

/-lèhū/ 'mutually'

/kwánkhyɪ̀lèhūa./ (take-care-of=mutually=nom.)

'(we'll) take care of each other.'

/pùhwá khyò̀lèhūa, atyɪ́ kə̃./

(speech speak=mutually=nom, a-little put-in.)

'While (we're) talking together, (I'll) put a little
(liquor) in (your cup).'

/yɪ́phwə̀ jǎ́, amyā́ jǎ́hə̃, thɪ́lɪa: jǎ̀lèhūangū./

(price eat=nom, how-much eat=nom=contrast, the same
eat=mutually=nom=is-so.)

'When (we) get the (bride) price, however much (we)
get, (we'll) share it evenly.'

/akhé thákhyɪ̀lèhū./ (very-much don't=defer-to=mutually.)

'Don't defer to each other so much.' [i.e. stop
playing Alphonse and Gaston]

/-nyɪ́/ 'try; try out, test'

/kwùnyɪ́/ (guess=try) 'guess, try guessing'

neg: /makwùnyɪ́/ 'not guess'

/jǎnyɪ́/ (eat=test) 'try eating, taste and see'

neg: /majǎnyɪ́/ 'not try tasting'

59. The verb /swɛ́/ by itself means 'die'. The syllable /-kwǎ-/ appears in the corpus only after /swɛ́/ when /-lɪ́/ is also present. It is here considered an extension of the verb /swɛ́/ in this environment.

The particle /-u/ apparently has much the same meaning as the auxiliary verb /-lɪ́/; the combination of the two is very common in positive statements, where it means 'come to pass'.

/yɿsyà há mahā ngwā nānānyia./

(sound good=nom not=good I listen=test=nom.)

'I'll listen and see if (your) voice is good or not.'

2.5.5.2 Auxiliary compounds with movable negative:

/-nyɿswɿ/ 'want to, wish to'

/gyɿnyɿswɿ/ (go=want-to) 'want to go'

neg: /magyɿnyɿswɿ/ ~ /gyɿnyɿ maswɿ/ 'not want to go'

/ngwā akhó jànyɿswɿa./ (I very-much eat=want-to=nom.)

'I want to eat (it) very much.'

neg: /majànyɿswɿ/ ~ /jànyɿ maswɿ/ 'not want to eat'

/-chwɿ/ 'overly inclined to, overly given to'

/kóchwɿ/ (lie=given-to) 'given to lying, be an habitual liar'

neg: /makóchwɿ/ ~ /kó machwɿ/ 'not given to lying'

/zànō dèchwɿ/ (children beat=given-to)

'cruel to children' (as an inherent characteristic)

neg: /madèchwɿ/ ~ /dè machwɿ/ 'not given to beating'

/yɿ nguūchwɿa./ (she cry=given-to=nom.)

'She's a crybaby.'

neg: /manguūchwɿ/ ~ /ngwū machwɿ/ 'not given to crying'

2.6 Multiple Class Membership.

Some morphemes in Lisu function in more than one form class.

Such are verbs and nouns functioning as classifiers (section 2.4.1.2), but there are also forms which function in different environments as both noun and numeral or deictive, and some which function as both noun and verb.

2.6.1 Forms which function as noun and number or deictic:

The forms /áswà/ 'what?', /amyá/ 'much, many', /amyā/ 'how much?, how many?', and /āli/ 'how?, which?' function in some environments as nouns:

/áswà bɛʔ/ (what say=nom?)

'What (did you) say?'

/kāhē áthìthè pīyīa, a'myá: sɛu./

(but=contrast this=when arrive=go=nom, much=emph
know=change-of-state.)

'But when that time comes, (you'll) know a lot.'

/lächū amyā jūa masáaʔ/

(people how-many have=nom not-know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/āli yíaʔ/ (how do=nom?)

'How is (that) done?'; 'What are (you) doing?'; 'What's up?'

But they also form words with a following classifier, a position otherwise reserved to the numbers:

/nwū áswàkhùwā sālāʔ/ (you what=year=in born=come=nom?)

'What year were you born in?'

/lyīswūngù amyákhè majūlē./

(Lisu=language many=words not-have=emph.)

'There are many words that Lisu doesn't have.'

/lächū amyāzū mabúaʔ/

(people how-many=individuals not-write=nom?)

'Haven't (you) written down how many people (there are)?'

/ālītáwā. yàphyí ālīmā./

(which=place=at. opium which=item.)

'Where? Which opium?'

/jēphè ālījāamā./ (liquor which=kind=partic=item.)

'Which kind of liquor?'

However, /ālī/ 'which?' precedes only a few classifiers directly in this manner. With other classifiers, /ālī/ functions as a deictive, i.e. preceding a full counter, but following a counted noun (see sections 2.4.3.1 and 3.2.3.2f), e.g.:

/ālīthizū/ (which=one=individual)

'which person?'

/pū ālīthīthē/ (gun which=one=stick-like-thing)

'which gun?'

With a few classifiers, /ālī/ occurs either as number or as deictic. For example, compare with the second example on this page:

/jēphè ālīthījāamā./ (liquor which=one=kind=partic=item,)

'Which kind of liquor?'

2.6.2 Forms which function as noun and verb:

Certain morphemes function as both nouns and active or adjectival verbs. Examples are /bō/ 'a pen; to pen', /phwū/ 'silver (metal), silver (colored), white', /-phā/ 'man; male', /-mā/ 'woman; female', and /zā/ 'son; small'.

The first is a free form which functions as a noun in substantive environments, as a transitive verb in verb environments;

/ávé bōwā/ (pig pen=in) 'in the pig pen'

/ávé bōá/ (pig pen=nom) 'to pen pigs'

/ávé mabōhì/ (pigs not=pen=yet) 'the pigs aren't yet penned'

The noun 'a pen' has a single mid-tone form which combines with the substantive particles (e.g. /-wā/ 'to, at'), while the verb 'to pen' has the basic-final tone alternation regularly associated with verbs (see 1.6.2.2 and 4.5) and combines with verb particles (e.g. /-a/ 'nominalization' and /-hì/ 'still, yet').

/phwū/ functions as a noun in substantive environments, but as an adjective in verb environments or in attribution to a head noun:

/phwū mājū/ (silver not=have) 'not have money'

/phwūdèphà/ (silver=beat=man) 'silversmith'

/bīchwā thīmā phwū./ (shirt this=item white=nom.)

'This shirt is white.'

/nyāmphwū/ (bird=feathers=white) 'hornbill'

Again, the noun 'silver' has a single mid-tone form which occurs as goal of the verbs in the first two examples, while the verb 'silvery, white' show the tone alternation. Modifying a head noun, /phwū/ follows in the usual adjective position (see section 2.4.2.3.1.2).

/-phā/ 'man; male' and /-mā/ 'woman; female', being bound forms, do not function as main verbs in a clause; their non-substantive function is that of an adjective in attributive position only.

/nīphā/ (spirit=man) 'spirit doctor, medium'

/phwūdèphā/ (silver=beat=man) 'silversmith'

/ālmā/ (#2=girl) 'Second Daughter' (a proper name)

/áyáphâ/ (chicken=male) 'rooster'

/áyámā/ (chicken=female) 'hen'

In the first three examples, the forms /-phâ/ and /-mā/ function as the head of a compound or complex noun. In the utterance /nîphâ tyí/ 'spirit doctor prays', for instance, the substitution of /phwūdêphâ/ 'silversmith' for /nîphâ/ does not alter the noun's function as subject of the verb /tyí/ 'pray', but with the substitution of /nî/ 'spirit', the noun becomes the goal of the verb: /nî tyí/ means 'pray to the spirits'. In the last two examples, on the other hand, /-phâ/ and /-mā/ act as attributive adjectives in the same way as the final adjectives in /ángàkú/ (water-buffalo=wild) 'wild buffalo' or /bīchwānyīchwā/ (dress=green) 'green dress'.

/-phâ/ has either noun or adjective function in the expression /ángàkúphâ/ (water-buffalo=wild=man or =male). With noun /-phâ/ as head of the expression, the meaning is 'Wild Buffalo Man' (a proper name), but adjective /-phâ/ qualifies the preceding noun head /ángàkú/, to produce 'male wild buffalo'.

/zâ/ resembles /-phâ/ and /-mā/ in that its verbal function is limited to that of an attributive adjective, but as a noun it is a free form.

/zâ/ 'son'

/áyázâ/ (chicken=small) 'chick'

/zāmālézâ/ (woman=young=small) 'little girl'

/yízâzâ/ 'little thing' (partic=small=small)

In the first example /zâ/ is a free noun, but in the second and third

it is attributive to a preceding head as an adjectival modifier. /áyázà/ is parallel to /áyáphà/ 'rooster' and /áyámā/ 'hen'. In /zāmēlézà/, /zà/ has the same function as adjectival /-phà/ in /ángàkúphà/ 'male wild buffalo'; the complex noun /zāmēlé/ 'girl', consisting of the noun /zāmē/ 'wife, woman' and the attributive adjective /lé/ 'young', is further modified by adjectival /zà/. In the last example, reduplicated /zà/ occurs with proclitic particle /yí-/ 'particularization' in the same way as, for instance, the adjective /phwū/ 'white' in /yíphwūphwū/ 'white thing'.⁶⁰

2.7 Verb Stem Extensions.

A verb stem extension is a bound form which is attributive to the head of a verb phrase.⁶¹ Stem extensions follow the last verb of the phrase but precede post-verbal particles. They are distinguished from bound verbs in that each occurs with one tone only; the basic-final tone alternation is lacking. They are distinguished from particles in that a preceding verb regularly occurs with basic tone.

There are four verb stem extensions:

2.7.1 /-ghē/ 'actuality'

/lūf-wūghē/ (throw=release=actual) 'throw away'

/nī tyíamāhē masūghēi;phá?/

(spirit pray=nom=unit=contrast not=study=actual=yet=probably?)

'But I bet (you) haven't studied prayer (language)
yet, have you?'

60. Compare the form /yízà/ 'child; young (of animals)', which is a noun derived from adjectival /zà/, since it has a generalized meaning, not the particularized force associated with /yí-/ in combination with free nouns (see section 2.4.2.3.3a).

61. The verb phrase is discussed in the following chapter.

/ávè hōghō, swāhwālīu./

(pig raise=actual, die=change-of-state=new-situation.)

'When (we) have raised pigs, (they) die.'

/khyīnkýá yīghālī, thī kā./

(adoptive-sibling do=actual=fashion, this is-like=nom.)

'After (one) has become an adoptive sibling,
that's the way things are.'

/yīgyīghāa, ābā thīmā nyīmā kyā yllāu./

(return=go=actual=nom, month one=unit two=units dwell
return=come=change-of-state.)

'After (you) go back (home), stay for one or two
months and come back.'

/wúphāmì, gwōthīnyī jā bīchwā jāghāmā yá: mabé?/

(uncle=old, that=one=day rice insects eat=actual=item
they not=say=nom?)

'Old Uncle,⁶² the other day didn't they say (anything
about) the rice the bugs have eaten?'

/'us, thīhwā khwāghō - khwāghō, thīhwā swá. thīhwā mù./

(oh=emph, one=time hoe=actual - hoe=actual, one=time
sow. one=time weed.)

'Oh, first (you) hoe - then when (you) have hoed,
(you) sow. Then (you) weed.'

2.7.2 /-wá/ 'get to; must'

/thī bē, āzù ālī ngā né bēghēwá ngā?/

(this say, we how be you=to say=to=get-to is-so?)

'Saying this, (we) can tell you how it is with us, right?'

62. My courtesy title among the Lisu.

/ngwā ālī yīa:hē, āmyīa gyīwāngū./

(I however do=nom=contrast, field=to go=must=is-so.)

'Not matter what, I must go to the fields.'

/sányī āmyī macwākhyīa, āzū jāghēa, yī khyī yīlā,
lyīghēwā; yīphwē./

(in-future daughter not=capable=nom, we eat=actual=nom,
she flee return=come=nom, give-back=te=must. price)

'Later on if (our) daughter isn't capable, (what)
we've received, if she runs away and comes home,
we have to give back, the (bride) price that is.'

/nwū 'thá wājwāwā lyīswūngū sūa:, phwū amyā: gēwālē./

(you here=emph hills=in Lisu=language study=nom, silver
much give=get-to=emph.)

'When you study Lisu here in the hills, (they) can
give (you) lots of money.'

/kāhē khányī khányī jāwāswāngu./

(but=contrast consider consider eat=get-to=emph=is-so.)

'But (we) can get (a bride price) only depending
(on the girl's qualifications).'

/āmyī amyā: khwāwāhī, yāpnyī thīkhā nyīkhā māwā./

(field much hoe=get-to=further, opium one=tenth-joy
two=tenths-joy not=get.)

'And even if (you) can hoe the fields a lot, (you)
don't even get one or two tenths of a joy
of opium.'

2.7.3 /-wū/ 'completed action'

/chūmū lā pīyīa, yīphwūphwū thīfwū gēwū./

(person-old come=nom arrive=go=nom, partic=white=white
one=bottle give=did.)

'When the old man came, (he) gave (us) a bottle of
home brew.'

/yí kyǎ ngǎnyǎ, ngwǎ bēghèwū./

(he dwell is-so-as-for, I say-to-complete.)

'If he had been (there), I would have told (him).'

/ngwǎ thǐthéa: gyí yǐlāwū, āmyǎ gyǎ./

(I one-moment go return-come-complete, field-to go=new-situation.)

'When I've gone (out) for a moment and come back, then (I'll) go to the fields.'

/yí ámyǐnyǎ yí hō dūwū lǎ bé: thǐgwūa:./

(his daughter-as-for he raise exit-complete come-nom say-nom one-finish-partic.)

'As for his daughter, he's brought (her) up, that's all.'

2.7.4 /-cúa/ 'action once performed'

/nwū kūthiwǎ gyícúa?/ (you Bangkok-to go=have-ever?)

'Have you ever gone to Bangkok?'

/magyícúa./ (not-go=have-ever.)

'(I've) never gone (there).'

2.8 Introductory Words.

There are three independent words which occur only as the first element in a sentence. They do not combine with other words,⁶³ and have grammatical functions differing markedly from those of any other element in the language.

2.8.1 /hǎn/ 'if'

/hǎn/ regularly introduces a primary topic clause

(see section 4.4.2.3a).

63. Although /kǎ/ 'but; and' does occur with general particles; see 2.8.3.

/hǎn yí thǎ kyǎ, ngwǎ bēghǎa./

(if he here dwell, I say=to=nom.)

'If he were here, I would tell him.'

/hǎn gwǎ kē madā, hǎn béswǎngu./

(if sing put-in not=can, angry say=nom=emph=is-so.)

'If (we) don't sing into (the tape recorder),
(he'll) be angry (with us) I tell you.'

/hǎn pīyīhǐ, swū gèjù bēghǎu./

(if arrive=go=related-focus, other-people give=emph
say=to=new-situation.)

'If you once get (there), tell (them) others will
give (the money).'

/hǎn/ does not appear frequently in my data. Relationships such as condition or cause, which are expressed in English between subordinate and main clauses, are largely undistinguished in Lisu. For example a sentence such as:

/nwū yīgyī, mayllǎu./

(you return=go, not=return=come=new-situation.)

can equally well be translated:

'If you go back (home), (you) won't come back any more.'

or: 'When you go back ...'

'After you go back ...'

'Since you're going back ...' etc.

While such distinctions of relationship are most commonly unmarked in Lisu, some can be specified, and /hǎn/ 'if' is such a specifier.

2.8.2 /swǎ/ or /yīswǎ/ 'in that case, in the case of'

/swǎ/ and /yīswǎ/ introduce either a main or an attributive clause (see 4.4 and 5.1), indicating that it is related to prior discourse.

/jāphè wā dūlīnyā, ngwā gwā póa. jāphè mawā dūnyā, gwā
mapó./ /swé yí gwā kwānyā, ngwā gyī vwūa./

/Liquor get-to drink=new-situation=as-for, I sing dare=nom.
liquor not=get-to drink=as-for, sing not=dare.) (in-case
he sing know-how=nom=as-for, I go buy=nom.)

'If (I) have had some liquor to drink, I dare sing.
If (I) haven't had any liquor to drink, (I) don't
dare sing.' 'Provided he can sing, (I'll) go
buy (some liquor).'

/ámyīnyā wūphyà syā, lácì tyí, hīn swē. swé myòdāmā
yīanyā, āzù yī./

(daughter=as-for vegetables make, peppers pound, house
sweep. In-the-case work=big do=nom=as-for, we do.)

'As for a daughter, (she) cooks vegetables, pounds
peppers, sweeps the house. In the case of doing
heavy work, we (adults) do (it).'

/yīnyīzà thāmálá: hwà hwāyī. yīswé yīkúkūnyā
myīhīnkwū hwā./

(partic=younger-brother ordinary meat seek-go. in-the-case-of
partic=older-brother=as-for wind-hole seek.)

'The younger brother went out hunting as usual. In the
case of the older brother, however, (he) went
looking for a "wind hole".'

2.8.3 /kā/ 'and; but'

/kā/ differs from the other introductory words in that it
occurs not only alone, but in combination with the general focus
particles /-hē/ and /-hí(nyī)/ (see section 5.4.2.2). Like /-(yí)swé/,
/kā/ marks the clause in which it occurs as related to prior
discourse.

/nylcɛŋwàhìn jūa./ /kā - myɪsyīdàṁā - /

(2 X 10 + 5=houses have=nom.) (but - brother-in-law=big -)

'There are 25 houses.' 'But, (how about my) big
brother-in-law ...'

/nwū lyīswūngū chēnyī ābā chūmā sūghāa, sū gwūlīa?/

/sū g-wū madāphā?/ /kāhē áthīthē pīyīa, ayyá: sūu./

(you Lisu=language this-year months six=units study=actual=nom,
study finish=change-of-state=nom?) (study finish
not=can=probably?) (but=contrast this=when arrive=go=nom,
much know=new-situation.)

'After you've studied Lisu for six (more) months this
year, will^{you} have made a complete study?' 'I don't think
I can finish^{it} all.' 'But still, by then (you) will
know a lot.'

/thīmā fāsýī dāu. kāhīnyī yī kwūcē thīkhwū thwūalū./

(this=unit trust can=new-situation. but=related-focus
her skin one=place thick=emph.)

'This one (we) can trust now. But even so in some
ways she's really thick skinned.'
[i.e. won't obey readily]

2.9 Particles.⁶⁴

A particle is a bound form which is prefixed or suffixed to a substantive, a verb, a verb stem extension, or the connective /kā/ 'but; and' (see the preceding paragraph). Particles do not act as heads of constructions but serve either to derive one form class from another (2.4.2.3.3) or to mark grammatical relationships between phrases in the clause (4.3) or between clauses in the sentence (5.4). This fact distinguishes particles from bound nouns and verbs, but

64. This term, often applied to isolated free forms, in this dissertation refers to bound forms with primarily grammatical function, as, for example in W. C. Cornyn's Outline of Burmese Grammar.

particles are also distinguished from bound verbs in that they occur with one tone only (cf. above section 1.6.2.2). Particles are distinguished from verb stem extensions in that they are preceded by verbs in final tone or by other particles.

Particles are of two basic types: proclitic and non-proclitic. The former are prefixed to nouns or verbs to form nouns; they have been described in detail in section 2.4.2.3.3. Non-proclitic particles are of three kinds: substantive particles, a group of five which define the class of substantives, e.g.:

/nwū 'thá wǎjwǎwǎ dē, lyǐswūngù sū./⁶⁵

(you here=emph kills=to climb, Lisu=language study.)

'You've come up here in the hills to study Lisu.'

/tǎnwù lǎ syǎngū; yǐlǎ./

(police come kill=nom=is=so. they=as-for)

'The police would come and kill them.'

verb particles, which occur only with verbs and verb stem extensions:

/nwū magyǐ, yǐ malǎu./

(you not=go, he not=come=change-of-state.)

'If you don't go, then he won't come.'

/ngwǎ āmyǐwǎ magyǐhǐ./

(I field=to not=go=yet.)

'I'm not going to the fields yet.'

/kyǎhǐmǎ./ (dwell=further=urging.)

'Stay (a while) longer.'

65. Illustrative particles and their literal translations are underlined.

and general particles which occur with substantives, verbs, and verb stem extensions:

/nwū yí ābānǎlě. nwū gwāwǎlě./

(you her adoptive-father=emph. you sing=must=emph.)

'You're her adoptive father. You must sing.'

/nwū malānyā, swū né - magè lā; 'thīnwanya./

(you not=come=as-for, other-people you=with-respect-to -
not=let come. one=emph-time=as-for)

'If you don't come (quickly), they won't let
you come, another time that is.'

Since non-proclitic particles mark phrase and clause functions, full discussions are postponed to Chapters IV and V, The Clause and The Sentence.

2.10 Reduplication.

Reduplication is the repetition of a single syllable, either immediately in one word (simple reduplication) or in conjunction with two other, phonologically unrelated, syllables in the form ABAC or ABCB (complex reduplication). Both types form a single word, with a substantive or a verb. Simple reduplication is a productive process in modern Lisu, but complex reduplication is not. The latter frequently involves use of bound forms in other than their usual environments, or of 'poetic' vocabulary otherwise found only in songs, where conversational disyllables also are often replaced by one of the syllables alone. Complex reduplicated forms thus have a connotation of 'literary' style.

Reduplication occurs with both substantives and verbs, though more frequently with the latter.

2.10.1 Reduplication with substantives:

Simple reduplication occurs only with monosyllabic place and time nouns. Its function is 'intensification' of the simple forms:

/nō'nó lwùkhwà wídwāwā gyīghē, a'mfi: makyā./

(yonder=yonder=emph water-hole head=to go=actual,
whoever=emph=partic not=dwell.)

'Once (we) go way over there to the source of the
water hole, no one'll be around.'

/ālītōwā./ /gyō: 'jójō./

(which=place=at.) (there. there=emph=there.)

'Where?' 'There. Way over there.'

/nè'né:/ (early=early=emph)

'early in the morning; very early'

Complex reduplication is more common with substantives than simple reduplication; its occurrence is not limited to time and place words. Again, the meaning is 'intensification', but here with 'literary' overtones.

/mwàsm̄yīsm̄ phyōā/ 'war breaks
out'

/mwā/ 'land, country,
city'

/s̄/ 'argument'

/-myī/ 'field, terrain'

cf. /s̄ phyōā/ 'an argument breaks out'

/thīcāithīlū/ 'everywhere,
all over'

/thī-/ 'one'

/-cāi/ 'classifier
for villages'

/-lū/ a form which occurs
only in such complex
reduplications, apparently
meaning 'place'; cf.
footnote 66, below.

/swĩmyĩswĩcfa:lĩ/ 'all kinds, in every way' < /-swĩ/ 'type, kind'
 /-myĩ/ 'field, terrain'
 /-cfa/ 'a time'
 /-lĩ/ 'fashion, way'

cf. /swĩmyĩcfa:lĩ/ (same)

In the last example, the reduplicated form is followed by the particularizing particle /-a/ (section 4.3.4), and the whole expression is attributive to the bound noun /-lĩ/ 'fashion, manner, way'.⁶⁶

2.10.2 Reduplication with verbs:

The great majority of reduplicated forms involve verbs, but, while complex reduplication serves, as with substantives, to intensify the base meaning of the elements and add a literary flavor, simple reduplication has the special function of nominalizing a verb.

The substantive function of most reduplicated verbs is demonstrated by the fact that such forms do not occur as head of a clause, while they do appear in functions within the clause which are normally filled by substantives.

A simple verb has the potential of functioning as head of a clause (see 4.0). Even when such a verb is attributive to a following noun, this potential is not lost, e.g.:

66. With these examples compare:

/myĩhĩnlũhã/ 'a great storm'

from /myĩhĩ/ 'wind', /-lũ/ '?place' (cf. the second example above), and /-hã/ from /mãhã/ 'rain'. Although there is no exact repetition here, the syllables /-hĩ/ and /-hã/ are very similar, and the whole expression not only resembles complex reduplication in form, but has the same meaning of intensification and literary style. The example is unique in my data.

/yísyà akhó hámā gwā kwá./

(sound very good=nom=item sing know-how=nom.)

'(I) can sing with a very good voice.'

where the adjective /hā/ 'good' is head of the clause /akhó há/ 'very good', which modifies the bound noun /-mā/ 'unit item'.

But when a verb is reduplicated, it loses this potential; such forms do not act as head of a clause, but rather have functions within the clause which are elsewhere filled by substantives, e.g.⁶⁷

Subject:

/náhwūn thūahínà, dù phyò nánái: dāu./

(mouth insert=nom=related-focus, poison become
near=near=continuous-state is-at=new-situation.)

'And if (you) put (your fingers) in your mouth, it
will be almost like poison.'

/hákhyà mahāhā dūlā./

(at-first not=good=good exit=come=nom.)

'At first a bad one will come out.'
[i.e. a bad sound in singing]

Place words:

/thī amímāwā sēphèkhwūwā kēa, dá ngā?/

(this being=high=high=at bowl=inside=at
put-in=nom, can=nom is-so?)

'(We) can put this up high in the bowl, can't we?'

/qóqó/ 'low'

< /qó/ 'be low'

/anéné/ 'deep'

< /né/ 'be deep'

67. On the clause elements, see Chapter IV.

Goal:

/thīmānyā m̄gwāthwù syósyóí: ngūnē./

(this=unit=as-for song=barrel resemble=resemble=continuous-state is=emph.)

'This guy is a real storehouse of songs.'

/yímś khú'khú: kālīu./

(tail convex=convex=emph become=new-situation.)

'(His) tail became short and round.' [of the partridge after its tail feathers were pulled out]

Adverb:

/tōtō yīa; m̄u:./

(straight=straight do=nom. you)

'Act properly, you.'

/swíswía; dūm̄a./

(slow=slow=partic drink=urging.)

'Take your time drinking.'

Topic:

/nyínyía;nyā yákhylphya ngwáhyān chūhyānyā pīyīu./

(little=little=partic=as-for rupee=coins five=hundred six=hundred=as-for reach=go=new-situation.)

'If (you only get) a little, (it'll) come to five or six hundred rupees.'

2.10.2.1 Reduplication with /-lV/:

With a limited group of dissyllabic and tri-syllabic adjectives in which the last syllable consists of /l/ and a vowel, reduplication intensifies the meaning of the adjective. These forms frequently appear as goal in equational

sentences (see 5.1.2.2) as well as in other substantive positions.

Examples are:

In equations:

/lápákyì nyàlèlè./ (dirt muddy=emph.)

'(It's) really muddy.'

/yí hwàchẽ khyèlèlè./ (he oil spattered=emph.)

'He's thoroughly spattered with oil.'

/hīnchū jèlèlè./ (rafters mixed-up-parallel=emph.)

'The rafters are messily parallel.' [at one stage of building a house]

Elsewhere:

/dwɛ̀lèmã phèlèlè mófwūghēa, .../

(wing=items noisily=emph flap=release=actual=nom, ...)

'After (the eagle) had flapped his wings with a great noise, ...'

/khūlūlū tá./ (loose=emph stay.)

'(It's) really loosely packed.'

Compare, unreduplicated in adjective functions:

/lápákyì nyàlè./ (dirt muddy.)

'(It's) muddy.'

/lápákyì khyèlè./ (dirt spattered.)

'(He's) spattered with dirt.'

/lãmãkyèlè/ (big-cat=striped) 'tiger'

/myāsìkyàlè/ (eye=ball=naked) 'the naked eye' (for putting fear into someone)

Reductions of these forms are the source of syllabic /l/,⁶⁸ when the vowel of the first reduplicated syllable drops. The resulting forms regularly have emphatic stress and are more intensive than the simple reduplicated forms:

- /ˈnyàllè/ 'really muddy'
 /ˈknyèllè/ 'completely spattered'
 /ˈgyíllì/ 'really dull' (not shiny)
 /ˈkhèllè/ 'really messy; really annoying'
 /ˈphòllò/ 'extremely big and round'
 /ˈbòllò/ 'very fat'⁶⁹

2.10.2.2 Other elements in combination with reduplicated verbs:

Nouns formed by the reduplication of verbs also appear with a number of other elements, both prefixed and suffixed. The two prefixed elements are the proclitic particles /a-/ and /yí-/ (2.4.2.3.3), which occur with reduplicated adjectives, the first marking a continuous state:

- /abòbò/ 'lying down'

68. See section 1.2.

69. In these adjectives there is a somewhat erratic vowel harmony. In the great majority, the vowel of the last syllable is the same as that of the preceding one (as in most of these examples). In my data, this harmony is regular where the vowel of the first syllable is /e/ or /ə/, but elsewhere it is not carried through consistently, e.g.:

- /byíllè/ 'full'
 /byòllè/ 'shiny'
 /kálè/ 'sticking out'

Except that /ya/ in the first syllable is regularly followed by /e/ in the second:

- /nyàlè/ 'muddy'
 /kyàlè/ 'naked'
 /myàlè/ 'dangling'

/azázá/ 'gently, softly'

/anééné/ 'deep'

/thī amúmūwā sēphèkhwūwā káa, dá ngā?/

(this being=high=high=at bowl=inside=at put-in=nom,
can=nom is-so?)

'(We) can put this up high in the bowl, can't we?'

/achíché mághāa?/ (being=genuine=genuine teach-to=nom?)

'(Will you) really teach (me)?'

the second with a particularizing force: 'a thing which partakes
of the quality of the verb'.

/yíswáswá/ (partic=red=red) 'the color red; a red thing'

/yíkàkà/ (partic=withered=withered) 'a withered thing'

/yídòdò/ (partic=folded=folded) 'folded or piled up things'

/chūmā lā pīyā, yíphwúphwú - thífwū gèwū./

(old man come=nom arrive=go=nom, partic=white=white -
one=bottle give=did.)

'When the old man arrived, (he) gave (us) a bottle
of home brew.'

/yí nwà yínwānwā kēilgwū./

(her flesh partic=striped=striped become=
change-of-state=finish.)

'(Her) flesh became striped all over.'

Elements which follow reduplicated verbs in a word are bound
nouns, e.g.:

/nwúnwúli/ (soft=soft=manner) 'softly, gently'

/tótóswé/ (reversed=reversed=direction)

'backwards, wrong way round'

/khyōkhyōswē/ (rectangular=rectangular=dimension)

'lengthwise'

/māmānyī/ (certain=certain=fashion)

'certainly'

/yīsyā hāhāswe bēghōa./

(sound good=good=nom=type say=to=nom.)

'Speak with a good sound.'

where /-lī/ 'manner, way', /-swē/ 'direction, dimension', /-nyī/ 'manner, fashion', and /-swē/ 'type, kind' are bound nouns; or particles, e.g.:

Substantive particle /-a/ 'particularization' (often in combination with falling pitch and emphatic stress);⁷⁰

/bēhé bényā, yīsyā nyōnyōa; kā./

(bāhæ say=nom=as-for, sound short=short=partic is-like=nom.)

'Talking of bāhæ, the sound is soft.'

/swāswā; dūmā./ (slow=slow=partic drink=urging.)

'Drink slowly.' [i.e. take your time drinking]

/nyīnyīa;nyā, yākhyīphyā ngwāhyān chūhyānnyā pīyīu./

(little=little=partic=as-for, rupee=coins five=hundred six=hundred=as-for reach-go=new-situation.)

'If (you get only) a little, (it'll) come to five or six hundred rupees.'

70. See section 4.3.5.

Verb particle /-hì/ 'continuous state or action, repeated action'

(here regularly reduced to /-i/ with falling pitch):

/yí ìkhyì hūhūi:, yí hwà yíhwāhwā kēligwū./

(her stomach diarrheic=diarrheic=continuous-state,
her flesh partie=striped=striped become=finish.)

'She was having continuous diarrhea, and her flesh
became striped all over.'

/thīmānyā mēgwāthwū syōsyōi: ngūnē./

(this=unit=as-for song=barrel resemble=resemble=
continuous-state is=emph.)

This guy is a real store house of songs.'

/nyōghēa, pyápyái: kēlīujū; wípà nāhwūnhē./

(pinch=actual=nom, flat=flat=continuous-state become=
new-situation=emph. frog's mouth=contrast)

'After (he had) pinched (it with tongs), (it)
became completely flattened, the frog's mouth that is.'

2.10.2.3 Complex reduplication with verbs:

Complex reduplicated forms involving only verbs
act as either substantive or verb. As noted above, such forms are
intensive and have a literary flavor.

/gùlígùlā gyīa/ (crooked=return=crooked=come go=nom)

'go twisting and winding'

where the reduplicated form is an adverbial noun.⁷¹

/gwāgyōgwāmlèhūa/ 'meet, hold a meeting'

where the reduplicated form is a verb derived from the colloquial
form /gwāgyō/ 'hold a meeting', a literary short form of this: /gwā-/.
and the verb /ml/ 'see'. /-lèhū/ 'mutually' is an auxiliary verb
(section 2.5.5).

71. See section 4.2.1.4

2.10.3 Complex reduplication with substantives and verbs:

In this form of reduplication, a single verb combines with two nouns in the form VN_1VN_2 or N_1VN_2V . The verb of such expressions is regularly a colloquial free form, but the nouns are frequently 'poetic' short forms. The expressions function as either a verb or an adverbial noun.

VN_1VN_2 :

/káchēkálē/ (stab=foot=stab=hand)

'paw over'

N_1VN_2V :

/gwūbyīnyībyī/ (body=beautiful=heart=beautiful)

'beautiful in body and spirit'

/wúpéwúsyǎ/ (head=comb=head=make)

'make up, make oneself pretty, clean up'

/wútyīwúpā/ (head=keep=head=exchange)

'aligned head to foot' [i.e. the head of one to the foot of the other]

/mwáylwúyī/ (land=work=place=work)

'industrious'

In these examples, only /mwǎ/ 'land, country, city' among the nouns is a colloquial free form; all others are poetic shortenings of colloquial forms, e.g. /chǎ-/ from /chǎphē/ 'foot', /lè-/ from /lèphē/ 'hand', etc. The form /lwú-/ , however, is unexplained by the informant: it is not from a colloquial expression and does not occur elsewhere in the corpus. It is presumably a literary near-synonym for /mwǎ/.

2.10.4 Distinguishing reduplication from repetition:

Reduplication, with its special grammatical functions, is to be distinguished from simple repetition of a form. Although reduplication is frequently phonologically identical with a particular case of repetition, the two are distinguished in three ways:

a) Reduplicated forms are inseparable, even by pause, while repeated forms are facultatively separated by pause.

/thī jēphè dū dū gwā, yísyà akhè hámbā gwā./

(this liquor drink drink sing, sound very good=nom=item sing.)

'If (you) sing while (you) keep drinking liquor this way, (you'll) be in very good voice.'

b) Reduplication involves the single repetition of a form, while true repetition is indefinitely extensible, i.e. a form can be repeated as many times as the speaker wishes.

/gyī gyī gyī gyī, gwā nēyī thlvwāwā pīyī pīyīa,
'gwó: àpwū syl jāu./

(go go go go, there body-of-water one=head=to reach=go reach=go=nom, there=emph cucumber kill eat=change-of-state.)

'(They) kept going, going, going, going, and when (they) reached the head of the lake, there (they) cut open the cucumber to eat (it).'

c) Repeated forms do not combine with either particles or bound nouns; they are isolated simple free forms.

Chapter III

The Phrase

3.0 Introduction.

Two or more elements which bear the same grammatical relationship to other elements in an utterance, exclusive of their own attributes, are coordinate.¹ Coordination occurs at the phrase level or higher.

There are two major types of phrase in Lisu: the substantive phrase (section 3.1) and the verb phrase (3.2).

3.1 The Substantive Phrase.

A substantive phrase is a sequence of words attributive, directly or indirectly, to a single substantive head or to two or more coordinate substantive heads. For example, in:

/kyãmyò kyãgwūwã gyī jāgwū/

(monkey dwell=place=to go path)

'the way to where the monkeys live'

/kyãmyò kyãgwū/ 'monkeys' dwelling place' is a substantive phrase, with the clause² /kyãmyò kyã/ 'monkeys dwell' attributive to the bound noun /-gwū/ 'place.' This phrase occurs within the clause /kyãmyò kyãgwūwã gyī/ 'go to the monkeys' dwelling place', which

1. On attribution, see section 2.1.

2. The clause and its elements (subject, goal, etc.), mentioned here in discussing the illustrations, are described in the following chapter.

is, in turn, attributive to the noun /jāgwū/ 'path, way'. The entire construction is thus a single substantive phrase.

On the other hand, in:

/āzù lyīswū majū./

(we Lisu not=have.)

'We Lisu don't have (any).'

the subject phrase /āzù lyīswū/ 'we Lisu' is coordinate, since either noun by itself could act as subject.

3.1.1 Simple substantive phrases:

A simple substantive phrase consists of a single substantive word, as in:

/yí thùghè búá./ (he letter write=nom.)

'He is writing.'

where /yí/ 'he' and /thùghè/ 'paper, book, letter' are simple morphemes, each forming a simple phrase - the first as subject, the second as goal of the verb.

/sūdā phālàngù. gwōthinyī yí bēngūnē./

(soda occidental=language. that=one=day he say=nom=
is-so=emph.)

'(The word) soda (is) English. The other day he said (so).'

Here the noun morpheme /sūdā/ 'soda (water)' forms a phrase as subject in an equational sentence (see 5.1.2.2) in which the compound noun /phālàngù/ 'occidental language' is a simple phrase acting as the goal. In the second sentence, the complex counter /gwōthinyī/ 'the other day', consisting of deictic, numeral, and classifier, is a

simple time-word phrase, and the noun /yí/ 'he' is a simple phrase acting as subject.

3.1.2 Attribute substantive phrases:

An attribute substantive phrase consists of a substantive word as head, preceded and/or followed by attributes which are not part of the head word.³

3.1.2.1 Phrases with preceding attribute:

Preceding attributes are nouns or clauses which act as nouns (see section 4.4.1) .

When one noun is attributive to another, the attribute regularly precedes the head, unless it is derived from an adjective (see below, section 3.1.2.2).

/yí hīn/ (he house) 'his house'

/lāchū yīmyō/ (person name) 'people's names'

/nwū phālāngù/ (you occidental=language) 'your English'

/zāmālé mēgwā/ (girl song) 'courting song'

/kūswè ābā/ (year=renew month) 'New Year's Month'
(the first month of the lunar year)

/lù jāgwū/ (vehicle path) 'road'

/jāgwū yīkhè/ (path side) 'the side of the road'

Clauses occur as attributes preceding a noun head (see also 4.4.1). In such constructions the verb is frequently, but not regularly, nominalized with final tone and/or final particle /-a/ (see 4.5).

3. Under this definition the combination of attributes with a head to form a single compound or complex substantive does not constitute an attribute phrase. Such substantive phrases are simple; see the preceding paragraph.

/jə̀phè dū m̀gwā/ (liquor drink song)

'drinking song'

/chūhān khwū jà m̀gwā/ (personal-spirit call eat song)

'song for calling back a personal spirit' [whose
departure has caused illness]

/sākē jūa hīn/ (three=room have=nom house)

'three-room house'

/kyāmyō kyāgwūwā gyī jāgwū/ (monkey dwell=place=to go path)

'the way to where the monkeys live'

The constructions above involve free noun heads. A limited number of bound nouns also occur as head to an attributive clause.

The bound noun /-gwū/ 'place' forms attribute phrases with a preceding clause consisting of a single word subject plus a verb:

/lyīswū kyāgwū/ (Lisu dwell place) 'Lisu dwelling place'

/yī nyītāgwū/ (he sit=place) 'his seat' (external location,
not a part of his anatomy)

The first of these expressions contains the clause /lyīswū kyā/ 'Lisu dwell', the second /yī nyītā/ 'he sits (down)'. However, the combination of verb plus /-gwū/ forms a complex free noun to which the subject of the clause is attributive in the same way as if they were two simple nouns. In this connection, compare, for example, the structures of the sentences:

/nwū hīn-wā gyīa./ (your house=to go=nom.)

'Go to your house.'

/lyīswū kyāgwūwā gyīa./ (Lisu dwell=place=to go=nom.)

'Go to the Lisu village.'

In the first of these, /nwū/ 'you' and /hīn/ 'house' are simple nouns. The similarity of the simple noun combination and the clause-derived phrase can be shown by the parallel manner in which the phrase elements act when various changes are made in the sentences. If the initial nouns are dropped, for instance, the remaining elements in /hīn-wē gyīa/ 'go home' and /kyāgwūwē gyīa/ 'go to the dwelling place' retain the same relationship as the original sentences, while dropping the second noun in each case gives /nwū gyīa/ 'you go' and /lyīswū gyīa/ 'Lisu go', in which the nouns function as subject. Thus /hīn/ and /kyāgwū/ are heads of their respective phrases.

Again, the phrase elements act in parallel manner if separated by the topic particle /-nyā/, as in:

/nwūnyā hīn majū./ (you=as-for house not=have.)

'As for you, (you) don't have a house.'

/lyīswūnyā kyāgwū majū./ (Lisu=as-for dwell=place not=have.)

'As for the Lisu, (they) don't have a place to live.'

Here, as topics,⁴ /nwū/ and /lyīswū/ are heads of separate phrases, while /hīn/ and /kyāgwū/ are goals of the verb /jū/ 'have'.

In both illustrations, the phrase elements function in the same way regardless of whether the phrase is composed of simple nouns or is derived from a clause attributive to /-gwū/.

The bound nouns /-dwū/ 'mechanism, means, knowledge' and /-swū/ 'one who (does something)' form phrases similar to those with /-gwū/, but here the attributive clauses consist of a noun phrase goal plus a verb.

4. The 'topic' is discussed in sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.4.2.3.

/thùghè búdwū/ 'writing implement'	<	/thùghè/ 'paper, book, letter'
		/bū/ 'write' ⁵
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/sīehé chādwū/ 'toothbrush'	<	/sīehé/ 'teeth'
		/chā/ 'rub'
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/yīkū khyl kēdwū/ 'ashtray'	<	/yīkū/ 'cigarette'
		/khyl/ 'feces; waste'
		/kē/ 'put in'
		/-dwū/ 'mechanism'
/thùghè súswū/ 'student'	<	/thùghè/ 'paper, book, letter'
		/sū/ 'study'
		/-swū/ 'one who'
/jāgwū syāswū/ 'road builder'	<	/jāgwū/ 'path, road'
		/syā/ 'make'
		/-swū/ 'one who' ⁶

Constructions with /-gwū/, /-dwū/, and /-swū/ are limited to a clause consisting of a single noun phrase as subject or goal plus a simple verb. With some other bound nouns, however, clauses

-
5. On the tone of verbs attributive to a following noun, see below, section 4.5.
6. /swū/ occurs as a free form meaning 'another person, a third person, other people'. but with the meaning 'one who (does something)' /-swū/ occurs only with a preceding clause attribute. Consequently, the latter is considered a bound function of the free form. Compare the bound function of certain verbs in sections 2.4.1.2.3, 2.4.2.3.1.2, and 2.5.1.3.

of any length and structure occur as attribute, just as they do with free nouns, e.g.:

/-mā/ 'unit, item'

/nwū yigyīamā ābā amyāmā dāhè./

(you return=go=nom=item months how-many=units
remain=further.)

'How many more months are left (before) your
return(home)?'

/lyīswū mēgwā akhś gwā kwīamā zāmē wāngū./

(Lisu songs very-much sing know-how=nom=unit wife
get=nom=is-so.)

'Those (men) who can sing a lot of Lisu songs
get wives.'

/nī tyīamāhē masūghēi;phá?/

(spirit pray=nom=item=contrast not=study=actual=yet=probably.)

'But I bet (you) haven't studied spirit prayer
(language) yet, have you?'

/lyīswūnyā akhś sēamā wá./

(Lisu=as-for very-much know=nom=units get=nom.)

'Among the Lisu (you) get individuals who know
a great many (songs).'

/yīsyà akhś hāmā gwā kwīa./

(sound very good=nom=item sing know-how=nom.)

'(I) can sing (with) a very good voice.'

-
7. With these constructions compare the complex words formed with a clause attributive to /-phā/ 'man' or /-mā/ 'woman', section 2.4.2.3.1.2.

/-swà/ 'type, kind'

/háswà thā lā, mahāswà thā lā; lù jāgwūwā./

(good=nom=type here come, not=good=type here come.
vehicle path=at)

'Good types (of things) come here, bad types come
here, along the road.'

/yísyà akhó háswāhē jūa; zāmēlō./

(sound very good=nom=type=contrast have=nom. woman=young)

'And there are those with really good voices,
girls that is.'

/-lī/ 'fashion, manner, way'

/ākhā dū twāfālī kālīu./

(Akha poison smear=be=nom=fashion become=new-situation.)

'It's as if (your hands) were smeared with Akha poison.'

/āzū nyīswā gwāwū. nwū yfālī chāu./

(we two=relatives sing=have. you do=nom=fashion
lack=new-situation.)

'We two relatives have sung. Now it only remains
for you to do so.'

3.1.2.2 Expansions:

Attribute phrases also occur as attribute to a
following noun, forming a larger attribute phrase of the shape

(A + B) + C.

/nwū ányī/ 'your daughter'

in: /nwū ányī mīśá/ 'your daughter's share'

/ányī ácwā/ 'cow's milk'

in: /ányī ácwā kāfē/ 'coffee with milk'

/lù jǎgwū/ (vehicle path) 'road'

in: /lù jǎgwū yfkhè/ 'side of the road'

/lyīswū kyǎgwū/ 'Lisu dwelling place'

in: /lyīswū kyǎgwū yfkhèwā/ 'outside the Lisu village'

3.1.2.3 Phrases with following attribute:

Phrases in which the attribute follows a substantive head occur only when the attribute is derived from an adjectival verb. Such phrases occur with adjectives nominalized either by reduplication or with the proclitic particles /yí-/ and /a-/ (see 2.4.2.3.3).

With reduplicated adjective:

/jǎphè swǎswǎ/ 'red liquor' < /jǎphè/ 'liquor'

/swǎ/ 'red'

/ánà swǎswǎ/ 'yellow dog;
policeman'

(from the khaki
uniform)

< /ánà/ 'dog'

/swǎ/ 'yellow'

/mègwā tótó/ 'mixed up song' < /mègwā/ 'song'

/tótó/ 'confused, wrong
way round'

Such reduplicated forms occur only with monosyllabic adjectives. Those with more than one syllable occur as attributes only in simple form, either bound to the preceding noun (see 2.4.2.3.1.2), or nominalized with /yí-/ or /a-/ (see the following paragraph).

With adjective nominalized with /yí-/ or /a-/:

/bǐchwǎ yínyǐchwǎ/ 'green dress' < /bǐchwǎ/ 'dress'

/yí-/ 'nominalization'

/nyǐchwǎ/ 'green'

/yísyà ãdámã/ 'loud sound'	<	/yísyà/ 'sound'
		/ã-/ 'nominalization'
		/-dámã/ 'big'
/ãbã yíswã/ 'next month'	<	/ãbã/ 'month'
		/yí-/ 'nominalization'
		/swã/ 'new'

Phrases of this type are frequently paralleled by a complex noun in which the adjective combines directly with the preceding noun (see 2.4.2.3.1.2). Compare with the above:

/bíchwã nyíchwã/ (dress=green) 'green dress'
/yísyàdámã/ (sound=big) 'loud sound'

Such parallel constructions are not always present, however; there is no short form parallel to /ãbã yíswã/ 'next month'.

3.1.2.4 Combinations:

Both preceding and following attributes also occur in a single phrase.

/ngwã bíchwã yínyíchwã/ 'my green dress'
/lù jãgwù yíphíphí/ (vehicle path nom=smooth=smooth)
'smooth road'

3.1.3 Coordinate substantive phrases:

A coordinate substantive phrase consists of two or more coordinate substantive heads, with or without modifiers. Coordinate phrases are of four types: additive, appositive, alternative, and distributive.

3.1.3.1 Additive phrases:

The heads of an additive substantive phrase collectively share the grammatical relationship of the phrase to other elements in the utterance. In such phrases the enumerative substantive particle /-kyī/ 'and' is optionally present after each head, except that when another particle is also present at the end of the phrase, it replaces /-kyī/ there.

/bā̀bà māmā/ (father mother)

'father and mother; parents'

/ángà záchwē dúa./ (buffalo orphan exit=nom.)

'There were (once) a buffalo and an orphan.'

/nwūkyī ngwākyī tǎhù gyīa./

(you=and I=and together go=nom.)

'You and I go together.'

/lǎhōkyī àkhānyā ámyl jūa mahā./⁸

(Lahu=and Akha=as-for daughter have=nom not=good.)

'For the Lahu and the Akha, having daughters isn't good.'

3.1.3.2 Appositive phrases:

Appositive substantive phrases consist of two or more substantive heads, which, unlike those of an additive phrase, have a single referent. The first of two appositive heads states the referent, the second specifies or limits the first.

8. The Lahu, like the Akha, are a linguistically related hill tribe group.

a) Appositive phrases consisting of nouns are, in shape, the same as unmarked additive phrase, but the enumerative particle /-kyī/ 'and' does not occur in appositive phrases.

/āzù lyīswū/ 'we Lisu'

/nwū mīlyīká/ 'you Americans'

/thā wājwāwā/ (here hills=at) 'here in the hills'

b) Phrases with following attributive adjectival noun (see 3.1.2.3) alternate not only with single complex words, but also with appositive phrases in which the second noun is attributive to the bound noun /-mā/ 'unit, item'.

/bīchwā yīnyīchwāmā/ (dress nom=green=partic=item)

'the dress, the green one'

cf. /bīchwā yīnyīchwā/ and /bīchwānyīchwā/ 'green dress'

/yīsyā ādāmāmā/ (sound nom=big=item)

'a sound, a big one'

cf. /yīsyā ādāmā/ and /yīsyādāmā/ 'big sound'

c) Longer phrases derived from a clause attributive to /-mā/ also occur appositive to a preceding noun.

/nwū pēsē ālīkē jūamā/ (you ability how=much have=nom=one)

'you, one who has such great ability'

/hīn sākē jūamā/ (house three=room have=nom=item)

'house which has three rooms'

This construction is a common alternative to the direct modification of a noun (other than /-mā/) by a preceding clause. With the second example above, compare;

/sākō jūa hīn/ (three=room have=~~nom~~-house)

'three-room house'

d) The most common form of appositive phrase is that in which a noun - the thing counted - is specified as to amount by a following counter. Such phrases are counter phrases.

/ānā thīmā/ (month one=unit) 'one month'

/pū nylthō/ (gun two=stick-like-things) 'two guns'

/mèkhè thīnyī/ (nighttime one=day) 'one night'

In a counter phrase, the counted noun determines the range of choice of classifier in the counter. Frequently a single noun is counted with several classifiers, and the general classifier /-mā/ 'unit, item' occurs with almost all nouns, even when another classifier is the usual form.

/jāmījū thīmā/ (rice=table one=item) 'one table'

/jāmījū thīkhwá/ (rice=table one=board) 'one table'

/jāmījū thīphà/ (rice=table one=implement) 'one table'

/nākhwū thīmā/ (nose one=item) 'one nose'

/nākhwū thīsā/ (nose one=round-thing) 'one nose'

/nākhwū thīthō/ (nose one=stick-like-thing) 'one nose'

/wùchē thīthō/ (horn one=stick-like-thing) 'one (animal) horn'

/wùchē thīchē/ (horn one=sharp-implement) 'one horn'

/wùchē thīkhyō/ (horn one=member-of-a-pair) 'one horn'

/wùchē thīphē/ (horn one=pair) 'a pair of horns'

/yī nylzū/ (they two=individuals) 'they two'

/yī thīmā/ (he one=unit) 'he alone'

e) Additive and appositive phrases without counter also occur as part of larger appositive phrases with counter. In such constructions, the range of choice of classifier is determined by the overlap in the ranges determined by each noun, or, in the case of additive phrases, by a classifier applicable to the combination of members.

Additive phrase plus counter:

/bābā māmā nyizū ~ thīgyō̄/, etc.

(father mother two=individuals ~ one=pair)

'father and mother, the two of them;
father and mother as a couple'

/bīchwā mēchē nyīkhū ~ thīthō̄/

(dress trousers two=cloth-items ~ one=suit)

'a dress and a pair of trousers;
one suit of clothes'

In these two examples, each coordinate noun in the additive phrases determines the same range of classifiers as the other, while the combination of the two determines the classifiers /-gyō̄/ 'pair' or /-thō̄/ 'suit'.

When there is no overlap in the classifiers determined by members of an additive phrase, each member is counted separately.

/ángà thīmā zāchwā thīzū/

(buffalo one=unit orphan one=individual)

'a buffalo and an orphan'

Appositive phrase plus counter:

/āzū ɿyiswū thīkhyō̄ ~ thījī̄/, etc.

(we Lisu one=tribal-group ~ one=kind)

'we, the Lisu tribe; we, the Lisu [kind]'

/āzū/ 'we' and /lyīswū/ 'Lisu' both determine the classifiers /khyō/ 'tribal group', /-jī/ or /-jū/ 'kind', or /-zū/ or /-wā/ 'individual'.

/thā wājwā thikhwūwā ~ thigāwā/, etc.

(here hills one=place=at) [both forms]

'here, at one place in the hills'

/thā/ 'here' determines the classifiers /-khwū/, /-gā/, or /-tō/ 'place', while /wājwā/ 'hill' determines these three classifiers plus /-sī/ 'round thing' and /-mā/ 'unit, item'.

f) When a deictic occurs in a counter phrase, it follows the counted noun or nouns and compounds with the counter:

/jīphē thīthījī/ (liquor this=one=kind)

'this kind of liquor'

/pū gwōnyīthō/ (gun those=two=stick-like-things)

'those two guns'

3.1.3.3 Alternative phrases:

An alternative substantive phrase consists of two or more consecutive counters containing successively higher numbers and the same classifier, with or without a preceding counted noun.⁹ When a counted noun is present, it is in apposition with each counter.

/sākhā lyīkhā/ (three=years four=years)

'three or four years'

9. Alternative expressions also occur with two numbers compounded with a single classifier to form a single word:

/nā: nyīsāzū/ (you two=three=individuals) 'two or three of you'

On this construction, see 2.4.1.1.3.

/thíkǎpǎ sǎkhù lyíkhhù/ (hereafter three=years four=years)

'three or four years from now'

/ǎbǎ thímǎ nyímǎ/ (month one=unit two=units)

'one or two months'

3.1.3.4 Distributive phrases:

A distributive phrase consists of a reduplicated counter containing the numeral /thǐ-/ 'one'.

/thǐnyǐ thǐnyǐ jǎ jǎ/ (one=day one=day rice eat)

'eat rice every day'

/thǐhǐn thǐhǐn phǎsyǎ: gyǎngǎ:/

(one=house one=house all go=nom=is=acc.)

'(He) is going to all the houses, one by one.'

/thǐhwǎ thǐhwǎ lǎ./ (one=time one=time come=nom.)

'(He) comes every now and then.'

3.1.4 Combinations:

Some phrases include both attributive and coordinate substantives, e.g.:

a) when two or more forms are attributive to a single substantive head:

/bǎbǎ mǎmǎ mǎsǎ/ (father mother share)

'father's and mother's share'

/ǎzǎ lyǐswǎ yǐlyǐ/ (we Lisu customs)

'our Lisu customs'

/phǎmǎ mwǎ hǎmwǎ yǎphyǐ/ (Burma country Chinese=country opium)

'Burmese and Chinese opium'

b) when one or more coordinate substantive heads in a phrase is modified. Where these phrases include a counter, the head of the attribute phrase determines the choice of classifier.

Additive phrases with modified head:

/yí bābā māmā/ (his father mother)

/yí bābā yí māmā/ (his father his mother)

'his father and mother; his parents'

/phānā mwī hōmwī cūlāmā há./

(Burma country Chinese=country circulate=come=item good=nom.)

'That (opium) which comes from Burma and China is good.'

Appositive phrases with modified head:

/nwū kyāgwū/ (you dwell=place) 'your home'

in: /jō nwū kyāgwūwā/ (there you dwell=place=at)

'there, where you live'

/ányī ácwā/ 'cow's milk'

in: /ányī ácwā thīthwū/ (cow's milk one=can)

'a can of (condensed) milk'

/lyīswū kyāgwū/ (Lisu dwell=place) 'Lisu dwelling place'

in: /lyīswū kyāgwū thīkhwū/ (Lisu dwell=place one=place)

'a Lisu village; one place in a Lisu village'

/bīchwā yīnyīchwā/ (dress nom=green) 'green dress'

in: /bīchwā yīnyīchwā thīkhū/ (dress nom=green one=cloth-item)

'one green dress'

In the first two examples with counter, the nouns /ácwā/ 'milk; breast' and /kyāgwū/ 'dwelling place' are preceded by attributive nouns; in the last example, the noun /bīchwā/ 'dress' is modified by a following

noun derived from the adjective /nyíchwǎ/ 'green'. In each case, the head determines the classifier, e.g. /ácwǎ/ 'milk' is counted with a number of classifiers indicating amount: /-thwǎ/ 'can', /lǎkǎ/ 'cup', etc., while /ányí/ 'cow' is counted with the general classifier /-mǎ/ 'unit, item', or with /-bwǎ/ 'group' and the like. /kyǎgwǎ 'dwelling place' is counted with /-khwǎ/, /-gǎ/, or /-tǎ/ 'place', while /lyíswǎ/ 'Lisu' is counted with /-zǎ/ or /-wǎ/ 'individual', /-jǎ/ or /-jǔ/ 'kind' and the like. /bǐchwǎ/ 'dress' is counted with /-khǎ/ 'cloth item', while /yínyíchwǎ/ 'green thing' does not in itself determine any classifier.

3.2 The Verb Phrase.

A verb phrase is a sequence of verbs in construction, which cannot be separated, except in some cases by a negative particle, without altering their relationship. For example, in:

/yí gǎ gyǎ./ (he allow go=nom.)

'He will let (me) go.'

the sequence /gǎ gyǎ/ 'permit to go' is a phrase, since the insertion of any element between the verbs alters their relationship. If, for example, the general particle /-nyǎ/ 'as for' is inserted, the resulting:

/yí gǎnyǎ, gyǎ./ (he give=as-for, go=nom.)

'If he gives (it), (I) will go.'

consists of two separate clauses, the first a primary topic¹⁰ to the second.

10. See section 4.4.2.3.

On the other hand, in:

/wúthō syá thō/ (headdress wrap wind)

'wind on a headdress'

/syá/ 'wrap' and /thō/ 'wind' form a phrase which can be separated by a negative particle. I can determine no difference in meaning between:

/wúthō syá mathō/ and /wúthō masyá thō/

'not wind on a headdress'

with the negative particle /ma-/ 'not' in either of two positions.

Compare with these examples:

/gyā bēkyāngū./ (go-nom intend-nom-is-so.)

'(I) intend to go.'

The verb sequence /gyā/ 'go' and /bēkyā/ 'intend' is not a phrase since the two verbs are separated by the final particle /-a/ 'nominalization'. Here /gyā/ 'to go' is the goal of /bēkyā/ 'intend'.

Verb phrases are simple, attribute, coordinate, or complementary. All types of verb phrase occur both with and without verb stem extensions and particles (see 2.7, 2.9, and 5.4).

3.2.1 Simple verb phrases:

A simple verb phrase consists of a single verb head, with or without accompanying stem extensions and/or particles.

/byá thimā thikhwá gè./

(sweets one=unit one=lump give.)

'(He'll) give a piece of candy to each (of you).'

/nwū háthè gwā. ngwū gwā - ngwā gwā - myísyí gwā./

(you first sing. you sing - I sing - brother-in-law sing.)

'You sing first. You sing, (then) I'll sing, (and my) brother-in-law will sing.'

/ngwā ámyí jūanyā, swū hín-wā gyí./

(I daughter have=nom=as-for, other-people's house=to go.)

'If I have a daughter, (she) will go to someone else's house.' [when she gets married]

/nwū ámyíwā gyíá./ (you fields=to go=nom.)

'You are going to the fields.'

/lyíswūngù búa./ (Lisu=language write=nom.)

'(You will) write in Lisu.'

/ácháhi məkhwú majūa, ngwā hwā./

(in-a-moment=further tobacco not=have=nom, I seek=nom.)

'In a moment, if there's no tobacco, I'll (go) get (some).'

/álā gyíá?/ (where=to go=nom?)

'Where are (you) going?' [a common greeting]

/amyájà jūa?/ (many=kinds have=nom?)

'Are there many kinds?'

/kyāhi./ (remain=further.)

'Stay (a while) longer.'

/ngwā ámyía magyíhi./ (I field=to not=go=yet.)

'I haven't gone to the fields yet.'

/nwū magyí, yí malāu./

(you not=go, he not=come=new-situation.)

'If you don't go, then he won't come.'

/lächū amyāzū nabūa?/

(persons how-many=individuals not=write=nom?)

'Haven't (you) written down how many people there are?'

/mākhwū majūphā?/ (tobacco not=have=probably?)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?'

/thāwāsyoṃā./ (don't=laugh=urging.)

'Don't laugh.'

/nwū māghəwāngūnē; phālangū./

(you teach-to=must=is-so=emph. occidental=language)

'You must teach (us), English that is.'

/kāsā tēghāi, yīswāthīa kāsā chwālfā./

(corn plant=actual=further, rainy-season=rain corn
rot=change-of-state=nom.)

'And after (you) plant the corn, in the rainy
season the corn rots.'

3.2.2 Attribute verb phrases:

Attribute verb phrases are of two types: those which consist of an adjective preceded by an active verb, and, rarely, those with a transitive verb preceded by an adjective.

3.2.2.1 Active verb plus adjective:

When a phrase consists of an active verb followed by an adjective, the latter is head of the phrase.¹¹

a) Transitive verb plus adjective:

/syā hīn/ (make difficult) 'hard to make; make badly'

/jā sī/ (eat easy) 'easy to eat; happily married'

11. See the discussion of /āvè hwà jā há/ in section 1.2.

/swǎ mə/ (wipe faded) 'wiped off, wiped out'

/nyī byī/ (look-at pretty) 'good to look at; good looking'

/nyī bwū/ (look-at bored) 'tired of looking at'

b) Intransitive verb plus adjective:

/kyǎ hīn/ (dwell difficult) 'feeling ill; embarrassed'

/kyǎ bwū/ (dwell bored) 'tired of staying; bored'

/yǒ jū/ (sprout good) 'well sprouted'

Phrases of this type have movable negative, occurring either before the entire phrase or before the adjective, e.g.:

/syǎ mahīn/ ~ /masyǎ hīn/ 'not hard to make; not make badly'

/jǎ masǎ/ ~ /majǎ sǎ/ 'not easy to eat; not happily married'

/kyǎ mabwū/ ~ /makyǎ bwū/ 'not tired of staying; not bored'

3.2.2.2 Adjective plus transitive verb:

My data contain only two examples of this type of attribute verb phrase, both with the adjective /chǎ/ 'bad, wrong'.

Both are inseparable, and in both the transitive verb is head.

/chǎ hǎ/ (bad guide) 'mislead'

neg: /machǎ hǎ/ 'not mislead'

/chǎ hū/ (bad like) 'slander, defame'

neg: /machǎ hū/ 'not slander'

3.2.3 Coordinate verb phrases:

A coordinate verb phrase consists of a combination of verbs of the same form class or of an adjective and an intransitive.

A few such phrases are inseparable, but in most cases coordinate phrases have movable negative.

3.2.3.1 Coordinate phrases with movable negative:

a) Transitive plus transitive:

/cwǎ gyō̄/ (pull stretch) 'pull and stretch' (as a rubber band)

neg: /macwǎ gyō̄/ ~ /cwǎ magyō̄/ 'not pull and stretch'

/chǎ gyl/ (wipe rub) 'rub, rub down'

neg: /machǎ gyl/ ~ /chǎ magyl/ 'not rub'

/wǎthē syá thē/ (headdress wrap wind) 'wind on a headdress'

neg: /masyá thē/ ~ /syá mathē/ 'not wind on'

/bǐchwǎ mǎchǎ tē chǎ/ (dress trousers measure cut)

'make clothes'

neg: /matē chǎ/ ~ /tē machǎ/ 'not measure and cut'

b) Intransitive plus intransitive:

/jǎ dū/ (ooze exit) 'exude'

neg: /majǎ dū/ ~ /jǎ^{mc} dū/ 'not exude'

/tē khyī/ (run flee) 'run away'

neg: /matē khyī/ ~ /tē makhyī/ 'not run away'

3.2.3.2 Inseparable coordinate phrases:

a) Transitive plus transitive:

/lǒ nyí/ (roll-on crush) 'roll on and crush'

neg: /malǒ nyí/ 'not roll on and crush'

/ǎpwū syl já./ /thǎsyl já./

(cucumber kill eat.) (don't=kill eat.)

'(Let's) split and eat the cucumber.' 'Don't split and eat (it).'

b) Intransitive plus intransitive:

/sánè ngwā āmyā magyī yilāu./

(tomorrow I field=to not=go return=come=new-situation.)

'Tomorrow I won't go to the fields and come back.'

c) Adjective plus intransitive:

/myā dā/ (much remain) 'left over'

neg: /manyā dā/ 'not left over'

3.2.4 Complementary verb phrases:

In a separable verb phrase, the negative particles /mā-/ 'not' and /thā-/ 'don't' occur only before the last verb in the phrase.

Complementary verb phrases are inseparable or separable, but do not occur with movable negative.

3.2.4.1 Inseparable complementary phrases:

Certain active verbs occur preceding other verbs in inseparable complementary phrases. In some cases, there is a change of meaning and a loss of some of the functions which such an active verb has in other contexts. Such active verbs include:

/gè/ 'permit, allow' (elsewhere: 'give')

/nwū malānyā, swū né - magè lā; 'thfhwanya./

(you not=come=as-for, other-people you=with-respect-to - not=let come. one=emph=time=as-for.)

'If you don't come (back quickly), they won't let you come another time.'

/nwū gè gyā?/ /magè gyī./

(you allow go=nom?) (not=allow go.)

'Will you let (me) go?' 'no.'

/yísyà mahā. magè gwā./ (sound not=good. not=let sing.)

'(Your) voice isn't good.' (We) won't let (you) sing.'

/áca nélé gè nānālē; swū./

(in-a-moment you=to let-listen=nom=emph. other-person)

'In a moment (we'll) let you listen, to him that is.'

In the clause /swū né magè lā/, above, where /gè/ means 'permit', it has the goal /né/ 'you'. But in other contexts where it means 'give', /gè/ also takes a second goal, as in: /swū né phwū gè/ (they you=to silver give) 'they give you money'. No second goal occurs with the phrase /gè lā/ 'permit to come', however; in this context that function of /gè/ 'give' is lost.

/khwū/ '(do) on the sly, (do) stealthily' (elsewhere: 'steal')

/khwū khyö/ (sneak speak) 'talk behind (someone's) back,
back-stab'

neg: /makhwū khyö/ 'not back-stab'

/khwū khyī/ (sneak flee) 'sneak away, flee stealthily'

neg: /makhwū khyī/ 'not sneak away'

/nwū yipkhū khwū dēwū./ (you picture sneak strike=did.)

'You took the picture on the sly.'

/wā/ 'get to, have the opportunity to' (elsewhere: 'get')

/āmī ngwā āmyā wā gyī yīlā./

(yesterday I field=to get-to go return=come=nom.)

'Yesterday I was able to go to the fields and come
back again.'

/amí gyī. amí yilā. thithéa; wā nānāulō./

(quickly go. quickly return=come. one=moment=partic
get-to listen=new-situation=emph.)

'Go quickly. Come back quickly. In a moment (you)
will get a chance to listen.'

/yīkū mawā vwū tēlā./

(cigarettes not=get-to buy carry=come.)

'(I) didn't get a chance to buy cigarettes and
bring (them).'

/fwù/ 'force, compel' (elsewhere: same)

/fwù zwū/ (force take) 'extort, rob'

neg: /mafù swū/ 'not rob'

/fwù khā/ (force have-intercourse) 'rape'

neg: /mafù khā/ 'not rape'

/fwù gyī/ (force go) 'force to go'

neg: /mafù gyī/ 'not force to go'

/lā/ 'come' (elsewhere: 'come; motion towards a location')

/nwū áswā lā tōnyia?/

(you what come look-at=nom?)

'What have you come to look at?'

/gyī/ 'go' (elsewhere: 'go; motion away from a location')

/lyīswū thūghè maséswā. ālā gyī sáa; ngwanwu?/

(Lisu writing not=know=emph. where go know=nom? we)

'(We) don't know Lisu writing. Where do we go to learn (it)?'¹²

12. This use of /lā/ and /gyī/ differs from that of the bound forms /-lā/ and /-yī/ in that the preceding position expresses purpose as well as motion, the following position motion only. Compare:

/yīkū vwūyia./ 'go (somewhere) to buy cigarettes'
and /yīkū gyī vwūa./ 'go (in order) to buy cigarettes'.

3.2.4.2 Ambiguity of certain complementary phrases:

When one of the transitive verbs just illustrated is followed by another transitive, the construction is ambiguous. The first verb can be interpreted either as a complement to the second or as coordinate with it. For example:

/ɔyâ gâ jâ/

as a complementary phrase: (sweets permit eat)

'allow to eat candy'

as a coordinate phrase: (sweets give eat)

'give candy to eat'

/jã wã jã/

as a complementary phrase: (rice get-to eat)

'have a chance to eat'

as a coordinate phrase: (rice get eat)

'get rice to eat'

3.2.4.3 Separable complementary phrases:

A small group of intransitive verbs, which are immediately preceded by the negative particles, occur as the last member of a separable complementary verb phrases. With such phrases, the subject of the clause is the subject of both verbs, but the occurrence of a goal is determined by the preceding verb or verbs. For example, in /nwũ hãnmã jã péa?/ (you elephant ride dare=nom?) 'Do you dare ride an elephant?', /nwũ/ 'you' is subject of both /jã/ 'ride' and /pé/ 'dare', but /hãnmã/ 'elephant' is the goal of /jã/ 'ride'. Examples of verbs which occur as last member of

separable complementary phrases are:

/dǎ/ 'can, physical ability'

/nàgwǎ gwǎ dǎ./ (song sing can=nom.)

'(I) can sing songs.'

/thǐ'vwǎ:hǎ wǎ madǎu./

(this=size=emph=partic=contrast get not=can=new-situation.)

'(I) can't even get this much any more.'

/yǐ jà madǎu. yǎphyǐnyǎ ngwǎ jà madǎu. bǔlǎ madǎu./

(work eat not=can=new-situation. opium-as-for I eat
not=can=new-situation. full=come not=can=new-situation.)

'(I) can't farm (it) and earn a living any more. With
opium I can't earn a living any more. (I) can't
get enough to eat any more.'

/pǎ/ 'dare'

/hǎnmǎ jà pǎ?/ /jà mapǎ./

(elephant ride dare=nom?) (ride not=dare.)

'Do (you) dare ride an elephant.' 'No.'

/yǐ lwǎ mapǎ./ (he struggle not=dare.)

'He doesn't dare struggle.'

/jū/ 'need to, have to'

/zwǎ jū/ (take need) 'need'

neg: /zwǎ majū/ 'not need'

/yǐ myǒ jūa. lyǐswūngà sū jūa./

(he work have=nom. Lisu=language study must=nom.)

'He has work (to do). (He) has to study Lisu.'

/mà/ 'definite, certain'

/gyī mǎngū./ (go certain=nom=is-so.)

'(I'm) definitely going.'

/sǎ mǎmǎ./ (know not=certain.)

'(I) don't know for sure.'

/gwū/ 'finish'

/nwū lyǐswūngù chēnyī fǎbǎ chùnmǎ sūghǎa, sū gwūliǎ?/

(you Lisu=language this-year months six=units study=actual=nom,
study-finish=change-of-state=nom?)

'When you've studied Lisu for six months (now) this
year, (will) you have made a complete study?'

/sū gwū mǎdǎphǎ?/ (study finish notcan=probably.)

'(I) don't think (I) can finish studying (everything).'

/ngwǎ mwǎ yī mǎgwūliǎ./

(I. land work not=finish=change-of-state=yet.)

'I haven't finished working yet.'

/kwǎ/ 'know how'

/yǐsyǎ akhǎ hǎmǎ gwǎ kwǎ./

(sound very good=nom=item sing know-how=nom.)

'(I) can sing with a very good voice.'

/bē mǎkwǎ ngǐ?/ (say not=know-how is-so?)

'(We) can't say it, can we?'

/zǎnǎa; cǎ mǎkwǎmǎ ǎlǐ yǎ?/

(children relate not=know-how=items how do=nom?)

'What (do you) do about the things the children
can't tell you?'

/khwū/ 'ability; habitual action'

/wúphámà yíkū akhǎ chwǎ khwǎ./

(uncle=old cigarettes very-much suck habitually=nom.)

'Old Uncle really smokes a lot.'

/lyǐswū ghǎlǎ yǐ makhwūlǎ./

(Lisu trade do not=can=emph.)

'(We) Lisu don't know how to do business at all.'

/mǎ/ 'succeed'

/gǎ mǎ/ (follow succeed) 'catch up with'

neg: /gǎ mǎmǎ/ 'not catch up with, can't catch up with'

/ǎnyǐ sǎ mǎ/ (daughter bear succeed) 'bear a daughter'
(successfully)

neg: /sǎ mǎmǎ/ 'not succeed in giving birth to'

3.2.4.4 Combinations of complementary phrases:

Different types of complement combine into larger complementary phrases. If both complements are inseparable, the negative precedes the phrase:

/magǎ ǎ tǎnyǐ/ (not=allow come look-at)

'not allow to come and look at'

/mawǎ gyǐ zwǎ/ (not=get-to go take)

'not have the chance to go get (something)'

If both are separable, the negative precedes the last verb:

/sū gwū madǎ/ (study finish not=can) 'can't finish studying'

/gǎ mǎ mǎpǎ/ (follow succeed not=dare) 'not dare catch
up with'

If separable and inseparable complements co-occur, the negative precedes the separable one:

/khwà khyí napé/ (sneak flee not=care) 'not dare sneak away'

/lā zwū madā/ (come take not=can) 'can't come to get (something)'

3.2.5 Combination of coordinate and complementary phrases:

Coordinate and complementary phrases also combine into larger single phrases:

/chā gyí dā/ (wipe rub can) 'can rub down'

neg: /chā gyí madā/ 'can't rub down'

/wáthō syá thō kwá./ (headdress wrap wind know-how=nom.)

'(I) know how to put on a headdress.'

neg: /syá thō makwá/ 'not know how to wrap and wind'

/wā vwū tōlā/ (get-to buy carry=come)

'get to buy and bring'

neg: /mawā vwū tōlā/ 'not get to buy and bring'

Chapter IV

The Clause

4.0 Introduction.

Clauses in Lisu are simple or complex. The simple clause consists of a verb phrase with or without substantive phrase attributes. In a complex clause at least one of the attributes is itself a clause. For example, the clause:

/ámɿ jūa/ (daughters have=nom)

'(someone) has daughters'

is simple, but forms a part of a larger complex clause in:

/ámɿ jūa mahā./ (daughters have=nom not=good.)

'Having daughters isn't good.'

This sentence also illustrates the function of the verb phrase as head of the clause. The noun /ámɿ/ 'daughter(s)' is goal¹ to the transitive verb /jū/ 'have', but has no direct relationship to the adjective /hā/ 'good', while /jūa/ 'to have' (nominalized) is the subject¹ of /hā/. If /ámɿ/ is removed, there are still two clauses, one the subject of the other: /jūa mahā./ 'Having isn't good.' But the removal of /jūa/ results in a simple clause with /ámɿ/ as subject of /hā/: /ámɿ mahā./ 'Daughters aren't good.'²

1. Goal and subject are basic clause elements described below in sections 4.1 and 4.2.1.1.

2. There are also two situations in Lisu where a clause is sometimes replaced by its verb phrase.

1) in answer to a yes-or-no question:

4.1 The Basic Clause.

The basic clause, simple or complex, consists of a sequence of elements whose order determines their function in the clause. The most common order (basic order) is: subject - -wā-phrase - (goal) - adverb - verb. The entire range of elements (i.e. including the goal) is applicable to clauses with transitive verb, adjective, or copula; however, a goal does not occur with intransitive verbs. The subject and goal have either substantive or verb heads; the -wā-phrase and the adverb have substantive heads only;³ and the verb has verb heads only.⁴

With the verb phrase the only mandatory element in a clause, one or more of the preceding elements is usually lacking in actual utterances. There is, in fact, no single sentence in my data in which all the elements occur. Examples such as the following, however, can

/anyájà jūa?/ (many=kinds have=nom?)

'Are there many kinds?'

Answers: /jūa./ (have=nom.) 'Yes.'

or /majū./ (not=have.) 'No.'

- 2) in a story-telling technique in which a sentence is summarized in the following one before the narrative is carried forward:

/yí nápūwā byāmsū chwāghè, dēyīu. dēyīa, dē dālīujà.

dē dēyīa, mākhwā sādī pākhyō sābyà./

(his ears=in bee=wax stop-up=for, climb-go=new-situation.
climb-go=nom, climb can=change-of-state=new-situation=
emph. climb can-go=nom, bamboo three=stands pachō
three=clumps.)

'(He) stopped up the other's ears with beeswax and
(they) started to climb. (When they) climbed,
(they found they) could indeed climb up now. (When
they) were able to climb up (they found) three
stands of bamboo and three clumps of pachō.'

3. For one possible exception with /-wā/, see section 4.2.1.2, footnote
4. Examples of substantives in these functions will be found in section 4.2.1, of verbs in section 4.4.2.

be combined to determine basic order:

<u>subject</u>	<u>-wā-phrase</u>	<u>goal</u>	<u>adverb</u>	<u>verb</u>
With transitive verbs:				
/nwū	thítáwā	lyíswūngù		sūa:, .../
(you	this=place=at	Lisu=language		study=nom, ...)
'(When) you study Lisu here, ...'				
/lyíswū:		thímáí	ǎlí	bé?/
(Lisu		this=item=as-for	how	say=nom?)
'What do the Lisu call this?'				
/	sákhà	lyíkhàwā	atyí	mídía./
(3=years	4=years=in	a-little	forget= new-situation.)
§In three or four years (we'll) have forgotten (you) a little.'				

With intransitive verbs (no goal):

/yí	ǎnyíwā			gyía./
(he	field=to			go=nom.)
'He's going to the fields.'				
/nwū	'thá wājwāwā			dē, .../
(you	here=emph	hills=at		climb, ...)
'You've come up here into the hills, ...'				
/ngwā yía	ǎnyíwā		tàhà	gyí yǎlǎngū./
(I he=as-for	field=to		together	go return=come=nom= is-so.)
'He and I went out to the fields and back together.'				

<u>subject</u>	<u>-wā-phrase</u>	<u>goal</u>	<u>adverb</u>	<u>verb</u>
With adjectives:				
/yàphyí	thítáwā			nahā./
(opium	this=place=at			not=good.)
'The opium here isn't good.'				
/ngwā nyīnā			akhē	=abyī./
(my younger-sister			very	not=pretty.)
'My younger sister is really ugly.'				
/ngwā		chūmílé		sátū./
(I		person=old= with-respect-to		embarrassed.)
'I'm embarrassed towards older people.'				
With copular verbs:				
/ngwā ányí		nwū ányí		ngū./
(my daughter		your daughter		is.)
'My daughter is your daughter.'				
/mīlyíká			āī	ngā?/
(America			how	is?)
'What is America like?'				
/	līkhyānyīwāhí			mangā, .../
(forest=in= related-focus			not=is, ...)
'As I said before, (if it) is not in the forest, ...'				
/yí hwà		yínwāhwā		kālīgū./
(her flesh		partic=striped=striped		become=finish.)
'Her flesh became striped all over.'				

The remarkably consistent order of these elements is one of the outstanding features of Lisu. In a sample of free conversation, the variation from basic order is just over twelve percent, while in the corpus of elicited sentences it is less than three percent, comprising twelve sentences out of 379. The great majority of the variant forms are examples of the extended basic clause (section 4.2.2) or of topic inversion, a deliberate rearrangement of elements which is discussed below in section 4.2.3.2. The few remaining cases appear to be examples either of lapse (in free conversation) or of reordering on the model of Thai sentences (in the elicited corpus).

4.2 The Simple Clause.

The clearest illustrations of Lisu clause structure are to be found in the simple clause, which will therefore be discussed in detail before going on to the complex clause.

4.2.1 The basic simple clause:

The basic simple clause consists of a basic clause in which the elements preceding the verb phrase are all substantive phrases; other clause types are discussed in terms of variation or expansion from this base.

4.2.1.1 The subject:

The initial element in the basic clause is the subject; it is marked by order only.

/ngwānwù phǎlàngù atyí sūyīa./⁵

(we occidental=language a-little study=go=nom.)

'We'll go study English a little.'

/nwū kākū nwūlé gū dǎa./

(your older-brother you=as-for lead exit=nom.)

'Your older brother will lead you out.'

/swū akhó syàkyá./

(other=people very-much miss=nom.)

'They'll miss (you) very much.'

/ngwā hīn sākō jūa./

(my house three=rooms have=nom.)

'My house has three rooms.'

/lyīswū thīmālé ālī bē?/

(Lisu this=item=as-for how say=nom?)

'What do the Lisu call this?'

4.2.1.2 The -wā-phrase:

The second element in the basic clause specifies the location, in place or time, of the action or situation described by the verb phrase head. The class is marked not only by order, but by the optional presence of the substantive particle /-wā/ 'to, at'. It is filled with substantive phrases expressing time or place, with

5. In the examples throughout this chapter, the position class under discussion is underlined.

the latter the more common.⁶ The particle /-wǎ/ 'to, at' occurs very frequently with place expressions, but only rarely with time expressions:

a) Time expressions:

With /-wǎ/

/vɪnɔwǎ hǔlɪanyǎ, cǎ.ə/

(day-on correct-change-of-state-nom-as-for, rest-nom.)

'If it's right on a particular day, (we) rest.'

/nwǔ ǎlɪtǔwǎ sǎlǎ, ǎswǎkhǔwǎ sǎlǎ - /

(you which-place-at born-come, what-year=in born-come-nom -)

'Where you were born, what year you were born in ...'

/sǎkhǔ lyɪkhǔwǎ atyɪ wɪdɪn./

(three-years four-years=in a-little forget-new-situation.)

'In three or four years (we'll) forget (you) a little.'

Without /-wǎ/

/ngwǎ nyɪwǎ yɪgyɪn./

(I today return-go-new-situation.)

'I'll go back today.'

6. Time expressions also occur elsewhere in the clause, see below section 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.2.

There is also, I believe, one case of /-wǎ/ occurring with a clause in my data:

/ǎbǎmǎ, gwǎ mǎchǎ machǎwǎ gyɪ nyɪtǎ./

(adoptive-father, there sun not-hot-at go sit down.)

'Adoptive Father, go sit over there where
it's not hot.'

This is, however, a unique example in my data, and since it was said to me in the fields and is not on tape for rechecking, I am inclined to distrust it. It may have been a case of lapse, or I may simply have misheard /mǎchǎ machǎgwǎwǎ/ 'a place where the sun isn't hot', which is a common pattern elsewhere - see section 3.1.2.1.

/yí ámāsà jǎu./

(he now eat=new-situation.)

'He's eating new.'

/ngwā àwíthè ámyia gyí yllāngū./

(I yesterday=when field=to go return=come=nom=is-so.)

'Yesterday I went to the fields and returned.'

/ngwā ácaí: gwálē./

(I in-a-moment=further sing=nom=emph.)

'I'll sing in just a moment.'

b) Place expressions:

With /-wǎ/

/yí ámwǎwǎ gyia./

(he field=to go=nom.)

'He's going to the fields.'

/nwū 'thá wǎjwǎwǎ lyíswūngū súa: - phwū amyá gèwǎlē./

(you here=emph hills=at Lisu=language study=nom -
silver much give=get-to=emph.)

'When you come up here in the hills to study Lisu,
(they) can give you a lot of money.'

/lécàwǎ nǎgwǎ akhó súa./

(Latsa=at songs very-much know=nom.)

'At Latsa (they) really know (their) songs.'

/khyöphē kyāgwūwā gyīa, thijjē gwā. ǝzà cáicǝwā
thijjē gwā. ǝnyīa gyī, thijjē gwā./

(friend's dwell=place=to go=nom, one=kind sing. our
village=at one=kind sing. field=to go, one=kind sing.)

'(If we) go to a friend's place, (we) sing one kind
 (of song). In our village (we) sing another kind.
 (When we) go to the fields, (we) sing a
 particular kind.'

Without /-wā/

/ǝbāmē "jo gyī, mamū; nwa./

(adoptive-father there=emph go, not=see. you)

'(When your) adoptive father goes far away (home),
 you won't see (him any more).'

/khākhyā gyī kyā, asfu! khākhyā gyī kyā./

(platform go stay, #4=vocative! platform go stay.)

'Go stay on the platform, Fourth Daughter. Go
 stay on the platform.'

/ngwā hīn yīgyīu./ (I house return=go=new-situation.)

'I'm going home now.'

/nāswe thā lā - mahāswe thā lā; lā jāgwūwā./

(good=type here come - not=good=type here come.
vehicle path=at)

'Good types (of things) come here, bad types come
 here, along the road.'

When both time and place expressions occur in one clause, the
 time expression precedes, and /-wā/, if present, follows the place
 expression:

-
7. There is a /khākhyā/, or raised bamboo platform, outside almost
 every Lisu house. It is a place for such sedentary tasks as
 sewing, carving hoe handles, etc., or simply for sitting and
 talking.

/nwā àmīthè ànyīwā gyī yīlāngō./

(you yesterday-when field=te go return=come=nom=question.)

'Did you go to the fields and return yesterday?'

/āsū āthā pūhwá khyò kētāmā dūlā; madula./

(just-now here speech speak put-in=be=item
exit=come=nom. not=exit=come)

'What (we) have said into (the tape recorder) here
just now, will (it) come out or not?'

On time expressions in other positions, see sections 4.2.1.4
and 4.2.2.

4.2.1.3 The goal:

the third element in the basic clause is the goal.
This class occurs in clauses with transitive, adjectival, or copular
verb head, but not with an intransitive verb head. With adjectives,
the class is defined not only by order, but by the presence of the
substantive particle /-lé/ 'to, for, with respect to', which marks
the focus of a sentence.⁸ In clauses with transitive or copular
verb head, however, the goal class is defined only by its position,
although /-lé/ is also sometimes present.

a) Goal with adjective (/ -lé/ regularly present):

/ngwā chūmlé sātū./

(I person=old=with-respect-to embarrassed.)

'I'm embarrassed towards older people.'

8. Focus is discussed in the following chapter, section 5.3.

/nwū yflé há./ (you he=for good=nom.)

'You're good for him.'

b) Goal with transitive verb (/=lé/ facultatively present):

In classifying subgroups of transitive verbs, the type and number of goals occurring with each were discussed in detail in section 2.5.1.1, q.v. A few examples of ordinary transitives are recapitulated here.⁹

Ordinary transitive with single goal:

/yí thùghè búa./ (he letters write=nom.)

'He is writing.'

/lyíswūngù amvákhhè majūlō./

(Lisu=language many=words not=have=emph.)

'There are many words that Lisu doesn't have.'

/nwū phlāphā - chūmlō khyōghèkyāmā ālī yfa?/

(you occidental=man - person=old=to speak=to=remain=items
how do=nom?)

'What you were saying to the Westerner, the old man,
what was it all about?'

/nwū 'thá wājwā lyíswūngù súa:, phwū amyá: gèwālō./

(you here=emph hills=at Lisu=language study=nom,
silver much give=get=to=emph.)

'When you study Lisu here in the hills, (they)
can give (you) a lot of money.'

Ordinary transitives with two goals:

/ngwā thùghè yflé gǎa./ (I book he=to give=nom.)

'I gave the book to him.'

9. Transitives with verb phrase goal are discussed under complex clauses, section 4.4.2.2, below.

/né sūdā atyí kǎa./¹⁰

(you=to soda a-little put-in=nom.)

'(I'll) put a little soda in (your cup) for you.'

/nwū yí bābāhē bābā khwū, yí māmā māmā khwūwángū./

(you his father=contrast father call, his mother
mother call=get-to-is-so.)

'You can call his father "father" and his mother
"mother".'

c) Goal with copular verb (/=-lé/ rare):

/nwū ányí ngwā ányí ngū. ngwā ányí nwū ányí ngū./

(your daughter my daughter is. My daughter
your daughter is.)

'Your daughter is my daughter. My daughter is
your daughter.'

/īmāsà yí áténé kǎ./

(now she little is-like=nom.)

'Now she's little.'

/yí hwà yíhwākwā kǎlǐgwū./

(her flesh partic=striped=striped become=complete.)

'Her flesh became striped all over.'

/ngwā thīmā ngūnē; yísyà hāmā./

(I one=unit be=emph. sound good=nom=unit)

Here the complex secondary topic /yísyà hāmā/ 'one with a good voice' is appositive to /thīmā/ 'one (unit)' which is in basic goal position.

10. /né/ is a contraction of /nwūlé/; see section 2.5.1.1.1, footnote 47.

/ngwā nyísyí nshē thī ngū./

(my brother-in-law you=as-for=contrast this is.)

'My brother-in-law is this (way) with respect
to you also.'

Here, as with certain transitive verbs, there are two goals.

4.2.1.4 The adverb:

The fourth element in the basic clause is the adverb. It is marked only by order. Although only substantives act as adverbs, nouns derived from verbs are particularly common in this function.

a) Non-deverbative adverbs:

/yíngū thithé khyōhi./

(language one=moment speak=further.)

'Say that once again.'

/nwūkyī ngwākyī tāhū gyīa./

(you=and I=and together go.)

'You and I will go together.'

/lyīswū nwū kányá thīnwā gāyī, jō pñālàngū sū./

(Lisu you after one=time follow=go, there
occidental=language study.)

'(If we) Lisu once go with you, (we'll) study
English there (in America).'

/swū akhé syākyā./

(other-people very-much miss=nom.)

'They'll miss (you) very much.'

/yĩnyĩzà mami áthà sù gũ dũlā./

(partic=younger-brother not=strike knife "so"
pull exit=come.)

'The younger brother pulled out the magic
knife (with a) soooo (sound).'

b) Deverbative adverbs:

/ngwānwū phālāngū atyĩ sūyīa./

(we occidental=language a-little study=go=nom.)

'We'll go study English a little.'

Derived from /tyĩ/ 'little, few' with the preelitic particle
/a-/ (section 2.4.2.3.3b).

/yĩ nɛ pàhwá tótó khvòghà./

(he you=to speech backwards=backwards speak=to.)

'He's telling you wrenc way round.'

Derived from /tó/ 'contravene; be backwards, wrenc' by
reduplication (sections 2.4.2.2.3 and 2.10.2).¹¹

/tótó yīa; nwa./ (straight=straight de=nom. you)

'Act properly, you.'

Derived from /tō/ 'straight' by reduplication.

/swáswá: dūmà./ (slow=slow=partic drink=urging.)

'Take your time drinking.' 'Drink slowly.'

Derived from /swá/ 'slow' by reduplication, with the substantive
particle /-a/ 'particularization' (section 4.3.5).

11. This sentence is ambiguous. /tótó/ can be considered either
an adverb, as here, or an attribute to the preceding noun:
/pàhwá tótó/ 'mixed up speech'; see section 2.1.

The appearance of time expressions in the -wā-phrase to specify a point in time was described in section 4.2.1.2. Time expressions also occur as adverbs, in which case, however, they mark unspecified time or duration, e.g.:

Unspecified:

/ly¹swū nwū kányé chínwā gāyī, jō pāfàngū ē./

(Lisu you after one=time follow=go, there
occidental=language study.)

'(If we) Lisu once go with you, (we'll) study
English there (in America.)'

/lāhōhō chēsānyī cfangū./

(Lahu=contrast 10 + 3=days rest=nom=is=so.)

'But the Lahu take a day off (every) 13 days.'

Duration:

/nwū ly¹swāngū chīnyī šbī chūnā sūghā, sū gwāliā?/

(you Lisu=language this-year months six-units
study=actual=nom, study finish=change-of-state=nom?)

'If you study Lisu for six months (more) this year,
(will you) finish studying (it all)?'

/ngwā chēnyīchā gyā./

(I ten=days=about go=nom.)

'I'm going for about ten days.'

4.2.1.5 The verb:

The last element in the basic clause is the verb. Only verb phrases occur in this function, which is marked not only by final position in the clause, but by the optional presence of verb stem extensions and verb particles (sections 2.7, 2.9, and 5.4.1).

/ngwānwù phā̀làngù atyí sūyíá./

(we occidental=language a-little study=go=nom.)

'We'll go study English a little.'

/áca yí byà gè jà./

(in-a-moment he sweets give eat.)

'In a moment he'll give (you) candy to eat.'

/gūbà lāmī kyā./ (that=side tiger dwell.)

'There are tigers living over there.'

/mèkhwù na jūphá? (tobacco not=have=probably?)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?'

/sánè ngwā́ ámyíá gvīu./

(tomorrow I field=to go=new-situation.)

'Tomorrow I'll go to the fields.'

/akhé thākylèhū./

(very-much don't=defer=mutually.)

'Don't defer to each other so much.'

/nwū gè gyíá?/ /magè gyī./

(you allow go=nom?) (not=allow go.)

'Will you let (me) go?' 'No.'

/ámī ngwā́ ámyíá wā́ gyī yàlā./

(yesterday I field=to get-to go return=come=nom.)

'Yesterday I was able to go to the fields and
come back again.'

4.2.2 The extended basic clause:

Time expressions in the -wā-phrase specify a point in time (4.2.1.2); as adverbs they mark unspecified time or duration (4.2.1.4). Some time-specifying expressions also occur preceding the subject, where they have, as far as I can determine, approximately the same force as in the -wā-phrase. In fact, such expressions as 'today', 'yesterday', 'the other day', etc., more frequently precede than follow the subject.¹²

When a time expression unmarked with substantive particle /-wā/ 'to, at' precedes the subject of the clause, the resulting construction is an extended basic clause.

/nyíñè syàlùphà kyā mahā./

(this-morning Shalopha be not=good.)

'This morning Shalopha isn't feeling well.'

/áçá yí néchā gwūlīn./

(in-a-moment its medicine finish=change-of-state=
new-situation.)

'In a moment its (battery) power will be finished.'

/ānāsà yí iténé kã./

(now she small is-like.)

'Now she's small.'

12. In a representative sample of about 1200 sentences of free conversation, 32 sentences contain both time expression and subject; the latter precedes in two, the former in 30. In the corpus of elicited sentences, 49 contain both elements, with the subject preceding in 21, the time expression in 28.

/m̀khè th̀nyĩ f̀nà lw̄a; thi./

(nighttime one=day dog bark=nom. this)

'One night the dogs barked over here.'

/s̀gē nw̄ ỳgyĩth̀nyĩ, p̀hw̄ khȳ kw̄a./

(in=future you return=go=when=as=for, speech
speak know=how=nom.)

'Later on when you go back (ho)me), (she'll) be
able to talk.'

/s̄s̄ yĩ bē, bē mad̄l̄./

(just-now he say, say not=exit=come.)

'Just now (when) he was saying (the names),
(he) didn't say (that one).'

4.2.3 Non-basic clauses:

Departures from basic clause order, with or without time expression extension, involve either the addition of outside elements or rearrangement of the basic elements. The former occurs in the isolative positions (section 4.2.3.1), the latter when a question word is present (4.2.3.3), while both types occur in the topic positions (4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Isolatives:

Preceding and following all other elements in a clause are the isolatives. These are substantives optionally marked with the vocative particle /-u/ (see 4.3.4) or exclamations. Such elements are grammatically isolated from the clause in which they occur; their presence does not affect the grammatical relationships of any other elements in the clause. However, they

are frequently linked to a clause phonologically when both clause and isolative fall under a single sentence intonation.

a) Exclamations:

/ǎlū - thīnyīnyī yī atyā: hwīlǎ./¹³

(thank-goodness - these two days she a-little=partic
recover=come=nom.)

'Fortunately, she's recovered a bit these last two days.'

/yǎphyīnyī yī jǎ, qūi, khàthūn./

(opium=field work eat, oh, take-a-loss.)

'(Trying to) earn a living raising opium,
oh, (you) take a loss.'

/yǎphyīnyī yīa, thīkhū khwǎ, sǎkhāhē mawǎ, 'ǎ./

(opium=field work=nom, one=year hoe=nom, three=tenths-joy=
contrast not=get, oh=emph.)

'Raising opium, (you can) hoe for a year and not
even get three tenths of a joy, oh!'

b) Substantives:

/khǎkhyǎ gyī kyǎ, ǎsfu! khǎkhyǎ gyī kyǎ./

(platform go stay, #4=vocative! platform go stay.)

'Go stay on the platform, Fourth Daughter. Go
stay on the platform.'

/ǎnyā, nō qǎlǎ hīn-wǎ jǎphē thīfwū gyī zwū./

(daughter=partic, yonder Qǎlǎ's house=at liquor
one=bottle go take.)

'Eldest Daughter, go get a bottle of liquor
at Qǎlǎ's house.'

13. The grammatical separateness of isolatives is indicated in the transcription either by an intonation marker, as here, or with a comma.

/nwū dūmà, nyísyí! ǎbámǎ, amí dūmà./

(you drink-urging, brother-in-law! adoptive-father,
quickly drink-urging.)

'You drink, Brother-in-law! Adoptive Father,
drink up!'

c) Both:

/sǎ'qí, sǎshwǎ:, nwū bíshwǎ ǎlǎ kǎghōngǎ?!

(hey=emph, orphan=vocative, you dress where
put=actual-is-a-case-of?)

'Hey, Orphan, where did you put the dress?'

4.2.3.2 Topics:

Immediately preceding and following the extended basic clause are the topics, which have either substantive or verb phrase heads.¹⁴ The preceding position is the primary topic, which presents subject matter about which the following basic clause provides or requests information. The following position is the secondary topic, which presents information recapitulating or clarifying the preceding basic clause, often as an afterthought.

A primary topic is defined:

a) sometimes by position alone:¹⁵

/thíccǎicǎ yí bǔ kǎtǎngǔ./

(one=village he write put-in=stay=nom-is-so.)

'He has the whole village written down.'

14. The latter are described below under complex clauses, section 4.4.2.3.

15. A more detailed discussion is given below in section 4.2.3.2.1.

/thái mǎwǎ ānsà yàphyí mahǎ./

(Thai country=in now opium not=good.)

'In Thailand the opium isn't good now.'

/jǎphè thǎmǎ - nwǎ mǎlyíkǎ ālǐ bés; jǎphèlé?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans
call (it), liquor I mean?'

- b) sometimes by the presence of the general particle /-nyǎ/ 'as to, as for', which occurs only in the topic positions.¹⁶

/yàphyínyǎ ngwǎ jǎ madǎu./

(opium=as-for I eat not=can=new-situation.)

'With opium, I can't make a living any more.'

/ngwǎnwǎnyǎ lává gèdwǎ majū./

(we=as-for salary give=mechanism not=have.)

'As for us, (we) have no way of getting a salary.'

/náhyǎnyǎ yàphyínyǎ mayǎu./

(next-year=as-for opium=fields not=work=new-situation.)

'As for next year, (I) won't grow opium any more.'

- c) and sometimes by a focus particle.¹⁷ With the exception of isolatives, an initial phrase or non-main clause which is focal is also a topic.¹⁸

16. See also section 5.4.2.2.

17. See section 5.3 for a full discussion.

18. On isolatives, see the preceding section. The main clause is discussed in section 5.1.1, but cf. also the following footnote.

/syàlùphàhē kyā ngā?/

(Shalopha=contrast dwell=nom is-so?)

'But Shalopha is here, isn't he?'

/ngwālé gwā gwūlu./

(I=as-for sing finish=change-of-state=new-situation.)

'As for me, (I've) finished singing.'

While secondary topics are sometimes also marked by the presence of /-nyā/ or focus markers, their defining characteristic is that they follow the verb phrase to which they are attributive.¹⁹

/āli yia; thīswē?/

(how do=nom? this=tvoa)

'What (do I) do, in that case?'

/jēphē thīmā - nwā nīlylka āli bé; jēphélé?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call (it), liquor I mean?'

/dwāyia; beghanya, 'tīhwa azu?/

(enter=go=nom? say-to=as-for, this=emph-time we)²⁰

'Is (it) going in (the tape recorder), what we are saying this time?'

19. Thus, in the context of the sentence, a secondary topic follows the sentence intonation. That intonation is regularly associated with the main verb phrase in the sentence, while the secondary topic ends with a short syllable on a level pitch and without glottal stop. In the transcription, sentence intonation symbols mark the end of a sentence, but when a secondary topic is present, the phonological position of sentence intonation is indicated by a semi-colon following the main verb phrase.

20. /'tīhwa azu/ 'this time we' is a secondary topic to the verb phrase head /beghanya/ 'as for saying'. But /beghanya/ is the head of a secondary topic to the main verb phrase /dwāyia?/ 'is it going in?'. See below, section 4.4.2.3b.

In addition, the secondary topic is usually marked by overall weakened stress and lowered pitch, sometimes to the extent that the entire topic is reduced to atonic syllables with low pitch (cf. section 1.6). Since such atonic sequences occur only in secondary topic position, they constitute another, facultative, marker of the class.

/lyɪswūŋə bātɪŋō; nwu thughe nōma./

(Lisu=language write=stay=nom=question. your paper
that=item)

'Is that written in Lisu, that paper of yours?'

/ɛlɛ gyɪ sáa; ngwánwu?/

(where=to go know=nom? we)

'Where to go to learn (it), us I mean?'

/dwáyia; beghanya, 'tɪhwa azu?/

(enter=go=nom? say-to-as-for, this=emph=time we)

'Is (it) going in (the tape recorder), what we
are saying this time?'

In the rare cases when a secondary topic does not have overall reduced stress, it is focal and /-nyǎ/ or a focus marker is present:

/ságō nwū yllǎ, thɪhwǎ gə yllǎ ngǎ; gáyia, ngwǎnyǎ?/

(in-future you return=come=nom, one-time let
return=come=nom is-so? follow-go=nom, I=as-for):

'In the future when you come back, (you'd) let (me)
come back (too), wouldn't you, if I went along
(with you) that is?'

4.2.3.2.1 Simple and complex topics:

Topics are simple or complex. A simple topic is an element added to the basic clause, which has only the topic function described at the beginning of section 4.2.3.2. But a complex topic has in addition the function of one of the basic clause elements: subject, time or place expression, goal, or adverb. Only the verb phrase head does not shift; it is the constant center around which the other elements move.

Examples of simple topics are:

/yáphyínyā ngwā jà mādān./

(opium-as-for I eat not=can=new-situation.)

'With opium, I can't earn a living any more.'

/yá páciwā yíphwā álíwā jūa, álíwā tō jǎ./

(they plain=at price whichever=item have=nom,
whichever=item plant eat=nom.)

'As for them [the Thai], whatever brings a price down on the plain, (I'll) plant it to earn a living.'

/lyāswūngū bütāngō; nwu tūngne nōm./

(Lisu=language write=stay=question. your paper
that=item)

'Is (it) written in Lisu, that paper of yours?'

/nwū ányl mǐsá hwā tǎlāwǎlě; ráthábā./

(your daughter's share seek carry=come=get-to=emph.
government)

'You can bring your daughter's share (of money), from the government.'

When a rearrangement of basic order takes place in which an element is shifted from its basic position to one of the topic positions, the result is a complex topic. Since, with a shift to secondary topic position, a basic element follows its verb phrase head, position alone is sufficient to mark such topics. But with primary topics, position alone is a sufficient marker only when a shift from basic position is evident from the order of the elements, as when a goal precedes a subject, or an adverb precedes a goal, etc. Where elements can occur initially without topic function, they are topics only if specifically marked with /-nyā/ or a focus particle (cf. above, sections 4.2.3.2b-c). Since the subject and initial time expressions occupy the first position in, respectively, the basic and extended basic clause, it follows that a complex primary topic containing one of these elements is regularly marked with a particle.

a) Subject topics:

/ngwānwānyā lāvá gèdwū majū./

(We-as-for salary give=mechanism not=have.)

'As for us, (we) have no way of getting a salary.'

/syālūpnānē kyā ngā?/

(Shalopha-contrast dwell^{=nom} is-so?)

'But Shalopha is in, isn't he?'

/ālā gyī sáa; ngwanwu?/

(where-to go know=nom? we)

'Where to go to learn (it), us I mean?'

/ā̀bā̀mé "jo gyī, namū; nwu./

(adoptive-father there=emph go, not=see. you)

'(When your) adoptive father goes far away (home),
you won't see (him any more).'

b) Time expression topics:

/nā̀hyā̀nyā̀ yā̀phyīnyī mayīn./

(next-year-as-for opium=fields not=work=new-situation.)

As for next year, (I) won't grow opium any more.'

/sā̀nēnyā̀ ngwā̀ magyīn./

(tomorrow-as-for I not-go=new-situation.)

'Tomorrow I won't go.'

/kēsā̀ tēghēi, yīswā̀thīa kēsā̀ chwā̀līa./

(corn plant=actual=further, rainy-season-in corn
rot=change-of-state=nom.)

'And after (you) plant the corn, in the rainy season
the corn rots.'

In the last example, even without /-nyā̀/ or a focus marker, the time word /yīswā̀thī/ 'rainy season' is marked as a topic by its co-occurrence with the substantive particle /-wā̀/ 'to, at' before the subject, /kēsā̀/ 'corn'. The basic -wā̀-phrase position is after the subject; only time expressions unaccompanied by /-wā̀/ precede the subject without topic function (cf. section 4.2.2).

/'qú:, akhó dwājā̀ hīun; chā̀nyī./

(oh=emph, very=much think difficult=new-situation.
this-year)

'Oh, it's really painful to think about, this year.'

/ángà záchwè dūa; gwōthè./

(buffalo orphans exit=nom. that=when)

'There were a buffalo and (two) orphans, back then.'

c) Place expression topics:

/thái ~~mèwā~~ āmēsà yàphyí mahā./

(Thai country=in now opium=not=good.)

'In Thailand the opium isn't good now.'

/jāgwū wùpōwāthē pākāwīkhwū thīkhwū./

(path lower-side=at=contrast dung-beetle=hole one=hole.)

'And on the lower side of the road (there was)
a dung-beetle hole.'

/nwū mō pīlāwūnē; tha./

(your son-in-law arrive=come=has=emph. here)

'Your son-in-law has arrived here.'

/'áswè láchū lā ngā; lū jāgwūwā?/

(whatever=~~emph~~ persons come=nom is-so? vehicle path=on)

'All sorts of people come, don't they, along the road?'

d) Goal topics:

/thīcāicē yí bū kētāngū./

(one=village he write put-in=stay=nom=is-so.)

'He has the whole village written down.'

/jēphè thīmā - nwū mīlyīkā ālī bé; jēphèlé?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call
(it), liquor I mean?'

/lwùphàmì dì twūlāujù; zàchwā nyīswā:lé./

(dragon=male=old request rise=come=new-situation=emph.
orphans two=relatives=to)

'The dragon asked to (be allowed) to get up,
(asked) of the two orphans that is.'

/ú gwó: thīphē nyō chwā jāwūjù; pàhīhō./

(oh there! one=instant pinch heat eat=did=emph.
crab=contrast)

'oh, there! Suddenly (he) grabbed and cooked
and ate (him), the crab too, that is.'

e) Adverb topics (rare):

/thīphē yī wúchī swīghā./

(one=instant his horn twist-to-nom.)

'All at once (he) twisted his [the dragon's] horn.'

/yī phylsyī thīphylsyī pō tē ylgylajù; 'kállèvī./

(her leg one=leg put-on-shoulder carry return-go-nom=emph.
sticking-out=fashion=emph)

'(He) carried one of her legs back on his shoulder,
sticking out (front and back).'

Complex topics sometimes consist of only a part of a phrase,
the remainder of which appears in its basic position:

/byà thīmā thīkhwā gò./

(sweets one=unit one=lump give.)

'(He'll) give a piece of candy to each (of you).'

Here /byà/ 'sweets' is a primary topic, removed from its basic
position immediately preceding its counter /thīkhwā/ 'one lump'.
The entire phrase is goal of /gò/ 'give'.

/sāsà ðphwàṁsà gwūlī pīyā./

(three=fruits pumpkin=fruit finish=change-of-state
arrive=go=nom.)

'(They) reached the stage when three pumpkins
had been finished off.'

/sāsà/ 'three fruits; three round things' is the counter for
/ðphwàṁsà/ 'pumpkin' and would normally follow it, the whole
forming an appositive phrase which is the goal of /gwū/ 'finish'.
Rearranged as here, /sāsà/ is a primary topic.

/gwōthhīn dāhī; yàphyí chwāṁā./

(that=one=house remains=yet. opium suck=unit)

'There's still that house, the opium smoker's.'

Here the phrase /yàphyí chwāṁā/ 'opium smoking one'²¹ is attributive
to the /hīn/ 'house' of /gwōthhīn/ 'that house', the subject of
/dā/ 'remain.'

A variation of this situation is the repetition, exactly or
with slight modification, in secondary topic position of a phrase
which has already appeared as a primary topic or in basic position.

/ngwā khyí thīlwāthwāṁā jā gwūlīu; ngwā khyí./

(my manure one=trough=partic=item eat finish=
change-of-state=new-situation. my manure)

'A whole troughful of my manure has been eaten
up (by your pigs), my manure I say.'

/lácà ṁsā thīkyíṁā chībādū; lácàṁā./

(peppers now one=kilo=unit ten=baht=emph. peppers=large)

'Peppers are now ten baht a kilo, large peppers that is.'

21. /yàphyí chwāṁā/ 'smoke opium' is a clause modifying the noun head
/-ṁā/ 'unit, item'; see section 3.1.2.1.

/nwū phálangù ngwānwà masálē; phálà thùghè./

(your occidental=language we not-know=emph.
occidental writing)

'As for your English, we don't know (it),
English writing that is.'

/jēphè thīmā - nwū nīlyíká Ìlī bés; jēphàlé?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say-nom?
liquor=as-for)

This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call
(it), liquor I mean?'

The last three examples above illustrate the occurrence of both primary and secondary topics in one utterance. There are also sometimes two or more primary or secondary topics in one utterance:

/ǎzà lyíswū majūnyā, yíngù khyōnyā, sélé ngí?/

(we Lisu not=have=as-for, language speak=as-for,
know=emph is-so?)

'Although we Lisu don't have (any money), (if we)
spoke (your) language, (we'd) know how (to
make some), wouldn't we?'

/'thīnwānyā nōbè thījī yíamā, kēsā tē./

(this=emph-time=as-for that=side one=kind do-nom-item,
corn plant.)

'This time, (the way) they do over there, (I'll)
plant corn.'

/kyā mahā; jāgwū yíkhōwā tálvwā./

(dwel not=good. path side=at road=at)

'It's not good to live by the side of the
road, the main road.'

4.2.3.3 Clause order with question words:

A variant of topic arrangement of basic order occurs when one of the seven Lisu question words is present in a clause.²² That word, or its phrase, carries the function in a given utterance of some one of the basic position classes, yet regularly precedes the verb phrase head. That is, the question phrase, whether subject, goal, or another element, occurs immediately before the verb phrase rather than following the usual order for its class.

Question subject:

1) /nwā y^lgy^famā thā anyā dāhè./

(you return-go-nom-item months how-many-units
remain-further.)

'How many more months are left (before)
your return (home)?'

2) /gwōthihīanmā amā kyā?/

(that=one=house=partic=item who dwell-nom?)

'Who lives in that house?'

3) /thīmā amā bē?/ (this=item who say-nom?)

'Who said that?'

22. That is:

/amā/ 'who?'

/anyā/ 'how much?, how many?'

/áswè/ 'what?'

/áthè/ 'when?'

/ātā/ 'where?'

/āī/ 'how?, which?'

/ālā/ 'where to?'

See section 2.4.2.3.3e.

Question time expression:

- 4) /yí áthè lá?/ (he when come=nom?)
 'When is he coming?'
- 5) /nwū álíthè gyíá?/ (you which=when go=nom?)
 'When are you going?'
- 6) /nwū thítínínín áthè syáwúngó./
 (you this=one=house when make=did=question.)
 'When did you build this house?'

Question place expression:

- 7) /nyímí nwū álitáwá gyíá?/
 (today you which=place=to go=nom?)
 'Where are you going today?'
- 8) /já álitáwá já?/
 (rice which=place=at eat=nom?)
 'Where (shall we) eat?'
- 9) /álá gyí sáa; ngwanwu?/
 (where-to go know=nom? we)
 'Where to go to learn (it), us I mean?'

Question Goal:

- 10) /nwū ámósá áswé syákyá?/
 (you now what make=be=nom?)
 'What are you making now?'
- 11) /anyá jūa?/ (how-much have=nom?)
 'How much do (you) have?'

12) /lächū anyāzū jūa masáa?/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not=know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

Question adverb:

13) /nwū jā ālī tśa?/ (you rice how plant=nom?)

'How do you plant rice?'

14) /lyīswū thīmālé ālī bś?/

(Lisu this=item=as-for how say=nom?)

'What do the Lisu call this?'

In many cases - e.g. 1-3, 6, and 8 above - the interrogative position shift produces a clause with one or more primary topics, the question phrase and the verb head forming the basic clause. But a question expression often calls for no rearrangement, in which case, nevertheless, a complex topic sometimes appears independently of the question, e.g.:

/jēphè thīmā - nwū mīlyīká ālī bś; jēphələ?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call (it), liquor I mean?'

where /ālī/ 'how' is an adverb in the basic position, but the goal /jēphə/ 'liquor' appears in both primary and secondary topic positions.

In the answer^w to a question, all elements preceding the question word are commonly omitted. If such elements do appear in the answer, however, the order is that of the question:

Question: /jǎ ǎlǐtǎwǎ jǎ?/ (rice which=place-at eat=nom?)

'Where (shall we) eat?'

Answer: /(jǎ) thǐtǎwǎ jǎ./ ([rice] this=place-at eat=nom.)

'(We'll) eat here.'

Question: /lyǐswǎ thǐnǎlé ǎlǐ bǎ?/

(Lisu this=item-as-for how say=nom?)

'What do the Lisu call this?'

Answer: /(lyǐswǎ thǐnǎlé) jǎ bǎ./

([Lisu this=item-as-for] rice say=nom.)

'[The Lisu] call [this] rice.'

When a question word occurs in a statement rather than a question, the question order obtains, but the question word has indefinite, not interrogative, force.

/a'mǎ makyǎ./ (whoever=emph not=dwell.)

'No one's there.'

/nǎ ǎmǎ ǎlǐ yǐlǎ, ngwǎnwǎ jǎu./

(you-to whoever however do=come, we help=new-situation.)

'Whatever anyone does to you, we'll help.'

/ǎlǐ gyǎ?/ /ǎ'lǎi; magyǐn./

(where-to go=nom?) (wherever=emph not=go=new-situation.)

'Where are (you) going?' '(I'm) not going anywhere now.'

/nwǎ ǎswǎ yǎ?/ /ǎ'swǎ mayǐ./

(you what do=nom?) (whatever=emph not=do.)

'What are you doing?' 'Nothing at all.'

/màkhwù à'swá gwū madā; jō./

(tobacco whatever=emph finish not=can.there)

'There's more tobacco than we can possibly finish, over there.'

/yá páchāwā yíphwà ālīmā jūa, ālīmā tō jǎ./

(they plain=at price whichever=item have=nom, whichever=item plant eat=nom.)

'As for them [the Thai], whatever brings a price down on the plain, (I'll) plant it to earn a living.'

4.3 Substantive Particles.

Within the clause, the relationships between the elements, although inherent in their order, are frequently given more specificity with particles. While verb and general particles mark not only these relationships but also structures extending over an entire clause or between clauses, the substantive particles specify only intra-clause relationships.²³

Of the five substantive particles, /-wā/ 'to, at, /-lě/ 'to, for, with respect to', and /-kyī/ 'enumerative; and' occur in the basic clause or with topics; /-u/ 'vocative' occurs with isolatives; and /-a/ 'particularization' occurs with any element.

4.3.1 /-wā/ 'to, at, in'

The particle /-wā/ marks the second basic element in the clause, specifying a point in time or space.²⁴

23. Accordingly, verb and general particles are discussed in the following chapter, 'The Sentence'. For the definitions of the particles and their subclasses see section 2.9.

24. On the occurrence of /-wā/ with a clause, see section 4.2.1.2, footnote 6.

/nwū 'thá wájwā dē, lyīswāngù sū./

(you here=emph hills=to climb, Lisu=language study.)

'You've come up here in the hills to study Lisu.'

/thī amfūwā sēphèkhūwā kōa, dá ngā?/

(this being=high=high=at bowl=inside=at put-in=nom,
can=nom is-so?)

'(We) can put this up high in the bowl, can't we?'

/āmyī thītāwā ngū.

(field this=place=at is.)

'The field is here.'

/yī āmyīwā gyā./ (he field=to go=nom.)

'He's going to the fields.'

/lyīswū jō nwū kyāgwūwā gyā, phwū majū./

(Lisu there you dwel=place=to go=nom, silver not=have.)

'If (we) Lisu go to your country, (we) won't have any money.'

/khyōphē kyāgwūwā gyā, thījē gwā. āzū cāicāwā thījē
gwā. āmyīwā gyī, thījē gwā./

(friends dwell=place=to go=nom, one=kind sing.
our village=at one=kind sing. field=to go,
one=kind sing.)

'If (we) go to a friend's village, (we) sing one kind (of song). In our village (we) sing one kind. If (we) go to the fields, (we) sing one kind.'

/sākhū lyīkhūwā atyī mīdīu./

(three=years four=years=in a-little forget=new-situation.)

'In three or four years (we'll) have forgotten (you) a little.'

/nwū ālitōwā sālā, āswākhūwā sālā - /

(you which=place=at born=come, what=year=in born=come=nom -)

'Where you were born and what year you were born in ...'

In rapid speech, /-wā/ is frequently reduced to /-ā/, in which case it forms a diphthong with the vowel of the preceding syllable.

/āmyā/ from /āmyīwā/ 'to the field, at the field'

/mwā/ from /mwīwā/ 'in the country, to the country'

4.3.2 /-lě/ 'to, for, with reference to, with respect to'

The particle /-lě/ is a focus particle (see 5.3); a substantive with which this particle occurs is focal, i.e. is singled out for the listener's special attention.

/ngwālě gwā gwūliu./

(I-as-for sing finish=change-of-state=new-situation.)

'As for me, (I've) finished singing.'

/jēphè thīmā - nwū mīlyīkā ālī bē; jēphələ?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor-as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call
(it), liquor I mean?'

/tānwù lā syīangū; yīlě./

(police come kill=nom=is-so. they-as-for)

'The police would come and kill them.'

/nwū phālāphā - chūmlě khyōghēkyāmā ālī yīa?/

(you occidental=man - person=old=to speak=to=be=items
how do=nom?)

'What you were saying to the Westerner, the old man,
what was it all about?'

/swālé mahā./

(other-people=with-respect-to not=correct.)

'It's not proper towards others.'

/ngwā chūmùlé sātū./

(I person=old=with-respect-to embarrassed.)

'I'm embarrassed towards older people.'

/zāmā:lé gwāghša./

(women=to sing=to=nom.)

'(He) sings to women.'

/ngwā thūghè yīlé gè tōnyā./

(I book he=to let look-at=nom.)

'I showed him the book.'

/zāmā akhé mabyīmlé - yīsyā mahā./

(woman very not=pretty=unit=to - sound not=good.)

'To a woman who isn't very pretty, (one's) voice
(need) not be good.'

In rapid speech, /-lé/ is frequently reduced to /-l/, in which case it combines to form a diphthong with preceding high tone syllables but remains a separate syllable following syllables with other tones.

/yā/ from /yīlé/ 'with respect to him, then'

/bāyā/ from /bāyīlé/ 'with respect to the Thai'

4.3.3 /-kyī/ 'enumeration; and'

The particle /-kyī/ occurs with each coordinate member of an additive substantive phrase (section 3.1.3.1), except that /-kyī/ drops after the last member when another particle occurs

there.

/nwākŷī ngwākŷī tãhù gyĩa./

(you-and I-and together go-nom.)

'You and I will go together.'

/bãbākŷī mãmākŷī jã gè jãngũ./

(father-and mother-and rice give eat-nom-is-sc.)

'(Her) father and mother feed (her).'

/lãhãkyī àkhãnyī ányī jũa mahã./

(Lahu-and Akha-as-for daughters have-nom not-good.)

'For the Lahu and the Akha (it's) not good
to have daughters.'

4.3.4 /-u/ 'vocative'

The particle /-u/ occurs only with substantives in isolative position. It normally forms the offglide of a diphthong with the vowel of the substantive's last syllable and has the tone of that syllable. However, occasionally the particle itself is emphatically stressed, in which case it forms a separate syllable.

/kũu!/ (older-brother=vocative=emph.)

'Brother!' (attracting his attention when he is present)

/amí dũ, àbãmsu!/
present

(quickly drink, adoptive-father=vocative=emph.)

'Drink up, Adoptive Father!'

/ã'liã, amí nãlã! gyĩn!/
present

(#2-child=vocative=emph. quickly carry-on-back=come!
go=new-situation!)

'Second Daughter, bring (him) quickly! Go on!'

/há mahānē, yī bwū, yàphyínyā, náiphāú!/
 (good=nom not=good=contrast, work bored=new-situation,
 boss=man=vocative=emph!)

'Whether (it's) good or not, (I'm) tired of
 growing (it), opium I mean, Boss Man!'

cf. /náiphāu/ without emphatic stress or abrupt
 intonation.

4.3.5 /-a/ 'particularization'

Substantives occurring with the particle /-a/ have
 normal or emphatic stress; with the latter falling pitch /:/ is
 regularly present, with the former /:/ is facultative.

a) With non-emphatic stress:

/ányia alá sēlá, átá cà, átá kyā nānyfadù./

(daughter=partic where-to born=come, where move,
 where dwell, ask=nom=emph.)

'(He's) asking where you daughter was born, what
 places (you've) moved to, and where (you've)
 lived.'

/ámōsà thānyā masó. thīnyia nyinyia gwādwū majū./

(now here=as-for not-know. one-day=partic
two-days=partic sing=knowledge not=have.)

'Now here (people) don't know (songs). There aren't
 (people who) know how to sing for even one or
 two days.'

/ngwā thīthéa tōnyia./

(I one-moment=partic look-at=nom.)

'I'll look at (this) just for a moment.'

/jəphə ʔlɪjʔam̩./ /thɪthɪjʔam̩. jəphə swəswə thɪjʔa ngū./

(liquor which=kind=partic=item.) (this=one=kind=partic=item.
liquor red=red one=kind=partic is.)

'Which kind of liquor?' 'This kind. It's the
red kind.'

/thɪchʔam̩ əchʔa ənyɪnyɪ jʔa?/

(one=week=item nom=real=partic how-many-days have=nom?)

'Actually, just how many days are there in (your) week?'

b) With emphatic stress and falling pitch:

/thɪ'vwɪa:hə wə madʔu./

(this=size=partic=emph=contrast get not=can=new-situation.)

'Now (we) can't get even this much.'

/thɪ'phyá:m̩, chɪyɪ thɪchʔakhwə wə dūa./

(one=rupee=partic=emph=item, tea one=pot get drink=nom.)

'(They) get one rupee and get to drink one pot of
tea.' [speaking of the bride price among the Akha]

/kʔhə ʔthɪthə pɪyɪa, a'nyá: səu./

(but=contrast this=when arrive=go=nom, non=much=partic=emph
know=new-situation.)

'But when that time comes, (you'll) know a lot.'

/ngwɪnwɪ ʔnyɪnyɪ a'tyá: ngʔhi./

(our daughter=as-for a-little=partic=emph is=still.)

'(She's) still our daughter a little bit.'

/nyɪ'nyá:nyɪ yákhɪphyá ngwəhyɪn chɪhyɪnyɪ pɪyɪu./

(little=little=partic=emph=as-for rupees five=hundred
six=hundred=as-for reach=go=new-situation.)

'If (we get) only a little, it'll come to five
or six hundred rupees

4.4 Attributive Clauses.

An attributive clause is marked by the absence of sentence intonation; such clauses occur with intonation patterns undistinguished from those of substantive phrases. They function either as part of substantive phrases, modifying a following substantive head, or as subject, goal, or topic in a larger clause, in which case they are directly attributive to the verb phrase of the latter. The second type of construction is a complex clause.

4.4.1 Attributive clauses within the phrase:

An attributive clause precedes a substantive it modifies. The verb phrase of the clause forms a word with a bound noun head or a phrase with a free substantive head,²⁵ and the whole acts as a substantive phrase in any larger construction. In such clauses the verb is optionally followed by a verb stem extension (2.7) and/or the final particle /-a/ (4.5). No other elements separate the verb from the following substantive head.

/sākē jūa hīn/ (three=room have=nom house)

'three-room house'

/jēphè dū mēgwā/ (liquor drink song)

'drinking song'

/sīchā chādwū/ (teeth rub=mechanism)

'toothbrush'

25. See sections 2.4.2.3.1 and 3.1.2.1.

/thùghè súsū anyāzū jūa?/

(book study=persons how-many=individuals have=nom?)

'How many students are there?'

/nū yigyīānā ābā anyānā dāhè./

(you return=go-nom=item months how-many=units remain=still.)

'How many more months are left (before) your
return (home)?'

/ngwā dwājātānānyī gyīa bēkyāngū./

(I consider=be=item-as-for go-nom intend=nom-is-so.)

'After thinking it over, (I) plan to go.'

/ngwā thùghè sūkyā thīcfa:mā yī pīlāngū./

(I book study=be one=moment=partic=item he
arrive=come=nom-is-so.)

'Just when I was studying, he arrived.'

/ngwā kyānyō kyāgwūā gyī jāgwū nāsó./

(I monkey dwell=place=to go path not=know.)

'I don't know the way to where the monkeys live.'

In the last example the attributive clause /kyānyō kyāgwūā gyī/ 'go to the monkeys' dwelling place', which modifies the noun /jāgwū/ 'path', itself contains another attributive clause: /kyānyō kyā/ 'monkeys dwell', which modifies the bound noun /-gwū/ 'place'.

Although such ^{forms} as the above are frequent, most commonly a clause - particularly if lengthy - is not directly attributed to a substantive. Rather, the bound noun /-mā/ 'unit, item' replaces the substantive as head to the attributive clause, and the resulting phrase follows

the first substantive and is appositive to it. That is: not 'a very pretty girl', but 'a girl, a very pretty one'.²⁶

/chūm̀ m̀anyā, yīsyà mahām̄ gwā./

(person=old see=nom-as-for, sound not=good=item sing.)

'If (you) see someone who's old, (you can) sing
with a sound that's poor.'

/zām̄ akh̄ mabyīm̄ yīsyà mah̄./

(woman very not=pretty=unit sound not=good.)

'(To) a woman who's not very pretty, (your)
voice (need) not be good.'

/wáphām̀, gwōthinyī jā bichw̄ jāghēm̄ yá: mabé?/

(uncle=old, that=one=day rice insects eat=actual=item
they not=say=nom?)

'Old Uncle, the other day didn't they say (anything
about) the rice the insects have eaten?'

/lyīswānyā akh̄ s̄a:m̄ wá./

(Lisu-as-for very-much know=nom-units get=nom.)

'Among the Lisu, (you) get individuals who know
a lot (of songs).'

In the last example, /akh̄ s̄a:m̄/ 'ones who know a lot' is appositive to /lyīswā/ 'Lisu', even though the latter is shifted into primary topic position.

4.4.2 Complex clauses:

Substantives with a clause attribute occur as any element except an isolative within a larger clause. But clauses without a substantive head appear only as subject, goal, or topic.

26. See also the examples in sections 3.1.3.2b-c.

4.4.2.1 Clause subjects:

A clause occurs as subject only with an adjectival verb phrase head or with the copula {ngā} 'is, is a case of'. Here, as with clauses modifying substantives, only verb stem extensions and/or nominalizing particle /-a/ follow the verb in the attributive clause, but the latter is regularly present with final tone in positive clauses before {ngā}.²⁷

With adjective head:

/ngwā zānō né nēthwā chūa./

(my children you-as-for marry-nom bad-nom.)

'For my children to marry you (would) be bad.'

/lāhōkyī ākhānyā ſwyl jūa mahā./

(Lahu-and Akha-as-for daughters have-nom not-good.)

'For the Lahu and the Akha it's not good to have daughters.'

/ngwā thā kyā mīswfu./

(I here dwell-nom long=new-situation.)

'I've lived here a long time now.'

/mācā mwāwā yāpnyī chwī akhé há./

(Burma country-in opium suck very good-nom.)

'In Burma, opium smoking is really good.'

With the copula {ngā}:

/ácá yī byā gè jǎngū./

(in-a-moment he sweets give eat-nom-is-so.)

'In a moment he'll give (you) candy to eat.'

27. See also section 4.5 on the nominalization and 2.5.4.3 on {ngā}.

/ngwǎ nǎhngū./ (I ill-nom-yet-is-so.)

'I'm still sick.'

/nwū ǎmyǎ gyǎngō./

(you field-to go-nom-question.)

'Are you going to the fields?'

/atyǐ manǎlǐngwǎ./

(a-little not-recover-change-of-state-yet-question.)

'Hasn't (he) gotten any better at all yet?'

/ǎmyǐ thǎ dǎ ngǎ; mangǎ./

(field here be-located-nom is-so. not-is-so)

'Is the field here or not?'

/nwū ǎmyǐ thǎ kyǎ ngǎ?/

(your daughter here dwell-nom is-so?)

'Your daughter lives here, right?'

/yǐ ǎbǎmǎ nǎa ngǐ?/

(she adoptive-father desire-nom is-so?)

'She wanted an adoptive father, didn't she?'

4.4.2.2 Clause goals:

Clauses fill the goal position with a limited number of transitive verbs representing semantic areas related to the senses, i.e. knowing, saying, hearing, seeing, and the like. Utterances with clause goal differ from those with substantive goal in that a clause goal regularly appears in primary topic position if any other substantive element is also present. Again, the attributive verb is followed in its phrase only by verb stem

extension and/or /-a/ 'nominalization'.²⁸

/gyia bēkyāngū./ (go-nom intend-nom-is-so.)

'I intend to go.'

/āllī būghēa: vwānyia./

(which-fashion write-actual-nom read-see-nom.)

'Try reading out what's written down.'

/lāchū anyāzū jūa masáa?/

(persons how-many-individuals have-nom not-know?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/phāná mwā hāmā cūlāmā há bēswāngū./

(Burma country Chinese-country circulate-come-item
good-nom say-nom-emph-is-so.)

'(He) is saying that (opium) that comes from
Burma and China is good.'

/nwū myē jūa ngwā sēangū./

(you work have-nom I know-nom-is-so.)

'I know you have work (to do).'

/yísyā há mǎhā ngwā nānānyia./

(sound good-nom not-good I listen-see-nom.)

'I'll listen and see if (your) voice is good or not.'

/thī bē, āzū āllī ngā né bēghēwá ngā?/

(this say, we how is you-to say-to-get-to is-so?)

'Saying this, (I) can tell you how it is with
us, right?'

28. The substantive particle /-lǎ/ 'to, for, with respect to', which is so frequent with substantive goals (section 4.2.1.3), does not, of course, occur with goals having a verb phrase head.

The verb /bē/ 'say, tell' frequently takes a clause goal while itself occurring in an attributive clause; in such cases /bē/ has the specialized meaning 'speaking of; if it is a case of'.

/mahā bēi, ǎzù máwá. há bēi, ǎzù zànō./

(not=good say=nom, we teach=must. Good=nom say=nom, our child.)

'If (she's) bad, we must teach (her). If (she's) good, (she's) our child.' [i.e. we both receive credit]

/myídù jūa bēi, ǎzù tǎhù myídù ngū./

(reputation have=nom say=nom, our together reputation is.)

'If (our daughter) has a good reputation, (it's also) our joint reputation.'

/sǎgē fwū jà fwū dūahō, yí zǎgwū hwǎyīa bē, nwū thítéswāwā kyāwā; ǎmyí kyǎgwūwā./

(in-future benefit eat benefit drink=nom=contrast, she husband find=go=nom say=nom, you this=side=at dwell=get-to. daughter dwell=place=at)

'In the future when benefits are gained (at the wedding ceremony), that is when she gets a husband, you can live here, in your daughter's home.'

/ǎmō - lyīswū zànō né ǎbámé cǎghāngū bényā, sǎgē nwū ǎmyí jūahí, ngwā zà zwū madā./

(now - Lisu child you=as-for adoptive-father relate=actual=is-so say=nom=as-for, in-future you daughter have=nom=further, my son take not=can.)

'Now, since it's the case that (my) Lisu child is related to you as adoptive father, in the future, if you have a daughter, my son can't marry (her).'

4.4.2.3 Clause topics:

The great majority of attributive clauses occur neither modifying substantives nor as subject or goal, but as topics. Subject and goal clauses sometimes occur as complex topics:

/nəthwūanyā chūa./ [complex topic]

(marry=nom-as-for bad=nom.)

'As for marrying, (it would) be bad.'

cf. /ngwā zānō né nəthwūa chūa./ [subject]

(my child you-as-for marry=nom bad=nom.)

'For my child to marry you (would) be bad.'

/nwū myō jūa ngwā séangū./ [complex topic]

(you work have=nom I know=nom-is-so.)

'I know you have work (to do).'

cf. /lāchū amyāzū jūa masáa?/ [goal]

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom
not-know=nom?)

'Don't you know how many people there are?'

But most clause topics are simple, i.e. any of the basic clause elements can occur without affecting the relationship between the attributive clause and the verb phrase which it modifies.

In topic clauses, not only verb stem extensions and the nominalizing particle /-a/, but also, facultatively, several other particles follow the verb(s). In fact, in their occurrence with clauses, the general particles /-nyā/ 'as for', /-hā/ 'contrastive focus', and /-hī(nyī)/ 'related focus' are limited to topic

position.²⁹ Thus these three particles are facultative markers of topic clauses.

a) Primary topics:

/nəgwā magwā, byà magè jà./

(song not=sing, sweets not=give eat.)

'If (you) don't sing a song, (he) won't give (you) candy to eat.'

/yí thùghè majū, lā madā./

(they paper not=have, come not=can.)

'If they don't have a permit, (they) can't come.'

/nwū thā wàjwāwā dēlā, lyīswūngù sū./

(you here hills=to climb=come, Lisu=language study.)

'You've come up here to the hills to study Lisu.'

/lyīswū nwū kányá thīhwā gáyī, jō phālàngù sū./

(Lisu you after one=time follow-go, there occidental=language study.)

'If (we) Lisu once go with you, (we'll) study English there (in America).'

/sākhù lyīkhù pīyā, mīdīulē./

(three=years four=years arrive-go-nom, forget=change-of-state=new-situation+emph.)

'Three or four years from now (they) will have forgotten (you).'

/nwū ylgýinyā, mayllāu./

(you return-go-as-for, not=return=come=new-situation.)

'If you go back (home). (you won't come back (here) any more.'

29. The particles are discussed individually in section 5.4.2. As general particles, all three also occur with substantives, but, while /-nyā/ is limited to topics in all constructions, both /-hā/ and /-hī(nyī)/ also appear in other positions with substantives.

/yíá mǔlǐnyǎ, bēghǒa./

(he-as-for see=change-of-state-as-for, say-to-nom.)

'If (I) see him, (I'll) tell (him).'

/yàphyí swǎtǎhō, swǎhwǎlǐu./

(opium sow=stay-contrast, die=change-of-state-new-situation.)

'And when the opium is sown, it dies.'

/mǎhǎn lǐthō, mǎwǎ jǎu./

(rain rain-contrast, not=get eat=new-situation.)

'And when it rains, (you) can't earn a living.'

/tōhē, tōnyǐ há. khyōhē, khyōnyōa./

(look-contrast, look-at good=nom. smell-contrast,
smell-bad=nom.)

'For looking, (it's) fine. For smelling, (it) stinks.'

b) Secondary topics:

/nwǔ kǎnyǎ gǎyǎlǎ; phwǔ mǎjǔjǔ./

(you after follow-go=nom-emph. money not=have=have)

'(We'll) go along with you, (since we) don't
have any money.'

/mǎngǎ, 'qǔs, ngwǎ jǎ mǎdǎ; yàphyínyǐ yǐa./

(not=so, oh=emph, I eat not=can. opium=field work=nom)

'Otherwise, oh I can't make a living raising opium.'

/yí bǎbà yí mǎmǎ dǎa; ngwǎkhè bǎjǎlǐa./

(her. father her mother beat=nom. my=words
hear=change-of-state=nom)

'Her father and mother will beat (her), when
(they) hear my words.'

/thɪfwū ngwā gyī vwū tēlāghè; yí gwā péanyā./

(one=bottle I go buy carry=come=for. he sing dare=nom=as-for)

'I'll go buy a bottle (of liquor) and bring (it)
for (him), if he dares sing.'

/dwāyīa; beghanya, 'tɪhwa azu?/

(enter-go=nom? say-to=as-for, this=emph-time we)

'Is (it) going in (the tape recorder), what we're
saying this time?'

/ságō nwū yllā, thɪhwā gè yllā ngā; gāyīa, ngwānyā?/

(in-future you return-come, one=time allow return=come=nom
is-so? follow-go=nom, I=as-for)

'In the future when you come back, (you'll) let
(me) come back again, won't you, if I go
along (with you)?'

When there is more than one topic clause in a sentence, one or more precedes the head verb phrase, but, in my data, no more than one follows it.

/gyīghāa, chwāyī, yllāngūnō./

(go=actual=nom, visit-go, return=come=nom=is-so=emph.)

'After (we) go, (we'll) go around and visit and then
come back.'

/yāpɸyɪnyī yīa, thɪkhū khwā, sakɸhō mawā, 'i./

(opium-field work=nom, one=year hoe=nom, three=tenths-joy=
contrast not=get, oh=emph.)

'Raising opium, in one year's cultivation (you)
don't even get three tenths of a joy, oh!'

/āzù lyīswū majūnyā, yíngù khyōnyā, sélē ngī?/

(we Lisu not=have=as-for, language speak=as-for,
know=emph is-so?)

'Though we Lisu don't have (any money), if (we)
spoke (your) language, (we'd) know how (to
make some), wouldn't we?'

/sáǵē nwā yllā, thihwā gè yllā ngā; gāyīa, ngwānyā?/

(in-future you return=come, one=time allow return=come=nom
is-so? follow-go=nom, I=as-for)

'In the future when you come back, (you'll) let (me)
come back again, won't you, if I go along
(with you)?'

/mangā, 'qū:, ngwā jà madā; yàphyímyī yīa./

(not-so, oh=emph, I eat not=can. opium-field work=nom)

'Otherwise, oh I can't make a living raising opium.'

4.5 Nominalization.

When a verb is nominalized with one of the proclitic particles /yí-/ or /ə-/ (sections 2.4.2.3.3 and 3.1.2.3) or with reduplication (2.10.2), it loses its ability to function as the head of a clause. However, an entire clause can be nominalized by marking its verb head with a morpheme which is represented sometimes with final tone (cf. 1.6.2.2), sometimes with final particle /-a/ (cf. 5.4.1.2), and sometimes with a combination of the two.³⁰ This is clause nominalization.

4.5.1 The forms:

The great majority of verbs occur with both final tone and /-a/, separately or in combination depending on the syntactic environment. Such verbs show alternations of the types:

Basic	With final tone and /-a/
/sū/ 'study'	/sūa/ 'to study'
/gū/ 'go'	/gūa/ 'to go'
/dè/ 'beat'	/dèa/ 'to beat'

30. I presume there are varying degrees of explicitness in the different realizations, but I do not know the language well enough to define the difference in meaning explicitly.

However, neither diphthongs with low vowel and /a/ offglide nor triphthongs occur in Lisu. Thus, with verbs having nuclear low vowel or diphthong, clause nominalization is represented only with final tone, e.g.:

Basic tone	Final tone
/bē/ 'say'	/bḗ/ 'to say'
/hā/ 'good'	/há/ 'to be good'
/pài/ 'put'	/pǎi/ 'to put'

With verbs having basic high-level or mid-rising tone, basic and final tone coincide. Most of these occur with /-a/:

Without /-a/	With /-a/
/sǒ/ 'know'	/sǒa/ 'to know'
/phǐ/ 'flick (with a finger)'	/phǐa/ 'to flick'

But those with nuclear low vowel or diphthong do not, e.g.:

/kyā/ 'dwell'	/tǒ/ 'contravene; be wrong'
---------------	-----------------------------

In either case, a verb is considered to have final tone only in those syntactic environments where final tone is regularly present with verbs of the first two types above. Thus, with verbs like the last two, the presence of clause nominalization is marked only by the syntactic environment.

4.5.2 The function:

In many environments the nominalizing function of this morpheme is not clearly demonstrable. The following are examples of it in environments where that function is clear:

/nwū swǎ mahāu./

(you twist=nom not=good=new-situation.)

'Your twisting (it) isn't good.'

cf. /nwū swǎ mahā./ (you twist not=good.)

'You're twisting (it) badly.'

/nwū yǎ mahā./ (you do=nom not=good.)

'It's not good for you to do that.'

cf. /nwū yī mahā./ (you do not=good.)

'You're doing (it) badly.'

In these pairs there is a clear difference in meaning between the forms with /-a/ and final tone and those without. In the first of each pair, the initial clause is nominalized and acts as subject of a following adjective, while in the second of each pair, the verb forms part of a larger verb phrase.

/lǎchū anyǎzū jūa masǎa?/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not=know=nom?)

'Don't you know how many people there are?'

/gyā bēkyāngū./ (go=nom intend=nom-is-so.)

'I intend to go.'

In these two cases, there are no parallel expressions without /-a/ (but the first has /-a/ with basic tone); clauses with positive verbs which are the goal of verbs of speaking, hearing, and the like are regularly nominalized.

/gyīa bēkyāngū./ (go=nom intend=nom=is-so.)

'I intend to go.'

/áca byà gè jāngū./

(in-a-moment sweets give eat=nom=is-so.)

'In a moment (he'll) give (you) candy to eat.'

cf. /thāhān mangā. tǎnwà ngūpháí/

(soldiers not=be. police be=probably?)

'(They) are not soldiers. (They) are
police, I think.'

In the first two of these sentences, the nominalized clauses act as subject of the copula /ngū/ 'is, is so' in the same way as the nouns in the last example.

In all three sets of examples, the verb forms with /-a/ and/or final tone appear in typically substantive positions.

In other environments the nominalizing function of the morpheme is not clear. Aside from those listed above, the only environment in which it is regularly present is with verbs occurring with interrogative intonation (see 1.11.3).³¹

31. One of the most common environments in which the morpheme appears is in a main verb phrase (as in several of the examples above), which has the somewhat unsettling effect of making many Lisu sentences substantives. There is an interesting parallel in Lisu's neighbor and relative, Burmese, where a main verb phrase ends with one of a class of final particles. (The terms used here are those of W. C. Cornyn in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar, Language Supplement*, 2014 (1944). The examples are from the *Outline or Cornyn's Spoken Burmese*, LSA, 1945.) These include /-tē/ 'actuality' and /-mē/ 'potentiality', both with low level tone. When a verb phrase is attributive to a noun head, however, the former precedes and the tone of the final particle changes to short falling: /-te./ or /-me./, as in:

4.5.3 The environments:

a) In a few environments, nominalization is regularly present, i.e.:

In the Lisu citation form of a verb:³²

/sáa/ 'to know'	basic form: /sã/ 'know'
/syia/ 'to be wide'	/syī/ 'wide'
/khyia/ 'to flee'	/khyī/ 'flee'
/gyia/ 'to go'	/gyī/ 'go'
/jãa/ 'to ride'	/jã/ 'ride'

With a verb, positive or negative, which occurs with interrogative intonation (1.11.3 and 5.2.3):

/amyájã jūa?/ (many=kinds have=nom?) Basic: /jū/
 'Are there many kinds?'

/kaun:de. lu/ (good=actual person) 'good person'
 cf. /lu kaun:de/ '(the) person is good'
 /thwa:mə. ywa/ (go=potential village)
 '(the) village to which (they) will go'
 cf. /ywa-gou thwa:mə/ 'will go to the village'

Both position and tone shift exactly parallel those of such nouns as /thu/ 'he' and /qein/ 'house' in attribution, e.g.:

/thu. məi'hswei/ 'his friend'
 cf. /thu thwa:de/ 'he goes'
 /qein. hyin/ (house lord) 'landlord'
 cf. /qein kaun:de/ '(the) house is good'

Compare also the rare usage:

/mahtu-yin, khamya: hyi.de mahyi.de-gou be. ne lou'
 thi.hnain-male;/

(not=answer-if, you present=actual not=present=actual=
 goal how do know=can=potential=question.)

'If you don't answer, how can (I) know whether
 you are present or not?'

in which a verb phrase ending in the final particle /-te/ is followed by the particle /-kou/ 'goal, object', one of a group of particles which define the class of nouns.

32. See section 1.6.2.2, footnote 43. Each of the environments mentioned here is discussed elsewhere from the point of view of word, phrase, or clause structure or function. The sections relevant to each are indicated in parentheses in each subheading below.

/lächū anyāzū jūa masāa?/ Basic: /sá/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not=know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/zànōa: cā makwūmā ālī yīa?/ Basic: /yī/

(children relate not=know-how=items how do=nom?)

'What (do you) do (about) things the children
can't tell (you)?'

/thīmā ālī yōa?/ (this=item how use=nom?) Basic: /yō/

'How (do you) use this?'

/nwū gyīa; āmāsà?/ (you go=nom? now) Basic: /gyī/

'Are you going, now?'

In positive statements which are subject of the copula {ngā} 'is,
is so, is a case of' (2.5.4.2):

/nwū myō jūa ngwā sāngū./ Basic: /sá/

(you work have=nom I know=nom-is-so.)

'I know you have work (to do).'

/ácá byā gè jāngū./ Basic: /jā/

(in-a-moment sweets give eat=nom-is-so.)

'In a moment (he'll) give (you) candy to eat.'

/ngwā téakhýōnyā jūangūnē./ Basic: /jū/

(my direction-as-for have=nom-is-so=emph.)

'On my side there is indeed.'

/phwū hwā tē yīlā ngā?/ Basic: /yīlā/

(silver seek carry return-come-nom is-so?)

'(You'll) get money and bring it back, won't you?'

/yí bābà nǎa, ābàns nǎa ngī?/ Basic: /nǎ/

(she father desire=nom, adoptive-father desire=nom is-so?)

'She wanted a father, an adoptive father, right?'

/nwū āmyīa gyīangō./ Basic: /gyī/

(you field=to go=nom=question.)

'Are you going to the fields?'

In a positive statement which is the goal of a transitive verb:

(4.4.2.2):

/gyīa bēkyāngū./ Basic: /gyī/

(go=nom intend=nom=is-so.)

'I intend to go.'

/pāimā mwī hēmwi cūlāmā há béswāngu./ Basic: /hā/

(Burma country Chinese=country circulate=come=item
good=nom say=nom=emph=is-so.)

'(He) is saying that (opium) that comes from
Burma and China is good.'

/myídù jūa bés, ʒzù tàhù myídù ngū./ Basic: /jū/

(reputation have=nom say=nom, our together reputation is.)

'If (our daughter) has a good reputation, (it's
also) our joint reputation.'

b) Nominalization is regularly absent - i.e. /-a/ is lacking and

a verb has basic tone:

With all but the last of a sequence of verbs in one phrase:

/lā tōnyī/ (come look-at) 'come to see'

citation form: /lā/

/gyī sá/ (go know) 'go to learn'

citation form: /gyīa/

/dūlā/ (exit=come) 'come out'

citation forms /dūa/

/jā sā/ (eat easy) 'happily married'

citation form: /jā/

/yīkū mawā vwū tēlā/ (cigarettes not=get-to buy carry=come)

'didn't have a chance to buy cigarettes and bring (them)'

citation forms: /wā/, /vwūa/, /tē/

From an adjective, nominalized or not, attributive to a preceding noun head (2.4.2.3.1.2a and 3.1.2.3):

/lānō/ (big-cat=black) 'black panther'

citation form: /nē/

/ānāswā/ (dog=yellow) 'yellow dog'

citation form: /swāa/

/chūmī/ (person=old) 'old person'

citation form: /mūa/

/jēphē swāswā/ (liquor red=red) 'red liquor'

citation form: /swāa/

/bīchwā yīnyīchwā/ (dress nom=green) 'green dress'

citation form: /nyīchwāa/

From a negative statement or imperative (1.11.1.2, 5.2.1, and 5.2.2):

/yī magyī./ (he not go.)

'He's not going.'

citation form: /gyīa/

/atɣí wā já madā./ (a-little get eat not=can.)

'(We) can't get even a little to eat.'

citation form: /dā/

/màgwā magwā, byà magò já./

(song not-sing, sweets not=give eat.)

'If (you) don't sing a song, (he) won't give (you) candy to eat.'

citation forms: /gwā/, gǎa/, /jǎ/

/thǎyī./ (don't do.)

'Don't do (that).'

citation form: /yīa/

From abrupt imperatives (1.11.2 and 5.2.2b):

/gyī!/'go!'

citation form: /gyīa/

/thǎyī!/'(don't=do!) 'Cut that out!'

citation form: /yīa/

From main verb phrases with stem extension (2.7 and 5.1.1):

/chūmà lǎ pīyīa, yíphwūphwū - thǎfwū gèwū./

(person=old come=nom arrive=go=nom, partic=white=white - one=bottle give=did.)

'When the old man came, (he) gave (us) a bottle of home brew.'

citation form: /gǎa/

/yí kyǎ ngānyā, ngwā bēghèwā./

(he dwell-is-come-as-far, I say-to=complete.)

'If he had been (there), I would have told (him).'

citation form: /bēghǎa/

/sányi ányl macwákyia, azù jàghēa³³, yí khyi yilā,
lyíghèwá; yíphwè./

(in-future daughter not=capable=nom, we eat=actual=nom,
she flee return=come=nom, give-back=to=must. price)

'Later on if (our) daughter isn't capable, (what) we've
received, if she runs away and comes home, (we)
have to give back, the (bride) price that is.'

citation form: /lyíghēa/

/magyícuá./³⁴ (not=go=have-ever.)

'(I've) never gone (there).'

citation form: /gyíá/

From the verb phrases of coordinate clauses (5.1.1.3):

/háswè thā lā, mahāswè thā lā; lù jāgwūwā./

(good=nom=type here come, not=good=type here come.
vehicle road=at)

'Good types (of things) come here, bad types come
here, along the road.'

citation form: /lā/

/zāmēlé mūamā thijjè gwā, zāmēlé mamū thijjè gwāwā./

(woman=young see=nom=unit one=kind sing, woman=young
not=see one=kind sing=must.)

'One who sees a girl (must) sing one kind (of song);
if (you) don't see a girl, (you) must sing another kind.'

citation form: /gwā/

33. As a stem extension, /-ghē/ 'actuality' does not occur with nominalization in a main clause. Here in an attributive clause, however, final particle /-a/ is (facultatively) present.

34. The /a/ with /-cuá/ is not the final particle but a part of the stem extension.

/kàsā tō - lácì tō - nò tō - 'qú:, swàmyīswàcía:
tō jà, nò swí./

(corn plant - peppers plant - sesame plant - oh=emph,
all-kinds plant eat, sesame sow.)

'(I'll) plant corn, (I'll) plant peppers, (I'll)
plant sesame, oh (I'll) plant all sorts of
things to eat, (I'll) sow sesame.'

citation forms: /tása/, /jǎ/, /swía/

c) Nominalization is facultatively present with verb phrases in
other environments, e.g.:

With positive statements and imperatives (1.11.1.1, 5.2.1,
and 5.2.2):

With nominalization

/thǎ amyá: kyǎ, sátúa./

(here many stay, embarrassed=nom.)

'With a lot (of people) here, I'm embarrassed.'

/ngwā thùghù yílé gǎa./ (I book he=to give=nom.)

'I gave him the book.'

/mègwǎ gwānyía./ (song sing=try=nom.)

'Try singing a song.'

Without nominalization

/ngwā chūmùlé sātū./

(I person=old=with-respect-to embarrassed.)

'(I'm) embarrassed towards older people.'

/oyà thimǎ thikwá gè./ (sweets one=unit one=lump give.)

'(He'll) give a piece of candy to each (of you).'

/amí dū. swíswíá; dū./

(quickly drink. slow=slow=partic drink.)

'Drink up. Take your time drinking.'

In attributive clauses (4.4):

With nominalization

/sākē jūa hīn/ (three=room have=nom house)

'three-room house'

basic form: /jū/

/thàghè búdwū/ (letter write=nom=implement)

'writing implement'

basic form: /bū/

/lāhōkyī àkhānyā ányī jūa mahā./

(Lahu=and Akha=as-for daughters have=nom not=good.)

'For the Lahu and the Akha it's not good to have daughters.'

basic form: /jū/

/sākhū lyīkhū pīyīa, mīdīulē./

(three=years four=years arrive=go=nom, forget=new-situation=emph.)

'Three or four years (from now they) will have forgotten (you).'

basic form: /pīyī/

Without nominalization

/jīphè dū mēgwā/ (liquor drink song)

'drinking song'

citation form: /dūa/

/phwūdəphà/ (silver=beat=man)

'silversmith'

citation form: /dǝa/

/mācē mǝwā yəphyí chwǝ akhó há./

(Burma country=in opium suck very good=nom.)

'In Burma opium smoking is really good.'

citation form: /chwǝa/

/lyǝswū nwū kányá thǝwǝ gǝyǝ, jō phǝlàngǝ sū./

(Lisu you after one=time follow=go, there
occidental=language study.)

'If (we) Lisu once go with you, (we'll) study
English there (in America).'

citation form: /gǝyǝ/

Before other post-verbal particles:

With nominalization

/yǝhǝ atyí yǝ, ngwǝhǝ yǝu./

(He=contrast a-little drunk, I=contrast drunk=new-situation.)

'He was a little drunk, (and) I got drunk.'

Basic form: /yǝ/ (as in the first clause)

/nǝthwǝanyǝ, chúa./ (marry=nom-as-for, bad=nom.)

'If (they) marry, (it's) bad.'

Basic form: /nǝthwǝ/

/amǝ dǝa:mǝ./ (quickly drink=nom=urging.)

'Drink up.'

Basic form: /dǝ/

Without nominalization

/yàphyí swétáhē, swēhwàlīu./

(opium sow=be=contrast, die=change-of-state=new-situation.)

'And when the opium is sown, (it) dies.'

citation form: /swēhwàlīa/

/ābā thīmā nyīmā amí lānyā, akhó syàkyálē./

(months one=unit two=units quickly come=as-for,
very-much miss=nom=emph.)

'If (you) come back quickly, in a month or two,
(we'll) still miss (you) very much.'

citation form: /lā/

/amí dūmā./ (quickly drink=urging.)

'Drink up.' (less polite than /amí dūa:mā./)

citation form: /dūa/

In some environments, nominalization is represented, whenever possible by both final tone and /-a/. For example, verbs under interrogative intonation regularly have final tone, and /-a/ is present with all verbs except those with which it is phonologically prohibited. In other environments, however, nominalization is represented by one of the two elements independently of the other, i.e.:

/thùghè búdwū/ (letter write=nom=mechanism)

'writing implement'

Here /bū/ is nominalized with final tone only; compare the basic form /bū/ and the nominalized form in:

/yí thùghè búa./ (he letters write=nom.)

'He is writing.'

However, in:

/āīīī bū kētá vwānyā./

(which=fashion write put-in=be read=see=nom.)

'Try reading out what's written down.'

the verb phrase /vwānyā/ is nominalized with /-a/ only; compare the basic form /vwānyī/ and the nominalized form in:

/māgwā gwānyā./ (song sing=try=nom.)

'Try singing a song.'

Chapter V

The Sentence

5.0 Introduction.

In section 1.0 the sentence was defined as a sequence of syllables which co-occurs with one of three sentence intonations: declarative, interrogative, or abrupt. Within this category, there are two major interlocking classifications, the first subdividing according to whether the sentence intonation falls on a verb phrase, a substantive phrase, or an exclamation, the second according to the occurrence of question words or of certain particles with particular intonations.

5.1 Major and Minor Sentences.

When the sentence intonation falls on a verb phrase head, the result is a major sentence; when it falls on a substantive phrase or on an exclamation the result is a minor sentence.

5.1.1 The major sentence:

A major sentence thus contains at least one clause. A clause whose head coincides with sentence intonation is a main clause. If a sentence contains a second clause which is not attributive, that and the main clause are coordinate, and the sentence is compound.

5.1.1.1 Non-compound major sentences:

a) Without attributive clauses:

/ngwānwā phā̀làngù atyí sūyīa./

(we occidental=language a-little study=go=nom.)

'We'll go study English a little.'

/yí né pānwā tótó khyòghè./

(he you=to speech backwards=backwards speak=to.)

'He's telling you wrong way round.'

/khākhyā gyī kyā, āsfu!/
#4=vocative!

(platform go stay, #4=vocative!)

'Go stay on the platform, Fourth Daughter.'

/thāi mwēwā āmōsā yāphyí mahā./

(Thai country=in now opium not=good.)

'In Thailand the opium isn't good now.'

/nwū ányí ngwā ányí ngū. ngwā ányí nwū ányí ngū./

(your daughter my daughter is. my daughter
your daughter is.)

'Your daughter is my daughter. My daughter is
your daughter.'

/ālā gyī sōa; ngwanwu?/
#4=we

(where-to go know=nom? we)

'Where to go to learn (it), us I mean?'

/jēphè thīmā - nwū mīlyíkā ālī bé; jēphèlé?/
#4=we

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call
(it), liquor I mean?'

b) With attributive clauses:

/ngwā zānō né nèthwā chūa./

(my child you=as-for marry=nom bad=nom.)

'For my child to marry you (would) be bad.'

/ácá yí byà gè jǎngū./

(in-a-moment he sweets give eat=nom-is-so.)

'In a moment he'll give (you) candy to eat.'

/nwū ámyì thǎ kyǎ ngǎ?/

(your daughter here dwell=nom is-so?)

'Your daughter lives here, right?'

/láchū amyāsū jūa masáa?/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not-know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/mègwā magwā, byà magè jǎ./

(song not=sing, sweets not=give eat.)

'if (you) don't sing (a song), (he) won't give
(you) candy to eat.'

/nwū yǐgyīnyǎ, maylāu./

(you return-go-as-for, not-return=come=new-situation.)

'If you go back (home), (you) won't come back
(here) any more.'

/yí bābà māmā dǎa; ngwǎkhè béjǎlǎa./

(her father mother beat=nom. my=words hear=
change-of-state=nom.)

'Her father and mother will beat (her), when
(they) hear my words.'

/dwɪyɪa; beghanya, 'tɪhwa azu?/

(enter-go-nom? say-to-as-for, this=emph=time we)

'Is (it) going in (the tape recorder) when
we speak this time?'

5.1.1.2 Compound sentences:

In my data, coordinate clauses are regularly simple -
i.e. do not contain an attributive clause - and clause nominalization
is lacking.

/nwū yɪ bābāhō bābā khwū, yɪ māmā māmā khwūwángū./

(you his father=contrast father call, his mother
mother call=get-to-is-so.)

'You can call his father "father" and his mother
"mother".'

/zámələ́ mūamā thijǎ gwā, zámələ́ mamū thijǎ gwāwá./

(woman=young see-nom-unit one=kind sing, woman=young
not=see one=kind sing=must.)

'One who sees a girl (must) sing one kind (of song);
if (you) don't see a girl, (you) must sing another
kind.'

/háswǎ thā lā, maháswǎ thā lā; lǔ jǎgwūwǎ./

(good=nom-type here come, not=good=type here come.
vehicle path=at)

'Good types (of things) come here, bad types
come here, along the road.'

A sequence of more than two coordinate clauses is further
characterized by an unusually slow rate of delivery and, frequently,
by suspensive intonation after each clause, e.g.:

/kəsā tē - lácà tē - nǒ tē - 'qú:, swāmyīswīcā:
tē jā, nǒ swī./

(corn plant - peppers plant - sesame plant - oh=emph,
all-kinds plant eat, sesame sow.)

'(I'll) plant corn, (I'll) plant peppers, (I'll)
plant sesame, oh (I'll) plant all sorts of
things to eat, (I'll) sow sesame.'

5.1.2 The minor sentence:

Minor sentences are of two types. Those which consist entirely of isolatives - i.e. exclamations or vocatives - are isolative sentences. All other minor sentences are reductions from major sentences.

5.1.2.1 Isolative sentences:

Exclamations:

/qí!/' Say, what is this?'

(surprise at an event contrary to one's
expectations)

/qǒ./ 'Oh, I see.'

(comprehension, at last)

/'qán./ 'Oh no.'

(denial of another's statement)

/'lǎ./ 'Ooooooh!'

(extreme pain)

/'lú./ 'Look at that, will you!'

/qòn'qǒn-yǎ!/' 'You don't say!'

(both indicative of surprise, wonder, amazement)

Vocatives:

/ālu!/ (#4-child=vocative!)

'Fourth Child!' (attracting his attention when
he is present)

/'kfu./ (older-brother=vocative=emph.)

'Brother!' (calling from a distance)

/ānyā./ (eldest-daughter=partic.)

'Eldest Daughter!'

5.1.2.2 Reductions:

A reduction is a major sentence minus its verb head. For many reductions, the verb which would complete them is specified in a preceding major sentence where it appears as head, e.g.:

/yīnyō ālī bé?/ /lāchūdāmā./¹

(name how say=nom?) (person=big.)

'What's (his) name?' 'Big Man.'

/yī yāphyī lā tōnyā./ /ālītāwā. yāphyī ālīmā./

(they opium come look-at=nom.) (which=place=at.
opium which=item.)

'They came to look at opium.' 'Where? Which opium?'

/ānyā, nō qēlá hīn-wā jēphè thīfwū gyī zwū./

/jēphè ālījāmā./ /thīthījāmā./

(daughter=partic, yonder Qēla's house=at liquor one=bottle
go take.) (liquor which=kind=partic=item.)
(this=one=kind=partic=item.)

'Daughter, go get a bottle of liquor there at Qēla's
house.' 'What kind of liquor?' 'This kind.'

1. In this section, that verb is underlined in preceding sentences which is tacit in the following reductions.

/həphàngùnyǎ khyĩntyĩ bélé; khyĩntyĩ khyĩnmǎ.
lyĩswūngùnyǎ ábámé ámámé./

(Chinese=man=language=as-for "chinti" say=nom=emph.
"chinti" "chinma" Lisu=language=as-for
adoptive-father adoptive-mother.)

'In Chinese (it's) called "chinti", "chinti" and
"chinma". As for Lisu, (it's called)
adoptive father and adoptive mother.'

/jǐphə thĩmǎ - nwǎ mĩlyĩká ǎlĩ bé; jǐphələ?/
'Liquor.' /gwǒ sūdǎnyǎ?/

(liquor this=item - you Americans how say=nom?
liquor=as-for) 'Liquor.' (there soda=as-for?)

'This stuff liquor, what do you Americans call (it),
liquor I mean?' 'Liquor.' 'How about (that
stuff) soda there?'

/kùswǎmǎ nō mēmésphǎ hyǎnkhədǔwù khyĩmǎ hǎnphwù thĩnyĩ khyĩǎ.
hǎnphwù nyĩnyĩthènyǎ hwǎthwúphǎ hyǎnkhədǔwǎ./

(year=renew=nom=item yonder priest=man's house-yard dance=
nom=item moon=white one=day dance=nom. moon=white
two=days=when=as-for headman's house-yard=at.)

'Celebrating the New Year, the dancing at the priest's
yard was on the first day of the full moon. On the
second day of the full moon (it was) in the headman's
yard.'

/swǎmǎ swǎhǎn ngũ. ámésà kùswǎ ábá ngǎ? kùswǎ ábá thĩmǎ -
qéyĩ, sǎhǎn, lyĩhǎn, ngwǎhǎn, chùhǎn, swǎhǎn./

(Seven=units seven=month is. now year=renew month is-so?
year=renew month one=unit - 2nd-month, three=month,
four=month, five=month, six=month, seven=month.)

'Seven will be the Seventh Month (of the lunar year).
Now (it's) New Year's Month, isn't it? New Year's
Month (is) one - Two Month, Three Month, Four
Month, Five Month, Six Month, Seven Month.'

Where the verb which would complete a reduction is not specified in a preceding major sentence, it is the copula /ngū/ 'is, is so, is a case of'.

/lyīswū yīlyi thī jūa. zànō āzù tǎhù zànō./

(Lisu custom this have=nom. child our together child.)

'This is the Lisu custom. The child (is) ours together.'

/mahā bé:, āzù máwá. hā bé:, āzù zànō./

(not=good say=nom, we teach=must. good say=nom, our child.)

'If (she's) not good, we must teach (her). If (she's) good, (she is) our child.'

/bābā māmā thilīa: kēlīu ngī? ālā gyīahō, tǎhù./

(father mother the-same=partic become=new-situation is-so? wherever-to go=nom-contrast, together.)

'(You) have become just like a parent, you see? Wherever (you) go, (we will be) together.'

/nwū thītésuwā kyāwá; ányī kyāgwūwā. lyīswū yīlyi jūa. nwū ányī./

(you this=side=at dwell=get-to. daughter dwell=place=at Lisu custom have=nom. your daughter.)

'You can live here, in your daughter's home. It's the Lisu custom. (She is) your daughter.'

/ngū/ reductions which contain both subject (or subject topic)

and goal are equational sentences.

/ngwā zànōhō nwū zànō ngū. nwū zànō ngwā zànō./

(my child=contrast your child is. Your child my child.)

'My child is your child. Your child (is) mine.'

/sūdā phālàngù ngū./ /sūdā phālàngù. gwōthinyī yí bēngūnē./

(soda occidental=language is.) (soda occidental=language.
that=one=day he say=nom=is=so=emph.)

'(The word) "soda" is English.' "'Soda" (is)
English. The other day he said (so).'

/thìphyá chēbà./ (one=coin ten=baht.)

'One (rupee) coin (is) ten baht.'

/ngwājwā hīn sēphālē./

(I=emph house master=emph.)

'I (am) the householder (here).'

/yí māmā mīsányā ácwāphwē./

(her mother's share=as-for breast=price.)

'As for her mother's share (of the bride price),
(it's) the "breast price".'

/hāmphwū thinyī lwūnyī. nyīmīhō lwūnyī chēsānyī./

(moon=white one=day dragon=day. today=contrast
dragon=day 10+3=day.)

'The first day of the full moon (was) Dragon Day.
And today (is) Dragon Day, the 13th day.'²

5.2 Statements, Imperatives, and Questions.

While all Lisu sentences are either major or minor, most also fall into one of the categories: statement, imperative, or question. Major sentences divide according to the negative particle and the intonations which occur with the main verb phrase, i.e.:

2. The Lisu week has 12 days.

	Intonation	Negative particle
Imperative	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /! / \\ / \cdot / \\ / ? / \end{array} \right.$	{ /thâ-/ 'don't'
Statement		{ /mâ-/ 'not'
Question		

Minor sentences do not occur as imperatives. They are positive only and are divided into statements and questions according to intonation and the presence or absence of a question word, i.e.:

	Question Word	Intonation
Statement	lacking	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /! / \\ / \cdot / \\ / ? / \end{array} \right.$
Question	facultative	

Isolative sentences, however, do not readily fit even these two categories; they are minor sentences pure and simple.

5.2.1 Statements:

Statements occur with declarative or abrupt, but not interrogative, intonation. The negative major statement is formed with /mâ-/ 'not'³, and all final, secondary, and - with minor sentences also - general particles except /-mâ/ 'hortatory' and /-phâ?/ 'uncertainty, probability' appear in the head phrase. With the exception of /-dû/ 'strong emphasis'⁴, the emphatic particles - secondary and general with major sentences, general only with minor - occur only in statements and are thus facultative markers of the class.

3. Particles mentioned throughout this section are discussed individually in section 5.4.

4. Which also occurs in imperatives.

5.2.1.1 Major statements:

a) With declarative intonation:

Positive

/ngwā hīn sākō jūa./

(my house three=rooms have=nom.)

'My house has three rooms.'

/yīsyà há mahā ngwā nānānyā./

(sound good=nom not=good I listen=see=nom.)

'I'll listen and see if (your) voice is good or not.'

/yīhē atyí yī, ngwāhē yīu./

(he=contrast a-little drunk, I=contrast drunk=new-situation.)

'He was a little drunk, (and) I got drunk.'

/ngwānwù ámyīnyā atyā: ngāhī./

(our daughter=as-for a-little=partic is=still.)

'(She) is still our daughter a little bit.'

/ābā thīmā nyīmā syākyālē./

(months one=unit two=units miss=nom=emph.)

'(They) will miss (you) for a month or two.'

/yī né mēdū./ (he you=as-for carry-on-back=emph.)

'He'll carry you on his back.'

Negative

/yāphyí thītāwā mahā./

(opium this=place=at not=good.)

'The opium here isn't good.'

Negative

/màgyĩ!/ (not=go=emph!)

'(No, I) won't go!'

/maséwĩ!/ (not=know=emph!)

'(I) haven't the slightest idea.'

5.2.1.2 Minor statements:

a) With declarative intonation:

/yĩnyõ ǎĩĩ bɛ?/ /láchūdámǎ./

(name how say=nom?) (person=big.)

'What's (his) name?' 'Big Man.'

/jɛphè ǎĩĩjǎmǎ./ /thĩthĩjǎmǎ./

(liquor which=kind=partic=item.) (this=one=kind=partic=item.)

'Which kind of liquor?' 'This kind.'

/hǎnphwū nyĩnyĩthènyǎ hwǎthwúphǎ hyǎnkhèdwùwǎ./

(moon=white two=days=when=as-for headman's yard=at.)

'On the second day of the full moon (we danced)
in the headman's yard.'

/nwū yĩ ǎbǎmǎlè./ (you her adoptive-father=emph.)

'You (are) her adoptive father.'

/lyĩswūnyǎ lécànyǎ thĩtwū ngwǎhyǎndù./

(Lisu=as-for Letsa=as-for one=thousand five=hundred=emph.)

'With the Lisu, say at Letsa, (a bride price is)
1500 (rupees).'⁵

5. About \$750. This is an exaggeration; the highest price actually paid, to my knowledge, was \$500, still no small amount for any hill tribesman.

/ngwājwā hīn sāphālō./

(I=emph house master=emph.)

'I (am) the h^eou^sholder (here).'

b) With abrupt intonation:

/ánà; yí!/ (dog=emph! he)

'That son-of-a-bitch!'

5.2.2 Imperatives:

Imperatives are regularly major sentences, which, like statements, occur only with declarative or abrupt intonation.⁶ The negative, however, is formed with /thā-/ 'don't', which occurs only in imperative sentences, as does the secondary particle /-nà/ 'urging.' These two particles are thus facultative markers of the class of imperatives. Of the other particles, only the finals plus secondary particle /-hì/ 'still, yet, further' and general particle /-dù/ 'strong emphasis, abruptness' appear in imperative verb phrases.

a) With declarative intonation:

Positive

/atyíá: gè./ (a-little=partic give.)

'Give (him) just a little.'

/amí dūmà./ (quickly drink=urging.)

'Drink up.'

/ngwānwùlé masyàkyā, nwū ányí atyí chwílāmà./

(we=as-for not=miss, your daughter a-little
visit=come=urging.)

'If (you) don't miss us, (at least) come visit
your daughter a bit.'

6. On overlap between statements and imperatives, see below, section 5.2.4.

/kyāhi./ (stay=further.)

'Stay (a while) longer.'

/amí gwā kōdù./

(quickly sing put-in=emph.)

'Hurry up and sing into (the tape recorder).'

Negative:

/nwū yígyī, amēzá: thākýǎ./

(you return=go, long don't=stay.)

'When you go back (home), don't stay long.'

/akhé thākýflèhū./

(very-much don't=defer=mutually.)

'Don't defer to each other so much.'

/thāwāsýōmǎ./ (don't=laugh=urging.)

'Don't laugh.'

/thāgyīhi./ (don't=go=yet.)

'Don't go yet.'

b) With abrupt intonation:

Positive:

/khyī!./ (flee=emph!)

'Get out of here.'

/zànōa:, ásyà "tu kyā!./

(children=partic, sound quiet=emph remain!)

'Children, be absolutely quiet!'

Negative:

/thâyI:/ (don't=do=emph!)

'Cut that out!'

/thâswɛdù:/ (don't=twist=emph!)

'Don't twist (them) I said!'

5.2.3 Questions:

Questions have declarative or interrogative intonation.

The former occurs in restricted circumstances in questions (see below), while the latter appears with questions only, and is thus a facultative marker of the class. The negative major question is formed with /mà-/ 'not'; of the other particles, the final particle /-a/ plus secondary particle /-hì/ 'still, yet, further' and the general particle /-phá?/ 'uncertainty, probability' occur in the verb phrase head. /-phá?/ also occurs with a noun phrase in minor questions. Since /-phá?/ is regularly accompanied by interrogative intonation, it occurs only in questions.

5.2.3.1 Major questions:

a) With interrogative intonation:

Positive:

/amyájà jūa?/ (many=kinds have=nom?)

'Are there many kinds?'

/zànōa: cā makwímā ālī yīa?/

(children=partic relate not=know-how=items how do=nom?)

'What (do you) do about the things the children can't tell (you)?'

/yí bābà nōa, ābāmé nōa ngī?/

(she father desire=nom, adoptive-father desire=nom is-so?)

'She wanted a father, an adoptive father, right?'

/dūlāphá?/ (exit=come=nom=probably?)

'I bet it'll come out.'

/tānwù ngūphá?/ (police are=probably?)

'I think they're police, aren't they?'

Negative:

/nwū majǎ?/ (you not=eat=nom?)

'Won't you eat (any)?'

/lāchnū amyāzū jūa masáa?/

(persons how-many=individuals have=nom not=know=nom?)

'Don't (you) know how many people there are?'

/mèkhwù majūphá?/ (tobacco not=have=probably?)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?'

/nì tyíamāhē masūghēi:phá?/

(spirit pray=nom=item=contrast not=study=actual=yet=probably?)

'But I bet (you) haven't studied spirit prayer
(language) yet, have you?'

b) With declarative intonation:

Major questions have declarative intonation:

With the allomorphs /ngō/ and /ngwǎ/ of the copula {ngā} 'is,
is so, is a case of' (see 2.5.4.3):

/nwū āmyā gūyāngō./

(you field=to go=nom=question.)

'Are you going to the fields?'

/lyɿswūŋù bŭtángō./

(Lisu=language write=be=nom=question.)

'Is (it) written in Lisu?'

/nwū nāhīŋwǎ./ (you ill=yet=question.)

'Are you still sick?'

/atyí mahālihīŋwǎ./

(a-little not=recover=change-of-state=yet=question.)

'Hasn't (he) recovered even a little yet?'

When the secondary particle /-hì/ 'still, yet, further' is the final element of a sentence:⁷

/nwū nāhì./ (you ill=yet.)

'Are you still sick?' (cf. the second example above)

/nwū yìgyíamā ābā amyāmā dāhè./

(you return=go=nom=item months how-many=units remain=further.)

'How many more months are left (before) your return (home)?'

In an alternative question. This is a construction which forms a yes-or-no question with a positive verb phrase immediately followed by its negative. Declarative intonation regularly occurs with the positive phrase, while the negative phrase acts as a secondary topic (see 4.2.3.2).⁸

7. On the overlapping of this type of question with statements and imperatives, see section 5.2.4. The forms of the particle /-hì/ are discussed in section 5.4.1.3.

8. That is, the negative phrase has reduced stress, often being atonic throughout. Like other topic clauses, such phrases sometimes have the final particle /-a/ even though they are negative; cf. section 4.5.3b.

/d̄l̄l̄īa; mad̄l̄l̄h̄ī./

(recover=change-of-state=nom. not=recover=change-of-state= yet)

'Has (he) recovered yet or not?'

/s̄an̄è nwū āmyīa gyī ȳl̄ā; magyī ȳl̄ā./

(tomorrow you field=to go return=come=nom. not=go return=come)

'Will you go out to the fields and back tomorrow or not?'

/āsū āthā p̄nhwā khyēā d̄l̄ā; madula./

(just-now here speech speak=nom exit=come=nom. not=exit=come)

'Our speaking here just now, will (it) come out (of the tape recorder) or not?'

/m̄ilyīk̄ā m̄ègwā th̄inyī nȳinyī gwād̄wū j̄ūa; majua./

(America songs one=day two=days sing=knowledge have=nom. not=have=nom)

'In America are there (people who) know enough songs to sing for one or two days?'

5.2.3.2 Minor questions:

The great majority of minor questions contain a question word (section 2.4.2.3.c), in which case the sentence has either declarative or interrogative intonation. In the rare cases when no question word is present, interrogative intonation is regular.

a) Without question word (interrogative intonation only):

/ḡv̄ō s̄ūd̄ānȳā?/ (there soda-as-for?)

'How about (that stuff) soda there?'

/ālitāwā mā piyū; mēgwā? zāmālé mēgwā? jēphè dū mēgwā?/

(which=place=to teach arrive=go=new-situation? songs
girl=young songs? liquor drink songs?)

'What point has (he) reached in teaching (you)
songs? Courting songs? Drinking songs?'

b) With question word (declarative or interrogative intonation):

/amā?/ 'Who?'

/jēphè ālijāmā./ (liquor which=kind=partic=item.)

'What kind of liquor?'

/ālitāwā. yāphyī ālimā./

(which=place=at. opium which=item.)

'Where? Which opium?'

5.2.4 Overlappings:

In certain constructions there is no distinction between ~~certain~~ ^{some} of these categories. In a positive utterance with declarative intonation, for example, there is no necessary phonological distinction between a statement and an imperative. A sentence such as:

/thā lā./ (here come.)

serves equally well as a statement:

'(He) is coming here.'

or as an imperative:

'Come here.'

In some cases all three categories take the same form, e.g. when the secondary particle /-hī/ 'still, yet, further' is the last element of an utterance. The sentence:

/kyāhī./ (stay=still.) or (stay=further.)

can serve as the question:

'Are (they) still here?'

as the answer:

'(Yes, they) are still here.'

or as an imperative:

'Stay (a while) longer.'

In such cases, only social or linguistic context outside the sentence determines the category to which it belongs.

5.3 Focus.

The focus of an utterance is the element or elements toward which the listener's attention is primarily directed by the speaker. Every utterance in Lisu has at least one focal element; this is most commonly the head of the utterance, but any element can be singled out and made focal through the use of particles, more prominent stress, or a combination of these.

5.3.1 Focus through particles;

The substantive particle /-lé/ 'to, for, with respect to' plus a number of emphatic general and secondary particles mark the forms with which they occur as focal in an utterance. A few illustrations are given here; detailed discussion of each particle is given in sections 4.3.2 (/ -lé /) and 5.4 (secondary and general particles).

/ngwā thùghè yílé gǎa./

(I book he=to give=nom.)

'I gave the book to him.'

9. A common polite formula to a departing guest.

/ngwāl^é gwā gwūliu./

(I=as-for sing finish=change-of-state=new-situation.)

'As for me, (I've) finished singing.'

/nwū zānō ngwā n^èthwūshā chūa./

(your child me marry=~~nom~~=contrast bad=~~nom~~.)

'For your child to marry me (would) be bad.'

/áthī yīghāhīnyī, yīswā gwāyīa./

(this do=actual-related-focus, nom=new sing=go=~~nom~~.)

'And when (you) have done that, (you can)
sing another one.'

/yī né mēdū./ (he you=as-for carry-on-back=emph.)

'He'll carry you on his back.'

/ābā thīmā nyīmā syākyāfē./

(months one=unit two=units miss=~~nom~~=emph.)

'For a month or two (they) will really miss(you).'

/áthī yīghā, lāwī!/

(this do=actual, come=~~nom~~=emph!)

'After (I've) done that, of course (I'll) come.'

/ngwā gwā makwīlū./

(I sing not=know-how=emph.)

'I don't know how to sing at all.'

5.3.2 Focus through stress:

/swī'swīa: kēa, dū ngā?/

(slow=slow-partic=emph put-in=~~nom~~, drink is=so?)

'Take your time pouring and drinking, won't you?'

/āzù 'tā'hù ngūnē./

(we together=emph are=emph.)

'We're really together.'

/ā'li yī manā, kē nā; ngwanwuhe./

(now=emph do not=can, put-in can. we=contrast)

'There was nothing we could do but put (some liquor) in (our cups).'

Stress is a stronger focus marker than the particles. When focal particles and emphatic stress occur with different elements of one sentence, the effect of the particle is decreased, and primary focus is marked by the stress. In the last example, for instance, although /-hē/ is a focus marker, the focus of the sentence is on /-'li/ with its exaggerated emphatic stress. The effect of /-hē/ is further weakened by its occurrence under weak stress in a secondary topic.

5.4 Verb and General Particles.¹⁰

The function of general particles in substantive phrases, like that of substantive particles, is limited to phrase relationships within the clause (cf. section 4.3). But the function of general particles in verb phrases and that of verb particles extends to the entire clause of which the verb phrase is head. In some instances this function also extends between clauses. For example the general particle /-hē/ 'contrastive focus' marks a clause with which it occurs both as topic and as focal with respect to the main clause.

10. These are defined in section 2.9, q.v.

5.4.1 Verb particles:

Particles which occur only in verb phrases are of three types: negative, final, and secondary.

5.4.1.1 Negative particles:

A verb is negated with one of two negative particles which precede it: /mà-/ 'not' with statements and questions, and /thà-/ 'don't' with imperatives. In the verb phrase the negative particles are initial or internal, fixed or movable, according to the construction of the particular phrase (see sections 3.2.2 if.).

/mà-/ 'not'

/mà-/ has low tone when under normal or emphatic stress, but in all but a tiny number of utterances it is atonic.¹¹

/màgyī!/ (not-go=emph!)

'(No, I) won't go!'

/nwū magyī, yí malāu./

(you not-go, he not-come=new-situation.)

'If you don't go, then he won't come.'

/ngwā āmyīa magyīu./

(I field=to not-go=new-situation.)

'I won't go to the fields again.'

/màkhwù majūphá?/ (tobacco not=have=probably?)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?'

11. /thà-/ 'don't', on the other hand, does not appear atonic in my data.

/nwū phálàngù ngwānwù masólē; phálà thùghè./

(your occidental=language we not=know=emph.
occidental writing)

'Your English we don't know at all, English
writing that is.'

/gwā madā./ (sing not=can.)

'(I) can't sing.'

/zànōa; cā makwūmā ālī yīa?/

(children relate not=know-how=items how do=nom?)

'What (do you) do about the things the children
can't tell (you)?'

/lyīswā ghēlè yī makhwūlē./

(Lisu trade dō not=can=emph.)

'(We) Lisu can't do business.'

/thā-/ 'don't'

/nwū yīgyī, āmēzá; thākyā./

(you return=go, long-time don't=stay.)

'When you go back (home), don't stay long.'

/nwū ngwā kányá thāgyīa;./

(you I after don't=follow=go=nom.)

'Don't follow me.'; 'Don't go with me.'

/nwū ānyīa thāgyīhā./

(you field=to don't=go=yet.)

'Don't go to the fields yet.'

/ahhō thāky-fīhā./

(very-much don't=defer=mutually.)

'Don't defer to each other so much.'

/thàwàsyōm̄./ (don't=laugh=urging.)

'Don't laugh.'

/thâyī:/ (don't=do=emph!)

'Cut it out!'; 'Don't fool around.'

5.4.1.2 Final particles:

A final particle marks the end of verbal elements - including verb stem extensions (see 2.7) - in a verb phrase, occurring after these elements but before other particles (see the following sections).

/-a/ 'clause nominalization'

Final particle /-a/ occurs in statements, imperatives, and questions as one realization of the morpheme 'clause nominalization', which is also represented with final tone or with a combination of the two. This morpheme is discussed in detail in section 4.5, q.v.

/-u/ 'change of state, new situation'

The particle /-u/ appears only in main verb phrases of statements and imperatives in my data. While it precedes other particles, it does not occur with verb stem extensions, as /-a/ does, but follows verbs directly. /-u/ has no inherent tone but takes that of the preceding verb, whether basic or final, unless it is under emphatic stress (see the last example below).

/sākhù l̄yīkhūwā atyí mīdīu./

(three=years four=years=in a-little forget=new-situation.)

'In three or four years (they'll) have forgotten
(you) a little.'

/yīhō atyī yī, ngwāhō yīu./

(he=as-for a-little drunk, I=contrast drunk=new-situation.)

'He was a little drunk, (and) I got drunk.'

/yāphyī swāfāhō, swāhwāliū./

(opium sow=be=contrast, die=change-of-state=new-situation.)¹²

'And when the opium is sown, (it) dies.'

/yīgyīghōa, ābā thīmā nyīmā kyā, yīlāu./

(return-go=actual=nom, months one=unit two=units dwell,
return=come=new-situation.)

'After (you) go back (home), stay a month or two
and come back again.'

/yāphyī ~~swāfāu~~./ (opium not=sow=new-situation.)

'(I) won't so opium any more.'

/malā'f. nwā malāu./¹³

(not=come=new-situation=emph. you not=come=new-situation.)

'(You) won't come (back) any more. You won't
come (back) again.'

5.4.1.3 Secondary particles:

Secondary particles, individually or in combination, follow verbs and, if present, stem extensions and/or final particles in the verb phrase.¹⁴ Among secondary particles, only /-hī/ 'still, yet, further' occurs in attributive clauses; all occur in main clauses.

12. On the auxiliary verb /-lī/ 'change of state' and its connection with /-u/, see section 2.5.5.1, footnote 59.

13. The high tone with the particle in the first sentence is associated with the emphatic stress; see section 1.6.2.1.

14. However, secondary particle /-gā/ 'mild emphasis' regularly follows the general particle /-lō ~ -nō/ 'mild emphasis'; see the end of this section and the beginning of section 5.4.2.1.

/-hì, -hè, -hâ/ 'still, yet, further'

In my data, the allomorph /-hè/ occurs in questions, negative statements, and imperatives, /-hâ/ in negative statements and imperatives. Both occur only in main clauses as the final element in an utterance. The allomorph /-hì/ is far more common than either /-hè/ or /-hâ/, occurring in all forms of verb phrase; in questions, negative statements, and imperatives it is in free variation with /-hè/ and /-hâ/. It appears in both main and attributive phrases, and with following particles as well as finally.

/-hì/:

/kyāhì./ (dwell-yet.)

'(He) is still here.'; 'Stay (a while) longer.'

/ngwā āmyā magyīhì./

(I field=to not-go=yet.)

'I haven't gone to the fields yet.'

/ngwānwū āmyīnyā atyā: ngāhì./

(our daughter a-little=partic is-still.)

'(She) is still our daughter a little bit.'

/ngwā nāhīngū./ (I ill=nom=still=is-so.)

'I'm still sick.'

/nwū nāhì./ (you ill=nom=still.)

'You are still sick.'; 'Are you still sick?'

/dīlīa; madīlīhī./

(recover=change-of-state=nom. not=recover=
change-of-state=yet)

'Has (he) recovered yet or not?'

/thàgyīhī./ (don't-go=yet.)

'Don't go yet.'

/ságē nwū ámyl jūahī, ngwā zà zwū madā./

(in-future you daughter have=nom=further, my son
take not=can.)

'In the future, if you have a daughter, my son
can't marry her.'

/mūa, nyisāhwā mūwāhī./

(weed=nom, two=three=times weed=must=further.)

'As for weeding, you still have to weed two
or three more times.'

/kāsā tēghēhī, yīswāthīa kāsā chwālīa./

(corn plant=actual=further, rainy-season=in corn
rot=change-of-state=nom.)

'And then when (you) plant corn, it rots in the
rainy season.'

/kyāhīngwā./ (dwell=still=question.)

'Is (he) still here?'

/nī tyīamānē masūghēhīphā?/

(spirit pray=nom=item=contrast not=study=actual=yet=
probably?)

'But I bet (you) haven't studied spirit prayer (language)
yet, have you?'

In rapid speech, /-hī/ is frequently reduced to /-i/, in which case it combines to form a diphthong with the vowel of the preceding syllable, usually with falling pitch. For example, compare with

the sentences above:

/kàsā tēghēi:/ 'and after (you) plant corn'

/masūghēi:phá?/ 'probably haven't studied yet'

/-hè:/

/kyāhè./ (dwell=still.)

'Is (he) still here?'

/nwū yìgyīamā ābē amyāmā dāhè./

(you return=go=nom=item months how-many=units remain=further.)

'How many more months are left (before) your
return home?'

/nwū āmyīa gyīwū, magyī yīlāhè./

(you field=to go=have. not-go return=come=yet.)

'Have you been to the fields and back yet?'

/nwū mawāgyīhè./ (you not=get-to go=yet.)

'You haven't gone yet.'

/thāgyīhè./ (don't=go=yet.)

'Don't go yet.'

/-hà:/

/ngwā āmāsà magyīhà./

(I now not=go=yet.)

'As of now I haven't gone yet.'

/āmyīa gyīa:hà./ (field=to go=nom=further.)

'Go on to the fields.'

/thāgyīhà./ (don't=go=yet.)

'Don't go yet.'

/-mà/ 'hortatory, urging'

The particle /-mà/ occurs with imperatives only. Its presence softens an imperative to give it a sense of urging rather than command. It is regularly sentence final.

/amí dūmà./ (quickly drink=urging.)

'Drink up.'

/amí dūa:mà./ (quickly drink=nom=urging.)

'Drink up.' (politer than the first)

/nwū yigyīghā, ābā thīnyimā thā yilāmà./

(you return=go=actual=nom, months one=two=units
here return=come=urging.)

'After you go back (home) come back here in
a month or two.'

/ngwānwūlé masyākya, nwū ányí atyí chwālāmà./

(we=as-for not=miss, your daughter a-little
visit=come=urging.)

'Even if (you) don't miss us, (at least) come and
visit your daughter a bit.'

/-lū/ 'strong emphasis'

/-lū/ occurs in statements only, frequently with emphatic stress and abrupt intonation.

/kāhinyī yí kwūcē thīkhwū thwūalū./

(but=related-focus her skin one=place thick=nom=emph.)

'But even so in some ways she's really thick-skinned.'

/ngwā gwā makwūlū./ (I sing not=know-how=emph.)

'I don't know how to sing at all.'

/amí 'yíá. nānānyíswíalí!/
 (quickly do=nom=emph. listen=want=nom=emph!)

'Do (it) quickly! (We) want to listen (to the
 tape recording)!'

/màkhwù majūphá?/ /jūalí!/
 (tobacco not=have=probably?) (have=nom=emph!)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?' 'Sure
 there is.'

/-wí!/'abrupt emphasis'

/-wí!/'abrupt emphasis' occurs only in statements with abrupt
 intonation. It is regularly sentence final.

/sthí yíghō, lāwí!/
 (this do=actual, come=nom=emph!)

'When (I've) done that, of course (I'll) come.'

/maséwí!/'not=know=emph!'

'(I) haven't the slightest idea.'

/-gà/'mild emphasis'

Secondary particle /-gà/ occurs only in statements
 after the emphatic general particle /-lē ~ -nē/ 'mild emphasis'
 (see 5.4.2.1), where it serves to soften the force of the latter.
 /-gà/ is sentence final only.

/gwāmà. ngwā phū kwílēgà./

(sing=urging. I reply know-how=emph=mild.)

'(You) sing, and I'll sing in reply.'

/ngwā thī bētía, dūlēgà./

(I this say=keep=nom, enough=emph=mild.)

'When I've said this, enough (said).'

/gyīghāa, chwāyī, yllāngūnēgà./

(go=actual=nom, visit=go, return=come=nom=is-so=emph=mild.)

'After (you) go back (home) and visited (a while),
(you'll) come right back.'

/yī bābà yī māmā cāghāangūnēgà./

(their father their mother relate=to=nom=is-so=emph=mild.)

'Their parents tell (him) of course.'

5.4.2 General particles:

General particles, which occur with both substantives and verbs, are of three types: final, internal, or mixed, according to the position of the phrase with which they occur, i.e.:

	<u>With Substantives</u>	<u>With Verbs</u>
Final	sentence final	in main clauses
Internal	in non-final phrases	in attributive clauses
Mixed	both sentence final and internal	in main clauses

5.4.2.1 Final general particles:

A final general particle occurs as the last element in a minor sentence. With verbs, these particles occur only in the main verb phrase but are sometimes followed by secondary verb particles.

/-lē ~ -nē/ 'mild emphasis'

This particle occurs only in statements; it is either sentence final or followed by secondary particle /-gā/ (5.4.1.3). The allomorph /-nē/ follows /ngū/ 'is, is a case of' when the latter has a verb phrase subject.¹⁵ Elsewhere, including after

15. Compare section 2.5.4.3. The allomorph /-nē/ thus does not occur with substantives.

/ngū/ with substantive subject, /-lē/ occurs. After general particle /-swâ/ 'emphasis', /-lē/ is regularly atonic.

/-lē/ with verbs:

/ābā thīmā nyīmā syākylē./

(months one=unit two=units miss=nom=emph.)

'For a month or two (they'll) really miss (you).'

/sākhù lyīkhù pīyā, mīdīulē. akhé masyākyāulē./

(three=years four=years reach=go=nom, forget=new-situation=emph. very-much not=miss=new-situation=emph.)

'After three or four years (they'll) forget (you).
(They) won't miss (you) very much any more.'

/nwū phālāngù ngwānwù masēlē./

(your occidental=language we not=know=emph.)

'Your English we don't know at all.'

/nwū kányá gāyīalē./

(you after follow=go=nom=emph.)

'(I'll) go with you.'

/atyī gēwālē./ (a-little give=must=emph.)

'(I) really must give (you) a little.'

/āzù lyīswū majūnyā, yīngù khyōnyā, sēlē ngī?/

(we Lisu not=have=as-for, language speak=as-for,
know=emph is-so?)

'Although we Lisu don't have (any money), if (we)
spoke (your) language, (we'd) know how (to
make some), wouldn't we?'

/ūūlē./ (correct=emph.)

'That's right.'

/ngūlē./ (is-so=emph.)

'That's right.'

/ngwā thī bētīa, dūlēgà./

(I this say=keep=nom, enough=emph=mild.)

'When I have said this, enough (said).'

/thīhwā nwū ányī ngūlē./

(this=time your daughter is=emph.)

'Now (she) is your daughter.'

/yīlyī bēswāle./ (custom say=emph=emph.)

'(It's our) custom, (I) say.'

/-lē/ with substantives:

/nwū yī ātīwālé...nwū gwāwālé./

(you her adoptive-father=emph. you sing=must=emph.)

'You're her adoptive father. You must sing.'

/ngwājwā hīn sīphālé./

(I=emph house master=emph.)

'I (am) the householder (here).'

/-nē/:

/gwōthānyī yī bēngūnē./

(that=one=day he say=nom=is=so=emph.)

'The other day he said (so).'

/ngwā tēmkyōnyā jūangūnē. né majūlē./

(my side=as-for have=nom-is-so=emph. you=as-for
not=have=emph.)

'On my side there is indeed, but for you there isn't.'

/yí bābà yí māmā cāghǎngūnēgà./

(their father their mother relate=to=nom-is-so=emph=mild.)

'Their parents tell (him), of course.'

/gyīghāa, chwāyī, yīlāngūnēgà./

(go=actual=nom, visit=go, return=come=is-so=emph=mild.)

'After (you) go back (home) and visit (a while),
(you'll) come right back.'

/-dù/ 'strong emphasis, abruptness'

/-dù/ is the only general particle which occurs with imperatives as well as with statements. With the former, it forms abrupt commands.

With verbs:

/yí né mēdù./

(he you=as-for carry-on-back=emph.)

'He'll carry you on his back.'

/amf gwā kēdù./

(quickly sing put-in=emph.)

'Hurry up and[#]sing into (the tape recorder).'

/thās~~w~~dù!/ (don't=twist=emph!)

'Don't twist (them), I said!'

With substantives:

/lyɪswūnyā lécānyā thítwū ngwàhyāndù./

(Lisu=as-for Lætsa=as-for one=thousand five=hundred=emph.)

'With the Lisu, (at) Lætsa for instance, (a bride price is) 1500 (rupees).'

/lácì āmāsà thīkyflúmā chĕbādù; lácìdāmā./

(peppers now one=kilo=unit ten=baht=emph. peppers=large)

'Peppers are now ten baht a kilo, large peppers that is.'

/-phá?/ 'uncertainty, probability'

Since /-phá?/ is regularly accompanied by interrogative intonation, it occurs only in questions. With this particle a speaker absolves himself of responsibility for the truth or accuracy of a statement. With both substantives and verbs /-phá?/ occurs sentence final only.

With verbs:

/dūlāphá?/ (exit=come=nom=probably?)

'(I think) it'll probably come out (of the tape recorder).'

/mèkhwù majūphá?/ (tobacco not=have=probably?)

'I guess there's no tobacco, is there?'

/nì tyíamāhē masūghēi:phá?/

(spirit pray=nom=item=contrast not=study=actual=yet=probably?)

'I bet (you) haven't studied spirit prayer (language) yet, have you?'

/tānwù ngūphá?/ (police are=probably?)

'They're probably police.'

/mangāphá?/ (not=so=probably?)

'That's not so, is it?'

With substantives (rare):

/nyíkhū làchūphá?/ (nikhom people=probably?)

'It must be Nikhom people.'¹⁶

5.4.2.2 Internal general particles:

An internal general particle occurs with substantives which are not sentence final, unless as secondary topic, and with verbs in attributive clauses.

/-nyā/ 'as for' (general topic)

/-nyā/ occurs with substantive or clause topics only.

It marks a topic as being of general nature, i.e. either of broad coverage, as 'we Lisu', or of general condition within a narrow area, as 'I don't smoke' or 'he's Lisu'.

With verbs:

/nèthwǎnyā chúa./ (marry=nom=as-for bad=nom.)

'If (they) marry, (it's) bad.'

/pùhwá khyǒanyā, dwàyīa; 'tínwa?/

(speech speak=nom=as-for, enter=go=nom? this=emph=time)

'When (we) speak, is (it) going in (the tape recorder) this time?'

16. The Thai word /níkhom/ means 'settlement'. Here it refers to the Thai Government's Hill Tribe Development Settlement near the Lisu village.

/ābā thīmā nylmā amí lānyā, akhś syākylē./

(months one=unit two=units quickly come=as-for,
very-much miss=nom=emph.)

'If (you) come back quickly, in a month or two,
(we'll) still miss (you) very much.'

/nwū malānyā, swū né - magèlā; 'thīnwanya./

(you not=come=as-for, other-people you=as-for -
not allow come. one=emph=time=as-for)

'If you don't come (quickly), they won't let
you come, another time that is.'

/āzù lyīswū majūnyā, yīngù khyōnyā, səlē ngī?/

(we Lisu not=have=as-for, language speak=as-for,
know=emph is-so?)

'Although we Lisu don't have (any money), if (we)
spoke (your) language, (we'd) know how (to
make some), wouldn't we?'

/ságè nwū yīgyfathènyā, pùhwá khyō kwá./

(in-future you return-go=nom=when=as-for, speech
speak know-how=nom.)

'In the future when you go back (home), (she'll)
be able to talk.'

With substantives:

/ngwānwūnyā lāvá gèdwū majū./

(we=as-for salary give=mechanism not=have.)

'As for us (Lisu), (we) have no way of getting
a salary.'

/hèphānyā mawālā ngā; thītáwā?/

(Chinese=man=as-for not=get-to=come is-so? this=place=to)

'Chinese can't come, can they, here I mean?'

/yàphyínyā ngwā jā madān./

(opium=as-for I eat not=can=new-situation.)

'With opium I can't earn a living any more.'

/lylswū mēgwānyā akhē gwā hfan./

(Lisu songs=as-for very sing difficult=nom.)

'As for Lisu songs, (they're) very hard to sing.'

/-hē/ 'contrasting, particularizing, or limiting focus'

/-hē/ occurs internally with both substantive and verb phrases. In contrast to /-nyā/, it particularizes some element of an utterance, frequently contrasting it with earlier subject matter (e.g. 'He's going, but I'm not.'). The limiting function of /-hē/ is most clearly shown in combination with a counter and a[#] negative verb, where the particle means 'not even' (cf. the third example with substantives below).

With verbs:

/zāgwū hwāyīahē, nwū ātā kyā, thūghē fwūwāhī; né./

(husband find-go-nom-contrast, you wherever dwell,
letter release=must=further. you=to)

'And when (she) gets a husband, wherever you are
living, (we) must send a letter to you.'

/nwū mwē ylgylāhē, thūghē cūcū bū tēlā, sánē wānyī
nwū yllāhē, nwū ānyī ngū./

(your country return-go-nom-contrast, paper well write
carry=come, tomorrow next-day you return=come-nom-contrast,
your daughter is.)

'And when you go back to your country, if (you) keep
writing steadily, in the future when you come back,
(she'll) still be your daughter.'

/nwū zānō ngwā nēthwūshē, chúa./

(your child me marry=nom=contrast, bad=nom.)

'But for your child to marry me (would be) bad.'

/yīhē, akhé yīsá./

(work=contrast, very-much work=hard.)

'And as for working (it), (opium) is very hard to work.'

/yī ābāmé makyāhē, maphyōlē./

(her adoptive-father not=dwell=contrast, not=become=emph.)

'If her adoptive father hadn't been (here),
(she) wouldn't have lived.'

/ghéthhēhē, mwē mabā, mahā./

(score=when=contrast, weather not=clear, not=good.)

'And when (we) score (the opium pods), if the
weather isn't clear (it's) not good.'

With substantives:

/lyīswūngūhē lyīswū thūghē maséswāa./

(Lisu=language=contrast Lisu letters not=know=emph.)

'But as to Lisu, (we) don't know Lisu writing at all.'

/ābā thīmā nyīmāhē amí lānyā, akhé syàkyālē./

(months one=unit two=units=contrast quickly come=as-for,
very-much miss=nom=emph.)

'If (you) come back quickly, in a month or two,
(we'll) still miss (you) very much.'

/thīkhūnyā ngwā yāphyí sàkhāhē mawā./

(one=year=as-for I opium three=tenths-joy=contrast not=get.)

'In one year I don't even get three joys of opium.'

/ávè nā - ághá nā - áswáhō lāngū. mahā./

(pigs ill - chickens ill - whatever=contrast come=nom-is-so.
not=good.)

'The pigs get sick, the chickens get sick, all sorts
of things happen (here). (It's) not good.'

/thīnyī kwāmā, sāvā lyīwáhō thī'vwūa: - thīkháchā wángū./

(one=day collect=item, three=people four=people=contrast
this=much=emph - one=tenth-joy=approximately
get=nom-is-so.)

'In one day's collecting (of opium), even three or
four people get only this much, about one tenth
of a joy.'

/-hí(nyī)/ 'subject matter related to the preceding discussion'

(marks focus)

With verbs:

/syī jāhí, syī jāmā./

(kill eat=related-focus, kill eat=urging.)

'As to killing and eating (it), go ahead.'

/mwā yī gwūlīhí, khyīyā./

(land work finish=change-of-state=related-focus,
dance=go=nom.)

'And when (I've) finished working, (I'll) go
dancing.'

/áthī bēhīnyī, gwā kō./

(this say=related-focus, sing put-in.)

'Then, when (you've) said that, sing into
(the tape recorder).'

/áthī yīghēhīnyī, yīwūā gwāyīa./

(this do=actual=related-focus, nom=new sing=go=nom.)

'And when (you've) done that, sing another one.'

With substantives:

/āli ngāhō, thī gwāwáswāngu. swūhī gwāwū./

(however is=contrast, this sing=must=emph=is=so.
other-person=related-focus sing=did.)

'But no matter what, (you) must sing now. He sang.'

/līkhyāmyīwāhī mangā, magwā./

(forest=land=at=related-focus not=is, not=sing.)

'If (we) aren't in the forest, (I) won't sing.'
[after a discussion of possible locations]

/nwū thīkhūhī thīhwā wā dāa./

(you one=year=related-focus one=time get-to strike=nom.)

'You only have a chance to take (pictures of opium
harvesting) once a year.' [after a discussion
of other picture taking]

/nwū āmōsāhī āmyīa gyīangō./

(you now=related-focus field=to go=nom=question.)

'Are you going to the fields now?'

/ngwā ālāhī magyī./

(I wherever-to=related-focus not=go.)

'(No.) I'm not going anywhere.'

5.4.2.3 Mixed general particles:

A mixed general particle occurs both internally and finally with substantive phrases, but only in main verb phrases. The members of this class are the two emphatic particles /-swā(a)/ and /-jwā/.

/-swā(a)/ 'emphasis'

This particle occurs in statements only. With verbs it is independent of /-jwā/, but after a substantive it appears only

in combination with /-jwɛ̃/. When /-swɛ̃/ is sentence final, the following /a/ is facultatively present; when there is a following particle, /a/ is regularly absent.¹⁷ As with /-lɛ̃gà/ and /-nɛ̃gà/ (see 5.4.1.3), the addition of a second emphatic particle softens rather than strengthens the emphasis.

With verbs:

/sākɰù lyɪkhù lãswɛ̃a./

(three=years four=years come=nom=emph.)

'(You're) coming back in three or four years?!'

/áthɪ wãsyɔ̃aswɛ̃./

(this laugh=nom=emph.)

'This (guy) will laugh.' (if I sing)

/lyɪswũngùhɛ̃, lyɪswũ thùghɛ̃ masɛ̃swɛ̃a./

(Lisu=language=contrast, Lisu letters not=know=emph.)

'But as to Lisu, (we) don't know Lisu writing at all.'

/yɪ mãmãhɛ̃ yɪlé madɛ̃swɛ̃./

(his mother=contrast he=as-for not=beat=emph.)

'But his mother just doesn't beat him.'

/atɪɪ sākɰù lyɪkhù yɪlãswɛ̃jwɛ̃./

(a-little three=years four=years return=come=nom=emph=emph.)

'(You'll) come back in only three or four years.'

17. This is not final particle /-a/, which precedes /-swɛ̃(a)/ (cf. the second example), but a part of the general particle itself.

/wā dūlīnyā, akhé gwā kwí^aswāngu./¹⁸

(get-to drink=change-of-state=as-for, very-much sing
know-how=nom=emph=is-so.)

'If (I) get to drink (some liquor), I can
really sing.'

/yflyi bēswāle./ (partic=custom say=emph=emph.)

'(It's our) custom, (I) say.'

With substantives:

/thīmā nwūghəswājwā./

(this=item your=possession=emph=emph.)

'This is yours.'

/kā ngwā khyīswājwā hū phyò kyīangūnē./

(connective my feces=emph=emph iron become=cause=nom=
is-so=emph.)

'Well, these feces of mine, (I'm) going to turn
(them) into iron.'

/-jwā/ 'emphasis'

Unlike /-swā(a)/, /-jwā/ occurs independently with substantives, as well as in combinations. However, with verbs it appears in my data only after secondary particle /-hī/ 'still, yet, further', and after /-swā/. It occurs in statements only and is less common than /-swā(a)/.

With verbs:

/lécà gyī, hīn hwāhījwā, āzù zà jūahē, ngā?/

(Letsa go, house seek=further=emph, we son
have=nom=contrast, is-so?)

'If we have a son, (he can) go to Letsa and
find a wife, right?'

18. Like /-lē/ (5.4.2.1), the copula /ngū/ 'is, is so' is atonic following /-swā/.

/bēhē mangāhījwī./

(bāhāe not=is=yet=emph.)

'That's not really bāhāe.' [a kind of song]

With substantives:

/ngwājwī hīn sīphālē./

(I=emph house master=emph.)

'I (am) the householder (here).'

/māgwājwī ālīhē gwāghèchwīu./

(song=emph however=contrast sing=to=fitting=new-situation.)

'As to a song, anything will do.'

5.4.3 Particle combinations:

Combinations of particles are shown in the following charts, which include substantive, as well as verb and general particles. In each chart, an item in one column occurs with any item in a following column which is on the same line or lower, unless they are separated by a horizontal line. Items in one column do not co-occur unless one of them is relisted in a following column. With respect to any given particle, items to its right are optional, those to its left are mandatory. For example, in a main verb phrase the particle /-a/ is not necessarily followed by other particles, but /-gā/ is necessarily preceded by /-lē/ or by /-angūnē/.

5.4.3.1 Particles with substantives:

a) Sentence final:

Substantive + $\bar{l}\bar{e}$

dù

pháʔ

u

a

b) Internal:

Substantive + \emptyset^{19}

a

 $\bar{w}\bar{a}$

nyā

hō

hf(nyī)

lé

kyī

jwē

swējwē

u

5.4.3.2 Particles with verbs:

a) In attributive clauses:

verb + (stem extension) + \emptyset

a

 \emptyset $\bar{h}\bar{a}$

hf(nyī)

nyā

hō

19. In these charts, \emptyset indicates lack of a particle, not a zero particle.

b) In main clauses:²⁰

Without final particle:

Verb + (stem extension) + lē	gá
swǎ(a)	le ²¹
	ngu ²¹
	jwǎ
hǐ	ngū
	jwǎ
	phá?
	ngwǎ
	mǎ
dù	
lū	
wí!	
phá?	

20. Allomorphs /ngū/, /ngō/ and /ngwǎ/ of the copula {ngā} 'is, is so' are included in the charts because of their close inter-relationship with the particles; cf. section 2.5.4.3.

21. Atonic alternants of /-lē/ 'emphasis' and /ngū/ 'is so' following /-swǎ/; see sections 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.3, footnote 18.

With final particle:

Verb + (stem extension) + a

ngū nē gá

ngō

swǎ(a)

le²¹

ngu²¹

jwǎ

hǐ

ngū

jwǎ

phǎ?

ngwǎ

mǎ

dù

lū

wǐ!

u

lē

phǎ?

Appendices

Sample Text and Analysis

On the following pages is presented a paragraph from a conversation between the author and his "adoptive brother" /álwũphà/ 'Sixth Son'.

The text is presented first as a unified whole, with the English translation on the facing page (Appendix A). It is then presented a second time, with the parts of each sentence individually identified, as in the body of the dissertation. For most sentences there is also included a detailed grammatical analysis; this analysis is omitted only when a sentence represents a virtual repetition of a structure already illustrated.

Appendix A
The Running Text

Álwūphà:

/mègwā amā mághōa? hwāthwúphà mághōa ngī? ālītáwā
má pīyīu; mègwā? zàmālé mègwā? jēphè dū mègwā?
mègwā a'myá:jè jūalē. ū, a'myá:jè jūa. khyōphē
kyāgwūwā gyīa, thījè gwā. āzù cáicìkhwūwā thījè gwā.
āmyīa gyī, thījè gwā. jēphè dūa, thījè gwā. chūhān
khwū jà gwā thījè. wúdwè thò gwā thījè. "u, amyá:jè
jūa. thīhwā bēnyīghèa. yīsyà há mahā ngwā nānānyīa.
lyīswū mègwānyā akhé gwā hían. a'myá:jè jūa. bēhé
bényā, yīsyà nyōnyōa: kā. zàmālé mūamā thījè gwā,
zàmālé mamū thījè gwāwá. zàmālé mūanyā, yīsyà akhé
hāmā gwāwālé. chūmì mūanyā, yīsyà mahā. akhé nō
nadīmā mūamyū, yīsyà mahāmā gwāghōangū./

Appendix A
The Translation

Alwupha:

'Who's teaching you songs? The headman's teaching you, right? What point has his teaching reached, with songs that is? Courting songs? Drinking songs? There are lots of different kinds of songs; oh, lots of kinds. If we go to a friend's village, we sing one kind. In our own village we sing one kind. When we go to the fields, we sing one kind. When we drink liquor we sing one kind. Singing to call a personal spirit to eat is one kind. Singing at a wedding is one kind. Oh, there are many kinds. Try singing once. I'll listen and see if your voice is good or not. As for Lisu songs, they're very hard to sing. There are lots of kinds. If you're speaking of bæhæ, the sound is soft. One who sees a young girl must sing one kind; you must sing another way when you don't see a girl. When you see a young girl, you must sing with your best voice. If you see an old person, you can sing with a poor voice. If you see someone you don't really desire, you sing to her with a bad voice.

Appendix B
The Analysis

There follows a detailed analysis of the text of Appendix A. Each sentence is first given with a morpheme-by-morpheme translation; the morphemes are then identified as to form class and the structure of the sentence is built up through its phrases and clauses. At each stage of the structural analysis, reference is made to the section or sections in the body of the dissertation where the form or structure in question is discussed. When a sentence represents a virtual repetition of a structural type already illustrated, the translation is given with a reference to the earlier illustration.

1) 'Who's teaching you songs?'

(song[s] who teach =to =nom ?)

/màgwā amā má -ghě -a ?/

(a) (b) (c) (d)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3(b). complex topic; 4.2.3.2.1(d)

/màgwā/ 'song(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

b) subject; 4.2.1.1

/amā/ 'who?'; question noun; 2.4.2.3.3c

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/má/ 'teach'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/-ghè/ 'to, for, for the benefit of'; bound complement; 2.5.1.3

/mághè/ 'teach to'; complementary verb compound; 2.5.1.3

/ˇ/ low rising tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/ǎa/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/mághěa/ 'to teach to'

Interrogative clause; 4.2.3.3

d) /?/ interrogative intonation; 1.11.3

Major question; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.3(1)

2) 'The headman's teaching you, right?'

(leader= =man teach=to=nom is-so?)

/hwāthwú- -phà má-ghǎ-a ngī?/

(a)

(b)

(c)

a) subject; 4.2.1.1

/hwāthwú-/ 'leader'; bound noun, apparently derived
from /hwā/ 'win', and thus complex
(2.4.2.3), but /-thwú/ is unexplained

/-phà/ 'man'; bound simple noun; 2.6.2

/hwāthwúphà/ 'headman'; compound noun; 2.4.2.2.1

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/mághǎa/ 'to teach to'; see sentence #1, (c)

Subject; 4.4.2.1

/hwāthwúphà mághǎa/ 'the headman teaches'; simple basic
clause; 4.1 and 4.2

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/ngī?/ 'isn't it so?'; allomorph of the copula {ngā}

(2.5.4.3), regularly with /?/

interrogative intonation (1.11.3)

Major question; 5.1.1(b) and 5.2.3(1)

c) goal; 4.2.1.3(b), complex secondary topic; 4.2.3.2(1d)

/məgwā/ 'song(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

Simple topic clause; 4.2.3.2

d) /?/ interrogative intonation; 1.11.3

occurs with the verb phrase; 4.2.3.2, footnote 19

Major question; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.3(1)

4) 'Courting songs?'

(woman =young sòng[s] ?)

/zāmā -lé məgwā ?/

(a) (b) (c)

a) /zāmā/ 'woman, wife'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/lé/ 'young'; adjective; 2.5.2

/zāmālé/ 'girl'; complex noun; 2.4.2.3(1.2)

b) /məgwā/ 'song(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/zāmālé məgwā/ 'courting song(s)'; attribute substantive
phrase; 3.1.2(1)

c) /?/ interrogative intonation; 1.11.3

Minor question; 5.1.2 and 5.2.3.2(a)

5) 'Drinking songs?'

(liquor drink song[s] ?)

/jɛ̀phè dū mægwā ?/

(a) (b) (c)

a) Goal; 4.2.1.3

/jɛ̀phè/ 'liquor'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

verb; 4.2.1.5

/dū/ 'drink'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/jɛ̀phè dū/ 'drink liquor'; simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

b) /mægwā/ 'song(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/jɛ̀phè dū mægwā/ 'drinking song(s)'; attribute substantive
phrase; 3.1.2(1)

c) /?/ interrogative intonation; 1.11.3

Minor question; 5.1.2 and 5.2.3.2(a)

6) 'There are lots of different kinds of songs.'

(song[s] nom= emph= many =kind[s] have =nom =emph .)

/ mægwā a- ' myá: -jɛ̀ jũ -a -lɛ̃ ./

(a)

(b)

(c)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3

/mègwā/ 'song(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/a-/ 'nominalization'; proclitic particle; 2.4.2.3.3(b)

/myā/ 'much, many'; adjective; 2.5.2

/amyá/ 'much, many'; complex noun; 2.4.2.3.3(b); with
shift to /ˈ/ high tone in the nominalized form

/-jɛ̃/ 'kind(s)'; classifier; 2.4.1.2(1)

/amyájɛ̃/ 'many kinds'; counter; 2.4.1 and 2.6.1

/ˈ/ emphatic stress; 1.10.3

/ː/ falling pitch; 1.7. association with emphatic stress; 1.7

/aːmyáːjɛ̃/ 'many kinds'

/mègwā aːmyáːjɛ̃/ 'many kinds of songs'; counter phrase;
3.1.3.2(d)

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/jū/ 'have'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/˜/ mid rising tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/~a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/-lɛ̃/ 'mild emphasis'; final general particle; 5.4.2(1)

/jūalɛ̃/ 'to have indeed'; simple verb phrase; 3.2(1)

Simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

c) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.1(1)

7) 'Oh, there are lots of kinds.'

(oh, many=emph=kinds have=nom.)

/ū , a'myá:jè jūa ?/

Isolative; 4.2.3.1(a)

/ū/ 'oh'; exclamation; 2.3

Otherwise, see sentence #6

8) 'If we go to a friend's village, we sing one kind.'

(friend[s] dwell =place =to go =nom, one= =kind sing .)

/khyòphē kyā -gwū -wā gyī -a , thī- -jè gwā ./

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

a) wā-phrase (place); 4.2.1.2(b)

subject; 4.2.1.1

/khyòphē 'friend(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

verb; 4.2.1.5

/kyā/ 'dwell'; intransitive verb; 2.5.1.2

/khyòphē kyā/ 'friends dwell'; simple basic clause; 4.1

and 4.2. attributive clause; 4.4.1

/-gwū/ 'place'; simple bound noun; 2.4.2(1)

/khyòphē kyāgwū/ 'friend's dwelling place';

attribute substantive phrase; 3.1.2(1)

/-wā/ 'to, at'; substantive particle; 4.3(1)

/khyòphē kyāgwūwā/ 'to a friend's village'

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gyī/ 'go'; intransitive verb; 2.5.1.2

/-a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5. final particle; 5.4.1.2

/gyīa/ 'to go'; simple verb phrase; 3.2(1)

Primary topic; 4.4.2.3(a)

/khyōphē kyāgwūwā gyīa,/ 'going to a friend's village';

basic clause; 4.1

c) goal; 4.2.1.3

/thī-/ 'one'; numeral; 2.4.1.1

/-jā/ 'kind(s)'; classifier; 2.4.1.2(1)

/thījā/ 'one kind'; counter; 2.4.1

d) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

Complex clause; 4.4.2(3)

e) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(b) and 5.2.1(1)

9) 'In our own village we sing one kind.'

(our village =interior =at one=kind sing .)

/āzù cáicē -khwù -wā thĭjĭ gwā ./

(a) (b) (c) (d)

a) wā-phrase (place); 4.2.1.2(b)

/āzù/ 'we'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/cáicē/ 'village' (ditto)

/āzù cáicē/ 'our village'; attribute substantive phrase;

3.1.2(1)

/-khwù/ 'interior'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/āzù cáicēkhwù/ 'the interior of our village';

attribute substantive phrase; 3.1.2.2

/-wā/ 'to, at'; substantive particle; 4.3(1)

/āzù cáicēkhwùwā/ 'in our village'

b) goal; 4.2.1.3

/thĭjĭ/ 'one kind'; see sentence #8(c)

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; see sentence #8(d)

Simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

d) ./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.1(1)

10) 'When we go to the fields, we sing one kind.'

(field =to go , one=kind sing.)

/āmyī -wā gyī, thij̃ gwā./

/āmyī/ 'field(s)'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

Otherwise, see sentence #8

11) 'When we drink liquor, we sing one kind.'

(liquor drink=nom, one=kind sing.)

/j̃phè dū -ə , thij̃ gwā./

See sentences #5 and #6

12) 'Singing to call a personal spirit to eat is one kind.'

(personal-spirit call eat sing one=kind .)

/ chūhān khwū jà gwā thij̃ ./

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3

/chūhān/ 'personal spirit'; noun; /chū-/ is possibly from /lāchū/ 'person', /-hān/ possibly the poetic form for 'moon' - in which case the noun is compound (2.4.2.2.1) - but this is speculative

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/khwū/ 'call'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/jà/ 'eat'; (ditto)

/khwū jà/ 'call to eat'; complementary verb
phrase; 3.2.4(1)

goal; 4.4.2.2

/chūhān khwū jà/ 'call a spirit to eat'; simple basic
clause; 4.1 and 4.2

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(2)

Subject; 4.4.2.1

/chūhān khwū jà gwā/ 'sing to call a spirit to eat';
complex clause; 4.4(2.2)

d) goal; 4.2.1.3(c)

/thījǎ/ 'one kind'; see sentence #8

e) ./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Equational sentence; 5.1.2.2

13) 'Singing at a wedding is one kind.'

(head bow sing one=kind.)

/wúdwǎ thǒ gwā thǐjǎ ./

(a) (b) (c)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3(b)

/wúdwǎ/ 'head'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/thǒ/ 'bow'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

Goal; 4.4.2.2

/wúdwǎ thǒ/ 'get married' (from the bowing down before the spirits during the ceremony); simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'

Etc., as in sentence #12

14) 'Oh, there are lots of kinds.'

(exaggerated-emph= oh, many=kinds have=nom.)

/ " u, amyǎjǎ jūa ./

/"/ exaggerated emphatic stress; 1.10.4

Otherwise, see sentence #6

15) 'Try singing once.'

(one= =time say =try =to =nom .)

/thĩ- -hwã bē -nyĩ -ghè -a ./

(a)

(b)

(c)

a) Adverb; 4.2.1.4(a)

/thĩ-/ 'one'; numeral; 2.4.1.1

/-hwã/ 'time'; classifier; 2.4.1.2(1)

/thĩhwã/ 'one time; counter; 2.4.1

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/bē/ 'say, tell'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(2)

/-nyĩ/ 'try, try out, test'; auxiliary verb; 2.5.5

/bēnyĩ/ 'try saying'; inseparable auxiliary compound;

2.5.5.1

/-ghè/ 'to, for, for the benefit of'; bound complement; 2.5.1.3

/bē nyĩghè/ 'try saying to (someone)'; complementary

verb compound; 2.5.1.3

/-a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5. final particle; 5.4.1.2

Simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

c) ./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Imperative; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2(2)

16) 'I'll listen and see if your voice is good or not.'

(partic= =sound good=nom not= good I listen =test =nom .)

/ yí- -syà há ma- hā ngwā nānā -nyí -a ./
 (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f)

a) subject; 4.2.1.1

/yí-/ 'particularization'; proclitic particle; 2.4.2.3.3(a)

/-syà/ 'sound voice'; bound simple noun; 2.4.2(i)

/yísyà/ 'sound voice'; complex noun; 2.4.2.3.3a

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/hā/ 'good'; adjective; 2.5.2

/°/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5. final tone; 1.6.2.2.

high level tone; 1.6

/há/ 'to be good'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

c) secondary topic; 4.4.2.3 and 5.2.3.1b

/ma-/ atonic form of /mā-/ 'not'; negative particle;

5.4.1.1

/hā/ 'good'; adjective; 2.5.2

/mahā/ 'not good'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

Goal; 4.4.2.2

/yísyà há mahā/ 'is the sound good or not?'; alternative

question; 5.2.3.1b

d) subject; 4.2.1.1

/ngwā/ 'I'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

e) verb; 4.2.1.5

/nānā/ 'listen'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(2)

/-nyī/ 'try, try out, test'; auxiliary verb; 2.5.5

/nānānyī/ 'listen and see'; inseparable auxiliary
compound; 2.5.5.1

/°/ high tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/-a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/nānānyīa/ 'to listen and see'; simple verb phrase;
3.2.1

Complex clause; 4.2(2.2)

f) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(b) and 5.2(1.1a)

17) 'As for Lisu songs, they're very hard to sing.'

(Lisu song[s] =as-for very sing difficult =nom .)

/lyĩswū mэгwā -nyā akhó gwā hĩn -a ./

(a) (b) (c) (d)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3, complex primary topic; 4.2.3.2(1d)

/lyĩswū/ 'Lisu'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/mэгwā/ 'song(s)' (ditto)

/lyĩswū mэгwā/ 'Lisu song(s)'; attribute substantive
phrase; 3.1.2(1)

/-nyā/ 'as for', topic marker; internal general particle;

5.4.2.2

/lyĩswū mэгwānyā/ 'as for Lisu songs'

b) adverb; 4.2.1.4

/akhó/ 'very, very much'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/hĩn/ 'ugly; difficult'; adjective; 2.5.2

/gwā hĩn/ 'hard to sing'; attribute verb phrase; 3.2.2(1)

/'/ high level tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/-a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/gwā hĩn/ 'to be hard to sing'; simple verb phrase;

3.2.1

Topic clause; 4.2.3.2(b)

d) ./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.1(1a)

- 18) 'There are many kinds.'
- (many=emph=kinds have=nom.)
- / a'myá:jì jūa ./

See sentence #6

- 19) 'If you're speaking of bæhæ, the sound is soft.'
- (bæhæ say=nom =as-for, sound short=short =partic is-like .)
- /bēhé bé -nyā , yísyà nyó-nyó -a: kã ./
- (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f)

a) goal; 4.2.1.3

/bēhé/ (a kind of song); simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

b) verb; 4.2.1.5

/bē/ 'say, tell'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(2)

/ / 'clause nominalization'; 4.5. high level tone; 1.6.
final tone; 1.6.2.2

/bé/ 'to say'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

/bēhé bé/ 'saying bæhæ'; simple basic clause;
4.1 and 4.2

/-nyā/ 'as for', topic marker; internal general particle; 5.4.2.2

Primary topic; 4.4(2.3a)

/bēhé bényā/ 'if (one is) speaking of bæhæ'

c) subject; 4.2.1.1

/yísyà/ 'sound'; see sentence #16(a)

d) goal; 4.2.1.3(c)

/ny^o/ 'short; soft (of sound)'; adjective; 2.5.2

/ny^ony^o/ 'shortness; softness'; compound noun derived
from a verb by reduplication; 2.4.2, 2.3 and
2.10.2

/-a/ 'particularization'; substantive particle; 4.3(5)

/:/ falling pitch; 1.7. association with substantive
particle /-a/; 4.3.5

/ny^ony^oa:/ 'softness'; simple substantive phrase; 3.1.1

e) verb; 4.2.1.5

/k^a/ 'is like'; copular verb; 2.5.4.1

Complex clause; 4.2(2.3a)

f) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(b) and 5.2.1.1(a)

20) 'One who sees a young girl must sing one kind; you sing another
kind when you don't see a girl.'

(woman=young see =nom =unit one=kind sing, woman=young

/ zámələ́ mū -a -mā thijə́ gwā, zámələ́

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

not= see one=kind sing =must .)

ma- mū thijə́ gwā -wá ./

(e)

(f)

(g) (h) (i)

a) subject; 4.2.1.1

goal; 4.2.1.3

/zámǎlé/ 'girl'; see sentence #4(a)

verb; 4.2.1.5

/mū/ 'see'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/~/ mid rising tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/~a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/mūa/ 'to see'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

/zámǎlé mūa/ 'seeing a girl'

/-mā/ 'unit, item'; bound simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/zámǎlé mūamā/ 'one who sees a girl'; attribute

substantive phrase; 3.1.2(1)

b) goal; 4.2.1.3

/thijǐ/ 'one kind'; see sentence #8(c)

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

Basic clause; 4.1

d) goal; 4.2.1.3

/zámǎlé/ 'girl'; see sentence #4(a)

e) verb; 4.2.1.5

/ma-/ 'not'; see sentence #16(c)

/mū/ 'see'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/mamū/ 'not see'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

Simple primary topic; 4.4.2(3a)

/zámālé mamū/ 'not seeing a girl'; simple basic clause;

4.1 and 4.2

f) goal; 4.2.1.3

/thijǎ/ 'one kind'; see sentence #8(c)

g) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

Complex clause; 4.4(2.3a)

h) /-wá/ 'must; get to'; verb stem extension; 2.7(2)

/gwāwá/ 'must sing, can sing'; simple verb phrase; 3.2.1

i) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Compound major statement; 5.1.1(2) and 5.2.1(1a)

21) 'When you see a young girl, you must sing with your best voice.'

(woman=young see=nom=as-for, voice very good=nom=item

/ zámālé mūanyā : yísyà akhǎ há -mā

(a)

(b)

sing =must =emph .)

gwā -wá -lē ./

(c)

(d)

a) Simple primary topic; 4.4.2(3a)

/zámālé mūa/ 'seeing a girl'; see sentence #20(a)

/-nyā/ 'as for', topic marker; internal general particle; 5.4.2.2

/zámālé mūanyā/ 'as for seeing a girl'

b) adverb; 4.2.1.4

/yísyà/ 'sound, voice'; see sentence #16(a)

adverb; 4.2.1.4

/akhó/ 'very, very much'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

verb; 4.2.1.5

/há/ 'to be good'; see sentence #16(b)

simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

/akhó há/ 'to be very good'

/-mā/ 'unit, item'; bound simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/akhó há mā/ 'one which is very good'; attribute

substantive phrase; 3.1.2(1)

/yísyà akhó há mā/ 'voice, a very good one'; appositive

phrase; 3.1.3.2(c) and 4.4.1

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwāwá/ 'must sing'; see sentence #20(h)

/-lē/ 'mild emphasis'; final general particle; 5.4.2.1

/gwāwá lē/ 'must really sing'

Complex clause; 4.4.1 and 4.4.2(3a)

d) /o/ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.1(1a)

22) 'If you see an old person, your voice need not be good.'

(person= old see=nom-as-for, voice not=good .)

/ chū- m̀ m̄anyā , yísyà mahā ./

(a)

(b)

(c)

a) Simple primary topic; 4.4.2(3a)

/chū-/ 'person'; bound allomorph of /lächū/ 'person'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/m̀/ 'old (of animates)'; adjective; 2.5.2

/chūm̀/ 'old person'; complex noun; 2.4.2.3(1.2a)

/chūm̀ m̄anyā/ 'as for seeing an old person'; see sentence #21(a)

b) Main clause; 5.1.1

/yísyà mahā/ 'voice is not good'; see sentence #16(a, c)

Complex clause; 4.2(2.3a)

c) ./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(a) and 5.2.1(1a)

23) 'If you see someone you don't really desire, you sing to her with a bad voice.'

(very-much desire not= request =unit see=nom-as-for,

/ akhé nō ma- dī -mā m̄anyā ,

(a)

voice not=good=item sing =to =nom =is-so .)

yísyà mahāmā gwā =ghě -a -ngū ./

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

a) simple primary topic; 4.2(2.3a)

goal; 4.2.1.3

adverb; 4.2.1.4

/akhś/ 'very, very much'; simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

verb; 4.2.1.5

/nō/ 'desire'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/dī/ 'request'; transitive verb; (same)

/nō dī/ 'want' (a girl as one's wife);

coordinate verb phrase; 3.2.3

/mā-/ 'not'; see sentence #16(c)

/nō māḍi/ 'not want'; with movable negative;

3.2.3.1a

simple basic clause; 4.1 and 4.2

/akhś nō māḍi/ 'not want very much'

/-mā/ 'unit, item'; bound simple noun; 2.4.2(1)

/akhś nō māḍimā/ 'one not really wanted'; attribute

substantive phrase; 3.1.2(1)

/akhś nō māḍimā mānyā/ 'as for seeing one (you) don't

really want'; see sentence #21(a)

b) adverb; 4.2.1.4

/yīsyā mahāmā/ 'a voice which isn't good'; see sentence #21(b)

c) verb; 4.2.1.5

/gwā/ 'sing'; transitive verb; 2.5.1.1(1)

/-ghà/ 'to, for, for the benefit of'; bound complement;

2.5.1.3

/gwāghà/ 'sing to, sing for'; complementary verb
compound; 2.5.1.3

/˘/ low rising tone; 1.6. final tone; 1.6.2.2

/-a/ final particle; 5.4.1.2

/˘a/ 'clause nominalization'; 4.5

/gwāghā/ 'to sing to, sing for'

Subject; 4.4.2.1

/akhé nō madimā mūnyā, yísyà mahāmā gwāghā/

'as for seeing one (you) don't really want, (you)

sing to (her) with a bad voice'; complex clause;

4.4.2.3a and 4.4.1

d) verb; 4.2.1.5

/ngā/ 'is, is so, is a case of'; allomorph of the copula

{ngā}; 2.5.4.3

Complex clause; 4.4.2.1

e) /./ declarative intonation; 1.11.1(1)

Major statement; 5.1.1(b) and 5.2.1(1a)

Bibliography

The following bibliography is divided into two sections, the first with reference to works containing direct linguistic evidence, the second to works with ethnographic or cultural descriptions only. In the linguistic section, I have included every reference I have found which has anything more than the most glancing mention of Lisu. Works of particular interest are marked with an asterisk (*); these have been discussed separately in the Introduction. Practically all the other linguistic items are word lists, which are discussed as a group in the Introduction. In the second section, I have given a selection of a few of the longer or more carefully documented descriptions. Many other short references can be found through the bibliographies in the listed works. Works in the linguistic section which also contain worthwhile cultural or ethnographic descriptions are relisted in abbreviated form in the second section, with a reference back to the first.

Part I: Linguistic References:

- Anderson, John. 1871. A report on the expedition to Western Yunnan via Bhamô. Calcutta. Vocab of Leesaw, 401-9.
- 1876. Mandalay to Moumien. London. Vocab of Leesaw, 464-73.
- Anthropological Linguistics. 1965. Vol 7, No. 6, 37-58.
Language family classification and a two page phonemic summary (56-8).
- Bernatzik, Hugo Adolf. 1947. Akha and M̄sau. Innsbruck. Lisu relationship terms on folding table facing page 34, Vol. 1.
- Biet, Alexandre. 1877. Vocabulaire Lyssou recueilli à Tsékou. Mémoires de la Société Indochinoise 1.21-41.
- *Burling, Robbins. 1967. Proto Lolo-Burmese. Bloomington.
And IJAL vol. 33, no. 1, part II. Comparative study.
- Clarke, Samuel R. 1911. Among the tribes in south-west China. London. Vocab, 314-5.
- Davies, Henry Rudolph. Yün-nan, the link between India and the Yang-tze. Cambridge. Lisu vocab in the pocket of vol 2.
- Desgodins, Auguste. 1873. Mots principaux des langues de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang-kiang, du Loutze-kiang et Irrawaddy. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Ser. 6, vol. 5, 144-50. Vocab.
- *Fraser, J. O. 1922. Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) language. Rangoon. Complete grammar and extensive vocab.

- *Hope, Edward R. In press. Lisu. Phonemes and orthography in eight marginal languages of Thailand, ed. by William A. Smalley. Phonology and proposed Thai transcription.
- Johnston, R(eginald) F(leming). 1908. From Peking to Mandalay. A journey from north China to Burma ... London. Vocab of Yung-ning Lisu, 392-6.
- *Jui I-fu. 1948. On the sounds of the Lisu language with remarks on the Lisu script. Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an [Academia Sinica] 17.303-26. Phonology and word list of 'Hwa' Lisu in Yünnan.
- Liétard, Alfred. 1909. Notes sur les dialectes lo-lo. BEFEO 9.549-72. Vocab, 566-7.
- 1912. Au Yun-nan, Min-kia et La-ma jen ... Anthropos 7.677-705. Vocab, 692-702
- Linguistic Survey of India. 1928. Ed. by Sir George A. Grierson. Calcutta. Vol I, part 2. Lisu vocab from Fraser; Lishaw vocab.
- *Li-su yü yü-fa kang-yao [Outline of Lisu Grammar]. 1959. Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh yüan [Chinese Academy of Sciences]. Peking. Complete grammar of Yünnanese Lisu.
- Madrolle, Claudius. 1908. Quelques peuplades lo-lo. T'oung Pao, Ser. 2, vol. 9, 529-76. Vocab, 562-5.
- Nishida, Tatsuo. 1964. Biruma-go to Roro syogo: sono seityoo taikai no hikaku kenkyuu. [Burmese and the various Lolo languages: a comparative study of their tone systems.] Toonan Adia Kenkyuu [Southeast Asia Studies] 4.13-28.

- *Nishida, Tatsuo. 1967. Risu-go no kenkyuu: Tai-kaku Taaku-ken ni okeru Risu zoku no kotoba no yobi-hookoku [A preliminary study of the Lisu language in Tak Province, Thailand]. Toonan Adia Kenkyun [Southeast Asia Studies] Vol. 5, 276-307 Description of the phonology.
- 1968. Risu-go hikaku kenkyuu (I, II) [A comparative study of the Lisu language (Tak dialect)]. Toonan Adia Kenkyuu [Southeast Asia Studies] I: Vol 6, no. 1-2-35; II: Vol 7, no. 2.261-89. These two articles came to my attention so late that I have not had a chance to evaluate them.
- d'Orléans, Henri. 1898. Du Tonkin aux Indes ... Paris. Vocab #19, 22.
- *Rose, Archibald, and J. Coggin Brown. 1910. Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China frontier. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 3.249-76. Black-White-Flowery comparative vocab.
- Scott, J(ames) George. 1900. Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. Rangoon. Part 1, vol. 1 Lisu vocab, 671-81; Lishaw vocab, 702-4.
- Shafer, Robert. 1955. Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Word 11.94-111.
- Webb, C. Morgan. 1911. Census of India. Vol II, Burma; part 1, Report. Kinship terms: Lishaw XLVII-III, XLIX, LXII; Lisaw LXIII.
- Part 2: Ethnographic and Cultural References:
- Anderson, John. 1871. (see section 1) The first reference to the Lisu.

- Embree, John F., and William L. Thomas, Jr., eds. 1950. Ethnic groups of northern Southeast Asia. New Haven. Short ethnographic sketches for Lisu in Burma (35-7) and Thailand (83-4).
- Fraser, J. O. 1922. (see section 1). Description of Lisu customs in the introduction.
- Hanks, Lucien M., and others. 1964. A report on the tribal peoples in Chiengrai Province north of the Mae Kok River. Bangkok. Lisu population figures, 5-6.
- Lebar, Frank M., Gerald C. Hickey, and John K. Musgrave. 1964. Ethnic groups of mainland Southeast Asia. New Haven. General ethnic outline, 27-30.
- Metford, Beatrix. 1935. Where China meets Burma: Life and travel in the Burma-China borderlands. London and Glasgow. Lengthy description of Lisu in the frontier area, 135-43.
- Report on the socio-economic survey of hill tribes in northern Thailand. 1966. Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of the Interior. Bangkok.
- Rose, Archibald, and J. Coggin Brown. 1910. (see section 1). Descriptions of Lisu in southwest Yunnan Province, China.
- Srisavasdi, Boon Chuey. 1963. The hill tribes of Siam. Bangkok. Many photographs, with random cultural notes.
- Young, Oliver Gordon. 1961. The hill tribes of northern Thailand. Siam Society Monograph #1. Extensive ethnographic notes on the Lisu in Thailand, 28-35.

Index

- Abrupt intonation; 1.11.2
 with statements and imperatives; 5.2
- Active verb; 2.5.1
- Adjective; adjectival verb:
 in attribution; 2.4.2.3.1.2, 3.1.2.3
 in verb function; 2.5.2
- Adverb; 4.2.1.4
- Alternative Construction; 2.4.1.1.3
- Alternative question; 5.2.3.1b
- Alternative substantive phrase; 3.1.3.3
- Alveolar consonants; 1.1.2
- Alveolar/domal consonants; 1.1.3
- Appositive substantive phrases; 3.1.3.2
- Attribute, attribution; 2.1
 clause; 4.4
 substantive; 2.4.2.2, 2.5.3
 substantive phrase; 3.1.2, 3.1.4
 verb: active; 2.4.2.3.1.1, 3.1.2.1
 adjectival; 2.4.2.3.1.2, 3.1.2.3
 verb phrase; 3.2.2
- Auxiliary verb; 2.5.5
- Back vowels; 1.4.3
- Basic clause; 4.1
 extended; 4.2.2
 simple; 4.2.1
- Basic order; 4.1
- Basic tone; 1.6.2.2
 environments of; 4.5.3
- Bound form; 2.0
 as head of an expression; 2.1
- Central vowels; 1.4.2
- Charts; consonant; 1.1
 distribution; 1.9
 particle combination; 5.4.3
 vowel; 1.4
- Classifiers; 2.4.1.2
 determined by noun; 3.1.3.2d
- Clause; 4.0
 attributive; 4.4
 basic; 4.1
 complex; 4.0 and 4.4
 main; 5.1.1

- nominalization; 4.5
- non-basic; 4.2.3
- order with question words;
4.2.3.3
- simple; 4.2
- Complementary verb compounds;
2.5.1.3
- Complementary verb phrase; 3.2.4
- Complex clause; 4.0, 4.4
- Complex noun; 2.4.2.3
- Complex topic; 4.2.3.2.1
- Complex verb; 2.5.3
- Complex word; 2.0
- Compound noun; 2.4.2.2, 2.10.2
- Compound sentence; 5.1.1.2
- Compound verb; 2.5.1.3, 2.5.5
- Compound word; 2.0
- Consonant: chart; 1.9
- final; 1.8
- initial; 1.1
- syllabic; 1.2
- Coordinate clauses; 5.1.1
- Coordinate substantive phrase;
3.1.3
- Coordinate verb phrase; 3.2.3
- Coordination; 3.0
- Copula, copular verb; 2.5.4
- Counter; 2.4.1
- phrase; 3.1.3.2d, e
- with bound noun; 2.4.2.2.2
- Declarative intonation; 1.11.1
- with statements, imperatives and questions; 5.2
- Deictic; 2.4.3
- in counter phrase; 3.1.3.2f
- Diphthongs; 1.4.4
- Distribution charts; 1.9
- Distributive substantive phrase;
3.1.3.4
- Emphatic stress; 1.10.3
- exaggerated; 1.10.4
- Equational sentence; 5.1.2.2
- Exclamations; 2.3
- in isolative positions;
4.2.3.1
- in isolative sentence;
5.1.2(1)
- Falling pitch; 1.7
- with substantive particle
/-a/; 4.3.5
- Final general particles;
5.4.2.1
- Final tone; 1.6.2.2
- as 'clause nominalization';
4.5
- Final verb particles; 5.4.1.2

- Focus; 5.3
- Form classes; 2.2 ff.
- Free form; 2.0
- Front vowels; 1.4.1
- General particles; 2.9, 5.4.2
- Glottalization; 1.5
- Goal; 4.2.1.3
 clause; 4.4.2.2
- Head; 2.1
- Hortatory sentence; 1.11.1.3
- Imperatives; 5.2.2
 contrasted with statements and questions; 5.2
 with declarative intonation; 1.11.1
- Initial consonants; 1.1
- Inseparable auxiliary verb compound; 2.5.5
- Inseparable complementary verb phrase; 3.2.4.1
- Internal general particles; 5.4.2.2
- Intonation; 1.11
 with statements, imperatives, and questions; 5.2
- Intransitive verb; 2.5.1.2
 in coordinate phrases; 3.2.3.1-2
 modifying an adjective; 3.2.3.1b
- Introductory words; 2.8
- Isolatives; 4.2.3.1
 sentence; 5.1.2(1)
- Labial consonants; 1.1.1
- Main clause; 5.1.1
- Major sentence; 5.1(1)
 imperative; 5.2.2
 question; 5.2.3.1
 statement; 5.2.1.1
- Medial semi-vowel; 1.3
- Minor sentence; 5.1(2)
 question; 5.2.3.2
 statement; 5.2.1.2
- Mixed general particle; 5.4.2.3
- Movable negative; 2.5.5
- Nasalization; 1.8
- Negative;
 Movable; 2.5.5
 sentence; 5.2
 verb tone with; 4.5.3
 with sentence intonations; 1.11.1-3
 verb particles; 5.4.1.1
- Neutralization;
 palatal-velar contrast; 1.1.5, footnote 17

Neutralization (cont'd)

statement-imperative-
question contrast; 5.2.4

tone contrast; 1.6, 1.10.4

vowel contrast; 1.4.1

Nominalization:

clause; 4.5

with proclitic particles;
2.4.2.3.3

with reduplication; 2.10.2

Non-basic clause; 4.2.3

Non-proclitic particles; 2.9

Normal stress; 1.10.2

Noun; 2.4.2

Number, numeral; 2.4.1.1

Palatal consonants; 1.1.4

Palatal/velar consonants; 1.1.5

Particle; 2.9

combinations; 5.4.3

general; 2.9; 5.4.2

non-proclitic; 2.9

proclitic; 2.9, 2.4.2.3.3

substantive; 2.9, 4.3

verb; 2.9, 5.4.1

Permitted phoneme sequences; 1.9

Phonemes; 1.0

Phrase; 3.0

substantive; 3.1

verb; 3.2

Positive sentence; 5.2

clause nominalization with;
4.5

with sentence intonations;
1.11.1-3

Proclitic particles; 2.9,
2.4.2.3.3, 3.1.2.3

with reduplicated verbs; 2
2.10.2.2

Questions; 5.2.3

contrasted with statements
and imperatives; 5.2

Question words; 2.4.2.3.3c

clause order with; 4.2.3.3

multiple class membership;
2.6.1

with indefinite force;
4.2.3.3

Reductions; 5.1.2(2)

Reduplication; 2.10, 2.4.2.2.3

Repetition distinguished
from reduplication; 2.10.4

Secondary verb particles;
5.4.1.3

Sentence; 1.0

classification; 5.0

- Sentence (cont'd)
- hortatory; 1.11.1.3
 - imperative; 5.2(2)
 - major; 5.1.1
 - minor; 5.1.2
 - question; 5.2(3)
 - statement; 5.2(1)
- Sentence intonation; 1.11
- position with secondary topic; 1.10.1, footnote 50; 4.2.3.2, footnote 19
- Separable complementary verb phrase; 3.2.4.3
- Simple clause; 4.0, 4.2
- Simple noun; 2.4.2.1
- Simple phrase:
- substantive; 3.1.1
 - verb; 3.2.1
- Simple topic; 4.2.3.2.1
- Simple word; 2.0
- Statement; 5.2.1
- contrasted with imperatives and questions; 5.2
 - with declarative intonation; 1.11.1
- Stress, 1.10
- Subject; 4.2.1.1
- clause; 4.4.2.1
- Substantives; 2.4
- Substantive particles; 2.9, 4.3
- Substantive phrase; 3.1
- Syllabic resonants; 1.2
- from reduction of forms with reduplicated /-lV/; 2.10.2.1
- Syllable; 1.0
- Tones; 1.6
- final and basic; 1.6.2.2, 4.5
- Topic; 4.2.3.2
- clause; 4.4.2.3
- Transitive verb; 2.5.1.1
- in coordinate phrases; 3.2.3.1 and 2
 - modifying an adjective; 3.2.21a
- Velar consonants; 1.1.6
- Velar/glottal consonant; 1.1.7
- Verb; (clause position); 4.2.1.5
- (form class); 2.5
- Verb particles; 2.9, 5.4.1
- Verb phrase; 3.2
- as head of a clause; 4.0
- Verb stem extension; 2.7
- Vowels; 1.4
- harmony; 2.10.2.1, footnote 69
- wā-phrase; 4.2.1.2
- Weak stress; 1.10.1
- Word; 2.0
- Zero initial; 1.1.9